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## NARTICA I: THE HISTORICAL SATANA REVISITED

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 19<sup>th</sup> century with his "Ossetic Studies"<sup>1</sup>, Abaev's contribution has consisted not only in the edition of unpublished texts<sup>2</sup> but also in countless books and articles concerning folkloristic, ethnological, or linguistic aspects of the great Caucasian epic<sup>3</sup>. The Nartic epic<sup>4</sup>, 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 prehistory<sup>5</sup>, 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.)<sup>6</sup>, thus suggesting an unbroken tradition which links the modern Ossetes (and their neighbours) with antiquity.

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<sup>1</sup> MILLER (1881-7).

<sup>2</sup> E.g., ABAEV (1939).

<sup>3</sup> Cf., among others, ABAEV (1949) and (1958-89); for his selected writings, cf. ABAEV (1990).

<sup>4</sup> For a concise summary of the Nartic tradition as spread among the Caucasian people cf. GIPPERT (1999).

<sup>5</sup> 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).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the detailed study by G. DUMÉZIL (1930: 151 ff.).

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. Lavrov<sup>7</sup> pointed out the similarity of the names of Satana, the central heroine of the Nartic epic, and of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik<sup>8</sup>, an Alan princess, wife of a second century Armenian king named Artasēs, who is given a considerable account of in the *Patmowt<sup>c</sup>iwn Hayoc<sup>c</sup>* of the Armenian historiographer Movsēs Khorenatsi. The passage in question (book 2, ch. 50<sup>9</sup>) which deals with an invasion of Armenia by joint Alan and Georgian forces and their defeat by Artasēs's foster-father, Smbat son of Biwrat, was soon after this studied in great detail by Vs. Miller<sup>10</sup> who regarded it as a proof of the Alans being ancestors of the Ossetes<sup>11</sup>; in his argumentation, however, the personal names in question played no role yet. It was the French scholar G. Dumézil, then, who in 1929<sup>12</sup> examined Movsēs Khorenatsi's testimony with respect to an identification of the historical Sat<sup>c</sup>enik with the epic Satana. His observations may be summarized briefly as follows.

Although there is no account within Nartic tradition of an invasion of the neighbouring country of Armenia in the course of which Satana was married, for the sake of peace, by the enemies' king (this is what happened to Sat<sup>c</sup>enik according to Armenian tradition), there are some common traits indeed in the depiction of Satana in the epic and of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik in Khorenatsi's historical treatise. One of these consists in the fact that both ladies are renowned for having a special affection for her brother: The reason for Sat<sup>c</sup>enik's meeting Artasēs is a plea for her (unnamed) brother who was captured

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<sup>7</sup> LAVROV (1883: 189).

<sup>8</sup> For the variant forms of the name cf. below.

<sup>9</sup> Hereafter, Movsēs Khorenatsi's *History* is quoted (as "MX") according to the edition Movsēsi Xorenac<sup>c</sup>woy matenagrowt<sup>c</sup>iwnā, Venetik 1865 where the chapter in question ("Yarjakowmn Alanac<sup>c</sup> i mez ew partowmn, ew xnamowt<sup>c</sup>iwn Artasēsi ənd nosa": "Invasion of the Alans in our [country] and [their] defeat, and Artasēs's alliance with them" is found p. 177 ff. For a French translation, cf. MAHÉ (1993: 203 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> MILLER (1881-7: III, 25 ff).

<sup>11</sup> For the evidence brought about by a comparison of the Georgian chronicle, cf. p. 8 below.

<sup>12</sup> DUMÉZIL (1929: 41-53); reprinted in DUMÉZIL (1930: 167-178).

by the Armenians; Satana, in the Nartic epic, even marries her own brother, Wryzmæg, after deceiving his legal wife, Elda<sup>13</sup>. Another common sujet is the two ladies being victims of rapt: According to Khorenatsi who quotes “singing storytellers” (*vipasank<sup>c</sup> yergeln iwreanc<sup>c</sup>*) for this “fabulous” (*ařaspelabelov*) information, Sat<sup>c</sup>enik was caught by Artařēs riding on his horse and hurling a “rope made from leather, with golden rings” around her waist; the Nartic Satana is also rapted, by Přy-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<sup>c</sup>*), connects Sat<sup>c</sup>enik with one Argawan, a member of the descendants of Ařdahak, the “brood of dragons” (*viřapazownk<sup>c</sup>*), who provides a deceitful (*xardawanak*) feast for Artařēs; the tradition is resumed in 2,52 where the adversary of Artařēs, named Argam now, is offended by Artařēs’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, Batradz<sup>14</sup>.

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 Artařēs (and, consequently, of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik) he could use, depended on bardic tradition<sup>15</sup> and was thus hardly reliable, and he regarded it as his task to “turn allegory into truth” (*zaylabanowf<sup>c</sup>iwnn čřmartesc<sup>c</sup>owk<sup>c</sup>*) 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

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

<sup>14</sup> Thus according to an Ossete tale published in 1925 (in: Pamjatniki narodnogo tvorčestva Osetin 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 mestnostej i plemen, Kavkaza* 1/2, 1881, 38-42).

<sup>15</sup> 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).

thus brought about are not equally convincing<sup>16</sup>). 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<sup>c</sup>enik, so that a re-consideration 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<sup>c</sup>enik 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<sup>i</sup>, ca. 10th-11th century)<sup>17</sup> and Movsēs Dasxowranc<sup>i</sup> (/Kałankatowac<sup>i</sup>, 11th century)<sup>18</sup> who give but a brief summary of the circumstances of Artašēs's marriage with Sat<sup>c</sup>enik in their works; for easy comparison, the respective passages are reproduced below in a synoptical arrangement (note that Movsēs Dasxowranc<sup>i</sup> confused the Alans, *alank<sup>c</sup>*, with *alowan<sup>c</sup>*, 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	MD8
177,13 Zaysow žamanakaw miabaneal Alank <sup>c</sup> leñnakanōk <sup>n</sup> amenayniw, yin-k <sup>c</sup> eans arkanelov ew zkēs Vrac <sup>c</sup> ašxarhin' mecaw amboxiw taraceal ənd ašxarhs mer:	58,6 Zaynow žamanaks lini paterazm Artašisi ənd ark <sup>c</sup> ayin Alanac <sup>c</sup> .	20,4 Zaysow žamanakaw miabanin Ałowank <sup>c</sup> leñnakanōk <sup>n</sup> amenek <sup>c</sup> owmbk <sup>c</sup> ew masn inč <sup>c</sup> 'i Vrac <sup>c</sup> ew mecaw amboxiw taracatin yerkim Hayoc <sup>c</sup> .
177,15 Žołovē ew Artašēs ziwroc <sup>c</sup> zōrac <sup>n</sup> bazmowt <sup>c</sup> iwn, ew lini paterazm i mēj erkoc <sup>c</sup> ownc <sup>c</sup> azgac <sup>n</sup> k <sup>c</sup> aĵac <sup>c</sup> ew ałeñaworac <sup>c</sup> :		20,7 Žołovē ew Artašēs zzōrs iwr ənddēm noc <sup>c</sup> a
177,17 Sakaw inč <sup>c</sup> teli tay azgn Alanac <sup>c</sup> , ew gnac <sup>c</sup> eal anc <sup>c</sup> anē ənd getn mec Kowr, ew banaki aṛ ezerb getoyñ i Hiwsişoy.		20,8 ew banaki aṛ Kowr getov, sastkanay paterazmn

<sup>16</sup> ABAEV (1935 / 1990: 247).

<sup>17</sup> History of the Armenians, book 1, ch. 42, p. 56 f. of the edition Owxtanēs Episkopos, Patmowt<sup>c</sup>iwn Hayoc<sup>c</sup>, Hatowac aṛajin, Vałaršapat 1871 ("UU").

<sup>18</sup> History of the State of the Albanians, book 1, ch. 8, p. 20 of the edition Movsesi V lankatowac<sup>c</sup>woy Patmowt<sup>c</sup>iwn Ałowan<sup>c</sup> ašxarhi, T'iflis 1860 ("MD"); cp. the English translation by DOWSETT (1961: 7) or the Russian translation by SMBATJAN (1984: 26).

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

177,20 Bayc<sup>c</sup> k<sup>c</sup>anzi zordi Alanac<sup>c</sup> ark<sup>c</sup>a-  
yin jerbakal arareal zōrac<sup>n</sup> Hayoc<sup>c</sup> acen  
aṛ Artašēs' zxałəłowt<sup>c</sup>iwn xndrēr ark<sup>c</sup>ayn  
Alanac<sup>c</sup>, tal Artašisi zinč<sup>c</sup> ew xndresc<sup>c</sup>ē.

178,1 ew erdownms ew dašins asēr hasta-  
tel mštnjenawors, orpēs zi mi ews man-  
kownk<sup>c</sup> Alanac<sup>c</sup> aspatakaw hinic<sup>c</sup> elc<sup>c</sup>en  
yašxarhs Hayoc<sup>c</sup>:

178,3 EW i č<sup>c</sup>aṛnowl yanjn Artašisi aṛ i  
tal zpatanin' gay k<sup>c</sup>oyr patanwoyn yap<sup>c</sup>n  
getoyn i darawand mi mec, ew i jeṛn  
t'argmanac<sup>c</sup> jaynē i banakn Artašisi. ...

178,12 ew teseal zkoysn gelec<sup>c</sup>ik, ew  
loweal i nmanē bans imastowt<sup>c</sup>ean'  
c<sup>c</sup>ankac<sup>c</sup>aw kowsin: Ew koč<sup>c</sup>ec<sup>c</sup>eal zda-  
yeakn iwr zSmbat' yaytnē nma zkams  
srti iwroy, aṛnowl zōriordn Alanac<sup>c</sup> i  
knowt<sup>c</sup>iwn iwr, ew dašins ew owxts  
hastatel ənd azgi k<sup>c</sup>aṛjac<sup>n</sup>, ew zpatanin  
arjakel i xałəłowt<sup>c</sup>iwn:

178,16 Ew hačoy t<sup>c</sup>owec<sup>c</sup>al Smbatay, ylē  
aṛ ark<sup>c</sup>ayn Alanac<sup>c</sup>, tal ztikin ōriordn  
Alanac<sup>c</sup> zSat<sup>c</sup>inik i knowt<sup>c</sup>iwn Artašisi:

...

179,6 K<sup>c</sup>anzi patoweal ē aṛ Alans mort<sup>c</sup>  
karmir' layk<sup>c</sup>a šat ew oski bazowm  
toweal i varjans' aṛnow ztikin ōriordn  
Sat<sup>c</sup>enik: ...

179,15 Sa aṛaṛjīn ēleal i kananc<sup>n</sup> Arta-  
šisi' cnani nma zArtawazd ew zayls ba-  
zowms, zors oč<sup>c</sup> karewor hamarec<sup>c</sup>ak<sup>c</sup>  
ayžm anowamb t<sup>c</sup>owel.

20,9 ew əmbṛni ark<sup>c</sup>ay-  
ordin Ałowanic<sup>c</sup> 'i jeṛs  
Artašisi:

58,7 ew hnazandec<sup>c</sup>ow-  
c<sup>c</sup>eal zna, aṛnow iwr  
kin zSat<sup>c</sup>enik dowstr  
ark<sup>c</sup>ayin.

20,11 Vasn aysorik  
zōriordn Sat<sup>c</sup>ineak aṛ-  
now 'i kin Artašēs ew  
daṛnay' xałəłowt<sup>c</sup>iwn  
hastateal.

A translation may run as follows:

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.

177,15 Artasēs, too, gathered the mass of his troops, and a war between two tribes of heroes and archers arose.

177,17 The tribe of the Alans retreated a bit and transgressed the large river Kur and camped on the Northern riverside.

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.

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

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.

20,7 Artasēs, too, gathered his troops against them

20,8 and camped on the river Kur. The battle intensified

20,9 and the son of the king of the Albanians was captured by the hands of Artasēs.

him the desire of his heart to marry the maiden of the Alans, to take oaths and make treaties with (this) heroic tribe, and to render the boy in peace.

178,16 And Smbat, to whom this appeared agreeable, sent out (a message) to the king of the Alans, (stating) that he should give Artašēs the maiden of the Alans, Sat<sup>ē</sup>nik, in marriage. ...

179,6 As the Alans regard red leather as precious, (Artašēs) gave lots of this and of gold as a recompense and obtained the maiden Sat<sup>ē</sup>nik. ...

179,15 She (Sat<sup>ē</sup>nik), having become the first of the wives of Artašēs, gives birth to Artawazd and many other (children), whose names need not be enumerated here now.

58,7 and after subduing him, he marries Sat<sup>ē</sup>nik, the king's daughter.

20,11 Because of this, Artašēs marries the maiden Sat<sup>ē</sup>ineak and returned (home) after having made peace.

It may be added that both Uxtanēs and Dasxowranci 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 daṛnay ew šinē zk<sup>ē</sup>alak<sup>ē</sup>n, ew anowanē yiwr anown' Artašat. ew or ayl ews gorck<sup>ē</sup> i nmanē patmi i Movsisē*)<sup>19</sup>, and Dasxowranc<sup>i</sup> mentions "Movsēs, the father (of) writer(s)" (*k<sup>ē</sup>ert<sup>ē</sup>olahayrn Movsēs*), referring to the war between the Armenian king Artawazd and the Romans which he deals with immediately before turning to Artašēs<sup>20</sup>.

Another treatment of the marriage of Artašēs and Sat<sup>ē</sup>nik that is likely to rely upon Khorenatsi's, is contained in the poetic account of Armenian history by Nersēs Šnorhali<sup>21</sup> who compiled the information into six verses:

<sup>19</sup> Cf. p. 58 of the edition named above.

<sup>20</sup> Book 1, ch. 8, p. 19 of the named edition. As to the epithet *k<sup>ē</sup>ert<sup>ē</sup>olahayr* which Dowsett (i.e.) translates as "father of literature", cf. SMBATJAN (1984: 181 f. n. 33).

<sup>21</sup> "Šaradrowt<sup>i</sup>wn homerakan vipasanowt<sup>ē</sup>eamb saks haykazanc<sup>n</sup> sefi ew Aršakowneac<sup>n</sup> zarms i skzbanc<sup>ē</sup> minč<sup>ē</sup>ew i vaxčan aṛasac<sup>ē</sup>eal Nersesi elbōr kat<sup>ē</sup>oḥikosi Hayoc<sup>ē</sup>" ("Written account, in Homeric poetic style, about the race of the Armenians and the stock of the Aršacids, from the beginning to the end, told by Nerses, the brother, Catholicos of the Armenians"), p. 555 f. of the edition Tn. Nersesi Šnorhalwoy Hayoc<sup>ē</sup> kat<sup>ē</sup>oḥikosi Bank<sup>ē</sup> č<sup>ē</sup>apaw, Venetik<sup>2</sup>1928 ("NŠ").



*Ew zAlanac<sup>c</sup> zōrsən hareal,  
Zark<sup>c</sup>ayordin jerbakaleal.  
Zč<sup>c</sup>ək<sup>c</sup>nalagelən kōys aṛeal  
ƏzSa<sup>c</sup>enikən dic<sup>c</sup>azneal.  
Əzharazatn iwr arjakeal,  
Ew ankapowt owxt hastateal:*

And (he, Artasēs) defeated the troops of the Alans,  
and captured the son of (their) king.  
Having acquired the beautiful maiden,  
the divine Sa<sup>c</sup>enik,  
he set free her own (brother),  
and swore an unbreakable oath.

A second episode concerning Sa<sup>c</sup>enik that is treated in detail by Movsēs Khorenatsi is the one dealing with her (unnamed) brother who is supported by Artasēs, again assisted by his foster-father Smbat son of Biwrat, when trying to occupy the throne left by his dead father (1, 52). This episode, too, is recapitulated with no further additions by Movsēs Dasxowranc<sup>i</sup> (1, 8); cf. the synoptical arrangement provided below.

MX 2, 52

MD 1, 8

182,1 Zi yet ayn- For (Smbat, endo-  
č<sup>c</sup>ap<sup>c</sup> arowt<sup>c</sup>eanc<sup>c</sup> ōg- wed) with so much  
nakan elbōrn Sa<sup>c</sup>in- bravery, went, by  
kan yašxarhn Alanac<sup>c</sup> order of Artasēs, to  
handerj zōrow ert<sup>c</sup>ay the country of the  
hramanaw Artasīsi: Alans together with  
(his) army, to assist  
Sa<sup>c</sup>inik's brother.

182,3 K<sup>c</sup>anzi meṛaw For Sa<sup>c</sup>inik's father  
hayr Sa<sup>c</sup>inkan, ew had died, and another  
ayl omn bṛnac<sup>c</sup>eal (man) had usurped  
t<sup>c</sup>agaworeac<sup>c</sup> ašxar- the throne of the  
hin Alanac<sup>c</sup>, ew hala- country of the Alans  
cēr zelbayrn Sa<sup>c</sup>in- and had banished  
kan. Sa<sup>c</sup>inik's brother.

182,4 zor vaneal Smbat threw this one  
herk<sup>c</sup>ē Smbat, ew ti- back and repelled  
rac<sup>c</sup>owc<sup>c</sup>anē i veray him, and he appoin-  
azgin zelbayrn Sa<sup>c</sup>in- ted Sa<sup>c</sup>inik's brother  
kan, ew zerkir haka- as a ruler of the  
ṛakordac<sup>c</sup>n awerē. (Alan) nation and de-  
vastated the land of  
(their) enemies.

20,13 Vaxčani hayrn Sa<sup>c</sup>inik's father had  
Sa<sup>c</sup>inkay ew ayl omn died, and another  
bṛnac<sup>c</sup>eal t<sup>c</sup>agaworē (man) had usurped  
ew zelbayrn halacē: the throne and perse-  
cuted (her) brother.

20,15 Ew dayeakn And Smbat, the fos-  
Artašisi Smbat' ekeal ter-father of Artasēs,  
zōrow mecaw vanē came with a huge  
zbṛnac<sup>c</sup>ealn ew tirel army, repelled the  
tay elbōrn hayreni usurper and let (Sa-  
at<sup>c</sup>ōroyn, c<sup>c</sup>inik's) brother as-  
cend his father's  
throne.



182,6	zamenayn mia- hamowr acē geri sas- tik yArtašat:	He forcibly con- ducted them all to- gether as prisoner(s) to Artašat,	20,17	ew dañnay me- caw awaraw ew ba- zowm gereōk <sup>c</sup> i Hays	And he returned with much booty and with many prisoners to Armenia
182,7	Ew hramayēal Artašisi bnakec <sup>c</sup> ow- c <sup>c</sup> anel znosa i hara- woy yarewelic <sup>c</sup> kow- sē Maseac <sup>c</sup> , or ko- č <sup>c</sup> ēr Šawaršakan ga- waṛ, i veray pahelov zbnik anownn Artaz.	and Artašēs ordered to settle them South- East of the Masis, in the district named Šawaršakan, keeping (for them their) origi- nal name, Artaz.	20,18	ew bnake- c <sup>c</sup> owc <sup>c</sup> anē zgerealsn 'i Šawaršan, ork <sup>c</sup> ēin yArtaz gawaṛē.	and settled the cap- tives, who were from the district of Artaz, in Šawaršan.
182,9	k <sup>c</sup> anzi ew ašx- arhn owsti gere- c <sup>c</sup> ann <sup>c</sup> Artaz koč <sup>c</sup> i minč <sup>c</sup> ew c <sup>c</sup> aysōr žamanaki:	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 Leonṭi Mroveli<sup>22</sup>, 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 Kho-renatsi, 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 Leonṭi's report here; note that the Armenian king, Artašēs, appears as Artašan in the Georgian text:

#### KC 1

45,5	mašin mokla Sumbaṭ Bivriṭian- man Iarvand, mepe somexta, da dasva meped žma Iarvandisi, romelsa ečo- deboda saxelad Artašan.	Then Sumbaṭ, the descendant of Bivriṭ, killed Iar- vand (Erowand), the king of the Armenians, and installed his brother, who was called by the name Artašan.
45,7	mašin amat mepeta Kartlisata Azorḡ da Armazel mouçodes ovsta da lekta, da gardamoiçvannes ovsta me-	At that time, the kings of Kartli (Georgia), Azorḡ and Armazel, summoned the Ossetes and the Lekḡ (Laks / Lezgians), and the kings of the Ossetes, two

<sup>22</sup> p. 45 ff. in the edition by QAUXČIŠVILI (1955) ("KC").

peni žmani orni goliatni, saxelit Bazuk da Abazuk, spita Ovsetisata. da mat gardamoitannes tana pačan/iḱni da žikni. da gardamovida mepe lekta da gardamoitanna duržuḱni da didoni. da amat mepeta Kartlisata šemoḱribnes spāni twsni da šēkrba ese qovelī simravle uricxw.

45,12 da simaržwt parulad šēkrbes, vidre šēkrbebodes spāni somextani. da ševides eseni Somxits da ugržneulad čarmostqenes / Širaḱuani da Vanandi Bagrevanamde da Basianamde, da šaikces da čatqunes Dašti vidre Naxčevanamde, da aḱiḱes tḱue da naṱqenavi uricxw, da aḱivsnes qovlita-ve xuasṱagita, da gamovles gza Parisosisa.

45,17 mašin Sumbaṭ Bivriṱianman moučoda spāta Somxitisata, da šēkrbes mscrapl somexni da devna uqves. xolo ese qovelni črdiloni gansrul iḱvnes Mṱḱuarsa da misrul iḱvnes Ḳambečovans, da daebanaḱat Iorsa zeda, da ganiqopdes tḱuesa da na-tḱuenavsa. ...

46,9 mašin Sumbaṭ Bivriṱianman ganvlo Mṱḱuari. da Bazoḱ ovsta mepeman stxova mukara, miugzavna mocikuli da itxova tavis-tav bržola. xolo Sumbaṭ aḱiḱura da aḱṱda varsamaṱsa twssa da ganvida gančqobilta šoris. da munit gamoqda Bazoḱ. da aḱizaxnes orta-ve da miṱevnes. da sca Sumbaṭ horolni sarṱqelsa zeda, da ganavlo zurgit čṛta erti, aḱiḱo cxenisagan da dasca kue qanasa zeda.

46,14 mašin miṱeva Anbazuk šuelad žmasa twssa, xolo mosčquadna Sumbaṭ horolni igi, miegeba da egret-ve mas-

giant brothers by the names of Bazuk and Abazuk, came together with the army of Ossetia. And they brought with them the Pačaniḱs (Pechenegs) and the žiks (Dagestanians). And the king of the Leḱs came and brought with (him) the Duržuḱs (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 Bivriṱiani summoned the troops of Armenia, and the Armenians gathered rapidly and persecuted them. But the Northern (people) had transgressed the (river) Mṱḱuari (Kur) and had reached Ḳambečovani, and they had camped on the (river) Iori, and they were sharing the prisoner(s) and the booty.

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

ca scna da ganavlo, aġiġo da dasca the ground ...  
kueqanasa zeda. ...

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

MX 2,53

48,20 ... rametu sṣpani  
somextani qovelni da  
orni zen mepisani da  
Sumbaṭ iqvnes brzo-  
lad sparsta. da vitar  
ganamravles kart-  
velta da ovsta vneba  
somexta,

... because all the  
troops of the Armeni-  
ans and two sons of  
the king and Sumbaṭ  
were fighting against  
the Persians. And  
when the Georgians  
and the Ossetes in-  
creased the pressure  
on the Armenians,

183,2 Bažanē Arta-  
šēs ew zišxanow-  
t'iwn zōrown and  
č'ors. zarewelean  
zōrn t'olow i veray  
Artawazday, ew za-  
rewmteann tay Ti-  
ranay, zHarawayinn  
i Smbat hawatay

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,

48,22 mašin Artašan  
mepeman šekribna  
sṣpani, romelni šina  
darčomodes, da mis-  
cna zesa twssa Za-  
rens, da čarmogzavna  
kartvelta zeda.

Then Artašan the king  
gathered the troops  
which had remained  
in (his country), and  
he gave them to his  
son Zaren, and he sent  
him against the Geor-  
gians.

183,23 ew zhiwsi-  
sayinn i Zareh: Ew  
Zareh ēr ayr sēg ew  
yors erēoc<sup>c</sup> nahatak,  
isk aṛ paterazmowns  
vat ew taṭowk.

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.

49,1 xolo šekṛbes  
kartvelni da ovsni, da  
miegebnes kueqanasa  
Žavaxetisasa. da eč-  
qunes da sṣlies kart-  
velta da ovsta, da  
aoṭes Zaren, ze so-  
mexta mepisa, da  
mosres sṣpa misi qo-  
veli da sdevnes saz-  
gvaramde Somxitisa;  
miečivnes Zarens,

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 Armeni-  
ans, to flight, and they  
destroyed all his army  
and persecuted him

183,2 zoroy zp<sup>c</sup>orj  
aṛeal K<sup>c</sup>arjamay  
owrowmn ark<sup>c</sup>ayi  
Vrac<sup>c</sup> apstambe-  
c<sup>c</sup>owc<sup>c</sup>anē zerkirn,  
ew kaleal zZareh, i  
banti dnē i Kawkas:

A certain K<sup>c</sup>arjam,  
king of the Georgians,  
who had experienced  
this (before), incited  
the country to rebel-  
lion, arrested Zareh  
and imprisoned him in  
the Caucasus.

žesa mēpisasa, da šēipqres igi t̄bisa mis pīrsa, romelsa rkwan Celi, da uķmōiķvanes. xolo ovsta hneb-vida mōķlva mis Zarenisi sisxlisatws mēpeta mattasa, aramed kartvelta daicves cocxlebit žiebisatws sazģvarta mattasa, da dasues p̄qrobilad cixesa Darialanissa. ver žebnes somexta, rametu ucalo iķvnes sp̄arstagan.

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.

49,9 mašin ķelsa mesamesa movida Sumbať Bivriťiani da orni ženi mēpisani, Aŗavaz da Tigran, q̄ovlita sp̄ita Somxitisata. mašin mēpeta Kartlisata ubŗžanes kueķanasa matsa šēļolva cixeta da kalakta, / da mteuletta ganamagrnes cixeni da kalakni. xolo movides somexni dadges Trial/ets. da aģdges mat šoris mōcikulni da daizavnes;

Then, in the third year (after this), Sumbať B. and the two sons of the king, Aŗavaz and Tigran, 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 Tri-

183,2 End orowm paterazmeal Artawazday ew Tiranay handerj Smbataw' darjowc<sup>c</sup>anen zelbayrn i mecē karakmē:

Artawazd and Tiran together with Smbat made war upon this (king) and freed (their) brother from (his) big muddy (dungeon).

misces kartvelta 3e aleti. And they ex-  
 mepisa šepqrobili ... changed messengers  
 and made peace; (and)  
 the Georgians ren-  
 dered the captive son  
 of the king ...

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 treatise<sup>23</sup>. The disaccount of Artasēs's wife, Sat'enik, in the 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 Osk'i and Sukias (and their companions), two legends that were translated from Armenian models in the 9th or 10th century, as I. Abuladze pointed out who in his 1944 dissertation edited both the Armenian texts and their Georgian counterparts synoptically<sup>24</sup>. 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 (Kat'olikos =) Drasxanakertc'i, who gives a short account of their fate in his 10th century History of Armenia<sup>25</sup>. 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 Xrīwsi<sup>26</sup>, i.e., Χρῦσεος<sup>27</sup>, of which Arm. *Oski*, lit. "golden", is a correct translation<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Note that within Armenian tradition, no other account of this episode seems to exist.

<sup>24</sup> ABULADZE (1944: 9-21 and 22-57). The Armenian texts ("Ban ew asowt'iw n čšmarit srboc'n Oskeanc' k'ahanayic'" = "LO" and "Vkayabanowt'iw n srboc' Sowk'iasanc'" = "LS") were edited before in the series Sop'erk' haykakank', vol. 19, Venetik 1854, p. 59-66 and 33-56, the Georgian texts ("LOG" / "LSG"), in XAXANOV (1910: 62-65 and 10-24).

<sup>25</sup> p. 36 f. in the edition MAKSOUDIAN (1980); ch. 7, 4. in the translation by MAKSOUDIAN (1983).

<sup>26</sup> ABULADZE (1944: 10) notes the variae lectiones *K'riwsi*, *K'ərowsi*, *H'rowsi*; in the Georgian version, the saint is called *Krivsi*.

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

<sup>28</sup> This is confirmed by the Georgian version of the Suk'iasians' legend which explains: *Oške, romeli itargmanebis kartvelta enita okro* "(their leader was St.) Osk'i, which is translated in the Georgian language as 'gold'."

- 36,12 Isk yet k<sup>c</sup>āra- And 43 years after the 59,14 gti 'i čařs I found in his writings  
sown ew eric<sup>c</sup> amac<sup>c</sup> death of the saint nora, et<sup>c</sup>ē ark<sup>c</sup> om- that some men who  
katarman sowrb āra- apostle Thaddeus, in ank<sup>c</sup> ork<sup>c</sup> yašaker- had come from the  
k<sup>c</sup>eloyñ T<sup>c</sup>adēosi ya- the years of Artašēs, tac<sup>c</sup> ēleal ēin mecin pupils of the great  
wows Artašisi Ha- the king of the Arme- T<sup>c</sup>adēosi āra-k<sup>c</sup>eloy, apostle Thaddeus  
yoc<sup>c</sup> ark<sup>c</sup>ayi aša- nians, pupils of the  
kertk<sup>c</sup> srboy A<sup>c</sup>ak<sup>c</sup>e- saint apostle  
loyn,
- 36,14<sup>c</sup> orowm glxa- whose leader was 59,17 oroc<sup>c</sup> anown whose leader was  
worin Oski čana- known as Oski, glxaworin X řiwsī, X<sup>c</sup>riwsī by name, a  
č<sup>c</sup>iwr, ayr yazgē G<sup>c</sup>řik, man of Greek prov-  
enance,
- 36,15 ew bnakeal ēin and (who) had settled 60,1 ork<sup>c</sup> yet ma- (and) who after the  
yakowns Ep<sup>c</sup>rat ge- at the sources of the howan a<sup>c</sup>ak<sup>c</sup>eloyñ death of the apostle  
toy' river Euphrat, ert<sup>c</sup>eal krōnawore- lived as hermits some-  
c<sup>c</sup>an 'i lerins ow- where in the dark mo-  
rēmñ cmakayins untains at the sources  
yakowns Ep<sup>c</sup>ratay ... of the Euphrat ...
- 36,16 ašakerteal taught and baptised 60,8 Sok<sup>c</sup>a matow- They approached the  
mkrteñ zars omans some of the Alans c<sup>c</sup>eal a<sup>c</sup> ark<sup>c</sup>ayñ Ar- king, Artašēs, and  
yAlanac<sup>c</sup> 'i haraza- (who were) related to tašes, canowc<sup>c</sup>anēin informed him about  
towt<sup>c</sup>enē Sat<sup>c</sup>en kay (Sat<sup>c</sup>enik, the queen, Christ being God ...  
tiknoř, or ēr kin Arta- who was the wife of (Their teachings) were  
šisi: Artašēs: zor loweal zays ew 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 ōr And as they encour- 60,23 zor Astowac And God made their  
ašt ōrē zmkrtealsn aged the baptised isk imastnac<sup>c</sup>oyc<sup>c</sup> minds intelligent to  
hastatēin 'i hawats more and more every zmits noc<sup>c</sup>a a<sup>c</sup>ndow- accept the Word of  
banin kenac<sup>c</sup>, day in their faith in nel zbann kenac<sup>c</sup>: Life:  
the Word of Life,
- 36,20 vasn aysorik the son of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik 61,12 Zays loweal Having heard this, the  
apa xandac<sup>c</sup>eal a<sup>c</sup>nd became upset about ordwoc<sup>c</sup>n Sat<sup>c</sup>en- sons of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik be-  
nosa ordwoyn Sat<sup>c</sup>en- this, kay, xandac<sup>c</sup>eal a<sup>c</sup>nd came upset about this,  
kay' irsn mecaw t<sup>c</sup>šna- and he banished the

		manōk <sup>c</sup> zsworthsn 'i	saints from the court
		dranēn halacēin. ...	in great anger. ...
36,21	srov včarec <sup>c</sup> an	and the saints, Oski	62,22 Isk sownbn
'i	kenac <sup>c</sup> asti	together with his com-	Xrīwsi handerj ən-
sowrbk <sup>c</sup> n'	Oski han-	panions, ended their	kerōk <sup>c</sup> n ... minč <sup>c</sup> zi
derj	aylews ənke-	lives by the sword.	žamanel kotorec <sup>c</sup> in
rovk <sup>c</sup> n srbvk <sup>c</sup> :			znosa mōt 'i xrčit <sup>c</sup> s
			iwreanc <sup>c</sup> , sowseraw
			barjeal zglowxs no-
			c <sup>c</sup> a:

Yovhannēs immediately continues with the story of the saint named Suk<sup>c</sup>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 azga- And the relatives of  
kank<sup>c</sup>n Sat<sup>c</sup>enkay, Sat<sup>c</sup>enik who had  
ork<sup>c</sup> 'i K<sup>c</sup>ristos been baptised in  
mkrtec<sup>c</sup>an' əndos- Christ, rather embar-  
towc<sup>c</sup>ealk<sup>c</sup> imn vasn rassed by the death of  
mahowan srboc<sup>c</sup>n, the saints, departed,  
hatowacealk<sup>c</sup> gna- went away and se-  
c<sup>c</sup>in 'i bac<sup>c</sup> ert<sup>c</sup>eal cretly reunited on  
zōdeal t<sup>c</sup>agowc<sup>c</sup>eal 'i mount ĵrabašx, being  
ĵrabašxn lerin xo- content with grass as  
tabowt čarakōk<sup>c</sup> ša- (their) food.  
tac<sup>c</sup>eal:

37,4 Ew vasn zi yet And as, after many  
amac<sup>c</sup> bazmac<sup>c</sup> spa- years, Xosrov, the  
naw ark<sup>c</sup>ayn Hayoc<sup>c</sup> king of the Armeni-  
Xosrov yAnakay ew ans, had been killed  
anišxanac<sup>c</sup>aw erkirs by Anak and the  
Hayoc<sup>c</sup>, country of the Arme-  
nians had been left  
unruled,

# LS

33,3 Nahatakk<sup>c</sup> ork<sup>c</sup> The nobles who had  
gnac<sup>c</sup>in yAłanac<sup>c</sup> come from the gate  
dranē zhet Sat<sup>c</sup>enkay of the Alans to Ar-  
tiknoĵ 'i Hays ... eleal menia together with  
bnakec<sup>c</sup>an 'i Sowkaw queen Sat<sup>c</sup>enik ...  
lerinn ... xotačarak settled on mount  
linelov ibrew zway- Sowkaw ... (and)  
reni oč<sup>c</sup>xars 'i became grass-eaters  
tesč<sup>c</sup>owt<sup>c</sup>enēn As- like wild sheep under  
towcoy, the auspices of God,

34,4 yams Šaphoy in the years of king  
t<sup>c</sup>agaworin: Ew k<sup>c</sup>an- Šapowh: And as the  
zi erkirn Hayoc<sup>c</sup> yet country of the Arme-  
amac<sup>c</sup> awereal linēr, nians was ruined  
zi t<sup>c</sup>agawor oč<sup>c</sup> because they had no  
ownēin. k<sup>c</sup>anzi spa- king after Artawan,  
neal ēr zArtawan ordi the son of Vałarš,  
Vałaršow, ew zXos- and Xosrov, the king  
rov t<sup>c</sup>agaworn of the Armenians,  
Hayoc<sup>c</sup> t<sup>c</sup>agaworin had been killed by  
Parsic<sup>c</sup>, ew 'i naxanj the king of the Per-



		<p> mteal hayreni vri  żowc<sup>n</sup>, kamēr ko-  rowsanel zašxarhn  Hayoc<sup>c</sup>. </p>	<p> sians, and (the latter)  was eager in revenge  of his home country,  he wanted to destroy  the country of the  Armenians. </p>
<p> 37,6 apa Bařlah omn  ekeal yAlanac<sup>c</sup> dranē  ew 'i xndir eleal grov  vkayic<sup>n</sup> ew gteal  znosa 'i řrabařxn  koč<sup>c</sup>ec<sup>c</sup>eal lerin, ew  harc<sup>c</sup> ew p<sup>c</sup>orj arareal  znosa vasn ař 'i  K<sup>c</sup>ristos hawatoc<sup>n</sup>  sowr 'i veray edeal  kotorē: </p>	<p> a certain Bařlah came  from the gate of the  Alans, and he started  a written inquiry abo-  ut the martyrs, and he  found them in the  mountain called  řrabařx; and after  cross-examining  them about (their)  faith in Christ he  killed them with the  sword. </p>	<p> 39,14 Ew ekeal zō-  rown Parsic<sup>c</sup> yerkirn  Hayoc<sup>c</sup>, ew haseal 'i  leařn Sowkawēt, owr  ēr bnakowt<sup>c</sup>iwn era-  neleac<sup>n</sup> ... Sksaw  xōsel zōravarn  orowm anown ēr  Bařlaha ...  51,4 ew dimec<sup>n</sup> 'i  mah bñaworin, oroc<sup>c</sup>  sowr 'i veray edeal  kotorec<sup>n</sup>. </p>	<p> And the army of the  Persians came into  the country of the  Armenians, and it  reached mount  Sowkawēt where the  blessed men had set-  tled ... A commander  whose name was  Bařlaha began to  address (them) ...  And (the saints)  came to death by the  (hand of the) com-  mander, who killed  them with the sword. </p>

It is clear that the data given by Yovhannēs and the two legends raise serious doubts as to the chronology involved. If Saint Χρύσεος / Oski was a pupil of Thaddeus, he might well have taught during the presumptive reign of Artasēs and his wife, Sat<sup>c</sup>enik, at the end of the 1st century A.D.; but how, then, might his own pupils, the Suk<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>ias:

UU 1,42	LS	
<p> 58,11 ənd ayn ža-  manaks' or ekeal ēin  ənd Sat<sup>c</sup>enkay'  sowrbn Sowk<sup>c</sup>ias ew  iwrk<sup>n</sup>. </p>	<p> In those times when  St. Suk<sup>c</sup>ias and his  (companions) came  with Sat<sup>c</sup>enik </p>	<p> 33,3 Nahatakk<sup>c</sup> ork<sup>c</sup>  gnac<sup>n</sup> yAlanac<sup>c</sup>  dranē zhet Sat<sup>c</sup>enkay  tiknoj 'i Hays </p> <p> The nobles who had  come from the gate  of the Alans to Ar-  menia together with  queen Sat<sup>c</sup>enik </p>

- 58,12 ibrew lowan (and) listened to the  
zBan kenac<sup>c</sup> i srboč<sup>c</sup> Word of Life (taught)  
Oskeanc<sup>n</sup>, ork<sup>c</sup> ěin by the St. Oskeans  
leal ašakertk<sup>c</sup> sowrb who had been pupils  
ařak<sup>c</sup>eloyñ T<sup>c</sup>adĕosi, of the holy apostle,  
Thaddeus,
- 58,13 ew i nmanĕ and who had been  
mkrteal ew owseal baptised by him and  
zBann kenac<sup>n</sup>, listened to the Word  
of Life,
- 58,14 ew znoyn ow- they preached them-  
sowc<sup>c</sup>eal soc<sup>a</sup> ařaji selves before the king  
t<sup>c</sup>agaworin ew Sat- and Sat<sup>c</sup>enik, who  
ĕenkay ew hawa- were converted and  
tac<sup>c</sup>eal mkrtec<sup>a</sup>n i were baptised by  
noc<sup>a</sup>nĕ. them;
- 58,16 ew ert<sup>c</sup>eal i and coming to Mt.  
leařn Sowkawet<sup>c</sup>, Sowkawet<sup>c</sup>, they set-  
bnakec<sup>a</sup>n and ams tled there for 44  
k<sup>c</sup>ařasown ew ĉ<sup>c</sup>ors: years.
- 33,5 ew vardapet- and who had been  
ealk<sup>c</sup> 'i srboč<sup>c</sup> aranc<sup>c</sup> taught by the holy  
ašakertac<sup>c</sup> srboy men (who were) pu-  
ařak<sup>c</sup>eloyñ T<sup>c</sup>adĕosi, pils of the holy apos-  
menaworealk<sup>c</sup> ya- tle, Thaddeus, who  
kown Ep<sup>c</sup>ratay, oroc<sup>c</sup> were hermits near the  
ařajinn sowrbñ Oski. sources of the  
Euphrat, (and) whose  
leader was St. Oski,
- 33,9 'i soc<sup>a</sup>nĕ low- who, enlightened by  
saworealk<sup>c</sup> baniwn the Word of Life,  
kenac<sup>c</sup> 'i K<sup>c</sup>ristos believed in Christ,  
hawatac<sup>a</sup>n, ew mkr- and (who had been)  
tealk<sup>c</sup> ōr æst ōrĕ ya- baptised, increased  
welowin 'i hawats. more and more every  
day in (their) faith.
- 33,16 Ew nok<sup>a</sup> eleal And they came and  
bnakec<sup>a</sup>n 'i Sow- settled on Mt. Sow-  
kaw lerinn, or ya- kaw, which was  
nown glxaworin named Sowkaw after  
iwreanc<sup>c</sup> Sowk<sup>c</sup>ias' their leader, Sow-  
koč<sup>c</sup>ec<sup>a</sup>w Sowkaw, k<sup>c</sup>ias, in the district of  
'i Bagrewand gawaři Bagrewand, facing  
yandiman Bagowan the village of Bago-  
geļĵ, ænddēm Npat wan, opposite Mt.  
lerinn. Npat.

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

UU

58,18 Ew ěin sowrb And the holy  
Oskeank<sup>n</sup> bnakeal i Oskeans had settled howan  
ařak<sup>c</sup>eloyñ ... who after the death  
of the apostle lived as

LO

sowrb lerinn' or koč'i	on the holy mountain	ert'eal	krōnawore-	hermits	somewhere
Całkēotn:	which is called	c'an 'i lerins ow-		in the dark mountains	
	Całkēotn.	rēm̄n cmakayins ya-		at the sources of the	
		kowns Ep'ratay, 'i		Euphrat, near a whirl-	
		xañnowacs joroy ow-		pool of water(s)	
		remn or skizbn a'real		which flow down,	
		iĵanen or koč'i Całkē,		springing from (a	
		yoroy anown ew		mountain) called Cał-	
		šēnk'n koč'in min-		kē, by whose name	
		č'ew c'aysōr Otn		the villages (there)	
		Całkoy:		are still called 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 House<sup>29</sup> the author of which, Thomas Artsruni, is considered to have been contemporary with Yovhannēs Kat'olikos (10th century)<sup>30</sup>. His treatise begins with the saints that had established themselves on Mt. (Ĵrabašx =) Sowkawēt, thus matching Yovhannēs's introduction on the Suk'iasians:

TA 1,8

54,9 Isk srboc'n or i And the saints who  
Sowkawēt lerinn, (resided) on Mt.  
k'anzi ēin ham- Sowkawēt, being  
ašxarhikk' ew ha- compatriots and loy-  
watarimk' Sat'inkay als of Sat'inik who  
ekeal zkni nora had come together  
with her,

YD 7,5

36,23 Isk azgakank'n And the relatives of  
Sat'enkay, ork' 'i Sat'enik who had  
K'ristos mkrtec'an' ... been baptised in  
hatowacealk' gnac'in Christ, ... departed,  
'i bac' ert'eal zōdeal went away and se-  
t'agowc'eal 'i cretly reunited on  
Ĵrabašxn lerin ... mount Ĵrabašx ..

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

<sup>29</sup> T'ovmay Artsrunwoy Patwmowt'iwn, Peterburg 1887.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. INGLISIAN (1963: 180).

54,11 ylen zomn i sent out one of the 60,8 Sok<sup>a</sup> matow- They approached the  
 čgnaworac<sup>n</sup> a<sup>r</sup> ti- hermits to the queen, c<sup>e</sup>al a<sup>r</sup> ark<sup>a</sup>ayn Ar- king, Artasēs, and  
 kinn, zk<sup>r</sup>oc<sup>n</sup> yandi- to blame the service tašes, canowc<sup>a</sup>anēin informed him about  
 manelov zsnoti ew of the idols as being nma vasn K<sup>r</sup>istosi Christ being God,  
 zanōgowt paštōnn, vain and useless, astowacowt<sup>e</sup>ann<sup>t</sup> blaming the idols of  
 zk<sup>r</sup>oc<sup>n</sup> yandimane- being powerless ...  
 lov ztkarowt<sup>i</sup>wn ...

54,12 orpēs ew as well as K<sup>r</sup>iwos  
 sowrbn K<sup>r</sup>iwos a<sup>r</sup> (was sent) to Artasēs.  
 Artasēs:

54,14 Isk Sat<sup>i</sup>nik But Sat<sup>i</sup>nik, who had 60,21 Isk ark<sup>n</sup> And the holy men  
 ownkndir eleal xra- listened to the advise sowrbk<sup>c</sup> znoyn bans resumed their speech  
 tow srboc<sup>n</sup>’ oč<sup>c</sup> i of the saints, did not yet nora xōsēin ənd later again before the  
 bac<sup>c</sup> meržec<sup>a</sup>w i overtly renounce the meci t<sup>a</sup>gowhwoyn great queen, (her)  
 k<sup>r</sup>oc<sup>n</sup> Astlkay anow- idolatry of the statue merj line<sup>l</sup>ov ew ord- sons being near who  
 aneal patkerin, k<sup>a</sup>anzi named Venus, for she worc<sup>n</sup>. zor loweal listened as well, and  
 kaskacans ownelov i was in doubt about zays ew merjaworac<sup>c</sup> the relatives of the  
 t<sup>a</sup>gaworēn ew yord- the king and (her) meci tiknojn, ork<sup>c</sup> great queen who had  
 woc<sup>n</sup>, sons, zkni nora eleal ēin come with her from  
 yAlanac<sup>c</sup> ... the (country of) the  
 Alans ...

54,16 manawand zi suspecting first of all 61,26 zor ibrew When the sons of  
 ew t<sup>a</sup>gaworin nax the king to be con- zgac<sup>e</sup>al ordik<sup>n</sup> Ar- Artasēs, Vnoyn and  
 akn ownēr zda<sup>r</sup>naln i verted from idolatry tašesi Vnoyn ew Vroyn, realized this,  
 k<sup>r</sup>oc<sup>n</sup> i yerkra- to the service of Vroyn šat alač<sup>e</sup>al they asked them  
 pagowt<sup>i</sup>wn K<sup>r</sup>istosi Christ, the true Lord. znosa, zi ’i bac<sup>c</sup> many times to re-  
 čšmartin Astowcoy. t<sup>e</sup>enēn K<sup>r</sup>istosi. oroc<sup>c</sup> Christ, but they did  
 oč<sup>c</sup> hawaneal č<sup>a</sup>ā- not agree to (re-)  
 nowin yanjn da<sup>r</sup>nal ’i convert to paganism.  
 het<sup>a</sup>nosowt<sup>i</sup>wn:

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<sup>i</sup>asians:

54,19 bayc<sup>c</sup> t<sup>e</sup>ē orpēs elew katarowmn i bac<sup>n</sup> But how their death occurred, is totally unclear  
 mez č<sup>c</sup>ē yayt. 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		LO	
63,34	xolo çmiday	But St. Xpύσεος and	62,22 Isk sowrbn
Krivsi	moçvasebiturt	his companions had	Xrīwsi handerj ənke-
twsit	arga miçevnul	not yet gone to the	rōk <sup>c</sup> n ekn, č <sup>e</sup> w ews
iço	adgilad.	site. Just when they	haseal 'i telin, min <sup>c</sup>
mirayıçvnes	igini da	arrived there, they	zi žamanel kotorec <sup>c</sup> in
mosrnes	maxlobelad	killed them near their	znosa mōt 'i xrēit <sup>s</sup>
senakebsa	matsa.	cells,	iwreanc <sup>c</sup> , sowseraw
			barjeal zglowxs
			noc <sup>c</sup> a:
			And Saint Xpύσεος
			came with his com-
			panions, and they
			had not yet reached
			the site, and just when
			they arrived, they
			massacred them near
			their cells, cutting off
			their heads with the
			sword.

Thus it is well imaginable that the source Artsruni disposed of was similar to the one from which the Georgian legend was translated<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup>enik and her compatriots anywhere. This is also true for the introduction of the present chapter which concerns the reign of Artasēs and the foundation of the city of Artasat. Here, Artsruni's account opposes itself to the

<sup>31</sup> 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<sup>c</sup>aytakaran with Tbilisi, the Georgian capital (TA 3,9: 173, 26: *hraman et hasanel i veray k'alak'in T<sup>p</sup>lik<sup>c</sup> koč<sup>c</sup>ec<sup>c</sup>eal, orowm yařařagoyñ P<sup>c</sup>aytakaran anowanēin* "he gave order to come to the town named Tbilisi, which was formerly called P<sup>c</sup>aytakaran"). The same identification is found in the Georgian version of the legend of St. Aristakēs, the successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator: *romlisatwsca movides misa sakmisa mpqrobelni ağmosavalisani da črdiloysa kerzoysa zedamdgomni kalakisa Paytařaranisa, romel ars Tpilisi* "because of which came the representatives of the East and the Northern region (and) the supervisors of the town of Paytakarani, which is Tbilisi" (ABULADZE 1944: 65,12; XAXANOV 1910: 58,25). The Armenian legend has only the first name: *Vasn oroy ekeal gorcakalk<sup>c</sup> koł-manc<sup>n</sup> arewelic<sup>c</sup> ew hiwsisoy ew verakac<sup>c</sup> owk<sup>c</sup> heřawor k'alak'in, or koč<sup>c</sup>i P<sup>c</sup>aytakaran* "because of which came the representatives of the East and North and the supervisors of the distant town, which is called P<sup>c</sup>aytakaran" (ABULADZE 1944: 65,9). For the location of the town (and province), cf. HÜBSCHMANN (1904: 267 ff.) and HEWSEN (1992: 253 ff. 3. 149A).

brief summary of the king's deeds provided by Movsēs Khorenatsi in his history although this may well have served as his source<sup>32</sup>:

TA 1,8

52,16 Ibrew yaŋo- When the reign of  
lēc<sup>c</sup>aw t<sup>c</sup>agaworow- Artašēs was success-  
t<sup>c</sup>iwnn Artašēsi ... or- ful ... as the books of  
pēs bac<sup>c</sup>ayayten girk<sup>c</sup> the historiographers  
patmagrac<sup>c</sup>n, ew ya- make evident, and  
nowl zSat<sup>c</sup>inik tiki- when he married Sat-  
knowt<sup>c</sup>ean Hayoc<sup>c</sup> inik as the queen of  
the Armenians,

MX 2,49

176,7 Artašisi ver- The deeds of the last  
ŋnoy gorck<sup>c</sup> bazowm Artašēs will be mani-  
inč<sup>c</sup> yaytni en k<sup>c</sup>ez i fest to you by the  
vipasanac<sup>c</sup>n, or pat- (narratives of the)  
min i Gołt<sup>c</sup>an – šinel storytellers which are  
zk<sup>c</sup>ałak<sup>c</sup>n, ew xna- told in Gołt<sup>c</sup>n, (viz.)  
mowt<sup>c</sup>iwn ənd Alans, the foundation of the  
ew cnowndk<sup>c</sup> zar- city, the alliance (by  
mic<sup>c</sup>n, ew ibr trp<sup>c</sup>ank<sup>c</sup> marriage) with the  
Sat<sup>c</sup>inkan ənd Viša- Alans, the generation  
pazownsn' ašaspela- of offspring, Sat<sup>c</sup>i-  
bar, ays ink<sup>c</sup>n ənd nik's affection, as it  
zarms Aždahakay were, for the fabulous  
progeny of the dra-  
gon, that is, for the  
offspring of Aždahak

52,19 yišē znžde- he remembered (his)  
hanaln iwr i vima- exile in the rocks  
mējsn zor veragoyn about which we have  
grec<sup>c</sup>ak<sup>c</sup>. gay darjeal i written above. He  
tełin zbōsnowl i nma returned to the site to  
take delight in it,

176,17 Ert<sup>c</sup>eal Arta- When Artašēs came  
šisi i telin, owr xařnin to the site where  
Erasx ew Mecamōr, Araxes and Mecamōr  
fuse,

52,20 ew hačoy and after being pleas-  
t<sup>c</sup>oweal yač<sup>c</sup>s nora' ed with the sight, he  
šinē zk<sup>c</sup>arablown built a palast (on) the  
aparans ... rocky hill ...

176,18 ew hačēal ənd and taking pleasure in  
blown' šinē k<sup>c</sup>ałak<sup>c</sup> the hill, he founded a  
yiwr anown anow- city (there), calling  
aneal Artašat: (it) by his name, Ar-  
tašat.

<sup>32</sup> Khorenatsi's information was obviously also used by Asołik (Step<sup>c</sup>anosī Tarōnec<sup>c</sup>woy [= "ST"] Asołkan Patmowt<sup>c</sup>iwn tiezerakan, Peterburg 1885, p. 48,16: *Ew erl<sup>c</sup>eal Artašisi i teli mi, owr xařnin Erasx ew Mecamōr, ew hačēal ənd blown' šinē k<sup>c</sup>ałak<sup>c</sup> ew yiwr anown anowanē Artašat*) and Uxtanēs who even mentions Movsēs's name (1,42, p. 58,8: *ew dařnay ew šinē zk<sup>c</sup>ałak<sup>c</sup>n, ew anowanē yiwr anown' Artašat. ew or ayl ews gorck<sup>c</sup> i nmanē patmi i Movsisē*).

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 Dasxowranc'i'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 Sat'enik and her compatriots<sup>33</sup>:

#### LOG

63,7 xolo ƙacni igi And the holy men  
 ƙmidani amis řem- afterwards talked to  
 dgomad eťqodes the queen and her  
 dedopalsa mas da sons, which was also  
 řeta mista, romelca heard by the relatives  
 ismines ese maxlo- of the queen who had  
 belta dedoplisata, ro- come together with  
 melni mosrul iťqynes her from Albania ...  
 mis tana Heretit ...

#### LO

60,21 Isk ark<sup>c</sup>n And the holy men  
 sowrbk<sup>c</sup> znoyn bans resumed their speech  
 yet nora xōsēin and later again before the  
 meci t'agowhwoyn great queen, (her)  
 merj linelov ew ord- sons being near. This  
 woc<sup>c</sup>n. zor loweal (was) also heard by  
 zays ew merjaworac<sup>c</sup> the relatives of the  
 meci tiknoĵn, ork<sup>c</sup> great queen who had  
 zkni nora eleal ēin come with her from  
 yAlanac<sup>c</sup> ... 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. Suk<sup>c</sup>ias, for this is mentioned in the Oskians' legend, too, which finishes with a brief account of the Suk<sup>c</sup>iasians<sup>34</sup>:

#### LO

65,21 Isk leařn řrabařx yanown glxaworin But Mt. řrabařx was named Sowkaw by the  
 noc<sup>c</sup>a Sowk<sup>c</sup>iasay' Sowkaw (v.l. Sowkawet) name of their leader, Sowk<sup>c</sup>ias, in memory of

<sup>33</sup> According to ABULADZE's edition (1944: 12), the Armenian manuscripts have both the forms *Alan* and *Alan* in the given passage, the latter being closer to *alowank<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>34</sup> 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 *leařn o[w]r oskeank<sup>c</sup>n kotorec<sup>c</sup>an* "the mountain where the Oskians were killed"; cf. ABULADZE's edition (1944: 21): mss. "Q" and "Z".



koč<sup>c</sup>ec<sup>c</sup>aw vasn yišataki anmořac<sup>c</sup> srboc<sup>n</sup> the immortal saints who bore this name ...  
ownelov zanownn ...

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

# LO

# LS

63,10 ew ert <sup>c</sup> eal	And they came and	Ew kac <sup>c</sup> in eranelik <sup>n</sup>	And the blessed men
krōnaworec <sup>c</sup> an i le-	lived as hermits on	'i Sowkawēt lerinn	stayed on Mt.
rinn or koč <sup>c</sup> i Jrabašx	the mountain which	k <sup>c</sup> ařasown ew č <sup>c</sup> ork <sup>c</sup>	Sowkawēt for 44
merj yakn alber ow-	is called Jrabašx, near	ams kerakrealk <sup>c</sup> oč <sup>c</sup>	years, nourished not
remn yordagowni,	an abounding water	hac <sup>c</sup> iw, ayl zōrow-	by bread but by the
yordorealk <sup>c</sup> i šnor-	well, instructed by	t <sup>c</sup> eamb ew šnorhōk <sup>c</sup>	power and the mercy
hac <sup>c</sup> sowrb Hogw-	the mercy of the Holy	teařn iwreanc <sup>c</sup> :	of our Lord.
oyñ, kac <sup>c</sup> eal and ams	Spirit, residing there		
k <sup>c</sup> ařasown ew vec <sup>c</sup> :	for 46 years.		

The main difference, however, consists in the fact that according to the legend of the Oskians, it was "acquaintances of the sons of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik" who killed the saints, not a commander named Bařlaha 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<sup>c</sup>iasians and both Yovhannēs and Uxtanēs in that only the former text speaks of a "Persian" army here; according to the latter authors, Bařlah / Bařahlayē "came from the Alans" instead, an information which may well reflect the attempt of re-aligning the data provided by the two legends.

# LO

# UU

63,15 Isk yet mahowann Sa-	But after Sat <sup>c</sup> enik's death,	58,17 Ew And they
t <sup>c</sup> inkay, ayl <sup>c</sup> omank <sup>c</sup> ekealk <sup>c</sup> i	some men came into the ac-	katarec <sup>c</sup> an i died on that
canōt <sup>c</sup> owt <sup>c</sup> iwn ordwoc <sup>c</sup> nora'	quaintance of her sons, who	noyn lerinn mountain (by
barekamac <sup>c</sup> an. ew teleka-	made friends (with them).	(i) Bařah- the hand of)
c <sup>c</sup> ealk <sup>c</sup> yařags aranc <sup>n</sup> srboc <sup>c</sup>	And they inquired about the	layē břna- Bařahlaye,
harc <sup>c</sup> eal owsan ztelisn yors	holy men and thus discovered	worē ekeal the tyrant,
bnakeal ēin. ař ors ekeal	the place where they resided.	y Alanac <sup>c</sup> : who had
hrapowrel znosa xorhēin	And when they arrived there,	come from

baniwk<sup>c</sup>. ew tesimal zhasta- they intended to irritate them  
 tow<sup>c</sup>iwnn ew zaxxonarheli with words. And when they  
 mtac<sup>c</sup> noc<sup>c</sup>a əzbarjrow<sup>c</sup>iwn realized their steadfastness  
 ibrew zt<sup>c</sup>šnamans inč<sup>c</sup> ha- and their inflexible minds,  
 marec<sup>c</sup>an. yoroc<sup>c</sup> sowr 'i veray they regarded their grandeur  
 edeal kotorec<sup>c</sup>in ibrew ars as hostility. And putting them  
 hngetasan ... to the sword, they killed them  
 by the number of fifteen men.

the (country  
 of the) Alans.

We may conclude, then, that the “non-Alan” elements appearing in the tradition about the Suk<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>iasians, too, we cannot help thinking that all these elements are secondary and historically unfounded.

Nevertheless, it is just the Suk<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>ias, i.e. Ἡσυχίος:

#### LS

<p>41,13 Asē zōravarn. Zi<sup>?</sup>nč<sup>c</sup> anown ē k<sup>c</sup>o: Asē          eranelin. Ǝst afa<sup>c</sup>nowmn, Barak<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>ray anowa-          nēi. bayc<sup>c</sup> yoržam eki es 'i gitow<sup>c</sup>iwn Ast-          owcoy Sowk<sup>c</sup>ias anowanec<sup>c</sup>ay, aysink<sup>c</sup>n 'i          xałałakan keans stac<sup>c</sup>ay:</p>	<p>The commander said: What is your name?          The blessed man said: Originally, I was called          Barak<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>ray. But when I came to know about          God, I called myself Sowk<sup>c</sup>ias, that is, “ha-          ving a peaceful life”.</p>
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Of the various readings available for the saint's original name<sup>35</sup>, the one used in the editions, *Barak<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>* or *Barowk<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>* it immediately suggests a Semitic basis (cp. the Biblical name of *Baruch*, appearing as *Barowk<sup>c</sup>* 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

<sup>35</sup> The following list is taken from Abuladze's edition, 56, n. 5: *Barak<sup>c</sup>eat<sup>c</sup>ray* DT, *Barak<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>* EJK, *Barowk<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>* OP, *Barahat<sup>c</sup>a* U, *Barahatray* MX, *Bahadras* RS.

Tbilisi, in his war against the *ovsni*, i.e. Alans, in the 5th century A.D.<sup>36</sup> If we further consider the form ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ which is met with in the Zelenčuk inscription<sup>37</sup>, there is hardly any room for doubt that we have an Ossete etymon here, which V.I. Abaev<sup>38</sup> identified with the word meaning “brave, rich”, appearing as *bægatyr* and *qæbatyr* in Iron and *bægatær* 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.

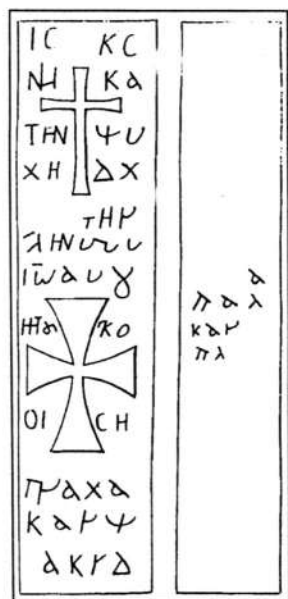


Fig. 1: Stele (cf. n. 37)

The identity of the names of St. *Ba(r)k<sup>c</sup>at<sup>r</sup>a* and the opponent of Vaxtang Gorgasali, *Baqatar*, may even conceal the clue to the chronological problems the Suk<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>iwn Hayoc<sup>c</sup>* (and retold in Movsēs Daxowranc<sup>c</sup>i's *History of the Albanians*). *Baqatar* is an Alan (*ovsi*), *Vahan*'s anonymous opponent, a member of the *bnakičk<sup>c</sup> hiwsi soy 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).

<sup>36</sup> “KC”: QAUXČIŠVILI (1955: 154 ff). For attestations of other *ovsi* people bearing the same name, cf. ANDRONIČASVILI (1966: 134 ff).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. n. 5 above. Another occurrence of the name ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ written in Greek letters can possibly be found on the sinister side of an inscribed funeral stele discovered by J.A. Güldenstädt near the Čegem river in Kabardia; cf. the draft published in his “Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasischen Gebürge » (GÜLDENSTÄDT 1787: pl. XIII, fig. 4). Güldenstädt provided no reading of this “graffiti-like” addition but only of the main inscription on the Western side; cf. o.c., p. XXIII (where “Fig. 4” must be read instead of “Fig. 3”) and p. 502 (where “Platte 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 Güldenstädt (p. XXIII; recte “AXHΔ (1654)”; read “ΠΑΧΑΤΑΡΟΥ” instead of “TOY ANAKAMΨ”?). Güldenstädt's draft is reproduced as Fig. 1 here.

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

## MX 3,9

267,1 ew zōraglowx And the commander  
nizakaworac<sup>n</sup> leal of the lancers was a  
anari omn hskay va- giant of inhuman  
řeal ... size, armed ...

267,7 Ōgnea inj, As- "Help me, God, who  
towac, or zDawi- directed David's  
t<sup>e</sup>ean parsak<sup>e</sup>arn dipe- sling stone against  
c<sup>e</sup>owc<sup>e</sup>er čakatow the front of angry  
xroxtac<sup>e</sup>eloyñ Golia- Goliath ..."  
t<sup>e</sup>ow ...

## KC

154,5 da meoresa And the next day,  
dģesa sxua gamovida another giant of the  
bumberazi ovstagan, Ossetes stepped for-  
romelsa erkua ward, whose name  
Bačatar. was Bačatar.

154,6 igi ičo goliati He was a Goliath ...  
... rametu ičo sigrže for the size of his  
mšwildisa misisa tor- shield was 12 spans  
meči mčkaveli da isari and (the length of)  
misi ekusi mčkaveli. 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<sup>e</sup> vripe- And he did not go  
c<sup>e</sup>aw i xndroyn. and astray with his  
gawak jioyn hareal' prayer. Hitting the  
yerkir korcaneac<sup>e</sup> back of his horse, he  
zahagin zviragn: threw the terrible  
monster down to the  
ground.

## KC

155,10 da ɣualad And he shot another  
hķra sxua isari cxensa arrow at Vaxtang's  
Vaxtangissa, da ga- horse, and it was hit.  
agdo šiga. da vidre And when the horse  
daecemoda cxeni Va- fell, Vaxtang jumped  
xtangisi, miuqda zeda on Bačatar and  
da uxetkna qrmali pushed his knife into  
mqarsa Bačatarissa, his shoulder, and he  
da čahķueta vidre pierced it right into  
gulamde. his heart.

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

## MO 3,9

266,4 Yawowrs sora In those days, the in-  
miabaneal bnakič<sup>e</sup>k<sup>e</sup> habitants of the Nor-  
hiwsişoy Kawkasow, thern Caucasus uni-  
gitac<sup>e</sup>eal zt<sup>e</sup>owla- ted, and knowing the  
srtowt<sup>e</sup>iwn nora ew tender-heartedness

## KC

151,15 mašin mepeta Then, the kings of  
Ovsetisata šķribnes Ossetia collected  
sřani matni da moir- their troops and an-  
tes zali Xazaretit, da nexed the army of the  
moegebnes mdina- Khazar country, and

zyowlowt <sup>c</sup> iwn,	ew	and inadvertedness of	resa zeda,	romeli	they drew up at the
aṛawel i hrapowreloy	Sanatruk	and being	ganvliṣ	Darialansa da	river which flows
maṭ <sup>c</sup> anac <sup>c</sup> Sanatrkoy <sup>4</sup>	instigated by his re-	čavliṣ	velsa	Ov-	through the Alan gate
i gaṭni hramanē Ša-	quests, on a secret	setisasa.			into the plain of Os-
phoy Parsic <sup>c</sup> ark <sup>c</sup> ayi,	order of Šapowh, the				setia.
aṣṣaweal i miȳoc <sup>c</sup>	king of the Persians,				
aṣṣarhis ...	they invaded our				
	country ...				

St. Suk<sup>c</sup>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. Paterazmoṭ ayr erewis:	The commander said: You seem to be a man,
Asē eranelin. Nizakakic <sup>c</sup> ēi Šaphoy ark <sup>c</sup> ayi:	experienced in war. The blessed man said: I
	was a lancer of king Šapowh.

If the legend is right, then, that *Bark<sup>c</sup>at<sup>c</sup>ar*  $\approx$  *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<sup>c</sup>awstos Bowzandac<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>t<sup>c</sup>ac<sup>c</sup>*), are defeated by Vac<sup>c</sup>ē Mamikonean, not Vahan Amatowni who is mentioned but marginally, as a spearman (*nizakakic*) of Vac<sup>c</sup>ē’s (book 3, ch. 7)<sup>39</sup>.

#### PB 3,7

14,1 Yaynm žamanaki t <sup>c</sup> agaworn Mazk <sup>c</sup> t <sup>c</sup> ac <sup>c</sup>	At that time, Sanēsan, the king of the Massa-
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<sup>39</sup> GARSOĪAN (1984: 14 ff.). - Cf. GARSOĪAN (1989: 249) for a comparison of the accounts by Movsēs and P<sup>c</sup>awstos.

Sanēsan anhnarin niwt<sup>eac</sup> zōramtowt<sup>i</sup>(wn) sxowt<sup>e</sup>(an) ənd iwrowm azgak<sup>c</sup>in Xosrov ark<sup>ay</sup>in Hayoc<sup>c</sup>, ew gowmareac<sup>c</sup> žoloveac<sup>c</sup> za(menay)n zōrs Honac<sup>c</sup> ew P<sup>c</sup>oxk<sup>c</sup> ac<sup>c</sup> ...

15,3 Apa ekn ehas Vač<sup>cē</sup> ordi Artawazday 'i Mamikonēn ... ert<sup>c</sup>ayr gtanēr zSanēsan t<sup>c</sup>agaworn Mazk<sup>c</sup>t<sup>c</sup>ac<sup>c</sup> bown gndawn, ant<sup>c</sup>iw anhamar zōrōk<sup>n</sup> handerj 'i Vałaršapat k<sup>c</sup>alak<sup>c</sup>i: Ařeal zgowndn Vač<sup>cē</sup>, ew yankarcaki yarjakec<sup>c</sup>aw 'i veray k<sup>c</sup>alak<sup>c</sup>in. ew mtaneac<sup>c</sup> znosa t(ē)r 'i jefs nora:

15,20 Ew nizakakic<sup>c</sup>k<sup>c</sup> zōravarin Hayoc<sup>c</sup>, orēn Bagrat bagratowni, Mehowndak ew Garegin ərəštownik<sup>c</sup>, ew Vahan nahapetn amatowneac<sup>c</sup> tohmin, ew Varaz kaminakan hasanēin harkanēin satakēin zōrsn Alanac<sup>n</sup> ew Mazk<sup>c</sup>t<sup>c</sup>ac<sup>n</sup> ew Honac<sup>n</sup> ew zayloc<sup>c</sup> azgac<sup>n</sup> ...

getes, 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<sup>c</sup>oxk<sup>c</sup> ...

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

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

What is most important in this connection, is that P<sup>c</sup>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<sup>i</sup> which relies upon his) rather suspect, and the impression imposes itself that we have to deal with a mixture of historical data and legendary tradition here.

This is hardly astonishing, though, given that the incorporation of legends and their secondary alignment with historical chronology, is known to be a typical trait of the Patmowt<sup>c</sup>iwn Hayoc<sup>c</sup> ascribed to Movsēs Khorenatsi<sup>40</sup>. 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 Dasxowranc<sup>i</sup> 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<sup>c</sup>:

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



230,4 Isk t'agaworn  
Trdat amenayn Haya-  
stanōk<sup>c</sup> ijeal i daštn  
Gargarac<sup>c</sup>woc<sup>c</sup> pata-  
hē hiwisakanac<sup>n</sup>  
čakatow paterazmi ...

230,9 Zor tesimal t'a-  
gaworin Baslac<sup>c</sup> mōt  
hasanē yark'ayn. ew  
haneay yaspazinēn  
znerdeay k'emxtapat  
parann ew koro-  
vowt'eamb jgeay  
yetowst kołmanē čah  
dipec<sup>c</sup>owc<sup>c</sup>anē yows  
jaxakołmann ew ya-  
nowt<sup>c</sup> a'jakołmann.

230,15 Ew k'anzi oč<sup>c</sup>  
karac<sup>c</sup> šaržil jēřamb  
zhskayn' zlanjōk<sup>c</sup> ař  
erivarin.

230,16 ew oč<sup>c</sup> ays-  
č'ap<sup>c</sup> inč<sup>c</sup> šowt'ap<sup>c</sup>-  
eac<sup>c</sup> mtrakel zerivarn,  
k'an t'ē aheak je-  
řambn i nerdeayn  
ačapareal skayin, ew  
sastkowt'eamb ow-  
žoin ziwreaw řcan-  
c'el i čah dipec<sup>c</sup>ow-  
c'anēr zerkasayrin, ew  
and mēj ktrēr zayrn  
ew zoyg and parano-  
c'in zglowx erivarin:

And king Trdat de-  
scended with all Ar-  
menians into the  
plain of the Gargar-  
ians and confronted  
the Northerners with  
(his) line of battle. ...

When the king of the  
Basilk<sup>c</sup> 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. ...

And as he could not  
shatter the giant (Tr-  
dat) with his hands,  
he embraced the neck  
of (his) horse.

But faster than he  
could whip the horse  
along, the giant  
grasped the rope with  
his left hand, and  
tearing him near with  
all his might, he drew  
his two-edged  
(sword) and cut the  
man in the middle,  
and the neck of the  
horse as well.

37,6 Lini zōražoľov  
Trdatēs mec t'aga-  
worn Hayoc<sup>c</sup>, ew  
ijeal i daštn Garga-  
rac<sup>c</sup>woc<sup>c</sup> patahē hi-  
wisakanac<sup>c</sup> sastik  
paterazmaw.

37,8 Ew zt'agaworn  
Baslac<sup>c</sup> martakic<sup>c</sup> iwr  
leal, or jgeal zčopan  
arwoyn Trdatay

37,12 ew oč<sup>c</sup> zōreal  
ankčel zna'

37,13 ink<sup>c</sup>n lini  
miřaktowr 'i nmanēn,

Trdat, the great king  
summoned his troops  
together, descended  
into the plain of the  
Gargarians and con-  
fronted the Northen-  
ers with a fierce war.

And the king of the  
Basilk<sup>c</sup> fought with  
him and threw his  
rope around brave  
Trdat

but could not over-  
whelm him

(and) was himself cut  
in two by him.



231,7	Isk zōrac <sup>n</sup>	And the troops who	37,14	ew varē Trda-	And Trdat persecuted
amenayni	teseal .. i	had watched that all ..	tios znosa	kotor-	them with extermina-
p <sup>c</sup> axowst	dañayin.	fled. Trdat persecuted	mamb	minč <sup>c</sup> ew	tion as far as the
zoroc <sup>c</sup>	zhet mteal	them as far as the	c <sup>c</sup> Hons ...		(country of the) Huns
Trdat,	varē minč <sup>c</sup> ew	country of the Huns.			...
yašxarhn	Honac <sup>c</sup> :				

The source of this episode is not hard to find. It is obviously modelled<sup>41</sup> upon the report about an attack by the Alans which is contained in the 7th book of Flavius Josephus's History of the Jewish War<sup>42</sup>:

FJ

244,1 Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ὅτι μὲν  
εἰσι Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν  
Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατοι-  
κοῦντες .. κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους  
διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσω-  
τέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ' ἄρπαγὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ...

248,1 μετὰ πολλῆς οὖν ῥαστώνης ἀμαχεῖ  
ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀρπαγὰς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμε-  
νίας προῆλθον πάντα λεηλατοῦντες.

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

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

The Alan people, which is the Scy-  
thians 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 Ar-  
menia, 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

<sup>41</sup> Cp. MAHÉ (1993: 380 [II, 85 n. 2] and 364 [II, 50 n.7]).

<sup>42</sup> Ch. 7,7 in the edition NIESE (1895).

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)<sup>43</sup>. It is well conceivable, however, 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<sup>c</sup>enik 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

<p>179,2 "Hecaw ari ark<sup>c</sup>ayn Artašēs i seawn gelec<sup>c</sup>ik, ew haneal zoskēōl šika- p<sup>c</sup>ok parann, ew anc<sup>c</sup>eal orpēs zarcowi sra<sup>c</sup>ew ənd getn, ew jgeal zoskēōl šika- p<sup>c</sup>ok parann<sup>c</sup> ənkec<sup>c</sup> i mējk<sup>c</sup> ōriordin Alanac<sup>c</sup>, ew šat c<sup>c</sup>awec<sup>c</sup>oyc<sup>c</sup> zmējk<sup>c</sup> p<sup>c</sup>a- p<sup>c</sup>owk ōriordin, arag hasowc<sup>c</sup>anelov i banakn iwr":</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>
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Nevertheless it must be stated that the episode of Artašēs and Sat<sup>c</sup>enik 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 Movsēs<sup>44</sup>. 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

<p>178,18 Ew asē ark<sup>c</sup>ayn Alanac<sup>c</sup>. "Ew owsti tac<sup>c</sup>ē k<sup>c</sup>aĵn Artašēs hazars i haza- rac<sup>c</sup> ew biwrs i biwrowc<sup>c</sup> ənd k<sup>c</sup>aĵazg- woy koys ōriordis Alanac<sup>c</sup>": ...</p> <p>179,6 K<sup>c</sup>anzi patoweal ē aṛ Alans mort<sup>c</sup> karmir<sup>c</sup> layk<sup>c</sup>a šat ew oski bazowm</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 pay-</p>
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<sup>43</sup> 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.

<sup>44</sup> MAHÉ (1993: 364; II, 50 n. 2).

toweal i varjans<sup>4</sup> ařnow ztikin řoriordn ment and (thus) received the maiden Sat<sup>c</sup>enik as Sat<sup>c</sup>enik: (his) wife.

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

### FJ 7,7

247,1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ 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 δοῦς τάλαντα.

For the king of the land, Pakoros, fled frightened into inaccessible regions, conceding everything he had; and he hardly succeeded in ransoming his wife and his concubines and his girls who had been captured, by paying 100 talents.

We may conclude, then, that Khorenatsi's Artasēs was the same person as Flavius Josephus's Tiridates<sup>45</sup>. This assumption, too, finds further support in a non-Armenian source, viz. in Dio Cassius's *Historiae Romanae*. According to this text, which also contains a brief account of the Alan raid into Media and Armenia<sup>46</sup>, it was Tiridates who founded the city named τὰ Ἀρτάξατα, i.e., Artasat (ch. 63,7,2); according to Khorenatsi and the authors depending on him<sup>47</sup>, this was Artasēs's work:

### CD 63,7,2

ὁ μὲν δὲ Τιριδάτης τὰ And Tiridates who  
'Αρτάξατα ἄνο- had built Artasat ...  
ικοδομήσας ...

### MX 2,49

176,17 Ert<sup>c</sup>eal Arta- Artasēs came .. and  
šisi .. šinē k<sup>c</sup>ałak<sup>c</sup> founded a city  
yiwr anown anow- (there), calling (it) by  
aneal Artasat: his name, Artasat.

In this way, the matrimony of an Alan princess named Sat<sup>c</sup>enik with a 1st century Armenian king named Tiridates in Greek and Artasēs 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<sup>c</sup>enik was brought about by a certain Smbat, son of Biurat. In Movsēs Khorenatsi's

<sup>45</sup> Cf. TOUMANOFF (1969: 242) for the misuse of the name Artasēs in MX.

<sup>46</sup> ch. 69, 15; cf. n. 43 above.

<sup>47</sup> TA 1,8 (52,20); ST (Asołik) 48,16; UU 1,42 (58,8).

History, now, we are told about another instance of match-making of an Armenian king supported by a man called Smbat. This is the marriage of Trdat the Great with Ašxēn, the daughter of a certain Ašxadar. Khorenatsi's account is again reused by Uxtanēs who, however, does not mention Smbat:

MX 2,83

UU 1,67

225,20 Ekeal Trdatay yašxarhs' aṛak <sup>c</sup> ē zSmbat aspet, zhayr Bagaratay' acel zkoysn Ašxēn, zdowstrn Ašxadaray, iwr i knowt <sup>c</sup> iwn. or oč <sup>c</sup> inč <sup>c</sup> nowaz ēr koysn ark <sup>c</sup> ayin hasa- ki: ...	Trdat, having re- turned into (his home) country, sent out Smbat the Knight, the father of Bagarat, to bring him the maiden Ašxēn, the daughter of Ašxadar, into mar- riage. She was by no means of lesser size than the king.	95,22 Isk apa i galn Trdatay i Hayk <sup>c</sup> yskzban t <sup>c</sup> agawo- rowt <sup>c</sup> ean iwroy, yor- žam t <sup>c</sup> agaworeac <sup>c</sup> yerord ami Diok- letianosi kayser Hṛo- vmayec <sup>c</sup> woc <sup>c</sup> , aṛnow iwr kin zAšxēn dowstr Ašxindaray.	And after Trdat en- tered Armenia, at the beginning of his reign, (and) in the third year of the reign of Diocletianus, the Roman emperor, he married Ašxēn, the daughter of Aš- xindar.
226,3 Yormē elew ordi Xosrov, oč <sup>c</sup> hamemat hasaki cno- lač <sup>c</sup> iwroc <sup>c</sup> :	She gave birth to Xosrov, who was not as tall as his parents.	96,2 yormē cnaw zXosrov' oč <sup>c</sup> nman hasakac <sup>c</sup> iwroc <sup>c</sup> cneal:	She gave birth to Xosrov, who was not as tall as they.
226,4 End noyn awowrs linin harsa- nik <sup>c</sup> ew Mak <sup>c</sup> siminay dstern Diokletianosi i Nikomiday p <sup>c</sup> esaya- nalov nma Kostan- dianosi kesari ord- woy Kostay t <sup>c</sup> agawo- rin Hṛomay ...	In the same days oc- curred the wedding of Maximina, the daughter of Dio- cletianus, in Nico- media, her bride- groom being the em- peror Constantinus, the son of Constan- tius, the king of Rome ...	96,3 Ew ənd ayn awowrs linēr Ko- standianosi harsanis' aṛnelov nma kin zdowstrn Dio- kletianosi zMak <sup>c</sup> si- mianē.	And in those days occurred the wedding of Constantinus, who married Maximina, the daughter of Dioc- letianus.

It has for long been proposed, now, that this queen's name might be related with the Ossete noun *æxsin* meaning "lady"<sup>48</sup>, and it was V.I. Abaev who

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

assumed that this word might have become known and used as a female name in Armenia just when the Alan lady, Sat<sup>c</sup>enik, was married by Artasēs, taking into account that it regularly appears as an epithet of Satana in the Nartic tales<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup>enik and Ašxēn, was virtually the same. First, we have to state that in the one and only older source available that deals with Ašxēn, i.e. Agathangelos's History, there is no account whatsoever of her descent and the circumstances of her marriage with Trdat<sup>50</sup>, 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<sup>c</sup>enik, as A. and J.P. Mahé argued<sup>51</sup>. 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 trustworthy). If *Ašxēn* can be identified with Ossetic *æxsīnæ*, then, it is well possible that *Ašxadar* is related to *Æxsar(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 Wryzmæg and his twin brother Xæmȳc, and the forefather of the *Æxsærtægkaty*

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

<sup>50</sup> Ašxēn is first mentioned as Trdat's wife by Agat<sup>c</sup>angelos in § 765 of his *Patmowt'iwn Hayoc*<sup>c</sup> (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 'Ασιχίνη, 'Ασιχινά, and 'Ασιγίνην (cf. GARITTE 1946: 205 and 1965: 279 with n. 1) and the Arabic variants *asšīnīn* ('sšyn), *asšīnā* ('sšyn') and *asšīn* ('sšyn) 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. ŠANIŠE (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" (< *\*tagabrθria-*, cp. *tagawor* "king" < *\*tagaboro-*).

<sup>51</sup> MAHÉ (1993: 380; II, 83 n. 1).

family<sup>52</sup>. And it is hardly accidental in this context that Æxsærtæg's wife, Dzerassæ, is also the mother of Satana, who is born to her after Æxsærtæg has died and Dzerassæ has been adopted by her father-in-law, Wærxæg, which means that Satana, too, is a member of the Æxsærtægkatæ family<sup>53</sup>.

What, then, is the historical nucleus of the information about Sat<sup>c</sup>enik Movsēs Khorenatsi and later Armenian sources provide? Certainly not much more than the legendary tradition about a young Alan lady named Sat<sup>c</sup>enik and/or Ašxēn who was married, under unusual circumstances, to an Armenian king named Tiridates / Trdat. Under a second name, possibly used as an honorary title here, the latter became known as Artašēs. Whether this king was identical with Trdat the Great, with another Trdat of the 3rd century<sup>54</sup> or with the 1st century Tiridates of the Greek sources, must remain open. The fact that Sat<sup>c</sup>enik is chronologically aligned with the apostle Thaddeus in the Oskians' legend and the historiographical sources depending thereon, must not be taken as a decisive argument; for this can be seen in the common framework of the Thaddeus tradition spreading in Armenia at least from the 6th century on<sup>55</sup>. The Suk<sup>c</sup>iasians' legend seems to support the second solution by telling that Sat<sup>c</sup>enik and her husband lived "many years" before Xosrov the Great was killed by Anak (A.D. 287) and that Barak<sup>c</sup>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.

<sup>52</sup> 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, *Parežan* and *Bağatar*, who come to Tbilisi as refugees (Žamtaaqmcereli: QAUXČIŠVILI 1959: 251).

<sup>53</sup> 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 *Lalyxwæ* (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.).

<sup>54</sup> 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).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. AKINIAN / Tĕr-POŁOSEAN (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<sup>c</sup>awstos; for this question, cf. GARSOĬAN (1989: 16-22 and 244; III.i, n. 2).



There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the legendary tradition about Sat<sup>c</sup>enik preserved by Armenian historiography is related to the tradition about Satana we meet with in the Nartic tales. In the beginning of this article, we have already resumed the parallels brought about by G. Dumézil which strongly suggest a link of tradition. It may be sufficient to add just one more observation in this context. One of the most widespread Nartic episodes concerning Satana is the story about how her son, Soslan-Sozyryqo, was born. According to most variants of this story<sup>56</sup>, Satana is watched by a young shepherd when washing clothes on the river bank. The shepherd who stands on the other side of the river falls in love with her. As he cannot cross the river, he drops his semen on a rock near by. Satana realises this and returns to the place at the time of the completion of the term, and having the stone opened, she finds the child<sup>57</sup>. There is an astonishing coincidence indeed of this story with Movsēs Khorenatsi's report about the marriage of Sat<sup>c</sup>enik with Artašēs (cf. p. 3 above); for this couple, too, is separated by a river when Artašēs sees Sat<sup>c</sup>enik for the first time and falls in love with her. And in the same context, it may be interesting to note that Thomas Artsruni, in his brief account of Artašēs's reign, after mentioning the couple's marriage immediately continues with the king's return into the "rocky area" where he had been grown by his foster-father, Smbat, hidden from his persecutor, Erowand, and living as a shepherd (i.e., the place where he was to build Artašat later).

#### MX 37

162,14 Bayc<sup>c</sup> mi omn tlay, Artašēs anown, zor aṛeal stntowi nora' p<sup>c</sup>axeaw i kołmans Heray, i hovavans Małxazani, lowr aṛnelov dayeki nora Smbatay, ordwoy Biwratay Bagratownwoy, i Spergawaṛi, i šēn Smbatawani:

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

#### TA 7

51,9 Noyn žamayn aṛeal Smbatay zArtasēs gay anc<sup>c</sup>anē i vayr i leṛnēn, ew t<sup>c</sup>ap<sup>c</sup>aṛakan zvēms apastan arareal yankaṛkacagoyntelis darani i p<sup>c</sup>ok<sup>c</sup>r vimamējs i kar-kaṛs hovtajeṛs ...

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 ...

<sup>56</sup> 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 (Adyghe 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.

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



of Sper, in the village of  
Smbatawan.

Even though the shepherd who became Satana's lover bears no name reminding of *Artašēs* in any of the text variants<sup>58</sup>, and even though the story about *Artašēs* spending his youth as a shepherd<sup>59</sup> is clearly influenced by the legends about his quasi-namesake, *Artašīr*, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty<sup>60</sup>, the equivalences between the Armenian and the Nartic tradition can hardly be regarded as accidental.

The question whether or not the Armenian *Sat<sup>c</sup>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<sup>c</sup>enik* and *Sat<sup>c</sup>inik* and other variants<sup>61</sup>,

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<sup>58</sup> Among others, the following name forms are met with: Ossetic: *Telves* (Тельвесъ, in the 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 *Teuvž* [Kab.] and *Teu-což'* [Adyg.] listed in *Spravočnik* (1979: 295 and 301); *Sosæg-ældar* (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* (Шокъарə, Narty 1974, no. 2); Balqar: *Sozúk* (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.

<sup>59</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup> 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 [Asolik], 49,1-5).

<sup>61</sup> For the Oskians's legend, Abuladze's edition (1944) notes the following variants of the gen. *Sat<sup>c</sup>enikay*: 13,1: *Sat<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>ekay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>eni*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enikay*; 16,1: *Sat<sup>c</sup>inkay*, *zSat<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>inkann*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enay*, *zSat<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>inekay*; 16,15: *Sat<sup>c</sup>inkay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>inkan*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enekay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>inekay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enikay*; for the Suk<sup>c</sup>iasians' legend: 23,30: *San<sup>c</sup>ika*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enay*, *San<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enika*; 24,10: *Sat<sup>c</sup>inekay*, *San<sup>c</sup>inkay*, *San<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>enika*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>inkay*. In the editions in Sop<sup>c</sup>erk<sup>c</sup> *haykakank<sup>c</sup>*, the three forms *Sat<sup>c</sup>enikay*, *Sat<sup>c</sup>inkay*, and *Sat<sup>c</sup>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.

the former presupposing an older *\*sa<sup>c</sup>ean-*, the latter, *\*sa<sup>c</sup>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*<sup>62</sup> which 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)<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless, an Iranian etymology that joins all the existing variants remains possible. A clue to this may be the variant form *Sart<sup>c</sup>enik* 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 Golt’n”:

MX 1,29

84,12 Ayl ew ten <sup>c</sup> ay, asen, Sa(r)t <sup>c</sup> enik tiki ten <sup>c</sup> ans <sup>c</sup> zartaxowr xawart ew ztic <sup>c</sup> xawarci i barjic <sup>n</sup> Argawanay:	And also: “Sa(r)t <sup>c</sup> enik,” they say, “has a strong desire for the herb <i>artaxowr</i> and for the plant <i>tic<sup>c</sup></i> on the dinner table of Argawan.”
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It is clear that *Sart<sup>c</sup>enik* in the given passage represents a *lectio difficilior* as against the variants *Sa<sup>c</sup>enik* and *Sa<sup>c</sup>inik*<sup>64</sup> which are the “usual” forms occurring elsewhere. Together with the Circassian form *Sərtənay* (Сэртэнай) which we find in a Shapsugh tale about the birth of Sausirīqo<sup>65</sup>, it strongly reminds us of the Scythian name *Ξαρθανος* appearing in an inscription of

<sup>62</sup> 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* (Щаеј), Adyg. *Šawaj* (Шъауай) (≈ Ossetic *Sæwwaj*, e.g. Narty 1975, 222,24), but also in the female name Kab. *Gwaš’ənej* (Гуашцэней), Adyg. *goš’əwnaj* (Гошцэунай). The latter name clearly contains the common noun kab. *gwaš’ə* (гуашцэ), Adyg. *gwaš’ə/goš’ə* (гуашцэ / гошцэ) 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.).

<sup>63</sup> ABAEV (1935 / 1990: 247).

<sup>64</sup> Thus according to the data collected by АЧАРЯН (1948: 342).

<sup>65</sup> Nartxer 1969, no. 107: 46 with the forms Сэртэнай, Сэртэнаем (erg.) and Сэртэнаер (abs.).

Tanais<sup>66</sup> which has for long been deduced from the Iranian word *\*xšaθra-* “reign”.<sup>67</sup> If *Ξαρθαυος* 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.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> The Circassian (Šapsugh) variant *Særtəney* would in this case reflect an older stage in which the internal cluster (*-rt-*) was still preserved in its “Alanic” shape<sup>70</sup> – and the Megrelian family name *Sartania* might be another residue of this<sup>71</sup>.

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 restitu-

<sup>66</sup> LATYŠEV (1890: 454, 11.).

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

<sup>68</sup> Cf. ABAEV (1958-89: IV, 239).

<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup> 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 *Sərtəney* while text no. 107 has both *nart* and *Sərtəney*. For the time being, we cannot exclude the alternative possibility that *-r-* was introduced secondarily in the Šapsugh name form.

<sup>71</sup> 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’it’nh*, Satan, is also grammatically feminine (HENNING 1944: 138 and 141 with n. 7; SKJÆRVØ 1994: 242). Ossetic *saytan* (цайтан: Iosif 1884: 475 s.v. [Russ.] сатана) “devil” reflects the Islamic word, Arab. *šaytān*, instead.

tion of a former *-a-* lost through syncope in Medieval times<sup>72</sup>, we would have to assume a variant suffix; in this case, a preform *\*\*xšaθriān-* 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<sup>e</sup>enik* 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*.<sup>73</sup> 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*<sup>74</sup>, is the regular outcome of an older *\*-ān-*, *Satana*, *< \*xšartiānā-*, and *Sat<sup>e</sup>enik*, *< \*xšartiān-*, reveal themselves as equivalent formations, denoting the heroine as a descendent of the *Æxsærtægkatæ* family.

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. GIPPERT (1993: 32, 149 and 347) for a discussion of possible Georgian witnesses of an early date of this syncope.

<sup>73</sup> The expected formation is provided by the Georgian chronicle, in the form *Bivritian-i*, cp. p. 8 above. Movsēs Khorenatsi has only the gen. attribute, *Smbat Biwratay*.

<sup>74</sup> Cf., e.g., MORRISON (1951: 77) or GAGKAEV (1964: 70) with the examples *Dzagur-on* / *Dzagwyr-on* (Дзагур-он, cp. the family name *Dzagurtae* / *Dzagwyr-tae* Дзагур-тæ), *Tusk-hauon* (vs. *Tuskhatae*), and *Salam-on* (Салам-он, vs. *Salam-tae* Салам-тæ). For the underlying personal names (*Dzagur* / *Salam*), cf. FRITZ (1983: 75 and 185).

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