Nartica I: The historical Satana revisited

Sonja Fritz & Jost Gippert

Within the huge scholarly oeuvre of Vasili Ivanovič Abaev, investigations into the tradition and the interpretation of the Ossetian Nartic tales, have always played an outstanding role. Continuing the work of Vsevolod Miller who had laid the foundation of scientific Nartology in the eighties of the 19th century with his "Ossetic Studies"1, Abaev's contribution has consisted not only in the edition of unpublished texts2 but also in countless books and articles concerning folkloristic, ethnological, or linguistic aspects of the great Caucasian epic3. The Nartic epic4, like many other oral traditions of its kind, has for long instigated scholars to search for its historical background. Given that for the Ossetes as well as the other peoples of the Northern Caucasus who share the Nartic tradition, there are hardly any autochthonous written sources available that might reliably witness to their prehistory5, the task of unveiling the historical reality concealed in the mythological or folkloristic contexts of the epic is all the more important. And indeed, it has become widely accepted that many traits of the social life as represented in the Nartic tales find their counterparts in Herodotus' reports about the Scythians (IV, 64 ff.)6, thus suggesting an unbroken tradition which links the modern Ossetes (and their neighbours) with antiquity. Today, there is hardly any doubt that the Ossetes represent the last remnant of the Iranian-speaking tribes who occupied the South Russian steppes in older times and who were referred to by contemporary writers under the names of Scythians, Sarmatians, and, in medieval times, Alans.

Beyond that, several attempts have been made to identify Nartic figures directly with persons that are known from independent historiographical sources. The first identification of this kind was suggested as early as 1883 when D. Lavrov7 pointed out the similarity of the names of Satana, the central heroine of the Nartic epic, and of Saťenik8, an Alan princess, wife of a second century Armenian king named Artašës, who is given a considerable account of in the Patmowt'ïwn Hayoç9 of the Armenian historiographer Movsës Khorenatsi. The passage in question (book 2, ch. 509) which deals with an invasion of Armenia

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1 Miller (1881-7).
2 E.g., ABAEV (1939).
3 Cf., among others, ABAEV (1949) and (1958-89); for his selected writings, cf. ABAEV (1990).
4 For a concise summary of the Nartic tradition as spread among the Caucasian people cf. Gippert (1999).
5 For the Ossetes, the medieval inscription from the river Zelenńuk may be claimed to be the oldest extant written document of their language (cf. ZGUSTA 1987).
6 Cf. the detailed study by G. DUMEZIL (1930: 151 ff.).
7 LAVROV (1883: 189).
8 For the variant forms of the name cf. below.
9 Hereafter, Movsës Khorenatsi's History is quoted (as "MX") according to the edition Movsësi
by joint Alan and Georgian forces and their defeat by Artašēš’s foster-father, Smbat son of Biwrat, was soon after this studied in great detail by Vs. Miller10 who regarded it as a proof of the Alans being ancestors of the Ossetes11; in his argumentation, however, the personal names in question played no role yet. It was the French scholar G. Dumézil, then, who in 192912 examined Movsēs Khorenatsi’s testimony with respect to an identification of the historical Sat’enik with the epic Satana. His observations may be summarized briefly as follows.

Although there is no account within Nartic tradition of an invasion of the neighbouring country of Armenia in the course of which Satana was married, for the sake of peace, by the enemies’ king (this is what happened to Sat’enik according to Armenian tradition), there are some common traits indeed in the depiction of Satana in the epic and of Sat’enik in Khorenatsi’s historical treatise. One of these consists in the fact that both ladies are renowned for having a special affection for her brother: The reason for Sat’enik’s meeting Artašēš is a plea for her (unnamed) brother who was captured by the Armenians; Satana, in the Nartic epic, even marries her own brother, Wyryzmæg, after deceiving his legal wife, Elda13. Another common sujet is the two ladies being victims of rapt: According to Khorenatsi who quotes "singing storytellers" (vipasank’ yergeln iwreanc’) for this "fabulous" (aɾəspelabanelov) information, Sat’enik was caught by Artašēš riding on his horse and hurling a "rope made from leather, with golden rings" around her waist; the Nartic Satana is also rapted, by Pšy-Badinoko (in a Circassian variant) or by Wyryzmæg, with horse-back riding and a "magical whip" appearing as accessories. Khorenatsi, in another context (1,30) and again referring to "sung" tradition (ergk’), connects Sat’enik with one Argawan, a member of the descendants of Aždahak, the "brood of dragons" (višapazownk’), who provides a deceitful (xardawanak) feast for Artašēš; the tradition is resumed in 2,52 where the adversary of Artašēš, named Argam now, is offended by Artašēš’s sons who realize the betrayal (dawel) going on. With this, Dumézil compares Nartic tales about Satana’s adulterious liaison with Safa, the son of Vulcanus, and about a feast which the Narts provide for Wyryzmæg to kill him, with the latter being saved, on Satana’s command, by his nephew, Batradz14.

Xorenac’woy matenagrowt’iwna, Venetik 1865 where the chapter in question ("Yarjakowmn Alanac’ i mez ew partowmn, ew xnamowt’iwn Artašisi end nosa": "Invasion of the Alans in our [country] and [their] defeat, and Artašēš’s alliance with them" is found p. 177 ff. For a French translation, cf. MAHÉ (1993: 203 ff.).

10 Miller (1881-7: III, 25 ff.).
11 For the evidence brought about by a comparison of the Georgian chronicle, cf. p. 8 below.
12 Dumézil (1929: 41-53); reprinted in Dumézil (1930: 167-178).
14 Thus according to an Ossete tale published in 1925 (in: Pamjatniki narodnogo tvorčestva Osetin
Dumézil was certainly right, then, in assuming that the similarities sketched above can be taken as indications of legends about Satana having developed among Alans who were associated with Armenians, as early as the early centuries of our era — rather than a real historical person manifesting herself in them. This is all the more true since Movsès Khorenatsi himself had to confess that most of the information about the deeds of Artašes (and, consequently, of Saťenik) he could use, depended on bardic tradition and was thus hardly reliable, and he regarded it as his task to "turn allegory into truth" in this respect. But it is also true that Dumézil’s comparison was mostly based just on those elements that Khorenatsi declared as "fables", not on the ones he recognized as being historically "true" (and V.I. Abaev was certainly right in stating that the parallels thus brought about are not equally convincing). What is more, it seems to have escaped Nartologists’ notice so far that Movsès Khorenatsi is not the only source available to us with respect to the Alan princess, Saťenik, so that a reconsideration of the identification and its historical background seems worth while being undertaken.

It must be stated right from the beginning that most Armenian authors who mention the marriage of Saťenik with Artašes do not contribute very much to the question because it can be shown that their information depends, either directly or indirectly, on Movsès Khorenatsi’s account. This is true, first of all, for the historiographers Uxtanës (Urhayec‘i, ca. 10th-11th century) and Movsès Dasxowranc‘i (Kałankatowac‘i, 11th century) who give but a brief summary of the circumstances of Artašes’s marriage with Saťenik in their works; for easy comparison, the respective passages are reproduced below in a synoptical arrangement (note that Movsès Dasxowranc‘i confused the Alans, alank‘, with ałowank‘, Albanians, which was the obvious reason for his integrating the episode in his History of the State of the Albanians).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MX 2,50</th>
<th>UU 1,42</th>
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<td>177,13</td>
<td>Zaysow žamanakaw miabaneal Alank‘ leñnakonõk‘nen amenayniw, yin- k‘eans arkanelov ew zkēs Vrac‘aşxar-</td>
<td>58,6 Zaynow žamanaks lini paterazm Artašisi and ark‘ayin Alanac‘. leñnakonõk‘nen amene-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,4</td>
<td>Zaysow žamanaks miababin Ałowank‘</td>
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1. Vladikavaz, 72-74; a similar story is contained in Narty (1975, 197-201). According to a Qarachay variant, Uryzmek is saved by Sosruko instead (Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza 1/2, 1881, 38-42).

15 This tradition was, according to Khorenatsi, localized in Goltn, a canton of the province Vaspowrakan in the South-Eastern part of Great-Armenia; cf. Hübschmann (1904: 346, no. 106).


17 History of the Armenians, book 1, ch. 42, p. 56 f. of the edition Owxtanës Episkopos, Pavmowt‘iwn Hayoc‘, Hatowac afajin, Vałaršapat 1871 ("UU").

hín' mecaw amboxiw taraceal ěnd aš-xarhs mer:

177,15 Žolovë ew Artašës zmroć' zó-rac'ñ bazmowt'íwn, ew lini paterazm i měj erkoc'ownc' azgac'n k'ajac' ew alehnaworač':

177,17 Sakaw inč' teli tay azgn Alanac', ew gnac'eal anč'ānē ěnd getn mec Kowr, ew banaki ěr ezebar getoyñ i Hiwsisoy.

177,19 ew haseal Artašës banaki i Harawoy, ew getn ěnd měj noc'a:

177,20 Bayeč' k'anzi zord Alanac'ark'ā- yin jerbakal arareal zórac'n Hayoc' acen ař Artašës' xzáalawt'íwn xndrēr ark'āyn Alanac', tal Artašisi zinč' ew xndresć'ē.

178,1 ew erdowms ew dašins ašer hastat- tel mštňenawors, orpēs zì mi ěws mankownk' Alanac' aspatakaw hinic' elc'ěn yašxarhs Hayoc';

178,3 EW i čańnowl yanjn Artašisi ěř i tal zpatanin' gay k'oyr patanwoyn yap'n getoyñ i darawand mi mec, ew i jēr̥ t'argmanac' jaynē i banakn Artašisi. ...

178,12 ew teseal zkoysn gelec'ik, ew loweal i nmanē bans imastowt'ean' c'ankanč'aw kowsin: Ew koč'ec'ėal zda-yekn iwr zŚmbat' yaytnē nma zkams srtī iwroy, ańnowl zōriordn Alanac'ć i knowtiwn iwr, ew dašins ew owxts hastatel ěnd azgi k'ajac'n, ew zpatanin arjakel i xalałowt'iwn:

178,16 EW hačoy t'owec'āl Smbatay, ylē ař ark'āyn Alanac'ć tal ztkin ōriordn Alanac' zSat'inik i knowtiwn Artašisi: ...

179,6 K'anzi patoweal ěř ěş Alans mortć karmir' layk'a šat ěw oski bazowm toweal i varjans' ańnow ztkin ōriordn Šat'enik: ...

179,15 Sa ařājin ełeal i kananc'n Arta- šisi' cnani nma zArtaawzd ew zayls bazowms, zors oč' karewor hamareč'akę ayžm anowamb t'owel.

20,11 Vasn aystorik zōriordn Šat'ineak ańnow 'i kin Artašës ew dānay' xalalowt'iwn hastateal.
At that time, the Alans united with all the mountain peoples, integrating also half of the Georgian state, (and) with a huge army, they invaded our country.

Artašēs, too, gathered the mass of his troops, and a war arose between two tribes of heroes and archers arose.

The tribe of the Alans retreated a bit and transgressed the large river Kur and camped on the Northern riverside.

And Artašēs, having arrived there, too, camped on the Southern (side), and the river is between them.

But when they lead out the son of the king of the Alans, whom the Armenian forces had taken prisoner, before Artašēs, the king of the Alans asked for peace, (promising) to give Artašēs everything he would desire.

And he proposed to take oaths and (thus) make a treaty for eternity, according to which the sons of the Alans would never again enter the state of the Armenians for the sake of plundering.

And when Artašēs himself did not agree to render the boy, the boy’s sister came forward to the river bank, on a high hillock, and with the help of an interpreter, she shouted towards the camp of Artašēs: ...

And when (Artašēs) saw the beautiful maiden and heard the reasonable words she (spoke), he fell in love with the maiden. And he called upon his foster-father, Smbat, and he disclosed him the desire of his heart to marry the maiden of the Alans, to take oaths and make treaties with (this) heroic tribe, and to render the boy in peace.
178,16 And Smbat, to whom this appeared agreeable, sent out (a message) to the king of the Alans, (stating) that he should give Artašēs the maiden of the Alans, Sat'ēnik, in marriage, ...

179,6 As the Alans regard red leather as precious, (Artašēs) gave lots of this and of gold as a recompense and obtained the maiden Sat'ēnik, ...

179,15 She (Sat'ēnik), having become the first of the wives of Artašēs, gives birth to Artawazd and many other (children), whose names need not be enumerated here now.

58,7 and after subduing him, he marries Sat'ēnik, the king's daughter.

20,11 Because of this, Artašēs marries the maiden Sat'ineak and returned (home) after having made peace.

It may be added that both Uxtanēs and Dasxowranči refer to Movsēs Khorenatsi even explicitly in the given context. Uxtanēs states that besides the building of the town of Artašat, "many more deeds of his (Artašēs) are reported by Movsēs" (ew dañyw ew šīnē ḵ'̂alak' ŵ, ew anowanē yiwvr anown' Artašat. ew or ayl ews gorck' i nmanē patmi i Movsisē)19, and Dasxowranči mentions "Movsēs, the father (of) writer(s)" (k'̂erī olahayrn Movsēs), referring to the war between the Armenian king Artawazd and the Romans which he deals with immediately before turning to Artašēs.20

Another treatment of the marriage of Artašēs and Saťënēk that is likely to rely upon Khorenatsi’s, is contained in the poetic account of Armenian history by Nersēs Šnorhali21 who compiled the information into six verses:

Ew zAlanac' zōrsan hareal, And (he, Artašēs) defeated the troops of the Alans, Zark'ayordin jerbakaleal. and captured the son of (their) king, Že'k'nalagelox koys ațeal Having acquired the beautiful maiden, ژSat'enikan dić'azneal. the divine Sat'enik, ژharazatn ivw arjakeal he set free her own (brother), Ew ankapowt owxt hastateal: and swore an unbreakable oath.

A second episode concerning Saťënēk that is treated in detail by Movsēs Khorenatsi is the one dealing with her (unnamed) brother who is supported by Artašēs, again assisted by his foster-father Smbat son of Biwrat, when trying to

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19 Cf. p. 58 of the edition named above.
20 Book 1, ch. 8, p. 19 of the named edition. As to the epithet k'̂erī olahayr which DOWSETT (l.c.) translates as "father of literature", cf. SMBATJAN (1984: 181 f. n. 33).
21 "Šaradrowt iwn homerakan vipasanow'ēamb saks haykazanc'n sæři ew Aršakowneac'n zarms i skzbanc' minč'ew i vaxžan aRAšac'el Nersesi elbōr kat'olicosi Hayoc'" ("Written account, in Homeric poetic style, about the race of the Armenians and the stock of the Aršacids, from the beginning to the end, told by Nerses, the brother, Catholicos of the Armenians"), p. 555 f. of the edition Tn. Nersesi Šnorhalwoy Hayoc' kat'olicosi Bank' č'apaw, Venetik ²1928 ("NŠ").
occupy the throne left by his dead father (1, 52). This episode, too, is recapitulated with no further additions by Movsēs Dasxowranc’i (1, 8); cf. the synoptic-al arrangement provided below.

For (Smbat, endowed) with so much bravery, went, by order of Artašēs, to the country of the Alans together with (his) army, to assist Sat’īnik’s brother.

For Sat’īnik’s father had died, and another (man) had usurped the throne and persecuted (her) brother.

For Smbat threw this one back and repelled him, and he appointed Sat’īnik’s brother as a ruler of the (Alan) nation and devastated the land of (their) enemies.

And Smbat, the foster-father of Artašēs, came with a huge army, repelled the usurper and let (Sat’īnik’s) brother ascend his father’s throne.

He forcibly conducted them all together as prisoner(s) to Artašat,

And he returned with much booty and with many prisoners to Armenia

and Artašēs ordered to settle them South-East of the Masis, in the district named Šawaršākan, keeping (for them their) original name, Artaz.

and settled the captives, who were from the district of Artaz, in Šawaršan.

For the country from which they were taken prisoners has been named Artaz until the present day.

For both episodes treated so far, there is also a non-Armenian witness available, in the Georgian chronicle Kartlis cxovreba, a compilation of the 11th century.
Astonishingly enough, the text provided by Leonți Mroveli, albeit depicting the mission of Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani (= Smbat, son of Biurat) against the Alans (here named ovs-ni, i.e., Ossetes) in much greater detail than even Khorenatsi, and albeit naming two Alan princes explicitly, by the names Bazok and A(n)bazok, gives no account whatsoever of the later cooperation of Sumbaṭ with the Alans and, what is more, of the Alan princess we are dealing with. We can quote but a short excerpt of Leonți’s report here; note that the Armenian king, Artašēs, appears as Artašan in the Georgian text:

KC 1

45,5 mašin mošla Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani
man Iarvand, mepe somexta, da dasva
meped ʒma Iarvandisini, romelsa ečo-
debona saxelad Artašan.
45,7 mašin amat mepeta Kartlisata
Azor da Armazel moučodes ovsta da
lehta, da gardamoiqvennes ovsta
mepeni ʒmani orni goliati, saxelit
Bazuḳ da Abazuḳ, spita Ovsetisata.
da mat gardamoiqvennes tana pačan/ık-
ni da ıkini. da gardamovida mepe
lehta da gardamoiqvenna duruqni da
didoni. da amat mepeta Kartlisata
šemokrhibes ʒpni twsni da šekerba
esė ʒovelī simravle uricxw.
45,12 da simařqyt parulad šekrbes, 
vidre šekerbebodes ʒpni somextani.
da ševides eseni Somxits da ugrn-eu-
lad čarmoštqenes / Širaquan armed da
Vanandi Bagrewanamde da Basiana-
md, da šeikces da čatqenes Dašṭi
vidre Naxčevamnide, da ağiğes tqe
da natqenavni uricxw, da ağivnes
qovlita-ve xuṣatgita, da gamovles
gza Parisosasa.
45,17 mašin Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani
moučoda spita Somxitisata, da šekr-
bes mcərapl somexni da devna uqv̂es.
xolo ese ʒovelni ěrdiloni gansral
iğves Mtkuara da misrul iğves
Kambečoans, da daebanakat lirsa
zeda, da ganiqopdes tqesu da na-
tqenavsa. ...
46,9 mašin Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani
ganvlo Mtkuari. da Bazok ovsta

Then Sumbaṭ, the descendant of Bivriṭ, killed Iar-
vand (Erowand), the king of the Armenians, and
installed his brother, who was called by the name
Artašan.

At that time, the kings of Kartli (Georgia), Azor
and Armazel, summoned the Ossetes and the Leḳs
(Laks / Lezgians), and the kings of the Ossetes, two

giant brothers by the names of Bazuḳ and Abazuḳ,
came together with the army of Ossetia. And they
brought with them the Pačaniḳs (Pechenegs) and the
Ziks (Dagestanians). And the king of the Leks came
and brought with (him) the Duruḳs (Avar) and
Dido (people). And the kings of Kartli gathered
their troops, and all this innumerable crowd came
together.

And they succeeded in gathering secretly, (still)
before the troops of the Armenians could gather.
And they invaded Armenia and, unexpectedly,
occupied Širak and Vanand up to Bagrewan and
Basion, and they turned around and occupied Dašt
up to Naxčewan, and they took prisoners and booty
innumerable, and they filled (their bags) with all
(kinds of) riches, and they marched on in the direc-
tion of Parisos.

At that time, Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani summoned the
troops of Armenia, and the Armenians gathered
rapidly and persecuted them. But the Northern
(people) had transgressed the (river) Mtkuari (Kur)
and had reached Kambečoani, and they had camped
on the (river) Iori, and they were sharing the
prisoner(s) and the booty.

Then Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani transgressed the (river) Kur.
And Bazok, the king of the Ossetes, challenged him

22 p. 45 ff. in the edition by QAUXČIŠVILI (1955) ("KC").
to a duel, sent out a messenger and asked for a personal fight. But Sumbat took his armour, mounted his long-maned (horse) and stepped between the battle lines. And Bazok came forward from the other side. And the two (of them) cried out (loud) and dashed at each other. And Sumbat hurled his spear(s) into (his enemy’s) waist.band, and one ell (of it) came out at his back, (and) he lifted him off his horse, and he fell on the ground.

Then Anbazuk dashed out to help his brother. But Sumbat grasped his spear(s), turned towards him, hit him as well, pierced him, lifted him off, and he fell the ground ...

A few pages later, Leonti Mroveli’s account agrees to a higher extent with that of Movses Khorenatsi (2.53), in telling about one son of the Armenian king, named Zaren / Zareh, being captured by the joint Georgian and Ossetian forces:

48,20 ... rametu spani somextani qovelni da orni zeni mepisani da Sumbat iqves brjo- lad sparsta. da vitar ganamravles kartvelta da ovsta vneba somexta, ... because all the troops of the Armenians and two sons of the king and Sumbat were fighting against the Persians. And when the Georgians and the Ossetes increased the pressure on the Armenians, 183,2 Bažanč Artašes ew zišxanow- t’iwn zörwn and č’ors. zarewelean zörn t’olow i veray Artawazday, ew zarewmtteann tay Ti- ranay, zHarawayinn i Smbat hawatay Artašes divided the rule over the troops by four as well. He left the Eastern army to Artawazd and gave the West- ern one to Tiran; the Southern one he entrusted to Smbat, and the Northern one to Zareh. And Zareh was a man (who was) proud and passionate in deer hunting, but a coward and unfit for the war.

48,22 mašin Artašan mepeman šekribna spani, romelni šina darçomodes, da mis- cna 3esa twssa Za- rens, da çarmogzavna kartvelta zeda. Then Artašan the king gathered the troops which had remained in (his country), and he gave them to his son Zaren, and he sent him against the Georgians. 183,23 ew zhiwisayinn i Zareh: Ew Zareh ēr ayr sēg ew yors erēč nahañātak, isk ār pateraz- mowns vat ew taltowk. And Zareh was a man (who was) proud and passionate in deer hunting, but a coward and unfit for the war.

49,1 xolo šekrbes kartvelni da ovstn, da miegebnes kueqanasas ʒavaxetisasa. da eçqunes da ʒlies kartvelta da ovsta, da aoţes Zaren, ʒe somexta mepisa, da mosres sņa misi qo- veli da sdevnes saz- But the Georgians and the Ossetes gathered and moved to the country of ʒavaxeti. And the Geor- gians and Ossetes drew up and triumphed and put Zaren, the son of the king of the Armenians, to flight, and they destroyed all his army and perse- 183,2 zoroy zp’orj ařeal K’arjamay owrównm ar’ayi Vrać’ apstembe- c’owc’anē zerkirn, ew kaleal zZareh, i banti dnē i Kawkas: A certain K’arjam, king of the Geor- gians, who had experienced this (before), incited the country to rebellion, arrested Zareh and imprisoned him in the Caucasus.
Neglecting the difference of style which in the case of Leonti Mroveli reveals a strong influence of medieval romance, it becomes well conceivable that the sources this author disposed of were related to, if not identical with, Movses Khorenatsi’s treatise. The disaccount of Artašēs’s wife, Saṭ’enik, in the

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23 Note that within Armenian tradition, no other account of this episode seems to exist.
Georgian chronicle thus remains noteworthy indeed, all the more since the lady is likely to have been known to medieval Georgian Christian writers form another context. This is the hagiographical texts concerning the two Christian saints named Oski and Sukias (and their companions), two legends that were translated from Armenian models in the 9th or 10th century, as I. Abuladze pointed out who in his 1944 dissertation edited both the Armenian texts and their Georgian counterparts synoptically. For a short summary of the vitae of the saints which are closely interrelated with each other, we may refer to another Armenian writer, Yovhannēs (Katōlikos =) Draxanakertʻi, who gives a short account of their fate in his 10th century History of Armenia. Yovhan- nēs begins with St. Oski whom he introduces as a pupil of the apostle Thaddeus; according to the legend, the saint’s original name was Xrīwsi, i.e., Χρύσεως, of which Arm. Oski, lit. "golden", is a correct translation.

YD 7,4
36,12 Isk yet k’aḵa-
sown ew eric ʻ
amac ʻ
katarman sowrb aʔa-
kʼeloyn Tʼadēosi
yawowrs Artaši-
Hayoc ʻ
akʼayi aša-
kertkʻ srboy Aɾaḵʼel-
loyn,
36,14 orowm glxa-
worin Oski čanačʻiwr,
36,15 ew bnakeal ʻēn
yakowns Epʼrat ge-
toyʼ
And 43 years after the
death of the saint apostle
Thaddeus, in the years of
Artašēs, the king of the
Armenians, pupils of the
saint apostle
whose leader was known
as Oski,
and (who) had settled at
the sources of the river
Euphrat,
59,14 gti ʻi ćařs
nora, etʻē ark ʻ
omankʻ ork ʻ
yāśa-
kertcʻ eleal ʻēn
mecin Tʼadēosi aɾa-
kʼeloy,
59,17 oroc ʻ anown
glxaworin Xrīwsi,
ayr yazgē Grik,
60,1 ork ʻ yet ma-
howan aɾaḵʼeloyn
erʻeal krōnwore-
cʻan ʻi lerins ow-
rēmn cmaxayin
yakowns Epʼratay ...
I found in his
writings that some
men who had come
from the pupils of
the great apostle
Thaddeus
whose leader was
Xrīwsi by name, a
man of Greek prov-
enance,
(and) who after the
death of the apostle
lived as hermits
somewhere in the
dark mountains at
the sources of the
Euphrat ..

26 A BULADZE (1944: 10) notes the variae lectiones Kříwsi, K řowsi, Hřowsi; in the Georgian version, the saint is called Křivši.
28 This is confirmed by the Georgian version of the Suk′iasians’ legend which explains: Oške, romeli itargmanebis kartvelta enita okro "(their leader was St.) Oski, which is translated in the
Georgian language as ‘gold’."
taught and baptised some of the Alans (who were) related to Sat'enik, the queen, who was the wife of Artašēs:

They approached the king, Artašēs, and informed him about Christ being God ... (Their teachings) were also heard by the relatives of the great queen who had come with her from the (country of) the Alans ...

And as they encouraged the baptised more and more every day in their faith in the Word of Life,

Having heard this, the sons of Sat'enik became upset about this, and he banished the saints from the court in great anger. ...

And God made their minds intelligent to accept the Word of Life:

And Saint Xr<useo@ and his companions appeared ... they massacred them near their cells, cutting off their heads with the sword.

Yovhannēs immediately continues with the story of the saint named Suk'ianos and his companions whom he identifies, in accordance with their legend, with the Alans baptised by Saint Oski:

And the relatives of Sat'enik who had been gnac'in yAlanač' and secretly reunited xotačarak linelov (and) became grass-eaters like wild sheep under the auspices of
grasp as (their) food. Astowcoy, God,

And as, after many years, Xosrov, the king of the Armenians, had been killed by Anak and the country of the Armenians had been left unruled,

in the years of king Šapowh: And as the country of the Armenians was ruined because they had no king after Artawan, the son of Vašarš, and Xosrov, the king of the Armenians, had been killed by the king of the Persians, and (the latter) was eager in revenge of his home country, he wanted to destroy the country of the Armenians.

And the army of the Persians came into the country of the Armenians, and it reached mount Sowkawet where the blessed men had settled ... A commander whose name was Bařlah began to address (them) ... And (the saints) came to death by the (hand of the) commander, who killed them with the sword.

It is clear that the data given by Yovhannēs and the two legends raise serious doubts as to the chronology involved. If Saint Χρύσεος / Oski was a pupil of Thaddeus, he might well have taught during the presumptive reign of Artašēs and his wife, Sašenik, at the end of the 1st century A.D.; but how, then, might his own pupils, the Sukiasians, have lived up to the time after Xosrov was killed by the Persians, i.e., the late 3rd century? This may be the reason why Xosrov is not mentioned at all in a later account of the saints’ lives, viz. Uxta-nēs’s, albeit this agrees to a large extent with the introductory chapter of the legend of St. Sukias:
In those times when St. Suk’ias and his companions came with Sat’enik and listened to the Word of Life (taught) by the St. Oskeans who had been pupils of the holy apostle, Thaddeus, and who had been baptised by him and listened to the Word of Life, they preached themselves before the king and Sat’enik, who were converted and were baptised by them; and coming to Mt. Sowkaw, which was named Sowkaw after their leader, Sowk’ias, in the district of Bagrewand, facing the village of Bagowan, opposite Mt. Npat. And they came and settled on Mt. Sowkaw, which was named Sowkaw after their leader, Sowk’ias, in the district of Bagrewand, facing the village of Bagowan, opposite Mt. Npat.

The nobles who had come from the gate of the Alans to Armenia together with queen Sat’enik and who had been taught by the holy men (who were) pupils of the holy apostle, Thaddeus, who were hermits near the sources of the Euphrat, (and) whose leader was St. Oski, who, enlightened by the Word of Life, believed in Christ, and (who had been) baptised, increased more and more every day in (their) faith.

And the holy Oskeans had settled on the holy mountain which is called Całkêotn.

And the holy Oskeans had settled on the holy mountain which is called Całkêotn.
Euphrat, near a whirlpool of water(s) which flow down, springing from (a mountain) called Całkē, by whose name the villages (there) are still called Otn Całkoy: Otn Całkoy today.

While Uxtanēs’s summary hardly yields any further insight as to the problem of chronology, there is yet another account of the saints available in Armenian tradition which shows an interesting deviation in comparison with the sources quoted above. This is ch. 8 of the History of the Arcruni House29 the author of which, Thomas Artsruni, is considered to have been contemporary with Yovhannēs Kaṭ’ōlikos (10th century)30. His treatise begins with the saints that had established themselves on Mt. (Ĵrabašx =) Sowkawēt, thus matching Yovhanēs’s introduction on the Sukiasians:

And the saints who (resided) on Mt. Sowkawēt, being compatriots and loyals of Satenk who had come together with her,

And the relatives of Sat’enik who had been baptised in Christ, ... departed, went away and secretly reunited on mount Ĵrabaśx ..

Then, however, he continues with the story of the attempt of converting the royal family, which according to both Yovhannēs’s history and the legends was the task of the Oskians rather than their pupils. And indeed, K’riwos = Χρόσεος is mentioned by Thomas in this context:

They approached the king, Artašēs, and informed him about Christ being God, blaming the idols of being powerless ..

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29 T’ovmay Artsrunwoy Patwmowt’iwn, Peterburg 1887.
sowrbn K'rivos ař (was sent) to Artašēs.

Artašēs:

54,14 Isk Sat’nik
ownkndir eleal
xratow srboć’n očć
i bac’ meržeć’aw i
kroc’n Astłkay
anoweanal patkerin,
k’anzi kaskacans
ownelov i t’agawor-
ren ew yordoć’n,

But Sat’nik, who had
listened to the advise
of the saints, did not
overtly renounce the
idolatry of the statue
named Venus, for she
was in doubt about the
king and (her) sons,

54,16 manawand zi
ew t’agaworin nax
akn ownēr zdañaln
i kroc’n i yerkra-
pagowt’iwn K’risto-
si ĉšmartin Astow-
coy.

suspecting first of all
the king to be con-
verted from idolatry to
the service of Christ,
the true Lord.

54,19 bayc’ t’e orpēs elew katarowmn i bac’n
mez ĉ’e yart.

But how their death occured, is totally
unclear to me.

This remarkable divergence may well be explained by comparing the Georgian
version of the Oskians’ legend. Here, it is just the information about the sword
being used to kill the saints which is missing.

LOG
63,34 xolo ćmiday
Krivsi moqvas-
birturt twsit arga
mićevnul içu ad-
gilad. mi-ray-ićv-

But St. Ĉrūśeços and
his companions had
not yet gone to the
site. Just when they
arrived there, they

62,22 Isk sowrbn
Xrīswi handerj ńke-
rōk’n ekn, ćew ews
haseal ’i telin, minć’
zi žamanel kotorec’ın

And Saint Ĉrūśeços
came with his com-
panions, and they had
not yet reached the
site, and just when
Thus it is well imaginable that the source Artsruni disposed of was similar to the one from which the Georgian legend was translated.31

A second remarkable difference between Artsruni’s treatise and the other witnesses consists in the fact that the historiographer does not mention the Alan origin of Sat’enik and her compatriots anywhere. This is also true for the introduction of the present chapter which concerns the reign of Artašès and the foundation of the city of Artašat. Here, Artsruni’s account opposes itself to the brief summary of the king’s deeds provided by Movsês Khorenatsi in his history although this may well have served as his source32:

31 Another interesting parallel between Thomas Artsruni’s history and the Georgian agiographical texts dealing with matters Armenian will be found in the identification of the Caspian town of P’aytakaran with Tbilisi, the Georgian capital (TA 3,9: 173, 26: *hraman et hasanel i veray k’alaḵ’in Tp’lik koč’ec’eald, orowm yača’agojoyn P’aytakaran anowanenin “he gave order to come to the town named Tbilisi, which was formerly called P’aytakaran”). The same identification is found in the Georgian version of the legend of St. Aristakès, the successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator: romlissatswscia movides misa sakmisa mpqrobelni aģmosavalisani da črdiloysa kerjspysa zedamdgomni kalakisa Paytakaranisna, romel ars Tpilisi “because of which came the representatives of the East and the Northern region (and) the supervisors of the town of Paytakarani, which is Tbilisi” (ABULADZE 1944: 65,12; XAXANOV 1910: 58,25). The Armenian legend has only the first name: Vasn oroy ekeal gorçakalk’ kolmane’ν arewelci ew hiwisoy ew veraca’oc’ok’ hefavor k’alaḵ’in, or koč’i P’aytakaran “because of which came the representatives of the East and North and the supervisors of the distant town, which is called P’aytakaran” (ABULADZE 1944: 65,9). For the location of the town (and province), cf. HÜBSCHMANN (1904: 267 ff.) and HEESEN (1992: 253 ff. n. 149A).

32 Khorenatsi’s information was obviously also used by Asolik (Step’ansos Taronec’woy [= “ST”] Asołkan Patmowt’iwn tiezerakan, Peterburg 1885, p. 48,16: *Ew er’eal Artašisì i teli mi, owr xañin Erasx ey Mecamor, ey hačeal and blowrn‘ šinē k’alaḵ’ ew yiwr anown anowan Artašat) and Uxtanës who even mentions Movsês’s name (1,42, p. 58,8: *eaw dañnay ey šinē zk’alaḵ’n, ey anowanē yiwr anown’ Artašat. ey or ayl ews gorć’ i nmanē patmi i Movsìsê.)
52,19 yišē znžde-
hanal iwr i
vimamejšn zor
veragoyn gre-
c‘ak`. gay darjeal
i telin zbosnowl i
nma
52,20 ew hačoy
t‘oweal yač’s
nora’ šinē zk‘ara-
blown aparans ...

he remembered (his)
exile in the rocks
about which we have
written above. He
returned to the site to
take delight in it,

52,19 zižde-
hanalin iwr i
vimamejšn zor
veragoyn gre-
c‘ak`. gay darjeal
i telin zbosnowl i
nma
52,20 ew hačoy
t‘oweal yač’s
nora’ šinē zk‘ara-
blown aparans ...

he remembered (his)
exile in the rocks
about which we have
written above. He
returned to the site to
take delight in it,

176,17 Ert‘eal Artašisi
i telin, owr xafnin
Erasx ew Mecamôr,

When Artašês came to
the site where Araxes
and Mecamôr fuse,

176,18 ew hačeal and
tblown’ šinē k‘alak‘
yiwr anown anowaneal
Artašat:

and taking pleasure in
the hill, he founded a
city (there), calling (it)
by his name, Artašat.

We cannot decide whether Artsruni’s neglect of the Alans was intentional or
whether it was due to some incertainty as to the reliability of his sources which
might well have arisen from the fact that within Armenian tradition, the Alans
could easily be confused with the Albanians (we have noted the effect of this
in connection with Movsês Dasxowranc’s work above). And indeed, it is the
Georgian version of the Oskians’ legend again which refers to Hereti, i.e.
Albania, not Ovseti, as the home country of Šačenik and her compatriots33:

LOG
63,7 xolo ˙kacni
igi ˙cmidani amis
šemdgomad etjodo
des dedopalsa
mas da ˙eta mis-
ta, romelca ismi-
nes ese maxlobel-
ta dedoplisata, ro-
melni mosrul
iğynes mis tana
Heretit ...

LO
60,21 Isk ark’n
sowrbk‘ znoyn bans
yet nora xōsēin and
meci t‘agowhwoyn
merj linelow ord-
woc’n. zor lowel zays
ew merjaworaÊ meci
tiknojê, ork‘ zkni nora
eleal Âin yAlanac‘ ...

And the holy men
afterwards talked to
the queen and her
sons, which was also
heard by the relatives
of the queen who had
come together with
her from Albania ...

And the holy men
resume their speech
later again before the
great queen, (her) sons
being near. This (was)
also heard by the rela-
tives of the great
queen who had come
with her from the
(country of) the Alans

In this way, the assumption that Artsruni’s source concerning the saints was a
variant of the Oskians’ legend similar to the one on which the Georgian was
modelled, gains ground. And it is not counterevidenced by the fact that he starts
his account with Mt. Sowkawêt, i.e., the site associated with St. Suk‘ías, for this
is mentioned in the Oskians’ legend, too, which finishes with a brief account of

33 According to ABULADZE’s edition (1944: 12), the Armenian manuscripts have both the forms
Alan and Alan in the given passage, the latter being closer to alowank‘.

18
The Suk'iasians\textsuperscript{34}:

But Mt. Žrabašx was named Sowkaw by the name of their leader, Sowk'ias, in memory of the immortal saints who bore this name ...

The relationship between the brief account of the Suk'iasians provided by the legend of the Oskians, and their own martyrology is crucial as well, then, for the chronological problem we have noted above. Both legends do agree in stating that the Suk'iasians lived on Mt. Žrabašx / Sowkawêt for more than forty years before they were put to death:

And they came and lived as hermits on the mountain which is called Žrabašx, near an abounding water well, instructed by the mercy of the Holy Spirit, residing there for 46 years.

And the blessed men stayed on Mt. Sowkawêt for 44 years, nourished not by bread but by the power and the mercy of our Lord.

The main difference, however, consists in the fact that according to the legend of the Oskians, it was "acquaintances of the sons of Šaťenik" who killed the saints, not a commander named Bařlah or the like who is mentioned in the other sources. It remains noteworthy, however, that there is further disagreement between the legend of the Suk'iasians and both Yovhannēs and Uxtanēs in that only the former text speaks of a "Persian" army here; according to the latter authors, Bařlah / Bařhalayē "came from the Alans" instead, an information which may well reflect the attempt of re-aligning the data provided by the two legends.

But after Šaťenik's death, some men came into the acquaintance of her sons, who made friends (with them). And they inquired about the holy men and thus discovered the place where they resided. And when they arrived there, they intended to rescue them:

And they died on that mountain (by the hand of) Bařhalayē, the tyrant, who had come from the (country of the) Alans.

\textsuperscript{34} There are also manuscripts of the legend available where the memorial is explicitly associated with the Oskians, viz. ms. Matenadaran 4872 (AD 1491) and 991 (AD 1721) which add leaın of wlr oskeank' n kotoreč an "the mountain where the Oskians were killed"; cf. ABULADZE's edition (1944: 21): mss. "Q" and "Z".
to irritate them with words. And when they realized their steadfastness and their inflexible minds, they regarded their grandeur as hostility. And putting them to the sword, they killed them by the number of fifteen men.

We may conclude, then, that the "non-Alan" elements appearing in the tradition about the Suk'iasmans and the chronological problems caused by them are either confined to their legend or derived from it. If we further consider the fact that Thomas Artsruni seems not to have been acquainted with this text and that the Oskians's legend contains a full account of the Suk'iasmans, too, we cannot help thinking that all these elements are secondary and historically unfounded.

Nevertheless, it is just the Suk'iasmans’ legend which provides final support for the Alan provenance of the saints, being the only source that reveals the pre-Christian name of St. Suk'ias, i.e. Ἱσύχιος:

The commander said: What is your name? The blessed man said: Originally, I was called Barak'at'ray. But when I came to know about God, I called myself Sowk'ias, that is, "having a peaceful life".

Of the various readings available for the saint’s original name\(^{35}\), the one used in the editions, Barak'at'ray, is certainly well founded because it matches with the one we find in the Georgian version of the legend, viz. Barakadra. Together with shorter variants such as Barak'af or Barowk'at it immediately suggests a Semitic basis (cp. the Biblical name of Baruch, appearing as Barowk in the Armenian OT). Considering variants such as Bahadras, however, a different etymology imposes itself: There is good reason to believe that the saint’s name is identical with that of a certain Baqatar who, according to the Georgian chronicle, was the opponent of Vaxtang Gorgasali, the founder of Tbilisi, in his war against the ovśni, i.e. Alans, in the 5th century A.D.\(^{36}\). If we further con-

\(^{35}\) The following list is taken from Abuladze’s edition, 56, n. 5: Barak'at'ray DT, Barak'af EJK, Barowk'af OP, Barahat' a U, Barahatray MX, Bahadras RS.

sider the form ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ which is met with in the Zelenčuk inscription\(^{37}\), there is hardly any room for doubt that we have an Ossete etymon here, which V.I. Abaev\(^{38}\) identified with the word meaning "brave, rich", appearing as bæɡatyr and qæbatyr in Iron and bæɡataër in the Digor dialect. And the further identification with the name of Batradž, one of the male heroes of the Nartic epic, is well-founded as well.

The identity of the names of St. Ba(r)kcat and the opponent of Vaxťang Gorgasali, Baqatar, may even conceal the clue to the chronological problems the Suk’iasian’s legend brings about. The fight between Vaxťang and his enemy as depicted in the Georgian chronicle shows a close resemblance with the story about the heroic deeds of a certain Vahan Amatowni which is reported by Movsëš Khorenatsi as ch. 9 of the 3rd book of his Patmowtcìwn Hayoc\(^{c}\) (and retold in Movsëš Dasxowranc‘i’s History of the Albanians). Baqatar is an Alan (ovsi), Vahan’s anonymous opponent, a member of the bnakič’ hiwisoy Kawkasow, i.e. the inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus (and an "Albanian" again in MD 1,12). Both are styled as giants: Baqatar is a goliati, and Vahan’s opponent, a man of "inhuman size" (leal anari) whom Vahan, in a prayer, compares with the Biblical Goliath (cp. 1. Sam. 17, 4).

And the commander 154,5 da meoresa And the next day, another giant of the Ossetes stepped forward, whose name was Baqatar.

He was a Goliath ... for the size of his

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\(^{37}\) Cf. n. 5 above. Another occurrence of the name ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ written in Greek letters can possibly be found on the sinister side of an inscribed funeral stele discovered by J.A. Güldenstädt near the Çegem river in Kabardia; cf. the draft published in his "Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasischen Gebürgen" (GÜLDENSTÄDT 1787: pl. XIII, fig. 4). Güldenstädt provided no reading of this "graffiti-like" addition but only of the main inscription on the Western side; cf. o.c., p. XXIII (where "Fig. 4" must be read instead of "Fig. 3") and p. 502 (where "Platte XII. Fig. 3." must be read instead of "Platte XII. Fig. 4."). It remains unclear whether the "graffiti" denote the same person as the bottom lines of the main inscription which was read as "TOU ANAKAMQ DXND (1654)" by Güldenstädt (p. XXIII; recte "AXND (1654)"; read "PAXATAROU" instead of "TOU ANAKAM\(Ψ\)"?). Güldenstädt’s draft is reproduced as Fig. 1 here.

\(^{38}\) ABAEV (1949: 85) and (1958-89: I, 243 f.).
In both cases, the duel involves horse-riding, and in both cases, the giant is thrown off his horse when defeated.

MX 3,9

267,9 Ew oeč vripe-c'aw i xndroyn. And he did not go astray with his prayer. Hitting the back of his horse, he threw the terrible monster down to the ground.

KC

155,10 da kalad h'kra sxuari isari cxensi Vax'tangissa, da gaagdo šiga. And he shot another arrow at Vaxtang’s horse, and it was hit. And when the horse fell, Vaxtang jumped on Baqatar and pushed his knife into his shoulder, and he pierced it right into his heart.

The only remarkable difference lies in the fact that Baqatar was an archer while Vahan’s enemy was a spearman (nizakawor), and that the army the latter belonged to, was acting "by secret order" (galtmi hramanê) of the Persian king, Šapowh.

MO 3,9

266,4 Yawowrs sora miabaneal bnakie’k’hiwsisoy Kawkasow, giteal zt’owla-srtowt’iwn nora ew zyowlowt’iwn, ew a’rawel i hrapowreløy malert’anač Sanatrkoy’i galtmi hramanê Šaphoy Parsic’ ar-k’ayi, ar’sawel i mijoc’ ašxarhis ... In those days, the inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus united, and knowing the tender-heartedness and inadvertedness of Sanatruk and being instigated by his requests, on a secret order of Šapowh, the king of the Persians, they invaded our country ...

KC

151,15 mašin mepeta Ovsetisata šeškrinbes spani matni da moirtes zali Xazaretit, da moegebnes mdinaresa zeda, romeli ganvlis Darialansa da čavlis velsa Ovsetisasa. Then, the kings of Ossetia collected their troops and annexed the army of the Khazar country, and they drew up at the river which flows through the Alan gate into the plain of Ossetia.

St. Suk’ias, now, according to his legend, reported not only his original name when asked by the commander, but also his former profession as a "lancer of king Šapowh":

LS

41,14 Asē zö ravarn. Paterazmol ayr erewis: The commander said: You seem to be a man, experienced in war. The blessed man said: I was a lancer of king Šapowh.

If the legend is right, then, that Bark’at ar = Baqatar was the original name of the saint, his association with Šapowh and the chronological fixation depending thereon, might well have arisen from an erroneous identification with another
Baqatar who was fighting on the side of the Alan army in the second half of the 3rd century, during the reigns of one Šapūr (II./ III.) in Persia and Xosrov "the Lesser", son of Trdat the Great, in Armenia.

Another solution of the chronological problem is possible as well, however. First, we have to state that Khorenatsi’s account of the battle between Vahan Amatowni and the (anonymous) Alan giant is anything but reliable information, opposing itself in many points to the treatise of the same battle by Pćawstos Bowzandac’i. According to this author who wrote his "Epic histories" soon after the events we are dealing with, the enemies of the Armenian king, Xosrov, who are lead by a certain Sanēsan, king of the Massagetes (Mazk’tac’), are defeated by Vačē Mamikonean, not Vahan Amatowni who is mentioned but marginally, as a spearman (nizakakic’) of Vačē’s (book 3, ch. 7)39.

At that time, Sanēsan, the king of the Massagetes, developed an unappeasable hatered against his own kinsman, Xosrov, the king of the Armenians. And he gathered and assembled all the troops of the Huns and the Poxk’ ...

Then Vačē, the son of Artawazd, from the Mamikonean (House), came (back) ... when he arrived, he found Sanēsan, the king of the Massagetes, together with his basic troops, an innumerable and countless army, in the town of Vałaršapat. Drawing up his (own) troops, Vačē unexpectedly fell upon the town. And the Lord gave them into his hands.

And the lancers of the commander of the Armenians, i.e. Bagrat Bagratowni, Mehowndak and Garegin Rštowni, and Vahan the patriarch of the Amatowni family, and Varaz Kaminakan seized, killed and slaughtered the forces of the Alans and the Massagetes and the Huns and the other tribes ...

What is most important in this connection, is that Pćawstos does not mention Šapowh or any other the Persian king in his report, that no Sanatruk (who is styled a ruler of the Albanians in MD 1,12) appears and that there is no account whatsoever of a duel fight. All this renders Khorenatsi’s treatise (and that by Movsēs Dasxowranc’i which relies upon his) rather suspect, and the impression imposes itself that we have to deal with a mixture of historical data and legend-

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ary tradition here. This is hardly astonishing, though, given that the incorporation of legends and their secondary alignment with historical chronology, is known to be a typical trait of the Patmowt’iwn Hayoc⁴⁰ ascribed to Movsēs Khorenatsi⁴⁰. The effect of this principle can easily be exemplified with a story concerning king Trdat which in Movsēs’ History is contained in ch. 85 of its 2nd book and which was incorporated by Movsēs Dasxowranç’i in the same chapter as the one we have just dealt with. According to this story, Trdat was, again in a battle against the "Northeners", engaged in a duel fight with the king of the Basilk'c:

And king Trdat descended with all Armenians into the plain of the Gargaricians and confronted the Northeners with (his) line of battle. ... When the king of the Basilk’ saw this, he moved near the king, and from his horse equipment, he drew a rope made from tendons and wrapped up in sheepskin. And with power, he threw it around (Trdat), hitting him just from the left shoulder to the right armpit. ... And as he could not shatter the giant (Trdat) with his hands, he embraced the neck of (his) horse. But faster than he could whip the horse along, the giant grasped the rope with his left hand, and tearing him near with all his might, he drew his two-edged (sword) and cut the man in two by him.

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⁴⁰ Cf. TOUMANOFF (1969: 234) who uses the suitable word "telescoping" for Movsēs’s method.
The source of this episode is not hard to find. It is obviously modelled upon the report about an attack by the Alans which is contained in the 7th book of Flavius Josephus’s History of the Jewish War:

FJ

244,1 Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔδνυος ὅτι μὲν εἰσὶ Σκύδαι περὶ τὸν Τάναιν καὶ τὴν Μαἰότιν λίμνην κατοικοῦντες … κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνον διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἑτὶ καθ’ ἀρπαγῆν ἐμβαλεῖν …

248,1 μετὰ πολλῆς οὐν ῥοτῶν ἀμαχί ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀρπαγάς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας προῆλθον πάντα λειατούντες …

249,1 Τιριδάτης δ’ αὐτῆς ἔβασιλευεν, ὡς ὑπαντιάσασας αὐτοίς καὶ ποιησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἠλθέν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ζωὸς ἀλώναι τῆς παρατάξεως: …

250,1 βρόχον γὰρ αὐτῶ περιβάλον τις ἐμέλλεν ἐπισπάσειν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ἐξει δάττον ἐκεῖνος τὸν τόνον χόφας ἐβάθη διαρφυγείν. …

The Alan people, which is the Scythians living around the Tanais and the Maiotis, … planning at that time to undertake a raid into Media and even further … and committing the raids easily and without resistance, they came as far as Armenia, devastating everything. Tiridates, who was the king of Armenia, opposed them, and delivering a battle, he had a very narrow escape from this contest.

For one (of his enemies) had thrown a rope around him and would have torn him away, if he had not been fast enough to cut the rope with his sword and escape.

It goes without saying that Flavius Josephus’s Tiridates who must have reigned in the second half of the first century A.D. cannot be the same Armenian king as Trdat the Great whom the adventure is ascribed to by Movses Khorenatsi. It is not certain, of course, whether we can take Flavius’s testimony seriously as it is, because he might have perused a motive first appearing in Herodotus according to whom the usage of lassoes in battles was a custom of the Sagartians, a nomad tribe of "Persian tongue" (7,85). It is well conceivable, how-

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41 Cp. Μαή (1993: 380 [II, 85 n. 2] and 364 [II, 50 n.7]).
42 Ch. 7,7 in the edition Niese (1895).
43 Note that the account of the Alan raid contained in Dio Cassius’s Historiae Romanae (ch. 69, 15 in the edition Boissevain 1895-1901) does not contain the information about the usage of ropes.
ever, that his report could easily be adopted to fit into the vita of the great Trdat, by Movsês who knew nothing about a first-century king of the same name.

This leads us back to Sat'ênik and her marriage with Artašês. For them, too, Movsês provides a tradition in which a lasso thrown around a human body plays the central rôle (cf. p. 2 above). In this "fabulous song", however, it is the Armenian king who applies the technique:

MX 2.50

179,2 "Hecaw ari ark'ayn Artašês i seawn gelec'ik, ew haneal zoskêöl šika-p'oł parann, ew anc'æal orpêš zarcowi srat'ew and getn, ew jgeal zoskêöl šika-p'oł parann' ũnek'e i mêjk' ōriordin Alanac', ew šat c'apec'oyc' zmêjk' p'a-p'owk ōriordin, arag hasowç'anelov i banakn iwr": The brave king Artašês mounted his beautiful black horse and grasped (his) rope with golden rings, made from red leather; and crossing the river like an eagle with sharp wings, he threw the rope with golden rings, made from red leather and winded it around the waist of the Alan maiden; and causing a bad pain to the tender waist of the maiden, he rapidly tore her into his camp."

Nevertheless it must be stated that the episode of Artašês and Sat'ênik would match well with Flavius Josephus's account of the Alan raid into Media and Armenia, as A. and J.P. Mahé pointed out who regarded this as the source used by Movsês44. There is one more coincidence that might be mentioned in support of this assumption here. According to Khorenatsi, Artašês had to pay a high prize for the daughter of the Alan king he intended to marry:

MX 2.50

178,18 Ew asē ark'ayn Alanac'. "Ew owsti tač'ē k'ajn Artašês hazars i hazarač' ew biwrs i biwrowc' and k'ajazg-woy koys ōriordin Alanac'": ... "And the king of the Alans spoke: "And how will the brave Artašês give thousands of thousands and ten thousands of ten thousands for the young maiden of the Alans, born from a brave family?" ... As the red leather is well estimated with the Alans, (Artašês) gave much leather and much gold as payment and (thus) received the maiden Sat'ênik as (his) wife.

This may well reflect the information contained in Flavius Josephus's report according to which the ruler of the Medes, Pakoros, had to pay ransom money to the Alans for his captured wife:

FJ 7.7

247,1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς χώρας Πάκορος ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀναφεύγων τῶν μέν ἄλλων ἀπάντων παρακεχορήκει, μόλις δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔφεσατο τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας ἔκατον δοῦς τάλαντα. For the king of the land, Pakoros, fled frightened into inaccessible regions, conceding everything he had; and he hardly succeeded in ransoming his wife and his concubines and his girls who had been captured, by paying 100 talents.

44 Mahé (1993: 364; II, 50 n. 2).
We may conclude, then, that Khorenatsi’s Artašēs was the same person as Flavius Josephus’s Tiridates. This assumption, too, finds further support in a non-Armenian source, viz. in Dio Cassius’s Historiae Romanae. According to this text, which also contains a brief account of the Alan raid into Media and Armenia, it was Tiridates who founded the city named τὰ Ἀρτάξατα, i.e., Artašat (ch. 63,7,2); according to Khorenatsi and the authors depending on him, this was Artašēs’s work:

CD 63,7,2

ο μὲν δὴ Τιρι- And Tiridates who had built Artašat ...

MX 2,49

.. šinē k’ałak’ yiwr founded a city (there), Artašat:

κοδομήσας ... Artashat.

In this way, the matrimony of an Alan princess named Satʾenik with a 1st century Armenian king named Tiridates in Greek and Artašēs in Armenian sources seems well founded. There is yet one more factor, however, that has to be taken into consideration. We have seen above that the marriage of Satʾenik was brought about by a certain Smbat, son of Biurat. In Movsēs Khorenatsi’s History, now, we are told about another instance of match-making of an Armenian king supported by a man called Smbat. This is the marriage of Trdat the Great with Ašxēn, the daughter of a certain Ašxadar. Khorenatsi’s account is again reused by Uxtanēs who, however, does not mention Smbat:

MX 2,83

225,20 Ekeal Trdatay yašxarhs’ ařak’ë zSmbat aspet, zhayr Bagaratay’ acel koysn Ašxēn, zdowstrn Ašxadaray, iw r i known’iwn. or oč inč nowaz ěr koysn ar’ayin hasaki: ...

226,3 Yormē elew ordi Xosrov, oč hamemat hasaki nołac’ iwroc’:

226,4 End noyn awowrs linin hara-

95,22 Isk apa i galn Trdatay i Hayk’ yskzban t’agawor t’agaworeac’ lerord ami Diokletianosi kayer Hrovmayec’ woc’, ańnow iw r kin zAšxēn dowstr Ašxindaray.

96,2 yormē cnaw zXosrov’ oč nman hasakac’ iwroc’ cneal:

96,3 Ew and ayn awowrs linēr Ko-

And after Trdat entered Armenia, at the beginning of his reign, (and) in the third year of the reign of Diocletianus, the Roman emperor, he married Ašxēn, the daughter of Ašxindar.

226,4 In the same days occurred the wedding of

And in those days occurred the wedding

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45 Cf. TOUMANOFF (1969: 242) for the misuse of the name Artašēs in MX.
46 ch. 69, 15; cf. n. 43 above.
47 TA 1,8 (52,20); ST (Asolik) 48,16; UU 1,42 (58,8).
it has for long been proposed, now, that this queen’s name might be related with the Ossete noun "æxsín" meaning "lady"\textsuperscript{48}, and it was V.I. Abaev who assumed that this word might have become known and used as a female name in Armenia just when the Alan lady, Sat’enik, was married by Artašēs, taking into account that it regularly appears as an epithet of Satana in the Nartic tales\textsuperscript{49}.

If we consider that in the epic, esp. in its Digoron variant, the name of Satana is often substituted rather than accompanied by the term æxsīn(æ), and if we further consider the context Ašxēn is introduced in by Movsēs Khorenatsi, we may even proceed beyond mere etymology and presume that the information Movsēs digested when writing about the two queens, Sat’enik and Ašxēn, was virtually the same. First, we have to state that in the one and only older source available that deals with Ašxēn, i.e. Agathangelos’s History, there is no account whatsoever of her descent and the circumstances of her marriage with Trdat\textsuperscript{50}, so that this cannot be the basis of Movsēs’s report. Second, it is true that Movsēs and, accordingly, Uxtanēs do not assume Ašxēn to be an Alan and that this assumption, if appearing in later sources, may be due to a secondary confusion with Sat’enik, as A. and J.P. Mahé argued\textsuperscript{51}. Movsēs and Uxtanēs do, however, name Ašxēn’s father, a certain Ašxadar (the variant form Ašxindar appearing in Uxtanēs’s text may be influenced by Ašxēn and is thus less trust-

\textsuperscript{48}Cf. HÜBSCHMANN (1897: 20 no. 10) who also considered a derivation of the Iranian adjective Avest. axšaēna-, MPers. xašēn "brown".

\textsuperscript{49}ABAÉV (1958-89: IV, 2346 n. 1; 1990: 216).

\textsuperscript{50}Ašxēn is first mentioned as Trdat’s wife by Agaťeľanos in § 765 of his Patmowl’iwn Hayoc\textsuperscript{c} (ed. THOMSON 1980: 397). It may be noted here that in the Georgian version of the metaphrastic vita of St. Gregory (MELIKSET-BEG 1920: 37,16; cf. also MOWRADYAN 1982: 202,11 and p. 142), Ašxēn’s name appears as Ašxanavri, a form which is quite distinct from both the Greek variants ‘Aσχηνά, ‘Aσχηνά, and ‘Aσχηνά (cf. GARIFFE 1946: 205 and 1965: 279 with n. 1) and the Arabic variants assīnÎ (‘sŏny), assīnh (‘sŏny) and assīn (‘sŏny) appearing in the Arabic version of the legend (MARR 1904-5: 110,25; 124,18; 132,16; 128,23). Georgian Ašxanavri bears a suffix which is typical for feminine names; cp. Peroşavri ("Conversion of Kartli") and Łatavri (Georgian chronicle). A. ŠANIŒ (1968: 7 ff.) proposed to identify this suffix both by its function and by its etymology with -owhi appearing in, e.g., Tigranowhi (vs. Tigran, MX 1,25: 73,13) or tagowhi "queen" (< *tagabrēria-, cp. tagavor "king" < *tagaboro-).

\textsuperscript{51}MÄHE (1993: 380; II, 83 n. 1).
worthy). If Ašxēn can be identified with Ossetic æxsīnae, then, it is well possible that Ašxadar is related to Axsart(t) and Æxsærtæg, the names of the twin brothers who, according to the Ossete tradition, occupy a prominent rank in the pedigree of Nartic heroes, Æxsærtæg being the father of Wyryzmæg and his twin brother Xæmyc, and the forefather of the Æxsærtægkaty family. And it is hardly accidental in this context that Æxsærtæg’s wife, Dzerassæ, is also the mother of Satana, who is born to her after Æxsærtæg has died and Dzerassæ has been adopted by her father-in-law, Wærxæg, which means that Satana, too, is a member of the Æxsærtægkatæ family.

What, then, is the historical nucleus of the information about Sat’ênik Movsēs Khorenatsi and later Armenian sources provide? Certainly not much more than the legendary tradition about a young Alan lady named Sat’ênik and / or Ašxēn who was married, under unusual circumstances, to an Armenian king named Tiridates / Trdat. Under a second name, possibly used as an honorary title here, the latter became known as Artašēs. Whether this king was identical with Trdat the Great, with another Trdat of the 3rd century or with the 1st century Tiridates of the Greek sources, must remain open. The fact that Sat’ênik is chronologically aligned with the apostle Thaddeus in the Oskians’ legend and the historiographical sources depending thereon, must not be taken as a decisive argument; for this can be seen in the common framework of the Thaddeus tradition spreading in Armenia at least from the 6th century on. The Suk’iasians’ legend seems to support the second solution by telling that Sat’ênik and her husband lived "many years" before Xosrov the Great was killed by Anak (A.D. 287) and that Barak’atra had been a soldier of Šapowh, which might mean Šāpur I. (ca. 242-275), before he converted; we have seen, however, that this information must not be overestimated either.

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52 Cf., e.g., ABAEV (1939: 73). The "family" name of the Æxsærtægkaty is first met with in the Georgian chronicle, Kartlis Cxovreba, in a text dealing with the time of the Mongol invasion; the persons in question are a woman called Limaçav and her children, Parežn and Baqatar, who come to Tbilisi as refugees (Ţamtaaģmcerele: QAUĈIŠVILI 1959: 251).

53 It is true that there are several variant traditions about Satana’s birth in most of which Wa-styrďzy, i.e. St. Georges, plays a certain role; cf. DUMÉZIL (1930: 24 f.) and ABAEV (1939: 76 f). Besides Dzerassæ, Satana’s mother is named Sasana or Qwazæ in Ossete tales; in a Kabardian text, we find the name Lalyxwe (Narty 1974: 41 / 189 and 350, II., n. 1). The new edition of Ossete Nartic tales (Narty 1990) contains two stories about Satana’s birth (nos. 8 and 9, p. 96 ff.). According to a Balqar text, Satana’s parents were the Sun and the Moon (Narty 1994: 71 / 306 and 616, 4.).

54 Cf. TOUMANOFF (1969: 261 ff.) who tries to prove that Armenia had three kings named Tiridates in the 3rd century, the Great Trdat being the fourth (regn. 298-330).

55 Cf. AKINIAN / TÉR-PÔLOSEAN (1970a: 1 ff.) and VAN ESBOECK (1972: 241 ff.) for detailed studies of this tradition. The question whether it was known in Armenia before the 6th century depends on the authenticity of the introductory chapter of the Epic histories by P’awstos; for this question, cf. GARSOIAN (1989: 16-22 and 244; III.i, n. 2).
There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the legendary tradition about Sat’enik preserved by Armenian historiography is related to the tradition about Satana we meet with in the Nartic tales. In the beginning of this article, we have already resumed the parallels brought about by G. Dumézil which strongly suggest a link of tradition. It may be sufficient to add just one more observation in this context. One of the most widespread Nartic episodes concerning Satana is the story about how her son, Soslan-Sozyryqo, was born. According to most variants of this story, Satana is watched by a young shepherd when washing clothes on the river bank. The shepherd who stands on the other side of the river falls in love with her. As he cannot cross the river, he drops his semen on a rock near by. Satana realises this and returns to the place at the time of the completion of the term, and having the stone opened, she finds the child. There is an astonishing coincidence indeed of this story with Movsēs Khorenatsi’s report about the marriage of Sat’enik with Artašēs (cf. p. 3 above); for this couple, too, is separated by a river when Artašēs sees Sat’enik for the first time and falls in love with her. And in the same context, it may be interesting to note that Thomas Artsruni, in his brief account of Artašēs’s reign, after mentioning the couple’s marriage immediately continues with the king’s return into the "rocky area" where he had been grown by his foster-father, Smbat, hidden from his persecutor, Erowand, and living as a shepherd (i.e., the place where he was to build Artašat later).

Even though the shepherd who became Satana’s lover bears no name reminding of Artašēs in any of the text variants, and even though the story about Arta-

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57 For a detailed study of this topic cf. MÜLLER (1966, 481 ff.).

58 Among others, the following name forms are met with: Ossetic: Telves (Тельвесь, in the
šēš spending his youth as a shepherd is clearly influenced by the legends about his quasi-namesake, Artaššir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, the equivalences between the Armenian and the Nartic tradition can hardly be regarded as accidental.

The question whether or not the Armenian Saťčenik can be identified with the Nartic Satana, lastly depends on the linguistic analysis of the two names which are not easy to account for. Within Armenian tradition, there is a continuous alternation of the two forms Saťčenik and Saťčenik and other variants, the former presupposing an older *Sať-čen-, the latter, *Sať-čen-. Within the Nartic tales, there is much less variation: the Ossetic name is always Satana, for Chechen, only (Seli-)Sata is known, the usual Balqar form is Satanay, and the regular name of the Circassian epic is Sətənay. These forms can easily be identified with one another, deducing them from an underlying *satana- which

overview of Nartic legends published in Russian by V. Pfaff (PFAFF 1871: 172); Pfaff regarded the name as Greek, p. 173, but cp. the Circassian name forms Teuvəzd [Kab.] and Teucozd [Adyg.] listed in Spravočnik (1979: 295 and 301); Sosag-eldar (Digor, Narty 1990, no. 31; according to other Digor variants, sos-dor, i.e., "pumice" is the name of the rock: ib., nos. 30 and 32); Ubykh: Sausna (Nartxer 1969, no. 104); Kabardian: Sos (Nartxer 1969, no. 92 / Narty 1974, no. 1); S'qara (Шокъарэ, Narty 1974, no. 2); Balqar: Sızuk (Narty 1994, nos. 31 and 33). It is clear that all the latter names are related to Soslan's own name. The problems involved will be dealt with in a separate article.

59 It remains unclear whether or not the word hovtajež "cave" used by Artsruni in the given context may reflect Khorenatsi's hovowawan in some way.

60 According to the MPers. "Book of the Deeds of Ardaššir, Son of Pābag" (Kārnāmāg-i Ardaxššir-i Pābagān, it was Artaššir’s father, Sāsān, who was a shepherd: ud sāsān šubān-i pābag būd ud hamwār abāg gospandān būd “and Sāsān was the shepherd of Pābag, and he was with the sheep all the time” (ch. i, 6); cp. ČunakoV (1987: 38). In Movšēs’s History, there are several other passages where Artašēs is compared or contrasted with Artaššir; cp. esp. book 2, ch. 56 where the introduction of a landmarking system is ascribed to Artašēs, Ardaššir being styled a mere imitator (cp. the similar account by ST [Asolik], 49,1-5).

61 For the Oskians’s legend, Abuladze’s edition (1944) notes the following variants of the gen. Saťčenik: 13,1: Saťčenek, Saťček, Saťčeni, Saťčenik; 16,1: Saťčink, zSaťčenk, Saťčenik, Saťčinkan, Saťčenay, zSaťčenay, Saťčinek; 16,15: Saťčink, Saťčan, Saťčenay, Saťčenik, Saťčenay, Saťčenik; for the Suk'iasians’ legend: 23,30: Saň'tika, Saň'tenay, Saň'tenk, Saň'tenika; 24,10: Saň'tinek, Saň'tink, Saň'tenik, Saň'tenka, Saň'tinkay. In the editions in Sop'erk' hayka-kank’, the three forms Saň'tenay, Saň'tenik, and Saň'tinkan are used (33,4 / 61,12; 63,15; 33,16 / 63,4). For the occurrences in UU, MD, NŠ, YD, and TA no variant readings are available.

62 The Circassian word-final -ey may well be a suffix; cf. KOKOV (1973: 42), who sees the same suffix in the Nartic (masculine) name Kab. Š’aweij (Щауэй), Adyg. Šawaj (Щаваï) (= Ossetic Sewwaj, e.g. Narty 1975, 222,24), but also in the female name Kab. Gwaš’onej (Гуашоней), Adyg. goš’awnaj (Гошунай), the latter name clearly contains the common noun kab. gwaš’ə (гуашэ), Adyg. gwaš’ə / goš’ə (гعاш / гошэ) meaning "lady, landlady, mother-in-law" which is used as an epithet of Сатене in the Circassian Nartic tales in the same way as exsēne is used in Ossetic. Adyg. goš’awnaj seems to contain unə- "house". For a list of Circassian names ending in -ey, cf. KOKOV (1973: 168 f.).
matches with the Armenian basic forms except for the vowel of the second syllable and the (diminutive) suffix -ik contained in the latter (note that both in Ossetic and the neighbouring languages, the internal t is an aspirated one as is the Armenian). V.I. Abaev was certainly right, then, in stating that within Ossetic, Satana cannot belong to the stock of inherited Iranian words because of its phonological shape (three "long" a vowels, one of them even in auslaut position)\textsuperscript{63}. Nevertheless, an Iranian etymology that joins all the existing variants remains possible. A clue to this may be the variant form Sart'ënik with a medial -r-, once attested in Movsēs Khorenatsi’s work, in a versified passage again quoted from "songs which are preserved with affection .. by the inhabitants of the vinous district of Gōltīn":

\begin{quote}
MX 1.29
84,12 Ayl ew tenč'ay, asen, Sa(r)t'ënik tikin
And also: "Sa(r)t'ënik," they say, "has a strong
tenč'ans' zartaxowr xawart ew ztić' xawarcı
i barjić'n Argawanay:
    tıć' on the dinner table of Argawan."
\end{quote}

It is clear that Sart'ënik in the given passage represents a lectio difficilior as against the variants Sat'enik and Saťinik\textsuperscript{64} which are the "usual" forms occurring elsewhere. Together with the Circassian form Šörtənay (Сэртэнай) which we find in a Shapsugh tale about the birth of Sausīrīqo\textsuperscript{65}, it strongly reminds us of the Scythian name Ξαρδανός appearing in an inscription of Tanais\textsuperscript{66} which has for long been deduced from the Iranian word *xša\textbeta ra- "reign"\textsuperscript{67}. If Ξαρδανός represents a derivative *xša\textbeta rānā-, it shows the metathesis of the internal consonant cluster which is typical for Ossetic; within this language, its cognates are the names Æxsært (< *xša\textbeta ra-) and Æxsærtæg (< *xša\textbeta raka-) well known from the Nartic tales.\textsuperscript{68} It is true, then, that Satana cannot represent the normal development of a feminine variant *xša\textbeta rānā- (> "Scythian" *xšar\textbeta anā-) in Ossetic, both because of its vocalism and because of its consonantism (s- < *xš-). It might, however, be explained as the adaptation of such a form by non-Iranian speakers, which would mean that the Ossetes must have "reimported" the name, a Turkic variant like Balqar Satanay being the most probable source.\textsuperscript{69} The Circassian ( Yapısuğ) variant Sörtənay would in this

\textsuperscript{63}ABAEV (1935 / 1990: 247).
\textsuperscript{64}Thus according to the data collected by AÇĂRYAN (1948: 342).
\textsuperscript{65}Nartxer 1969, no. 107: 46 with the forms Съртэнай, Съртэнаем (erg.) and Съртэнәер (abs.).
\textsuperscript{66}LATYŞEV (1890: 454, 11.).
\textsuperscript{67}Cf. MILLER (1881-7: III, 80); ZGUSTA (1955: 122, § 157).
\textsuperscript{68}Cf. ABAEV (1958-89: IV, 239).
\textsuperscript{69}Cf. DUMEZIL (1930: 191) who quotes M. Tuganov for the suggestion of a mutual exchange of the variant forms of Soslán’s name between Ossetes and Kabardians. — The proposal by BAILEY (1980: 239) to see in Satana "the feminine of the masculine title, older sātār-, ‘ruler’" has no basis whatsoever.
case reflect an older stage in which the internal cluster (-rt-) was still preserved in its "Alanic" shape⁷⁰ — and the Megrelian family name Sartania might be another residue of this⁷¹.

Returning to the the Armenian tradition, the question remains how to account for the peculiar shape the name has here. While the derivative suffix -ik raises no problems, the vocalism of the second syllable requires an explanation. If the alternation of -e- and -i- we meet here is not due to a secondary restitution of a former -a- lost through syncopy in Medieval times⁷², we would have to assume a variant suffix; in this case, a preform *xšaṛrīān- leading, via *sart-iān-, to *sa(r)tean- would be the most probable solution. Considering the affinity of the Nartic Satana to the Ėxsārtækæ family, this might be interpreted as a quasi-patronymical formation, Sāfenik being named after her family’s ancestor, Ėxsārt(æg) < *xšaṛra(ka)-, in just the same way as Smbat, Artašes’s tutor, could be named after his father, Biwrat.⁷³ If we further consider that among the Ossetes, the tradition of deriving maiden names from ancestral names is still valid and that the suffix used in this derivation, -on⁷⁴, is the regular outcome of an older *-ān-, Satana, < *xšartānā-, and Sāfenik, < *xšart-iān-, reveal themselves as equivalent formations, denoting the heroine as a descendent of the Ėxsārtækæ family.

Bibliographical references

ABAEV 1939: V.I. A., Iz osetinskogo ˙ eposa. 10 nartovskix skazanij, tekst, perevod, kommentarii;

⁷⁰ Note that within Circassian, the word nart itself has a variant nat as well; examples can be quoted from the Šapsugh and Xakucha dialects (Nartxer 1969, nos. 84, 86, 88, 103). In the texts in question, Satana’s name is Sëtenant while text no. 107 has both nart and Sartanay. For the time being, we cannot exclude the alternative possibility that -r- was introduced secondarily in the Šapsugh name form.
⁷¹ Cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI (1966: 141). Note that a name Aţsartan which might be the male equivalent of *xšaṭrāna- is met with several times in the Georgian chronicle (cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI 1966: 513 ff.). — The spread of the form Satana may well have been influenced by the Christian concept of Satanas; cp. the Sogdian text TM 393 where sšt’nh, Satan, is also grammatically feminine (HENNING 1944: 138 and 141 with n. 7; SKJÆRVO 1994: 242). Ossetic saytan (căţţăţan: IOSIF 1884: 475 s.v. [Russ.] căţăţa) "devil" reflects the Islamic word, Arab. šayṭān, instead.
⁷² Cf. GIPPERT (1993: 32, 149 and 347) for a discussion of possible Georgian witnesses of an early date of this syncopy.
⁷³ The expected formation is provided by the Georgian chronicle, in the form Bivriţian-i, cp. p. 8 above. Movsēs Khorenatsi has only the gen. attribute, Smbat Biwratay.
⁷⁴ Cf., e.g., MORRISON (1951: 77) or GAGKAEV (1964: 70) with the examples Dzagur-on / Dzawyryr-on (Дагурың-оң, cp. the family name Dzagurtæ / Dzagwyr-te Дагур-тæ), Tuskhauon (vs. Tuskhate), and Salam-on (Салам-оң, vs. Salam-te Салам-тæ). For the underlying personal names (Dzagur / Salam), cf. FRITZ (1983: 75 and 185).
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