A sailor said to him:

— O, my lord! You will not find a passage across this water. I am already turned eighty and eight, but I have not seen yet any ship which could cross here.

The mighty Afrāsyāb said to him:

— O happy that one who will die amidst waters. And, as my enemy has not killed me yet, so he shall not seize me.

He ordered all the noblemen to launch many ships upon the water. He set off under all sails towards Gangdež, surrendered to good and bad. When he reached his destination, he slept, ate and rested after the hardship of the fight. Thus spoke he:

— Let us be happy here, let us forget the past. When my dark star shines again, I will cross the waters of Zere on my ship, I will light up my way and my custom.

When Kay Xosrow learnt that the old man began a new thing, thus spoke he to Rostam:

— Afrāsyāb went to Gangdež across the water and he did what he would do when he told me: "The high heaven does not desert me". He crossed the waters of Zere on his ship, my labors were lost with the wind.

I will talk with my grandfather but only with my double-edged dagger, I wish I did not abandon this old revenge, and I will gird my loins with help of the victorious God to revenge Seyāvuš. I will send my troops to China and Great China, I will cross the Kimāk Sea. And when I have supressed China, I will demand homage from the land of Mekrān, I will send the troops to the waters of Zere if the heaven is propitious to me. When I cross those distant lands, maybe I shall seize this bloody man".

When Afrāsyāb was seeking shelter in Gangdež, Kay Xosrow remained in Gang. It was there that he received envoys from a Chinese faghfur and from there he planned to start his chase after Afrāsyāb, first having suppressed China which so far for a long time had supported Afrāsyāb. Gang is one of many cities bearing this name which appear in the Šāhnāme. In this case, the legend ascribed this name probably to Taškent or to a certain fortress situated near Taškent, historical Čač (cf., above, "The Massagetae compaign", p. 26—28). Gangdež, also one of many places bearing this name, is probably still existing Gang, the city to the north of the Zere lake in West Afghanistan. This location of the mysterious "waters of Zere" and Gangdež is indicated by the last reference to the waters of Zere in the Šāhnāme (Ibid., v. 1956 cf., above, p. 27).

"When (Kay Xosrow) came near to the waters of Zere, the warriors undid the buttons on their breasts".

This line in the manuscript written in 1445, marked in the edition Š. Wost with number IV, is preceded by a heading: (...), (literary: Passing of Kay Xosrow across the waters of Zere to Sistān). It seems to clarify this problem explicitly, since there is only one "water" called Zere in the vicinity of Sistān.

But already, Kay Xosrow said (v. 1756—1757):

"...from there I will set off to the land of Mekrān, and then I come back across the waters of Zere".

So "the waters of Zere" are mentioned twice (v. 1710 and 1756—1757) in close association with Mekrān and Sistān. The second mention (cf. above p. 26) appeares in Kay Xosrow's announcement that he will come back to Iran crossing the Zere. Additionally these two references prove that this name, existing till the present day, denotes a lake in Zābulistān, near the Afghan-Iranian borderland.

BARBAR, HĀMĀVERĀN, YEMEN

In the *Šāhnāme*, Kay Kāwus, having left the lake Zere[1], set off towards Barbaristān, whose king was the first ruler to bar his way by force of arms (*Razm-e Kāwus bā Šāh-e Hāmāverān*, v. 1—6, cf., above, p. 27).

Some time later in the same story (v. 35) we read:

سپه را ز هامون بدریا کشید بدان سو کجا دشمن آمد پدید

"He led out his troops from the plain (of Nimruz) to the sea, in that direction where the enemy appeared".

And later (v. 38—42, cf., p. 34):

"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 every one thought the same, and the army marched to Barbaristān".

When Kay Kāwus was drawn into a trap, and came to the faest given by the king of Hāmāverān, then (Ibid., v. 147—151):

همه گفته بودند و آراسته سگالیده از جای بر خاسته
ز بربر برین گونه آگه شدید سگالش چنین بود همره شدند
شبی بانگ بوق آمد و تاختن کسیرا نبد آرزو ساختن
ز بربرستان چون بیامد سپاه بهاماوران شاددل گشت شاه
گرفتند ناگاه کاوس را چو گودرز و چون گیو و چون طوس را

"Everyone entered the plot, everyone was ready, in his place, vigilant. They heard about it in Barbaristān, consented and thought the same. And one night the horns began to sound and no one (from among Kay Kāwus' men) wished to rise up to fight. When the troops came from Barbar, the king of Hāmāverān rejoiced. All at once they seized Kay Kāwūs and Giv and Gudārz and Tus".

When the king of Hāmāverān learnt that Rostam was coming to rescue Kay Kāwūs, he called for help the kings of Egypt and Barbaristān (Ibid., v. 232—238). So Rostam had to face the troops sent by three allied countries: Hāmāverān, Barbaristān and Egypt. Ibid., v. 271—272:

[1] Cf., *Zere*, p. 87.

تهمتن مران رخش را تیز کرد ز خون فرومایه پر هیز کرد
همی تاخت اندر پی شاه شام بینداخت از باد خمّیده خام

"Tahamtan spurred Raxš, desisted from shedding mean blood, rushed after the king of Syria and threw his lariat like the wind..."

When Rostam defeated the allied armies, then (Ibid., v. 298—314):

پس آگاهی آمد ز هاماوران بدشت سواران نیزه وران
که رستم بمصر و ببربر چه کرد بران شهریاران بروز نبرد
دلیری بجستند گرد و سوار عنان پیچ و مردافگن و نیزه دار
نوشتند نامه یکی مردوار سخنهای شایسته و آبدار
که ما شاه را چاکر و بنده ایم بفرمان و رایش همه زنده ایم
چو از گر گساران بیامد سپاه که جویند گاه سرافراز شاه
دل ما شد از کار ایشان بدرد که دلشان چنین برتری یاد کرد
همی تاج او خواست افراسیاب ز راه خرد سرش گشته شتاب
برفتیم با نیزه های دراز برو تلخ کردیم آرام و ناز
ازیشان و از ما بسی کشته شد زمانه بهر نیك و بد گشنه شد
کنون کآمد از کار او آگهی که تازه شد آن تخت شاهنشهی
همه نامداران شمشیرزن برین کینه گه بر شدند انجمن
چو شه بر گراید زبربر عنان بگردن برآریم یکسر سنان
زمین کوه تا کوه پر خون کنیم ز دشمن بیابان چو جیحون کنیم
فرستاده تازی برافگند و رفت ببربرستان روی بنهاد و تفت
چو نامه بر شاه ایران رسید بران گونه گفتار بایسته دید
ازیشان پسند آمدش کارکرد بافراسیاب آن زمان نامه کرد

"The news came from Hāmāverān to the Steppe of Horsemen Wieldieng Lances, what Rostam did to Egypt and to Barbar, what he did with those rulers in the day of the contest. They chose a brave and valliant warrior who could manage the spear, the steed and the men, they wrote a letter deserving the true men, they wrote in proud and clear words: "'We are the servants and subjects of the king, faithful to his thoughts and orders. When the army came from the Wolf-Headed who coveted the throne of the proud king, it filled our hearts with pains that they aimed so high. Afrāsyāb wanted his crown and he turned his head to the way of wisdom. We were marching with long spears in our hands and we filled his peace with bitterness: Both they and we defeated many, and time experienced every evil and good, and today when we have heard from him that the king's throne thus rejuvenated, all the famous ones, able to carry swords, gathered in this place of anger. When the king turns his steed from Barbar, we will rise our spears to our arms, and fill the earth with blood from the mountains to the mountains, and we will change the plain into the Ğeyhun with blood of our enemies'.'"

The envoy left Arabia and hastily set off towards Barbaristān. When a letter came to the king of Iran, when he saw the words so desired, he was pleased with this course of affairs and wrote a letter to Afrāsyāb" (who then occupied Iran, with a demand for him to withdraw).

Afrāsyāb answered him that he did not mean to leave Iran since this country fell to him by right (v. 324—326, cf., above, *Afrāsyāb*, p. 78).

Ibid., v. 330—331:

چو بشنید کاوس گفتار اوی بیاراست لشکر بپیکار اوی
ز بربر بیامد سوی سوریان یکی لشکری بی کران و میان

"When Kāvus heard his words, he prepared his troops to war. His innumerable and vast army left Barbar and marched against Suriyān".

Then, having left the lake Zere, he marched on against the rebel "Arabs" (ibid., v. 29, cf., above, p. 34). He faced three powers: to the left Egypt, to the right Barbar and in the front of him Hāmāverān. Egypt does not require a comment. But what about Barbar and Hāmāverān? It seems that if the troops which were marching from the lake Zere had really Egypt at their left side, so only Syria could have been in front of them and Iraq on their right side. Had it been a description of Cyrus' campaign, who attacked Babylon from the north-west, (cf. above, p. 22), Iraq must have been situated also "in front of them" or at their left side. We can assume then that either in the story from the *Šāhnāme* the right side was mistaken for the left side, or Cyrus' army attacked Babylon from both sides and here the story relates the campaign of the south wing, or, finally, it is a description of a completely different campaign, nonetheless the campaign to the West.

But let us discuss also some topographical data. The Iranian army defeated Barbar (Babylon), took the king of Hāmāverān (Syria, cf., above, p. 121, v. 272) as a prisoner, and then set out against Afrāsyāb, the enemy from the North, crossing Suristān (Assyria)[2].

Acc. to Mas'udi, Kay Kāwus sets off from Balx to Iraq[3].

Tabari writes:[4]

فحدثت عن هشام بن محمّد انه شخص من خراسان حتى نزل بابل وقال ما بقى شيء من الارض الا وقد ملكتُه ولا بدّ من ان اعرف امر السماء والكواكب وما فوقها

"They said after Hišām ibn Muhammad, that [KayKāwus] came to Bābil from Xorāsān and said: "I became master of the whole earth and now I must become acquainted with the sky and the stars and their heights".

Later he continues:[5]

فانصرف رستم بكيقاوس الى بابل وكتب كيقاوس لرستم عتقا من عبودة الملك واقطعه سجستان وزابلستان واعطاه قلنسوة منسوجة بالذهب وتوّجه وامره ان يجلس على سرير من فضّة قوائمُه من ذهب فلم تزل تلك البلاد بيد رستم حتى هلك كيقاوس وبعده دهرًا طويلاً

[2] Cf., M-Z, *THS*, p. 24.
[3] Cf., ibid., p. 72.
[4] Tab, *Tar*, II, p. 603.
[5] Ibid., p. 604.

"Rostam led Kaykāwus to Bābil and Kaykāwus delivered Rostam from his bondage to the king and made him the ruler of Siğistān and Zābolistān, and gave him a gold calpac and put the crown on him. He told him to sit on a silver throne whose foot was to be gold. And till the death of Keykāwus and later, this region belonged to Rostam".

D. Monchi-Zadeh, quoting Nyberg and Wikander, claims that it was only in a later tradition that Av. Bavri was said to have its origin in the name Babylon[6].

Acc. to FNA, Bavri — Babel[7] (Cf. also above, Feridun, p. 55)

Acc. to Mohl, Eastern lexicographers place Hāmāverān either in Syria or in Yemen[8].

T. Nöldeke suggests that the campaign against Hāmāverān in the *Šāhnāme* mirrors a Persian campaign against Himyarite Yemen in A.D. 570[9].

Acc. to *Borhān-e qāte'*, Hamāvar, Hamāverān — "Syria, Yemen", whereas Hāmāverān denotes only "Yemen"[10].

Spiegel and Nöldeke hold that Kay Kāwus' campaign against Hāmāverān mirrors his campaign against Māzanderān[11]. D. Monchi-Zādeh[12] presents a detailed list of these campaigns.

Tabari identifies Hāmāverān with Yemen. Besides, the history of Assyrian kings is confused in this relation with the Himyarites, who succeeded several centuries later. His "Yemen" is not then situated simply in the south of the Arabian Peninsula:[13]

قال فغزا بلاد اليمن والملك بها يومئذ ذو الاذعار ابن ابرهة ذى المنار بن الرائش فلمّا ورد بلاد اليمن خرج عليه ذو الاذعار بن ابرهة وكان قد اصابه الفالج فلم يكن يغزو قبل ذلك بنفسه قال فلمّا اظلّه كيقاوس ووطىء بلاده فى جموعه خرج بنفسه فى جموع حمير وولد قحطان فظفر بكيقاوس فاسره واستباح عسكره وحبسه فى بئر واطبق عليه طبقا

"They say: (Kaykāwus) went to conquer the land of Yemen and in that time Zu 'l-Az 'ār, the son of Abraha Zu 'l-Minār, the son of Ra 'iš was the king there. (...) And when Kaykāwus with his army marched towards his country, he appeared with a detachement of the Himyarites and of the descendants of Qahtān, and he gained a victory over him (Kaykāwus) and took him captive and demolished his camp; he put him into a hole and fixed a lid over it".

In the opinion of T. Nöldeke, Ferdousi places Yemen by the Euphrates[14].

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[6] M-Z, *THS*, p. 238.
[7] *FNA*, I, p. 304.
[8] *Š*Mohl, I, p. VI.
[9] *Das iranische Nationalepos*, GIP, II, p. 168.
[10] Vol. IV, p. 2364, Cf. also, M-Z, *THS*, p. 80.
[11] Cf., ibid., p. 245.
[12] Ibid., p. 74—75.
[13] Tab, *Tar*, II, p. 603.
[14] *Das iranische Nationalepos*, GIP, II, p. 178.

On the basis of these data we can assume that Barbar, Barbaristān and partly Māzanderān which are presented in the *Šāhnāme*, denote Babylon; whereas Hāmāverān and "Yemen" denote Syria, the land situated near Babylon and Egypt, which was conquered by Cyrus soon after Babylon, or, finally some unknown lands situated beyond Iraq, which were subdued by the Arabs long before Ferdousi.

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