

ESTER KHEMCHYAN*

PhD of Philology

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography NAS RA

ekhemchyan@yandex.ru

DOI: 10.52853/18294073-2021.3.27-168

ARMENIAN NARRATIVES OF THE TWO-HORNED ALEXANDER AND THEIR RITUAL-LEGENDARY SOURCES

Keywords: horned king, barber, motif, story, divine origin, myth, belief.

Introduction

There are often realistic tales and stories in the Armenian epic folklore built around the horned king motif. According to the international classification of the tale types by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, the horned Alexander narratives correspond to the ATU782 motives (F511.2.2 – Person with ass's (horse's) ears, N465 – Secret physical peculiarity discovered by barber, D1316.5 – Magic speaking reed (tree) betrays secret)¹.

Usually the horned king motif is associated with the name of Alexander the Great. That is why he is called the two-horned Alexander or, in the Oriental way, Iskandar Zulkarnain².

Horned-king Motif

The two-horned Alexander motif has the following narrative development in the Armenian folklore: Alexander the Great³ (King Iskandar⁴, Iskandar Boghar⁵,

* Հոդվածը ներկայացվել է 02.09.21, գրախոսվել է 20.09.21, ընդունվել է տպագրության 19.11.21:

¹ Uther 2011, 441.

² FAV:9715,01–9715,01; Ղազիյան N 2, 87; FAVI: 1706,01–1706,01; FFVIII: 2571,01–2585,00; Կարապետյան, 9–10; Ղազարյան, 28; ՀԱԲ հ. 20, 1999, 143; KC 1989, 296; ԿԿ 1984, 54–55; СПИ 1990, 252; ГНЧ 195: 331; TC 1961, 400:

³ FAV:9715,01–9715,01; FAVI: 1706,01–1706,01; FFVIII:2571,01–2585,00.

⁴ Ղազարյան, 28:

⁵ Կարապետյան, 9–10:

Armenian Narratives of the Two-Horned Alexander...

Iskandar Agha⁶, Jilghar Iskandar⁷) is presented in Armenian narratives differently. In some variations he has one horn on his head, whereas in others his image is depicted with two horns. There is no explanation in the narratives why the king is horned. He hides his horn (or horns) in his hair and orders to decapitate the barber (in some variants – barber, shave-man, dallak or parikmakher- hairdresser in Russian), the only person who is aware of the secret. The last barber (in variations – a 60-year old man or a young and handsome boy or a middle-aged man) asks the king to spare his life, promising to keep the secret. The king yields to the barber's request, showing either respect to his old age, or regretting the young age and comeliness of the barber, or taking pity towards his family members. However, keeping the secret makes the barber suffer, his belly swells, ready to blow up. The barber addresses various doctors, but in vain. In the end, on the advice of a doctor or a wise man, the barber understands that he should trust the secret to a pit (a well) in a deep forest, in a deserted place in the countryside. The barber tells the secret: "there is a horn on the head of Iskandar"⁸, "Alexander the Great has a horn"⁹, "Iskandar Boghar has a horn"¹⁰, "The king Iskandar has a horn"¹¹, "Jilghar Iskandar has a horn"¹², and a reed comes out from the pit, and the shepherd that is passing by, cuts the reed, makes a reedpipe from it and plays. The reedpipe plays just one melody "Alexander the Great has a horn". In one of the variations, a flower comes out from the pit that resembles "the head of Iskandar Agha with a couple of horns on it"¹³. Thus, the secret is revealed. In some variations, the king is defamed and mocked as an invalid person, in others the king punishes the perjurer, while in one of them a moral is made: "you cannot entrust your secret even to the ground"¹⁴.

In the Armenian epic folklore sometimes the motif of the two-horned king is attributed to Shah Abbas¹⁵ or some unnamed horned king¹⁶, however those are

⁶ Ղազիյան, 87:

⁷ ՀԱԲ, հ. 20, 1999, 143:

⁸ FAV:9715,01–9715,01:

⁹ FFVIII: 2571,01–2585,00:

¹⁰ Կարապետյան, 9:

¹¹ Ղազարյան, 28:

¹² ՀԱԲ, հ. 20, 1999, 143:

¹³ Ղազիյան, 87:

¹⁴ FFVIII: 2571,01–2585,00:

¹⁵ FFIV:1743,01–1744,00; FEI: 7215–7227:

exceptions or casual expressions. Shah Abbas, even being a famous folklore character, and the Shah Abbas narratives being widely spread, however he could not act as a horned king since the folkloric Shah Abbas, like the folkloric Alexander has the specific motives attributed to him, and the above-mentioned motif is not among them.

It is common to consider the origin and the basis of the horned king motif in the legend of the king Midas who had ass's ears¹⁷, that has originated and been formed in Asia Minor and Ancient Greece¹⁸. The legend of Midas, spreading the west and the east, has been transformed, acquiring a new quality. In the west the legend kept the motif of the king with ass's or goat's ears, while spreading towards the east the two-horned king's motif is becoming more dominant in the variations of the legend, where the king is named and called Iskander Zulkarnain. That means that the horned king motif was attached to the character of Alexander the Great but in the oriental oral tradition Alexander was two-horned and had the nickname Zulkarnain. Moreover, the Arabic (Syrian) legend about two-horned Alexander was also included in the Koran¹⁹, the holy book of the Muslims, and Iskander was depicted as a legendary Muslim character²⁰. The interpreters of the Koran gave a large and important place to Alexander the Great as he was (and still is) considered to be one of the prophets of Muhammad²¹.

First of all, the stories left by biographers and the contemporaries serve as a basis for the two-horned nickname of Alexander²². According to them, he was the son of the Egyptian god Amon, and this confirms the divine origin of Alexander, for it is known, that the pharaohs were born by the Queen Mother and Amon, who was presented to the Queen as a pharaoh-husband²³. In the Armenian version of "The history of Alexander the Great" by Pseudo-Callisthenes, the biographer of Alexander, this fact is represented in the following way. Negdanebos, a runaway from Egypt, is foretelling for Olympiada that god Amon of

¹⁶ FFXI: 7823–7828; **Մարգարյան**: 151–153:

¹⁷ **Хахановъ** 1902, N 1; **Костюхин** 1972, 106; **Бойназаров** 1991, 28; **Бойназаров** 1990, 145.

¹⁸ МНМ II 1988, 149; **Կոն** 1979, 97:

¹⁹ **Коран** 1986, 249, 18:82; **Бертельс** 1948, 14.

²⁰ МНМ I 1987, 472:

²¹ **Бертельс** 1948, 16.

²² **Պլուտարքոս** 1987, 45–46, **Սիմոնյան** 1989; **Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացի** 1987:

²³ МНМ I 1987, 70–71; **Ֆրեզեր** 1989, 173:

Lybians “with white hair and horn on the head as a ram”²⁴ should sleep with the Queen, after which she would be impregnated with a son. According to this interpretation, Alexander inherits ram horns from Amon, the presence of which later gives him the nickname of Two-Horned (Zulkarnain). The meaning of Alexander’s nickname is interpreted in different ways by different authors. According to Alisher Nava’i, (a 15th- century Uzbek poet), Iskander lived for 160 years and his nickname Zulkarnain (Karnain) means “Iskandar who lived two centuries” or “Two-horned Iskandar who lived two centuries”. The reason for such interpretation is the etymology of the word “karn” that has two meanings in Farsi: 1) century, equal to the century and 2) horn, in double plural – karnain²⁵.

Armenian narrative of Alexander

The formation of the Armenian narrative on Alexander in Armenian folklore is based on the plots and stories about Alexander, that penetrated from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and particularly on the Armenian translation of the History of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. In the Armenian narrative, the interpretation of Alexander’s divine origin has led to the fact that Alexander was the descendent of the God-Oracle transformed into a dragon²⁶ that was not only a response to the “History of Alexander” by Pseudo-Callisthenes, but also the aftershock of Asia Minor and Mesopotamian ancient oral tradition that found a fertile ground in the Armenian environment. According to that interpretation, Alexander should have gained divine features (i.e. horns and charming abilities), and the hypothesis of his divine origin, brought forward by his biographers even during his lifetime and passing throughout history by the system of traditional beliefs of each conquered nation as well as gaining new features and shades, should have taken a firm place in the oriental folklore tradition.

Alexander himself consistently contributed to his divinization, and this was being done to gain the sympathy of the conquered and subjugated nations. “Going from Hyrkania to Parthia and resting there, Alexander dressed in barbaric clothes for the first time. He intended to mimic the local morals as he understood well enough how important it was to display his positive attitude towards

²⁴ Սիմոնյան 1989, 75:

²⁵ Պարսկերեն-հայերեն բառարան 1987, 449:

²⁶ Խենցյան 1994, 53:

everything ordinary and dear to the locals for gaining their sympathy"²⁷. Like in Egypt, where he was divinized and proclaimed to be the son of Amon and the bearer of his features, in Persia, he was considered the legal descendent of Darius and the bearer of the divine luck²⁸, and the features and behaviour of the local deities have been attributed to him in other oriental countries too.

The Alexander motives of the Armenian folklore belong to the sphere of realistic tales, even though there are remains of ancient legends in them. Most of these tales have been obscured, and their initial meaning has been lost over time. They are presented as a funny or moral history about the king, who, for unknown reasons, has been punished and bears dishonourable horns that he should hide from people. However, the one who keeps the secret is unable to hide it, and the eternal truth is promoted: the secret is not one if there are two people who know about it. Thus, the narrative is turned into an ordinary, real and moral story aimed at the enhancement of the morality.

Our research of the Two-horned Alexander motif brings us to the conclusion that what we deal with here is an ancient legendary model, the initial variation of which has been obscured over time, and the initial main meanings of the things have been substituted for secondary meanings, and the causal link is sometimes not quite clear. The motif of the horned character goes deep into the mythology of the Middle East and Mesopotamia. According to a Sumerian legend, Anu, the ancestor and the god of the sky, settles his granddaughter Inanna, daughter of Nannar, in the city of Uruk and sometimes sends the celestial powerful bull to help her in governance, so it can destroy the enemies with its horns²⁹. The horns of the celestial bull enclose in themselves the power of destruction, hence, Gilgamesh, after killing the bull, hangs its horns in his bedroom³⁰. This is not just a war trophy, but a way to keep the divine power enclosed in the horns that will serve its owner.

In the Akkadian mythology, Sin, god of the moon, every night wore a yellow-coloured mitre³¹ that had two horns. Besides, his holy animal was the bull³². In

²⁷ Պրլուարրու 1987, 90:

²⁸ Бертельс 1965, 288.

²⁹ Редер 1965, 30.

³⁰ Редер 1965, 89–90, Գիլգամեշ 1963, 59:

³¹ Редер 1965, 37.

³² МНМ II 1988, 437.

this case as well the horns symbolized the divine power. Transfer of the two-horned character throughout the centuries of course somehow changed him and every nation has its own perception and presentation of this character. The horns were a symbol of divinity, and the nickname "two-horned" was given to a god or to his deputy, confirming, that the holder bears magic force and terrestrial power like the son of the Egyptian god Amon, Alexander did. This famous variation, penetrating the folklore of the Middle East, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, as well as into the Armenian folklore, took roots immediately, since the motif of the horned character was already familiar to them and close to heart.

Regardless of the number of horns that King Alexander the Great or Iskandar, bore in folklore narratives, one or two, in all cases the horn symbolized his magic force and power. In his horns both his power and his ability to conquer and enslave the nations were enclosed. Alexander the Great was invincible as long as the secret of the horns was not relieved. According to the Armenian narrative about Alexander, he hides his horns in his hair, because an ordinary mortal should not know the secret of the son of god, otherwise the horn-bearer will lose his magic power and life.

In the Armenian system of beliefs, the horns have another feature as well. According to the Bulanykh tradition, the God curses Cain and horns grow on his head, so he lives long, and everybody recognizes him and does not kill him³³. Hence, the origination of the curse "let Cain's horn grow on you"³⁴. That means the horn is also a symbol of longevity, as the horn-bearer has a long life. If in the oriental nickname Zulkarnain the component "karn" also means a century, and in some cases it has the meaning of showing the longevity of the horned character, it is logical to presume that Alexander's horns endowed him not only with power but also longevity, and that was kept in secret, while the revealing of the latter would be a threat for its bearer, and the longevity could be kept only through the destruction of the person who revealed the secret.

According to the Armenian beliefs, the horn also has a feature of neutralization of evil forces and of protection from them that is why the people of Vaspurakan were hanging a horn on their doors³⁵.

³³ Ղանալանյան 1963, 406, N 891:

³⁴ ՀԱԲ հ. 3, 1972, 131; ԷԱԺ 1906, 313:

³⁵ ԱՀ XXV 1914, 54:

Barber and Hair Uncharming

With time the initial meaning of the motif of Two-Horned Alexander and the main function of the horns have been obscured in the folklore narratives. In the Armenian narrative about Alexander, it is not known, why and for what fault the king is condemned to bear horns: "I don't know what crime has this Iskandar Agha committed, but one day two horns are grown on his head"³⁶. A thing, that was formerly a symbol of his power and force, now is perceived as a bodily defect, a shameful situation that should be hidden from the curious and mocking glances. Only the barber knows the secret and he pays for it with his life. Who is the barber and what is his role in this system of situations? The barber is not just the one who cuts hair. If the horned Alexander, thanks to his horns, has acquired magic power and is ruling the country, the barber, according to popular beliefs, is someone with magic abilities as well, who not only can reveal the secret, but also take the possession of its power. From ancient times, the barber, as someone who masters the sorcerer's art, performs some ritual actions that are linked with the charming taboo. According to ancient beliefs, hair is an important part of human body, and numerous preventive measures should be taken to be clear of danger³⁷. Hair cutting can be dangerous for its bearer, the hair can be used as a measure of casting a bad spell to harm that person. According to the Armenian beliefs³⁸, the hair that comes after brushing cannot be thrown away, it should be gathered and hidden in a wall crack or in some other safe place, because it can be used to enchant its bearer³⁹. Therefore, the barber, cutting Alexander's hair, can use the latter against Alexander himself, because he has the capabilities of a spellcaster and sorcerer and using the hair cut, he can make him ill or kill him. The echoes of the magic abilities of a barber are still maintained in the Armenian wedding ritual. The main characters of wedding ritual, the bride and the groom, are called king and queen and act like the bearers of a king's functions. They are in the centre of attention during the whole ritual. An important part of the preparation of the wedding ritual is the hair shaving of the groom⁴⁰, by which the

³⁶ Ղազիյան, N 2:

³⁷ Ֆրեզեր 1989, 278–284:

³⁸ ԱՀ Զ 1900, 358:

³⁹ ԱՀ X 1903, 247:

⁴⁰ ԱՀ Գ 1898, 219, 332:

barber prepares him for a new life, the masculinity of the groom is strengthened⁴¹ and his new role in the society is outlined. After the shaving the groom is called a king⁴², that means that the shaving ritual has an immediate link with the name-changing of the groom and is a surviving part of the ancient tradition in the Armenian wedding ritual. In Bulanykh and in Vaspurakan, the barber shaves the head of the king strip by strip that is called "greening of the garden" and symbolizes the beginning of a new life⁴³. This tradition is linked with the ritual of land cultivation, the hidden subtext and meaning of which is future fertilization and offspring creation. After the shaving, in the county of Borchalu, the hair is gathered with care and put in a place where no man's foot would walk upon it, so the groom would not be "trampled", which means he would not lose his masculinity⁴⁴. Therefore, in the Armenian traditions, beliefs and rituals the hair charming taboo is maintained in an obscured way. The fact that in the past Armenians, having various aims, swore not to shave their children's hair until a certain age, and after that sacrificed to the god, testifies the magic power of hair. In the Armenian folk tales as well numerous variations of getting something with the help of the magic power of hair⁴⁵, or putting himself in a hard situation with the loss of hair⁴⁶ can be observed. The loss of hair, according to the system of beliefs of various nations can lead to dangerous consequences (one's hair is the house of god, loss of hair has an impact on the weather, hair in the hand of a sorcerer, is used for evil purposes, etc.)⁴⁷, so numerous preventive measures are taken while cutting the hair to avert the danger.

Therefore, the motif presented in the Alexander narrative is based on the ancient belief, according to which the loss of hair also means the loss of power. That belief is also presented by Pseudo-Calisthenes but in an indirect way. The king Negdanebos of Egypt, who was considered to be the father of Alexander the Great, predicting the possible loss of his throne, shaves his beard and hair: "Used to communicating with gods by magic and sorcery, he finds out that the Egyptian kingdom has reached its end. He takes a lot of gold and silver with him and,

⁴¹ ԱՀ IX 1902, 232:

⁴² ԱՀ VII–VIII 1901, 162; Շաղոյան 2011, 256:

⁴³ ԱՀ XXVI 1917, 165:

⁴⁴ ԱՀ IX 1902, 232:

⁴⁵ ՀԺՀ XI 1980, 77; ՀԱԲ XX 1999, 74:

⁴⁶ ՀԺՀ I 1959, 178:

⁴⁷ Ֆրեդեր 1989, 278–284:

transforming himself by shaving his beard and hair, discretely flees to Pelusium"⁴⁸. In the Middle Ages the main meaning of this ancient tradition was already obscured, and the loss of hair was not perceived as a loss of power by the Armenian authors of the Middle Ages, and Negdanebos was mocked.

As the philological insight of H. Simonyan allows to note , "our authors do not spare negative colours, using bitter irony, absolute mockery, darkest predictions and curses"⁴⁹.

Alexander the Great, fearing to lose his divine and magic powers and secular power and disobedience to the magic of others, destroys the barbers. But the last barber manages to avoid the fate of the others because he begs and swears to keep the secret. Who is the last barber and what is his goal? The king's deprivation of his life and power does not have a goal in itself. After destroying Alexander, another one should take his place, in this case this is the barber. The king has a divine origin, the king masters the art of sorcery and magic, he can be replaced only by someone who has similar skills and hereditary rights.

Historical Alexander the Great, conquering Egypt, is being declared the son of Amon and lawful heir of the Egyptian pharaoh. Conquering Persia, to be justified and to match the ancient Persian hereditary tradition, the legendary narrative of Alexander the Great who is the son of Darius has been brought forward, legalizing the conquest of powerful Persia through this.

The last barber who masters the magic, has access to the king's secret but he is not a lawful heir to take the throne. In the Armenian epic folklore, the role of the barber is lowered to everyday life level and he is a person who is not able to keep the shameful secret and breaks his oath. But the Alexander narratives of other nations confirm the version of the barber being the lawful heir of the throne. In the Bashkirian, Tatar, Tajik narratives with the motif of the two-horned king⁵⁰, the last barber, the only son of a poor old woman is invited to Iskandar. The fate of the previous barbers is worrisome for the old woman and to keep her son she prepares dough by her breast milk, bakes a patty, gives it to her son with a piece of advice and sends it to the king. Iskandar eats the patty, and, according to the ancient tradition, becomes the foster-brother of the barber. This is not only a magical ban on the barber's life, but also a lawful right to inherit the throne. So

⁴⁸ Սիմոնյան 1989, 72:

⁴⁹ Սիմոնյան 1975, 227:

⁵⁰ TC 1961, 400; Волга родная 1986, 69.

after the revelation of the secret, the king's power can be transferred to the lawful heir, i.e. to the foster-brother barber. The basis for this hypothesis is the division of the massive empire created by Alexander the Great among his comrades-in-arms after his death⁵¹. The historical heirs of Alexander the Great's empire are not different from the foster-brother barber. None of his comrades-in-arms had immediate and lawful right of inheritance.

The Well as the Vault of the Secret and the Reed as its Revealer

And so, the barber finds out the king's secret, and, in order to keep his life, swears not to make the secret known, but his swollen belly is making clear that he has some ban in him, and only after its violation he can restore his normal physical condition. The dilemma, between keeping the secret and breaking the oath is resolved by the smallest of the evil, i.e. confiding the secret to a distant well. The barber, three times, or so many times that is needed for his belly to flat and calm, repeats: "Alexander the Great has a horn"⁵². The oath of silence and the swollen belly are immediately connected with one another and are among the tale motifs (Motif M241.1 of ATU506* type)⁵³.

The well symbolizes the connection with the world of dead, from where, impacted by the secret a reed grows out, which, in its turn, is the symbol of the king's power in Egypt and of the human weakness in the oriental Christian tradition⁵⁴. We can guess that the reed is the manifestation of the barber's weakness, who has broken his oath, and the loss of the revealed horns of the king is associated with the loss of power and life. Thus, it is important that his substitute should have the corresponding features, namely – magical power, which, according to ancient beliefs, can also be obtained in the "other world"⁵⁵. The barber bends over the well and looks into the bottom. According to the ancient Indian and Greek beliefs, the reflection in the water is a precursor of death, because the water ghosts are dragging the human reflection and the soul under

⁵¹ Гафуров, Цибукидис 1980, 346–347; Ранович 1950, 80–81; Шахермайр 1984, 348–351; ИВЛ I 1983, 398; Ռուֆուս 1987, 594.

⁵² FFVIII: 2571,01–2585,00:

⁵³ ՀԺՀ II 1959, 39; ՀԱԲ հ. 21, 2000, 102; Տեր-Աղեքսանդրյան 1886, 328–331, 342, 356, 401; ATU 2011, 291.

⁵⁴ МНМ II 1988, 371.

⁵⁵ Пропп 1946, 272.

the water⁵⁶. Thus, the barber communicating with the world of dead through the well, returns home⁵⁷, and the reed grows from the well. Usually there is no coming back from the world of the dead, and the one who returns is sure to be pursued. According to a Sumerian legend, the goddess Ereshkigal lets the goddess Inanna return to the earth on condition that somebody should substitute her before she returns. Making sure that Inanna lied to her, Ereshkigal sends the most terrible and her most heartless servants after Inanna. The smallest of the servants were the size of a herb stem and the biggest ones were like giant reeds which were growing on the edge of a marsh⁵⁸. The reed grown from the well can have two legend meanings. First of all, it can reveal the king's secret, and second, return the barber fled from the underworld. Some Armenian Alexander narratives confirm that the barber is paying with his life: "From the fear of the king the heart of the barber bursts, but the reeds tell the secret of the king to the world"⁵⁹, "The barber swears to him that he told the secret to the well only, but Alexander does not believe him and orders to decapitate him"⁶⁰. This means that Alexander returns him to the underworld. The communication of the barber with the underworld or with the kingdom of the dead is also conditioned with the supposed change of his social status (a substitute for the king) that is a required and lawful thing for the fairy tale and legend characters⁶¹.

The secret told to the well goes deep into the earth, but later it returns from the underworld through a reed grown from the well. As long as the reed is standing, nobody knows the secret, but when the shepherd cuts it and makes a reedpipe (panpipe in some versions) from it and plays it, the secret is revealed, and everybody learns about the shameful defect of the king. In the theme of the reed, in an obscured way not only the connection with the underworld is preserved, but also the well-known motif of the Greek mythology about the nymph Syrinx and about the god Pan who made panpipes from the reed⁶².

In the majority of the studied plots (with the exception of the plots where the wind-waving reed is whispering the secret, or that a flower comes out from the

⁵⁶ Ֆրեզեր 1989, 232:

⁵⁷ Հարությունյան 2001, 15:

⁵⁸ Редер 1965, 51–52; ИВЛ I 1983, 90.

⁵⁹ Ղազարյան, 28:

⁶⁰ FAV:9715,01–9715,01; FAVI: 1706,01–1706,01:

⁶¹ МНМ I 1987, 456.

⁶² МНМ II 1988, 438; Կուն 1979, 97:

well that is similar to Alexander's head and has a pair of horns on it), the shepherd cuts the reed and makes a reedpipe from it, which plays only the secret. The plot of the Greek Midas legend is formed around the fact that in the Apollo and Pan contest the advantage is given to Pan's reedpipe. The secret of punished Midas is revealed through the same musical instrument to which he has given advantage. The majority of the researchers link the Alexander motif with the legend of Midas – a fact which is anchored on the resemblance of the two plots. However, the source of the legend of the Phrygian king Midas is the mythology of Asia Minor, which, being interlaced with the mentality of the Greek mythology, endows the legend with a new quality, though the withdrawal from the origin breaks the inner connection of the facts, and the main meaning becomes unrecognizably obscured. So the further development of Two-horned Alexander's plot, due to the regression of mythical mentality, gradually acquired features of everyday life.

In some variations the barber digs the ground and buries the secret into it. The subtext of the motif is that the ground should keep the secret, because according to the Ancient Roman mythology the nickname of the Earth's goddess was "the mute goddess"⁶³, and probably a lot of ancient nations had the belief of the secret-keeping feature of the ground. The secret buried in the ground is coming out like the planted seed. The dual function of the ground lets the plot take a moral direction. Two-horned Alexander listens to the barber's explanation and comes to a conclusion: "That means, you cannot believe even the ground. The barber believed the ground, trusted my secret to the ground and the ground announced it to the whole world"⁶⁴.

The fact that the secret cannot be kept even in the ground, is formulated in the Armenian folk proverbs "The ground will deliver the sound", "Let the earth not send the news" or "The earth has ears"⁶⁵ which, over time losing in their initial meaning and being redefined, acquired the form of a moral conclusion confirmed with life experience. Thus, the transformation of the two-horned Alexander motif from a legendary plot to a realistic one can be accounted for by this fact.

⁶³ MHM I 1987, 467.

⁶⁴ FFVIII: 2571,01–2585,00:

⁶⁵ Ղանալանյան 1960, 282–283

Conclusion

Examining the Alexandrian plots of the Armenian oral tradition we conclude that the Armenian Alexander narrative was formed on the basis of the folk plots on Alexander which penetrated Armenia from Greece, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, as well as of the Armenian translations of the stories by various authors, particularly by Pseudo-Callisthenes. Investigation of the plot about Two-horned Alexander (that is present in the realistic and everyday stories and jokes) among other Alexandrian plots, reveals the preservation of the remains of ancient legends in it. The study of the motif shows that it is anchored on the Mythology of Mesopotamia (Sumer-Akkadian) and Middle East, and can be considered an ancient mythological model that has lost its initial meaning over time. On the other hand the main legendary functions of the main characters (Alexander, the barber, the shepherd) have been obscured, and the secondary reality of everyday life has been propounded. The historical Alexander the Great, being proclaimed as son of god, became a folklore character, and his image was endowed with all the features of gods and heroes, typical of horned characters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացի 1987 – Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացի, պատմությունների ժողովածու, **Արիանոս**, Ալեքսանդրի արշավանքը, **Ռուֆուս**, Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացու պատմությունը, Երևան, «Հայաստան» հրատ., 654 էջ:
- ԱՀ Գ 1898 – Ազգագրական հանդես, Սիսիան, Լոռվա հարսանիք, Գ գիրք, Թիֆլիս, Մ. Գ. Ռոտինյանցի տպ., 400 էջ+80:
- ԱՀ Զ 1900 – Ազգագրական հանդես, Գանձակի գավառ, Զ գիրք, Թիֆլիս, 1900, 392 + 40 էջ:
- ԱՀ VII, VIII 1901 – Ազգագրական հանդես, **Քաջբերունի**, Հայկական սովորություններ, VII, VIII գրքեր, Թիֆլիս, Կ. Մարտիրոսյանի տպ., 528 էջ:
- ԱՀ IX 1902 – Ազգագրական հանդես, IX գիրք, Թիֆլիս, 284 էջ:
- ԱՀ X 1903 – Ազգագրական հանդես, X գիրք, Թիֆլիս, 322 էջ:
- ԱՀ XXV 1914 – Ազգագրական հանդես, XXV գիրք, Թիֆլիս, Էլեկտրաշարժ տպ. «Էսպերանտո», 240 էջ:
- ԱՀ XXVI 1917 – Ազգագրական հանդես, XXVI գիրք, Թիֆլիս, տպ. «Սլովո», 224 էջ:
- Գիլգամեշ 1963, Հին արևելքի դյուցազնավեպ, Թարգմանությունը և ներածականը Նշան Մարտիրոսյանի, Երևան, Հայկ. ՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 122 էջ:
- ԷԱԺ 1906 – Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու, հ. 2, Մոսկվա-Վաղարշապատ, 420 էջ:

Խենցյան Է.Հ. 1994, Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացու հրաշալի ծննդի առասպելները հայ բանահյուսության մեջ, Հր. Աճառյանին նվիրված միջազգային գիտաժողովի զեկուցումների հիմնադրույթներ, Երևան, էջ 53–54:

Կարապետյան Ա., Աբովյանի, Հրազդանի և Արտաշատի շրջանների հայ ժողովրդական բանահյուսություն, ձեռագիր ժողովածու, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ հնագիտության և ազգագրության ինստիտուտի բանահյուսության արխիվ (այսուհետև՝ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ):

Կուն Ն. 1979, Հին Հունաստանի լեգենդներն ու առասպելները, Երևան, «Սովետական գրող» հրատ., 588 էջ:

ՀԱԲ III 1972 – **Բենսե, Բովանդիս**, Հայ ազգագրություն և բանահյուսություն (նյութեր և ուսումնասիրություններ), հ. 3, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 184 էջ:

ՀԱԲ XX 1999 – **Գևորգյան Թ.**, Լոռի, Հայ ազգագրություն և բանահյուսություն (նյութեր և ուսումնասիրություններ), հ. 20, Երևան, «Գիտություն», 269 էջ:

ՀԱԲ XXI 2000 – **Խենցյան Է.**, Տավուշ, Հայ ազգագրություն և բանահյուսություն (նյութեր և ուսումնասիրություններ), հ. 21, Երևան, «Գիտություն», 314 էջ:

Հարությունյան Ս. 2001, Հին հայոց հավատալիքները, կրոնը, պաշտամունքն ու դիցարանը, Երևան, «Մուղնի», 81 էջ:

ՀԺԿ I 1959 – Հայ ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ, հ. I, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 672 էջ:

ՀԺԿ II 1959 – Հայ ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ, հ. II, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 660 էջ:

ՀԺԿ XI 1980 – Հայ ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ, հ. XI, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 547 էջ:

Ղազարյան Վ., Լոռի. Առածներ, ասացվածքներ և հեքիաթներ, ձեռագիր ժողովածու, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:

Ղազիյան Բ. 1982–83 թթ. Գրառված բանահյուսական նյութեր, ձեռագիր ժողովածու, N 2 տետր, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:

Ղանալանյան Ա. 1963, Ավանդապատում, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1963, 530 էջ:

Մարգարյան Ա., Բաքվի բանահյուսություն, 1975, ձեռագիր հավաքածու, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:

Շագոյան Գ. 2011, Յոթ օր, յոթ գիշեր. հայոց հարսանիքի համայնապատկեր, Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 616+32 էջ:

Պարսկերեն-հայերեն բառարան, 1987, Երևան, «Լույս», 666 էջ:

Պլուտարքոս 1987, Երկեր, Երևան, «Հայաստան» հրատ., 796 էջ:

Ռուֆուս Ք. 1987, Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացու պատմությունը, «Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացի» պատմությունների ժողովածու, Երևան, «Հայաստան», 654 էջ:

Սիմոնյան Հ. 1975, Հայ միջնադարյան կաֆաներ, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 296 էջ:

Սիմոնյան Հ. 1989, Պատմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացոյ, հայկական խմբագրություններ, աշխատասիրությամբ **Հ. Սիմոնյանի**, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 647 էջ:

Տէր-Աղեքսանդրեան Գ. 1886, Թիֆլիսեցոց մտաւոր կեանքը, մասն Ա, Թիֆլիս, 456 էջ:

Ֆրեզեր Ջ. 1989, Ոսկե ճյուղը, Երևան, «Հայաստան», 880 էջ:

Бертельс Е.Э. 1948, Роман об Александре и его главные версии на Востоке, Москва-Ленинград, изд-во АН СССР, 188 с.

Бертельс Е.Э. 1965, Избранные труды, т. «Навои и Джами», Москва, «Наука», 498 с.

Бойназаров Ф. 1990, Проблемы, традиции и современность, Москва, «Наука», 272 с.

- Бойназаров Ф. 1991**, Образ Искандера Зулькарнайна, Москва, изд-во МГУ, 127 с.
Волга родная 1986 – Волга родная (сказки народов Башкирии, Татарии и Чувашии), Ленинград, «Лениздат», 429 с.
- Гафуров Б.Г., Цибукидис Д.И. 1980**, Александр Македонский и Восток, Москва, «Наука», 1980, 456 с.
ГНС 1956 – Грузинские народные сказки (сто сказок), сост. Долидзе Н.И., Тбилиси, «Заря Востока», 432 с.
ИВЛ I 1983 – История всемирной литературы, т. I, Москва, «Наука», 584 с.
КЧ 1984 – Караван чудес (Узбекские народные сказки), Ташкент, изд-во литературы и искусства им. Г. Гуляма, 256 с.
Коран 1986 – Коран, перевод и комментарии Крачковского И. Ю., Москва, «Наука», 727 с.
- Костюхин Е.А. 1972**, Александр Македонский в литературной и фольклорной традиции, Москва, «Наука», 190 с.
КС 1989 – Курдские сказки, легенды и предания, Москва, «Наука», 624 с.
МНМ I 1987 – Мифы народов мира, т. I, Москва, «Советская энциклопедия», 672 с.
МНМ II 1988 – Мифы народов мира, т. II, Москва, «Советская энциклопедия», 720 с.
- Пропп В.Я. 1946**, Исторические корни волшебной сказки, Ленинград, изд-во Ленинградского государственного университета, 340 с.
- Ранович А.Б. 1950**, Эллинизм и его историческая роль, Москва-Ленинград, изд-во АН СССР, 386 с.
- Редер Д.Г. 1965**, Мифы и легенды древнего Двуречья, Москва, «Наука», 1965, 120 с.
СПИ 1990 – Сказки и предания Ирана, Москва, «Наука», 207 с.
ТС 1961 – Таджикские сказки, Москва, «Восточная литература», 606 с..
- Хахановъ А. С. 1902**, Легенды объ Александре Македонскомъ у армянъ, «Этнографическое обозрѣніе», N 1, Москва, 156 с., с. 113–114.
- Шахермайр Ф. 1984**, Александр Македонский, Москва, «Наука», 384 с.
- Uther H.-J. 2011**, The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, part I, Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales. and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction, Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 620 p.
- FAV: – Ե. Լալայանի ֆոնդ:
FAVI: – Ե. Լալայանի ֆոնդ, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:
FEI: – Է. Խենցյանի ֆոնդ, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:
FFIV: – Խառը ֆոնդ, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:
FFVIII: – Խառը ֆոնդ, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:
FFXI – Խառը ֆոնդ, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀԱԻԲԱ:

ԵՐԿԵՂՋՅՈՒՐ ԱԼԵՔՍԱՆԴՐԻ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՊԱՏՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ ԵՎ ԴՐԱՆՑ ԾԻՍԱԱՌԱՍՊԵԼԱԲԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԱԿՈՒՆՔՆԵՐԸ

ԽԵՄՉՅԱՆ Է.

Ամփոփում

*Քանալի բառեր*¹ եղջերակիր արքա, սափրիչ, մոտիվ, պատմություն, աստվածային ծագում, առասպել, հավատալիք:

Հայ վիպական բանահյուսության մեջ հանդիպում են իրապատում հեքիաթներ և զրույցներ, որոնց հիմքում ընկած է եղջերակիր արքայի մոտիվը (ATU 782): Բանահյուսական ավանդության մեջ տվյալ մոտիվը կապվում է Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացու անվան հետ, որի պատճառով նա կոչվում է Երկեղջյուր Ալեքսանդր կամ Արևելքում ընդունված ու տարածված ձևով՝ Իսկանդեր Զուլղարնայն (կամ Իսկանդար Զուլղարի):

Հայկական ալեքսանդրապատումը ձևավորվել է փոքրասիական և միջագետքյան տարածաշրջանից Ալեքսանդրի մասին փոխառված սյուժեների ու պատմությունների և հատկապես հայերեն թարգմանված Կեղծ Կալիսթենեսի պատմության հիման վրա:

Երկեղջյուր Ալեքսանդրի մոտիվի քննությամբ բացահայտվում է մի հնագույն առասպելաբանական մոդելի հետագա զարգացումը, որը սկիզբ է առել շումերաաքքադական առասպելաբանական միջավայրում: Ժամանակի ընթացքում բանահյուսական պատումներում մթագնվել են Երկեղջյուր Ալեքսանդրի մոտիվի նախնական նշանակությունը, եղջյուրների, ինչպես նաև հերոսների (Ալեքսանդր, վարսավիր, հովիվ) հիմնական գործառույթները: Փոփոխությունների հետևանքով պատումները ձեռք են բերել երկրորդական կենցաղային նշանակություն՝ ծիծաղաշարժ և բարոյախրատական ընթացքով:

Ըստ բանահյուսական սյուժեների՝ պատմական Ալեքսանդր Մակեդոնացին, աստվածորդի հռչակվելով, ստեղծել է բանահյուսական հերոս դառնալու նախադրյալներ և իր կերպարի մեջ խտացրել աստվածների ու հերոսների այն բոլոր գծերը, որոնք հատուկ են եղջերակիր հերոսներին:

АРМЯНСКИЕ СКАЗАНИЯ О ДВУРОГОМ АЛЕКСАНДРЕ И ИХ РИТУАЛЬНО-МИФОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ИСТОКИ

ХЕМЧЯН Э.

Резюме

Ключевые слова: рогатый царь, брадобрей, мотив, история, божественное происхождение, миф, поверье.

В армянском эпическом фольклоре встречаются реалистические сказки и сказы, в основе сюжетов которых лежит мотив рогатого царя (ATU 782). В фольклорной традиции мотив рогатого царя связан с именем царя Александра Македонского, которого называли Двурогим Александром или, как принято на Востоке, Искандер Зуль Карнайном (или Искандар Зульгари).

Армянские сказания об Александре сформировались на основе заимствованных из малоазиатских и месопотамских регионов сюжетов и историй и, особенно, на армянских переводах истории об Александре Псевдо-Каллисфене.

Исследуемый мотив Двурогого Александра восходит к древнейшей мифологической модели, которая берет начало в шумеро-аккадской мифологии. Со временем в фольклорных сказах стусеивалось первичное значение мотива Двурогого Александра. В результате эти сказы обрели бытовое значение, сохранив юмористические и нравоучительные элементы.

Согласно фольклорным сюжетам, исторический Александр Македонский, провозглашенный сыном божьим, стал фольклорным героем с характерными для рогатых богов чертами.