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) Zarathuṣtra, 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 Kay Arš et je l'ai enseignée à Šāmān Karsāsp. Mais ils ne l'acceptèrent pas, car la druj de la désobéissance qui habitait en eux étaitit trop forte".

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

Acc. to Dinkārd Kay Kavat's father was yazat Nēriōsang.

Acc. to Mağmal at-tawārix Kayqobād was brought from the mountains near Hamadān to Ray by Rostam.

Acc. to Tabari11 Balx was the seat of Kay Kāwus. Acc. to Bał'ami12 it was also the seat of Kayqobād, Lohrasp13, Goštasp14 and Bahman15.

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. Erwandte sich nach dem Yaman, nachdem er im Irāq Gott gegenüber abtronnig 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. Fīrīqis. Š. zog gegen ihn, machte ihn zum Gefangenen und kerkerte ihn im schlimmsten Kerkern inein"

Acc. to Tha'lāibi, one of the crazy adventures of Kay Kāwus was his campaign to the land of the Himyarites, Yemen17. Zāl, Tus and Gudarz advise Kay Kāwus to establish his capital in Balx.18 From Yemen Kay Kāwus went to Fārs, where he examined state affairs. From there he came to Balx19. But Seyāvūs and Rostam, whom Kay Kāwus sent to fight Aftāsyyāb, headed towards Herāt, Tāleqān and Balx20. So we do not know the place of their

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8 Cf. M. Molé, Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien, p. 522.
10 Cf., FNA, II, pp. 1040—1041.
11 Tab, Tar, II, p. 597.
13 Ibid., p. 491.
14 Ibid., p. 495.
15 Ibid., p. 500.
16 Cf., M-Z, THS, p. 72.
17 Tha, Hist, p. 155.
18 Ibid., p. 156.
19 Ibid., p. 164.
20 Ibid., p. 189.
departure since Balx was said to be the capital of Iran. From Balx Rostam went to Kay Kāwus\(^\text{21}\). But where?

As far as Kay Xosrow is concerned, Tha'ālibi writes that he went to Šāš, from there to Buxārā, crossed the Ėgyhun, stopped at Balx, then through Xorāsān he went to Pārs where he had his residence\(^\text{22}\).

Lohrásp, acc. to Tha'ālibi, 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\(^\text{23}\). Having delivered the rule up to Goštāsp, he went away to Balx and there he devoted himself to God's service\(^\text{24}\). So Balx had not been his seat previously.

Zarathuštra converts Goštāsp to his religion in Balx\(^\text{25}\).

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\(^\text{26}\). Zāl having heard about the death of Nouzar, went to Pārs\(^\text{27}\).

Zāl, having concluded peace with Afrāsyāb, comes back to Pārs\(^\text{28}\).

Kayqobād has his capital in Istaxr, in Pārs\(^\text{29}\).

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

Kay Xosrow, having seized the fortress Bahman, went to Pārs, to Kay Kāwus\(^\text{33}\). 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\(^\text{34}\). Coming back from his campaign against Afrāsyāb, Kay Xosrow crossed the Ėgyhun and made a halt in Balx for one month\(^\text{35}\). Then he went to Ray and to Pārs, to Kay Kāwus. When the war finished, the chieftains went to Pārs, where Key Kāwus was\(^\text{36}\). There they could enjoy a period of rest after the hardships they had undergone\(^\text{37}\).

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 195.
\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 231.
\(^{23}\) Ibid., p. 244.
\(^{24}\) Ibid., p. 255.
\(^{25}\) Ibid., p. 257.
\(^{26}\) Nouzar, v. 240.
\(^{27}\) Ibid., v. 258.
\(^{28}\) Zaw, v. 36.
\(^{29}\) Kayqobād, v. 175.
\(^{30}\) Kay Kāwus va rafītan-e u be Māzanderān, v. 897.
\(^{31}\) Razm-e Kay Kāwus bā šāh-e Hāmāverān, v. 350.
\(^{32}\) Dāštān-e Seyāus, v. 3005.
\(^{33}\) Ibid., v. 3755.
\(^{34}\) Dāštān-e davāzde rox, v. 1127.
\(^{35}\) Ġang-e bozorg-e Kay Xosrow bā Afrāsyāb, v. 2140.
\(^{36}\) Ibid., v. 2147.
\(^{37}\) Ibid., v. 2390—2394.
Lohrāsp built in Balx a fortress and the temple of fire Āzer Borzin. Lohrāsp ascends the throne in Pārs.

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". Turānian envoys came to the king's palace in Balx with a letter from Arghāsp to Goštāsp. 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!" A scout (from Turān) left for a journey, he chose Balx which was the seat of the king.

So acc. to the Šahnāme, 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 Šahnāme, the capital of Iran was in Iṣṭxr, which means, of course, Persepolis that was built only in the times of the great Achaemenidae.

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.

Then Afrāsyāb ordered to be crowned in Ray as the king of Iran.

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

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39 Ibid., v. 30.
40 Goštāsp, (Daqiqi), v. 14—16.
41 Ibid., v. 180—182.
42 Goštāsp (Ferdousi), v. 776.
43 Ibid., v. 1016.
1 Nouzar, v. 428—431.
2 Ibid., v. 450—451.
"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 lightenings pealed in the mountains, colours and fragrances covered the earth”.

After Zaw’s death, Afrāsyāb invaded Iran again.3

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

3 Geršāsp, v. 5—6.
"An envoy (of Pešeng) came flying as the stone — to the brave king, to Afrasyāb:
— Cross the Ġeyhun, take your troops and do not leave these countries till there is still somebody living.

Afrasyāb marched off with his troops across the steppe of Sepanğāb towards the river”.

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

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

"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. Afrasyāb 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. Afrasyāb 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, Afrasyāb refused to leave the land of Iran, which, as he announced, Feridun gave to his predecessor, Tur. Hāmāverān, v. 324—326:

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4 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 Afrasyāb again invaded Balx from beyond the Ġeyhum, but being haunted by a terrible dream, retreated before Seyāvuš. Seyāvuš, v. 881—883:

زدند و فروهشت پرده سرای
سپيجاب و آن کشور و تخت عاج
بهیه نجست و فربی و درنگ
بغرمود تاکوس با کرده دای
بخارا و سفند و سمرفند و جاج
تهی کرد و شد با سهی سوی گنج

"He ordered to beat the drums, to blow the horns and they struck the royal camp. He forsook Buxārā, Sogd, Samarcand and Čāc 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 Afrasyāb for asylum, he was granted it. Soon afterwards Afrasyāb 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. When Seyāvuš became his son-in-law, Afrasyāb granted him the land near the Chinese border.

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

ز شاهان گیتی گرفته بالاد
بندزیک سالار توران سهای
آزان پس گذر کن بمکران زمین
 وزانجاکر کن برداشای سند
بگستر بمرز خزر در سهای
دبودی یک هغته زین گوه شاد
بهشتم یکی همه آمد ز شاه
کزانجا برو تا بدرایي چین
همه رو چینن تا سر مرز هند
همه بار کشور سراسر بخواه

"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 Afrasyāb in the legend are also presented in The Tale of Bižan and Manīže, 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 Afrasyāb (cf., above, the chapter The conquests of Cyrus", part 2, The Massagetae Campaign, pp. 24—29).

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5 Seyāvuš, v. 1490—1493.
6 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 Āzarbaiān.7

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.9

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

"...all the oppressions and injuries — writes, after Geiger, Coy- agee — 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 Khusrau."14

T. Nöldeke claims that Afrāsyāb is the king of the Medes, Astyages.15 E. Herzfeld16 derives the name "Frāhrasyā" 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.17

MĀZANDERĀN

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

سوی گرگسارتان و مازندران

همی راهد خواهم سپاهی گران

7 Gang-e bozorg-e Kay Xosrow bā Afrāsyāb, v. 2212 (cf., The War for the Persian Liberation, p. 21).
8 Cf., Diakonov, Istoriya Midii, p. 422.
10 Cf., p. 71.
12 Ibid., pp. 114—115.
13 Ibid., pp. 115—116.
14 Studies in the Shahnameh, p. 144.
15 Das iranische Nationalepos, GIP, II, p. 135.
16 Hfd, Zor, II, p. 707—708.
17 Ibid., pp. 704—720.
"I will lead innumerable troops against Mazanderan 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 Mazanderan, 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):

هم از گرگساران بديد تاختنی ز مازندران هديه اين ساختنی
چنين داد خواهي همي داد من كه ويران كنی خان آباد من

"So thou hast brought such a gift for me all the way from Mazanderan? 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):

ابا جادوان ساختن كارزار ببستم ميان را يكي بنده وار
چومين كس نديددي يگيت سوار عنان يپج و اسب افگن و گردار
چومين دست بردم بگرز گران بشد آب گردنان مازندران
بر أورده گردن ز گردن كشان ز من گر نبودي يگيت نشان
پرون آمد و كردين گيتى چو كف چنان ازدهها كوز رود كشف

"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 Mazanderan 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):

ز مغرشي زمين گشت با كوه راست بزخمي جنان شد كه ديگر خاسست
زمين جای آرامش و خواب شد كشف رود بر خون و زرداب 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 كردم بگرز گران

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

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

"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:

"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 *Šahnāme* 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 Babylon¹.

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 writes², "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 (Dṛvāspa) — we read in *Yašt* IX³ — Haoshyangha, the Paradhāta, offered up a sacrifice (...) with an offering of libations:

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¹ Cf., pp. 31—34.
² *AŠ,D,I, O*, II, p. 59, n. 2.
"Grant me this boon, o good, most beneficient Drväspa! 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 Dinkārta4 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 Māzendarān country?’(...)”

20. About the ancountering of Frēdūn with those of the Māzendarān 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’.

Nöldeke5 holds that legendary Māzanderān is a Caspian country bearing this name till the present day. M. Molé6 argues this point, claiming that Māzanderān is after all a mythical land.

"Selon la tradition religieuse — writes Christensen7 Frēdūn (Θραύηταον des Yats) 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 Geršāspnâme of Asadi8.

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.

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4 PT, IV, pp. 212—217.
5 Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1915, p. 597.
6 Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien, p. 7.
7 Les Kayanides, p. 43.
8 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. At the beginning of his discussion concerning Māzanderān, D. Monchi-Zadeh says that, "ist die Identifizierung des Landes Māzindarān im Šn bis jetzt nicht gelungen". 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") 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.

D. Monchi-Zadeh 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, Ferdousi's Zere denotes simply zrāy 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.

D. Monchi-Zadeh, comparing the campaign of Kay Kāwus to Māzanderān with the campaign to Hāmāverān, also identifies the name Zire (zirih) simply with the ocean.

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 Kāwus bā šah-e Hāmāverān, v. 3—5:

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10 Ibid., p. 48.
11 Ibid., p. 49.
12 Ibid., p. 49.
13 Ibid., p. 66, 142.
3 Cf., ibid., p. 74.
فرستاد کس درد افراسیاب
ز بد کرد گذشش نجمی بیش
بد آید بهداشت را کار یکش
پشیمان شد از کرده های کهن
پیر راه دیوان بیش کردن
پیامد دمی ما بکوه اسپرس
شب و روژ را دل پیش کرد
میان سوده از رنج و بند گره
مرآترا میان و کرده ندید
بدیان زرف دروا نتبای گذر
ندیدم که کشتی بربر گذشت
که فرح کسی که یادم در آب
چنان چون کشتی نگیرد بهشت
باید اندر اردن کشتی بسی
بی‌نیک و ندبی‌ها نزد ادوار کرده
برآسود از روز کار نبرد
ز گذرشته نگیریم یاد
بکشتی بر ارذ ره به‌پر نبرد
در فرشان کنام راه و آبین خویش
که کار ناورد مرد کهن
سوی گذشته نش قدید ز دریای آب
که مارا سبهر بلندست جفت
همه رنج ما سربر باد گشت
نباند کرداران یک کهن
بنبند بکین سیاوا سیاوا
بی‌بای گیمکا به‌پر نبرد
بخواهم بازی مکان رام
اکر چرخ گذران کود بیک خواه
مگر مرد خویش بچنگ آیدم

چو بهشید فغفور هنگام خواب
که از من ز جین و خنن دور باش
هر آنکس که آم کد راه خویش
چو پیشید افراسیاب این سخن
بی‌بی‌مکین منه چن خفقت
چو با درد و با رنج و غم دید روز
ز بدخواه روز و شب ادیشه کرد
بی‌بادم چین تا باب زره
چو بزدیک آن ظرف دریا رسید
بند گفت ملاح کای شهربار
مرا سالبان هست هننان و هشت
بند گفت پرچمد افراسیاب
مراچون بمشتری دشمن نکشت
بضروم تامه‌تران هر کسی
سوی کنگز در بادبان برکشید
چو چنگ شیک و بی‌خودر
چین گفت قایدر باشیم شاد
چو روش ره شود تیره گون اخترم
ز دشمن بخواهم همان کین خویش
چو کیخسو و آگاه شد زین سخن
برنست گفت کنی کافای افراسیاب
بکدراد کرد انج باما بگفت
بکشتی باب زره برگذشت
مرا به نیاچ بخنجر سخن
بن‌رو بی‌بان بی‌بی‌مکین
همه چین و ماجن شیک کستم
چو گردید مرا راست ماجن و چین
باب زره بگذرانم سیاه
اکر چند جایی درنگ آیدم

"When faghfur heard this (demand of Kay Xosrow), he sent a man to Afrasyab 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 Afrasyab 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."