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 Irâq 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 frely 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 Irāq'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 Xorasm? 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, Irâq met Tur and Salm in Āzarbāiğān. Almost all of Iran's struggles with Turān take place in the north-east. Afrāsyāb, the main, after Zohâk and Tur, enemy of Iran, is captured and killed in the west (again in Āzarbāiğān).

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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.
15 17. Tha, Hist, p. 47.
Moses of Xoren mentions the region of Tur in Xorazm\textsuperscript{16}. There is also the motherland of Parondas, the chief of the Cadusii mentioned by Ctesias (Herzfeld suggests that the name of Parondas is etymologically identical with the name of Afrasyab\textsuperscript{17}).

Tur is associated not so much with Āzarbāīğan (Media Atropatene) as such, but with Media in general, by the name of his wife, Māh-e Āzāde Xuy and of his daughter, Māhāferid (literally, Created, born of Media), who was a wife or concubine (parastande — lit. worshiper, servant or devoted) of Irgā. After Irgā’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. Tabari\textsuperscript{18} says that a wife of Seyāvuš was Safāferid, a daughter of Afrasyāb. Her son, Seyāvuš’s posthumous child, was Kay Xosrow. Thus, the legend of Irgā would in its basic points be identical with the legend of Seyāvuš. Also, Safāferid may be the result misreading of the name Māhāferid, This might be another clue to the hypothesis that the legend mixes up the three heroes — Zohāk, Tur and Afrasyāb, and that some traces of the history of Astyages can be found in all these three characters.

\section*{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 Tur\textsuperscript{1}. Soon afterwards he becomes one of the commanders of Manučehr’s army, marching against Salm and Tur (\textit{Feridun}, v. 672):

"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 (gahān-pahlavān). It is he who, on behalf of the warriors, answers the king (Manučehr, v. 29—42):

\textsuperscript{16} Cf., Hfd, Zor., p. 708.
\textsuperscript{17} Cf., p. 113 of this work.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Tārīx ar-rusul} transl. Pāyande, II, p. 422.
\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Feridun}, v. 583.
"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 Simurġ, 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 Manučehr'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. Θάμανα, Av. sāma — never mentioned before the

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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-Haravati\textsuperscript{4}.

"The topical name harahvatiš — writes Herzfeld\textsuperscript{5} — has been attested since the time of Darius; the name of the inhabitants was θομαχωγιοι, OP. for *sāmāna, to sāma > 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 Husravah\textsuperscript{1}. Kavi Vishtāspa is mentionned separately, on some other places.

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\hline
\text{Kavi Kavāta} & \text{Freni} \\
\hline
\text{Kavi Aipivanghu} & \\
\hline
\text{Kavi Usadhan} & \text{Kavi Arshan} & \text{Kavi Pisanah} & \text{Kavi Byārshan} \\
\hline
\text{Kavi Syāvarshan} & \\
\hline
\text{Kavi Husravah} & \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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


\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., p. 721.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 761.
\textsuperscript{1} Harlez, p. 503; cf. also Av.D,O, II, p. 222; Chri, Kay, p. 18.
19. Siyāk-tōrā the Āspiyan
20. Bōr-tōrā the Āspiyan
21. Sōk-tōrā the Āspiyan
22. Pūr-tōrā the Āspiyan
23. Frēdūn the Āspiyan

4. Salm
25. Tug

27. Dūrōshasp
28. Vānidār
29. Anastokh
30. Gūzak (a daughter)
32. Fraguzak
33. Zūsak
35. Franzūsak
36. Bītak
39. Thritak
40. Āirak
44. Mām-sozak

50. Frāsiyāv
51. Kersēvaz
52. Aghrērad (Kadān)

53. Mānūs-khūrnāk
54. His (Mānūs-i sister
Khūrshēd-vīnīk)

56. Mānūs-khūrnar
57. His sister

58. Mānūśkihar

7. Pīrān
48. Hūmān
49. Sān

34. Tūrak

37. Zāesm
38. Sāhm

41. Vīsak
42. Pashang
43. Athrat

45—46. Two more daughters
58. Münūskihar

59. Fris 60. Dürāsrōb 61. Nōdar


67. Ayazem 68. Frāsiyāv (Urvad-gāī-frāst)

69. Vidast 70. Frasp-i Kur 71. Sān 72. Shēdak (and others) 73. Farhang 74. Kaī-Kavād (Vispan-fryā, Freni)

75. Spītāmān

76. Hardār 77. Kaī-Apīvēh 78. Frenō

79. Hardarsn 80. Pāṭūrasp


86. Kakhshnūs 87. Mūnūs 88. Siyāvakhsh

89. Hāekadāsp 90. Aūzāv 91. Kaī-Khūsrōb

92. Aurvadasp 93. Lōharāsp

94. Pāṭīrāsp

95. Ārāstī 96. Pōrūshasp 97. Vistāsp 98. Zarīr (and other brothers)


103. Vohūman 104. Ātarō-tarsah 105. Mitrōtarsah (and others) (Artakhshatar)
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:

"Kayqubād, the son of Zu, the son of Zāg (?), the son of Nauzān (?), the son of Manušīhr, married Faranak (?), the daughter of Būdās (?) 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 Keye (?), who were the kings and the fathers of the mighty kings.

TabTar, vol. II, p. 535:

"They also say that the Kayānī (?) kings (الملوك الکیییت) 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:
“Balx was the seat of (Kaykâwus), 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 Siyâwaxš, and sent him to Rustam the brave, the son of Dastân, the son of Barâman (...) the ruler of Siğistân and the subjugated countries, to bring him up”.

TabTar, vol. II, p. 617:

"They say that some of the sons of (جد) the noble grandfather 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 Kaymûnûs, the king of Xuzistân and of the land of Bâbil (and) its surroundings and Kay Bi Ariš, the king of Kirmân and its surroundings, and Kay Auği, the son of Kaymûnûs, the son of Kayfâsin, the son of Kaymûnûs, the king of Fârs. And that Kay Auği was the father of Kay Luhrâsf, the padišâh”.

TabTar, vol. II, p. 618—619:

"After (Kay Xusraw), according to his will, Luhrâsf took his kingdom. Ğâmâs, 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)

| Manušhr |
| Nauzar |
| (Yuğannâ, Yuhannâ (?)) |
| Zâg (Bidirîsâ ?) |
| Kayqubâd (Farânak ?) |

Kay Afna Kay Kâwus Kay Ariš Kaybi Ariš (the son of (king of Kirmân) Siyâwaxš — p. 617, king of Xuzistân and Bâbil) Kay Xusraw

Ğâmâs Asbahr Rami Ramin

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Descendants of Manučehr acc. to Bal’ami:

Manučehr
  | Nouzar
  | Mîs
  | Yo’hannâ
  | Zağ "A daughter of one
  | Kayqobâd of the powerful houses
  | Kay Yâfte | Kay Kâwus | Kay Areš | Kay Fâsin | Kay Tiye | Bahman

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

Kayqobâd
  | Afrasyâb | Kay Kâwus | Kay Areš | Kay Pašin | Aršâş
  | Farangis | Seyâvuš | Aurand (acc. to Mohl
  | Kay Xosrow | Lohrâsp – Kay Armin)
  | Goštâsp
  | Esfandyâr
  | Bahman

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

Nökttarga (Bd, XXXI, 33)
Frangrasyän (Yt V, 41; Yt IX, 18 and others; Yt XVII, 42; Yt XIX, 56 and others)
Fräsiyāv (Bd, XII, 20 and others, Byt, II, 62)
Urvad-gaī-fraṣt (Bd, XXXI, 31)
Vidhirisā (Dd, XLVIII, 33)
Fräsiyāk (MKh, VII, 29; XXVII, 43 and others)
Vidharg-afraṣtaka (Paz., cf. PT, II, p. 171, n. 4)\(^2\)
Bidirisa (?) (TabTar, II, 533)
Farāsiyāt (TabTar, II, 598)
Afrāsyāb (Šn)

**Kai 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 (Balʿami, Zotenberg’s transl., I, p. 407)
Kayqobād (Šn)

**Farhank (Bd, XXXI, 33)**
Frenī (Yt, XIII, 140)
Vispān-fryā (Bd, XXXI, 18; Dd, XLVIII, 33)
Frēnō’ (Zs, XIII, 1)
Farānak (?) (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)
Kāī Kavād (Dd, XLVIII, 33)
Kāī Apīvēh (Bd, XXXI, 25, 28, 31, 34)
Kāī Khūsrōb (Bd, XXXI, 18)
Kay Xosrow (Šn)

Thaʿālibī (p. 37 of Zotenberg’s translation) entitled one of the chapters of his work: “Comment Afridun inaugura regne et institua le drapeau des Kayani-des”.

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 Kāī Khūsrōī 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”.

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\(^2\) E. West’s note: Paz. vidharg-afraṣtaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

\(^3\) PT, II, p. 116.
However, there are some further associations.

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

Acc. to H. Grassmann⁵: Učana, m. Eigennname 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 deputees in Babylon. The Kayān lived in Balf and when they came to Iraq, the inhabitants began to call them the Chaldeans, in the same way as they called their deputees (...)."

"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
Artaxāšast the First
Dariuš
Artaxāšast the Second
(..........................................................)"

The fact that the "Kayān" as the dynasty did not precede the Achæmenidae, 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 deputees 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 Afrūn, according to the words of the inhabitants of the West. [We disregard here the length of subsequent reigns given by Biruni].

Aful, that is Afrūn
Tiglatpilassar
Salmanassar — that is Salm
Senaxerib, Salmanasar’s son — in Persian — Sanaraft
Sardum — that is Zu, the son of Tumasp
Then (the following great kings ruled):
Kaykōbad
Senaxerib the Second
Maḵam
Buxtnassar, that is Kaykous
Ulād, the son of Buxtnassar
Baltašassar, the son of Evilad
Dara-al-Mahi, that is Dariuš
Kuruš, that is Kayxosrow
Kir, that is Luhrasf
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
Sogdyiariq 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 Balšami (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