



# KAYĀNIĀN IX. KAUUI VIŠTĀSPA, KAY WIŠTĀSP, KAY BEŠTĀSB/GOŠTĀSB

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## KAYĀNIĀN

### ix. Kauui Vištāspa, Kay Wištāsp, Kay Beštāsb/Goštāsb

The name Vištāspa presumably means “he who gives the horses free rein” (cf. *Rigveda* 6.6.4 *vīṣitāso ásvāḥ* “horses let loose *or* given free rein”), which agrees with the description of Vištāspa as the prototypical winner of the chariot race in *Yašt* 5.132 (see below).

Among the Perso-Arabic sources, Ebn al-Balkī (ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, p. 48) has the oldest form of the name as *Veštāsf*, while others have *Beštāsb* and *Goštāsb*, which reflect three different treatments of initial *wi-* in the Persian dialects.

The study of Kauui Vištāspa/Kay Wištāsp in Western scholarship has traditionally been subordinated to the image in the late tradition of the king who accepted/ received (Pahl. *padīr-*) Zarathustra’s *daēnā/dēn* and the axiom that *dēn* means “religion” in the modern (Christian) sense (see [DĒN](#); the more adequate translation would be “[oral] tradition”). This has led to the image of a historical Vištāspa being in many ways construed in analogy with those of



Constantine, who ‘accepted’ Christianity, and Charlemagne, who defended it against the Saracens. The description of the battle over the *dēn* as described in the *Memorial of Zarēr* (see [AYĀDGĀR Ī ZARĒRĀN](#)) is, in fact, of the same literary genre as the *Song of Roland*, and the two texts contain numerous parallels.

This approach to the sources has also led to the projection of the traditional image of a historical Vištāspa and the interpretation of *daēnā* as “religion” into the Avesta. The historical scenarios constructed mainly by [Abraham V. Williams Jackson](#) and [Christian Bartholomae](#) around 1900 and further refined by [Hermann Lommel](#), were still adopted by Mary Boyce in her *History of Zoroastrianism I* (1975) and can be seen in [GOŠTĀSP](#).

There is nothing, however, anywhere in the *Gāθās* that might be interpreted as a statement about Kauui Vištāspa’s secular position (*Yasna* 28.7, 46.14, 51.1, 53.2), nor does he stand out in a special way, as suggested by Arthur Christensen (p. 27), other than by being mentioned second (after Zarathustra) of several characters belonging to the “Gathic circle” and only once in each of the five *Gāθās* (both he and Zarathustra are absent from the third *Gāθā*; see [Table 2](#)). The only time in the Avesta that Vištāspa is referred to as *daŋhu.paiti* is in the introduction to the late Avestan compilation *Āfrīn ī paygambar Zardušt*; F. Justi’s comment in *Grundriss* (II, p. 410) is therefore misleading: “*dem Fürsten (daŋhu.paiti).*”

It is clear from this table that these names follow a strict order, which is therefore likely to be a traditional one, as pointed out by M. Molé (1963, p. 180). It is also clear that Christensen’s claim (1932, p. 27) that Kauui Vištāspa is one of the characters that stand out the most in the *Gāθās* (and so must be considered an entirely historical person) is also not tenable; he is mentioned only four times, against Frašaoštra five times, and nothing realistic is said about him. In *Yasna* 28.7, the introduction to the first *Gāθā*, the poet asks for rewards for Vištāspa and himself; in *Yasna* 46.14, Vištāspa is portrayed at the *ya’ah* (presumably the ceremony in which the poet-sacrificers’ works are presented to Ahura Mazdā, a kind of “audition”) and is said to have received “insight” (? *cisti*) by his command (*xšaθra*) over or conferred by the gift-exchange (*maga*; see Molé, 1963, pp. 156-64; Schmidt, 1991; Skjærvø, 2008b, p. 498); in *Yasna* 51.16, Vištāspa is said to have obtained the command over or conferred by the *maga* “along the paths of his good thought”; and, in *Yasna* 53.2, the poet exhorts (in the 3rd person) Vištāspa and Frašaoštra to follow, with thought, words, and deeds, the straight paths (*ərəzūš paθō*; see above, i)



of the gift (*da'ah*).” In *Yasna* 46.14, Vištāspa is also, apparently, said to keep the mutual agreements (be an *uruuaθa*) between him and Zarathustra. (On *uruuāta*, Old Indic *vrata*, which refers to mutual agreements and obligations, usually between gods and men, see Schmidt, 1958.) The other members of the “Gathic circle” are even less characterized.

*In the Young Avesta.* The *Young Avesta* refers to three narratives involving Vištāspa: Vištāspa and the Xiiaonas, Vištāspa and the *daēnā*, and Vištāspa as winner of the (ritual) chariot race, all three of which are probably part of the ritual competition scenario. Further, it portrays him as a prototype for ritual behavior.

(1) Vištāspa and the Xiiaonas. Vištāspa is mentioned in several *yašt*s as the last in the series of *kauuis* who sacrificed to deities to get their wish granted, that of Vištāspa being to overcome Arəjaṭ.aspa, which he did, by fighting the enemies of *aša* (*Yašt* 5.108-10). In *Yašt* 5, he is followed in the list by Zairi.vairi (strs. 112-114; Pahl. Zarēr, his brother) and Arəjaṭ.aspa (strs. 116-118). Several names associated with him in the later tradition are listed in *Yašt* 13, among them, in str. 101: Zairi.uairi, and, in str. 103: Pišī šiiāoθna (Pahl. Pišišōtan and Pišōtan, Wištāsp’s eschatological son), Spəntōdāta (Pahl. Spandyād) and Bastauuairi (Pahl. Bastwar), \*Kauuarazman (see below), Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa (the Huuōguua brothers in the *Gāθās*, Pahl. Frašōštar and Jāmāsp), all of whom are featured in the Pahlavi narrative about the war between Wištāsp and Arzāsp (*Šāh-nāma*: Arjāsp), king of the Xiiaonas.

A reference to Vištāspa’s two daughters, who feature in the Perso-Arabic tradition (see below), may be seen in *Yašt* 9.31, where Kauui Vištāspa prays to Druuāspā that he may successfully fight and kill various opponents and, apparently, turn Humaiiā and Varəḍakanā away (*frauruuaēsaiia-*) from the lands of the Xiiaonas.

(2) Vištāspa and the *daēnā*. Vištāspa’s standing epithet is *bərəzaiḍī* (< \**bərəzi-dī-*) “he whose *dī-* (reaches) high (heaven),” where *dī-* is the same as Old Indic *dhī-*, which usually denotes the poetic vision and parallels Avestan *daēnā* in many contexts. For instance, the Rigvedic poets harness (*yug-*) their *dhīs* (e.g., *Rigveda* 1.18.6-7, 5.81.1) by or to their thoughts (*Rigveda* 8.13.26), with which compare the *daēnā* throwing off her harness (*fraspāiiaoxδrā* < *yaog-*) after successfully combating the powers of evil in the ritual race (*Yasna* 12.9; see Skjærvø, 2009b, cols. 707-8).



Vištāspa's special connection with the *daēnā* is expressed in Zarathustra's prayer to Anāhitā to let him guide Vištāspa to help (Ahura Mazdā's/Zarathustra's) *daēnā* along with thought, speech, and actions, which he did with the help of the Kavian *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* (*Yašt* 5.104-6). Another myth fragment is preserved in *Yašt* 13.99 and *Yašt* 19.83-84, but it is introduced differently in the two passages. In *Yašt* 19.83-84 (to the Kavian *x<sup>v</sup>arənah*), it begins with the formula also used in *Yašt* 5.104-6, followed by three statements: that he allied himself by his praise (? *ā-stao-*) to this *daēnā*, that he chased(?) the one with evil *maniiu*, and that he sent the *daēuuas* back (to where they came from). *Yašt* 13.99 contains the epithets "the firm one, who spun/wove the poetic thought (*tanu-mqθra*), the one with the defiant mace, the Ahurian one," which are also applied to Sraoša, with whom Vištāspa is associated in the tradition (see Darmesteter, 1893, I, p. 200, n. 24; Molé, 1963, pp. 213-14, 522; the common interpretation of *tanumqθra* is "having the *mqθra* in his body").

The main narrative is identical in the two texts: Vištāspa sought and found free space (*rauuah* [the opposite of *qzah* "constriction"]) and *x<sup>v</sup>āθra-* "good breathing space, ease of breathing," two of the goals of the *yasna* ritual; see *Yasna* 8.8 for Order (*aša* ~ the sun?) in tree and stone (to enable the sun to rise at dawn?); he was the (strong) arm and support of the *daēnā* of Ahura (Mazdā) and Zarathustra; he extracted (*uzuuaža-*; cf. Old Persian *vaja-* "pluck out [an eye]") her from (her) bonds (? *hinu*) when she was weary (? *stātā*, literally, "stopped, brought to a standstill"; cf. Khotanese *stāta-* "weary" < *stās-* "become weary") and bound (*hitā*; contrasting with *višta* "untied"?); set her down sitting in the middle, making straight lines on high(?), and satisfied and befriended her with cattle and grass. The myth contains numerous problems of interpretation, but may be related to the two myths involving the *daēnā*, that of the ritual-cosmic chariot race (see below) and that of the *daēnā* (*māzdaiiasni*) stretched out in heaven like a cosmic *kusti* (see *Yasna* 9.26, and cf. *Dādestān ī dēnīg* 38.15 "The good Mazdayasnian Dēn is a girdle, star-adorned and fashioned in the world of thought"; see Skjærvø, 2008a, p. 129).

The myth we are dealing with here, in both the *Gāθās* and the *Young Avesta*, therefore appears to be one in which the poet and his protagonist, Zarathustra, are sacrificing for Vištāspa to follow and aid the *daēnā* as it guides the sacrifice along the paths (*Yasna* 51.16, 53.2) through space heavenward and for ability to overcome the adversaries on the way. In the second myth fragment, the *daēnā* seems to be caught in the bonds of the forces of evil, from which he



delivers her and then guides her into her place in high heaven as the cosmic *kusti*. Both actions serve to clear the path for the rising sun out of the rock in which it is held (*Videvdad* 21.5). Thus, it appears that, after having kept his side of the bargain, as it were, guiding the *daēnā* along the straight paths (*Yasna* 53.2) up to heaven and having been declared the winner at the “audition” (*ya’ah*), Vištāspa must have been entitled to his reward, to a counter-gift at the gift exchange ceremony (*maga*).

(3) Vištāspa as winner of the chariot race. A reference to Vištāspa’s prowess as a charioteer is found at the conclusion of the hymn to Anāhitā (*Yašt* 5). After the Mazdayasnian Naotariias asked her for fast horses, they were granted their requests, and the Naotariia Vištāspa got the fastest horses in the land (*Yt.* 5.98). That these were for the ritual race is implied in the conclusion of the hymn, where the sacrificer (*zaotar*) prays that his coursers may return “having won” (*zazuu.ŋha < zā*), like those of Kauui Vištāspa” (cf. *Rigveda* 3.33.1 *ásve iva víṣite hā samāne < hā* “like two horses given free rein, winning the race”). Similarly, in the conclusion of the hymn to Aši, the sacrificer compares his sacrifice with that of Vištāspa (*Yašt* 17.61).

(4) Vištāspa and the ritual. Vištāspa’s role as prototype for ritual behavior is emphasized in the *Frauarānē* section of the *Yasna* (*Yasna* 12). Here, the sacrificer makes the same choice to be for Ahura Mazdā and his creation, but against that of the forces of evil, as was made by Zarathustra, Kauui Vištāspa, Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa, and the three Saošiiaṅts, Zarathustra’s eschatological sons, who, by their sacrifices, will make the world perfect again (*Yasna* 12.6-7). In *Yasna* 23.2 and 26.5, the fravashis of Gaiia Marətān, Zarathustra, Vištāspa, and Isaṭ.vāstra (another of Zarathustra’s eschatological sons) are listed as the principal fighters for Order (*aša*) and signposts on the path toward the final Renovation.

*In the Pahlavi texts.* In the *Mēnōy xrad* (26.68-76), the benefit from Kay-Wištāsp is said to be his acceptance of the good Mazdayasnian *dēn* and his uttering of the holy *Ahunwar*, like Ohrmazd and Zarathustra before him, whereby the forces of evil were overcome and all good things came to the world (similarly in *Dēnkard* 7.4.80). Kay Wištāsp is also presented as the paradigm of a good ruler, for instance in the *Dēnkard*: 3.179 on the best of kings, 3.389 on Kay Wištāsp’s seven perfections. This feature is also associated with him in the only Manichean text in which he is mentioned (see Skjærvø, 1996, p. 616).

The *Pahlavi Rivāyat* (chap. 47) also contains the story of Wištāsp as a cruel and



bloodthirsty despot before he accepted the *dēn* from Zarathustra and that of his conversion. Many details of this narrative have parallels in the Aśoka legends (see Skjærvø, 1998b). The story how Wištāsp had Zarathustra imprisoned is also told in the *Dēnkard* (7.4.64-71) and Zādspram’s *Wizīdagthā* (24.5).

The *Pahlavi Rivāyat* (chap. 47) and *Dēnkard* further tell of the miracles experienced by Wištāsp. During a visit by Wahman, Ašwahišt, and the Fire (*Dēnkard* 7.4.75-82), Ašwahišt made him drink *mang* (henbane) from a cup that allowed him to see into the other world and see the mysteries (7.4.85-86). The *mang ī wištāspān* “Wištāsp’s mang,” was also what *Ardā Wirāz* drank before his otherworldly journey. In another incident, Srid, son of Wisrab, offered Wištāsp a beautiful chariot in exchange for providing a body for Srid’s soul (*ruwān*), whereupon Wištāsp’s own soul was sent down to him from Paradise. When Srid’s ugly soul saw this beautiful soul, it told Srid to give Wištāsp the chariot, which then became two, one in this world, which Wištāsp mounted, and one in the other world, in which Srid’s soul drove to Paradise (7.6.2-11).

*Vištāspa’s wife, Hutaosā/Hudōs*. Hutaosā (Pahlavi Hudōs, sister and wife of Wištāsp in the later tradition; see *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* 68 in *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 9 [210]) is listed in *Yašt* 13.139 among the women presumably connected with Zarathustra. Ṭabari has her name as *Ḳaṭus* (I/2, p. 678; tr., IV, p. 74; on her name, see Mayrhofer, p. I/52, no. 179; cf. ATOSSA).

In *Yašt* 9.26-28, Zarathustra prays to Druuāspā that he may induce “good, noble-born (*āzātā*)” Hutaosā to help his *daēnā* along in thoughts, words, and deeds, and that she may have faith (*zraz-dā-*) in the *daēnā* of the Mazdayasnians and give good fame to his community. In *Yašt* 15.35- 37, Hutaosā is portrayed as praying to Vaiiu that she may be accepted as a guest-friend (? *friiā friθā*) in the house of Kauui Vištāspa. Some Western scholars have construed this obscure statement to mean that she interceded with Vištāspa to let himself be converted by Zarathustra (e.g., Boyce, 1975, p. 187), but the text does not permit such a far-reaching interpretation.

The reference to “young women” in *Yasna* 53.5 is said in the Pahlavi version to be to Hudōs, who set the *dēn* in motion (*dēn-rawāgīh pad Hudōs*) according to the *Warštmānsr nask* (in *Dēnkard* 9.45.5).

*In the Perso-Arabic tradition*. Beštāšb/Goštāsb came to the throne while his father was still alive, and Zarathustra (the Azarbaijani, Ḥamza, text, pp. 36-37;



tr., p. 26) appeared during his rule. He is also said to have two daughters: Ǫomāni and Bādāfara (Ṭabari, I/2, p. 678; tr., IV, p. 74) or Ǫomāy and Beh-Āfariḍ (Ṭa'ālebi).

Ṭabari's chapter on Beštāsb, where Veštāsf, is devoted to the coming of Zarathustra and the fight with Ǫarzāsf (cf. Ebn al-Balkī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, p. 51; ed. Behruzi, p. 60: Arjāsf), now king of the Turks and brother of Afrāsiāb (Ṭabari, I/2, pp. 676-83; tr., IV, pp. 71-77). There are several new elements. *Esfandiār* is slandered by a certain Jurazm (the Avestan Kauuārasman of *Yašt* 13.103? see above), which makes Beštāsp send him on numerous campaigns and finally chain him and have him sent to a women's prison castle (Ṭabari, I/2, p. 677; tr., IV, p. 73; Ebn al-Balkī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, p. 51: he imprisoned him in the fortress of Eṣṭaḡr). Beštāsb went off (to Kermān and Sistān) to take up a life of devotion (Ebn al-Balkī, *ibid.*: to the Kuh-e Nefešt to study the *Zand* and devote himself to worship), leaving Lohrāsb, now old and an invalid, in Balk. Ǫarzāsf profited from the opportunity, attacked Balk, burned the archives, and killed Lohrāsb and the priests (echo of the Alexander legend). He also abducted Beštāsb's two daughters, Ǫomāni and Bādāfara. Beštāsb sent Jāmāsp to release *Esfandiār*, who forgave Beštāsb and went against the Turks, killed Ǫarzāsf, and released his sisters (Ṭabari, I/2, pp. 678-80; tr., IV, pp. 74-76). According to one source, he then sent *Esfandiār* to capture Rostam, who was disobedient, but Rostam killed him.

The narratives of the *Šāh-nāma* (where Goštāsb) and Ṭa'ālebi (where Beštāsb) are expanded with the story of Beštāsb's adventures in Rum and his marriage to the *qayšar*'s daughter; Ṭa'ālebi's is fairly concise, Ferdowsi's quite detailed.

According to Ṭa'ālebi (pp. 245-56) and the *Šāh-nāma*, Beštāsb (Goštāsb), unhappy that his father conferred high dignities on Kay Ǫosrow's children (*awlād*; *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, p. 6, v. 37: two grandsons), disguised himself and left the court. According to Ṭa'ālebi, Beštāsb went directly to Rum (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, p. 14, vv. 162-63: founded by Salm, which explains the descent of Goštāsb's benefactor and the *qayšar*; see below), while, according to Ferdowsi, Goštāsb first set out for Hend, intending to serve the king there; but Zarir followed him and, together with the captains of their troops, persuaded him to return (ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 6-12; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 280-89; tr., IV, pp. 318-23).

Still unhappy, Goštāsb decided to go to Rum, where, after various attempt to



get a job in the foreign land that might feed him, he finally came across a fellow Iranian, a descendant of Afriḍun (*Šāh-nāma*, p. 19, vv. 224-25: a village nobleman, descendant of Šāh Āferēdun), who gave him hospitality (ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 12-19; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 289-97; tr., IV, pp. 323-28).

At the time, the daughter of the king of Rum (the *qayṣar*), *Katāyun*, was choosing a husband among a number of suitors. She chose Beštāsb/Goštāsb, whom she had already seen in a dream and who, according to Ṭa'ālebi, also presented himself as a suitor, although at the bottom rank, while Ferdowsi tells us that he went with his host to visit the palace to cheer himself up (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, p. 21, vv. 254-57). Upon learning that Beštāsb/Goštāsb, despite being extraordinarily handsome, was an unknown stranger, the *qayṣar* decided to give his daughter to him with no more than her ordinary clothes (p. 22, v. 275: he refused to give Goštāsb anything, telling him to go with her as he was). By selling a valuable ruby (p. 23, vv. 288-91) that she possessed, they were able to improve their situation, and, gradually, *Katāyun* came to realize that Beštāsb/Goštāsb was of royal descent (ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 19-24; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 297-303; tr., IV, pp. 328-32).

After various feats of prowess (*Šāh-nāma*: among them, killing a wolf and a dragon to help the suitors, Mirin and Ahran, of *Katāyun*'s two sisters), he was recognized by the *qayṣar*, too, as being of royal descent, and they became friends. Beštāsb/Goštāsb told him what had happened to make him leave his father, and the *qayṣar* offered to help him get back at his father. He wrote a letter to Lohrāsb, pointing out, according to Ṭa'ālebi (p. 250), that they were both descendants of Afriḍun, and so he should not have to pay tribute to him; unless the amount paid was returned in double, he would come with his troops and punish him severely and take his land. Lohrāsb, Zarir, and his courtiers plied the envoy with gifts and learned that the *qayṣar* had become more powerful through his son-in-law (who looked just like Zarir) and followed his advice. They concluded it must be Beštāsb/Goštāsb himself, and, upon the advice of his counselors, Lohrāsb sent Zarir to him to declare him his successor and ask him to come back. Upon his return, Lohrāsb crowned him king (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 24-71; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 304-57; tr., IV, pp. 328-65).

Lohrāsb himself left for Nowbahār in Balk to devote himself to religious matters. *Katāyun* was made chief wife and had the sons Esfandiād and Faršāvard (Ṭa'ālebi, p. 256; *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 76-79; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 358-61; tr., V, pp. 32-33.)



There follow the stories of Zarathustra and the war with Arjāsf, king of the Turks (Ṭa'ālebi, pp. 256-76), and the slander (by a certain Kordam, *Šāh-nāma*: Gorazm) and imprisonment of Esfandiād, Arjāsf's attack on Balk, Lohrāsb's courageous final sortie (which made the Turks mistake him for Esfandiād), his death by being cut in pieces by enemy swords, and the sack of Balk, destruction of the temple, killing of the priests, and abduction of Komāy (*Šāh-nāma*: Homāy) and Beh-Āfriḍ (Ṭa'ālebi, pp. 277-85; *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 79-183; Mohl, IV, pp. 376-455; tr., V, pp. 33-92.).

Beštāsf/Goštāsb counterattacks, but is defeated and retreats to a mountain top, where he and his army are besieged; he sends Jāmāsf/Jāmāsp to get Esfandiād/Esfandiār, who beats back the Turks, then performs his seven feats, discovers his sisters in Arjāsf's palace, kills Arjāsf, and returns, presumably with his sisters (Ṭa'ālebi, pp. 285-339). Esfandiād, unhappy that his father does not broach the issue of the succession, confronts him with his promise, but Beštāsf tells him he needs to do one more thing: deal with Rostam's pride and arrogance. He sends his son Bahman, Rostam returns with him, and there follow the events leading up to the battle between Rostam and Esfandiād, ending with the latter's death and Beštāsf's regret. Beštāsf dies after reigning for 120 years, after leaving the throne and crown to Bahman (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, pp. 183-473; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 455-731; tr., V, pp. 96-280).

*Predecessors of the Goštāsb narratives.* In the *Šāhnāma*, Goštāsb, on his journey, comes to a sea which he crosses with the help of Hišuy, an episode not found elsewhere (ed. Khaleghi, V, p. 14; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 290-91; tr., IV, pp. 324-25). Sea- and river-crossings were not uncommon in epic literature, however, and may have been ascribed to Goštāsb as a topos (cf. Skjærvø, 1999, pp. 25-27). It is found in the *Avesta* in the hymn to Arduuī Sūrā Anāhitā (*Yašt* 5.76-78), who helps Vistauru cross the river Vītaṇ<sup>v</sup>haitī. According to *Yašt* 13.102, Vistauru (transmitted as Bistauru) is the son of a Naotarid, like Vištāspa, but probably not his son, as Justi has it (*Grundriss* II, p. 410; the list in *Yašt* 13.102 is not necessarily of Vištāspa's sons). Arrivals at the seashore feature prominently in the *Kār-nāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān*, but there appears to be no crossing (see also Krasnowolska, pp. 185-86).

In his book about “the narrative of the twins,” Dumézil (1994) presented cases for Lohrāsb and Goštāsb being a later representation of the divine twins represented in the *Mahābhārata* as the youngest of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, Nakula and Sahadeva. Similar scenarios, according to Dumézil, include Goštāsb's traveling camouflaged when going to Rum and working as a servant,



which evokes the brothers' similar camouflage in the last episode of the exile of the Pāṇḍava brothers (no. 83). The brothers Goštāsb and Zarir would be another development of the same original pair of twins (no. 83). Finally, Dumézil highlights the marriages of the *qayşar*'s three daughters as representing the Indic type of *svayamvara*, in which the suitors assemble and the bride-to-be makes her choice among them (no. 93; see also Jamison, 1999).

A story told by [Chares of Mytilene](#) about the two brothers Hystaspes and Zariadres, said to be the sons of Aphrodite and Adonis, exhibits several similarities with the later Persian stories about Zarir and Goštāsb and may be from a narrative tradition to which the versions seen in Ṭa'ālebi and Ferdowsi may owe some details. The brothers were first identified with Zarir and Goštāsb by Friedrich Spiegel (1871, p. 665, n. 1), who pointed out (1891, pp. 197-98) that Avestan Auruaṭ-aspa (Zairiuuairi and Vištāspa's father) was an epithet most commonly applied to the sun and that the brothers might therefore originally have been solar figures (see also Christensen, 1936, pp. 136-37, and Boyce's [1955] comprehensive discussion; similarly Darmesteter, 1893, III, pp. lxxx-lxxxiii). As pointed out by Mary Boyce, although she does not pursue this point (p. 463, n. 6), Ferdowsi remarks that Katāyun's name is said to have been Nāhid (from Avestan Anāhitā, q.v.), but that Goštāsb called her Katāyun (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, V, p. 78, vv. 30-31; ed. Mohl, IV, pp. 360-61; tr., V, p. 32).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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See at end of [KAYĀNIĀN XIV. THE KAYANIDS IN WESTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY](#).