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Khargāh and Other Terms for Tents in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmāh*

This article aims to contribute to the wider debate on the historicity of the Shāh-nāmāh by focusing on the way Firdawsī uses the word khargāh. The word, which is first attested in Rūdākī poetry, has not been dealt with adequately in previous scholarship dedicated to the Shāh-nāmāh. An analysis of all the occurrences in the text provides results consistent with those obtained from contemporary sources: the khargāh appeared in Central Asia (here, Tūrān); it was the standard dwelling of Turkic-speaking pastoral nomads (here, Tūrānians), whatever their social rank; and it was adopted later as a status symbol by non-Turkish elites (here, during Kay-Khusraw's reign). In Firdawsī's Shāh-nāmāh khargāh should therefore also be understood as the type of framed tent known as "trellis tent" (the so-called yurt).

Shāh-nāmāh; Firdawsī; Trellis tent; Yurt; Tūrān; Turks; Cultural loan

Introduction

Because the *Shāh-nāmāh* is all about the deeds of kings, foes and heroes of ancient Iran, it is no wonder that many episodes take place on a battlefield or a hunting ground. In such a setting, it is no wonder either if tents are ubiquitous. In his painstaking work on the lexicon of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmāh*, Fritz Wolff has counted a total of 359 occurrences for *sarāpardāh* (variant: *pardāh-sarāy*), *khaymah* and *khargāh* (variant: *khargāh*) (see Table 1).¹ These three terms of tentage complete *ayvān* and *kākāh* in the royal court paradigm. But while *ayvān* and *kākāh* can easily be translated as "palace" (*ayvān* being the audience hall, and by synecdoche the whole palace), the translation of the terms of tentage, and especially *khargāh*, has been more problematic.

Firdawsī (d. 416/1025) never bothers to say what a *khargāh* is. Nor does he mention any of its components (trellis, pole, guys, felt covering and the like) that might shed light on its structure. This is not surprising given Firdawsī's "stylistic economy" (description are seldom, the nouns are "presented in their unmodified generic form").² But this lack of description is itself informative: it shows that the

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Table 1. Frequency of Terms for Tents and Palaces in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmāh*

Type of Setting	Number of Occurrences in Mohl's Edition	Percentage of the Total
<i>khaymah</i>	111	11
<i>sarāpardah/pardah-sarāy</i>	210	21
<i>khargāh/khargah</i>	38	4
<i>ayvān</i>	399	39
<i>kākh</i>	266	25
total	1024	100

khargāh was a common artifact for Firdawsī's audience—in contrast, the Taqdīs throne of Khusraw Parvīz is described at length. Al-Fath al-Bundārī's Arabic translation of the *Shāh-nāmāh* does not help. Most of the verses referring to *khargāh* in Firdawsī do not appear in this translation composed in 620–21/1223–47 (see Table 2, in which I have noted all the correspondences between Khāliqī-Mutlaq's edition of the *Shāh-nāmāh* and 'Azzām's edition of al-Bundārī's translation). When these verses are indeed translated, al-Bundārī often drops the reference to *khargāh*. For example, about the gathering of Tūrānian *pahlavāns* (hero, paladin) around the Khāqān, Firdawsī had "*bih khargāh-i khāqān-i Chīn āmadand*," but al-Bundārī merely writes "*fa-atū l-khāqān*" (see Table 2: item no. 10). Or al-Bundārī translates *khargāh* along other terms of tentage with the umbrella term *khiyam*, "the tents."³ *Khargāh* is kept only five times (with its Arabic spelling *kharkāh*). It is translated in one unique occurrence by the vague *mawdu'*, "place."⁴

Likewise, modern translators and commentators have had great difficulty finding an equivalent. Jules Mohl chose the umbrella term "tente" but his successors have been less cautious. Reuben Levy for example opts for "pavilion" although nothing in Firdawsī's text supports such a specific meaning—a pavilion being technically a tent with a central pillar and crowned by a disk supporting the gores that form its roof and walls.⁵ Dick Davis' translation of this term is no more satisfactory. Depending on the context, Davis renders *khargāh* as "the Turks' tents," "imperial tent," "pavilion," "tent," but also "place," and even "castle" and "palace hall," when it is translated at all. Such interpretations are at best ambiguous, and often untenable.⁶

The various glossaries of the *Shāh-nāmāh* are no more helpful. The Ottoman lexicon of 'Abd al-Qādir Baghdādī has no entry for *khargāh*. Wolff's *Glossar* distinguishes two senses: firstly, *khargāh* as a common noun meaning a tent (either a large tent, "Großzelt," and/or a royal tent, "Königzelt"); secondly, *khargāh* as a proper noun referring to a province.⁷ The distinction does not come from Mohl's translation used by Wolff and has no solid basis, as we will see below. Persian commentators or lexicons of the *Shāh-nāmāh* give circular definitions: for Jalāl Khāliqī-Mutlaq, Parvīz Atābakī and 'Alī Ravāqī, a *khargāh* is a *sarāpardah* and/or *khaymah(-yi buzurg)*.⁸ Likewise, Jalāl al-Dīn Kazzāzī devotes a note to the term *khargāh* but

totally evades the technical aspect.⁹ Recent publications are representative of the stalemate on the issue. Zahrā Darri explains that the metaphor *khargāh-i āsimānī* is based on the fact that both the *khargāh* and the sky are of large size.¹⁰ This interpretation reflects a folk etymology (*khar* means “large,” hence *khargāh*: *khar-gāh*, “large place,” cf. *khar-gūsh*, “large ears,” i.e. rabbit) derived from Dihkhudā's notes but not documented in classical sources.¹¹ In a contribution to the *Shahnama Studies*, Marjolijn van Zutphen affirms that *khargāh* could mean a “pleasant place” (*jāy-i khushī*).¹² This is a figurative use derived from the fact that in Iranian courts the *khargāh* was the setting of wine-and-music parties (*bazm*), as shown by Rūdakī or Manūchihri poetry. But while it could indeed serve as a “pleasant place,” this kind of tent could also serve in less pleasant occasions (like when it is used as a prison), as will be seen.

Needless to say, the paintings in the manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāmāh* do not help us understand what Firdawsī had in mind since they were produced several centuries after his death. The illustration of tents (and anything else, for that matter) is a topic in itself beyond the scope of this paper. Let us just say that the absence of historicizing in the depiction is obvious. For example, in the paintings of the *Shāh-nāmāh* made for the Safavid king Tahmāsp during the years 1522–37, the tented encampments are represented in the fashion of early sixteenth-century Iran, with its classical combination of pole-tents, awnings and trellis tents (see Figure 1). This last type of tent, which corresponds, we shall see, to what Firdawsī called *khargāh*, is represented in a way totally inconsistent with what the text tells us.¹³

In this article I aim to give a clearer understanding of the term *khargāh* in the *Shāh-nāmāh*. For that purpose, I have noted all its occurrences in Table 2 by their order of appearance (no. 1 to 33) in Firdawsī's text. Each entry references Khāliqī-Mutlaq's edition. It also indicates the civilizational context (Tūrān, Iran or other) as well as the social status of its user (ordinary people, soldiers or elite). My analysis of this material is first based on the data given by Firdawsī. It is only in a second step that I compare it with the results drawn from contemporary texts (chronicles and other narrative sources), which was the subject of a previous article.¹⁴

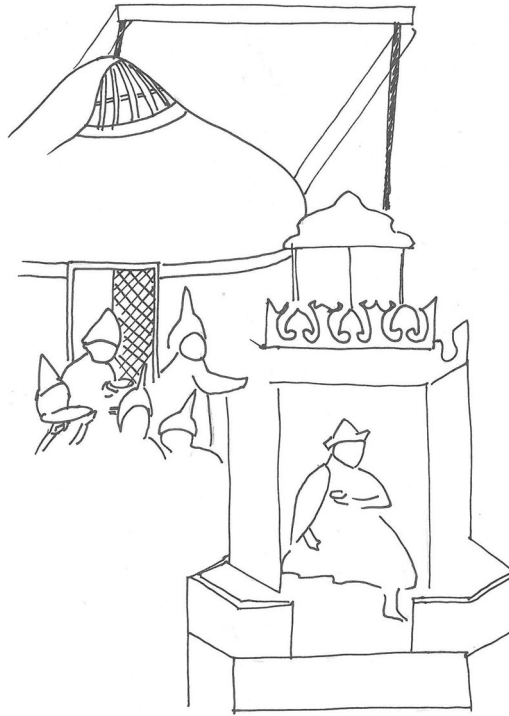
I argue that the way the term *khargāh* appears in the *Shāh-nāmāh* is consistent with what can be learnt from the analysis of the wider historical, literary and geographical corpus. This equivalence justifies translating *khargāh* as “trellis tent” (aka yurt), that is a particular kind of framed tent with a folding wooden structure (including a trellis wall) and a felt covering (see Figure 2).¹⁵

Firdawsī's text provides us with six main pieces of information, which will be dealt with in the following order: (1) *khargāh* originates in Tūrān; (2) *khargāh* is never a proper noun; (3) Tūrānian elites also use *khargāh*; (4) the *khargāh* appears in Iran during Kay-Khusraw's reign; (5) in Iran the *khargāh* remains a status symbol; (6) *khargāh*, *sarāpardah* and *khaymah* are related terms but they are not equivalent.

Khargāh Originates in Tūrān

Khargāh appears 34 times in Khāliqī-Mutlaq's edition of the *Shāh-nāmāh* but the first six occurrences only relate to Tūrānians, i.e. Turks—both terms being synonymous in

Figure 1. King Farīdūn on his Throne, in Front of a Trellis Tent (*Khargāh*) and an Awning.



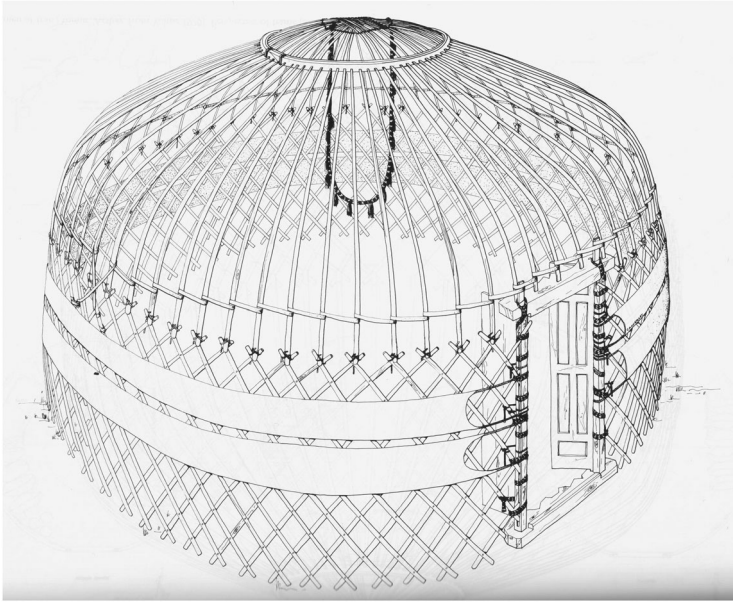
Source: Drawing by D. Durand-Guédy, adapted from a detail of the *Shāh-nāmah* of Safavid Shāh Tahmāsp, folio 38v, reproduced in Canby, *The Shāhnāma*.

Firdawsi's text. In the very first occurrence, *khargāh* is even introduced as a marker of Tūrān. The story unfolds as follows: during Zaw's reign, Iranians and Tūrānians endeavor to find a political solution to the war which started with Manūchihr seeking revenge for the killing of his father Īraj. Both parties eventually agree to return to the partition of the world as set forth by Farīdūn, Īraj's father. The territories attributed to Tūr (hence, "Tūrān") are introduced as follows:¹⁶

از آن بخش گیتی بنزدیک و دور	ز رودابد و شیر تا مرز تور
سپردند شاهی بدان انجمن	روارو چُنین تا به چین و ختن
زَو و زال را دست کوتاه بود	ز مرزی کجا رسم خرگاه بود

[no. 1] From Rūdābad and Shīr to Tūr's territory, from this part of the earth
All the way to Chīn and Khutan, kingship was given to this group (*anjuman*) [i.e. Afrāsiyāb and the Tūrānians],

Figure 2. Trellis Tent of Yomut Türkmen (of Iran) without Felt Covering.



Source: Drawing by P. A. Andrews, *Felt Tents*, plate a2. Courtesy of the author.

Zaw and Zāl should renounce the territory where it is customary to use the *khargāh*.¹⁷

Tūrān is explicitly referred to by a technical feature: it is “the country where people use *khargāh*” (*marzī kujā rasm-i khargāh*). This kind of designation is striking but not exceptional. The chronicler al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) speaks twice of “tent-people” to refer to the Bedouins (*ahl khibāʿ*) and to the Berbers (*ahl ʿamūd*).¹⁸ Outside the paradigm of tent, the Bakhtiyaris of Central Zagros referred to the Persians as the “tight pants” (lori: *shawlār-tang*).¹⁹ And in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Chingiz Khan is made to refer to the sedentary population as “the people of wooden doors,” an expression still used by the Shahsavān of Azarbayjan today.²⁰

Other verses show that the *khargāh* was indeed the standard dwelling in Tūrān. In the story of Rustam and the seven heroes in the hunting-ground of Afrāsiyāb, the mightiest *pahlavāns* of Kay-Kāvūs follow Rustam in the *dasht-i Tūrān*. When they reach the region of Sarakhs,

همه دشت پر خرگه و خیمه بود از انبوه آهو سراسیمه بود

[no. 3] the plain was filled with *khargāhs* and *khaymahs*; they were astonished by the great number of deer.

The story of Siyāvakhsh (Siyāvush) starts in a similar setting. Two Iranian *pahlavāns*, Tūs and Gīv, leave for a hunting expedition in the plain of Daghū’ī, west of Sarakhs:

بدانجایگه ترك نزدیک بود زمینش ز خرگاه تاریک بود

[no. 5] Turks were not far from this place; the ground was darkened by *khargāhs*.²¹

Likewise, in the aforementioned story of the Seven Heroes, after the soldiers sent by Afrāsiyāb suffer a terrible defeat, the dwelling of the soldiers of Tūrān is referred to as *khargāh*:

ز لشکر هر آن کس که بد رزمساز دو بهره نیامد به خرگاه باز

[no. 4] Two-thirds of the soldiers who fought in the battle did not come back to their *khargāh*.²²

Later, during Kay-Khusraw’s Great War to avenge Siyāvakhsh’s murder, Tūrānian soldiers refuse to return to Tūrān with the brothers of their late general and they justify themselves as follows:

اگر بازگردیم گودرز و شاه
رهای نیابیم یک به جان
پس ما برانند پیل و سپاه
نه خرگاه بینیم و نه خان و مان

[no. 13] Should we return, Gūdarz and the King [Kay-Khusraw] would drive elephants and the army after us, Not a single one of us would escape with his life, or see [again] his *khargāh* and his folk.

Here again, the *khargāh* is depicted as the locus of family life (*khān-u-mān*) in Tūrān.

The Tūrānian origin of the *khargāh* in the *Shāh-nāmāh* is consistent with what we know of the origin of the trellis tent: it first appeared in Central Asia at the time of the Türk Qaghanate (sixth century AD) and was the mobile dwelling used by Turkic-speaking pastoral nomads.²³ The word itself has a Central Asian origin, possibly derived from Turkic *kērekü* (in any case it has no Pahlavi root, despite later reconstruction by lexicographers).²⁴

As noted in the introduction, Firdawsī never bothers to describe a *khargāh*. The metaphor used in occurrence no. 5 (*zamīnash zi khargāh tārik būd*) could suit the trellis tent, whose felt covering, originally white, becomes darker with time.²⁵ However the same could be said of the iconic “black tent” (a guyed tent) of the wider Middle East. Perhaps more significant is the fact that at the beginning of the thirteenth century, al-Bundārī decided not to translate the syntagm “*kujā rasn-i khargāh būd*” to define Tūrān (no. 1).²⁶ The reason may be that when al-Bundārī

was writing, two centuries after the Saljuq conquest, the Türkmen pastoral nomads using the *khargāh*/trellis tent were living in the heart of the Islamic lands. Such a technical and outdated definition of Tūrān could have been confusing for al-Bundārī's readership.

Khargāh is Never a Proper Noun

In 1903 Paul Horn proposed to read *khargāh* in one verse of the *Shāh-nāmāh* as a proper noun. The verse is found in the passage in which the Tūrānian king Pashang evokes Farīdūn's partition of the earth:

ز خرگاه تا ماورالنهر بر که جیحون میانجی ست اندر گذر
بر و بوم ما بود هنگام شاه نکردی بدین مرز ایرج نگاه

[no. 2] From *khargāh* as far as Māvarā al-nahr (Transoxania), which is limited by the Oxus,²⁷

This was our territory (*bar-u-būm*) during King [Farīdūn]'s reign and Īraj never set his eyes on that country.

For Horn, the *khargāh* in question derives from the toponym Kharghān in Bukhara.²⁸ He does not give any source to support this assumption but he obviously had in mind the toponym Kharghānkāth mentioned by al-Sam'ānī near Bukhara.²⁹ Wolff followed Horn's reading and inserted a sub-entry for "*Xargāh*, Geographischer Name, Provinz."³⁰ However, this hypothesis is difficult to accept because Kharghānkāth lies *within* Māvarā al-nahr: rhetorically speaking, quoting two overlapping place names as the boundaries of a piece of land to stress its vastness would be totally counterproductive. Here *khargāh* is more likely to be understood as a metonymy to speak of "the country in which people are accustomed to live in *khargāh*"; in other words, the lands inhabited by nomadic Turks, beyond the urban oasis of Māvarā al-nahr.³¹ Indeed, Firdawsī had already defined Tūrān as "the territory where it is customary to use the *khargāh*" (no. 1).

Such metonymical use is attested in contemporary texts. The author of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (written 372/982–83) speaks of "a mountain [which] extends westwards between the Toquz-Oghuz (*tughuzghuzz*), the Yaghmā and various *khargāhs* (*khargāhā-yi mukhtalif*) until it joins the Mānesā mountains."³² Here *khargāh* could be understood as "encampments," as does Minorsky, but also as "territories inhabited by nomadic Turks."³³ Likewise in 378/988 Ibn Hawqal says of the fortified area around Tarāz, in Inner Asia: "he who crosses it enters the *khargāhs* of the Qarluqs" (*al-'ābir bihā dākhil fi kharkāhāt al-kharlukhiyyā*).³⁴ Along the same lines, *khargāh* was also used to mean "household" in a given nomadic population: al-'Utbi (d. 427/1036 or 431/1040) writes that the forces of the Turks who migrated to Central Asia from the borders of China "exceeded 300,000 *khargāhs*."³⁵ But the most significant argument in support of a metonymical use is a verse of Daqīqī's

Shāh-nāmāh quoted by Firdawsī (Daqīqī died around 366/976). Jāmāsp, the vizier of king Gushtāsp, foresees the outcome of battle against the Turk Arjāsp, and tells Gushtāsp:

به هر سو کجا بنهد آن شاه روی همی راند از خون بدخواه جوی
 نباشند کس آن پهلوی شاه را ستوه آورد شاه خرگاه را

[no. 18] Wherever this king [i.e. Gushtāsp] turns his face, he will make rivers of enemy blood flow,
 nobody will be able to withstand this king; he will vanquish the *shāh-i khargāh* [i.e. Arjāsp]

It is very unlikely indeed that Daqīqī meant to refer to Arjāsp as the “king of a region called *Khargāh*.” Indeed, Jāmāsp’s long speech aims to emphasize Gushtāsp’s power. Why would he speak of his master’s foe as the ruler of a small territory somewhere in Transoxiana? Instead Arjāsp, the mighty king of Tūrān, could be called the “king of the *khargāhs*” because Tūrānians/Turks were said to be living in *khargāhs*. *Shāh-i khargāh* is here synonymous with “king of the Tūrānians.”³⁶

Now, and this is a delicate point, while *khargāh* can never be taken as a geographical proper noun in Firdawsī’s *Shāh-nāmāh*, such a reading may be considered for other texts. Thus, in his travelogue to Central Asia and China, Abū Dulaf Miṣ‘ār b. Muḥalhil (mid-fourth/tenth century) reports that immediately after leaving Bukhara, his caravan came across a “tribe in a country known as *khargāh* (*qabila fi balad yu’rifu bi-l-kharkāh*) that was crossed within one month.”³⁷ Abū Dulaf also mentions an eponymous tribe to whom its eastern neighbors pay tribute: the Takhtākhs “send tribute (*itāwa*) to Kharkāh [or: to the Kharkāhs] because of their proximity with the lands of Islam (*li-qurbihim ilā l-Islām*).”³⁸ This aberrant usage of *khargāh* can be explained if we remember that Abū Dulaf, a man of Arab extraction living in Western Iran, never undertook the travels he pretends to relate. Instead, as Minorsky put it, he relied on his “Sindbad-like imagination” to build upon what he may have heard during a sojourn in Bukhara, sometimes before 331/943.³⁹

Strikingly, a similar interpolation found its way into later versions of the *Shāh-nāmāh*. Minorsky seems to be the first to have remarked that “*khargāh* as the name of a country lying somewhere near India is mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers.”⁴⁰ This conundrum can now be solved thanks to van Zutphen’s work on the *Farāmarz-nāmāh*, an epic poem composed sometime in the sixth/twelfth century and building on an episode mentioned in the *Shāh-nāmāh*. On several occasions the anonymous author of the *Farāmarz-nāmāh* states that Rustam’s son, Farāmarz, has been sent to conquer a territory (*marz*) called *Khargāh*. Since this *Khargāh* is connected to Qannauj (the capital of northern India), we have a vague idea of its alleged location. At a later date, passages from the *Farāmarz-nāmāh* or inspired by it were reintegrated into manuscripts of Firdawsī’s text.

They contain many interpolations and one of them is precisely the *marz-i khargāh*. This is how the proper name *khargāh* came to figure in Vuller's edition of the *Shāh-nāmāh*.⁴¹

In Tūrān, Khargāh is Used by Elites and Ordinary People Alike

In Tūrān, the *khargāh* is the dwelling of ordinary people (nomads in no. 3; rank and file warriors in nos. 4 and 13), but it was also used by the elite. In the story of Kāmūs of Kashān, Firdawsī explicitly mentions the *khargāh* of the Khāqān of Chīn around which Tūrānian *pahlavāns* gathered on the eve of a great battle with the Iranians (no. 10). And in one of the last parts of the *Shāh-nāmāh*, Firdawsī mentions twice the *khargāh* of Mighātūrah, one of the main courtiers of the Khāqān of Chīn. After Bahrām Chūbīn spoke ill of him,

مغاوره از پیش خاقان برفت بیامد سوی خرگه خویش تفت

[no. 31] Mighātūrah left the presence of the Khāqān and went in haste toward his *khargāh*.

Then, during a single combat, Bahrām Chūbīn told Mighātūrah:

بدو گفت بهرام کای جنگجوی نکستی مرا، سوی خرگه میوی!

[no. 32] You did not kill me; do not run toward your *khargāh*.

Likewise, the young Tūrānian woman captured by the *pahlavāns* Tūs and Gīv on the plain of Daghū'ī (the very plain which was "filled with *khargāhs*" in no. 5) introduces herself at the Iranian court as follows:

بگفتا که از مام خاتونیم ز سوی پدر افریدونیم
نیایم سپهدار کرسیوزست بدان مرز خرگاه او مرکزست

[no. 6] She says: "on my mother's side, I am a princess of royal blood (*khātūnī-am*), on my father's side I am descended from Farīdūn, My grandfather is the *sipahdār* Karsīvaz [i.e. Afrāsīyāb's brother], whose *khargāh* is the center of that country (*bidān marz khargāh-i ū markaz-ast*)."

The centrality of Karsīvaz's *khargāh* is reminiscent of the way the traveler Tamīm b. Bahr (second/eighth century) describes the Uighur camp outside the capital Balāsāghūn (nowadays Mongolia): the tents of the *khāqān* lay at the center, and were surrounded by his troops, the great generals had pitched their own camps concentrically at a distance.⁴²

This socially undifferentiated use of *khargāh* is consistent with 'Abbāsīd geographical writings on Inner Asia: in these sources, the *khargāh* is said to be used by ordinary

nomads (such as the Khazars in their capital Atil or the Bulghārs who have “wooden buildings in which they spend the winter, while in summer they disperse with their *khargāhs*”), as well as the elite (such as the leaders encountered by Ibn Fadlān during his journey to the Bulghār capital).⁴³ Depending on who occupied it, the structure of the tent was the same, but its furnishings as well as its size varied.⁴⁴

Since powerful men lived in *khargāhs*, the word *khargāh* logically came to designate power itself. This is another metonymical use which is illustrated by a speech attributed to Pīrān, Afrāsiyāb’s general. During Kay-Khusraw’s Great War, Gūdarz advises Rustam against accepting Pīrān’s peace offers. Pīrān’s duplicity, says Gūdarz, can be deduced from his past actions. In one episode Pīrān had taken advantage of the situation as follows :

ز پیران فرستاده آمد برین که بیزارم از جنگ و ز دشت کین
میان بسته ام بندگی شاه را نخواهم بر و بوم خرگاه را

[no. 11] A messenger of Pīrān arrived to say this “I loathe war and battle-field, I am the slave of the king [Kay-Khusraw] and I want neither territory nor *khargāh*.”

In no. 6 (Karsīvaz’s granddaughter’s speech), the “*khargāh* at the center of the country” refers to the dwelling and by extension to the power of Karsīvaz. In this verse (no. 11) it is solely a metonymy for power. This is also the case when the Tūrānian Sāvah wanted to ward off Bahrām Chūbīn from attacking. He has him told:

سلیح ست و خرگاه و پرده سرای فزون ز آنک اندیشه آرد به جای

[no. 26] [I have] more weapons, *khargāhs* and *sarāpardahs* than you can imagine.

Khargāh u pardah-sarāy is a synecdoche for the *pahlavāns*, each of them followed by an army (*sarāpardah* is discussed in detail below).⁴⁵

The Khargāh Has Spread to Iran during Kay-Khusraw’s Reign

One of the most striking outcomes from a systematic enquiry on the use of the term *khargāh* in the *Shāh-nāmāh* is how it spread outside Tūrān. From Kay-Khusraw’s reign onward, we also find *khargāh* on the Iranian side. The first relevant occurrence happens during the war against the Tūrānian king Kāmūs of Kashān. Beaten by the Turks, the Iranian army led by Tūs and Gīv has to leave its baggage on the battlefield and hastily takes refuge on the Hamāvand Mountain. Surrounded on all sides, the position of the Iranians quickly becomes untenable:

چنین گفت با طوس گودرز پیر که ما را کنون جنگ شد ناگزیر
سه روز ار بود خوردنی بیش نیست به یکسو گشاده رهی بیش نیست
نه خیمه نه خرگه نه بار و بُنه چنین چند باشد سپه گرسنه

[no. 7] The old Gūdarz told Tūs: “For us there is no way outside fighting,
We have supplies for only three days and no road is open,
We have no *khaymah*, no *khargāh*, no equipment, no luggage; how long will [our]
famished army resist?”

During the same war, when the Tūrānian *pahlavān* Hūmān notices that “new *khargāhs* and *khaymahs*” have been pitched in the Iranian camp, he concludes that the Iranians have received reinforcements (no. 9). *Khargāhs* are also mentioned in the royal camp of Kay-Khusraw. Determined to relinquish the throne, Kay-Khusraw asks Zāl to summon the *pahlavāns* and to prepare a royal audience:

سرپرده از شهر بیرون برید درفش همایون به هامون برید
ز خرگاه و از خیمه چندان که هست بسازید بر دشت جای نشست

[no. 16] Take the *sarāpardah* outside the city and carry the royal standard in the plain,
With as many *khargāh* and *khaymah* as there are, build a place to hold audience.

This sudden irruption of *khargāhs* in Iran during Kay-Khusraw's reign is striking because he was the most Tūrānian of the Iranian kings. Kay-Khusraw was born in the palace of the Tūrānian king Afrāsiyāb, from the union of a Tūrānian princess (Farangīs) and an exiled Iranian prince (Siyāvakhsh) whose mother was herself of Tūrānian descent. Afrāsiyāb had ordered the newborn to be taken away, wary as he was of having a potential rival brought up at his court. Kay-Khusraw was entrusted to the care of Tūrānian shepherds on the Qulā Mountain (east of modern Tashkent), and he spent the first seven years of his life among them, unaware of his real identity. Thus, Kay-Khusraw grew up considering as his family the very people who had been earlier described in the *Shāh-nāmāh* as dwelling in *khargāhs*. Afrāsiyāb eventually reunited him with his mother and gave him the territory formerly held by his father Siyāvakhsh. When the armies of Iran invaded Tūrān seeking revenge for Siyāvakhsh's murder, Afrāsiyāb again sent Kay-Khusraw far away, lest he be brought back to Iran by Rostam. During the six years of Iranian occupation of Tūrān, Kay-Khusraw remained on the shores of the Sea of Chīn, a purely Tūrānian milieu.⁴⁶ After the Iranians evacuated Tūrān, seven years passed until the Iranian *pahlavān* Gīv finally found him and brought him back to Iran. If we add up the figures provided by Firdawsī, Kay-Khusraw was at least twenty years old when he first came to Iran. So far he had spent all his life in the *marz-i khargāh*.⁴⁷ Firdawsī does not say whether Kay-Khusraw brought *khargāhs* with him but, intentionally or not, his text gives us a key to understanding how such an iconic artifact of Tūrān found its way to Iran during this specific reign.

The spread of the trellis tent outside its original environment is not dated in historical sources. However, converging evidence indicates that it was a familiar element at the Buyid and Samanid courts, i.e. during Firdawsī's lifetime.

In Transoxania the trellis tent had been adopted by Sogdian elites much earlier, as texts and images show.⁴⁸

After Kay-Khusraw's reign *khargāhs* are found everywhere in the *Shāh-nāmāh*: in Tūrān of course, but also in Iran, and further in Armenia and Rūm (i.e. the Roman/Byzantine West). Just before the attack launched by Shāpūr dhū l-aktāf, the Roman camp at Ctesiphon is described as follows:

پر از خیمه بُد دشت و خرگاه بود از آن تاختن خود که آگاه بود
ز می مست قیصر به پرده سرای ز لشکر نبود اندر آن مرز جای

[no. 22] The whole plain was filled with *khargāhs* and *khaymahs*, but who could guess that he [Shāpūr] would attack?

Caesar was intoxicated with wine in the *sarāpardah*; there was not a place [left empty] by the army in this region.

This mention of *khargāh* in Caesar's camp is interesting since historians contemporary with Firdawsī (such as Miskawayh) mention *khargāhs* for Byzantine armies.⁴⁹

In Iran the Khargāh Remained a Status Symbol

When a *khargāh* is mentioned on the Iranian side, Firdawsī often gives us no indication about who used it. Thus, in the wake of the battle between the Sassanid Nūsh-īnrvān with Romans, the king's instructions were passed to his men:

منادی گری نام او رَشَنَوَاد گرفت آن سَخُن های کسری به یاد
بیامد دوان گِرد لشکر بگشت به هر خیمه و خرگهی برگذشت
خروشید کای بی کرانه سپاه چُنین ست فرمان بیدارشاه

[no. 25] A herald whose name was Rashnavād memorized the speech of the king. He ran through the army camp and passed [in front of] each *khaymah* and each *khargāh*, Shouting: "O innumerable army, the order of the vigilant king is that ..."

Similarly, *khaymah va khargāh* are mentioned without further indication in the case of the armies of Tūs and Giv (during the war against Kāmūs of Kashān, no. 7), of Rustam (during the same war, no. 9) and of Bahrām Chūbīn (during his war against Khusraw Parwīz, no. 30).

Nevertheless, everything indicates that in Iran the *khargāh* was not for the rank-and-file soldiers, unlike Tūrān. Two arguments back this assumption. The first is that every time the owner of a *khargāh* in Iran is mentioned in the *Shāh-nāmāh*, it is either a *pahlavān* or the king, never ordinary soldiers, as could be the case in Tūrān (this is why in Table 2 there is no column "*khargāh* as standard dwelling" for the Iranian side). The second argument is the association of *khargāh* with *sarāpardah*. This last term deserves to be introduced in more detail.

Let us consider Bahrām Gūr's hunting expedition on the plain of Jazz. *Khargāh* is mentioned twice at short intervals. This first occurrence is rather uninformative:

بی‌آورد لشکر به دشت شکار سواران شمشیرزن ده هزار
ببرند خرگاه و پرده سرای همان خیمه و آخر چارپای

[no. 23] [Bahrām Gūr] led the army on the hunting ground, ten thousand gallant horsemen,

They brought with them *khargāhs* and *sarāpardahs*, as well as tents (*khaymah*) and stalls (*ākhur*) for the steeds and the beasts of burden.⁵⁰

Shortly after, after reconnoitering the forest in which he has planned to hunt, Bahrām Gūr returns to his private quarters, which are composed of a *sarāpardah*, a *khargāh* and an ordinary tent:

ابا موبد و پهلوان سپاه	به پرده سرای آمد از بیشه شاه
که بی تو مبادا کلاه و نگین!	همی خواند لشکر بر او آفرین
بشست از خوی آن پهلوی یال و دست	به خرگاه شد، چون سپه بازگشت
ز خرگاه نو بر پراگند خار	یکی دانشی مهربان پیشکار
بگسترد مشک از بر جای خواب	نهادند کافور و مشک و گلاب
برو کاسه بآرایش چین نهاد	همه خیمه ها خوان زرین نهاد

[nos. 24 and 24bis] The king came out of the forest to his *sarāpardah*, accompanied by the priests (*mobād*) and the *pahlavāns* of his army,

The whole army called praise upon the king and said: "God forbid the crown and the signet ring should be without you!"

While the army broke up, [Bahrām] went to the *khargāh*; he washed the sweat from his head and hands,

A wise and good domestic had removed the thorns from [around] the new *khargāh*, Camphor, musk and rose-water had been put [inside] and he had spread musk on the bed, He had [also] placed in the [other] tents (*khaymah-hā*) golden dining-tables and china cups upon them.

The way *khargāh* is mentioned for Isfandi-yār is identical. After killing the lions (his second labor), the king returns to his *khargāh* and *sarāpardah* (no. 19).

What is a *sarāpardah*? It is not a tent, but a cloth enclosure in which tents can be erected (see Fig. 3). The fact that *sarāpardah* is on several occasions abbreviated as *pardah* to comply with metric constraints is a clear indication of its form (*pardah* means curtain). As telling is the fact that al-Bundārī translates Persian *sarāpardah* as Arabic *surādiq* but never uses *surādiq* to translate *khargāh* or *khaymah*. It shows that a *sarāpardah* was not a tent.⁵¹ Wolff gives two meanings for *sarāpardah*. One is "Zeltvorhang," which is correct.⁵² Another is "Königszelt, Fürstenzelt" (royal or princely tent), which is an interpolation. Indeed, none of

the occurrences listed under this sub-entry indicates that *sarāpardah* could be anything other than an enclosure, and some occurrences explicitly contradict it. For example, the *sarāpardah* wherein Tūr and Salm are waiting for the return of their messenger to their half-brother Īraj is not a tent but a cloth enclosure:

When [the messenger] arrived in sight of the West, he saw that a *sarāpardah* had been erected in the plain,

He looked above the *sarāpardah* and the king of the West was inside (*bi-pardah-andarūn*),

A silken tent (*khaymah*) had been set up, equipped with a *sitārah* tent and everyone had turned away (*jāy pardākhtah*).⁵³

Because of its size, a *sarāpardah* is more visible than a tent from afar. That explains why Surkhāb, in the famous episode in which he gazes from a distance at the Iranian camp to spot his father Rostam, points to the *sarāpardahs* (each one of a different color) of the various *pahlavāns*, not to their tents.⁵⁴

Figure 3. Curtain Enclosure (*Sarāpardah*).



Source: Painting by Bizhād, ca. 1490, *Muraqqāʿ Gulshan*, 27, Tehran, Gulistān Museum.

The very function of the *sarāpardah* was to differentiate spaces, to set up a spatial hierarchy and, more specifically, to delineate the space of the leader (king or *pahlavān*). As such, it is not by chance that the term comes up so often in a work dedicated to kings and *pahlavāns*: there are 210 occurrences of *sarāpardah* in the *Shāh-nāmāh* according to Wolff, nearly twice as many as *khaymah*, and six times more than *khargāh* (see Table 1). But unlike the *sarāpardah*, the *khargāh* was not a tool for distinction by itself. It is because we never see it used by ordinary Iranians on the one hand, and also because it is almost systematically associated with the *sarāpardah* that we can affirm that in Iran the *khargāh* was a status symbol as well.⁵⁵

What happened during the last audience of Kay-Khusraw is telling. The king gathered his *pahlavāns* and began to reward them with material gifts: he bequeathed his gardens to Gūdarz, his horses to Tūs, and his weapons to Gīv. But the most emblematic items of kingship he gave to his uncle Farīburz:

از ایوان و خرگاه و پرده سرای همان خیمه و آخر چارپای
فریبرز کاوس را داد شاه همان جوشن و ترگ و زرین کلاه

[no. 17] Palace (*ayvān*), *khargāh*, *sarāpardah*, as well as the *khaymah* and stall for the horses,

The king gave [them] to Farīburz son of Kāvūs, along with the armor, helmet and gilded hat.⁵⁶

The *khargāh* was a sign of the king's presence, as much as the *sarāpardah*, the palace and the gilded hat. These items are bequeathed to Farīburz because he is the only person of royal blood (he is the king's uncle) and the only one who could have succeeded him had fate so decreed.

In this passage, the *khargāh* and the *sarāpardah* are associated in one hemistich, and *khaymah* and *ākhur* (stall) in another. The same format can be found elsewhere, as in the hunting parties of Bahrām Gūr (see above no. 23) or later of Khusraw Parwīz:

ز کرسی و خرگاه و پرده سرای همان خیمه و آخر چارپای
شتر بود پیش اندرون پانصد همه کرده آن بزم را نامزد

[no. 33] For the throne, the *khargāh*, the *sarāpardah*, as well as for the *khaymahs* and the stalls (*ākhur*) for the mounts,

More than five hundred camels had been chosen for this [hunting] party.

The first hemistich contains the royal paraphernalia (*khargāh*, *sarāpardah*, throne or palace), the other hemistich what is needed for the king's retinue. In the description of Bahrām Gūr's private quarters, there is one *khargāh* but several *khaymahs*. The former

is the personal dwelling of the king while the *khaymahs* appears to be “service tents,” obviously of the guyed type.

Consequently, a guest of royal rank should be accommodated in a *khargāh*, not an ordinary *khaymah*. This happened to Dārāb, Ardashīr’s son abandoned at birth by his mother Humā. After he learned that the persons who had taken care of him were not his biological parents, he left and joined the army. On the campaign trail, he lacked everything: “he had neither *khargāh* nor *sarāpardah* nor *khaymah* nor companion nor guide” (no. 20).⁵⁷ But after a supernatural event convinced the army general that Dārāb was not an ordinary soldier, he showed him consideration and gave order to his servants:

بفرمود تا جامه ها خراستند به خرگاه جایی بیار استند
بکردار کوه آتشی برفروخت بسی عود با مُشک و عنبر بسوخت

[no. 21] He ordered that they find clothes and prepare a place [for Dārāb] in [his own] *khargāh*,

A fire like a mountain was kindled and a huge quantity of aloe-wood, musk and amber was consumed.

What distinguished the *khargāh* of the great courtiers (Iranian or Tūrānian) from the *khargāh* of the ordinary nomads was not its structure, but its size and furnishing. This is clearly shown by Bahrām Chūbīn’s decision to humiliate King Parmūdāh not only by putting him into fetters, but also by installing him in a “narrow *khargāh*” (*yiki tang khargāh shud jāy-i ū*) (no. 28). For a king, size was of the essence.

Here again the result drawn from Firdawsī’s text echoes contemporary sources, in particular the highly reliable chronicle of Hilāl al-Sābi’ (d. 448/1055). The Iraqi author reports that in 451/1060, after the Saljuq sultan Toghrīl Beg came to Iraq and rescued the Abbasid caliphate from the pro-Fatimid amir al-Basāsīrī, he ordered a *khargāh* erected for the Caliph al-Qā’im.⁵⁸ Of course Toghrīl Beg was a nomad, a pure Tūrānian in Firdawsī’s categories. But strikingly, half a century before the Saljuqs conquered southwestern Asia, the *khargāh* was already an essential element of royal paraphernalia in Iran. The rich documentation available about Buyid kingship leaves no doubt about that. For example, when Amir Sharaf al-Dawla captured his brother Samsām al-Dawla in 376/987, he had a *khargāh* set up for him. Likewise, when their father ‘Adud al-Dawla received the Kurdish leaders in his Luristan campaign (371/982), his guests were “seated in a *khargāh*.”⁵⁹ It is because the *khargāh*/trellis tent was already a status symbol in the wider Iranian world (and Baghdad was part of it) that Caliph al-Qā’im had no problem sitting in one—it would have been different, I presume, if the trellis tent had been associated exclusively with recently Islamized Turkish nomads.

Lastly, we may note that *khaymah* does not always have the technical sense of guyed tent opposed to *khargāh*/trellis tent. In the *Shāh-nāmah* like in other narrative sources, *khaymah* was also a generic term for tents. Let us consider the description

of Afrāsiyāb's camp after he fled the Iranians. Kay-Khusraw's scouts made the following report:

همانگه طلايه بيامد به دشت که از گرد لشکر هوا تیره گشت
همه دشت خرگاه و خیمه ست و بس و زیشان به خیمه ندرن نیست کس

[no. 15] Very soon a scout arrived from the plain and said: "The air is darkened by the dust raised up by the army, *Khargāhs* and *khaymahs* fill the whole plain but there is nothing else: there is not one of their soldiers inside the *khaymahs*."

In the first hemistich, *khaymah* and *khargāh* are two different kinds of tents (as the guyed tent type contrasts with the trellis tent type), while in the second hemistich, *khaymah* is to be understood in its generic sense, meaning that all the tents of the camp are empty. Consequently, *khaymah* can also refer to royal tents. For example, on his way to fight the Romans, Nūshīnrvān stopped at the great fire temple of Ādhargushasp. After attending a religious ceremony with the priests, he had a *khaymah* set up in front of the temple, and in the presence of his troops, he gave instructions for the margraves (*marzbān*).⁶⁰ We cannot know what this tent looked like. However, in the aforementioned passage about Tūr and Salm, the silken *khaymah* inside the *sarāpardah* cannot be a trellis tent (the wooden structure of the trellis tent makes a silk covering very unlikely). It could be a luxury pole tent with a silken covering, like the ones so frequently represented on Persian paintings.

Let us sum up our argument. Given that when Firdawsī gives details, the *khargāh* is associated with kings or *pahlavāns* in Iran (no. 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24), we can assume that the same is true in the other cases. In other words, the *khargāh(s)* mentioned in Iranian armies in items nos. 7, 9, 23, 25, 30 were for the king or his *pahlavāns*, and not for the rank-and-file soldiers. This is a noticeable difference from Tūrān where *khargāhs* were used for all social strata and embodied a social practice (*rasm-i khargāh*). In Iran the *khargāh* remained exclusively a status symbol. Its introduction at the court did not imply a change of lifestyle: the urban location of the Iranian court can be deduced from several facts. Like Kay-Khusraw's order for his last audience to have the *sarāpardah* carried "outside the city," which shows that his palace was inside the city (no. 16). This is also clear from the episode during which the Sassanid Khusraw Parvīz returns from his exile among the Romans to confront his rival Bahrām Chūbīn. One of his companions told him about the loyalty of one of his vassals, the Armenian king Mūshīl, who refused to submit to Bahrām Chūbīn:

بدو گفت کای شاه خورشید چهر تو موشیل را چون نپرسی ز مهر
که تا تو ز ایران شده ستی به روم نخفته ست هرگز به آبادیوم
سرآورده و دشت جای وی ست ز خرگاه و خیمه سرای وی ست

[no. 29] He told him: “O sun-face king, why don’t you benevolently ask Mūshīl? Because since you left Iran for Rum, he has not slept in a place inhabited and cultivated (*ābād-būm*).

The *sarāpardah* and the plain have become his abode, the *khargāh* and the *khaymah* his palace.”⁶¹

From these verses we understand that in Iran the *sarāpardah* and the *khargāh* played in wartime the role played by the palace in peacetime.

Concluding Remarks

An overall analysis of the 33 occurrences of *khargāh* in Firdawsī’s *Shāh-nāmāh* has shown that in this text, this word refers to a certain type of tent originating from Tūrān and adopted afterwards by non-Tūrānian elites as a status symbol. From this finding we can reach two conclusions. Firstly, the *khargāh* tent may be considered as the most outstanding example of exchange between Tūrān and Iran in the *Shāh-nāmāh*. Unlike the social structure, which is from the start very similar in Tūrān and Iran (a king surrounded by his *pahlavāns*), and unlike some features which are specific to either world (for example, in Tūrān, the helmet with two feathers, the way of fastening one’s belt, and of course the *turki* language), the *khargāh* is an irrefutable loan item from Tūrān to Iran.⁶² As such, it counterbalances everything that can be said about the irreducible opposition in the nature of Iran and Tūrān, opposition best symbolized by the “water versus fire” paradigm.⁶³ If Iranians (and beyond them Romans) could adopt a Tūrānian technique, this might be proof that the gap could be bridged.

This leads us to the second conclusion: the characteristics of the *khargāh* in the *Shāh-nāmāh* perfectly fits the results obtained from narrative contemporary sources: the trellis tent was called *khargāh* in Persian (the expression *al-qubba al-turkiyya* was used in Arabic at first but was later replaced by *kharkāh*); it was used by elites and ordinary nomads alike in Turkic Central Asia before it spread in the Iranian (sedentary) world; in Iran it became a status symbol for the military and civil elites. Such an adequation confirms Kowalski’s thesis about the Tūrānians: “For Firdawsī, [Tūrānians] are always quite simply Turks without any distinction, the Turks whom he himself knew from direct observation, ultimately the Turks who were his contemporaries and whom he naïvely transported into the past.”⁶⁴

The fact that Firdawsī first mentions *khargāh* on the Iranian side during the reign of a king raised in Tūrān is truly astonishing. Is it mere happenstance or does it vouch for an unsuspected cohesion of the whole work? That is a vast question that cannot be addressed here but we hope that this short piece of research can play a part in the wider issue of the historicity of the *Shāh-nāmāh*.

Table 2. Contextualization of the occurrences of the word *khargāh* in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmāh*

For each occurrence (numbered 1 to 33) data are given in the following order:

- volume, page and verse (v.) according to Khāliqī-Mutlaq's edition;
 - if relevant, association of *khargāh* with other terms for tents (+ stands for *khargāh va khaymah*; ++ for *khargāh va sarāpardah*; +++ for *khargāh va sarāpardah va khaymah*);
 - between parenthesis: mention of the person(s) or group to whom the *khargāh* is attributed (FIG stands for “figurative use”);
 - between brackets: correspondence with al-Bundārī's text according to ‘Azzām's edition (∅ means that *khargāh* is not translated; Ø means that the whole hemistich/verse is not translated).
-

Table 2. Continued

No.	TURKS			IRANIAN		OTHER
	<i>khargāh</i> as standard dwelling of the Turks	<i>khargāh</i> of a king or great courtier	<i>khargāh</i> used during military operations	<i>khargāh</i> of a king or great courtier	<i>khargāh</i> used during military operations	<i>khargāh</i> of a non-Iranian and non-Turkish king or army
1	1:328, v.20 (Tūrānians) [ø 1:92]					
2	1:353, v.112 + (Tūrān: FIG) [ø 1:101]					
3	2:105, v.31 (Tūrānians ruled by Afrāsiyāb) [Ø 1:130]					
4	2:115, v.151 (Tūrānians in the army of Afrāsiyāb) [Ø 1:131]					
5	2:203, v.23 (Turks) [1:151]					

6	2:205, v.56 (Karsivaz: possibly FIG) [Ø 1:152]	
7		3:140, v.563 + (Tūs and Giv's army) [Ø 1:217]
8		3:175, v.1158 + + (Kāmūs' army) [Ø 1:223]
9		3:176, v.1176 + (Rustam's army) [Ø 1:223]
10	3:189, v.1379 (Khāqān of Chīn) [ø 1:225]	
11	3:219, v.1866 (Pirān: possibly FIG) [Ø 1:228]	
12		3:242, v.2253 ++ (Kāmūs' army) [Ø 1:230]

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

No.	TURKS			IRANIAN		OTHER
	<i>khargāh</i> as standard dwelling of the Turks	<i>khargāh</i> of a king or great courtier	<i>khargāh</i> used during military operations	<i>khargāh</i> of a king or great courtier	<i>khargāh</i> used during military operations	<i>khargāh</i> of a non-Iranian and non-Turkish king or army
13	4:139, v.2150 (Tūrānians of the army of the late Pirān) [Ø 1:265]					
14			4:184, v.212 ++ (Afrāsiyāb's army) [Ø 1:276]			
15			4:236, v.1027 + (Afrāsiyāb's army) [1:281]			
16				4:348, v.2776 +++ (Kay-Khusraw and his <i>pahlavāns</i>) [ø 1:302]		
17				4:352, v.2843 +++ (Kay-Khusraw) [ø 1:303]		

18	5:112, v.373 < Daqīqī (Arjāsp) [Ø 1:329]		
19		5:230, v.122 ++ (Isfandyār) [Ø 1:344]	
20		5:500, v.158 ++ (Dārāb) [1:376]	
21		5:501, v.180 (Rashnavad/ Dārāb) [1:377]	
22			6:319, v.368 + (Qaysar) [Ø 2:68]
23		6: 512, v.1289 ++ (Bahrām Gūr) [Ø 2:90]	
24 and 24bis		6: 514, v.1325-6 ++ (Bahrām Gūr) [Ø 2:90]	
25			7:130, v.564 + (camp of Nūshīravān) [Ø 2:163]

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

No.	TURKS			IRANIAN		OTHER
	<i>khargāb</i> as standard dwelling of the Turks	<i>khargāb</i> of a king or great courtier	<i>khargāb</i> used during military operations	<i>khargāb</i> of a king or great courtier	<i>khargāb</i> used during military operations	<i>khargāb</i> of a non-Iranian and non-Turkish king or army
26			7:524, v.715 + (Sāvah) [Ø 2:183]			
27		7:556, v. 1095 (Parmūdah) [ø 2:183]				
28				7:566, v.1214 (Bahrām Čübīn for Parmūdah) [2:188]		
29						8:122, v.1604 + + (Mūshīl the Armenian) [2:212]
30					8:150, v.1962 (camp of Bahrām Chübīn) [Ø 2:218]	

31		8:173, v.2267 (Mighātūrah) [ø 2:223]				
32		8:175, v.2283 (Mighātūrah) [2:223]				
33					8:262, v.3420 +++ (camp of Khusraw Parvīz) [Ø 2:236]	
Total	6	6	6	9	5	2

Notes

1. These figures would have to be revised slightly downwards if Khāliqī-Mutlaq's edition was used, but the ratio between the terms would probably remain unchanged.
2. See Clinton, "Ferdowsi," 59–66 ("Ferdowsi's Style and the Visual") referring to Shāfi'i-Kadkani's analysis.
3. See nos. 15 and 16 (*khiyam* translating *khargāh va khaymah*); no. 19 (*khiyam*, translating *khargāh va sarāpardah*); no. 29 (*mukhayyam* translating *khargāh, khaymah* and *sarāpardah*). Hereafter "no." refers the items listed in Table 2.
4. *Khargāh* becoming *kharkāh* in nos. 5, 20, 21, 28, 32; *mawdu'* in no. 27.
5. See Levy, *Epic*, 81 corresponding to no. 6; *ibid.*, 227 (no. 21). When *khargāh* and *sarāpardah* appear together, Levy translates the former by tents and reserves pavilion for the latter, which is incorrect as well, e.g. *ibid.*, 379 (no. 33). For the definition of a pavilion, see Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 1:629.
6. E.g. in one verse describing the limits of Tūrān (no. 2: *zi khargāh tā māvarā an-nabr bar*), Davis, *Shahnameh*, 1:193, translates *khargāh* by "Tur's imperial tents," which is justified neither by the previous occurrences of the term, nor by the meaning of this particular verse (see below). Elsewhere, Davis translates "*nah khargāh nah sarāpardah*" by "no palace hall or women's quarters" (Davis, 3:21 = no. 20). See also Davis, *Shahnameh*, 1:180 ("Turk's tents") for no. 1; 3:373 ("pavilion") for no. 26; 3:22 ("place") for no. 21; 3:388 ("castle") for no. 27; and 3:392 ("tent") for no. 28.
7. Wolff, *Glossar*, 318.
8. Khāliqī-Mutlaq, "Bār va ā'in," 9: 384, 9: 567. Atābaki, *Vāzhab-nāmah*, 91. Ravāqī, *Farhang*, 1: 888. Ravāqī, followed by van Zutphen, "Faramarz's Expedition," 61 note 23, goes even further by inferring a difference of sense between *khargāh* and *khargah* (*khargāh: sarāpardah; khargah: sarāpardah, khaymah*), without elaborating.
9. Kazzāzī, *Nāmah-yi bāstān*, 2: 273–4.
10. Darrī, "Khaymah," 56.
11. The metaphor *khargāh-i āsimāni* is based instead on the fact that both the *khargāh* and the sky have a domed shape. Darrī makes the other usual mistake of considering *sarāpardah* as a tent.
12. Van Zutphen, "Faramarz's Expedition," 62–3. Cf. Zanjāni, *Farhang*, 410.
13. Framed tents (probably of the trellis type) appear in twelve illustrations of Tahmasp's *Shāh-nāmah* (the trellis can be deduced from the shape in most of the cases, but it is visible on four of them: 38v, 45v, 48v, 259v). Trellis tents can be seen at the court of Zāhhāk (31v), Farīdūn (38v, 45v, 46v), Tūr (47v, 48v), Sām (79v), Zāl (81v), Siyāvash (175v), Tūs (259v) and Kay-Khusraw (352, 339r), but not in the latter reigns, while in the *Shāh-nāmah* there is no mention of the *khargāh*/trellis tent before Kay-Khusraw (see below). Canby, *Shahnama*, 21–60, does not deal with tents in her long introduction to "the material world of Shah Tahmasp." On the relationship of text and image in illustrated manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāmah*, see Clinton, "Ferdowsi."
14. See Durand-Guédy, "*Khargāh*." I am aware that this differentiated way of dealing with epic poetry is not deemed necessary by all scholars. For example, while considering the history of pre-Islamic Iran, Khāliqī-Mutlaq sees no problem in combining data from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah* with data from chroniclers such as al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*. See Khāliqī-Mutlaq, "Bār va ā'in," and "Bār."
15. The most thorough description of the trellis tent can be read in Andrews, *Nomad Tent Types*, 1: 25–35.
16. All the translations of the *Shāh-nāmah* are mine. They are devoid of literary pretense and only aim to give a rendering of Firdawsī's text as literal as possible. The number between brackets at the beginning of the translation references Table 2 in which full bibliographical data is given.
17. In the *Shāh-nāmah*, Chīn is part of Tūrān and the Khāqān of Chīn is one of Afrāsiyāb's allies in the struggle pitching Iran against Tūrān. Kazzāzī, *Nāmah-yi bāstān*, 2/372–3, deduces from this verse that the unknown toponyms Rūdābad and Shīr must be in Transoxiana. Recently Charmagī-Umrānī, "Barrisī," has proposed to locate Rūdābad (*recte* Zūrābad) near modern Turbat-i Jām and Shīr near Sarakhs.

18. Al-Balādhūrī, *Futūb*, 222 (Berbers) and 393 (Bedouins). ‘*Amūd* is the pole tent; *kbibā*’ is Arabic term often used at the ‘Abbasid period to refer to the tents of the Bedouins, see Durand-Guédy, “*Khargāh*,” 67.
19. See Digard, *Techniques*, 211.
20. We can also mention the ethnonym “Tiele”, which refers in Chinese sources to a union of tribes dominated by the Turkic Uyghurs. The reasonable reconstruction from Middle Chinese is *Tāgrāg*, which is very close to Old-Middle Turkic *tāgrāk*, literally “the rim of anything; ring; circle”, and perhaps a *pars pro toto* for “wagon” cf. Mongol *tergen* “wagon”. According to Kljastornyj, the term was an exonym in the Proto-Mongolic language of the Tuoba Wei, that they used for the peoples who termed themselves Oğuz. Otherwise said, the Oğuz were called “the people of the wagons”. See Golden, “Ethnogenic Tales,” 302, note 57. Similarly, but self-referentially, the Iroquois of Northern America called themselves “the people of the longhouse” (Iroq.: *haudenosaunee*), see Bromberger, “Habitation,” 320.
21. In the first hemistich *turk* could refer to an individual. Mohl (2:196: “un Turc”) has chosen to read it this way. Khāliqī-Mutlaq, *Yāddāsh-t-hā*, 9: 564, interprets it instead as a singular standing for a collective (“the Turks”), which is also al-Bundārī’s understanding (*wa qad kāna dbalika l-makān qarīban min manāzil al-turk wa kbarkābātihim*).
22. Khāliqī-Mutlaq, *Yāddāsh-t-hā*, 9: 490, considers that *khargāh* should here be understood as a metaphor referring to Turkish territory (*sarzamīn-i Turkān*). The literal reading (i.e. *khargāh* being a tent) is, however, perfectly justifiable.
23. Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 106–204; Durand-Guédy, “Khargāh,” 64–7 and “Note.” Khāliqī-Mutlaq, *Yāddāsh-t-hā*, 9: 490, states that the Turko-Mongolian term *yurt* means *khargāh*. In fact, *yurt* means territory, campsite, homeland or land of residence; by extension, it could refer to a home/house, but it never means a specific kind of tent. (It is for this reason that Andrews later coined the term “trellis tent” as a substitute for yurt, see Andrews, “White House,” 93–4 and note 4; Andrews, *Felt Tents*, 1: 127–8 and “Yurtči”).
24. See Durand-Guédy, “Note.” The Pahlavi word for tent was *mašk-abarzēn* > Dari: *maškūy* (I thank Malihe Karbassian for this reference and also for checking the Persian script in this article), cf. Syriac *msbkn*, Hebrew *mishkan*.
25. See Andrews, *Nomad Tent Types*, 2: Fig. 19 (a white trellis tent, *aq öy*, for a newly married couple next to an older and blackened one, hence *qara öy*). The photo was taken by Pierre Centlivres in the Afghan province of Samangān, which is precisely described in the *Shāh-nāmāh*, 2: 119–20, as a frontier region between Tūrān and Iran.
26. Al-Bundārī merely states that the lands stretching from Rūdābād and Shīr up to the limits of Chīn and Khutan will pass to Afrāsiyāb and the Tūrānians, while “the other side” (*min hadhā l-jānib*) will fall to Zaw and the Iranians.
27. For *miyānji*, instead of the idea of “being in the middle,” as proposed by Khāliqī-Mutlaq (*Yāddāsh-t-hā*, 9: 384: *dar miyānah, vāsītab*), “limit” might be more appropriate. It is moreover confirmed by al-Bundārī’s understanding: “Jayhūn was the dividing line (*hājiz*) between our two kingdoms.”
28. Horn, “Šāhnāme.”
29. Al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, 2: 398, copied in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, 2:424, line 3, *recte* Kharghānkāth, cf. Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, 99–100 and Chavannes, *Documents*, 137, quoted by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 98. See also de la Vaissière, *Samarcande*, 24.
30. Wolff lists four occurrences for this sub-entry (corresponding to our nos. 1, 2, 6, 18), but none of them fits the thesis of *khargāh* being a proper name. I discuss here no. 2 and no. 18 (no. 1 and 6 are obviously irrelevant).
31. Kowalski (“Les Turcs,” 95) and Kazzāzi (*Nāmāh-yi bāstān*, 2: 274) understand it this way without dwelling on previous erroneous readings. Van Zutphen, “Faramarz’s Expedition,” 62, notes the weakness of Horn’s reading but does not consider the possibility of a metonymical use.
32. *Hudūd*, 26–7.
33. *Ibid.*, 62.
34. Ibn Hawqal, *Surat*, 511, line 10.

35. al-'Utbi, *al-Yamīnī*, 385.
36. Our analysis is in line with Kowalski, "Les Turcs," 95, who did not consider *khargāh* as a geographical noun in the expression *shāh-i khargāh* (otherwise he would have mentioned it after his note on *Arjāsp shāh-i Chigil*). We can remark that although Arjāsp is introduced as the king of tent dwellers, one of his strongest military assets is the fortress of Rū'indizh, where he locks himself to escape Isfandi-yār. This combination of nomadic way of life and reliance on military strongholds fit many Turkic polities.
37. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 3: 441.
38. *Ibid.*
39. The country or tribe known as Khargāh mentioned by Abū Dulaf has a number of possible origins. First, the expression *ahl al-kharkāh* (Ps. *ahl-i khargāh*), which referred to the territory inhabited by Turk pastoral nomads within, or neighboring, the Samanid state (see above). Second, the toponym Kāshghar, the capital city of the nomadic Qārākhanids whose territory bordered that of the Samanids to the north (this is the assumption made by von Rohr-Sauer, *Abū Dulaf Bericht*, 18–20, followed by Minorsky, *Abu-Dulaf*, 14). Third, the Yaghmā kingdom referred as Ordu-kand (this is Marquart's assumption, followed by Minorsky, *Hudud al-'Ālam*, 280). Fourth, the toponym Kharghānkāth in Sogdiana, between Samarqand and Bukhara. Kharghānkāth is close to the winter pasture of Nūr-i Bukhārā used by Oghuzz pastoral nomads, but it could be crossed in a couple of days at most, not one month as Abū Dulaf says. Abū Dulaf's statement probably derives from a misunderstanding or gross exaggeration of one or more of these propositions. This is just one of the many inaccuracies in his *Risāla*, but it went unnoticed since the text, supposes Minorsky, *Abu-Dulaf*, 25, was compiled for "patrons living in one of the Persian provinces, or even in Mesopotamia, where there was no danger of being contradicted on the geography of Central Asia."
40. Minorsky, *Hudud al-'Ālam*, 281.
41. Significantly, van Zutphen uses the term *khargāh* as a marker to assess and date the extrapolations and interpolations between Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmāh* and the longer *Farāmarz-nāmāh*.
42. See Tamīm b. Baḥr's *risāla* quoted by Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 638. See also Minorsky, "Tamīm ibn Baḥr's Journey," 284.
43. See al-Istakhrī, *Masālik*, 220 and 225.
44. See Ibn Fadlān, *Risāla*, 28. Durand-Guédy, "Khargāh," 64.
45. But sometimes the context alone is not enough to decide between the literal and figurative meaning of the term *khargāh*. When the Turk Parmūdāh resolves to leave Iran, he asks Bahrām Chūbīn to let him go back to his *khargāh* so that he can write a letter of submission to the Iranian king Hurmuzd (no. 27). *Khargāh* could refer to the tent or the territory (al-Bundārī seems to have understood the later since he translated it by *mawḍū' : sa' alahu an yaqsura 'anhu wa yanṣarifa 'alā annahu idhā waṣala ilā mawḍū'ibi kataba ilā l-malik*).
46. In a verse quoted in Mohl's edition (2: 464, verse 388) but missing in Khāliqī-Mutlaq's, Pīrān provides Kay-Khusraw with *khargāh* and *khaymah* upon his arrival in his retreat near the Sea of Chīn.
47. See Firdawsī, 2: 368–9 (seven years in the Qulā Mountain), 2: 410, verse 405 (Iranian occupation of Tūrān: six years) and 2: 421, verse 40 (Gīv's quest: seven years).
48. On the early occurrences of trellis tent in pre-Islamic Iran, see Durand-Guédy, "Note," 132–5.
49. Writing of the Byzantine army sent to conquer Aleppo in 351/962, Miskawayh (Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, 2: 193, trans. 5: 210) speaks of *khargāhs* covered with *maghribī* felt (*kharkāhāt 'alaihā lubūd maghribīya*).
50. We give here Khāliqī-Mutlaq's reading, but the variant "*bi-nazdik-i khargāh va sarāpardah ...*" (note 19) would be more appropriate to distinguish the royal tents (*khargāh* and *sarāpardah*) from other elements of the royal camp (cf. Mohl's edition and translation, 5: 658–9: "Autour de l'enceinte des tentes du roi étaient les tentes, les écuries et les chevaux").
51. E.g. al-Bundārī, *al-Shāhnāmāh*, 1: 302 (= no. 16 in Table 2) where "*sarāpardah*" is translated by "*surādiq*" and "*khargāh va khaymah*" by "*khaymah*." On the equivalence between *sarāpardah* and *surādiq*, see Durand-Guédy, "Tents," 160–2.
52. Wolff, *Glossar*, 515. Cf. also Khāliqī-Mutlaq, *Yāddāsht-hā*, 9: 160 (*dīvār-i pardah-ī*).

53. Firdawsī, 1: 134, verses 715–17, corresponding to 1: 176, verse 744 in Mohl's edition referenced by Wolff.
54. See Firdawsī, 2: 159, verse 509 (Kay-Kāvūs' *sarāpardah*), verse 515 (Tūs'), verse 519 (Gūdarz's); 2: 160, verses 523 and 162, verse 551 (Rustam's); 2: 161, verse 538 (Gīv's); 2: 162, verse 548 (Fariburz). In this passage Davis, *Shahnameh*, 1: 258, rightly translates *sarāpardah* by "multicolored pavilion walls enclosing [tents of leopardskin]" but in the following lines he merely speaks of red and white pavilions, which is an interpolation.
55. The repetitive joint use of *khargāh* and *sarāpardah* has led Khāliqī-Mutlaq (*Yāddāsht-hā*, 9: 160) to think they are equivalent. But unlike what he surmises, it is only true as much as they indicate a place of power, not as far as their structure is concerned.
56. In this verse, the singular could stand for a collective. Al-Bundārī translated this verse but dropped *aywān* and *khargāb*: *wa-wahaba surādiqabu wa khaimatahu wa dawwābahu al-marbūta 'indahu li-Fariburz b. Kay-Kāvūs*.
57. In addition to the terms *khaymah* and *khargāh* kept in the translation, al-Bundārī adds the term *fāza*: *fa-awā kullu minhim ilā khaymatin aw fāzat^m aw kharkāb^m ghayr Dārāb. Fāza* is defined in the dictionary as "a sun-shade of fabric (*mizalla min nasīj*) or something else, stretched over a pole or two" (<http://www.almaany.com>), which fits well an awning or a *sarāpardah*.
58. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, 59, line 20 and *ibid.* 61, lines 9–10. See Durand-Guedy, "Tents," 161–2.
59. See Durand-Guedy, "Khargāh," 71–7 with numerous other cases discussed.
60. Firdawsī, ed. Khāliqī-Mutlaq, 7 : 128, v. 532.
61. Al-Bundārī translates as follows: "O king! Receive Mūsīl, the lord of Armenia, for since the king has left the land of Iran, he has not left his camp in the wilderness (*lam yabrah fi 'asākirihi mukhayyaman 'alā l-sahrā*) and has remained waiting for the arrival of the royal equipage."
62. Of course, although Firdawsī's text does not show it, there are fundamental differences in the social structure between Altaic and Indo-European courts, one of them being the rules of inheritance.
63. E.g. Firdawsī, 4: 7, verse 56: "He who mixes together water and fire, does violence to one and to the other."
64. Kowalski, "Les Turcs," 90, trans. 126.

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