Nartica I: The historical Satana revisited

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Within the huge scholarly oeuvre of Vasili Ivanovič Abaev, investigations into the tradition and the interpretation of the Ossetian Nartic tales, have always played an outstanding role. Continuing the work of Vsevolod Miller who had laid the foundation of scientific Nartology in the eighties of the 19th century with his "Ossetic Studies"\(^1\), Abaev's contribution has consisted not only in the edition of unpublished texts\(^2\) but also in countless books and articles concerning folkloristic, ethnological, or linguistic aspects of the great Caucasian epic\(^3\). The Nartic epic\(^4\), 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\(^5\), the task of unveiling the historical reality concealed in the mythological or folkloristic contexts of the epic is all the more important. And indeed, it has become widely accepted that many traits of the social life as represented in the Nartic tales find their counterparts in Herodotus' reports about the Scythians (IV, 64 ff.)\(^6\), thus suggesting an unbroken tradition which links the modern Ossetes (and their neighbours) with antiquity. Today, there is hardly any doubt that the Ossetes represent the last remnant of the Iranian-speaking tribes who occupied the South Russian steppes in older times and who were referred to by contemporary writers under the names of Scythians, Sarmatians, and, in medieval times, Alans. Beyond that, several attempts have been made to identify Nartic figures directly with persons that are known from independent historiographical sources. The first identification of this kind was suggested as early as 1883 when D. Lavrov\(^7\) pointed out the similarity of the names of Satana, the central heroine of the Nartic epic, and of Šaťeník\(^8\), an Alan princess, wife of a second century Armenian king named Artašēs, who is given a considerable account of in the Patmowt'iwn Hayoc\(^9\) of the Armenian historiographer Movsēs Khorenatsi. The passage in question (book 2, ch. 50\(^9\)) which deals with an invasion of Armenia

\(^1\) Miller (1881-7).
\(^2\) E.g., Abaev (1939).
\(^3\) Cf., among others, Abaev (1949) and (1958-89); for his selected writings, cf. Abaev (1990).
\(^4\) For a concise summary of the Nartic tradition as spread among the Caucasian people cf. Gippert (1999).
\(^5\) For the Ossetes, the medieval inscription from the river Zelenčuk may be claimed to be the oldest extant written document of their language (cf. Zgusta 1987).
\(^6\) Cf. the detailed study by G. Dumézil (1930: 151 ff.).
\(^7\) Lavrov (1883: 189).
\(^8\) For the variant forms of the name cf. below.
\(^9\) Hereafter, Movsēs Khornatsi’s History is quoted (as "MX") according to the edition Movsēsi
by joint Alan and Georgian forces and their defeat by Artašēs’s foster-father, Smbat son of Biwrat, was soon after this studied in great detail by Vs. Miller\textsuperscript{10} who regarded it as a proof of the Alans being ancestors of the Ossetes\textsuperscript{11}; in his argumentation, however, the personal names in question played no role yet. It was the French scholar G. Dumézil, then, who in 1929\textsuperscript{12} examined Movsēs Khorenatsi’s testimony with respect to an identification of the historical Saṭ’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 Saṭ’enik according to Armenian tradition), there are some common traits indeed in the depiction of Satana in the epic and of Saṭ’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 Saṭ’enik’s meeting Artašēs is a plea for her (unnamed) brother who was captured by the Armenians; Satana, in the Nartic epic, even marries her own brother, Wyryzmæg, after deceiving his legal wife, Elda\textsuperscript{13}. Another common sujet is the two ladies being victims of rapt: According to Khorenatsi who quotes "singing storytellers" (\textit{vipasank’ yergeln iwreanc‘}) for this "fabulous" (\textit{aŋspelabanelov}) information, Saṭ’enik was caught by Artašēs riding on his horse and hurling a "rope made from leather, with golden rings" around her waist; the Nartic Satana is also rapted, by Pšy-Badinoko (in a Circassian variant) or by Wyryzmæg, with horse-back riding and a "magical whip" appearing as accessories. Khorenatsi, in another context (1,30) and again referring to "sung" tradition (\textit{ergk‘}), connects Saṭ’enik with one Argawan, a member of the descendants of Aždaḥak, the "brood of dragons" (\textit{višapazownk‘}), who provides a deceitful (\textit{xardawanak}) feast for Artašēs; the tradition is resumed in 2,52 where the adversary of Artašēs, named Argam now, is offended by Artašēs’s sons who realize the betrayal (\textit{dawel}) going on. With this, Dumézil compares Nartic tales about Satana’s adulterous liaison with Safa, the son of Vulcanus, and about a feast which the Narts provide for Wyryzmæg to kill him, with the latter being saved, on Satana’s command, by his nephew, Batradz\textsuperscript{14}.

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\textsuperscript{10} Miller (1881-7: III, 25 ff.).
\textsuperscript{11} For the evidence brought about by a comparison of the Georgian chronicle, cf. p. 8 below.
\textsuperscript{12} Dumézil (1929: 41-53); reprinted in Dumézil (1930: 167-178).
\textsuperscript{14} Thus according to an Ossete tale published in 1925 (in: Pamjatniki narodnogo tvorčestva Osetin
Dumézil was certainly right, then, in assuming that the similarities sketched above can be taken as indications of legends about Satana having developed among Alans who were associated with Armenians, as early as the early centuries of our era — rather than a real historical person manifesting herself in them. This is all the more true since Movsês Khorenatsi himself had to confess that most of the information about the deeds of Artašês (and, consequently, of Sat’enik) he could use, depended on bardic tradition and was thus hardly reliable, and he regarded it as his task to "turn allegory into truth" (zaylabanow-țwmn șmartesc'owk') in this respect (2,49). But it is also true that Dumézil’s comparison was mostly based just on those elements that Khorenatsi declared as "fables", not on the ones he recognized as being historically "true" (and V.I. Abaev was certainly right in stating that the parallels thus brought about are not equally convincing). What is more, it seems to have escaped Nartologists’ notice so far that Movsês Khorenatsi is not the only source available to us with respect to the Alan princess, Sat’enik, so that a reconsideration of the identification and its historical background seems worth while being undertaken.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MX 2,50</th>
<th>UU 1,42</th>
<th>MD 8</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>177,13</td>
<td>58,6</td>
<td>20,4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zaysow żamanakaw miabaneal Alank’ leñnakanôk’n amenayniw, yin-k’eans arkanelov ew zkês Vrac’ ašxar-</td>
<td>Zaynow żamanaks lini paterazm Artašisi ond ark’ayin Alanac’ leñnakanôk’n amene-</td>
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1, Vladikavaz, 72-74; a similar story is contained in Narty (1975, 197-201). According to a Qarachay variant, Uryzmek is saved by Sosruko instead (Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen Kavkaza 1/2, 1881, 38-42).

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


17 History of the Armenians, book 1, ch. 42, p. 56 f. of the edition Owxtanês Episkopos, Patmów’t’wn Hayoc’ı, Hatowac afajin, Vałaršapat 1871 ("UU").

hin’ mecaw amboxiw taraceal ənd aš-xarhs mer:

177,15 Žolovē ew Artašēs ziwroc’ zō-rač’n bazmowt’iwn, ew lini paterazm i mēj erkoc’ownc’ azgac’n k’ajac’ ew alehnaworač’:
177,17 Sakaw inč’ teļi tay azgn Alanac’, ew gnac’eal anc’anē ənd getn mec Kowr, ew banaki ər ezerb getoyn i Hwi-sisoy.
177,19 ew haseal Artašēs banaki i Harawoy, ew getn ənd mēj noc’a:
177,20 Bayc’ k’anzi zordi Alanac’ ard’yan jerbakal arareal zōrač’n Hayoc’ acen ər Artašēs’ zxałalowt’iwn xndrēr ark’ayn Alanac’, tal Artašisi zinč’ ew xndresč’ē. 178,1 ew erdowms ew dašins asēr hastatel mštjnjanawors, orpēs zī mi ews man-kownk’ Alanac’ aspatakaw hinič’ el’c’en yašxarhs Hayoc’;
178,3 EW i čaŋnowl yanjn Artašisi ər i tal zpatanin’ gay k’oyr patanwoyn yap’n getoyn i darawand mi mec, ew i jern t’argmanac’ jaynē i banakn Artašisi. ...
178,12 ew teseal zkoysn gelec’ik, ew loweal i nmanē bans imastowt’ean’ c’ankac’aw kowsin: Ew koč’ec’eal zda-yeakn iwr zSmbat’ yaytnē nna zkams srti iwroy, aŋnowl zoriordn Alanac’ i knowt’iwn iwr, ew dašins ew owxts hastatel ənd azgi k’ajac’n, ew zpatanin arjakel i xalałowt’iwn:
178,16 Ew hačoy t’owec’al Smbatay, ylē ər ark’ayn Alanac’ tal ztikin əriordn Alanac’ zSat’ińik i knowt’iwn Artašisi: ...
179,6 K’anzi patoweal ər Alans mort’ karmir’ layk’ā šat ew oski bazowm toweal i varjans’ aŋnow ztikin əriordn Sa’t’enik: ...
179,15 Sa ærajın eleal i kananc’n Artašisi’ cnani nna zArtauwazd ew zayls bazowms, zors oč’ karowr hamarec’ak’ ayţm anowamb t’owel.
58,7 ew hnazandec‘owc’al zna, aŋnow iwr kin zSat’enik dorstr ark’ayin.
20,11 Vasn aysorik zoriordn Sa’t’ineak aŋnow ikin Artašēs ew dañhay’ xalałowt’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.

58,6 At those times, a war arose between Artašēs 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 Artašēs, 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 Artašēs.

177,15 Artašēs, 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 Artašēs, 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 Artašēs, the king of the Alans asked for peace, (promising) to give Artašēs 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 Artašēs himself did not agree to render the boy, the boy’s sister came forward to the river bank, on a high hillock, and with the help of an interpreter, she shouted towards the camp of Artašēs: ...

178,12 And when (Artašēs) saw the beautiful maiden and heard the reasonable words she (spoke), he fell in love with the maiden. And he called upon his foster-father, Smbat, and he disclosed him the desire of his heart to marry the maiden of the Alans, to take oaths and make treaties with (this) heroic tribe, and to render the boy in peace.
178,16 And Smbat, to whom this appeared agreeable, sent out (a message) to the king of the Alans, (stating) that he should give Artašēs the maiden of the Alans, Sat’enik, 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’enik. ...

179,15 She (Sat’enik), 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’-enik, the king’s daughter. 20,11 Because of this, Artašēs marries the maiden Sat’ineak and returned (home) after having made peace.

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

Another treatment of the marriage of Artašēs and Saťenik that is likely to rely upon Khorenatsi’s, is contained in the poetic account of Armenian history by Nersēs Šnorhali 21 who compiled the information into six verses:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ew \ z\text{Alanac}’ \ zōr\text{san hareal}, & \quad \text{And (he, Artašēs) defeated the troops of the Alans,} \\
Zark’ayordin jerbakaleal. & \quad \text{and captured the son of (their) king.} \\
Zē’k’nalagelon koys afeal & \quad \text{Having acquired the beautiful maiden,} \\
∃Sat’enikan dić’azneal. & \quad \text{the divine Sat’enik,} \\
∃zhharazatn iwv arjakeal, & \quad \text{he set free her own (brother),} \\
Ew ankapowt owxt hastateal: & \quad \text{and swore an unbreakable oath.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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19 Cf. p. 58 of the edition named above.
20 Book 1, ch. 8, p. 19 of the named edition. As to the epithet k’erī olahayrν which DOWSETT (l.c.) translates as "father of literature", cf. SMBATJĀN (1984: 181 f. n. 33).
21 "Šaradrowt iwn homerakan vipasanow’tamb saks haykazac’n seri ew Aršakowneac’n zarms i skzbac’ min’ew i vaxžan afašac’el Nerses elbōr k’ařolikosi Hayoc’" ("Written account, in Homeric poetic style, about the race of the Armenians and the stock of the Aršacids, from the beginning to the end, told by Nerses, the brother, Catholicos of the Armenians"), p. 555 f. of the edition Tn. Nersesi Šnorhalwoy Hayoc’ k’ařolikosi Bank’ ē’apaw, Venetik ²1928 ("NŠ").
occupy the throne left by his dead father (1, 52). This episode, too, is recapitu-
lated with no further additions by Movses Dasxowlanc'i (1, 8); cf. the synopti-
cal arrangement provided below.

182,1 1 Zi yet ayn-
č'ap' arowt'eanč'ı-
őgnakan elbörn
Sat'ınkan yaxšarhin
Alanac’handerj
zöröw ert'ay hrama-
nav Artašisi:

182,3 K'anzi meřaw
hayr Sat'ınkan, ew
ayl omm bınac'eal
t'agaworeac’ ašxar-
hin Alanac’, ew
halačer zelbayrn
Sat'ınkan.

182,4 zor vaneal
herkę Smbat, ew
tirac’owl'ain i veray
azgin zelbayrn Sa-
t'ınkan, ew zerkir
hakařakordac’n awe-
rę:

182,6 zamenañy
miahamowři acè geri
sastik yArtašat:

182,7 Ew hramayeal
Artašisi bnakec’owl-
c'anel znosa i hara-
woy yarewelic’ kow-
sē Maseac’, or ko-
c'èr Šawaršakan ga-
wař, i veray pahelov
zbnik anownn Artaz.

182,9 K'anzi ew
ašxarhı owstı gere-
c'ann’ Artaz koč’i
minč'ew c’aysör
žamanaki:

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

KC 1

45,5 mašin mokla Sumbat Bivrițiani
man Iarvand, mepe somekta, da dasva
meped ʒma Iarvandis, romelsa eço-
debo da saxelad Artašan.

45,7 mašin amat mepeta Kartlisata
Azor da Armazel mouções ovsta da
lekt, da gdamoiqvanannes ovsta
mepeni ʒmani orni goliati, saxelit
Bazuk da Abazuk, špita Ovsetisata.
da mat gdamoițianes tana pačan/ık-
ni da ʒikni. da gdamomvida mepe
lekt da gdamoițanna dürțkvni da
didoni. da amat mepeta Kartlisata
șemokrînnes spâni twsni da šekrba
eše ʒoveli simrarve uricxw.

45,12 da simarjwt parulad šekrbes,
vidre šekrbebodes spâni somextani.
da șevides eseni Somkîts da ugryneu-
lad șarçoțquinnes / Širakuanî da
Vanandi Bagrewanamde da Basian-
mde, da șeikces da șatquines Dașți
vidre Naxçeuanamde, da ąyigenès țque
da natqenuavi uricxw, da ąyigimes
șovlîta-ve xuștagita, da gamovles
gza Parisosisa.

45,17 mašin Sumbat Bivrițiani
mouçoda şpata Somxitisata, da šekr-
bes msçrapl somekni da devna uqves.
xolo ese șovelni țrdîni gansrl
ișvn Mțkuarsa da misrl ișvn
Kmbeçoans, da daebanakat Iorsa
zeda, da ganiqopdes țquesa da na-
tqenuava. ...

46,9 mašin Sumbat Bivrițiani
ganvlo Mțkuari. da Bazok ovsta

Then Sumbat, the descendant of Bivriț, killed Iarvand (Erowand), the king of the Armenians, and installed his brother, who was called by the name Artašan.

At that time, the kings of Kartli (Georgia), Azor and Armazel, summoned the Ossetes and the Leks (Laks / Lezgians), and the kings of the Ossetes, two giant brothers by the names of Bazuķ and Abazuķ, came together with the army of Ossetia. And they brought with them the Pačaniqs (Pechenegs) and the Žîks (Dagestanians). And the king of the Leks came and brought with (him) the Durţuks (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 Naxçewan, 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, Sumbat Bivrițiani summoned the troops of Armenia, and the Armenians gathered rapidly and persecuted them. But the Northern (people) had transgressed the (river) Mțkuari (Kur) and had reached Kmbeçoani, and they had camped on the (river) Iori, and they were sharing the prisoner(s) and the booty.

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

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

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

A few pages later, Leonti Mroveli’s account agrees to a higher extent with that of 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:

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KC 1
48,20 ... rametu spani somextani qovelni da ornı ʒenı mepisani da Sumbat iqıvnes brjol-lad sparsta, da vitar ganamravles kartvelta da ovsta vneba somexta, ... because all the troops of the Armenians and two sons of the king and Sumbat were fighting against the Persians. And when the Georgians and the Ossetes increased the pressure on the Armenians, 183,2 Bažanē Ar-tašes ew zišxanow-t’iwn zörwn and č’ors. zarewelean zörn t’olow i veray Artawazday, ew zarewmtaann tay Ti-ranay, zHarawayinn i Smbat hawattay Artašēs divided the rule over the troops by four as well. He left the Eastern army to Artawazd and gave the Western one to Tiran; the Southern one he entrusted to Smbat, and the Northern one to Zareh. And Zareh was a man (who was) proud and passionate in deer hunting, but a coward and unfit for the war.
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But the Georgians and the Ossetes gathered and moved to the country of ʒavaxeti. And the Georgians and Ossetes drew up, triumphed and put Zaren, the son of the king of the Armenians, to flight, and they destroyed all his army and persevered to capture him. Then Artašan the king gathered the troops which had remained in (his country), and he gave them to his son Zaren, and he sent him against the Georgians.

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MX 2,53
183,23 ew zhiwsi-sayinn i Zareh: Ew Zareh ər ayr sέg ew yors ərəc’ nahaťak, isk aŕ pateraz-mownes vat ew taltowk.
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A certain K’arjam, king of the Georgians, who had experienced this (before), incited the country to rebellion, arrested Zareh and imprisoned him in the Caucasus.
cuted him down to the border of Armenia; they reached Zaren, the king’s son, and they captured him on the bank of the lake which is called Celi, and carried him back. And the Ossetes wanted to kill Zaren (in revenge) of the bloodshed of their kings, but the Georgians kept him alive, caring for their borders, and they imprisoned him in the stronghold of Darialan. The Armenians could not search for him because they were busy with the Persians.

Then, in the third year (after this), Smbat B. and the two sons of the king, Artašes 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 Trialeti. And they exchanged messengers and made peace; (and) the Georgians rendered 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, Movses Khorenatsi’s treatise. The disaccount of Artašes’s wife, Saćenik, in the

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


26 ABULADZE (1944: 10) notes the variae lectiones K’riwiśi, K’rōwsi, H’rōwsi; in the Georgian version, the saint is called Krivsi.


28 This is confirmed by the Georgian version of the Suk’iasians’ legend which explains: Oske, romeli itargmanebis kartvelta enita okro "(their leader was St.) Oski, which is translated in the Georgian language as 'gold'."
taught and baptised some of the Alans (who were) related to Saťeník, the queen, who was the wife of Artašēs:

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

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

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

And the relatives of Sat’enik who had been baptised in Christ, rather embarrassed by the death of the saints, departed, went away and secretly reunited on mount Đrabašx, being content with eating like wild sheep under the auspices of

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

And the nobles who had come from the gate of the Alans to Armenia together with queen the death of the saints, and secretly reunited with queen on mount Đrabašx, (and) became grass-
`i ˇJrabašxn lerin xotabowt ˇcarakökˇ šatac`eal:

37,4 Ew vasn zi yet amacˇ bazmacˇ spanaw ark`ayn Hayocˇ Xosrov y`Anakay ew anıšxanac`aw erkirs Hayocˇ,

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

34,4 yams Šaphoy t`аговорин: Ew k`анзи erkirn Hayocˇ yet amacˇ awereal linër, zi t`аговор oćˇ ownën. k`анзи spaneal ěr zArtawan ordi Va`laršow, ew zXosrov t`аговорн Hayocˇ t`аговорин Parsiˇc`, ew ´i naxanj mteal hayreni vriˇżoweˇn, kamër korowsanel zaˇsxarhn Hayocˇ.

37,6 apa Ba`rlah omn ekeal yAlanacˇ dranrq ew ´i xndir eleal grov vKayicˇn ew gteal znosa ´i ˇJrabašxn kočˇecˇeal lerin, ew harcˇ ew p`orj arereal znosa vasn arˇ ´i Kˇristos hawatocˇn´ sowr ´i veray edeal kotorë:

a certain Ba`rlah came from the gate of the Alans, and he started a written inquiry about the martyrs, and he found them in the mountain called ˇJrabašx; and after cross-examining them about (their) faith in Christ he killed them with the sword.

39,14 Ew ekeal zőrown Parsiˇc` yerkin Hayocˇ, ew haseal ´i leaˇrn Sowkawˇet, owr ěr bnakowt`iwn era-neleacˇn ... Sksaw xöseˇl zóraˇvarn orown anown ěr Ba`rlaha ... 51,4 ew dimecˇin ´i mah bńaworin, orocˇ sowr ´i veray edeal koterıcˇin.

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

It is clear that the data given by Yovhannës and the two legends raise serious doubts as to the chronology involved. If Saint Xrhöseıcˇ / Oski was a pupil of Thaddeus, he might well have taught during the presumptive reign of Artašës and his wife, Sa´enik, at the end of the 1st century A.D.; but how, then, might his own pupils, the Suk`iasians, have lived up to the time after Xosrov was killed by the Persians, i.e., the late 3rd century? This may be the reason why Xosrov is not mentioned at all in a later account of the saints’ lives, viz. Uxtnës’s, albeit this agrees to a large extent with the introductory chapter of the legend of St. Suk`ias:
In those times when St. Suk'ias and his (companions) came with Sat'enik
(and) listened to the Word of Life (taught) by the St. Oskeans
who had been pupils of the holy apostle, Thaddeus,
and who had been baptised by him and listened to the Word of Life,
they preached themselves before the king and Sat'enik, who were converted and were baptised by them;
and coming to Mt. Sowkawet’, they settled there for 44 years.
And they came and settled on Mt. Sowkawet’, which was named Sowkaw after their leader, Sowk’ias, in the district of Bagrewand, facing the village of Bagowan, opposite Mt. Npat.

The nobles who had come from the gate of the Alans to Armenia together with queen Sat'enik
and who had been taught by the holy men (who were) pupils of the holy apostle, Thaddeus, who were hermits near the sources of the Euphrat, (and) whose leader was St. Oski,
who, enlightened by the Word of Life, believed in Christ, and (who had been) baptised, increased more and more every day in (their) faith.
kowns Ep’ratay, ‘i xařnowac amongst joroy owremn or skizbn ařeal įjanen or koč’i Calkē, xoroy anown ew šenk’n koč’in minčew c’aysör Otn Calkoy: Euphrat, near a whirlpool of water(s) which flow down, springing from (a mountain) called Calkē, by whose name the villages (there) are still called Calkoy: Otn Calkoy today.

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

TA 1.8
54,9 Isk srboć’or i Sowkawēt lerinn, k’anzi įin ham- ašxarhk’ew havatarimk’ Sat’inkay ekeal zknı nor
And the saints who (resided) on Mt. Sowkawēt, being com- patriots and loyals of Sat’ink who had come together with her,

TA 1.8
54,11 ylen zomn i ėgnaworac’or ař tikinn, zkřoc’n yandimanelov zsnoti ew zanogowt paš- tôn, sent out one of the hermits to the queen, to blame the service of the idols as being vain and useless,

YD 7.5
36,23 Isk azgakank’n Sat’enkay, orč ‘i Krıstos mkrtč’an’ .. hatowacealk’ gnač’in ‘i bac’ erľeal zödeal tăgoweč’el ‘i Ģrabašx lerin .. And the relatives of Sat’enic who had been baptised in Christ, ... departed, went away and secretly reunited on mount Ģrabašx ..

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, Κ’riwos = Xṛōsēoζ is mentioned by Thomas in this context:

TA 1.8
54,12 orpēs ew as well as K’riwos

LO
60,8 Sok’a matowc’el ař ark’ayn Artašēs, canowc’a- nēın nma vns K’ristosi astowacow- t’eann’ zkřoc’n yandimanelov ztkarow- t’iwn .. They approached the king, Artašēs, and informed him about Christ being God, blaming the idols of being powerless ..

29 T’ovmay Artsrunwoy Patwnowt’iwn, Peterburg 1887.
sowrbn Kříwos ař (was sent) to Artašės.

Artašės:

54,14 Isk Sat’nik, who had listened to the advise of the saints, did not overtly renounce the idolatry of the statue named Venus, for she was in doubt about the king and (her) sons,

54,16 manawand zi ew t’agaworin nak axn ownɛr zaďaln i kroć’i i yerkr-pagowt’iwn K’ristosi čšmartin Astwo-coy.

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

60,21 And the holy men resumed their speech later again before the great queen, (her) sons being near who listened as well, and the relations of the great queen who had come with her from the (country of) the Alans

54,19 bayc’ t’e orpès elew katarowmn i bac’n mez č’e yayt.

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

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

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’iasians:

TA 1,8

54,19 bayc’ t’e orpès elew katarowmn i bac’n mez č’e yayt.

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

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

LOG

63,34 xolo ćmiday But St. Xrůšeů and his companions had not yet gone to the site. Just when they arrived there, they

LO

62,22 Isk sowrbn And Saint Xrůšeů came with his companions, and they had not yet reached the site, and just when
Thus it is well imaginable that the source Artsruni disposed of was similar to the one from which the Georgian legend was translated\textsuperscript{31}.

A second remarkable difference between Artsruni’s treatise and the other witnesses consists in the fact that the historiographer does not mention the Alan origin of Sat’enik and her compatriots anywhere. This is also true for the introduction of the present chapter which concerns the reign of Artašës and the foundation of the city of Artašat. Here, Artsruni’s account opposes itself to the brief summary of the king’s deeds provided by Movsës Khorenatsi in his history although this may well have served as his source\textsuperscript{32}:

\textsuperscript{31} Another interesting parallel between Thomas Artsruni’s history and the Georgian agiographical texts dealing with matters Armenian will be found in the identification of the Caspian town of P’aytakaran with Tbilisi, the Georgian capital (TA 3,9: 173, 26: \textit{hraman et hasanel i veray k’ala’k’ in Tp’lik ko’ec’egal, orowm ya’ra’jagayo P’aytakaran anowanëin “he gave order to come to the town named Tbilisi, which was formerly called P’aytakaran”). The same identification is found in the Georgian version of the legend of St. Aristakês, the successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator: \textit{romlisatwca movides misa sakmisa mpqrobeleni aghmosavalisani da čirdiloysa kërjoysa zedamdegmoni kalakisa P’aytakaranisa, romel ars Tpilisi “because of which came the representatives of the East and the Northern region (and) the supervisors of the town of P’aytakaran, which is Tbilisi” (ABULADZE 1944: 65,12; XAXANOV 1910: 58,25). The Armenian legend has only the first name: \textit{Vasn oroy ekeal gorca’k’ kolmanc’ arewelic ew hiwisosoy ew veraka’c’ok’ hefawor k’ala’k’ in, or ko’ci P’aytakaran “because of which came the representatives of the East and North and the supervisors of the distant town, which is called P’aytakaran” (ABULADZE 1944: 65,9). For the location of the town (and province), cf. HÜBSCHMANN (1904: 267 ff.) and HEWSEN (1992: 253 ff. n. 149A).

\textsuperscript{32} Khorenatsi’s information was obviously also used by Asolik (Step’anosi Tarōneć’woy [= “ST”] Asolkan Patmowt’iwn tizerakan, Peterburg 1885, p. 48,16: \textit{Ew er’ec’ ewartisii i teli mi, owr xa’fnin Erasx ew Mecamhör, ew ha’ceal end bowrn’ šinë k’ala’k’ ew yiwir anown anowanë Artasht). And Uxtanës who even mentions Movsës’s name (1,42, p. 58,8: \textit{ew dai’nay ew šinë z’k’ala’k’ in, ew anowanë yiwir anown’ Artasht. ew or ayl ew gorc’k’ i nmanë patmi i Movsišë.)
end zarms Aždahakay

... affection, as it were, for the fabulous progeny of the dragon, that is, for the offspring of Aždahak ...

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

52,19 yišē znžde-
hanal i wnr i vimamejšn zor
veragoyn gre-
c‘ak‘. gay darjeal
i telin zbōsnowl i
nma

52,20 ew hačoy
t’oweal yač‘s
nora‘ šinē zk’ar-
blown aparans ...

and after being pleas-
ed with the sight, he
built a palast (on) the
rocky hill ...

176,17 Ert’eal Artašisi
i telin, owr xařnīn
Erasx ew Mecamôr,

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

We cannot decide whether Artsruni’s neglect of the Alans was intentional or whether it was due to some uncertainty as to the reliability of his sources which might well have arisen from the fact that within Armenian tradition, the Alans could easily be confused with the Albanians (we have noted the effect of this in connection with Movsês 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 Šačenik and her compatriots33:

LOG

63,7 xolo ąkacı
igious amis
šemdgomad etjo-
des dedopalsa
mas da žeta mis-
ta, romelca ismi-
nes ese maxlobel-
ta dedoplisata, ro-
melni mosrul
iğynes mis tana
Heretit ...

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

60,21 Isk źk‘n
sowrbk‘ znoyn bans
yet nora xōśēn and
meci t‘agowhwoyn
merj linelov ew ord-
woč‘n. zor loweal zays
ew merjaworac meci
tiknoj‘n, ork‘ zkni nora
eleal ēin yAlanac‘ ...

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

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

33 According to ABULADZE’S edition (1944: 12), the Armenian manuscripts have both the forms Alan and Alan in the given passage, the latter being closer to alowank‘.
the Suk'iasians:34

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

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

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

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

We may conclude, then, that the "non-Alan" elements appearing in the tradition about the Suk'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' legend contains a full account of the Suk'iasians, too, we cannot help thinking that all these elements are secondary and historically unfounded.

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

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

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

35 The following list is taken from Abuladze’s edition, 56, n. 5: Barak'at'ray DT, Barak'at' EJK, Barowk'at' OP, Barahat'a U, Barahatr'ay MX, Bahadras RS.
sider the form ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ which is met with in the Zelenčuk inscription\textsuperscript{37}, there is hardly any room for doubt that we have an Ossete etymon here, which V.I. Abaev\textsuperscript{38} identified with the word meaning "brave, rich", appearing as bægaty and qaebaty in Iron and bægataër in the Digor dialect. And the further identification with the name of Batradz, one of the male heroes of the Nartic epic, is well-founded as well.

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

MX 3,9

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267,1 ew zōraglowx And the commander 154,5 da meoresa And the next day, nizakaworač’ leal of the lancers was a dğesa sxua gamo-anari omn hskay va-real ...

267,7 Ögnea inj, "Help me, God, who directed David’s sling ... rametu iqo siguçe for the size of his

\textsuperscript{37} Cf. n. 5 above. Another occurrence of the name ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡ written in Greek letters can possibly be found on the sinister side of an inscribed funeral stele discovered by J.A. Güldenstädt near the Çegem river in Kabardia; cf. the draft published in his "Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasi-schen 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 "TOU ANAKAMQ DXND (1654)" by Güldenstädt (p. XXIII; recte "AXND (1654)"; read "ΠΑΧΑΤΑΡΟΥ" instead of "ΠΑΧΑΤΑΡΟΥ"). Güldenstädt’s draft is reproduced as Fig. 1 here.

\textsuperscript{38} ABAEV (1949: 85) and (1958-89: I, 243 f).
t’ean parsak’arn dipet-c’owc’er čakatow xroxtac’eloyn Golia-t’ow ...

mšwldisa misisa tor-meti mtkaveli da isari misi ekusi mtkaveli.

In both cases, the duel involves horse-riding, and in both cases, the giant is thrown off his horse when defeated.

In those days, the inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus united, and knowing the tender-heartedness and inadvertedness of Sanatruk and being instigated by his requests, on a secret order of Šapowh, the king of the Persians, they invaded our country ...

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

The commander said: You seem to be a man, experienced in war. The blessed man said: I was a lancer of king Šapowh.

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

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

At that time, Sanēsan, the king of the Massagetes, developed an unappeasable hatered against his own kinsman, Xosrov, the king of the Armenians. And he gathered and assembled all the troops of the Huns and the P’oxk’ ... Then Vâč’ē, the son of Artawazd, from the Mamikonean (House), came (back) ... when he arrived, he found Sanēsan, the king of the Massagetes, together with his basic troops, an innumerable and countless army, in the town of Varâršapat. Drawing up his (own) troops, Vâč’ē 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 Štowni, and Vahan the patriarch of the Amatowni family, and Varaz Kaminakan seized, killed and slaughtered the forces of the Alans and the Massagetes and the Huns and the other tribes ...

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

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

And king Trdat descended with all Armenians into the plain of the Gargarians and confronted the Northeners with (his) line of battle. ... When the king of the Basilk saw this, he moved near the king, and from his horse equipment, he drew a rope made from tendons and wrapped up in sheepskin. And with power, he threw it around (Trdat), hitting him just from the left shoulder to the right armpit. ...

And as he could not shatter the giant (Trdat) with his hands, he embraced the neck of (his) horse. But faster than he could whip the horse along, the giant grasped the rope with his left hand, and tearing him near with all his might, he drew his two-edged (sword) and cut the man in two by him.

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

The Alan people, which is the Scythians living around the Tanaïs and the Maiotis, planning at that time to undertake a raid into Media and even further and committing the raids easily and without resistance, they came as far as Armenia, devastating everything.

Tiridates, who was the king of Armenia, opposed them, and delivering a battle, he had a very narrow escape from this contest.

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

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

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

This leads us back to Sat'ênik 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
179,2 "Hecaw ari ark'ayn Artašēs i seawn gelec'ik, ew haneal zoskēōl šika-p'o'k parann, ew anc'eal orpēs zarcowi sratew and getn, ew jgeal zoskēōl šika-p'o'k parann' Ėnkek' i mēj'k' ōriordin Alanac', ew ŕat c'awec'oyc' zmēj'k' p'a-p'owk ōriordin, arag hasowc'ānelov i banakn iwr": 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.

Nevertheless it must be stated that the episode of Artašēs and Sat'ênik would match well with Flavius Josephus's account of the Alan raid into Media and Armenia, as A. and J.P. Mahé pointed out who regarded this as the source used by Movsēs44. There is one more coincidence that might be mentioned in support of this assumption here. According to Khorenatsi, Artašēs had to pay a high prize for the daughter of the Alan king he intended to marry:

MX 2,50
178,18 Ew asē ark'ayn Alanac'. "Ew owsti tać'ē k'ājn Artašēs hazars i hazarać' ew biwrs i biwrowc' and k'ajazg-woy koys ōriordin Alanac'": ... As the red leather is well estimated with the Alans, (Artašēs) gave much leather and much gold as payment and (thus) received the maiden Sat'ênik as (his) wife.

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

FJ 7,7
247,1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς χώρας Πάκορος ὑπὸ δέος εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀναφεύγων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄπαντων παρακεχορή κει, μόλις δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐφρύσατο τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακᾶς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας ἐκατὸν δοῦς τάλαντα.

"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?" ... For the king of the land, Pakoros, fled frightened into inaccessible regions, concealing 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.

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

CD 63,7,2

οἱ μὲν δὴ Τιρι- And Tiridates who had built Artaşat .. .. šinē ka'ālak' yiwr founded a city (there), tā'zā'ata ʻānoi- anow anowaneal calling (it) by his name, xo'domē'as ... Artaşat: Artaşat.

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

MX 2,83

225,20 Ekeal Trdatay Trdat, having returned into (his home) country, sent out Smbat the Knight, the father of Bagarat, to bring him the maiden Ašxēn, the daughter of Ašxadar, into marriage. She was by no means of lesser size than the king.

226,3 Yormē elew She gave birth to Xosrov, who was not as tall as his parents.

226,4 ʻEnd noyn In the same days occurred the wedding of

95,22 Isk apa i galn And after Trdat entered Armenia, at the beginning of its reign, (and) in the third year of the reign of Diocletianus, the Roman emperor, he married Ašxēn, the daughter of Ašxindar.

226,4 96,3 Ew and ayn She gave birth to Xosrov, who was not as tall as they.

96,2 yormē cnaw And in those days occurred the wedding of

zXosrov' oč nman

96,3 Ew and ayn

awowrs linēr Ko-

45 Cf. TOUMANOFF (1969: 242) for the misuse of the name Artašēs in MX.

46 ch. 69, 15; cf. n. 43 above.

47 TA 1,8 (52,20); ST (Asolik) 48,16; UU 1,42 (58,8).
Maximina, the daughter of Diocletianus, who married Maximina, the daughter of Constantinus, who was V.I. Abaev who assumed that this word might have become known and used as a female name in Armenia just when the Alan lady, Sat'enik, was married by Artašēs, taking into account that it regularly appears as an epithet of Satana in the Nartic tales.

It has for long been proposed, now, that this queen’s name might be related with the Ossete noun æксин meaning "lady", and it was V.I. Abaev who assumed that this word might have become known and used as a female name in Armenia just when the Alan lady, Sat'enik, was married by Artašēs, taking into account that it regularly appears as an epithet of Satana in the Nartic tales.

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 æxsîn(a), and if we further consider the context Ašxēn is introduced in by Movsēs Khorenatsi, we may even proceed beyond mere etymology and presume that the information Movsēs digested when writing about the two queens, Sat'enik and Ašxēn, was virtually the same. First, we have to state that in the one and only older source available that deals with Ašxēn, i.e. Agathangelos’s History, there is no account whatsoever of her descent and the circumstances of her marriage with Trdat, so that this cannot be the basis of Movsēs’s report. Second, it is true that Movsēs and, accordingly, Uxtanēs do not assume Ašxēn to be an Alan and that this assumption, if appearing in later sources, may be due to a secondary confusion with Sat’enik, as A. and J.P. Mahé argued.

Movsēs and Uxtanēs do, however, name Ašxēn’s father, a certain Ašxadar (the variant form Ašxindar appearing in Uxtanēs’s text may be influenced by Ašxēn and is thus less trust-

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


50 Ašxēn is first mentioned as Trdat’s wife by Agaťangelos in § 765 of his Patmowt’iwn Hayoc (ed. THOMSON 1980: 397). It may be noted here that in the Georgian version of the metaphrastic vita of St. Gregory (MELIKSET-BEG 1920: 37,16; cf. also MOWRAYAN 1982: 202,11 and p. 142), Ašxēn’s name appears as Aḵxanavri, a form which is quite distinct from both the Greek variants Ἀτσᾶχνη, Ἀτσῖχνα, and Ἀσετίγίνη (cf. GARITTE 1946: 205 and 1965: 279 with n. 1) and the Arabic variants asšîn (ššyn), asšînă (ššyn) and asšîn (ššyn) appearing in the Arabic version of the legend (MARR 1904-5: 110,25; 124,18; 132,16; 128,23). Georgian Aḵxanavri bears a suffix which is typical for feminine names; cp. Perožavri ("Conversion of Kartli") and Latavri (Georgian chronicle). A. ŠANJZE (1968: 7 ff.) proposed to identify this suffix both by its function and by its etymology with -owhi appearing in, e.g., Tagranowhi (vs. Tigran, MX 1,25: 73,13) or tagowhi "queen" (< *tagabrōria-, cp. tagavor "king" < *tagaboro-).

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

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

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

53 It is true that there are several variant traditions about Satana’s birth in most of which Waştyrdžy, i.e. St. Georges, plays a certain role; cf. DUMÈZIL (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 Lalyxwa (Narty 1974: 41 / 189 and 350, II., n. 1). The new edition of Ossete Nartic tales (Narty 1990) contains two stories about Satana’s birth (nos. 8 and 9, p. 96 ff.). According to a Balqar text, Satana’s parents were the Sun and the Moon (Narty 1994: 71 / 306 and 616, 4.).

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

55 Cf. AKINIAN / TÈR-PÔLOSEAN (1970a: 1 ff.) and VAN ESBROECK (1972: 241 ff.) for detailed studies of this tradition. The question whether it was known in Armenia before the 6th century depends on the authenticity of the introductory chapter of the Epic histories by P’awstos; for this question, cf. GARSOIAN (1989: 16-22 and 244; III.i, n. 2).
There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the legendary tradition about Sat’čenik 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-Sozryyoq, was born. According to most variants of this story, Satana is watched by a young shepherd when washing clothes on the river bank. The shepherd who stands on the other side of the river falls in love with her. As he cannot cross the river, he drops his semen on a rock near by. Satana realises this and returns to the place at the time of the completion of the term, and having the stone opened, she finds the child. There is an astonishing coincidence indeed of this story with Movses Khorenatsi’s report about the marriage of Sat’čenik with Artašēs (cf. p. 3 above); for this couple, too, is separated by a river when Artašēs sees Sat’čenik for the first time and falls in love with her. And in the same context, it may be interesting to note that Thomas Artsruni, in his brief account of Artašēs’s reign, after mentioning the couple’s marriage immediately continues with the king’s return into the "rocky area" where he had been grown by his foster-father, Smbat, hidden from his persecutor, Erowand, and living as a shepherd (i.e., the place where he was to build Artašat later).

Even though the shepherd who became Satana’s lover bears no name reminding of Artašēs in any of the text variants, and even though the story about Arta-
šēs spending his youth as a shepherd\textsuperscript{59} is clearly influenced by the legends about his quasi-namesake, Artašir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty\textsuperscript{60}, the equivalences between the Armenian and the Nartic tradition can hardly be regarded as accidental.

The question whether or not the Armenian Sat\textsuperscript{c}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\textsuperscript{c}enik and Sat\textsuperscript{c}inik and other variants\textsuperscript{61}, the former presupposing an older *sat\textsuperscript{c}ean-, the latter, *sat\textsuperscript{c}en-. Within the Nartic tales, there is much less variation: the Ossetic name is always Satana, for Chechen, only (Sel\textsuperscript{i}-)Sata is known, the usual Balqar form is Satanay, and the regular name of the Circassian epic is Sat\textsuperscript{e}ney. These forms can easily be identified with one another, deducing them from an underlying *satana-\textsuperscript{62} which

\textsuperscript{59} It remains unclear whether or not the word hovtaje\textsuperscript{r} "cave" used by Artsruni in the given context may reflect Khorenatsi's hovowawan in some way.

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

\textsuperscript{61} For the Oskians's legend, Abuladze's edition (1944) notes the following variants of the gen. Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay: 13,1: Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay; 16,1: Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, zSat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay; 16,15: Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay; for the Suk'iasians' legend: 23,30: Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay; 24,10: Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay. In the editions in Sop'erk' haykakank', the three forms Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay, and Sat\textsuperscript{c}enay are used (33,4 / 61,12; 63,15; 33,16 / 63,4). For the occurrences in UA, MD, NŠ, YD, and TA no variant readings are available.

\textsuperscript{62} The Circassian word-final -ey may well be a suffix; cf. KOKOV (1973: 42), who sees the same suffix in the Nartic (masculine) name Kab. Š\textsuperscript{}wej (Шауэй), Adyg. Šawaj (Шьауай) (= Ossetic Sowwaj, e.g. Narty 1975, 222,24), but also in the female name Kab. Gwaš\textsuperscript{u}nej (Гуашнеи), Adyg. goš\textsuperscript{w}nwaj (Гощунваи). The latter name clearly contains the common noun kab. gwaš\textsuperscript{u} (гуаш), Adyg. gwaš\textsuperscript{u} / goš\textsuperscript{u} (гуш / гош) meaning "lady, landlady, mother-in-law" which is used as an epithet of Sat\textsuperscript{e}nay in the Circassian Nartic tales in the same way as eksi\textsuperscript{n}e is used in Ossetic. Adyg. goš\textsuperscript{w}nwaj seems to contain un\textsuperscript{a} - "house". For a list of Circassian names ending in -ey, cf. KOKOV (1973: 168 f.).
matches with the Armenian basic forms except for the vowel of the second syllable and the (diminutive) suffix -ik contained in the latter (note that both in Ossetic and the neighbouring languages, the internal t is an aspirated one as is the Armenian). V.I. Abaev was certainly right, then, in stating that within Ossetic, Satana cannot belong to the stock of inherited Iranian words because of its phonological shape (three "long" a vowels, one of them even in auslaut position)\(^63\). Nevertheless, an Iranian etymology that joins all the existing variants remains possible. A clue to this may be the variant form Sart\'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 Golțn":

\[
\text{MX 1.29}
\]

\[
84,12 \text{ Ayl ew tenčay, asen, Sa(r)\'enik tikin tenčans' zartaxowr xawart ew ztič' xawarci i barjic'n Argawanay: And also: "Sa(r)\'enik," they say, "has a strong desire for the herb artaxowr and for the plant tic' on the dinner table of Argawan."}
\]

It is clear that Sart\'enik in the given passage represents a lectio difficilior as against the variants Sat\'enik and Sait\'enik\(^64\) which are the "usual" forms occurring elsewhere. Together with the Circassian form Sart\'enay (Сартенай) which we find in a Shapsugh tale about the birth of Sausirīqo\(^65\), it strongly reminds us of the Scythian name Ξαρδανος appearing in an inscription of Tanais\(^66\) which has for long been deduced from the Iranian word *xša\-

\[\text{rāna-} \) "reign”\(^67\). If Ξαρδανος represents a derivative *xša\-

\[\text{rāna-}, it shows the metathesis of the internal consonant cluster which is typical for Ossetic; within this language, its cognates are the names Æxsært (< *xša\-

\[\text{rāna-} and Æxsærtæg (< *xša\-

\[\text{raka-}) well known from the Nartic tales.\(^68\) It is true, then, that Satana cannot represent the normal development of a feminine variant *xša\-

\[\text{drānā-} (> "Scythian" *xšardānā-) in Ossetic, both because of its vocalism and because of its consonantism (s- < *xš-). It might, however, be explained as the adaptation of such a form by non-Iranian speakers, which would mean that the Ossetes must have "reimported" the name, a Turkic variant like Balqar Satanay being the most probable source.\(^69\) The Circassian (Šapsugh) variant Sart\'enay would in this

\[^{63}\text{ABAEV (1935 / 1990: 247).}\]

\[^{64}\text{Thus according to the data collected by ĆAČAR (1948: 342).}\]

\[^{65}\text{Nartxer 1969, no. 107: 46 with the forms Сертэ́най, Сертэ́нэем (erg.) and Сертэ́нээр (abs.).}\]

\[^{66}\text{LATYŠEV (1890: 454, 11.).}\]

\[^{67}\text{Cf. MILLER (1881-7: III, 80); ZGUSTA (1955: 122, § 157).}\]

\[^{68}\text{Cf. ABAEV (1958-89: IV, 239).}\]

\[^{69}\text{Cf. DUMÉZIL (1930: 191) who quotes M. Tuganov for the suggestion of a mutual exchange of the variant forms of Soslan’s name between Ossetes and Kabardians. — The proposal by BAILEY (1980: 239) to see in Satana "the feminine of the masculine title, older sātar-, ‘ruler’" has no basis whatsoever.}\]

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case reflect an older stage in which the internal cluster \((-rt-)\) was still preserved in its "Alanic" shape\(^{70}\) — and the Megrelian family name \(Sartania\) might be another residue of this\(^{71}\).

Returning to the the Armenian tradition, the question remains how to account for the peculiar shape the name has here. While the derivative suffix \(-ik\) raises no problems, the vocalism of the second syllable requires an explanation. If the alternation of \(-e-\) and \(-i-\) we meet here is not due to a secondary restitution of a former \(-a-\) lost through syncopy in Medieval times\(^{72}\), we would have to assume a variant suffix; in this case, a preform \(*x\text{š}a\text{d}ri\text{t}\text{ā}n-\) leading, via \(*\text{sart}-\text{iān}-\), to \(*sa(r)\text{tean}-\) would be the most probable solution. Considering the affinity of the Nartic Satana to the \(Ā\text{ëxsærtægkatæ}\) family, this might be interpreted as a quasi-patronymical formation, \(\text{Saʃenik}\) being named after her family’s ancestor, \(Ā\text{ëxsært(æg)} < *\text{xšaðra(ka)-}\), in just the same way as Smbat, Artašės’s tutor, could be named after his father, \(\text{Biwrat}\).\(^{73}\) If we further consider that among the Ossetes, the tradition of deriving maiden names from ancestral names is still valid and that the suffix used in this derivation, \(-on\), is the regular outcome of an older \(*-\text{ān}-,\) Satana, \(< *\text{xšartānā-}\), and \(\text{Saʃenik}, < *\text{xśart-iān-}\), reveal themselves as equivalent formations, denoting the heroine as a descendent of the \(Ā\text{ëxsærtægkatæ}\) family.

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\(^{70}\) Note that within Circassian, the word \(nart\) itself has a variant \(nat\) as well; examples can be quoted from the Šapsugh and Xakucha dialects (Nartxer 1969, nos. 84, 86, 88, 103). In the texts in question, Satana’s name is \(S\text{et}\text{ey}\) while text no. 107 has both \(nart\) and \(S\text{ért}\text{ey}\). For the time being, we cannot exclude the alternative possibility that \(-r-\) was introduced secondarily in the Šapsugh name form.

\(^{71}\) Cf. Andronikašvil (1966: 141). Note that a name \(Ağsартan\) which might be the male equivalent of \(*x\text{šaðrānā-}\) is met with several times in the Georgian chronicle (cf. Andronikašvil 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 \(s’t’\text{nh},\) Satan, is also grammatically feminine (Henning 1944: 138 and 141 with n. 7; Skjærvø 1994: 242). Ossetic \(s\text{aytán}\) (caʃtàn: Iosif 1884: 475 s.v. [Russ. ] čartana) "devil" reflects the Islamic word, Arab. \(şaytän,\) instead.

\(^{72}\) Cf. Gippert (1993: 32, 149 and 347) for a discussion of possible Georgian witnesses of an early date of this syncopy.

\(^{73}\) The expected formation is provided by the Georgian chronicle, in the form \(Bivri\text{tian-i}\), cp. p. 8 above. Movsės Khorenatsi has only the gen. attribute, \(S\text{mbat Biwratay}\).

\(^{74}\) Cf., e.g., Morrison (1951: 77) or Gagkaev (1964: 70) with the examples \(Dzagur-on / Dzagwyr-on\) (Дагу̲рь̲-он, cp. the family name \(Dzagurte / Dzagwyr-te\) Дагу̲рь̲-тæ), \(Tuskhaun\) (vs. Tuskhaute), and \(Salam-on\) (Салам-он, vs. Salam-te Салам-тæ). For the underlying personal names (\(Dzagur / Salam\)), cf. Fritz (1983: 75 and 185).