

mythical bull. "Le taureau — we read in *Dictionnaire des symboles*, already quoted above — évoque l'idée du puissance et de fougue irresistibles"⁹.

Thus, in the fight of a lion with a bull, suggested by these horoscopes, we see an ancient scene, commemorated among others on the reliefs in Persepolis. "... Le lion dévorant périodiquement le taureau exprime depuis des millénaires la dualité antagoniste fondamentale du jour et de la nuit, de l'été et de l'hiver"¹⁰.

The name of Irağ is, as it seems, associated with the lands which were bequeathed to him in Feridun's will, just like the names of the wives of Salm and Tur.

Salm, the eponym of the nomads, thus got a wife who was given the name of Ārzuy — "a wish", "a desire". It may be an allusion to the lands changed freely by the nomads, as they "desired".

To the wife of Tur Feridun gave the name of Māh-e Āzāde Xuy — "Media of a free nature" — and thus Tur subdued Media.

The name of Irağ's wife, Sahi — "the lofty one" — does not tell much, except, perhaps, for a manifestation of Persian patriotism. However, his own name brings an immediate association with a country, i.e. Iraq, since his father assigned to him "The Steppe of the Warriors" and the land of Iran.

To Salm, as we have seen, Feridun bequeathed "Rum and Xāvar". Xāvar zamin means Xorazm¹¹, but the word had lost its etymological meaning probably already in pre-Moslem times. It was used in the sense of East or — more often — West¹².

However, can one imagine that the inheritance of one brother could consist of such remote countries as Rum and Xorazm? Was it not that the inheritance of Salm, as the eponym of the Sarmatians¹³ coming from Central Asia¹⁴, consisted simply of Xorazm? In such a case, Rum was later associated with the legend, when the word Xāvar meant mainly the West. This would be suggested by etymology. Yet, we should remember that in the times of the first Achaemenidae Persia had its most dangerous enemies in the west (Media, Babylon) and in the north-east (the Massagetae and other kin peoples). And therefore, the legend could have mixed up the events and the heroes on both territories.

The fights with Turān also concentrate in the west and north-west. According to Tha'ālibi¹⁵, Irağ met Tur and Salm in Āzarbāiğān. Almost all of Iran's struggles with Turān take place in the north-east. Afrāsyāb, the main, after Zohāk and Tur, enemy of Iran, is captured and killed in the west (again in Āzarbāiğān).

⁹ IV, p. 270.

¹⁰ Ibid., III, p. 134.

¹¹ Cf., note 7 to the chap. *The Conquests of Cyrus*.

¹² Cf., Wolff, p. 314.

¹³ Hfd, Zor, II, p. 707.

¹⁴ Cf., R. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, p. 161.

¹⁵ 17. Tha, *Hist*, p. 47.

Moses of Xoren mentions the region of Tur in Xorazm¹⁶. There is also the motherland of Parsondas, the chief of the Cadusii mentioned by Ctesias (Herzfeld suggests that the name of Parsondas is etymologically identical with the name of Afrāsyāb¹⁷).

Tur is associated not so much with Āzarbāiḡān (Media Atropatene) as such, but with Media in general, by the name of his wife, Māh-e Āzāde Xuy and of his dauhgtcr, Māhāferid (literally, Created, born of Media), who was a wife or concubine (parastande — lit. worshiper, servant or devoted) of Iraḡ. After Iraḡ's death Māhāferid gave birth to his daughter and mother of his avenger — Manučehr. Ferdousi does not mention the name of the latter.

The name of Māhāferid bears association to yet another name. Tabari¹⁸ says that a wife of Seyāvuš was Safāferid, a daughter of Afrāsyāb. Her son, Seyāvuš's posthumous child, was Kay Xosrow. Thus, the legend of Iraḡ would in its basic points be identical with the legend of Seyāvuš. Also, Safāferid سفافرید may be the result misreading of the name Māhāferid, ماهافرید. This might be another clue to the hypothesis that the legend mixes up the three heroes — Zohāk, Tur and Afrāsyāb, and that some traces of the history of Astyages can be found in all these three characters.

SĀM

In the *Šāhnāme* he is presented as a hero who came from India to the assistance of aging Feridun. First he appears as one of the noblemen attending Feridun's throne at the audience given to an envoy coming from Salm and Tur¹. Soon afterwards he becomes one of the commanders of Manučehr's army, marching against Salm and Tur (*Feridun*, v. 672):

چپ لشکرش را بگرساسپ داد ابر میهانه سام یل با قباد

"The left wing of his army gave he to Geršāsp, the right occupied Sām and Qobād".

When Manučehr gives a speech from the throne, Sām is already the commander-in-chief (ḡahān-pahlavān). It is he who, on behalf of the warriors, answers the king (Manučehr, v. 29—42):

چنین گفت کای خسرو داد راست
ز تو داد وز ما پسندیدنست
گزین سواران و شیران توئی
دلت شادمان بخت بیدار باد
بتخت کئی بر بهار منی
ببزم اندرون شید تابنده ای
همان تخت پیروزه جای تو باد

جهان پهلوان سام بر پای خاست
ز شاهان مرا دیده بردیدنست
پدر بر پدر شاه ایران توئی
ترا پاک یزدان نگه دار باد
تو از باستان یادگار منی
برزم اندرون شیر پاینده ای
زمین وزمان خاک پای تو باد

¹⁶ Cf., Hfd, *Zor.*, p. 708.

¹⁷ Cf., p. 113 of this work.

¹⁸ *Tā'riḡ ar-rusul* transl. Pāyande, II, p. 422.

¹ *Feridun*, v. 583.

بآرام بنشین و رامش گزین
 ترا جای تخت است و شادی و بزم
 زدشمن ببند آورم اندکی
 دلم را خرد مهر و رای تو داد
 بسی دادش از گوهر شاهوار
 پیش پهلوانان نهادند گام
 همی کرد گیتی بآیین و راه

تو شستی بشمشیر هندی زمین
 ازین پس همه نوبت ماست رزم
 شوم گرد گیتی برآیم یکی
 مرا پهلوانی نیای تو داد
 برو آفرین کرد بسی شهریار
 چو از پیش تختش گرازد سام
 خرامید و شد سوی آرامگاه

"Then Sām, the world pahlavān, stepped forward. Thus spoke he:

— Oh thou, the king of justice! By the grace of the kings I have my eyes to see with. Thy right is to do justice, mine to consent. Of the father's fathers thou art the king of Iran, thou art the chosen of the lions and heroes. May God the chaste be thy guardian, mayest Fortune protect the happiness of thy heart. It is long since my thought has cared for thee, thou art on the throne like the spring for me. Ours then is the constant war and thine is the throne, joy and feast. I will go all by myself, I will go round the whole world and bring thee many fettered enemies. Thy grandfather made me pahlavān, thy love and thought gave wisdom to my heart.

The lord of the world spoke in praise of him and gave many truly royal jewels to him. Then the warrior retired from the throne and other warriors followed him. And Sām went to his palace, order and proper manners filled the world".

The history of Sām's family contains many mythological threads which are probably most comprehensible among all the mythical plots in the Šāhnāme.

Sām, the greatest hero of his times, could not have children for a long time. When at last a child, resembling an old man, was born to him, Sām took it as a curse and ordered to leave him far in the mountains as a prey for wild beasts. Zāl, for it was the name of his son, was, however, brought up in the nest by Simurḡ, the bird of immortality. When he came back to his father, he also appeared to be a great hero. Zāl, having had complicated adventures, married Rudābe, a daughter of Mehrāb, the feudal king of Kābul, first overcoming Manuċehr's objections. The greatest hero of the epos — Rostam — was their son. A parallel between the history of the Sām family and the myth of Varuna, Mithra and Indra on the one hand, and the myth of Uranos, Cronus and Zeus on the other, seems to be evident.

Acc. to Bartholomae² Sāma is "Name einer iranischen Familie". In Yt. XIII, 136, we read: "Keresāspa, the Sāma" which is explained by Darmesteter: Belonging to the Sāma family (Yasna IX, 10). The inhabitants of Araxosia were called Thamanaioi, Sāmāna³.

The Thamanaioi, OP. Θāmāna, Av. sāma — never mentioned before the

² *AirWb*, p. 1571.

³ *Hfd, Zor*, II, p. 704.

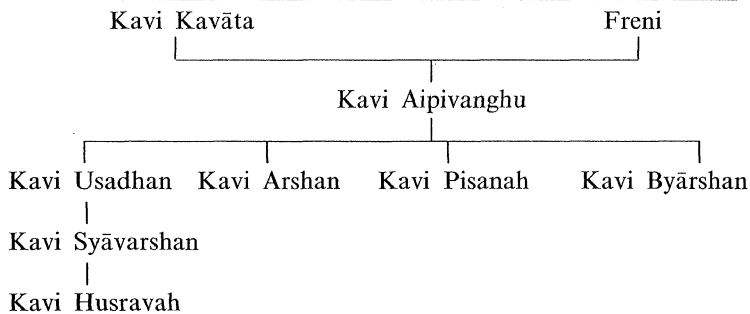
Achaemenian period — must have come, probably before the foundation of the Median empire in 678 B. C., by way of Harēw to Arachosia-Harahvati⁴”.

”The topical name harahvatiš — writes Herzfeld⁵ — has been attested since the time of Darius; the name of the inhabitants was θραμανοί, OP. for *sāmāna, to sāmā > Sām...”

THE "KAYĀN"

The *Avesta* (Yt XIII, 132) enumerates eight persons with the title *kavi*: Kavi Kavāta, Kavi Aipivanghu, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Pisanah, Kavi Byarshan, Kavi Syāvarshan, Kavi Husravah¹. Kavi Vishtāspa is mentioned separately, on some other places.

The "Kayān" according to the *Avesta* (Yt XIII, 132):



From among pahlavi accounts, Bundahiš pays considerable attention to the genealogy of the "Kayān" which comprises there not only the descendants of Kai Kavāt, but reaches back to Gāyōmard. Here their genealogy is much more extended.

"Kayān" acc. to the *Bundahiš*, XXXI, XXXII; *Zād-spāram*, XIII:

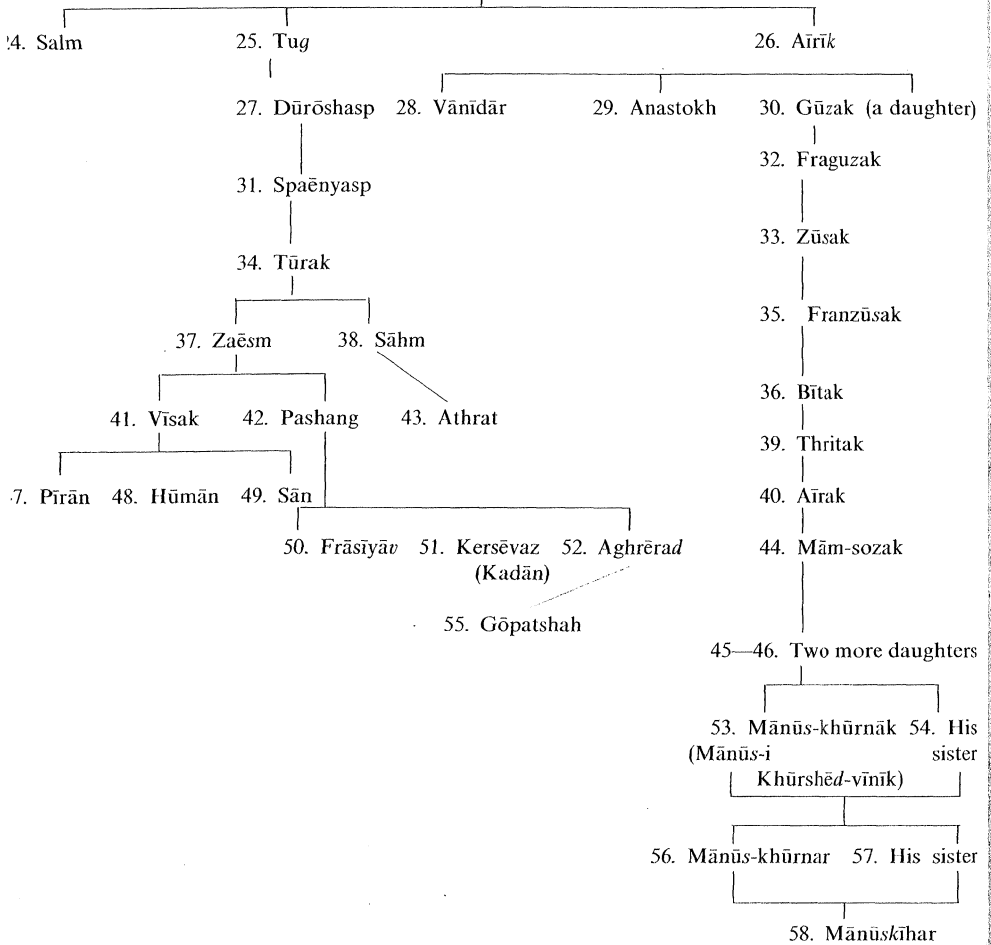
1. Gāyōmard, 2. Māshya, 3. Sīyākmak, 4. Fravāk, 5. Hōshyang,
6. Yanghad, 7. Vivanghāu
8. Takhmōrup, 9. Yim, 10. Spītūr, 11. Narsih (Rashnū of Kinō),
12. Yimak (Yim's sister)
13. Mīrak the Āspiyān,
14. Zīyānak Zardāhim
15. Vanfraghasn the Āspiyān
16. Ramak-tōrā the Āspiyān
17. Gefar-tōrā the Āspiyān
18. Spēd-tōrā the Āspiyān

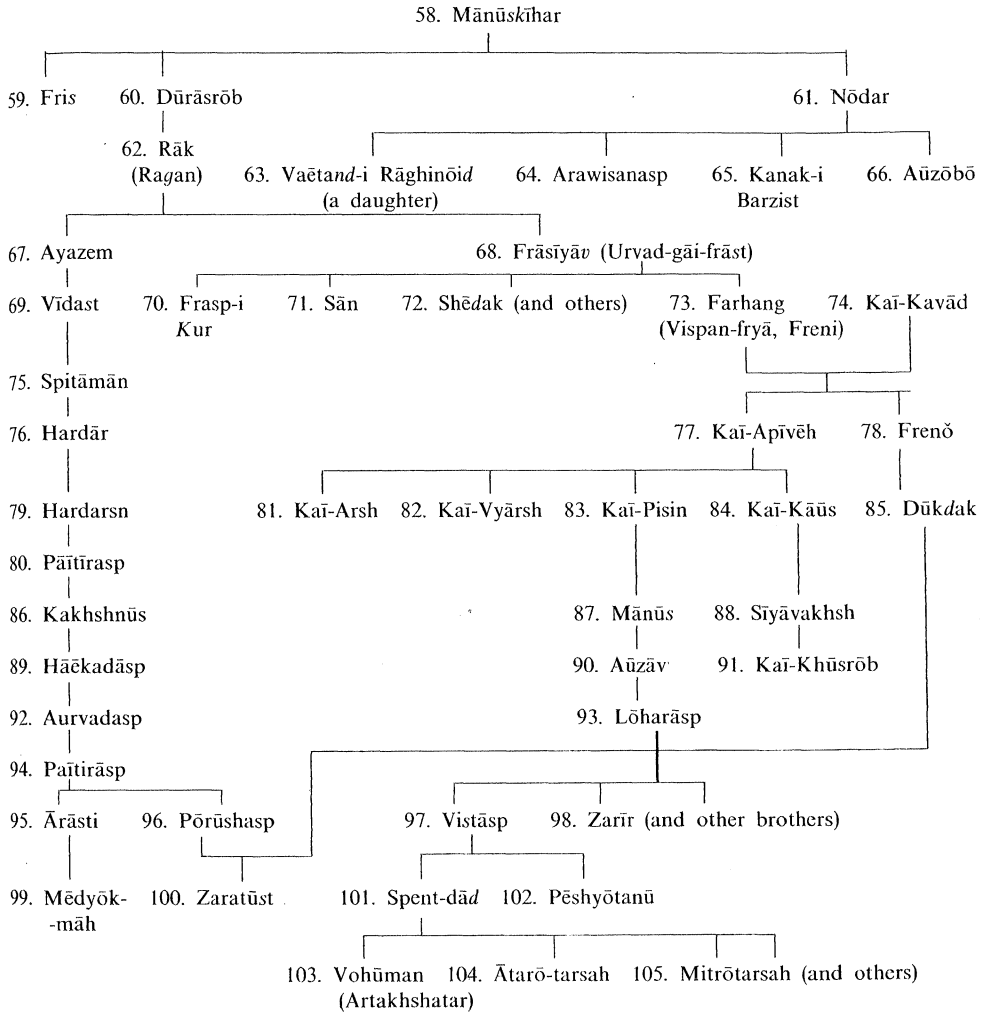
⁴ Ibid., p. 721.

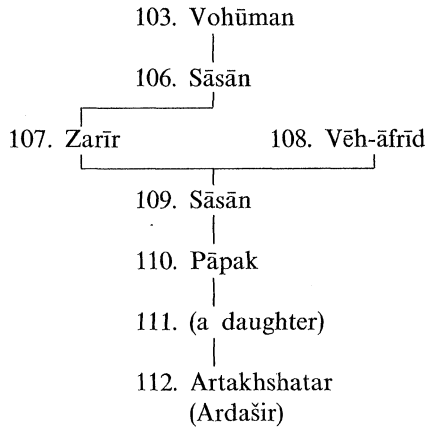
⁵ Ibid., p. 761.

¹ Harlez, p. 503; cf. also *Av.D.O*, II, p. 222; *Chri, Kay*, p. 18.

19. Siyāk-tōrā the Āspiyañ
 20. Bōr-tōrā the Āspiyañ
 21. Sōk-tōrā the Āspiyañ
 22. Pūr-tōrā the Āspiyañ
 23. Frēdūn the Āspiyañ







Tabari pays less attention to the line of Kay Pašin (in his work, Kay Fāšin), whereas he gives more details concerning the line of Key Kāwus.

TabTar, vol. II, pp. 533—534:

ثم ملك بعد زو كيقباز وهو كيقباز بن زاغ بن يوحناه بن مسسو بن نوذر بن منوشهر وكان متزوجا بمرتك ابنة ندرسا التركي وكان ندرسامن روؤس الاتراك وعظماهم فولدت له كسى افنه وكسى كاوس وكسى ارش وكيبه ارش وكيفاشين وكيسه وهؤلاء هم الملوك الجبابرة وآباء الملوك الجبابرة

”Kayqubād, the son of Zu, the son of Zāg (?), the son of يوحنا نوحناه (?), the son of مسسو (?) the son of Nauzar, the son of Manuših, married Faranak (?), the daughter of ندرسا (?) who sprang from the Turkish rulers and noblemen and gave birth to Kay Afne and Kay Kāwus and Kay Ariš and Kaybe Ariš and Kay Fašin and كيسه (?) who were the kings and the fathers of the mighty kings.

TabTar, vol. II, p. 535:

وقيل ان الملوك الكيئة واولادهم من نسله وجرت بينه وبين الترك وغيرهم حروب كثيرة وكان مقيما في حد ما بين مملكة الفرس والترك بالقرب من نهر بلخ لمنع الترك من تطرق شيء من حدود فارس

”They also say that the Kayāni (?) kings (الملوك الكيئة) and their sons sprang from him (Kayqubād) and that many wars were between them and the Turks and other nations and that he had his seat between the kingdom of the Fars and the land of the Turks near the river Balx so as to hold the Turks back from plundering the kingdom of the Fārsis”.

TabTar, vol. II, p. 597—598:

وانه كان يسكن بلخ وانه ولد له ابن لم ير مثله في عصره في جماله وكماله وتماخ خلقه فسماه سياوخش وضمه الى رستم الشديد بن دستان بن درامان بن حوربك بن كرشاسب بن اثرط بن سهم بن دريمان وكان اصهبذ سجستان وما يليه من قبيله

"Balx was the seat of (Kaykāwus), and he gave birth to a son who in his grace, excellence and good manners surpassed all his attendants, and he gave him the name of Siyāwaxš, and sent him to Rustam the brave, the son of Dastān, the son of Barāman (...) the ruler of Siġistān and the subjugated countries, to bring him up".

TabTar, vol. II, p. 617:

وذكر ان عدوة من اولاد كيسة جد كبخسرو الاكبر واولادهم كانوا مع كبخسرو في حرب الترك وان ممن كان معه كى ارش بن كيسه وكان مملكا على خوزستان وما يليها من بابل وكى به ارش وكان مملكا على كرمان ونواحيها وكى اوجى بن كيمنوش بن كيفاشين بن كيسه وكان مملكا على فارس وكى اوجى هذا هو ابو كى لهراسف الملك

"They say that some of the sons of كيبه (?) the noble grandfather (جد) of Kay Xusraw and some of their sons took part together with him (Kay Xusraw) in the war with the Turks, among others Kay Ariš, the son of كيبه, the king of Xuzistān and of the land of Bābil (and) its surroundings and Kay Bi Ariš, the king of Kirmān and its surroundings, and Kay Auġi, the son of Kaymānuš, the son of Kayfāšin, the son of كيبه, the king of Fārs. And that Kay Auġi was the father of Kay Luhrāsf, the pađišāh".

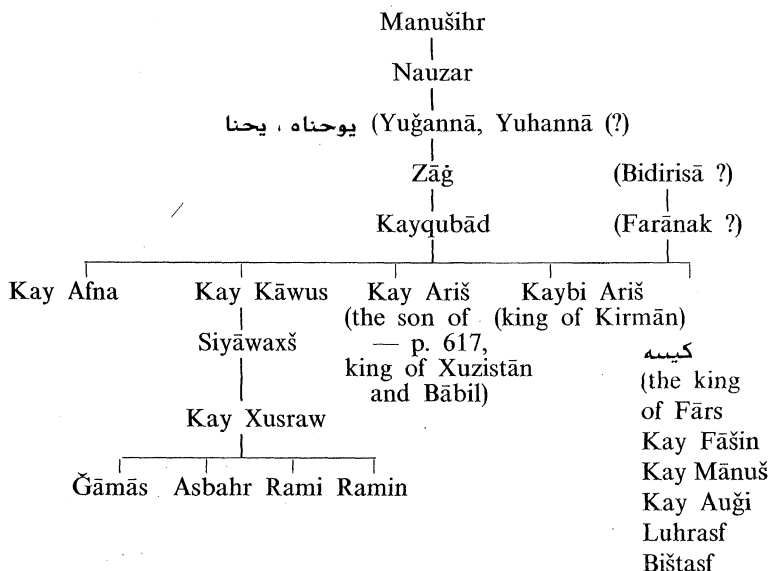
TabTar, vol. II, p. 618—619:

وتقلد لهراسف الملك بعده على الرسم الذى رسم له، وولد كبخسرو جاماس واسبهر ورمى ورمين وكان ملك كبخسرو ستين سنة

"After (Kay Xusraw), according to his will, Luhrāsf took his kingdom. Ġāmās, Asbahr, Rami and Ramin were children of Kay Xusraw, and he ruled sixty years".

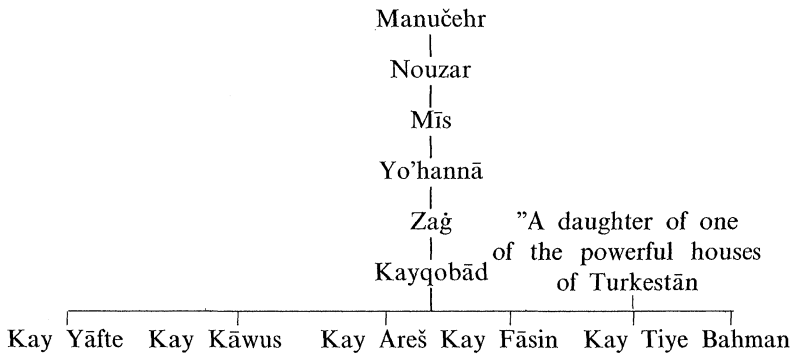
Descendants of "Kay Xusraw's grandfather" acc. to Tabari

(vol. II, p. 533—534, 597—598, 617—619)

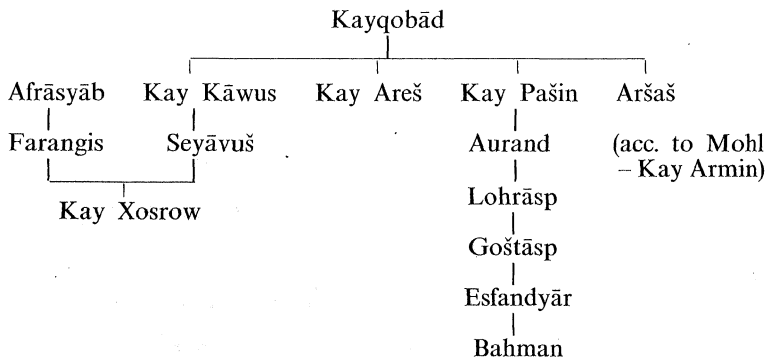


Bal'ami (Zotenberg's translation, vol. I, p. 407) says: "Après Zew s'assit sur le trône Kaiqobād, fils de Zāgh, fils de Yo'hannā, fils de Mīs, fils de Nouder, fils de Minotschehr. Il avait pour femme la fille d'un des grands du Turkestān, et il eut d'elle six fils nommés Kai Yāftè, Kai Kāous, Kai Aresch, Kai Fāsin, Kai Tiye et Bahman. Kai, dans la langue pehlevi, veut dire un bon roi. Tous ceux-là étaient fils de Kaiqobād et furent de grands rois, et ils régnèrent de longues années en Perse. Kaiqobād fonda un grand nombre de villes, et il plaça des limites. Il disait: Je fais fouler par mes chevaux le Turkestān, Roum et tous leurs territoires, et je fais mes efforts pour rendre cultivées mes propres villes.

Descendants of Manučehr acc. to Bal'ami:



Also **Ferdousi** considerably simplifies genealogy of the kings of the "Kayāni" dynasty in comparison with the genealogies given by Bundahiš and Tabari:



In the Iranian religious tradition, in poetry and in historical literature, the progenitors of the Kayān mentioned in *Bd*, XXXI, had different names:

Nōktargā (*Bd*, XXXI, 33)

Frangrasyān (*Yt* V, 41; *Yt* IX, 18 and others; *Yt* XVII, 42; *Yt* XIX, 56 and others)

Frāsiyāv (*Bd*, XII, 20 and others, *Byt*, II, 62)

Urvad-gāi-frast (*Bd*, XXXI, 31)

Vidhirisā (*Dd*, XLVIII, 33)

Frāsiyāk (*MKh*, VII, 29; XXVII, 43 and others)

Vidharg-āfrastaka (*Paz.*, cf. *PT*, II, p. 171, n. 4)²

Bidirisa (?) (*TabTar*, II, 533)

Farāsiyāt (*TabTar*, II, 598)

Afrāsyāb (*Šn*)

Kāi Kavād (*Dd*, XLVIII, 33)

Usinemah (*Yt*, XIII, 113, 140)

Kavi Kavāta (*Yt* XIII, 132; *Yt* XIX, 71)

Aūshbam (*Bd*, XXXI, 33, 34)

Kayqubād (*TabTar*, II, p. 369)

Kayqobād (Bal'ami, Zotenberg's transl., I, p. 407)

Kayqobād (*Šn*)

Farhank (*Bd*, XXXI, 33)

Freni (*Yt*, XIII, 140)

Vispān-fryā (*Bd*, XXXI, 18; *Dd*, XLVIII, 33)

Frēnō' (*Zs*, XIII, 1)

Faranak (?) (*TabTar*, II, p. 370; *Šn*)

Farangis (*Šn*)

Faranak's son (the only one acc. to the majority of the sources) was:

Frēdūn (*Dk* VII, XI, 3)

Feridun (*Šn*)

Kāi Kavād (*Dd*, XLVIII, 33)

Kāi Apīvēh (*Bd*, XXXI, 25, 28, 31, 34)

Kāi Khūs-rōb (*Bd*, XXXI, 18)

Kay Xosrow (*Šn*)

Tha'alibi (p. 37 of Zotenberg's translation) entitled one of the chapters of his work: "Comment Afridun inaugura regne et institua le drapeau des Kayanides".

In *Dinkard* VII (XI, 3)³ we read about the "Kayān glory, which the mighty Frēdūn bore when Āz-i Dahāk was smitten by him; also Kāi Khūs-rōi was bearing it when the Tur Frāngrāsiyāk (...)".

So it is neither a banner nor a glory of the Kayān, i.e. the dynasty set up by Kayqobād, since it already belonged to Feridun.

As we have seen, also Feridun, his mother Ferānak and his father Ābtin, sometimes are referred to as the "Kayān".

² E. West's note: Paz. vidharg-afrastaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

³ PT, II, p. 116.

However, there are some further associations.

Acc. to Geldner⁴: Kavi 1.m. Seher, Dichter, Weiser (...) von Göttern; 2 adj. klug, weise, verständig, intelligent.

Acc. to H. Grassmann⁵: Uçana, m. Eigenname eines Sehers (Kavi) der Vorzeit (...)

The words of Biruni⁶ are very interesting since they considerably elucidate the ancient times of Iran from the epoch of Ferdousi. And we see there how the persons known to us from history mix with those known from the tradition.

"The inhabitants of the West allege that (...) Jonah was sent to Niniva and that a certain Persian who in Jewish was called "Arbak", came out against this king, waged war on him, forced him to retreat and killed him, and ruled his kingdom till the Kayān came to power, that is the kings of Babylon who in the West are called the Chaldeans. The rule (of Arbak lasted) for seventy two years.

(In truth, though) the Chaldeans are not the Kayān but their deputies in Babylon. The Kayān lived in Balx and when they came to Iraq, the inhabitants began to call them the Chaldeans, in the same way as they called their deputies (...).")

"The list of the Chaldean kings)

(.....)

Nebuchadnezzar

Buxtnassar — he conquered Jerusalem

Barxalaltigar

Ballošassar

Dariuš the First — the Mede

Kuruš — he rebuilt Jerusalem

Cambyses

Dariuš

Axšiyaroš

Artaxšast the First

Dariuš

Artaxšast the Second

(.....)"

The fact that the "Kayān" as the dynasty did not precede the Achaemenidae, is corroborated by the list showing "The kings of Fārs, starting with Afridun, according to the words of the inhabitants of the West" in the work of Biruni⁷. We quote it here together with a preceding commentary.

"In the books of biographies and legends, translated from the books belonging to the inhabitants of the West, the kings of the Persians and of Babylon are mentioned, from Afridun, who as they say, is called there Aful, to

⁴ *Rigveda im Auswahl*, I, p. 44.

⁵ *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, p. 266.

⁶ *Bir.*, pp. 103—104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 116—117.

Dariuš, the last king (of the Persians). We have noticed that these books differ in so much as (particulars) about the number of the kings, their names and length of their rule as well as legends about these kings and its circumstances are concerned. First of all we may conclude that (the authors of these books) preserved (in writing the names of) the Persian kings together with their deputies in Babylon.

However, if we took no account of this fact, we would diminish (value) of a book and make the reader to distract his attention from it. We shall show (these particulars) on a separate list in order to prevent assumptions and legends from contradicting one to another. Here is (this list). The kings of Fārs, starting with Afridun, according to the words of the inhabitants of the West. [We disregard here the length of subsequent reigns given by Biruni].

Aful, that is Afridun

Tiglatpilassar

Salmanassar — that is Salm

Senaxerib, Salmanasar's son — in Persian — Sanaraft

Sardum — that is Zu, the son of Tumaspa

Then (the following great kings ruled):

Kaykobad

Senaxerib the Second

Mağam

Buxtassar, that is Kaykous

Ulād, the son of Buxtassar

Baltašassar, the son of Evilad

Dara-al-Mahi, that is Dariuš

Kuruš, that is Kayxosrow

Kir, that is Luhras

Cambyses

Dariuš the Second

Xerxes, the son of Dariuš, that is Xosrow the First

Ardešir, the son of Xerxes, called Makroxeyr, that is 'Long-handed'

Xosrow the Second

Sogyarik Hatos, the son of Xosrow

Ardešir, the son of Dariuš the Second

Ardešir the Third

Arses, the son of Oxos

Dariuš, the last king of Persians"

Comparison between both these lists contained in the work of Biruni and in the account of Bal'ami (cf. General assumptions, p. 10) with the list prepared on the basis of the data taken from the *Avesta*, from some Pahlavi sources and from the works of Tabari and Ferdousi proves that in the 10 century A. D., even the names of Achaemenidae were not utterly forgotten but in the