

consciousness of the many were substituted by the names known from the tradition.

The incredibly long reigns of the subsequent kings from Ğamšid to Goštāsp in the *Šāhnāme* are at variance with the Pahlavi account. Acc. to *Dinkārd* (IX, XXXVI, 119) Zarathuštra, contemporary to Goštāsp, complains: "J'ai enseigné la religion à Yam avec beaux troupeaux, je l'ai enseignée à Fretōn le lumineux, le grand, je l'ai enseignée à Kai Arš et je l'ai enseignée à Sāmān Karsāsp. Mais ils ne l'accepterent pas, car la druj de la désobeissance qui habitait en eux était trop forte"<sup>8</sup>.

So. acc. to this account, no more than fifty years elapsed between Ğamšid and Lohrāsp (the years of Zarathuštra's manhood). It means then, that Feridun, the son of Kayqobād — Kay Areš, and Goštāsp were almost contemporaries.

Acc. to *Dinkārd*<sup>9</sup> Kay Kavat's father was yazat Nēriōsang.

Acc. to *Mağmal at-tawārix*<sup>10</sup> Kayqobād was brought from the mountains near Hamadān to Ray by Rostam.

Acc. to Tabari<sup>11</sup> Balx was the seat of Kay Kāwus. Acc. to Bal'ami<sup>12</sup> it was also the seat of Kayqobād, Lohrāsp<sup>13</sup>, Goštāsp<sup>14</sup> and Bahman<sup>15</sup>.

Acc. to Mas'udi, *Murūğ*: "Es wird gesagt: Der erste unter den Königen, der sich in Balx niederliess und aus dem 'Irāq auswanderte, war Kāi-Ka'ūs. Er wandte sich nach dem Yaman, nachdem er im 'Irāq Gott gegenüber abtrönnig geworden war und zur Bekämpfung des Himmels ein Schloss erbaut hatte. Der König des Yaman, zu welchem K.-K. in einer Zeit zog, war Šammar b. Firīqis. Š. zog gegen ihn, machte ihn zum Gefangenen und kerkerte ihn im schlimmsten Kerker ein"<sup>16</sup>.

Acc. to Tha'alibi, one of the crazy adventures of Kay Kāwus was his campaign to the land of the Hīmyarites, Yemen<sup>17</sup>. Zāl, Tus and Gudarz advise Kay Kāwus to establish his capital in Balx<sup>18</sup>. From Yemen Kay Kāwus went to Fārs, where he examined state affairs. From there he came to Balx<sup>19</sup>. But Seyāvūš and Rostam, whom Kay Kāwus sent to fight Afrāsyāb, headed towards Herāt, Tāleqān and Balx<sup>20</sup>. So we do not know the place of their

<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, p. 522.

<sup>9</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, p. 451.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., *FNA*, II, pp. 1040—1041.

<sup>11</sup> Tab, *Tar*, II, p. 597.

<sup>12</sup> Bal, I, p. 407.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 491.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 495.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>16</sup> Cf., *M-Z, THS*, p. 72.

<sup>17</sup> Tha, *Hist*, p. 155.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

departure since Balx was said to be the capital of Iran. From Balx Rostam went to Kay Kāwus<sup>21</sup>. But where?

As far as Kay Xosrow is concerned, Tha'alibi writes that he went to Šāš, from there to Buxārā, crossed the Ğeyhun, stopped at Balx, then through Xorāsān he went to Pārs where he had his residence<sup>22</sup>.

Lohrāsp, acc. to Tha'alibi, enlarged and embellished Balx (...). He appointed Buxt Nassar administrator of the land from Ahvāz to Rum, and gave him the absolute power over children of Israel<sup>23</sup>. Having delivered the rule up to Goštāsp, he went away to Balx and there he devoted himself to God's service<sup>24</sup>. So Balx had not been his seat previously.

Zarathuštra converts Goštāsp to his religion in Balx<sup>25</sup>.

Acc. to the *Šāhnāme*, Pārs was the seat of Nouzar. From there he sent away his women and children to the Elburz mountains in the times of a menace<sup>26</sup>. Zāl having heard about the death of Nouzar, went to Pārs<sup>27</sup>.

Zāl, having concluded peace with Afrāsyāb, comes back to Pārs<sup>28</sup>.

Kayqobād has his capital in Istaxr, in Pārs<sup>29</sup>.

Kay Kāwus, having defeated Māzanderān, entrusted Aulād with the rule over this country and himself went to Pārs<sup>30</sup> (cf. Biruni's list of the kings of Fārs according to the words of the inhabitants of the West: after "Buxtassar, that is Kaykous", comes Ulād). Also from there he sent his orders to Marv, Nišāpur, Balx and Herāt<sup>31</sup>. Tus, Gudarz and Giw came to Kay Kāwus, to Pārs<sup>32</sup>.

Kay Xosrow, having seized the fortress Bahman, went to Pārs, to Kay Kāwus<sup>33</sup>. In the time of Gudārz's campaign against Pirān, Balx is referred to as one of the Iranian cities situated near the border with Turān<sup>34</sup>. Coming back from his campaign against Afrāsyāb, Kay Xosrow crossed the Ğeyhun and made a halt in Balx for one month<sup>35</sup>. Then he went to Ray and to Pārs, to Kay Kāwus. When the war finished, the chieftains went to Pārs, where Key Kāwus was<sup>36</sup>. There they could enjoy a period of rest after the hardships they had undergone<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>26</sup> *Nouzar*, v. 240.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., v. 258.

<sup>28</sup> *Zaw*, v. 36.

<sup>29</sup> *Kayqobād*, v. 175.

<sup>30</sup> *Kay Kāwus va raftan-e u be Māzanderān*, v. 897.

<sup>31</sup> *Razm-e Kay Kāwus bā šāh-e Hāmāverān*, v. 350.

<sup>32</sup> *Dāstān-e Seyāvuš*, v. 3005.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., v. 3755.

<sup>34</sup> *Dāstān-e davāzde rox*, v. 1127.

<sup>35</sup> *Ġang-e bozorg-e Kay Xosrow bā Afrāsyāb*, v. 2140.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., v. 2147.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., v. 2390—2394.

Lohrāsp built in Balx a fortress and the temple of fire Āzer Borzin<sup>38</sup>. Lohrāsp ascends the throne in Pārs<sup>39</sup>.

Having yielded the throne to Goštāsp, Lohrāsp went to Balx "which then was for the worshippers of God the same what now Mekka is for the Arabs"<sup>40</sup>. Turānian envoys came to the king's palace in Balx with a letter from Argāsp to Goštāsp<sup>41</sup>. Seeing the killed Zarir on the battle-field, Goštāsp cried out: "Oh, you, the king over the heroes of Balx, my whole life turned bitter!"<sup>42</sup> "A scout (from Turān) left for a journey, he chose Balx which was the seat of the king"<sup>43</sup>.

So acc. to the *Šāhnāme*, Balx was not the capital of the Kayān, at least till Goštāsp came to the throne. Besides, it is not known where the name Balx denotes the city and where the country. In Pārs, it is mentioned several times in the *Šāhnāme*, the capital of Iran was in Istaxr, which means, of course, Persepolis that was built only in the times of the great Achaeminidae.

To conclude, the dynasties known to very complicated Persian traditions seem to be rather some reflections of the historic Achaemenidae and their foreign, e.g. Babylonian, Median contemporaries, than any, "legendary dynasties before them".

## AFRĀSYĀB

Besides Zohāk, Salm and Tur, Afrāsyāb (whose name in the epos might have partly originated from personification of the real geographical place — the Old Samarkand — which, in turn, could have derived its name from a real person) is the chief enemy of Iran.

Still during his father's — Pešeng — life, he became the commander-in-chief of the Turanian army and invaded Iran to revenge the death of Salm and Tur on king Nouzar, the son of Manučehr<sup>1</sup>.

Then Afrāsyāb ordered to be crowned in Ray as the king of Iran<sup>2</sup>.

During the reign of Zaw, the successor of Nouzar, a terrible drought set in. (*Zaw*. v. 20—38).

شده خشك خاک و گيارا دهان  
همی بر کشیدند نان با درم  
بروی اندر آورده روی سپاه  
نه روز یلان بود و رزم سران  
سپه را همی بود و تاره نماد

همان بد که تنگی بد اندر جهان  
نیامد همی ز آسمان هیچ نم  
دو لشکر بران گونه تا هشت ماه  
نگردند بکروز جنگی گران  
ز تنگی چنان شد که چاره نماد

<sup>38</sup> *Lohrāsp*, v. 19—21.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Goštāsp*, (*Daqiqi*), v. 14—16.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 180—182.

<sup>42</sup> *Goštāsp* (*Ferdousi*), v. 776.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 1016.

<sup>1</sup> *Nouzar*, v. 428—431.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 450—451.

که از ماست بر ما بد آسمان  
 فرستاده آمد بنزدیک زو  
 نیامد بجز درد و اندوه و رنج  
 سراپیم یک با دگر آفرین  
 ز تنگی نید روزگار درنگ  
 که در دل ندارند کین کهن  
 ز کار گذشته نیارند یاد  
 از آن بخش گیتی ز نزدیک و دور  
 سپردند شاهی بران انجمن  
 ازو زال رادست کوتاه بود  
 چنین بخش کردند تخت و کلاه  
 کهن بود لیکن جهان کرد نو  
 جهانی گرفتند هر یک ببر  
 زمین شد پر از رنگ و بوی و نگار

سخن رفتشان يك بيك همزبان  
 ز هر دو سپه خاست فریاد و غو  
 که گر بهر ما زین سرای سپنج  
 بیاتا ببخشیم روی زمین  
 سر نامداران تهی شد ز جنگ  
 بران بر نهادند هر دو سخن  
 ببخشند گیتی برسم و بداد  
 ز دریای پیکند تا مرز تور  
 روارو چنین تا بچین و ختن  
 ز مرزی کجا مرز خرگاه بود  
 وزین روی ترکان نجویند راه  
 سوی پارس لشکر برون راند زو  
 سوی زابلستان بشد زال زر  
 پر از غلغل و رعد شد کوهسار

"It happened that a great calamity came to the world, the ground turned dry, all plants shrivelled up, and dew did not come from the sky, and bread was sold by the weight of dirhams. Both armies stood idle face to face, there was no day of fight, there was no day of chieftains or of heroes. No one knew how to remedy this calamity and the troops lost their hope. From mouth to mouth spread the words: we are to blame for this calamity from the sky. And a great tumult arose in both armies — an envoy came to Zaw:

— Now that this unsteady possession gives us only pains, sufferings and worries, do come to let us divide this land, do come to let us praise each other. The famous warriors have already abandoned their thoughts of fight, our hardship is boundless.

And both armies consented that their hearts are now void of past anger. They could justly divide the world, they could forget things of the past. They did leave all the kindoms to this just division. From the river Paykand to the borders of Tur, from those quarters of the world, from here and from there, and then farther to Xotan and China, those distant kingdoms from the old borders of Xargāh, where Zāl never reached his hand, and the Turks would not come to this side.

Zaw sent his troops back to Pārs, he was old, but he rejuvenated the world. Old Zāl departed to Zābulistān and all countries felt relief. Thunders and lightnings pealed in the mountains, colours and fragrances covered the earth".

After Zaw's death, Afrāsyāb invaded Iran again<sup>3</sup>.

Also after the death of Geršāsp, Afrāsyāb marched out to Iran to prevent the choice of a new king (*Geršāsp*, v. 15—16):

بافراسیاب از دلاور پشنگ  
 ممان تا کسی بر نشیند بگاه  
 ز دشت سینجاب تا رود آب

پیامی بیامد بکردار سنگ  
 که بگذار جیحون و بر کنش سپاه  
 یکی لشکری ساخت افراسیاب

<sup>3</sup> *Geršāsp*, v. 5—6.

"An envoy (of Pešeng) came flying as the stone — to the brave king, to Afrāsyāb:

— Cross the Ğeyhun, take your troops and do not leave these countries till there is still somebody living.

Afrāsyāb marched off with his troops across the steppe of Sepangāb towards the river".

When Kayqobād had been crowned, Afrāsyāb, terrified by the courageous deeds of Rostam, proposed to make peace and to fix the border between Iran and Turān along the Ğeyhun so as to leave to Turān "the land which Feridun the hero once gave to the brave Tur"<sup>4</sup>.

When the new king of Iran, Kay Kāwus, became the prisoner of the king of Hāmāverān, Afrāsyāb invaded Iran once again. *Hāmāverān*, v. 179—190:

سیاهش بایران نهادند روی  
که گم شد ز پالیز سرو سهی  
بجستن گرفتند هر کس کلاه  
ز هر سو بیامد سپاهی گران  
برآمد سر از خورد و آرام و خواب  
شد آرام گیتی پر از جنگ و جوش  
برآویخت با لشکر تازیان  
بدادند سرها ز بهر کلاه  
گهی ناز و نوش و گهی درد و رنج  
شکارست مرگش همی بشکرد  
ز بهر فزونی سرآمد زیان  
زن و مرد و کودک همه بنده شد

چو بسته شد آن شاه دیهیم جوی  
پراگنده شد در جهان آگهی  
چو بر تخت زر بن دیدند شاه  
ز ترکان و از دشت نیزه وران  
گران لشکری ساخت افراسیاب  
از ایران برآمد زهر سو خروش  
برآشفقت افراسیاب آنزمان  
بجنگ اندرون بود لشکر سه ماه  
چنین است رسم سرای سپنج  
سرانجام نیک و بدش بگذرد  
شکست آمد از ترک بر تازیان  
سپاه اندر ایران پراگنده شد

"When this king, avid of the crown, was seized, his army returned to Iran. And the news spread all over the world that this lofty cypress vanished from the garden. When the king was missing on the golden throne, everyone reached for the crown. From everywhere, from the Turks, from the Spears-Bearing Steppe great armies were coming. Afrāsyāb led innumerable troops, peace and desire for food and sleep left him.

Turmoil arose in the whole of Iran, the war and tumult overwhelmed this world. Afrāsyāb boiled with rage and brooded over the troops of the Arabs. The strife continued three months, they would give their heads for the crown. And so it is in this precarious world: bliss and joy now, toil and sufferings then, till its evil and good pass away and everything falls a pray to death. The Turks defeated the Arabs, the excess of gain begot the loss. And the troops filled Iran and men and women and children were held captive".

Having defeated the Arabs, Afrāsyāb refused to leave the land of Iran, which, as he announced, Feridun gave to his predecessor, Tur. *Hāmāverān*, v. 324—326:

باید شنیدن سخنهاى راست  
همه شهر ایران سراى منست  
تهى کردم از تازیان انجمن

چنین گفت کایران دو رویه مراست  
که پور فریدون نیای منست  
و دیگر ببازوی شمشیرزن

<sup>4</sup> *Kayqobād*, v. 9.

"Thus spoke he:

— Iran is twice mine. The words should be properly understood. For the son of Feridun is my grandfather, and the whole Iran is my property. Secondly, I delivered everybody from the Arabs with my arm fit for the sword".

Later on Afrāsyāb again invaded Balx from beyond the Ğeyhun, but being haunted by a terrible dream, retreated before Seyāvuš. *Seyāvuš*, v. 881—883:

زدند و فروهشت پرده سرای سپیجاب و آن کشور و تخت عاج بهانه نجست و فریب و درنگ	بفرمود تا کوس با کره نای بخارا و سغد و سمرقند و چاچ تہی کرد و شد با سپہ سوی گنگ
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"He ordered to beat the drums, to blow the horns and they struck the royal camp. He forsook Buxārā, Sogd, Samarcand and Cāč and Sepiğāb, his land and throne, and he led his army to Gang; he did not look for subterfuge, for ruse or delay".

When as the result of a dramatic break with Kay Kāwus, Seyāvuš asked Afrāsyāb for asylum, he was granted it. Soon afterwards Afrāsyāb considered if he should give his daughter away in marriage to Seyāvuš, since astrologers foretold him that his grandson, the offspring of both families, would deprive him of the crown<sup>5</sup>.

When Seyāvuš became his son-in-law, Afrāsyāb granted him the land near the Chinese border<sup>6</sup>.

Afrāsyāb sends his relative, Pirān, the commander-in-chief of the Turānian army, to visit the province. *Seyāvuš*, v. 1704—1708:

ز شاهان گیتی گرفتند یاد بنزدیک سالار توران سپاہ از آن پس گذر کن بمکران زمین وزانجا گذر گن بدریای سند بگستر بمرز خزر در سپاہ	ببودند يك هفته زين گونه شاد بهشتم یکی نامه آمد ز شاه کزانجا برو تا بدریای چین همی رو چنین تا سرمرز هند همه باژ کشور سراسر بخواه
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"They (Seyāvuš and Pirān) were happy together for a week, and they recalled the kings of the world. On the eighth day a letter came from the king to the cheftain of the Turānian troops: — Go from there to the Chinese Sea and march to the land of Mekrān till you reach the borders of Hind; from there go to the river Sind. Demand tributes from all the countries, send your troops to the borders of Xazar".

The territories ascribed to Afrāsyāb in the legend are also presented in *The Tale of Bižan and Maniže*, according to which Turān borders with Armenia, and in the already mentioned *The Tale of The Twelve Heroes* (literally towers- ) and in *The Great War of Kay Xosrow against Afrāsyāb* (cf., above, the chapter *The conquests of Cyrus*", part 2, *The Massagetae Campaign*, pp. 24—29).

<sup>5</sup> *Seyāvuš*, v. 1490—1493.

<sup>6</sup> *Seyāvuš*, v. 1562—1566.

But Afrāsyāb, trying to escape Kay Xosrow's revenge, crisscrossed his vast country and finally took refuge in a cave near Berda' in Āzarbāigān<sup>7</sup>.

So when we compare the epic adventures of Afrāsyāb with the ancient history of Iran, we can see in this king of Turān either a certain imaginary ruler of all the Indo-Iranian nations which used to encamp to the east of the Caspian Sea, or the king of Media, Astyages. Besides the associations discussed in the first two chapters of the present work (*The childhood and youth of Cyrus* and *The war for the Persian Liberation*), also the description of Astyages' last moments brings to mind Afrāsyāb. Acc. to Ctesias, Cyrus, having won the war, entered Ecbatana and put the relatives of Astyages to torture; Astyages, having heard their groans, abandoned his shelter. Similarly Kay Xosrow ordered to torture Gersivez, Afrāsyāb's brother. Afrāsyāb could not bear his moans and emerged from the water where he had hidden himself<sup>9</sup>.

In the Avesta, Afrāsyāb was known as Frangrasyān<sup>10</sup>. In *Yašt* V, 11. Frangrasyān prays in vain to Ardvī Sūra Anāhita for xvarena<sup>11</sup>. In *Yašt* IX, 18, Haōma offers oblation to the mighty Drvāspa to allow him to bind Frangrasyān, Drvāspa granted his request<sup>12</sup>. Also Husravah prayed to Drvāspa to allow him to kill Frangrasyān<sup>13</sup>. His prayers were heard too.

"...all the oppressions and injuries — writes, after Geiger, Coyagee<sup>14</sup> — which the settlements of Avesta people has to endure from their turbulent neighbours of the Caspian deserts are personified in the Turanian prince Frangrasyān, who, after protracted and desperate struggles, was finally overpowered by Kay Xusrau".

T. Nöldeke claims that Afrāsyāb is the king of the Medes, Astyages<sup>15</sup>.

E. Herzfeld<sup>16</sup> derives the name "Frahrazyā" from Parsondas, the king of the Cadusii, mentioned by Ctesias.

However, Herzfeld is inclined to assume that the name Turān appearing in the Iranian epos denotes all the countries except Iran<sup>17</sup>.

## MĀZANDERĀN

For the first time Māzanderān appears in the *Šāhnāme* when Sām, during the reign of Manučehr, announces (*Manučehr*, v. 247):

سوی گرساران و مازندران      همی راند خواهم سپاهی گران

<sup>7</sup> *Ġang-e bozorg-e Kay Xosrow bā Afrāsyāb*, v. 2212 (cf., *The War for the Persian Liberation*, p. 21).

<sup>8</sup> Cf., Diakonov, *Istoriya Midii*, p. 422.

<sup>9</sup> *Ġang-e Bozorg-e Kay Xosrow ba Afrāsyāb*, v. 2306—2332.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., p. 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Av*, D, O, II, pp. 64—65.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114—115.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115—116.

<sup>14</sup> *Studies in the Shahnameh*, p. 144.

<sup>15</sup> *Das iranische Nationalepos*, GIP, II, p. 135.

<sup>16</sup> *Hfd*, *Zor*, II, p. 707—708.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 704—720.

"I will lead innumerable troops against Māzanderān and Those Wolf-Headed".

One of the mobeds, asked by Sām what would result from the marriage of Zāl and Rudābe, said that it would bring a hero, thanks to whom (*Manučehr*, v. 709):

نه سگسار ماند نه مازندران      زمین را بشوید بگرز گران

"Neither a Dog-Headed shall remain nor Māzanderān, and he will raze the ground with his heavy mace".

When Manučehr ordered Sām to destroy Kābul and to exterminate the whole clan of Mehrāb, Zāl complained to his father (*Manučehr*, v. 988—989):

ز مازندران هدیه این ساختی      هم از گرگساران بدین تاختی  
که ویران کنی خان آباد من      چنین داد خواهی همی داد من

"So thou hast brought such a gift for me all the way from Māzanderān? So thou hast come all the way from Those Wolf-Headed so as to ravage the house of my happiness? So this is thy justice for thy son?"

Among others, Sām writes to Manučehr (*Manučehr*, v. 1012—1016):

ببستم میان را یکی بنده وار      ابا جادوان ساختم کارزار  
عنان پیچ و اسب افکن و گرزدار      چو من کس ندیدی بگیتی سوار  
بشد آب گردان مازندران      چو من دست بردم بگرز گران  
ز من گر نبودی بگیتی نشان      بر آورده گردن ز گردن کشان  
چنان اژدها کو ز رود کشف      برون آمد و کرد گیتی چو کف

"As your servant I girt my loins and was striving with the wizards. No one shall see a hero on the earth who knows as well as I do how to keep the reins, how to hold the mace or to overthrow warriors. The time of glory for Māzanderān passed when I reached for a heavy mace. I would have kept my head more proudly than the haughty ones even if I had not left more traces in this world save that I slew the monster, which appeared in Kašafrud and made the world empty as the palm of the hand.

Sām mentions this monster later in his letter (*Manučehr*, v. 1044—1045):

بزخمی چنان شد که دیگر نخاست      ز مغزش زمین گشت با کوه راست  
کشف رود پر خون و زرداب شد      زمین جای آرامش و خواب شد

"The blow was such that he could rise no more and his brain made the ground as the mountains. Kašafrud filled itself with blood and gall, the earth became the place of sleep and rest".

In the same letter he continues (*Manučehr*, v. 1055):

همه گرگساران و مازندران      بتو راست کردم بگرز گران

"The whole Māzanderān, all the Wolf-Headed I have submitted to you with my heavy mace".



Already after the marriage of Zāl and Rudābe (*Manučehr*, v. 1459—1463):

برون برد لشکر بفرخنده فال درفش خجسته بر افراخت سر دل و دیده با ما ندارند راست مراد داد و گفتا همی دار و خور بویژه زگردان مازندران	سپرد آن زمان پادشاهی بزال سوی گرگساران شد و باختر شوم گفت کان پادشاهی مراست منوچهر منشور آن شهر بر بترسم ز آشوب بدگوهران
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"Then Sām gave his kingdom to Zāl and led the army under a propitious star. He led it against the Wolf-Headed and against Bāxtar, and he spread a victorious banner.

— I will go — said he — for there is my kingdom, though neither their eyes nor their hearts trust me there. Manučehr gave this country as a fief unto me and said: "Hold it and profit by it". I fear what a revolt ill advices might rise there, when the heroes of Māzanderān aid them".

When, during the reign of Nouzar, unrest spread over the country, the king sent a letter to Sām. *Nouzar*, v. 10:

بسگسار مازندران بود سام      فرستاد نوذر براو پیام

"Sām stayed at the Dog-Headed of Māzanderān (when) Nouzar sent envoys to him".

So in the stories about Manučehr and Nouzar, Māzanderān brings to mind Hyrcania and Kāserud (in the *Šāhnāme* also: Kašafrud) what indicates a Caspian country.

In the story about the war of Kay Kāwus with Māzanderān this country is described at first as a rich land with a soft and kindly climate. So far we do not know from what side of Iran it was situated. Only when Rostam sets off to release Kay Kāwus who was imprisoned in Māzanderān, and his guide is the captured Aulād, we learn that Māzanderān — in this story — is Babylon<sup>1</sup>.

There is yet another detail, maybe trifling but similar to that appearing in the war of Cyrus with Babylon:

Kay Kāwus, having defeated White Dev, seized the throne of Māzanderān (b. 621). Then he conquered the whole Māzanderān and wrote a letter to the king of Māzanderān (b. 637).

When Cyrus conquered Babylon, Nabunaid was away; similarly the king of Māzanderān was away from his capital.

Acc. to the *Avesta*, as Darmesteter writes<sup>2</sup>, "Māzanderān was held a place of resort for demons and sorcerers, and was in the Iranian legend nearly the same as Ceylon is in Rāmāyana".

"To her (Drvāspa) — we read in *Yašt IX*<sup>3</sup> — Haoshyangha, the Paradhāta, offered up a sacrifice (...) with an offering of libations:

<sup>1</sup> Cf., pp. 31—34.

<sup>2</sup> *Av*, D, O, II, p. 59, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

"Grant me this boon, o good, most beneficent Drvāspa! that I may overcome all the Daēvas of Māzana (...)"

According to some Pahlavi texts, it was not Haošyangha who defeated devs of Māzanderān, but Frēdūn.

In the chapter XXI (*Sūdkār Nask*) of the book IX of *Dīnkārd*<sup>4</sup> we can read:

"1. The twentieth fargard, *Vohū-khshathrem*, is about the oppressive actions of the sovereignty which Dahāk exercised over the earth of seven *regions*, and the forward progress of his commands owing to a surrounding of terrors. (...)

17. About those of the Māzendarān country *having* consulted, after the smiting of Dahāk, as the turning to Khvanīras, and driving out Frēdūn therefrom, *and* as to the residence offered *by* the same place through the great number fallen; also on account of their tallness, there are *parts* of the wideformed ocean that come up to *their* midthigh, there are *others* that *are* up to the navel, and the deeper places *are* up to the mouth. 18. And, when they have come to this region, *their* producing grievous harm and destruction *to* the poor, and the coming of the people with complaints to Frēdūn, and their speaking thus: 'Why didst thou smite *Az-ī* Dahāk, who was a good ruler as to prerogative, so that danger *was* kept away by him, and an inquisitor from him protected this region from those of the Māzenderān country?' (...)

20. About the encountering of Frēdūn with those of the Māzenderān country on the plain of Pēsānīgas, and disputing with them thus: 'You are of the Māzendar country, *and* I *have* destroyed *Az-ī* Dahāk by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a grievous sovereign of every one, demons *and* men; for that smiting of him I am produced *by* Aūharmazd more overpowering than his limbs made paralyzed by his own enmity, and then you destroy this country of mine, you who are of the Māzendar country"'.<sup>5</sup>

Nöldeke<sup>5</sup> holds that legendary Māzanderān is a Caspian country bearing this name till the present day. M. Molé<sup>6</sup> argues this point, claiming that Māzanderān is after all a mythical land.

"Selon la tradition religieuse — writes Christensen<sup>7</sup> Frēdōn (Θραεταona des *Yašts*) fit la guerre aux démons du Mazenderan, épisode que la tradition nationale semble avoir passé sous silence".

It is true that Ferdousi does not mention the conquest of Māzanderān by Feridun (It is Sām who fights there on behalf of Manučehr). On the other hand, however, Feridun is the lord of Āmul in Geršāspnāme of Asadī<sup>8</sup>.

On the basis of these statements we may conclude that Māzanderān was conquered by one of the Iranian rulers, who, in the course of time, appeared under various names in the legends: as Hušang (Av. Haošyangha), what brings to mind the remotest antiquity, as Feridun, Kay Kāwus and Kay Xosrow.

<sup>4</sup> *PT*, IV, pp. 212—217.

<sup>5</sup> *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1915, p. 597.

<sup>6</sup> *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Kayanides*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf.*, p. 23.

In the 20th century, the problem concerning the meaning of Māzanderān in the epos was discussed most thoroughly by D. Monchi-Zadeh, who devoted to it a hundred pages of his work<sup>9</sup>.

At the beginning of his discussion concerning Māzanderān, D. Monchi-Zadeh says that, "ist die Identifizierung des Landes Māzandarān im Šn bis jetzt nicht gelungen"<sup>10</sup>. Then he concludes that since Ferdousi never calls a southern sea-coast of the Caspian Māzanderān, it is justifiable to accept a view of Marijan Molé or of Spiegel ("ein Zug nach Māzandarān heißt nichts anderes als ein Zug in die Hölle."), or of Wikander ("Māzana, das immerhin in der Vorstellungswelt der östlichen Iranier zu Hause ist")<sup>11</sup>. None of those authors takes into consideration a fact that apart from a mythical meaning, a name of a place or of a person may have also a historical meaning (cf., above p. 10—11). Furthermore, in the whole second part of his work, Monchi-Zadeh suggests that Māzanderān could have been situated in Syria, India or in Yemen<sup>12</sup>.

D. Monchi-Zadeh<sup>13</sup> relates the names of Māzanderān "devs" to the names of the Panadava brothers from *Mahābhārata* and to some other Indian names. However, this fairly suggestive idea is debatable. Even if these etymological associations were true, what seems to be dubious (e.g. Pulad < Nakula), it would prove no more than an inheritance of some mythical figures from the times of the Indo-Iranian community.

## ZERE

Acc. to Justi<sup>1</sup>, Ferdousi's Zere denotes simply zṛāy i Fraxvkart belonging to a later Zoroastrian tradition, i.e. "(Welt) — Ozean". We should add here that Mekrān, situated on the way of Key Xosrow to the Zere, Justi places in Mongolia<sup>2</sup>.

D. Monchi-Zadeh, comparing the campaign of Kay Kāvus to Māzanderān with the campaign to Hāmāverān, also identifies the name Zire (zirih) simply with the ocean<sup>3</sup>.

But let us look at this case once more.

The word Zere or Āb-e Zere, appears in the Šāhnāme only nine times.

For the first three times it appears in the story *Razm-e Kāvus bā šah-e Hāmāverān*, v. 3—5:

<sup>9</sup> M-Z, *THS*, pp. 49—149.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66, 142.

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur alten Geographie Persiens*, in: *Marburger Universitätsprogramm*, 1869/1870; cf., M-Z, *THS*, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., M-Z, *THS*, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., *ibid.*, p. 74.

"From Mekran he went to Zere, and no army disturbed him anywhere. (...) In that manner he entered Barbar (...). (Persian text, see above, p. 24).

Then this name appears four times in the description of a chase undertaken by Kay Xosrow after Afrāsyāb (*Ġang-e bozorg-e Kay Xosrow bā Afrāsyāb*, v. 1683—1711):

فرستاد کس نژاد افراسیاب  
 ز بد کردن خویش رنجورباش  
 بد آید بداندیش را کار پیش  
 پشیمان شد از کرده های کهن  
 بسی راه راه بیابان گرفت  
 بیامد دمان تا بکوه اسپروز  
 شب و روز را دل یکی پیشه کرد  
 میان سوده از رنج و بند گره  
 مر آنرا میان و کرانه ندید  
 بدین ژرف دریا نیابی گذار  
 ندیدم که کشتی بروبر گذشت  
 که فرخ کسی کو بمیرد در آب  
 چنان چون نکشتش نگیرد بمشت  
 بآب اندر آرد کشتی بسی  
 بنیک و بدیها سر اندر کشید  
 برآسود از روز گار نبرد  
 ز کار گذشته نگیریم یاد  
 بکشتی بر آب زره بگذرم  
 درفشان کشت راه و آیین خویش  
 که کار نو آورد مرد کهن  
 سوی گنگ دژ شد ز دریای آب  
 که مارا سپهر بلندست جفت  
 همه رنج ما سربسر باد گشت  
 نباشد نگردانم این کین کهن  
 بیندم بکین سیاوش کمر  
 بدریای بکیناک بر بگذرم  
 بخوایم بازی مکران زمین  
 اگر چرخ گردان بود نیک خواه  
 مگر مرد خونی بچنگ آیدم

چو بشنید فغفور هنگام خواب  
 که از من ز چین و ختن دور باش  
 هر آنکس که او گم کند راه خویش  
 چو بشنید افراسیاب این سخن  
 بیفگند نام مهی جان گرفت  
 چو با درد و با رنج و غم دید روز  
 ز بدخواه روز و شب اندیشه کرد  
 بیامد ز چین تا باب زره  
 چو بزدیك آن ژرف دریا رسید  
 بدو گفت ملاح کای شهریار  
 مرا سالیان هست هفتاد و هشت  
 بدو گفت پرمايه افراسیاب  
 مرا چون بشمشیر دشمن نکشت  
 بفرمود تا مهتران هر کسی  
 سوی گنگ دژ بادبان برکشید  
 چو آن جایگه شد بخت و بخورد  
 چنین گفت کایدر بباشیم شاد  
 چو روشن شود تیره کون اخترم  
 ز دشمن بخوایم همان کین خویش  
 چو کیخسرو آگاه شد زین سخن  
 برستم چنین گفت کافراسیاب  
 بگردان کرد آنج با ما بگفت  
 بکشتی باب زره برگذشت  
 مرا با نیاجز بخنجر سخن  
 بنیروی یزدان پیروزگر  
 همه چین و ماچین شبه گسترم  
 چو گردد مرا راست ماچین و چین  
 باب زره بگذرانم سپاه  
 اگر چند جایی درنگ آیدم

"When faghfur heard this (demand of Kay Xosrow), he sent a man to Afrāsyāb late at night:

— Keep away from me, from China and from Xotan, suffer now for your ill doings. Everyone who loses his way, shall find his affairs turned into evil.

When Afrāsyāb heard that, he began to regret his past doings.

Mindless of his fame, he saved his soul and set off through the empty wilderness, he underwent the days of toil, grief, suffering; and breathless he came to the mountain Aspruz. Day and night was he troubled by revengeful thoughts, day and night he worried his heart with them. And he came from China to the waters of Zere, with his body sore, rubbed by his armour. When he came to this deep water, he could see neither its middle nor its banks.