

Nartica I: The historical Satana revisited

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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eighties of the 19th century with his "Ossetic Studies"¹, Abaev's contribution has consisted not only in the edition of unpublished texts² but also in countless books and articles concerning folkloristic, ethnological, or linguistic aspects of the great Caucasian epic³.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 Sat^cenik⁸, an Alan princess, wife of a second century Armenian king named Artasēs, who is given a considerable account of in the *Patmowt'iwn Hayoc'* of the Armenian historiographer Movsēs Khorenatsi. The passage in question (book 2, ch. 50⁹) which deals with an invasion of Armenia

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 Zelenčuk may be claimed to be the oldest extant written document of their language (cf. ZGUSTA 1987).

⁶ Cf. the detailed study by G. DUMÉZIL (1930: 151 ff.).

⁷ LAVROV (1883: 189).

⁸ For the variant forms of the name cf. below.

⁹ Hereafter, Movsēs Khorenatsi's History is quoted (as "MX") according to the edition Movsēs

by joint Alan and Georgian forces and their defeat by Artašēs'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 Satēnik 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 Satēnik according to Armenian tradition), there are some common traits indeed in the depiction of Satana in the epic and of Satēnik 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 Satēnik's meeting Artašēs is a plea for her (unnamed) brother who was captured by the Armenians; Satana, in the Nartic epic, even marries her own brother, Wryzmæg, 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^c yergeln iwreanc^c*) for this "fabulous" (*ařaspelabanelov*) information, Satēnik was caught by Artašēs riding on his horse and hurling a "rope made from leather, with golden rings" around her waist; the Nartic Satana is also rapt, by Pšy-Badinoko (in a Circassian variant) or by Wryzmæg, with horse-back riding and a "magical whip" appearing as accessories. Khorenatsi, in another context (1,30) and again referring to "sung" tradition (*ergk^c*), connects Satēnik with one Argawan, a member of the descendants of Aždahak, the "brood of dragons" (*viřapazownk^c*), who provides a deceitful (*xardawanak*) feast for Artašēs; the tradition is resumed in 2,52 where the adversary of Artašēs, named Argam now, is offended by Artašēs'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 Wryzmæg to kill him, with the latter being saved, on Satana's command, by his nephew, Batradz¹⁴.

Xorenac^cwoy matenagrowt^ciwnə, Venetik 1865 where the chapter in question ("Yarjakowmn Alanac^c i mez ew partowmn, ew xnamowt^ciwn Artařisi ənd nosa": "Invasion of the Alans in our [country] and [their] defeat, and Artašēs'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).

¹³ For the variants of this episode, cf. DUMÉZIL (1930: 25 f.); for its background cf. FRITZ / GIPPERT (1984: 171-185).

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 Movsēs Khorenatsi himself had to confess that most of the information about the deeds of Artašēs (and, consequently, of Sat^ēnik) he could use, depended on bardic tradition¹⁵ and was thus hardly reliable, and he regarded it as his task to "turn allegory into truth" (*zaylabanow-ťiwnn čšmartesc^ēowk^ē*) in this respect (2,49). 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 convincing¹⁶). What is more, it seems to have escaped Nartologists' notice so far that Movsēs Khorenatsi is not the only source available to us with respect to the Alan princess, Sat^ēnik, 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 Sat^ēnik with Artašēs do not contribute very much to the question because it can be shown that their information depends, either directly or indirectly, on Movsēs Khorenatsi's account. This is true, first of all, for the historiographers Uxtanēs (Urhayec^ēi, ca. 10th-11th century)¹⁷ and Movsēs Dasxowranc^ēi (/ Kałankatowac^ēi, 11th century)¹⁸ who give but a brief summary of the circumstances of Artašēs's marriage with Sat^ēnik in their works; for easy comparison, the respective passages are reproduced below in a synoptical arrangement (note that Movsēs Dasxowranc^ēi confused the Alans, *alank^ē*, with *ałowank^ē*, Albanians, which was the obvious reason for his integrating the episode in his History of the State of the Albanians).

MX 2,50

UU 1,42

MD 8

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| 177,13 Zaysow žamanakaw miabaneal Alank ^ē leřnakanōk ^ē n amenayniw, yin-k ^ē eans arkanelov ew zkēs Vrac ^ē ašxar- | 58,6 Zaynow žamanaks lini paterazm Artašisi kaw miabanin Ałowank ^ē ənd ark ^ē ayin Alanac ^ē . | 20,4 Zaysow žamana- kaw miabanin Ałowank ^ē leřnakanōk ^ē n amene- |
|--|---|--|

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 Gołtn, a canton of the province Vaspowrakan in the South-Eastern part of Great-Armenia; cf. HÜBSCHMANN (1904: 346, no. 106).

¹⁶ ABAEV (1935 / 1990: 247).

¹⁷ History of the Armenians, book 1, ch. 42, p. 56 f. of the edition Owxtanēs Episkopos, Patmowťiw^ēn Hayoc^ē, Hatowac ařajin, Vařaršapat 1871 ("UU").

¹⁸ History of the State of the Albanians, book 1, ch. 8, p. 20 of the edition Movsesi Kałankatowac^ēwoy Patmowťiw^ēn Ałowanic^ē ašxarhi, T^ēiffis 1860 ("MD"); cp. the English translation by DOWSETT (1961: 7) or the Russian translation by SMBATJAN (1984: 26).

hin[°] mecaw amboxiw taraceal ənd aš-xarhs mer:

177,15 Žoľovē ew Artašēs ziwroc[°] zōrac[°]n bazmowt[°]iwn, ew lini paterazm i mēj erkoc[°]ownc[°] azgac[°]n k[°]aĵac[°] ew aľeľnaworac[°]:

177,17 Sakaw inč[°] teli tay azgn Alanac[°], ew gnac[°]eal anc[°]anē ənd getn mec Kowr, ew banaki aľ ezerb getoyn i Hiw-sisoy.

177,19 ew haseal Artašēs banaki i Hara-woy, ew getn ənd mēj noc[°]a:

177,20 Bayc[°] k[°]anzi zordi Alanac[°] ark[°]a-yin jerbakal arareal zōrac[°]n Hayoc[°] acen aľ Artašēs[°] zxaľaľowt[°]iwn xndrēr ark[°]ayn Alanac[°], tal Artašisi zinč[°] ew xndresc[°]ē.

178,1 ew erdownms ew dašins asēr hastatel mštnjenawors, orpēs zi mi ews man-kownk[°] Alanac[°] aspatakaw hinic[°] elc[°]en yašxarhs Hayoc[°]:

178,3 EW i č[°]aľnowl yanjn Artašisi aľ i tal zpatanin[°] gay k[°]oyr patanwoyn yap[°]n getoyn i darawand mi mec, ew i jeľn t[°]argmanac[°] jaynē i banakn Artašisi. ...

178,12 ew teseal zkoysn geľec[°]ik, ew loweal i nmanē bans imastowt[°]ean[°] c[°]ankac[°]aw kowsin: Ew koč[°]ec[°]eal zda-yeakn iwr zSmbat[°] yaytnē nma zkams srti iwroy, aľnowl zōriordn Alanac[°] i knowt[°]iwn iwr, ew dašins ew owxts hastatel ənd azgi k[°]aĵac[°]n, ew zpatanin arjakel i xaľaľowt[°]iwn:

178,16 Ew hačoy t[°]owec[°]al Smbatay, yľē aľ ark[°]ayn Alanac[°] tal ztikin ōriordn Alanac[°] zSat[°]inik i knowt[°]iwn Artašisi:

...

179,6 K[°]anzi patoweal ē aľ Alans mort[°] karmir[°] layk[°]a šat ew oski bazowm toweal i varjans[°] aľnow ztikin ōriordn Sat[°]enik: ...

179,15 Sa aľajin eľeal i kananc[°]n Artašisi[°] cnani nma zArtawazd ew zayls bazowms, zors oč[°] karewor hamarec[°]ak[°] ayžm anowamb t[°]owel.

k[°]owmbk[°] ew masn inč[°] 'i Vrac[°] ew mecaw amboxiw taracanin yerkim Hayoc[°].

20,7 Žoľovē ew Artašēs zzōrs iwr ənddēm noc[°]a

20,8 ew banaki aľ Kowr getov, sastkanay pate-razmn

20,9 ew əmbĕrni ark[°]ay-ordin Aľowanic[°] 'i jeľs Artašisi:

58,7 ew hnazandec[°]ow-c[°]eal zna, aľnow iwr kin zSat[°]enik dowstr ark[°]ayin.

20,11 Vasn aysorik zōriordn Sat[°]ineak aľnow 'i kin Artašēs ew daľnay[°] xaľaľowt[°]iwn hastateal.

A translation may run as follows:

| MX 2,50 | UU 1,42 | MD 8 |
|---|---|--|
| 177,13 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. | 58,6 At those times, a war arose between Artasēs and the king of the Alans. | 20,4 At that time, the Albanians (!) united with all the mountain peoples and parts of the Georgians, and with a huge army, they invaded the country of the Armenians. |
| 177,15 Artasēs, too, gathered the mass of his troops, and a war between two tribes of heroes and archers arose. | | 20,7 Artasēs, too, gathered his troops against them |
| 177,17 The tribe of the Alans retreated a bit and transgressed the large river Kur and camped on the Northern riverside. | | 20,8 and camped on the river Kur. The battle intensified |
| 177,19 And Artasēs, having arrived there, too, camped on the Southern (side), and the river is between them. | | |
| 177,20 But when they lead out the son of the king of the Alans, whom the Armenian forces had taken prisoner, before Artasēs, the king of the Alans asked for peace, (promising) to give Artasēs everything he would desire. | | 20,9 and the son of the king of the Albanians was captured by the hands of Artasēs. |
| 178,1 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. | | |
| 178,3 And when Artasēs 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 Artasēs: ... | | |
| 178,12 And when (Artasēs) 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, Saťenik, 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 Saťenik. ...

179,15 She (Saťenik), 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 Saťenik, the king's daughter.

20,11 Because of this, Artašēs marries the maiden Saťineak 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 dařnay ew řinē zk'atak'n, ew anowanē yivr anown' Artašat. ew or ayl ews gorck' i nmanē patmi i Movsisē*)¹⁹, and Dasxowranc'i mentions "Movsēs, the father (of) writer(s)" (*k'ert'otahayrn 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 Saťenik that is likely to rely upon Khorenatsi's, is contained in the poetic account of Armenian history by Nersēs řnorhali²¹ who compiled the information into six verses:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Ew zAlanac' zōrsān hareal,</i> | And (he, Artašēs) defeated the troops of the Alans, |
| <i>Zark'ayordin jerbakaleal.</i> | and captured the son of (their) king. |
| <i>Zč'ak'natagetān koys ařeal</i> | Having acquired the beautiful maiden, |
| <i>ẒzSaťenikān dic'azneal.</i> | the divine Saťenik, |
| <i>Ẓzharazatn iwr arjakeal,</i> | he set free her own (brother), |
| <i>Ew ankapowt owxt hastateal:</i> | and swore an unbreakable oath. |

A second episode concerning Saťenik 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

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'ert'otahayr* which DOWSETT (l.c.) translates as "father of literature", cf. SMBATJAN (1984: 181 f. n. 33).

²¹ "řaradrowťiwn homerakan vipasanowťeamb saks haykazanc'n seři ew Arřakowneac'n zarms i skzbanč' minč'ew i vaxčan ařasac'eal Nersesi eľbōr kat'olikosi Hayoc'" ("Written account, in Homeric poetic style, about the race of the Armenians and the stock of the Arřacids, from the beginning to the end, told by Nerses, the brother, Catholicos of the Armenians"), p. 555 f. of the edition Tn. Nersesi řnorhalwoy Hayoc' kat'olikosi Bank' č'apaw, Venetik ²1928 ("Nř").

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 synoptical arrangement provided below.

| MX 2, 52 | | MD 1, 8 |
|--|---|---|
| 182,1 Zi yet ayn- č'ap' arowt'eanc' ōgnakan ełbōrn Sat'inkan yašxarhn Alanac' handerj zōrow ert'ay hrama- naw Artašisi: | For (Smbat, endowed) with so much bravery, went, by order of Ar- tašēs, to the country of the Alans together with (his) army, to as- sist Sat'ink's brother. | |
| 182,3 K'anzi meřaw hayr Sat'inkan, ew ayl omn b'nac'eal t'agaworeac' ašxar- hin Alanac', ew halacēr zelbayrn Sat'inkan. | For Sat'ink's father had died, and another (man) had usurped the throne of the country of the Alans and had banished Sat'ink's brother. | 20,13 Vaxčani Sat'ink's father had died, and another (man) hayrn Sat'inkay ew died, and another (man) ayl omn b'nac'eal had usurped the throne t'agaworē ew zeł- and persecuted (her) bayrn halacē: brother. |
| 182,4 zor vaneal herk'ē Smbat, ew tirac'owc'anē i veray azgin zelbayrn Sa- t'inkan, ew zerkir hakařakordac'n awe- rē. | Smbat threw this one back and repelled him, and he appointed Sat'ink's brother as a ruler of the (Alan) nation and devastated the land of (their) enemies. | 20,15 Ew dayeakn And Smbat, the foster- Artašisi Smbat' father of Artašēs, came ekeal zōrow with a huge army, mecaw vanē zb'na- repelled the usurper and c'ealn ew tirel tay let (Sat'ink's) brother ełbōrn hayreni ascend his father's at'ořoyn, throne. |
| 182,6 zamenayn miahamowr acē geri sastik yArtařat: | He forcibly conducted them all together as prisoner(s) to Artařat, | 20,17 ew dařnay And he returned with mecaw awaraw ew much booty and with bazowm gereōk' 'i many prisoners to Hays Armenia |
| 182,7 Ew hramayeal Artařisi bnakec'ow- c'anel znosa i hara- woy yarewelic' kow- sē Maseac', or ko- č'ēr řawarřakan ga- wař, i veray pahelov zbnik anowmn Artaz. | and Artařēs ordered to settle them South-East of the Masis, in the district named řawar- řakan, keeping (for them their) original name, Artaz. | 20,18 ew bnake- and settled the captives, c'owc'anē zgere- who were from the alsn 'i řawarřan, district of Artaz, in ork' ēin yArtaz řawarřan. gawařē. |
| 182,9 k'anzi ew ašxarhn owsti gere- c'ann' Artaz koč'i minč'ew c'aysōr řamanaki: | 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 Leonti Mroveli²², 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 Leonti's report here; note that the Armenian king, Artašēs, appears as Artašan in the Georgian text:

KC 1

45,5 mašin moḳla Sumbaṭ Bivriṭianman Iarvand, mepe somexta, da dasva meped žma Iarvandisi, romelsa eḳodeboda saxelad Artašan.

45,7 mašin amat mepeta Kartlisata Azorḳ da Armazel mouḳodes ovsta da leḳta, da gardamoiḳvannes ovsta mepeni žmani orni goliatni, saxelit Bazuḳ da Abazuḳ, spita Ovsetisata. da mat gardamoiṭannes tana pačan/iḳni da žiḳni. da gardamovida mepe leḳta da gardamoiṭanna duržuḳni da didoni. da amat mepeta Kartlisata šemokribnes spāni twsni da šeḳrba ese ḳoveli simravle uricxw.

45,12 da simaržwt parulad šeḳrbes, vidre šeḳrbebodes spāni somextani. da ševides eseni Somxits da ugržneulad ḳarmostḳuenes / Širaḳuani da Vanandi Bagrevanamde da Basianamde, da šeikces da čatḳuenes Dašti vidre Naxčevanamde, da aḡiḡes ṭḳue da naṭḳuēnavi uricxw, da aḡivsnēs ḳovlita-ve xuastagita, da gamovles gza Parisosisa.

45,17 mašin Sumbaṭ Bivriṭianman mouḳoda spata Somxitisata, da šeḳrbes mšrapl somexni da devna uḳvēs. xolo ese ḳovelni črdiloni gansrul iḳvnes Mṭḳuarsa da misrul iḳvnes Ḳambečoans, da daebanaḳat Iorsa zeda, da ganiḳopdes ṭḳuesa da naṭḳuēnavsa. ...

46,9 mašin Sumbaṭ Bivriṭianman ganvlo Mṭḳuari. da Bazoḳ ovsta

Then Sumbaṭ, the descendant of Bivriṭ, killed Iarvand (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), Azorḳ 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 Pačaniks (Pechenegs) and the Žiḳs (Dagestanians). And the king of the Leḳs came and brought with (him) the Duržuḳs (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 Basian, 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 direction 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) Mṭḳuari (Kur) and had reached Ḳambečoani, 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 Bazoḳ, the king of the Ossetes, challenged him

²² p. 45 ff. in the edition by QAUXČIŠVILI (1955) ("KC").

mepeman stxova mukara, miugzavna mocikuli da itxova tavis-tav brzola. xolo Sumbaṭ aḡiçura da aḡḡda varsa-maṭsa twssa da ganvida gançqobilta šoris. da munit gamoqda Bazoḡ. da aḡizaxnes orta-ve da miēvnes. da sca Sumbaṭ horolni sartqelsa zeda, da ganavlo zurgit çqrta erti, aḡiḡo cxeni-sagan da dasca kueqanasa zeda.

46,14 mašin miēveva Anbazuk šuelad zmasa twssa, xolo moşcuadna Sumbaṭ horolni igi, miegeba da egret-ve mas-ca scna da ganavlo, aḡiḡo da dasca kueqanasa zeda. ...

to a duel, sent out a messenger and asked for a personal fight. But Sumbaṭ took his armour, mounted his long-maned (horse) and stepped between the battle lines. And Bazoḡ came forward from the other side. And the two (of them) cried out (loud) and dashed at each other. And Sumbaṭ 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 Sumbaṭ 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 Movsēs Khorenatsi (2,53), in telling about one son of the Armenian king, named Zaren / Zareh, being captured by the joint Georgian and Ossetian forces:

KC 1

48,20 ... rametu sṗani somextani qovelni da orni zeni mepisani da Sumbaṭ iqvnes brzolad sṗarsta. da vitar ganamravles kartvelta da ovsta vneba somexta,

48,22 mašin Artašan mepeman šekribna sṗani, romelni šina darçomodes, da miscna zesa twssa Zarens, da çarmogzavna kartvelta zeda.

49,1 xolo šekrbes kartvelni da ovsni, da miegebnes kueqanasa žavaxetisasa. da eçqunes da szlies kartvelta da ovsta, da aotes Zaren, ze somexta mepisa, da mosres sṗa misi qovelni da sdevnes saz-

... because all the troops of the Armenians and two sons of the king and Sumbaṭ were fighting against the Persians. And when the Georgians and the Ossetes increased the pressure on the Armenians,

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.

But the Georgians and the Ossetes gathered and moved to the country of Žavaxeti. And the Georgians 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-

MX 2,53

183,2 Bažanē Artašēs ew zišxanow-t'iwñ zōrown ənd ç'ors. zarewelean zōrn t'ołow i veray Artawazday, ew zarewmteann tay Tiranay, zHarawayinn i Smbat hawatay

183,23 ew zhiwsisayinn i Zareh: Ew Zareh ēr ayr sēg ew yors erēoc' nahatak, isk aṗ paterazmowns vat ew tałtowk.

183,2 zoroj zp'orj aṗreal K'arjamay owrowmn ark'ayi Vrac' apstambec'owc'anē zerkirn, ew kaleal zZareh, i banti dnē i Kawkas:

Artašēs divided the rule over the troops by four as well. He left the Eastern army to Artawazd and gave the Western 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.

A certain K'arjam, king of the Georgians, who had experienced this (before), incited the country to rebellion, arrested Zareh and imprisoned him in the Caucasus.

ġvaramde Somxītisa; miečivnes Zarens, zesa mepisasa, da šeiṗqres igi ṭbisa mis ṗirsa, romelsa rkwan Celi, da uḵmo-iqvanes. xolo ovsta hnevīda moklva mis Zarenisi sisxlisatws mepeta mattasa, aramed kartvelta daicves cocxlebit ziebisatws sazġvarta mattasa, da dasues ṗqrobilad cixesa Darialanissa. ver zebnes somexta, rametu ucalo iqvnes sparstagan.

49,9 mašin ḫelsa mesamesa movida Sumbaṭ Bivriṭiani da orni zeni mepisani, Artavaz da Ṭigran, qovlita spita Somxītisata. mašin mepeta Kartlisata ubrżanes kueqanasa matsa šelṭolva cixeta da kalakta, / da mteuletta ganamagrnes cixeni da kalakni. xolo movides somexni da dadges Trialet/ets. da aġdges mat šoris mocikulni da daizavnes; misces kartvelta ze mepisa šepqrobili ...

cuted him down to the border of Armenia; they reached Zaren, the king's son, and they captured him on the bank of the lake which is called Celi, and carried him back. And the Ossetes wanted to kill Zaren (in revenge) of the bloodshed of their kings, but the Georgians kept him alive, caring for their borders, and they imprisoned him in the stronghold of Darialan. The Armenians could not search for him because they were busy with the Persians.

Then, in the third year (after this), Sumbaṭ B. and the two sons of the king, Artavaz and Ṭigran, arrived with the whole army of Armenia. And the kings of Georgia ordered (the inhabitants of) their country to flee into the strongholds and cities, and the mountain people fortified the strongholds and cities. And the Armenians came and stopped in Trialeti. And they exchanged messengers and made peace; (and) the Georgians rendered the captive son of the king ...

183,2 End orowm Artawazd and Tiran paterazmeal Artawazday ew Tiranay Smbat together with wazday ew Tiranay Smbat made war handerj Smbataw' upon this (king) darjowc'anen zeġ and freed (their) bayrn i mecē karak- brother from (his) mē: big muddy (dungeon).

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, Movsēs Khorenatsi's treatise²³. The disaccount of Artasēs's wife, Sat'enik, in the

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 from 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 synoptically²⁴. 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 (Katolikos =) Drasxanakertc'i, who gives a short account of their fate in his 10th century History of Armenia²⁵. Yovhannēs begins with St. Oski whom he introduces as a pupil of the apostle Thaddeus; according to the legend, the saint's original name was Xriwsi²⁶, i.e., Χρῦσεος²⁷, of which Arm. *Oski*, lit. "golden", is a correct translation²⁸.

| YD 7,4 | | LO |
|--|---|--|
| 36,12 Isk yet k ^c a [˘] fā-sown ew eric ^c amac ^c katarman sowrb a [˘] fā-k ^c eloyñ T ^c adēosi yawowrs Artašisi Hayoc ^c ark ^c ayi aša-kertk ^c srboy A [˘] rak ^c e-loyn, | 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 | 59,14 gti 'i ča [˘] rs I found in his nora, et ^c ē ark ^c writings that some omank ^c ork ^c yaša-kertac ^c e [˘] leal ēin from the pupils of the great apostle mecin T ^c adēosi a [˘] fā-k ^c eloy, Thaddeus |
| 36,14 orowm glxa-worin Oski čanač ^c iwr, | whose leader was known as Oski, | 59,17 oroc ^c anown whose leader was glxaworin Xriwsi, Xriwsi by name, a ayr yazgē G [˘] rik, man of Greek prov-enance, |
| 36,15 ew bnakeal ēin yakowns Ep ^c rat ge-toy' | and (who) had settled at the sources of the river Euphrat, | 60,1 ork ^c yet ma-howan a [˘] rak ^c eloyñ (and) who after the death of the apostle er ^c eal krōnawore-c ^c an 'i lerins ow-somewhere in the rēmn cmakayins dark mountains at yakowns Ep ^c ratay the sources of the Euphrat .. |
| | | ... |

²⁴ ABULAŽE (1944: 9-21 and 22-57). The Armenian texts ("Ban ew asowt^ciwn čšmarit srboč^cn Oskeanc^c k^cahanayic^c" = "LO" and "V^ckayabanowt^ciwn srboč^c Sowk^ciasanc^c" = LS") were edited before in the series Sop^cerk^c haykakank^c, vol. 19, Venetik 1854, p. 59-66 and 33-56, the Georgian texts ("LOG" / "LSG"), in XAXANOV (1910: 62-65 and 10-24).

²⁵ p. 36 f. in the edition MAKSODIAN (1980); ch. 7, 4. in the translation by MAKSODIAN (1983).

²⁶ ABULADZE (1944: 10) notes the variaie lectiones *K^criwsi*, *K^cəřrowsi*, *Hřrowsi*; in the Georgian version, the saint is called *Krivsi*.

²⁷ Cf. AKINEAN / TĒR-PŌLOSEAN (1970b: 135).

²⁸ This is confirmed by the Georgian version of the Suk^ciasians' legend which explains: *Oške, romeli itargmanebis kartvelta enita okro* "(their leader was St.) Oski, which is translated in the Georgian language as 'gold'."

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| 36,16 ašakerteal mkrteīn zars omans yAlanac [°] 'i harazatowt [°] enē Sat [°] enkay tiknoĵ, or ēr kin Artasīsi: | taught and baptised some of the Alans (who were) related to Sat [°] enik, the queen, who was the wife of Artasēs: | 60,8 Sok [°] a matowc [°] eal ar ark [°] ayn Artasēs, canowc [°] anēin nma vasn K [°] ristosi astowacowt [°] eann [°] ... zor loweal zays ew merjaworac [°] meci tiknoĵn, ork [°] zkni nora eleal ēin yAlanac [°] ... | They approached the king, Artasēs, 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 ... |
| 36,18 Ew vasn zi or aet orē zmkртеalsn hastatēin 'i hawats banin kenac [°] , | And as they encouraged the baptised more and more every day in their faith in the Word of Life, | 60,23 zor Astowacisk imastnac [°] oyc [°] zmits noc [°] a andownel zban kenac [°] : | And God made their minds intelligent to accept the Word of Life: |
| 36,20 vasn aysorik apa xandac [°] eal and nosa ordwoyn Sat [°] enkay' | the son of Sat [°] enik became upset about this, | 61,12 Zays loweal ordwoc [°] n Sat [°] enkay, xandac [°] eal and irsn mecaw t [°] šnamanōk [°] zowrbsn 'i dranēn halacēin. ... | Having heard this, the sons of Sat [°] enik became upset about this, and he banished the saints from the court in great anger. ... |
| 36,21 srov včarec [°] an 'i kenac [°] asti sowrbk [°] n' Oski handerj aylews ankerovk [°] n srbovk [°] : | and the saints, Oski together with his companions, ended their lives by the sword. | 62,22 Isk sowrbn Xriwsi handerj ankerōk [°] n ... minč [°] zi žamanel kotorec [°] in znosa mōt 'i xrcit [°] s iwreanc [°] , sowseraw barjeal zglowxs noc [°] a: | And Saint Xpύσeoς 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:

YD 7,5

36,23 Isk azgakank[°]n Sat[°]enkay, ork[°] 'i K[°]ristos mkrtec[°]an' andostowc[°]ealk[°] immn vasn mahowan srboč[°]n, hatowacealk[°] gnač[°]in 'i bac[°] ert[°]eal zōdeal t[°]agowc[°]eal

And the relatives of Sat[°]enik who had been baptised in Christ, rather embarrassed by the death of the saints, departed, went away and secretly reunited on mount Ĵrabašx, being content with

LS

33,3 Nahatakk[°] ork[°] gnac[°]in yAlanac[°] dranē zhet Sat[°]enkay tiknoĵ 'i Hays ... eleal bnakec[°]an 'i Sowkaw lerinn ... xotačarak linelov ibrew zwayreni oč[°]xars 'i tesč[°]owt[°]enēn

The nobles who had come from the gate of the Alans to Armenia together with queen Sat[°]enik ... settled on mount Sowkaw ... (and) became grass-eaters like wild sheep under the auspices of

| | |
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| 'i Ĵrabašxn lerin xotabowt čarakōk° šatac°eal: | grass as (their) food. Astowcoy, God, |
| 37,4 Ew vasn zi yet amac° bazmac° spa- naw ark°ayn Hayoc° Xosrov yAnakay ew anišxanac°aw erkirs Hayoc°, | 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, |
| 37,6 apa Bařlah omn ekeal yAlanac° dranē ew 'i xndir eleal grov vkayic°n ew gteal znosa 'i Ĵrabašxn koč°ec°eal lerin, ew harc° ew p°orj arareal znosa vasn ař 'i K°ristos hawatoc°n' sowr 'i veray edeal kotorē: | a certain Bařlah came from the gate of the Alans, and he started a written inquiry about the martyrs, and he found them in the mountain called Ĵra- bašx; and after cross- examining them about (their) faith in Christ he killed them with the sword. |
| | 34,4 yams Šaphoy t°agaworin: Ew k°anzi erkirn Hayoc° yet amac° awereal linēr, zi t°agawor oč° ownēin. k°anzi spa- neal ēr zArtawan ordi Vařaršow, ew zXosrov t°agaworn Hayoc° t°agaworin Parsic°, ew 'i naxanj mteal hayreni vri- žowc°n, kamēr ko- rowsanel zašxarhn Hayoc°. |
| | 39,14 Ew ekeal zō- rown Parsic° yerkirn Hayoc°, ew haseal 'i leařn Sowkawēt, owr ēr bnakowt°iwn era- neleac°n ... Sksaw xōsel zōravarn orowm anown ēr Bařlaha ... 51,4 ew dimec°in 'i mah bñnaworin, oroc° sowr 'i veray edeal kotorec°in. |
| | in the years of king Šapowh: And as the country of the Armen- ians was ruined because they had no king after Artawan, the son of Vařarš, and Xosrov, the king of the Armenians, had been killed by the king of the Persians, and (the latter) was eager in re- venge 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 Armen- ians, and it reached mount Sowkawēt where the blessed men had settled ... A com- mander whose name was Bařlaha 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 Χρῦσεος / Oski was a pupil of Thaddeus, he might well have taught during the presumptive reign of Artasēs and his wife, Sat°enik, at the end of the 1st century A.D.; but how, then, might his own pupils, the Suk°iasians, 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. Uxtanēs's, albeit this agrees to a large extent with the introductory chapter of the legend of St. Suk°ias:

UU 1,42

58,11 ənd ayn žamanaks' or ekeal ēin ənd Saťenkay' sowrbn Sowk'ias ew iwrk'n.

58,12 ibrew lowan zBan kenac' i srboč' Oskeanc'n, ork' ēin leal ašakertk' sowrb ařak'eloyñ T'adēosi,

58,13 ew i nmanē mkrteal ew owseal zBann kenac'n,

58,14 ew znoyn owsowc'eal soc'a ařaji t'agaworin ew Saťenkay ew hawatac'eal mkrtec'an i noc'anē.

58,16 ew ert'eal i leařn Sowkawet', bnakec'an and ams k'ařasown ew č'ors:

LS

33,3 Nahatakk' ork' gnac'in yAľanac' dranē zhet Saťenkay tiknoj 'i Hays

33,5 ew vardapet-ealk' 'i srboč' aranc' ašakertac' srboy ařak'eloyñ T'adēosi, menaworealk' yakowns Ep'ratay, oroc' ařajinn sowrbn Oski.

33,9 'i soc'anē low-saworealk' baniwn kenac' 'i K'ristos hawatac'in, ew mkrtealk' or əst orē yawelowin 'i hawats.

33,16 Ew nok'a eleal bnakec'an 'i Sowkaw lerinn, or yawnown glxaworin iwreanc' Sowk'ias' koč'ec'aw Sowkaw, 'i Bagrewand gawaři yandiman Bagowan geľj, ənddēm Npat lerinn.

The nobles who had come from the gate of the Alans to Armenia together with queen Saťenik

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 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.

Uxtanēs's closing information finds its counterpart in the Oskeans' legend:

UU

58,18 Ew ēin sowrb Oskeanc'n bnakeal i sowrb lerinn' or koč'i Caľkēotn:

LO

60,1 ... ork' yet mallowan ařak'eloyñ ert'eal krōnaworec'an 'i lerins owrēmñ cmakayins ya-

... who after the death of the apostle lived as hermits somewhere in the dark mountains at the sources of the

kowns Ep^oratay, 'i Euphrat, near a whirl-
 xaīnowacs joroy pool of water(s) which
 owremn or skizbn flow down, springing
 aīreal ijanen or koč'i from (a mountain)
 Całkē, yoroy anown called Całkē, by whose
 ew šēnk^on koč'in name the villages
 minč^oew c^oaysōr Otn (there) are still called
 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 Kat^olikos (10th century)³⁰. His treatise begins with the saints that had established themselves on Mt. (Ĵrabašx =) Sowkawēt, thus matching Yovhannēs's introduction on the Suk^oiasians:

| | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| <p>TA 1,8 54,9 Isk srboč^on or i Sowkawēt lerinn, k^oanzi ēin ham- ašxarhikk^o ew ha- watarimk^o Sač^oinkay ekeal zkni nora</p> | <p>And the saints who (resided) on Mt. Sow- kawēt, being com- patriots and loyals of Sač^oinik who had come together with her,</p> | <p>YD 7,5 36,23 Isk azgakank^on Sač^oenkay, ork^o 'i K^oristos mkrtec^oan' ... hatowacealk^o gna- c^oin 'i bac^o ert^oeal zōdeal t^oagowc^oeal 'i Ĵrabašxn lerin ..</p> | <p>And the relatives of Sač^oenik who had been baptised in Christ, ... departed, went away and secretly reunited on mount Ĵrabašx ..</p> |
|---|---|--|---|

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^oriwos = Χρύσεος is mentioned by Thomas in this context:

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| <p>TA 1,8 54,11 ylen zomn i čgnaworac^on aī tikinn, zkīroc^on yandimanelov zsnoti ew zanōgowt paš- tōnn,</p> | <p>sent out one of the hermits to the queen, to blame the service of the idols as being vain and useless,</p> | <p>LO 60,8 Sok^oa matow- c^oeal aī ark^oayn Artašes, canowc^oa nēin nma vasn K^oris- tosi astowacow- t^oeann' zkīroc^on yan- dimanelov ztkarow- t^oiwn ..</p> | <p>They approached the king, Artašēs, and informed him about Christ being God, blaming the idols of being powerless ..</p> |
|--|---|---|---|

54,12 orpēs ew as well as K^oriwos

²⁹ T^oovmay Artsrunwoy Patwmowt^oiwn, Peterburg 1887.

³⁰ Cf. INGLISIAN (1963: 180).

sowrbn K^criwos a^r (was sent) to Artasēs.

Artasēs:

54,14 Isk Sat^cinik But Sat^cinik, who had
ownkndir e^feal listened to the advise
xratow srbo^cn' o^c of the saints, did not
i bac^c meržec^caw i overtly renounce the
k^roc^cn Ast^kkay idolatry of the statue
anowaneal patkerin, named Venus, for she
k^canzi kaskacans was in doubt about the
ownelov i t^cagawo- king and (her) sons,
rēn ew yordwo^cn,

54,16 manawand zi suspecting first of all
ew t^cagaworin nax the king to be con-
akn ownēr zda^rnaln verted from idolatry to
i k^roc^cn i yerkra- the service of Christ,
pagowtⁱwn K^cristo- the true Lord.
si čšmartin Astow-
coy.

60,21 Isk ark^cn And the holy men
sowrbk^c znoyn bans resumed their speech
yet nora xōsēin ənd later again before the
meci t^cagowhwoyn great queen, (her) sons
merj linelov ew being near who listen-
ordwo^cn. zor loweal ed as well, and the re-
zays ew merjaworac^c relatives of the great
meci tiknojn, ork^c queen who had come
zkni nora e^feal ēin with her from the
yAlanac^c ... (country of) the Alans

61,26 zor ibrew ...
zgac^eeal ordik^cn When the sons of
Artasēs, Vnoyn and
Vnoyn ew Vroyn, realized this,
Vroyn šat a^fač^eeal they asked them many
znosa, zi 'i bac^c times to renounce the
darj^cin yerkrpagow- service of Christ, but
t^eenēn K^cristosi. they did not agree to
oroc^c o^c hawaneal (re-)convert to
č^ca^rnowin yanjn paganism.
da^rnal 'i het^cano-
sowtⁱwn:

Astonishingly enough, Artsruni's account closes with the statement that he was not informed about the saints' death, thus opposing himself to the legends of both the Oskians and the Suk^ciasians:

TA 1,8

54,19 bayc^c t^eē orpēs e^few katarowmn i bac^cn
mez č^cē yayt.

But how their death occurred, 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 čmiday But St. Xp^uσeo^c and
Krivsi moq^vase- his companions had
biturt twsit arga not yet gone to the
mičevnul iqo ad- site. Just when they
gilad. mi-ray-ičv- arrived there, they

LO

62,22 Isk sowrbn And Saint Xp^uσeo^c
Xriwsi handerj ənke- came with his com-
rōk^cn ekn, č^cew ews panions, and they had
haseal 'i te^fin, minč^c not yet reached the
zi žamanel kotorec^cin site, and just when

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>nes igini da mosr- killed them near their nes maxlobelad cells. senakebsa matsa.</p> | <p>znosa mōt 'i xrčit^cs they arrived, they iwreanc^c, sowseraw massacred them near barjeal zglowxs noc^a: their cells, cutting off their heads with the sword.</p> |
|---|---|

Thus it is well imaginable that the source Artsruni disposed of was similar to the one from which the Georgian legend was translated³¹.

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^cenik and her compatriots anywhere. This is also true for the introduction of the present chapter which concerns the reign of Artašēs 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 Movsēs Khorenatsi in his history although this may well have served as his source³²:

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>TA 1,8 52,16 Ibrew ya- When the reign of jōlec^aw t^agawo- Artašēs was success- rowtⁱwnn Arta- ful ... as the books of šēsi ... orpēs the historiographers bac^aayayten girk^c make evident, and patmagracⁿ, ew when he married ya^rnowl zSatⁱnik Satⁱnik as the queen tikin knowt^ean of the Armenians, Hayoc^c'</p> | <p>MX 2,49 176,7 Artašisi verjⁿoy The deeds of the last gorck^c bazowm inč^c Artašēs will be mani- yaytni en k^ez i vipasa- fest to you by the nacⁿ, or patmin i (narratives of the) Gołt^an - šinel zk^a- storytellers which are lakⁿ, ew xnamowtⁱwn told in Gołt^an, (viz.) ənd Alans, ew the foundation of the cnowndk^c zarmicⁿ, ew city, the alliance (by ibr trp^ank^c Satⁱinkan marriage) with the ənd Višapazownsn^a Alans, the generation a^raspelabar, ays inkⁿ of offspring, Satⁱnik's</p> |
|--|---|

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^aatakⁱn T^rtik^c koč^ec^al, orowm ya^ra^jagoyⁿ P^aytakaran anowanēⁿ* "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. Aristakēs, the successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator: *romli-satwsca movides misa sakmisa mp^qrobelni a^gmosavalisani da črdiloysa kerzoysa zedamdgomni kalakisa Paytakaranisa, romel ars T^rpilisi* "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 gorcakalk^c kołmancⁿ arewelic^c ew hiwsisoy ew verakac^cowk^c he^rawor k^aatakⁱn, or kočⁱ 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 HEWSEN (1992: 253 ff. n. 149A).

³² Khorenatsi's information was obviously also used by Asołik (Step^anosⁱ Tarōnec^cwoy [= "ST"] Asołkan Patmowtⁱwn tiezerakan, Peterburg 1885, p. 48,16: *Ew erf^eal Artašisi i teli mi, owr xa^rñin Erasx ew Mecamōr, ew hač^eal ənd blowrn^a šinē k^aatak^c ew yiwr anown anowanē Artašat*) and Uxtanēs who even mentions Movsēs's name (1,42, p. 58,8: *ew da^rnay ew šinē zk^aatakⁿ, ew anowanē yiwr anown^a Artašat. ew or ayl ews gorck^c i nmanē patmi i Movsisē.*)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ənd zarms Aždahakay ... | affection, as it were, for the fabulous progeny of the dragon, that is, for the off- spring of Aždahak ... |
| 52,19 yišē znžde- hanaln iwr i vimamēj̄sn zor veragoyñ gre- c̄ak̄. gay darjeal i tēlin zbōsnowl i nma | 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 Ert̄eal Artašisi i tēlin, owr xañnin Erasx ew Mecamōr, |
| 52,20 ew hačoy t̄oweal yač̄s nora' šinē zk̄ara- blowrn aparans ... | and after being pleas- ed with the sight, he built a palast (on) the rocky hill ... | 176,18 ew hačēal ənd blowrn' šinē k̄ałak̄ yiwr anown anowaneal Artašat: |
| | | When Artašēs came to the site where Araxes and Mecamōr fuse, 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 uncertainty 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 Movsēs Dasxowranc̄i'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 Sat̄enik and her compatriots³³:

| | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| LOG | | LO | |
| 63,7 xolo ḳacni igi ḳmidani amis šemdgomad eṭṭo- des dedopalsa mas da zeta mis- ta, romelca ismi- nes ese maxlobel- ta dedoplisata, ro- melnī mosrul iṭvnes mis tana Heretit ... | 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 ... | 60,21 Isk ark̄n sowrbk̄ znoyn bans yet nora xōsēin ənd meci t̄agowhwoyn merj linelov ew ord- woc̄n. zor loweal zays ew merjaworac̄ meci tiknojn, ork̄ zkni nora eleal ēin yAlanac̄ ... | And the holy men resumed 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. Sowkawēt, i.e., the site associated with St. Suk̄ias, 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 *Atan* in the given passage, the latter being closer to *atowank̄*.

the Suk^ćiasians³⁴:

LO

65,21 Isk lea^ń Źrabašx yanown glxaworin
noc^ća Sowk^ćiasay⁷ Sowkaw (v.l. Sowkawet)
koč^ćec^ćaw vasn yišataki anmo^řac^ć srboc^ćn
ownelov zanownn ...

But Mt. Źrabašx was named Sowkaw by the
name of their leader, Sowk^ćias, in memory of
the immortal saints who bore this name ...

The relationship between the brief account of the Suk^ćiasians 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^ćiasians lived on Mt. Źrabašx / Sowkawēt for more than forty years before they were put to death:

LO

63,10 ew ert^ćeal And they came and
krōnaworec^ćan i lived as hermits on the
lerinn or koč^ći Źra- mountain which is
bašx merj yakn ałber called Źrabašx, near an
owremn yordagowni, abounding water well,
yordorealk^ć i šnor- instructed by the
hac^ć sowrb Hogw- mercy of the Holy
oyn, kac^ćeal and ams Spirit, residing there
k^ćařasown ew vec^ć: for 46 years.

LS

Ew kac^ćin eranelik^ćn 'i And the blessed
Sowkawēt lerinn k^ćařa- men stayed on Mt.
sown ew č^ćork^ć ams Sowkawēt for 44
kerakreak^ć oč^ć hac^ćiw, years, nourished
ayl zōrowt^ćeamb ew not by bread but
šnorhōk^ć tea^ń iwre- by the power and
anc^ć: 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 Sa^ćenik" who killed the saints, not a commander named Ba^ńlaha 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^ćiasians and both Yovhannēs and Uxtanēs in that only the former text speaks of a "Persian" army here; according to the latter authors, Ba^ńlah / Ba^ńahlayē "came from the Alans" instead, an information which may well reflect the attempt of re-aligning the data provided by the two legends.

LO

63,15 Isk yet mahowann But after Sa^ćinik's death,
Sa^ćinkay, aylk^ć omank^ć some men came into the ac-
ekealk^ć i canōt^ćowt^ćiwn quaintance of her sons, who
ordwoc^ć nora' barekama- made friends (with them).
c^ćan. ew tetekac^ćealk^ć ya- And they inquired about the
łags aranc^ćn srboc^ć har- holy men and thus discover-
c^ćeal owsan zteřisn yors ed the place where they
bnakeal ēin. a^ń ors ekeal resided. And when they
hrapowrel znosa xorhēin arrived there, they intended

UU

58,17 Ew And they died on
katarec^ćan i that mountain (by
noyn lerinn the hand of) Ba-
(i) Ba^ńah- řahlaye, the tyrant,
layē b^ńna- who had come
worē ekeal from the (country
yAlanac^ć: of the) Alans.

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 *lea^ń o[w]r oskeank^ćn kotorec^ćan* "the mountain where the Oskians were killed"; cf. ABULADZE's edition (1944: 21); mss. "Q" and "Z".

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| baniwk [°] . ew tesimal zhasta- | to irritate them with words. |
| towt [°] iwnn ew zaxonarheli | And when they realized their |
| mtac [°] noc [°] a əzbarjrowt [°] iwn | steadfastness and their in- |
| ibrew zt [°] šnamans inč [°] | flexible minds, they regarded |
| hamarec [°] an. yoroc [°] sowr [°] 'i | their grandeur as hostility. |
| veray edeal kotorec [°] in | And putting them to the |
| ibrew ars hngetasan ... | 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[°]iasians 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[°]iasians, too, we cannot help thinking that all these elements are secondary and historically unfounded.

Nevertheless, it is just the Suk[°]iasians' 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. Ἡούχιος:

LS

| | |
|---|---|
| 41,13 Asē zōravarn. Zi [°] nč [°] anown ē k [°] o: Asē | The commander said: What is your name? |
| eranelin. Ǝst ařajnowmn, Barak [°] at [°] ray anowa- | The blessed man said: Originally, I was |
| nēi. bayc [°] yoržam eki es 'i gitowt [°] iwn Ast- | called Barak [°] at [°] ray. But when I came to |
| owcoy Sowk [°] ias anowanec [°] ay, aysink [°] n 'i | know about God, I called myself Sowk [°] ias, |
| xalařakan keans stac [°] ay: | that is, "having a peaceful life". |

Of the various readings available for the saint's original name³⁵, 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[°]at[°]* 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 *ovsni*, 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[°]eat[°]ray* DT, *Barak[°]at[°]* EJK, *Barowk[°]at[°]* OP, *Barahat[°]a* U, *Barahatray* MX, *Bahadras* RS.

³⁶ "KC": QAUXČIŠVILI (1955: 154 ff). For attestations of other *ovsi* people bearing the same name, cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI (1966: 134 ff).

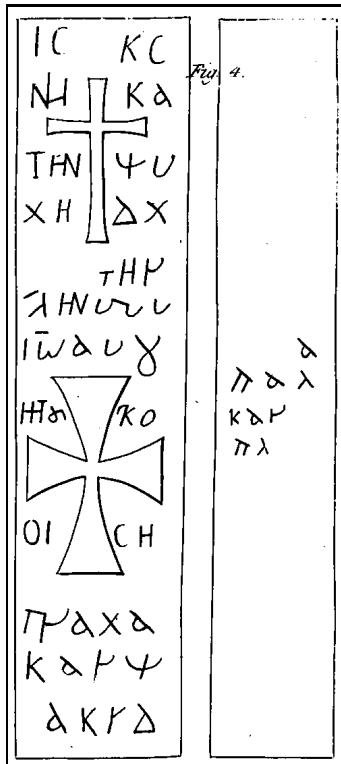


Fig. 1: Stele (cf. n. 37)

sider the form ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ which is met with in the Zelenčuk inscription³⁷, there is hardly any room for doubt that we have an Ossete etymon here, which V.I. Abaev³⁸ identified with the word meaning "brave, rich", appearing as *bægatyr* and *qəbatyr* in Iron and *bægatar* in the Digor dialect. And the further identification with the name of *Batradz*, one of the male heroes of the Nartic epic, is well-founded as well.

The identity of the names of St. *Ba(r)k'at'ra* and the opponent of Vaxtang Gorgasali, *Baqatar*, may even conceal the clue to the chronological problems the Suk'iasian's legend brings about. The fight between Vaxtang 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 Movsēs Khorenatsi as ch. 9 of the 3rd book of his *Patmowt'iwn Hayoc'* (and retold in Movsēs Dasxowranc'i's *History of the Albanians*). *Baqatar* is an Alan (*ovsi*), *Vahan's* anonymous opponent, a member of the *bnakičk' hiwsisoy 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).

| MX 3,9 | KC |
|---|---|
| 267,1 ew zōraglowx nizakaworac'n anari omn hskay va- real ... | And the commander of the lancers was a giant of inhuman size, armed ... |
| 267,7 Ōgnea inj, Astowac, or zDawi- | "Help me, God, who directed David's sling |
| 154,5 da meoresa dgesa sxua gamo- vida bumberazi ovstagan, romelsa erkua Baqatar. | And the next day, another giant of the Ossetes stepped for- ward, whose name was Baqatar. |
| 267,7 Ōgnea inj, Astowac, or zDawi- | 154,6 igi iqo goliati ... rametu iqo sigrže for the size of his |

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. Guldenstädt near the Čegem river in Kabardia; cf. the draft published in his "Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasi-schen Gebürge" (GÜLDENSTÄDT 1787: pl. XIII, fig. 4). Guldenstädt 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 XIII. Fig. 4." must be read instead of "Platte XII. Fig. 3"). It remains unclear whether the "graffiti" denote the same person as the bottom lines of the main inscription which was read as "TOY ANAKAMΨ ΔΧΝΔ (1654)" by Guldenstädt (p. XXIII; recte "AXNΔ (1654)"; read "ΠΙΧΑΤΑΡΟΥ" instead of "TOY ANA-KAMΨ?"). Guldenstädt's draft is reproduced as Fig. 1 here.

³⁸ ABAEV (1949: 85) and (1958-89: I, 243 f.).

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| t [˚] ean parsak [˚] arn dipe- c [˚] owc [˚] er čakatow xroxtac [˚] eloyñ Golia- t [˚] ow ... | stone against the front of angry Goliath ..." | mšwldisa misisa tor- meṭi mṭḱaveli da isari misi ekusi mṭḱaveli. | shield was 12 spans and (the length of) his arrow, 6 spans. |
|---|--|---|---|

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 oč [˚] vripe- c [˚] aw i xndroyñ. ənd gawak jioyñ hareal [˚] yerkir korcaneac [˚] zahagin zviragn: | 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 ḱualad hḱra sxua isari cxensa Vaxtangissa, da gaagdo šiga. da vidre daecemoda cxeni Vaxtangisi, miuqda zeda da uxetkna qrmali mqarsa Baqatarissa, da čahḱueta vidre gulamde. | 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" (*gaṭni hramanē*) of the Persian king, *Šapowh*.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| MO 3,9 266,4 Yawowrs sora miabaneal bnakič [˚] k [˚] hiwsisoy Kawkasow, gitac [˚] eal zt [˚] owla- srtowt [˚] iwn nora ew zyowlowt [˚] iwn, ew aṛawel i hrapowreloy maṭ [˚] anac [˚] Sanatrkoj [˚] i gaṭni hramanē Šaphoy Parsic [˚] ar- k [˚] ayi, aršaweal i miḱoc [˚] ašxarhis ... | In those days, the in- habitants of the Northern Caucasus united, and knowing the tender-heartedness and inadvertedness of Sanatrak and being instigated by his re- quests, on a secret order of Šapowh, the king of the Persians, they invaded our country ... | KC 151,15 mašin mepeta Ovsetisata šekribnes spani matni da moir- tes zali Xazaretit, da moegebnes mdina- resa zeda, romeli ganvlis Darialansa da čavlis velsa Ov- setisasa. | Then, the kings of Ossetia collected their troops and annexed the army of the Kha- zar 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 zōravarn. Paterazmoḷ ayr erewis: Asē eranelin. Nizakakic [˚] ēi Šaphoy ark [˚] ayi: | 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 P'awstos 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't'ac'*), are defeated by Vač'ē Mamikonean, not Vahan Amatowni who is mentioned but marginally, as a spearman (*nizakakic'*) of Vač'ē's (book 3, ch. 7)³⁹.

PB 3,7

14,1 Yaynm žamanaki t'agaworn Mazk't'ac' Sanēsan anhnarin niwt'eac' zōramtow-t'i(wn) sxowt'e(an) ənd iwrowm azgakc'in Xosrovow ark'ayin Hayoc', ew gowmareac' žoloveac' za(menay)n zōrs Honac' ew P'oxac' ...

At that time, Sanēsan, the king of the Massagetes, developed an unappeasable hatred against his own kinsman, Xosrov, the king of the Armenians. And he gathered and assembled all the troops of the Huns and the P'oxk' ...

15,3 Apa ekn ehas Vač'ē ordi Artawazday 'i Mamikonēn ... ert'ayr gtanēr zSanēsan t'agaworn Mazk't'ac' bown gndawn, ant'iw anhamar zōrōk'n handerj 'i Vařarřapat k'ařak'i: Ařeal zgowndn Vač'ē, ew yankarcaki yarjakec'aw 'i veray k'ařak'in. ew mtaneac' znosa t(ē)r 'i jeřs nora:

Then Vač'ē, 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 Vařarřapat. Drawing up his (own) troops, Vač'ē unexpectedly fell upon the town. And the Lord gave them into his hands.

15,20 Ew nizakakic'k' zōravarin Hayoc', or ēin Bagrat bagratowni, Mehowndak ew Garegin əřəřtownik', ew Vahan nahapetn amatowneac' tohmin, ew Varaz kaminakan hasanēin harkanēin satakēin zōrsn Alanac'n ew Mazk't'ac'n ew Honac'n ew zayloc' azgac'n ...

And the lancers of the commander of the Armenians, i.e. Bagrat Bagratowni, Mehowndak and Garegin Rřtowni, 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 P'awstos 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-

³⁹ GARSOĪAN (1984: 14 ff.). – Cf. GARSOĪAN (1989: 249) for a comparison of the accounts by Movsēs and P'awstos.

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 Patmowtⁱwn Hayoc^c 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 Dasxowrancⁱ in the same chapter as the one we have just dealt with. According to this story, Trdat was, again in a battle against the "Northerners", engaged in a duel fight with the king of the Basiłk^c:

| MX 2,85 | | MD 1,12 |
|--|---|--|
| 230,4 Isk t ^o agaworn Trdat amenayn Haya- stanōk ^c i ^o jeal i daštn Gargarac ^c woc ^c pata- hē hiwsisakanac ^c n čakatow paterazmi. ... | And king Trdat descended with all Armenians into the plain of the Garga- rians and confronted the Northerners with (his) line of battle. ... | 37,6 Lini zōražo ^o ov Trdatēs mec t ^o aga- worn Hayoc ^c , ew i ^o jeal i daštn Garga- rac ^c woc ^c patahē hiwsisakanac ^c sastik paterazmaw. |
| 230,9 Zor t ^o eseal t ^o agaworin Baslac ^c mōt hasanē yark ^c ayn. ew haneay yaspazi- nēn znerdeay k ^c emx- tapat parann ew korovowt ^c eamb jgeay yetowst kołmanē čah dipec ^c owc ^c anē yows jaxakołmann ew yanowt ^c a ^o jakołmann. ... | When the king of the Basiłk ^c saw this, he moved near the king, and from his horse equipment, he drew a rope made from ten- dons and wrapped up in sheepskin. And with power, he threw it around (Trdat), hitting him just from the left shoulder to the right armpit. ... | 37,8 Ew zt ^o agaworn Baslac ^c martakic ^c iwr leal, or jgeal zčopan arwoyn Trdatay |
| 230,15 Ew k ^c anzi oč ^c karac ^c šaržil jeřamb zhskayn' zlanjōk ^c a ^o erivarin. | And as he could not shatter the giant (Tr- dat) with his hands, he embraced the neck of (his) horse. | 37,12 ew oč ^c zōreal ənkčel zna' |
| 230,16 ew oč ^c ays- č ^c ap ^c inč ^c šowt ^c ap ^c - eac ^c mtrakel zerivarn, k ^c an t ^c ē aheak je- řambn i nerdeayn ačapareal skayin, ew sastkowt ^c eamb ow- žoy ⁿ ziwreaw řcan- c ^c el i čah dipec ^c ow- | 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 | 37,13 ink ^c n lini mi ^o jaktowr 'i nma- nēn, |

⁴⁰ Cf. TOUMANOFF (1969: 234) who uses the suitable word "telescoping" for Movsēs's method.

c'anēr zerksayrin, ew the middle, and the
 ənd mēj ktrēr zayrn neck of the horse as
 ew zoyg ənd parano- well.

c'in zglowx erivarin:

231,7 Isk zōrac'n And the troops who
 amenayni tesimal .. i had watched that all ..
 p'axowst dañnayin. fled. Trdat persecuted
 zoroc' zhet mteal them as far as the
 Trdat, varē minč'ew country of the Huns.
 yašxarhn Honac':

37,14 ew varē Trda- And Trdat persecuted
 tios znosa kotor- them with extermina-
 mamb minč'ew tion as far as the
 c'Hons ... (country of the) Huns
 ...

The source of this episode is not hard to find. It is obviously modelled⁴¹ upon the report about an attack by the Alans which is contained in the 7th book of Flavius Josephus's History of the Jewish War⁴²:

FJ

244,1 Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ὅτι μὲν
 εἰσι Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν

Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατοικούντες .. κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ...

248,1 μετὰ πολλῆς οὖν ῥαστώνης ἀμαχεῖ ποιοῦμενοι τὰς ἀρπαγὰς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας προῆλθον πάντα λεηλατοῦντες.

249,1 Τιριδάτης δ' αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν, ὃς ὑπαντιάσας αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἤλθεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζωὸς ἀλῶναι τῆς παρατάξεως·

250,1 βρόχον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιβαλὼν τις ἔμελλεν ἐπισπάσειν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ξίφει θᾶττον ἐκείνος τὸν τόνον κόψας ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν.

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 Movsēs 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)⁴³. It is well conceivable, how-

⁴¹ Cp. MAHÉ (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 Movsēs who knew nothing about a first-century king of the same name.

This leads us back to Sat^ēnik and her marriage with Artašēs. For them, too, Movsēs 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

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| <p>179,2 "Hecaw ari ark^ēayn Artašēs i seawn gelec^ēik, ew haneal zoskēōl šika-p^ōok parann, ew anc^ēeal orpēs zarcowi srat^ēew ənd getn, ew jgeal zoskēōl šika-p^ōok parann' ənkec^ē i mēj^ēk^ē ōriordin Alanac^ē, ew šat c^ēawec^ōoyc^ē zmēj^ēk^ē p^ōa-p^ōowk ōriordin, arag hasowc^ēanelov i banakn iw^ēr":</p> | <p>The brave king Artašēs 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."</p> |
|--|---|

Nevertheless it must be stated that the episode of Artašēs and Sat^ēnik 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 Movsēs⁴⁴. There is one more coincidence that might be mentioned in support of this assumption here. According to Khorenatsi, Artašēs had to pay a high prize for the daughter of the Alan king he intended to marry:

MX 2,50

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| <p>178,18 Ew asē ark^ēayn Alanac^ē. "Ew owsti tac^ēē k^ēaj^ēn Artašēs hazars i hazarac^ē ew biwrs i biwrowc^ē ənd k^ēaj^ēazgwoy koys ōriordis Alanac^ē": ...</p> <p>179,6 K^ēanzi patoweal ē a^ē Alans mort^ē karmir' layk^ēa šat ew oski bazowm towéal i varjans' a^ēnow ztikin ōriordn Sat^ēnik:</p> | <p>"And the king of the Alans spoke: "And how will the brave Artašēs give thousands of thousands and ten thousands of ten thousands for the young maiden of the Alans, born from a brave family?" ...</p> <p>As the red leather is well estimated with the Alans, (Artašēs) gave much leather and much gold as payment and (thus) received the maiden Sat^ēnik as (his) wife.</p> |
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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

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|---|--|
| <p>247,1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας Πάκορος ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀναφεύγων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάντων παρακεχωρήκει, μόλις δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐρρύσατο τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας ἑκατὸν δούς τάλαντα.</p> | <p>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.</p> |
|---|--|

⁴⁴ MAHÉ (1993: 364; II, 50 n. 2).

We may conclude, then, that Khorenatsi's Artašēs was the same person as Flavius Josephus's Tiridates⁴⁵. 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 Armenia⁴⁶, 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 him⁴⁷, this was Artašēs's work:

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|---|--|
| <p>CD 63,7,2 ὁ μὲν δὴ Τίρι- And Tiridates who δάτης τὰ Ἀρ- had built Artašat ... τάξατα ἀνοι- κοδομήσας ...</p> | <p>MX 2,49 176,17 Ert^eal Artašisi Artašēs came .. and .. šinē k^alak^c yiwr founded a city (there), anown anowaneal calling (it) by his name, Artašat: Artašat.</p> |
|---|--|

In this way, the matrimony of an Alan princess named Sat^cenik 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 Sat^cenik 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:

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|---|---|
| <p>MX 2,83 225,20 Ekeal Trdatay Trdat, having returned yašxarhs^c ařak^e into (his home) country, zSmbat aspet, zhayr sent out Smbat the Bagaratay^c acel Knight, the father of zkoysn Ašxēn, Bagarat, to bring him zdowstrn Ašxadaray, the maiden Ašxēn, the iwr i knowtⁱwn. or daughter of Ašxadar, oč^c inč^c nowaz ēr into marriage. She was koysn ark^cayin hasa- by no means of lesser ki: ... size than the king.</p> | <p>UU 1,67 95,22 Isk apa i galn And after Trdat Trdatay i Hayk^c entered Armenia, at yskzban t^cagawo- the beginning of his rowt^cean reign, (and) in the iwroy, yoržam third year of the t^cagaworeac^c yerord reign of Diocletianus, ami Diokletianosi the Roman emperor, kayser Hřovmayec^c- he married Ašxēn, woc^c, ařnow iwr the daughter of Aš- kin zAšxēn dowstr xindar. Ašxindaray.</p> |
| <p>226,3 Yormē elew She gave birth to Xos- ordi Xosrov, oč^c rov, who was not as tall hamemat hasaki cno- as his parents. řac^c iwroc^c:</p> | <p>96,2 yormē cnaw She gave birth to zXosrov' oč^c nman Xosrov, who was not hasakac^c as tall as they. iwroc^c cneal:</p> |
| <p>226,4 Ẽnd noyn In the same days awowrs linin harsa- occurred the wedding of</p> | <p>96,3 Ew ənd ayn And in those days awowrs linēr Ko- occurred the wedding</p> |

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 (Asořik) 48,16; UU 1,42 (58,8).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| nik [°] ew Mak [°] siminay dstern Diokletianosi i Nikomiday p [°] esaya- nalov nma Kostan- dianosi kesari ord- woy Kostay t [°] agawo- rin Hfomay ... | Maximina, the daughter of Diocletianus, in Nico- media, her bridegroom being the emperor Con- stantinus, the son of Constantius, the king of Rome ... | standianosı harsa- nis [°] a [°] nelov nma kin zdowstrn Dio- kletianosı zMak [°] si- letianus. |
|---|---|---|

It has for long been proposed, now, that this queen's name might be related with the Ossete noun *æxsin* meaning "lady"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 tales⁴⁹.

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 Trdat⁵⁰, 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 argued⁵¹. 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-

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

⁴⁹ ABAEV (1958-89: IV, 2346 n. 1; 1990: 216).

⁵⁰ Ašxēn is first mentioned as Trdat's wife by Agat[°]angelos in § 765 of his *Patmowt[°]iwn Hayoc[°]* (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 *Ἀσχήνη*, *Ἀσχήνῶ*, and *Ἀσιγίνην* (cf. GARITTE 1946: 205 and 1965: 279 with n. 1) and the Arabic variants *asšīnīn* (ʿsšīnyn), *asšīnā* (ʿsšīnʾ) and *asšīn* (ʿsšīn) 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. *Perožavri* ("Conversion of Kartli") and *Laṭavri* (Georgian chronicle). A. ŠANIŽE (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" (< **tagabr̥θ-ria-*, cp. *tagawor* "king" < **tagaboro-*).

⁵¹ MAHÉ (1993: 380; II, 83 n. 1).

worthy). If *Ašxēn* can be identified with Ossetic *æxsīnæ*, then, it is well possible that *Ašxadar* is related to *Axsar(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* family⁵². 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* family⁵³.

What, then, is the historical nucleus of the information about *Sat'ēnik Movsēs Khorenatsi* and later Armenian sources provide? Certainly not much more than the legendary tradition about a young Alan lady named *Sat'ēnik* 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 century⁵⁴ or with the 1st century *Tiridates* of the Greek sources, must remain open. The fact that *Sat'ēnik* 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 on⁵⁵. The *Suk'iasians'* legend seems to support the second solution by telling that *Sat'ēnik* 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.

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 *Limačav* and her children, *Parežn* and *Bačatar*, who come to Tbilisi as refugees (*Žamtaǰmčereli: QAUXC'ISVILI* 1959: 251).

⁵³ It is true that there are several variant traditions about *Satana*'s birth in most of which *Wastyrdžy*, 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 *Lalyxwə* (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 / TĒR-PŌŁOSEAN (1970a: 1 ff.) and VAN ESBROECK (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. GARSOĪAN (1989: 16-22 and 244; III.i, n. 2).

There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the legendary tradition about Sat^cenik 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 story⁵⁶, 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 child⁵⁷. There is an astonishing coincidence indeed of this story with Movsēs Khorenatsi's report about the marriage of Sat^cenik with Artašēs (cf. p. 3 above); for this couple, too, is separated by a river when Artašēs sees Sat^cenik 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).

| MX 37 | TA 7 |
|---|--|
| <p>162,14 Bayc^c mi omn tlay, Artašēs anown, zor aṛeal stntowi nora' p^ca- xeaw i kołmans Heray, i hovowavans Małxazani, lowr aṛnelov dayeki nora Smbatay, ordwoy Biwratay Bagratown- woy, i Sper gawaṛi, i šēn Smbatawani:</p> | <p>51,9 Noyn žamayn aṛeal Smbatay zArtašēs gay an- c^canē i vayr i leṛ- nēn, ew t^cap^caṛa- kan zvēms apastan arareal yankaṛ- kacagoyn telis darani i p^cok^r vimamējs i kar- kaṛs hovtajeṛs ... caves ...</p> |
| <p>But one boy (son of king Sanatruk), by the name of Artašēs, who had been taken away by his wet nurse, fled into the region of Her, into the shepherds' hamlets of Małxazan. This (was) reported to (his) foster-father Smbat, the son of Biwrat, the Bagratid, in the district of Sper, in the village of Smbatawan.</p> | <p>At that time, Smbat took Artašēs and went (with him) to a place in the mountains, and after roving through the rocks, he took refuge in unpredictable hide-aways in small rocky hills, in stony caves ...</p> |

Even though the shepherd who became Satana's lover bears no name reminding of *Artašēs* in any of the text variants⁵⁸, and even though the story about Arta-

⁵⁶ Cf. DUMÉZIL (1930: 75 ff. no. 20). Additional variants have since been published: Ossetic (Digor): Narty 1990, nos. 30-32, 143-146; (Iron): Narty 1975, 75-78; Circassian (Adyge and Kabardian): Nartxer 1969, nos. 83-108, 31-48; Narty 1974, nos. 1 (= Nartxer, no. 92) and 2, 41; Balqar: Narty 1994, no. 33, 119.

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* (Тельвесъ, in the

šēs spending his youth as a shepherd⁵⁹ is clearly influenced by the legends about his quasi-namesake, Artašīr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty⁶⁰, the equivalences between the Armenian and the Nartic tradition can hardly be regarded as accidental.

The question whether or not the Armenian *Sat'enik* 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 *Sat'enik* and *Sat'inik* and other variants⁶¹, the former presupposing an older **sat'ean-*, the latter, **sat'ēn-*. 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 *Sətəney*. These forms can easily be identified with one another, deducing them from an underlying **satana-*⁶² 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 *Teuvəž* [Kab.] and *Teucož'* [Adyg.] listed in *Spravočnik* (1979: 295 and 301); *Sosæg-əldar* (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); *Š'oqarə* (Шокъ-арə, Narty 1974, no. 2); Balqar: *Sozuk* (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 *hovtajeř* "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 Ardašīr, Son of Pābag" (Kārnāmag-i Ardaxšīr-i Pābagān, it was Artašīr's father, Sāsān, who was a shepherd: *ud sāsān šubān-ī pābag būd ud hamwār abāg gōspandān būd* "and Sāsān was the shepherd of Pābag, and he was with the sheep all the time" (ch. i, 6); cp. ČUNAKOVA (1987: 38). In Movsēs's History, there are several other passages where Artašēs is compared or contrasted with Artašīr; cp. esp. book 2, ch. 56 where the introduction of a landmarking system is ascribed to Artašēs, Ardašīr being styled a mere imitator (cp. the similar account by ST [Asofik], 49,1-5).

⁶¹ For the Oskians's legend, Abuladze's edition (1944) notes the following variants of the gen. *Sat'enkay*: 13,1: *Sat'enekay*, *Sat'ekay*, *Sat'eni*, *Sat'enikay*; 16,1: *Sat'inkay*, *zSat'enkay*, *Sat'enikay*, *Sat'inkann*, *Sat'enay*, *zSat'enekay*, *Sat'inekay*; 16,15: *Sat'inkay*, *Sat'inkan*, *Sat'enekay*, *Sat'inekay*, *Sat'enay*, *Sat'enikay*; for the Suk'iasians' legend: 23,30: *Sant'ika*, *Sat'enay*, *Sant'enkay*, *Sat'enika*; 24,10: *Sat'inekay*, *Sant'inkay*, *Sant'enikay*, *Sat'enika*, *Sat'inkay*. In the editions in *Sop'erk' haykank'*, the three forms *Sat'enkay*, *Sat'inkay*, and *Sat'inkan* 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. КОКОВ (1973: 42), who sees the same suffix in the Nartic (masculine) name Kab. *Š'awej* (Шъаеѣ), Adyg. *Šawaj* (Шъауаѣ) (≈ Ossetic *Sæwwaj*, e.g. Narty 1975, 222,24), but also in the female name Kab. *Gwaš'ənej* (Гуащəней), Adyg. *goš'əwnaj* (Гощəунаѣ). The latter name clearly contains the common noun kab. *gwaš'ə* (гуащə), Adyg. *gwaš'ə / goš'ə* (гуащə / гощə) meaning "lady, landlady, mother-in-law" which is used as an epithet of *Sətənej* in the Circassian Nartic tales in the same way as *æxsīnæ* is used in Ossetic. Adyg. *goš'əwnaj* seems to contain *unə-* "house". For a list of Circassian names ending in *-ey*, cf. КОКОВ (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)⁶³. Nevertheless, an Iranian etymology that joins all the existing variants remains possible. A clue to this may be the variant form *Sartʹenik* 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 Gołtn":

MX 1,29

| | |
|---|---|
| 84,12 Ayl ew tenčʹay, asen, Sa(r)tʹenik tikin tenčʹansʹ zartaxowr xawart ew zticʹ xawarci i barjicʹn Argawanay: | And also: "Sa(r)tʹenik," they say, "has a strong desire for the herb <i>artaxowr</i> and for the plant <i>ticʹ</i> on the dinner table of Argawan." |
|---|---|

It is clear that *Sartʹenik* in the given passage represents a *lectio difficilior* as against the variants *Satʹenik* and *Satʹinik*⁶⁴ which are the "usual" forms occurring elsewhere. Together with the Circassian form *Sərtənay* (Сэртəнай) which we find in a Shapsugh tale about the birth of Sausirīqo⁶⁵, it strongly reminds us of the Scythian name Ἐαρθᾶνοϝ appearing in an inscription of Tanais⁶⁶ which has for long been deduced from the Iranian word **xšaθra-* "reign"⁶⁷. If Ἐαρθᾶνοϝ represents a derivative **xšaθrāna-*, it shows the metathesis of the internal consonant cluster which is typical for Ossetic; within this language, its cognates are the names *Æxsært* (< **xšaθra-*) and *Æxsærtæg* (< **xšaθraka-*) well known from the Nartic tales.⁶⁸ It is true, then, that *Satana* cannot represent the normal development of a feminine variant **xšaθrānā-* (> "Scythian" **xšarθānā-*) 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.⁶⁹ The Circassian (Šapsugh) variant *Sərtənay* would in this

⁶³ ABAEV (1935 / 1990: 247).

⁶⁴ Thus according to the data collected by AČAŘYAN (1948: 342).

⁶⁵ Nartxer 1969, no. 107: 46 with the forms Сэртəнай, Сэртəнаем (erg.) and Сэртəнаер (abs.).

⁶⁶ LATYŠEV (1890: 454, 11.).

⁶⁷ Cf. MILLER (1881-7: III, 80); ZGUSTA (1955: 122, § 157).

⁶⁸ Cf. ABAEV (1958-89: IV, 239).

⁶⁹ Cf. DUMÉZIL (1930: 191) who quotes M. Tuganov for the suggestion of a mutual exchange of the variant forms of Soslan's name between Ossetes and Kabardians. — The proposal by BAILEY (1980: 239) to see in *Satana* "the feminine of the masculine title, older *sātar-*, '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 syncope in Medieval times⁷², we would have to assume a variant suffix; in this case, a preform **xšaθriiān-* leading, via **sartiān-*, to **sa(r)tean-* would be the most probable solution. Considering the affinity of the Nartic *Satana* to the *Æxsærtægkatæ* family, this might be interpreted as a quasi-patronymical formation, *Sat^eenik* being named after her family's ancestor, *Æxsært(æg) < *xšaθra(ka-)*, in just the same way as *Smbat*, *Artašēs*'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, *-on*⁷⁴, is the regular outcome of an older **-ān-*, *Satana*, *< *xšartānā-*, and *Sat^eenik*, *< *xšartiān-*, reveal themselves as equivalent formations, denoting the heroine as a descendent of the *Æxsærtægkatæ* family.

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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 *Sətəney* while text no. 107 has both *nart* and *Sərtənay*. 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 *Ağsartan* which might be the male equivalent of **xšaθrāna-* 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 *s'tt'nh*, *Satan*, is also grammatically feminine (HENNING 1944: 138 and 141 with n. 7; SKJÆRVØ 1994: 242). Ossetic *saytan* (сайтан: IOSIF 1884: 475 s.v. [Russ.] сатана) "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 syncope.

⁷³ The expected formation is provided by the Georgian chronicle, in the form *Bivriṭian-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* / *Dzagwyr-on* (Дзагуыр-он, cp. the family name *Dzagurtæ* / *Dzagwyr-tæ* Дзагуыр-тæ), *Tuskhauon* (vs. *Tuskhataæ*), and *Salam-on* (Салам-он, vs. *Salam-tæ* Салам-тæ). For the underlying personal names (*Dzagur* / *Salam*), cf. FRITZ (1983: 75 and 185).

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