

سیم هفته کیخسرو آمد بگنگ شنید آن غو نای و آوای چنگ
بخندید و برگشت گرد حصار بماند اندر آن گردش روزگار

“On the third week Kay Xosrow reached Gang, he heard the flutes and çangs, he smiled, surrounded the fortress and kept the siege for some time.”

Ibid., v. 1301—1302:

کمر بر میان بست و بر جست زود بچنگ اندر آمد بکردار دود
بفرمود تا سخت بر هر دری بچنگ اندر آید یکی لشکری

“He girt his loins, soon sprang to his feet and went to the fight like the wind. He ordered his army to launch a heavy attack against all the gates.”

Ibid., v. 1330:

بپیروزی شاه ایران سپاه بر آمد خروشیدن از رزمگاه

“They proclaimed victory of the king of the Iranian army on the battle-ground.”

In the next letter Kay Xosrow informs Kay Kāwus:

Ibid., v. 1756—1757:

کشیدیم لشکر بماجین و چین و زان روی رانم بمکران زمین
و زان پیش بر آب زره بگذرم اگر پاک یزدان بود یاورم

“I led my troops to China and to Great China, from where I will march to the land of Mekrān, and then I will come back across the waters of Zere, if the Holy God is propitious to me.”

Meanwhile Afrāsyāb, who had fled from Gang by an underground passage, hid in the fortress Gang near the Zere (v. 1696—1697):

بفرمود تا مهتران هر کسی بآب اندر آرند کشتی بسی
سوی گنگ دژ بادبان برکشید بنیک و بدیها سر اندر کشید

“He ordered all the noblemen to launch many ships on the water, he packed on all sail and made for Gang for good and bad.”

Ibid., v. 1887—1889:

بچین اندرون بود خسرو سه ماه ابا نامداران ایران سپاه
پرستنده فغفور هر بامداد همی نو بنو شاه را هدیه داد
چهارم زچین شاه ایران براند بمکران شد و رستم آنجا بماند

“In China Xosrow remained for three months together with the famous warriors of Iran. The officious faghfur brought the gifts for the king every morning. On the fourth month the king of Iran set off from China to Mekrān where Rostam was waiting for him.”

After a victorious war with the king of Mekrān (v. 1905—1929) Kay Xosrow crossed “the waters of Zere” (v. 1956—1960):

گشادند گردان میان از گره
 ز چین و ز مکران همی برد شاه
 چو کشتی بآب اندر افگند مرد
 بیک ساله ره راه بگذاشتند
 برفت از لب آب با آب روی

چو آمد بنزدیک آب زره
 همه چاره سازان دریا براه
 بخشکی بکرد آنج بایست کرد
 بفرمود تا توشه بر داشتند
 جهاندار نیک اختر و راه جوی

“When [Kay Xosrow] came to the waters of Zere, the warriors undid the buttons on their breasts. The king brought from China and from Mekrān all who were experienced in seafaring. They did on the land what was to be done and when they launched the ships on the water, he ordered them to take provision for the whole year, lest they should sail for the whole year. The ruler of the world stepped down to the water with dignity, he walked under a propitious star, still looking for the roads.”

They sailed the water for seven months (v. 1980). When they reached the land, they learnt from one of local rulers that Afrāsyāb was in Gang which was no more than a hundred farsangs away (v. 1997—1998).

Then (v. 2001):

بفرمود تا باز گشتند شاه سوی گنگ دژ رفت با آن سپاه

“The king (Kay Xosrow) ordered to turn back and together with his troops marched towards Gang.”

Ibid., v. 2014—2021:

که شاه جهاندار بگذاشت آب
 بیامد شب تیره با کس نگفت
 دلی پر ز تیمار تنها براند
 سری پر ز تیمار دل پر ز خون
 شمرهای او چون چراغ بهشت
 زمین سنبل و شاخ بلبلستان
 هم آیدر بیاشیم تا مرگ شاد
 طلب کردن شاه توران سپاه

پش آگاهی آمد با فراسیاب
 شنیده همی داشت اندر نهفت
 جهاندیدگانرا هم آنجا بماند
 چو کیخسرو آمد بگنگ اندرون
 بدید آن دلفروز باغ بهشت
 بهر گوشه ای چشمه و گلستان
 همی گفت هر کس که اینت نهاد
 وزان پش بفرمود بیدار شاه

“Then Afrāsyāb learnt that the king, the lord of the world, crossed the waters. What he heard he kept for himself and when a dark night set in he, without a word, left his experienced (warriors) there, and fled alone, with his heart full of apprehension.

And when Kay Xosrow came to Gang with his head full of worry and his herat full of blood, he saw this balmy paradisiac garden, gleaming as the paradisiac lanterns, in each corner the ponds and flowers, on the ground the hyacinths, on the trees the nightingales. Everyone said:

— What a land, we would live here happily till the death. Then the watchful king ordered the search for the king of Turān.”

Ibid., v. 2119—2123:

بدیدار کاوشش آمد نیاز ز قجگار تا پیش دریای چین بدو گفت بیدار دل باش و شاد بهر سو فرستاده و نامه ساز مگر زو شود روی گیتی تهی	چو بودن بگنگ اندرون شد دراز بگستهم نوذر سپرد آن زمین بی اندازه لشکر بگستهم داد بچین و بمکران زمین دست یاز همی جوی ز افراسیاب آگهی
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“When his stay in Gang lingered on, again he wished to see Kay Kāwus. He gave the land from Qačgār to the Chinese Sea to Gostahm of Nouzar together with the innumerable army and said unto him:

— Be always watchful and fortunate. Take over the land from China up to Mekrān, send people and letters everywhere and look for Afrāsyāb, maybe the world will see his end.”

Ibid., v. 2132—2133:

بیاویخت تاج از بر تخت عاج همه سغد شد شاه را نیک خواه ز لشکر هوا را همی کس ندید	بیامد بران هم نشان تا بچاج بسغد اندرون بود یک هفته شاه وز آنجا بشهر بخارا رسید
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“So came (Kay Xosrow) all the way to Čāč and hung his crown above the ivory throne. Also in Sogd the king remained for a week and the whole Sogd extolled him. From there he went to the city of Buxārā — you could not see the sky as so many troops were marching.”

Ibid., v. 2139—2141:

چشیده ز گیتی بسی شور و تلخ سر ماه بر بلخ بگزید راه بماندی سر افراز با لشکری	بجیحون گذر کرد بر سوی بلخ ببلخ اندرون بود یک ماه شاه بهر شهر در نامور مهتری
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“He went towards Balx crossing the waters of Ğeyhun, and the world afflicted him with bitterness and distress. In Balx he stayed for one month, and then he marched on.”

Ibid., v. 2157—2158, 2147—2149:¹²

جهان بود پر بانگ و آوای رود بدیدند مر یکدگر را براه سوی پارس نزدیک کاوس کی سیم هفته آهنگ بغداد کرد	سوی طالقان آمد و مرو رود وز آن پش براه نشاپور شاه سر هفته را کرد آهنگ ری دو هفته بری نیز بخشید و خورد
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”He marched for Tāleqān and for Marvrud, the world was full of tumult and the sounds of ruds. He stepped on the road to Nišāpur to meet (Kay Kāwus) there (...) After a week he wished to go to Ray — on the way to Pārs, to the Kay Kāwus’ palace. For two weeks he dispensed, ate and drunk in Ray, and on the third week he felt a longing desire for Bačdād.”

¹² Here in the London manuscript of the *Šn* which is the basis of ŠVost edition, the order of the verses is evidently transposed (Kay Xosrow could not pass Rey on his way from Čāč to Tāleqān), so I quote the verses following the order preserved by the Arabic translator of *Šn*, Bundari (cf., ŠVost edition, V, p. 362, n. 11).

A comparison between the historical campaign of Cyrus and two legendary campaigns — of Kay Kāvus and Kay Xosrow — is presented in the enclosed map.

It is worth noticing here that:

1. We do not know the exact order in which Cyrus conquered the north-eastern lands;
2. We do not know the way back from India to Persia chosen by Cyrus;
3. Neither does Ferdousi mention the route of Kay Kāvus from “the land of Zere” (Sistān?) to “Barbar” (Babylon?);
4. Ferdousi does not mention also the route of Kay Xosrow from Pārs to Baġdād (probably also Babylon).

Then if:

1. we assumed that چین و ماجین (China and Great China), the farthest countries Kay Kāvus and Kay Xosrow reached during their campaigns, were only a poetical hyperbole of the epos;
2. we took no account of further search for Gang by Xosrow (clearly he comes back to the same places, probably because nobody knew where this legendary Gang really was) as insignificant for the “historicity” of the account concerning Kay Xosrow campaign — all the three routes would be almost identical¹³.

3. The Babylon campaign

Acc. to Saggs, Cyrus marched for Babylon across the mountains of Kurdistān and Luristān.¹⁴

“Um seine Soldaten im Manövriren auf canalisierem Terrain zu üben, lies er sie den ganzen Sommer über am Dijala Wasserbauten und Canäle herstellen, deren Spuren noch heute sichtbar sind.”¹⁵

H., I, 189:

“On his march to Babylon Cyrus came to the river Gyndes (...) Cyrus was preparing to cross this river, for which the boats were needed, when one of his sacred white horses, a high-spirited creature, entered the water and attempted to swim across but was swept under by the rapid current and carried away. Cyrus was so furious with the river for daring to do such a thing that he swore he would punish it by making it so weak that even a woman could get over in future without difficulty and without wetting her kness, He held up his march against Babilon, divided his army into two parts, marked out on each side of the river a hundred and eighty channel running off from it in various directions, and ordered his men to set to work and dig. Having a vast number of hands employed, he managed to finish the job, but only at the cost of the whole summer wasted.”

¹³ The Cyrus' route, cf. Olmst., pp., 45—49.

¹⁴ Saggs, p. 140, cf., also F. Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, pp. 38—39.

¹⁵ F. Justi, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Zohāk, v. 269—270, 275—284:

کمر تنگ بستش بکین پدر
بنیک اختر و فال گیتی فروز
چنان چون بود مرد دیهیم جوی
بتازی تو اروند را دجله خوان
لب دجله و شهر بغداد کرد
فرستاد زی رودبانان درود
که کشتی برافکن هم اکنون براه
از اینها کس را بدین سو ممان
بکشتی و زورق هم اندر شتاب
نیامد بگفت فریدون فرود
چنین گفت با من سخن در نهان
جوازی بیابی و مهری درست
ازان ژرف دریا نیامدش باک
بران باره تیزتک برنشست
باب اندر افگند گلرنگ را
همیدون بدریا نهادند سر
باب اندرون غرقه کردند زین

فریدون بخورشید بر برد سر
برون رفت خرم بخرداد روز
باروند رود اندر آورد روی
اگر پهلوانی ندانی زبان
دگر منزل آن شاه آزاد مرد
چو آمد بنزدیک اروند رود
بران رودبان گفت پیروز شاه
مرا با سپاهم بدان سو رسان
بدان تا گذر یابم از روی آب
نیارود کشتی نگهبان رود
چنین داد پاسخ که شاه جهان
که مگذار یک پشه را تا نخست
فریدون چو بشنید شد خشمناک
هم آنگه میان کیانی بست
سرش تیز شد کینه و جنگ را
بیستند یارانش یکسر کمر
برآن بادپایان با آفرین

“Feridun raised his head to the sun and girt his loins to revenge his father. On a propitious day *xordād* he set off under a lucky star and a favourable augury. (...) He turned his face to the river Arvand, like a man who wished to seize the crown. If you do not know the Pahlevi words, remember, that Arvand means *Diğle* in Arabic. The next halt this righteous man made on the bank of the *Diğle* in *Bağdād* (...)”

When he came to the bank of the river *Diğle*, he ordered to salute the warders of the river. Said the victorious king to the warder:

— Bring here a ship without delay. Take me and my troops across the river, do not leave anyone on this bank. Do not let me wait too long and fetch the ship and boats at once.

The warder of the water did not bring the ship and did not come as Feridun told him to. Thus replied he:

— To me the king of the world (*Zohāk*) gave in secret such a command: “Do not let a mosquito on the other side till you see a warrant properly sealed.”

“When Feridun heard this a fit of anger came over him. He did not fear this deep river, soon girt his royal loins, mounted his swift-footed steed, with his head full of grim anger and desire for war, he spurred his (steed) *Golrang*. And his companions tightened their belts, turned their faces to the river and plunged with roar into the water up to their saddles, following him, who was swift of foot.”

Rostam, having heard about Kay *Kāwus*’ imprisonment in *Māzanderān*, came to his assistance.

Kay Kāvus va raftan-e u be Māzanderān, v. 430—431:

وزانجا سوی روشنایی رسید
زمین پرنیان دید و یکسر خوید
جهانی پیری شده نوجوان
همه سبزه و آبهای روان

“From there he went to the land of the light, and saw the whole silken earth covered with greenness. The old world rejuvenated: verdure around and the streaming waters.”

Ibid., v. 445:

بدان مرز اولاد بد پهلوان
یکی نامجوی دلیر و جوان

“This land belonged to Aulād the warrior, the youth of great boldness and fame.”

Ibid., v. 458—462:

بدو گفت اولاد نام تو چیست
چه مردی و شاه و پناه تو کیست
نبايست کردن برین ره گذر
ره نره دیوان پرخاشختر
چنین گفت رستم که نام من ابر
اگر ابر باشد بزور هژبر
همه نیزه و تیغ بار آورد
سرانرا سراندر کنار آورد
بگوش تو گر نام من بگذرد
دم و جان و خون و دلت بفسرد

“Aulād called to him:

— Hey, what is thy name? Where are thy men, thy king and home? Nobody is allowed to tread this road, the road of devs the brave.”

Thus replied him Rostam:

— My name is Cloud, if the cloud resembles a victorious lion that carries the sword and the spear removing the heads from the necks. If my name does not move thee, thy breath and thy soul shall die, thy blood and heart shall congeal.”

Ibid., v. 472—482:

به اولاد چون رخس نزدیک شد
بیکردار شب روز تاریک شد
بیفگند رستم کمند دراز
بخم اندر آمد سر سرفراز
از اسب اندر آمد دو دستش بیست
بپیس اندر رفگند و خود بر نشست
بدو گفت اگر راست گویی سخن
ز کژی نه سر یابم از تو نه بن
نمایی مرا جای دیو سپید
همان جای پولاد غندی و بید
بجایی که بستست کاوس کی
کسی کین بدیها فگندست پی
نمایی و پیدا کنی راستی
من این تخت و این تاج و گرز گران
تو باشی برین بوم و بر شهریار
ارایدونک کژی نیاری بکار
بدو گفت اولاد دلراز خشم
تن من میپرداز خیره ز جان
بپرداز و بگشای یکباره چشم
بیابی ز من هرچ خواهی همان

“When Raxš met Aulād the warrior, his day darkened into the night. Rostam threw his long lariat and this haughty head got into its noose. Rostam dismounted his horse, bound Aulād's hands, threw him on the saddle and himself mounted the steed. Then said to him:

— If thou tell me the true word, if I do not find in thee any slightest prevarication, if thou show to me the seat of White Dev and where Ġandi's son Pulād is and Bid, and where Kāwus, the shackled king is, and everyone afflicted with evil, if thou tell this and disclose the truth and if thou do not dare to abate any thing, then I will take this throne and crown and heavy mace from the king of Māzanderān, and thou shall be the ruler over the whole land. If, I say, thou do not dare to lie.

Aulād replied him:

— Remove anger from thine heart, open thine eyes. Do not take so blindly my soul from my body and thou shall find everything thou are asking for."

Since then the bound Aulād was showing the way to Rostam. The word Aulād in the *Šāhnāme* evidently derives from *Arvand*. The Persian *bastan* means, among others, either *to bind* or *to build a dam*. That is why the bound Aulād might be a personification of the subdued river Arvand. As we know, this river, a left tributary of the Tigris, guided Cyrus to Babylon.

"Near the beginning of October, Cyrus fought another battle at Opis on the Tigris and burned the people of Akkad with fire. After this example of frightfulness, his opponents lost courage and on October 11 Sippar was taken without a battle. Nabu-naid fled, and on October 13, 539, Gobryas, governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle."¹⁶

H., 1, 190:

"The Babylonians had taken the field and were awaiting his approach. When he arrived near the city they attacked him, but were defeated and forced to retire inside their defences."

Zohak, v. 290—300:

به بیت المقدس نهادند روی
همی گنگ دژ هودجش خواندند
برآورده ایوان ضحاک دان
کزان شهر جوینده بهر آمدند
یکی کاخ دید اندر آن شهر شاه
همه جای شادی و آرام و مهر
که گفתי ستاره بخواهد بسود
که جای بزرگی و جای بهاست
برآرد چنین برز جای از مغاک
مگر راز دارد یکی در نهان
شتابیدن آید بروز درنگ

بخشکی رسیدند سر کینه جوی
که بر پهلوانی زبان راندند
بتازی کنون خانه پاک دان
چو از دشت نزدیک شهر آمدند
زیک میل کرد آفریدون نگاه
فروزنده چون مشتری بر سپهر
که ایوانش برتر زکیوان نمود
بدانست کان خانه رزدهاست
بیارانش گفت آنکه بر تیره خاک
بترسم همی زانکه با او جهان
بباید که مارا بدین جای تنگ

"So the avengers reached the shore and turned their faces to Bay-to'l-moqaddas. Those who speak Pahlevi call it Kang-dezhudeğ and in Arabic it means the Holy House; it was the lofty palace of Zohāk. When they came from the steppe to the garden they desired so much, Feridun, who was a mile away, glanced and saw the palace in this royal city, which shone as Moštari in the sky, the palace of happiness, peace and love. Its dome reached Kayvān, as if

¹⁶ Olmst., p. 50.

it meant to touch the stars. He understood that it was that castle of the dragon, the abode of might and wealth. To his companions said Feridun:

— I do not know if the world can hide any secrets before that one, who raised such a proud castle from the gutter. So we will have to hasten to these narrow places in this late day”.

Razm-e Kay Kāwus bā šah-e Hāmāverān, v. 7, 11—19:

که برخاست از لشکر شاه بزم
عمود گران از میان برکشید
ابا نیزه وتیر جوشن گذار
دمان از پس اندر همی رفت شاه
بگرداندرون نیزه داری نماید
چو بر گشته دیدند باد ببرد
جگرخسته و پر گناه آمدند
همه باژرا گردن افکنده ایم
سیاسی ز گنجور بر سر نهیم
یکی راه و آیین نو ساختشان

سپاهی پیامد ز بربر بزم
چو گودرز گیتی بران گونه دید
بزد اسپ با نامداران هزار
بر او یخت و بدرید قلب سپاه
تو گفتی ز بربر سواری نماید
بشهر اندرون هر که بد سالخورد
همه پیش کاوس شاه آمدند
که ما شاه را چاکر و بنده ایم
بحای درم زر و گوهر دهیم
ببخشود کاوس و بنواختشان

“The army left Barbar to interrupt the feast of the king's warriors. (...) When Gudārz saw the world in such condition, he drew a heavy mace from his saddle. He set spurs to his horse and thousands of famous ones followed him with the spear and arrow which pierced the armour. He brooded over them and frightened the army, and the king breathing anger trod his heels. Nobody was left, as if, neither the warriors from Barbar nor anybody around could carry the spear.

People from the city, advanced in years, saw how the wind of the fight was blowing, met Kāwus, half-way, full of guilt and depression.

— We are, oh lord, thy slaves, we have bent low before thee to pay you tribute, instead of silver we will give thee gold and pearls, we will give thee the treasury of our gratitude.

Kāwus forgave them, lavished favours upon them and showed a new way to them, a new custom.”

Once again Ferdousi comes back to this event in the same story. This time, however, he says about a coalition which was set up against him.

Ibid., v. 29—33, 38—44, 48—54:

پدید آمد از تازیان کاستی
درفشی برافراخت از مصر و شام
در کهرتاری خوار گذاشتند
که انباز دارد بشاهنشاهی
سپه شاددل شاه گیتی فروز
ز گیتی برین گونه جویند بهر
زره در میانه برآنسو که خواست
بهر کشوری در سپاهی گران
برآمد ز آب زره با سپاه
سپه را سوی بربر آمد گذر
به بربرستان در شدند انجمن
شد از نعل اسبان ایشان ستوه

چو شد کار گیتی بران راستی
یکی باگهر مرد باگنج و نام
ز کاوس کی روی بر تافتند
چو آمد بشاه جهان آگهی
بزد کوس و برداشت از نیمروز
همی راند تا در میان سه شهر
بدست چپش مصر و بربر براست
به پیش اندرون شهر هاماوران
خبر شد بدیشان که کاوس شاه
هم آواز گشتند یک با دگر
یکی گشت چندان یل تیغ زن
سپاهی که دریا و صحرا و کوه

کس اندر جهان کوه و صحرا ندید
ستاره ز نوک سنان روشن است
بگردن بر آورده رخشان تبر
همی بارد از تیغ هندی روان
زمین سربسر تیره چون آبنوس
زمین آمد از سم اسبان بخم
تو گفستی زمین گشت لشکرستان

چو کاوس لشکر بخشکی کشید
جهان گفستی از تیغ وز جوشن است
ز بس خود زرین و زرین سیر
تو گفستی زمین شد سپهر روان
ز مغر هوا گشت چون سندروس
بدرید کوه از دم گادوم
زبانگ تیره به بربرستان

“When the world affairs had been thus settled, a great tumult arose among the Arabs. A certain noble man, wealthy and famous, raised the banner in Egypt and Syria. And they deserted Kay Kāwus, abandoned their despicable submission. When the king of the world heard that somebody contested for the kingdom he ordered to beat the kettle-drums and set out from Nimruz, he, the king who lighted up the world and his joyful army. (...)

He ran till he came between three countries, searching his fate in the world. Egypt was to the left, Barbar to the right, the Zere on his way, before him the land of Hāmāverān and all around innumerable troops.

It reached their ears that king Kāwus with his army left the waters of Zere. And everyone thought the same, and the army marched to Barbaristān. Many were able to carry sword and everybody gathered in Barbaristān; the army so formidable that the neigh of their horses frightened the seas, the deserts and the mountains. (...)

When Kāwus led the troops on the land, nobody in the world could see the desert or the mountains, as if the world were made of the swords and of the armour, and the stars from the shining spearheads. Because of these golden helmets and golden shields, of these shining axes on their shoulders, the earth became a fierce cloud bearing the rain of Hindu swords. The sky glittered as the juniper resin and the earth around blackened as the ebony. The mountains cracked from the sound of horns, the horses shoes trampled the earth, and the ground in Barbaristān changed into the camp from the roll of the drums.”

CYRUS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CONQUERED

According to many modern historians, the war with Media and the war with Babylon share several common traits:

1. The betrayal of Harpagus helped Cyrus to defeat Media;¹ similarly the betrayal of Gobryas helped him to defeat Babylon.²

¹ Olmst., p. 37, Diakonov, *Istoriya Midii*, p. 421.

² Olmst., p. 45.

2. Cyrus' victory was also facilitated by unpopularity of Astyages in Media³ and of Nabunaid in Babylon.⁴

3. Cyrus, having won, killed neither Astyages⁵ nor Nabunaid⁶ (and similarly — acc. to Herodotus⁷ — he did not kill the defeated Croesus).

4. Either Ecbatana⁸ or Babylon⁹ were spared after a victory of Cyrus; later they became his residence.

5. Both the Medes and the Babylonians¹⁰ remained in their posts in the army and administration after the victory of Cyrus.

That is why some of the episodes from the *Šahnāme*, particularly those which describe the ultimate victory of the Iranian hero over the enemy, may mirror subsequent phases of both these wars.

Let us analyse them in turns.

1. The betrayal of Harpagus brings to mind the episode concerning the revolt of Kāve.¹¹

2. Unpopularity of the alien ruler among his subjects.

Zohāk, v. 402—417:

بجوش آمد و زود بنهاد روی
 فروزنده را مهره در قار زد
 بران بادپایان باریک بین
 همه تره دیوان جنگ آوران
 گرفت و بکین اندر آورد سر
 همه سوی آن راه بی ره شدند
 در آن جای تنگی بر آویختند
 کسی کش زجنگ آوری بهر بود
 که از درد ضحاک پر خون بدند
 بکوی اندرون و تیر و خدنگ
 پئی را بند بر زمین جایگاه
 چه پیران که در جنگ دانا بدند
 زنیرنگ ضحاک بیرون شدند
 که بر تخت اگر شاه باشد داده
 یکایک زگفتار او نکذریم
 مرآن ازهدادوش ناپاک را

جهاندار ضحاک از ان گنت گوی
 اچو شب گردش روز پرگار زد
 بفرمود تا برنهادند زمین
 بیامد دمان با سپاهی گران
 زبی راه مرگاخ را بام و در
 سپاه فریدون چوآگه شدند
 زاسپان جنگی فرو ریختند
 همه بام و در مردم شهر بود
 همه در هوای فریدون بدند
 زدیوارها خشت و ز بام سنگ
 بیارید چون ژاله زابر سیاه
 به شهر اندرون هرکه برنا بدند
 سوی لشکر افریدون شدند
 خروشی بر آمد زآتشکده
 همه پیر و برناش فرمان بریم
 نخواهیم برگاه ضحاک را

“Having heard these words Zohāk the king boiled with anger. And he directed his thoughts towards the way. He ordered to saddle his swift-footed

³ Her., I, 127, 130; Olmst., p. 37, *Istoriya Midii*, p. 422.

⁴ Olmst., pp. 52—55; A Dandamayev, *Axemenidskoye gosudarstvo i yego značeniye v istorii drevnego vostoka*, Iigk, p. 95.

⁵ Diakonov, *Istoriya Midii*, p. 423.

⁶ Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 39.

⁷ I, 86—88.

⁸ Olmst., p. 37.

⁹ Saggs, p. 140.

¹⁰ R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 149; Olmst., p. 37; *Istoriya Midii*, p. 424.

¹¹ Cf., p. 19.

and hawk-eyed steeds. He hurried across the wilderness towards the rampart and gates of the castle, and abandoned himself to revenge.

When Feridun and his warriors found it out, all of them turned out towards this wilderness. They dismounted their horses and lay in wait in these narrow places. On each rock, on each path there were the people from the city, everyone who was able to fight. And all stood by Feridun since Zohāk afflicted them severely. The bricks were falling from the walls of the city, the stones from the roof, the corners were full of arrows, swords and spears. They were falling like the hail from the black sky, and there was no place for human feet on the ground. And all from the city, both old and young, experienced in fight, sided with Feridun, and escaped the power of Zohāk's witchcraft. And a cry was heard from the tempest of fire:

— Even if a rapacious beast were on the throne, we all, young and old, would be at his bidding and nobody should avoid his will, but we do not wish to have Zohāk on the throne, the hostile monster with the snakes on his arms!"

3. Cyrus spares the defeated ruler's life

H., I, 130:

"Cyrus treated Astyages with great consideration and kept him at his court until he died."

Acc. to Ctesias, because the king did not wish to remain in Media, Cyrus put him at the head of the Barkans (i.e. the Hyrcanians).¹²

Zohāk, b. 418—430:

سراسر بجنگ اندر آمد گروه
برآمد که خورشید شد لاجورد
زلشکر سوی کاخ بنهاد روی
بدان تا نداند کسش زانجمن
برآمد بر بام کاخ بلند
پراز جادوئی با فریدون براز
گشاده بنقرین ضحاک لب
بایوان کمند اندر افکند راست
فرود آمد از بام کاخ بلند
بخون پری چهرگان تشنه بود
بیامد فریدون بکردار باد
بزد بر سرش ترک بشکست خرد
مزن گفت کورا نیامد زمان

سپاهی و شهری بکردار کوه
از آن شهر روشن یکی تیره گرد
پش آنگاه ضحاک شد چاره جوی
باهن سراسر بیوشید تن
بجنگ اندرون شست یازی کمند
بدید آن سیه نرگس شهر ناز
دو رخساره روز و دو زلفش چو شب
بمغر اندرش آتش رشک خاست
نه از تخت یاد و نه جان ارجمند
بدست اندرش آبگون دشنه بود
ز بالا چو پی بر زمین بر نهاد
بران گرزۀ گاوسر دست برد
بیامد سروش خجسته دمان

"The troops and inhabitants of the city, joined the battle as one man. Dark dust rose from this bright city and the sun turned livid.

Then Zohāk set to work. He left the army, entered the palace. He clad with steel his whole body as not to let anyone to recognize him. In his hand had he a lariat coiled sixty times, and with it he climbed the roof of the high castle. He saw Šahrenāz the black-eyed, charming and intimate with Feridun. Her countenance bright as the day, her tresses black as the night. He opened

¹² F. A. Jacoby; cf., I. V. Piankov, *Obrazovaniye dierzavy Axemenidov...*, Iigk, p. 89.

his lips with a curse, and fire of envy reached his brain. Soon he threw the noose of his lariat on a battlement, mindless of the throne and of his life, and let himself down from the upper castle and avid of blood of that one who had the countenance like peri, to her he turned with a knife in his hand.

The moment he set his foot on the ground, came Feridun like the wind. He carried in his hand a mace large as the bull-head, hit Zohāk's head and smashed the poor helmet. Suddenly the fortunate Seroš appeared. He said:

— Do not kill him, his time has not yet come.”

4 — 5. The conquered city spared and the civil servants of the defeated country granted with their previous posts.

Zohāk, b. 349—353, 360—367:

یکی مایه ور بد بسان رهی
شگفتی بدل سوزگی کدخدای
بکندی ز دی پیش بیداد گام
در ایوان یکی تاجور دید نو
چو سرو بلند از برش گرد ماه
بکرد اشکارا همه راز خویش
که رو آلت تخت شاهی بجوی
بپیمای جام و بیارای خوان
بدانش همان دلز دای منست
چنان چون بود در خور بخت من
بکرد آنچه گفتش بدو رهنمای
همان در خورش باگهر مهتران
شبی کرد جشنی چنان چون سزید

چو کشور زضحاک بودی تهی
که او داشتی گنج و تخت و سرای
ورا کنندرو خواندندی بنام
بکاخ اندر آمد دوان کنندرو
نشسته بآرام در پیشگاه
فریدونش فرمود تا رفت پیش
بفرمود شاه دلاور بدوی
نبیذ آر و رامشگرانرا بخوان
کسی گو برامش سزای منست
بیار انجمن کن بر تخت من
چو بشنید از او این سخن کدخدای
می روشن آورد و رامشگران
فریدون غم افکند و رامش گزید

“Whenever Zohāk was to leave the country, a certain eminent man from his service took care of the treasury, the throne and the palace and it was a wonder how faithful was he to his lord. He was called Kondraw as he slowly bore obedience to this infamous one.

Kondraw ran into the palace and saw a new ruler on the throne. He sat composedly on his lofty place as a high cypress under the ring of the moon. (...)

Feridun told him to step nearer and to disclose his secrets. And ordered him the bold king:

— Go and prepare a feast worthy of the king's throne. Fetch drinks and call the musicians, fill the goblets and trim the dishes.

When Kondraw heard these words, he did what the new ruler told him to do. He brought pellucid wine and the musicians to accompany the feast of the honourable nobles.”

The resemblance of Cyrus who hold himself to be the king of the conquered countries to Feridun as the king of Āmul and to Kay Kāwus as the king of Balx was mentioned above (pp. 23—24).

We know also, that Cyrus accepted religions of the conquered countries. That is why he might be associated with Feridun (see a note in *Tārix-e Tabari* — in the chapter *Feridun*, p. 55.