

Persian Literary Studies Journal (PLSJ)

Vol. 5, No. 7-8, 2016

ISSN: 2322-2557

pp. 37-53

Epic Heroes in *Ossian* by Macpherson and *Shahnameh* by Ferdousi

Mohsen Hanif

Assistant Professor
Kharazmi University
mhanif@khu.ac.ir

Tahereh Rezaei*

Assistant Professor
Allameh Tabataba'i University
t.rezaei@ut.ac.ir

Abstract

Nationalist sentiments characterize the Scottish James Macpherson's Ossianic tales and the Persian Abul-Ghasim Ferdousi's *Shahnameh*. Macpherson is remembered for his role in the nationalist Gaelic revival against the cultural dominance of Great Britain and Ferdousi is credited for enlivening Persian language and culture at the time of Arab dominance. However, Macpherson's dual position, both as a member of the aristocracy that seeks alliance with Great Britain and also as an individual with nationalistic sentiments, informs his work. On the one hand, his work quenches the thirst of common people for a national narrative and helps revive the Gaelic tradition. On the other, it abounds with the ideology of the Scottish metropolis, which seeks alliance with Great Britain and endeavors to keep at bay the threats of mounting nationalism in Scotland. Thus his work suffers a dilemma, while Ferdousi's work is thoroughly given to nationalistic sentiments. In this article we intend to focus on the way heroes are portrayed in their relations with the Royal classes in the two works, to show the traces of two ideologically loaded concepts, namely nation and nation-state, in the formation of both works. The paper thus carries a typological comparative study of the heroes and concludes that Macpherson's work is the product of nation-states and therefore legitimization of the status quo is an undistinguishable aspect of it. Ferdousi, on the other hand, shows consistency in his nationalistic feelings as depicted in his Pahlavans due to the fact that he lives in a time when nation is defined purely in ethnic and racial terms, allowing him to distance himself from the perspective of the status quo.

Received: 03/07/2017

Accepted: 05/29/2017

* Corresponding Author

Keywords: Firdausi's *Shahnameh*, Macpherson's Ossianic tales, nation-state, nationalism, typology

Britain has a problem: its ancestors are not its founders. Not only are its citizens from varied races, but its social foundations are foreign; its (alleged) ancestors were Celtic, but its religion was Semitic, much of its law Roman or Anglo-Saxon, its literature based on Greek and Roman authors, its very language a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and French. An epic hero, therefore, must either be an ancestor championing values that have become barbarian and pagan, or a hero tinged with the foreign, championing the Christian civilized values that are not ancestral. (Hodges 63)

Introduction

Although they belong to two different sociohistorical conditions, the Ossianic tales and *Shahnameh* are both remembered today in large part for their celebration of nationalist sentiments. Nation is a relatively modern phenomenon invented by Europeans as a result of Western democracy, industrial capitalism, and technological developments (Grosby 57); phenomena that many other scholars collectively name the emergence of the industrial age and hold responsible for the emergence of the concept of nation. This invention of the industrial world helped foster what Benedict Anderson calls "imagined communities" in a work of the same title. Imagined communities thrive on the assumption that their members form an enclosed entity associated to one another by shared customs, traditions, historical background, language and racial attributes. Alongside racism, the sense of superiority that the bourgeois and the royal class create round themselves, social inequality also exists, which is suppressed by advertising the populist face of nationalism. As Tom Niran argues, "in its most typical version, nationalism assumed the shape of a restless middle class and intellectual leadership trying to set up and channel popular class energies" (30). However,

the “historical expression of the nation,” in Grosby’s terms, is different, and time as well as geographical position influences its definition and the outlook on it. Therefore, the emergence of this concept and its preservation over time is not a historically homogeneous process: it does not have a single set of causes, such as the rise of industrial capitalism, and is not restricted to one historical period (58). Accordingly, each nation, including Scotland and Iran, should look into the definition and historical development of their community based on their local background to see how nation and nationhood have been redefined throughout their histories.

Some argue that national identity has a long history in Iran before its inception in Europe. Mohammad Ali Akbari explains that Iranian identity developed during the Sassanid Empire (226–651 AD) and the foundations of the succeeding identity are laid in this period (1). In this argument, Max Weber’s definition of nations is in view, where a nation is affiliated to an ethnic community “unified by a common myth of decent” (quoted in Hutchinson 15). When Arabs invaded Iran in the 7th and 8th centuries,¹ and Islam exerted its dominance, pre-Islamic Iranian identity lost its foothold. It was between the 9th and 11th centuries that fresh steps were taken, mainly in literature, to reconstruct a national identity in interaction with Islam. A great example of such works is *Shahnameh* by Abulghasem Ferdousi. Reza Sha’bani observes that the roots of Iranian identity can be traced back to the ancient pre-Islamic mythology of Iran and the reign of Kiyumarth as reflected in *Shahnameh* (23–4). Hence, there seems to be a close connection between the rise of nationalistic sentiments on the one hand, and the fascination with mythology, on the other; a bond which stimulates the regeneration of collective communities. As Hutcheon explains about the function of myth in a national setting and epic poets as myth narrators, “a most significant effect of the myth recital is to arouse an intense awareness among the group members of their ‘common fate’” (145). The literary consequence of such fascination with mythology was predominately reflected in Ferdousi’s masterpiece as an attempt to arouse national sentiments and in this way to resuscitate Persian language and culture. As he notes in his often-quoted verse:

بسی رنج بردم در این سال سی / عجم زنده کردم بدین پارسی

[For thirty years exceeding toil I bore/And made the Persians live in Persian lore]
(Ferdausi 43).

The greatest Persian epic poet, Abulghasem Ferdausi, emerged in the tumultuous late 9th and early 10th centuries in the lands under the rule of the Qaznavids. This was a time of religious controversy due to the dominance of the Sunni Qaznavids over a great part of Iran whose inhabitants were mostly Shiite Muslims. Ferdausi embarked on composing his masterpiece at the age of thirty-five and he accomplished his magnum opus forty years later. Unlike what the meaning of its title—*The Book of Kings*—may imply, *Shahnameh* takes a strong stance against the ruling power in general and insidiously censures the Qaznavid Turks in particular.

The book roughly speaks about three general periods; mythological, Pahlavani (related to Pahlavans or heroes), and historical. However, tales related to the Pahlavani period have played the most important role in preserving the name of *Shahnameh* in world's literary canon. Ghadamali Sorrami agrees that most importantly the representation of Pahlavans and their valor has made *Shahnameh* enchanting to its audience (835). The Pahlavani era commences with the death of Iraj at the hands of his brothers and the beginning of animosity between the three lands Iran, Turan and Salm. And it finishes when Rostam, the most renowned Pahlavan in *Shahnameh*, is killed at the hands of his half-brother Shoghad.

Similarly, Macpherson's Ossianic tales composed in the late 18th century allegedly recuperate Celtic culture in face of rising English Imperial conquests, which dwarfed Irish, Welsh and Scottish languages and cultures. The relation between the three states of Ireland, Scotland and England has always been problematic even before the ascension of James I of Britain, who united Scotland and England in 1707 and formed the Kingdom of Great Britain.

The Ossianic tales share a considerable common ground with Ferdousi's *Shahnameh* which allow a typological comparative study to be undertaken. They are both epics which seemingly have their roots in their national cultures. They both deal with the time before Christianity or Islam began to dominate these lands. Although the narrator in Ossianic tales refers to some of the missionaries, the overriding creed in this work is paganism. In Iran, also, Zoroastrianism was the religion of the country before the rise of Islam. Both of these works tend to show the preeminence of form over the content: In *Shahnameh*, the audience is almost familiar with the tales but what persuades us to carry on reading the poems is Ferdousi's dexterity in giving suitable form to them. Comparably, in the Ossianic tales, each chapter is preceded by a short note on what the audience should expect to happen in it. To elucidate this point further, Walter Scott, a fierce opponent of Macpherson's Ossianic tales, acknowledges that Macpherson,

Produced, in the eighteenth century, a bard, capable not only of making an enthusiastic impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe. (McNeil 28)

Firdausi refers to three territories of Iran, Salm and Turan; a triangle which is repeated in Ossian, too. Further, Macpherson talks about the relations and clashes that the three states of England, Ireland and Scotland had. Firdausi also presents the three in their problematic relations, yet he proudly asserts the superiority of Iran over Salm and Turan. This confirms that an ethnic racial conception of nation lies at the heart of *Shahnameh*, which was created as a one-man reaction to the marginalization of Persian language to Arabic and Turkish in Iran; a man who did not share the ideology of the state. On the other hand, Macpherson has been considered by many, such as J. G. Herder² who lauded the value of his achievements against accusations of dis-ingenuity, or William Stukeley who defended Macpherson as an agent in the revival of Celticism, as a patriot who fought for the revival of the Gaelic culture. However, the writers of this article, alongside the critics of Macpherson, such as William Wordsworth³, who believed this work

dangerous for its fake sincerity, intend to question this widely held idea about Macpherson through contrasting the heroes of the two works and trying to show how Macpherson has imbued his work with ideological considerations, which is a sign of living at a time when nation-states were evolving.

In this article we argue that Macpherson's work, the "translation" of the Ossianic tales, covertly consolidates the Act of Union with England, passed in 1706,⁴ and paves the ground for the Act of Union with Ireland in 1800. Ossian portrays a past in which Scotland and Ireland had close ties. His tales helped lay the foundation for the concession reached a few years later. It was a reminder of old affinities between the kingdoms. Thus, it is not far off the mark to consider Ossian a British epic, written in the heat of nationalism. That is, instead of aggrandizing Celtic culture, it cleverly attempts to secure British monarchy, the Union and the status quo as demanded by the English ruling power. Hence, negotiating Macpherson's identity as "both cultural nationalist and cultural quisling" (Gaskill 38). In the Ossianic tales, although the Britons stay in the margins of the narrative, their superiority over the Irish and Scots remains incontestable. This sense of supremacy has its roots in the conflictive history of England and Scotland. Stafford also agrees that Ossian describes the establishment of the Great Britain as a re-Union (rather than a Union) although for many it was a new development (47), thence mythologizing a friendly past which did not exist. As a result, Macpherson's Ossianic tales could be interpreted as conducive to strengthening the foundations of the British imperial rule over Ireland and Scotland.

In what follows, the arguments round Macpherson's Ossianic tales are explored as background knowledge to the exploration of the image of heroes in the two eponymous works.

Discussion

Recent scholarship on English imperialism shows that it was started from within the British isles in the 12th century (Hechter; Gillinham⁵). Accordingly, the ruling class and the aristocrats in all the states of the United Kingdom had almost similar worlds, and, as David Armitage astutely points out, "they might have multiple identities as they have multiple titles [...] they resided at

a court at which the nobility of three kingdoms mingled; [and] their landownership, marriages and entrepreneurial strategies were archipelagic” (27). These relations led the kingdoms to form a “British identity” in the eighteenth century, which only later was recognized as “imagined” in Anderson’s oeuvre. When Scotland and Ireland were incorporated into a British identity their local identities were further marginalized from within. Macpherson was from among the aristocrats who communed in the regal courts and who had assumed multiple identities. He worked for the British Government and, in *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America*, wrote against American independence in favor of British monarchy in America.⁶

His other work, the Ossianic tales are now unanimously considered to be a forged collection of tales written originally by Macpherson in the 1760s. This collection comprises three parts written and published separately; namely *Fragments*, *Fingal* and *Timora*. Although they were well received by the public, their status was rather ambivalent among the literati. Samuel Johnson, for instance, slandered the poet and his poem for its allegedly unpolished language, its improbable stories and its downright forgery. To Boswell he said, “I look upon Macpherson’s *Fingal* to be as gross an imposition as ever the world was troubled with. Had it been really an ancient work a true specimen how men thought at that time, it would have been a curiosity of the first rate. As a modern production, it is nothing” (Boswell 245). The collection, however, was the precursor of English Romanticism (Gaskill 36). Ironically, several English Romantic poets praised the tales except William Wordsworth, the forerunner of the Movement, who, being dubious about the poetic quality of the poems, disparaged the tales. Moreover, the narrative these manuscripts offer as the history of the United Kingdom is, according to Wordsworth, allegedly wrong or at least doubted (Porter 412). Macpherson, whose tales in his collection are supposedly written by the blind prophet Ossian, implies that the Irish are originally Scots who were the native inhabitants of North Britain. Whatever the history of its reception, the Ossianic tales written in time of obsession over national identity have been read as an attempt made by a sincere patriot who sought to establish an

autonomous identity for its nation by recovering the ancient folktales of his land. Yet being located at the historical juncture which gave birth to the ideas of nation-states, his work seems to partake of this newly founded discourse to legitimize power structures by drawing on a cultural and ethnic tradition.

The suspicion about Macpherson's innermost intentions in fabricating the tales is more vividly noticed when the Ossianic tales are compared with poems by Robert Burns who ventured to revive the Celtic culture. While Burns wrote in his local dialect, Macpherson opted for English, the language of the imperialist. Tim Fulford argues that:

Burns's poetry is the real thing: the work of a great writer making new an ancient tradition in which he is learned. It is rural; it is Scots. But Burns is no Ossianic primitive bard. Ossian offered a tame ideal in pompous words. Burns offers an achieved art, a lyrical presentation of nature both simple and profound, a version of Scotland which constantly challenges assumptions about land, loyalty, and love. (128)

Stafford, too, states that, unlike Ossian, Burns was self-styled and spoke with others in the "real language of rural Scotland." His tales are democratic and truthfully mirror the language of his land. The Ossianic tales, Stafford continues, attracted the English literati partly because Macpherson relied on an English translation instead of using his land's language which corroborated with the standards of the Metropolis (55).

Besides ignoring the local language, Macpherson has also silenced Scottish tribes, which are part of this nation's identity. Hugh Blair in his extended critical analysis of Macpherson's Ossian notes that three major clans then residing in Scotland are totally silent in the Ossianic tales. Interestingly, Blair wrote his analysis of Macpherson's works when there was very little or no suspicion about the authenticity of the tales, thus he justified the absence of these clans, innocently, as a "demonstration that the author [Ossian] lived before any of the present great clans were formed or known" (Macpherson 57-8). Nonetheless, contemporary certainty about the authorship of the tales and Macpherson's gesticulations about its Celtic origins explain the absence of these three clans.

Macpherson further downgrades the Celtic culture and language by representing its people as noble savages. He implies the superiority of the English people over the Gaelic in the 1765 edition of his tales. Macpherson remarks,

It was the locality of their [the Ossianic tales'] description and sentiment that, probably, has kept them in the obscurity of an almost lost language. The ideas of an unpolished period are so contrary to the present advanced state of society, that more than a common mediocrity of taste is required to relish them as they deserve. [...] (42)

Therefore, Macpherson clearly states that the popularity of his tales is indebted to English as a modern language that helps relocate them from the “unpolished period” into “the present advanced society.” In the 1773 edition, Macpherson regards English to be crucial in disseminating the work throughout Europe. However, Yadav reminds us that it was the French which then played the central role in the dissemination of not only *Ossian* but the rest of literary works in Europe. This, for Yadav, is indicative of the “anxiety about metropolitan status” which subsequently reflects itself in celebrating the role of English language (40). This paradoxical outlook on behalf of Macpherson is symptomatic of his ideological orientations and his conservatism.

Heroes in *Ossianic Tales* and *Shahnameh*

The conservatisms with regard to the ruling system can be analyzed in light of the portrayal of heroes in the Ossianic tales. Contrasting the heroes in Macpherson’s work and the Pahlavans in *Shahnameh* provides an opportunity to investigate a type of character that seems to undergo modifications depending on the national cultural discourse that presides over that society. The two terms acquire different definitions which are derived from typologizing the actions of characters in *Ossianic Tales* and *Shahnameh*. As a result, exploring what the two terms signify helps us in understanding the behavior of heroes and Pahlavans in the two works.

Heroes live in the imagination of a nation and are remembered when people feel the need for an extraordinary power to rescue and salvage their community. A hero is, in turn, a figure who respects his society and tries to meet communal expectations. However, his identity depends more on the quests he makes than his moral responsibility to a community. Lee Edwards explains the unique aspects of a hero's life as follows: Heroes have,

parents who are absent or, if present, hostile; strained or combative relations between the heroic figure and the parents or their surrogates; a sense of specialness, of uniqueness, and also often of isolation developing within the hero in response to these particular circumstances of birth and early life; the undertaking of a journey – literal or symbolic or both – as an attempt by the hero to create a distance between his self and the opposing society or a set of conflicts and to develop his self in isolation from the society; the endurance of trials and tests of both physical and psychological strength, including, typically, an encounter with death itself; a return from this journey, marked, if the hero is successful, by a capacity to harmonize the reborn and fully developed self with an altered social order or, if the quest has failed, by a concomitant failure to affect changes in one or both of these terms [...] Existing within these controlling matrices, the hero is defined by them rather than by any of the more obvious qualities of authority such as sex, class, economic position, physical strength, or military prowess that we more usually count as such definers. (34–5)

Therefore, structurally speaking, a hero's treatment of his society depends on his success in accomplishing rites of heroism. If he is successful he tries to adapt himself with the norms of the society but when he fails he does not attempt at reconciling his ideals with the social norms. Hence, moral responsibility seems to have not a firm place in the world of a hero. Often heroes are defined with their detachment from a land. Moral considerations wither away from the way a hero is conceived.

Pahlavan, on the other hand, in Persian literature refers to a person who is valorous, powerful and morally decent. Although the word has close

affinities with the concept of hero and cavalier in British culture, its application in *Shahnameh* has a unique resonance. Pahlavans in *Shahnameh* do not become but are born Pahlavans. They seem to assure the continuity of the heroic lineage in their next generation. They not only have strong physique and high intellect but enjoy a distinguished status in the society. When they feel danger, people find shelter with Pahlavans and rebuke them when they do something ethically wrong. Pahlavans, all in all, form a stratum in the society which is above the ordinary people but is at the same time free from the bonds of the court. They will do what they think is right. Although they remain independent in their lives they serve the interests of both people and royalties of their nation when they treat people justly.

Pahlavans never succeed to the throne in *Shahnameh*. First of all, the requirement for being a king, it was believed, was *Farr-e-Izadi*, a heavenly gift and a spiritual quality that presumably brought divine glory and grandeur to the person who received it (Yahaghi 608). Second, even when Pahlavans have the opportunity to usurp the throne, they either avoid it on ethical grounds or their attempts fail. Sam, Rustam's grandfather, had both the power and the consensus of people to ascend to the throne but he refused because he believed that a rightful king should have *Farr-e-Izadi*. And the only characters that dream of ruling, like Sohrab, a fifteen-year-old teenager, and Isfandiar, are killed tragically. Also, Isfandiar, both a prince and a Pahlavan, desires to succeed his father as soon as possible but his greed draws him to his death in Zabulestan.

Among all the figures in *Shahnameh*, only Isfandiar is both a prince and a Pahlavan; two attributes which are not found together in anyone else, and which make him an ambivalent character. It is, however, his princship that leads him to his death. His father Goshtasb, the king of Iran, jealous of his son's rising authority, deceptively promises to submit the throne to him if he brings Rustam hand-folded to his court, but Goshtasb rightly knows that Rustam will not give in, and in this conflict at least one of the major threats to Goshtasb's rule will die. In the story of "Rustam and Isfandiar," that resonates with anti-autocratic and anti-aristocratic overtones, Firdausi shows the confrontation of a Pahlavan, who represents free-will and the liberty of

spirit, and Isfandiar who stands for official religion and the ruling power. Firdausi in this story shrewdly distinguishes between the kings and warriors, who represent opposing and autonomous wills. Goshtasb, the king of Persia and Isfandiar's father, dispatches an army under the command of his son to literally fasten Rustam's hands for not being submissive enough to the king and to bring him to his court. Interestingly enough, Isfandiar, whose body, except for his eyes, is invulnerable, is known as the most ardent religious proselytizer, chosen by God to convert people to Zoroastrianism—then the newly acknowledged religion in Persia. Isfandiar who represents the ruling power and the dominant ideology challenges the rebellious figure Rustam, who will not kneel down before the king. Isfandiar's final defeat in the battle with Rustam indicates the victory of the rebellious opposition over the religious ruling class.

In *Shahnameh*, however, Firdausi surreptitiously shows how the hierarchy of influence was not from the kings to the Pahlavans but vice versa. As Firdausi indicates, kings and other perceptive higher class families wished to inculcate neither the manners of Pahlavans in the minds of their children nor that of the aristocrats and courtly figures. To this end they asked prominent Pahlavans to raise and educate their sons. Fereydun, the last mythological king of Iran, makes Sam, Rustam's grandfather, responsible for the education of Iraj's grandson, Manuchehr, who founds Iran. Siyavosh, the son of Kavous, another mythological king of Iran, and Bahman, the son of Isfandiar, are sent to Rustam to be brought up under his supervision—and not in the royal court. Moreover, although Tahmineh, the princess of Samangan, knows that she can be Rustam's wife only for one night, she chooses Rustam to be the father of her child rather than a person from noble families. Her promise to Rustam not to marry anybody after him also indicates how influential and overpowering Pahlavani ethics were over the court members.

Unlike *Shahnameh*, Ossian did not take any notable account of people beneath the ruling aristocrats despite the fact that Macpherson's tales were very popular among the ordinary people. The most important figure in Ossian, Fingal, is not only a king but also a war hero whose dexterity in battles

surpasses all the characters. All minor heroic figures in *Ossian* are blue-blooded, too. Macpherson presupposes regal nobility in order to portray a figure as a true hero. Moreover, the extent of gallantry, bravery and power is decided by the status of each figure in the social hierarchy. Fingal, the king-hero will interfere with the wars not until his superior vigor is the last harbor. For instance, in the third book of *Temora*, Fingal, after a speech to his people, devolves the command on Gaul, the son of Morni; an act which is described as “the custom of the times that the king should not engage, till the necessity of affairs required his superior valor and conduct” (Macpherson 241). Moreover, the lesser warriors are totally loyal to their kings. The secondary heroes never rise against the ruling system in Irish, Scottish or English epics. Although numerous battles take place among the neighboring countries, no disagreement or dialogue—in the sense that an opposed view to the king is expressed—between the warriors of the same league is reported. As Gwara argues, old English did not have a word for hero and this term is a loan from the Greek culture and only acquired its definition of loyalty, valor, fearlessness and decorum in the 16th century. This loan made heroism for the English culture imbued with medieval chivalric culture, and as a result English heroism consisted in loyalty to the royalists (13), while epic traditions out of England have proven ambivalent in the depiction of their heroes, either as an individual or in their relations with the higher classes.⁷ Miller in his study of epic heroes discusses that a hero in the western tradition is often detached from “the societal matrix” and is therefore “often as dangerous to the social fabric as he is useful in defending it” (164).

Conclusion

Nationalist sentiments are the center of the Ossianic tales and *Shahnameh*. The former is written in mid-18th century when imperialism and nationalism were rising in Britain, and Gaelic language and culture were shoved into the margins, and the latter was composed in the early 11th century when Arabic and Turkish were overpowering Persian. Both poets, Macpherson and Firdausi, have presumably been trying to revive the diluted and marginalized culture of their nations, Scotland and Iran respectively. However,

Macpherson's proved forgery of Ossian, his representation of the Scots and Irish as noble Savages, his denouncement of Celtic language unfit to represent the "unpolished period" along with the racial hierarchy assumed by Macpherson are the primary factors which cast doubt on his innermost intentions.

Although both Macpherson and Firdausi similarly believe that the institute of kingship is holy, their treatment of kings and aristocrats differs. Although they form a stratum of society whose membership is decided by genetics rather than merits, Pahlavans occupy an ambivalent position between the lower and the upper classes in the society. They are free but serve the kings as long as they treat the nation justly. People prefer their conduct and discipline to that of the kings, and even the royal dynasties would prefer their children to keep lifelong company with Pahlavans instead of mingling with the noble families in the royal courts.

This argument becomes more articulate when the Ossianic heroes are weighed against the illustration of Pahlavans (heroes) in *Shahnameh*. Almost all of Macpherson's war heroes are from noble descent. In fact, for Macpherson only a nobleman qualifies as a great warrior. Moreover, although there are conflicts between various kingdoms in three states of Scotland, Ireland and England, no internal clash between the kings and their subordinates is reported and merely one voice, which is of the king, is heard by the audience. In fact, Macpherson as an aristocrat, whose interests might be endangered in case of the rise of separatism, functions as a double edged sword. On the one hand, it quenches the thirst of the common people for a national narrative. On the other, it abounds with the ideology of the metropolis which endeavors to keep at bay the threats of mounting nationalism in Scotland. This is in line with the essence of nation-states, in which political ideology makes use of ethnic traditions to justify itself. Therefore *Ossianic Tales* present heroes which uphold an ideology which is at odds with their Gaelic descent. Hence, this epic is more British than Scottish.

Notes:

1. All the dates are according to the Georgian calendar.

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1. Herder published “Homer and Ossian” in *Die Horen* in 1795, arguing that the question of the authenticity of the Ossianic tales was irrelevant to its stature as a valuable nationalistic work of literature. See *The Folklore Historian: Journal of the Folklore and History Section of the American Folklore Society*, Editor. Nancy C. McEntire. Indiana University Press, (20), 2003.
 1. William Wordsworth criticizes Macpherson in the preface to his *Poems* of 1815.
 1. Two Acts of Union were passed between England and Scotland. In 1706, Union with Scotland Act was passed in England and in 1707 Union with England Act was passed in Scotland.
 1. Through a number of essays he published from 1987 to 1993: *Images of Ireland, 1170-1600: The Origins of English Imperialism; The Beginning of English Imperialism; The English State and the ‘Celtic’ peoples, 1100-1400*.
 1. For instance see: *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America: An Answer to the Declaration of the General Congress attributed to James Macpherson*.
 7. *Beowulf*, with its German origins, or *El Cid* from Spain or *The Song of Roland*, a French epic poem, present their heroes either as ambivalent in their actions and motives, thus a potential threat to the people, or loyal to the higher cast.

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