

A Prosopographical Approach to the First Türk Empire

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ABSTRACT

Some years ago, we undertook a project with the goal of laying the foundations for a prosopographical work dealing with Eurasian steppe nomads in the Pre-Mongol period. The aforesaid project was impeded by several circumstances, but some first results from it are available in two papers, covering a series of preliminary guidelines and including data mining tables extracted from Jones-Martindale-Morris' *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (AD 260-641)*, in fact a collection of persons related to Alans, Huns, Oghus, Avars, Türks, Khazars and their counterparts among sedentary empires and other neighboring peoples. Our paper for the 9th International Congress of Turcology intends to resume work by applying the same methodology to the First Türk Empire (AD 552-659) and carrying out data mining after Chavannes and Liu Mau-Tsai's source-books, thus providing at least a useful tool for easy reference. Our main goal is to make the project known to Turkish scholars and to look for eventual collaboration on a larger scale.

Keywords: Prosopography, First Türk Empire, Eurasian Steppe Nomads

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Introduction

First of all, I should apologize, since this project is not new –in fact, it was launched in 2015– and so far, the results have been meager, partly due to the circumstances of these last years. However, I thought that it would be appropriate to bring it to the attention of Turkish scholars, taking advantage of this congress. In a few words, my proposal is to carry out prosopographical research collecting biographical data about Inner Asian and, more concretely, Medieval Eurasian nomads of the Pre-Mongol period, including both relevant aliens interacting with them (sedentary or not, “civilized” or “barbarian”, both within and outside the nomadic world) and *anonymi* (recorded persons whose name is unknown) —a research which would no doubt improve our knowledge and understanding of their historical context and their relations with neighboring peoples.

In the proceedings of previous conferences, as a preliminary work, I have published a general introduction to the project, as well as lists of individuals from the West Eurasian steppes extracted from Martindale’s *PLRE*, covering the period from the late 4th to the early 7th centuries, mostly Attilanic Huns, their allies and opponents, as well as –to a lesser extent– other Hunnic and Oghuric peoples, as a sample of the possibilities of this kind of research.¹ Since these publications are easily available online I will spare unnecessary repetitions and I will come to the point: today I am turning my attention to the First Türk Empire by providing a third sample list of some hundred individuals from 551 to 581 (from Bumīn to Tatpar qayan, the period before the “great rift” – in Sinor’s² words– between the Eastern and Western Türks, the outbreak of civil war and the division of the First Khaganate),³ in this case mostly based on the corresponding sections in Liu Mau-Tsai’s work on the Chinese sources on the Eastern Türks (Liu 1958 = [L]), briefly discussing what I deem to be the main methodological issues.

Our main source of information for the First Türk Empire comes from Chinese records: monographic chapters on the Tujue 突厥 and the Western Regions (*xiyu* 西域), as well as passages from biographies and entries in the basic annals from the dynastic histories of the Northern Zhou, Northern Qi, Sui and Tang. Further evidence can be gained from alternative (non-official) histories of the Northern Dynasties and the Tang, Buddhist records and later historical encyclopedias. Contacts between the West and the First Türk Empire can mostly be traced from the main Byzantine historians of the 6th and 7th centuries; alongside this, Eastern Christian tradition supplements sources in Armenian, Georgian, Syriac and Arabic relevant to our interest. Last but not least, Muslim sources in Arabic and Persian provide us with useful data on Sasanian-Türk relations; without forgetting the Sogdian inscriptions of Bugut and Mongol küre, as well as occasional glimpses of the distant past in the Orkhon epigraphic monuments.⁴

1 Alemany 2019, 2019a (online links in the bibliography).

2 Sinor 1990: 305.

3 Given that Western (Byzantine and Muslim) sources are much less informative than Chinese ones, some individuals later than 581 have been added, since our main concern was how to amalgamate all these literary traditions.

4 Sources on the First Türk Empire quoted in the entries (for an extensive survey, see Stark 2008: 25-50):

I. Eastern (Chinese) sources: in the case of dynastic and unofficial histories we had to rely on online editions and only the chapter (*juan* 卷) is quoted // ^{Bj} = *benji* 本紀 “basic annals” // * = chapter giving the biography of the individual dealt with in the entry.

Quotation of relevant sources has been limited to a minimum in those cases when there are many, but I have tried to give them all when they are scarce; in the same way, my purpose is not solving problems of Old Turkic history, but to test the possibilities of the method, and that is why the entries dealing with Türk qayans (who are better known but whose deeds and even identification often give rise to controversy)⁵ are reduced to a sketch with basic data, while attention is centered on less known individuals. All data on Türks are collected in a resumed way according to this premise, while data on individuals from sedentary empires (China, Byzantium, Persia) and other neighboring peoples (Rouran, Tuyuhun, etc) are restricted to their interaction with the Türks. Whenever possible, emphasis is placed on what sources actually say, even if this leads to disagreement between different reports, mostly in Western (Byzantine & Muslim) traditions; given the preliminary nature of this paper and for reasons of space, eventual discussion has been left for a further stage. Entries show the following information:

Name (sources + Chinese/Greek/Arabic/Persian form of the name)	Date
prosopographical notice [name form in Liu 1958 (East) or <i>PLRE</i> III (West); Old Turkic (OT) rendering, if available and/or relevant, mostly after Moravcsik (<i>BT</i>)]	

The main problem of this period (in comparison to previous approaches) is the fact that, for the first time, we are faced with a nomadic world empire stretching from Manchuria to the Black Sea, attested in a plethora of sources from different traditions, most often not intermingled with each other. Since no written monument in Old Turkic has been preserved until the 8th century, entry names give the Chinese, Greek and/or Arabic/Persian forms attested in the sources; Old Turkic (mostly reconstructed) and Sogdian epigraphical forms are reserved for the final entry section in brackets ([]). In the same way, names from different traditions or even various names for the same person as attested in different authors are given separate entries and then related to each other (e.g. Shidianmi Kehan ~ Singibū' ~ Sizabulus ~ Stembischagan); as for myself, this helps to differentiate what every source tells under every name, which could be of paramount importance when identifications are not final. However, in order to avoid multiple entries, Türk qayans (*kehan* 可汗) are found under their Chinese title entry and their personal names are added therein. Chinese emperors (*di* 帝) are given entries under their posthumous names. In case of titles held by Chinese individuals, reference to Hucker 1985 [H] is provided. Related entries are indicated by the sign (→).

BQS = *Bei Qi Shu* 北齊書 “Book of Northern Qi” (550-577)

BS = *Bei Shi* 北史 “History of Northern Dynasties” (386-618)

DZJ = *Dazangjing* 大藏經 “Great Treasury Scriptures”, Chinese Buddhist Canon (quoted twice after L)

JTS = *Jiu Tang Shu* 舊唐書 “Old Book of Tang” (618-907)

SS = *Sui Shu* 隋書 “Book of Sui” (581-618)

XTS = *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐書 “New Book of Tang” (618-907)

ZS = *Zhou Shu* 周書 “Book of Zhou” (535-581)

II. Western (Byzantine and Muslim tradition): Men[ander] Prot[ector] (558-582 fragm. ed. Blockley), Ṭabarī (*Ta'riḥ*, ed. de Goeje), Ṭa'alibī (*Ta'riḥ gurar al-siyar*, ed. Zotenberg), Theoph[anes of] Byz[antium] (566-581 fragm. ed. Dindorf *FHG* IV), Theoph[anes Confessor], Theoph[ylact] Sim[ocatta] (582-602), Ferdowsī (*Šāhnāma*, ed. Mohl).

III. Center (epigraphical records): Sogdian inscriptions of Bugut and Xiao Hongnahai 小洪那海/ Mongolküre; Old Turkic inscriptions of the Second Türk Empire (BQ = Bilgä Qayan; KT = Kül Tegin).

5 E.g. *Niwar qayan*; for Pritsak 1985: 205-6; Sinor 1990: 305 = *Shabolüe/Shetu*, but for Yoshida 2019: 104 = *Yixiji*; cf. Rybatzki 2000: 216-17.

With all this in mind, the heterogeneous origin of the sources claims for a long-standing, international research project, midway between philology and history, and with a significant presence of sinologists, without forgetting, among others, specialists in Late Antiquity and Early Islam; results should, whenever possible, be made available in a computer accessible form – such as a database – allowing cross-searching between different fields. The entries should be enlarged in depth and include diverse information on every individual, when known and not necessarily in this order: name and variant names, gender, birth and death chronology (or at least *floruit*), physical attributes, ethnicity, family or tribal relations, religion, occupation, associated locations, status and held official titles, language skills, written works or figurative representations (if any), etc. The main narrative of the prosopographical entry should be organized through factoids, that is, assertions made by a particular source on a particular person at a particular moment, if possible, followed by the quotation or even the whole text of the relevant sources. Needless to say, the goal of this paper is not to give a true prosopography, but a sample of the prosopographical method as applied to the First Türk Empire; therefore, do not expect completion in any way, since the work is not final, but still to be done.

1. Abo Kehan (SS 84, etc 阿波可汗) r. 581-587

Son of → Muhan Kehan, personal name Daluobian 大邏便, Tujue⁺ qayan [L 771^a *A-po Khagan* / 805^b *Ta-lo-pien*].

2. Anagaëus (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Ἀνάγαιος / Ἀναγαῖος) 576

Ruler of the Utigurs (ἐκράτει τοῦ φύλου τῶν Οὐτιγούρων) somewhere north of the Caucasus, campaigned in the area of Bosphorus leading a Türk force, probably on →Turxanthus' orders [PLRE III 59 s.v. *Anagaëus*; BT 69 **Anagai*].

3. Anagui (ZS 28, 50; BQS 4 [Bⁱ552]; BS 98 阿那瓌) 552

Rouran⁺ ruler (*zhu* 主) from the Yujiulü 郁久閼 clan, committed suicide after being defeated by →Yili Kehan [L 771^a *A-na-kuei*].

4. Anancastes (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Ἀναγκάστης) 571/576

Envoy to Byzantium, where he arrived together with some Türks who later left with →Valentinus [PLRE III 59 s.v. *Anancastes*; maybe a Goth, cf. Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576.2 *Anagasti*; or maybe himself a Türk, as suggested by BT 69].

5. Anluo (SS 84 菴羅) 581

Son of →Tabo Kehan, Tujue⁺ qayan, renounced the title on behalf of →Shabolüe Kehan [L 772^b *An-lo*; OT **Umna* ~ Bugut *wmn*’, cf. Yoshida 2019: 101].

6. Anluochen (ZS 50; BQS 4 [Bⁱ552]; BS 98 菴羅辰) 552-554

A Rouran⁺, →Anagui's son; after his father's defeat by the Tujue⁺ he fled to Bei Qi⁺; welcomed by →Wenxuandi, he settled on the river Mayi 馬邑; later he revolted but was repeatedly defeated [L772^b *An-lo-tsch'en*].

7. Annuopantuo (ZS 50 安諾槃陶) 545

A Sogdian (*hu* 胡) from Jiuquan 酒泉, sent as envoy to →Yili Kehan by →Yuwen Tai [L772^b *An-no-p'an-t'o*; Sogd. *'n'xtβntk /Anāxətvande/*, cf. Lurje 2010: § 95].

8. Arsilas (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Ἀρσίλας) M/L VI

“Senior” (supreme/eldest?) ruler of the Türks (τῷ παλαιτέρῳ μονάρχῳ Τούρκων) [BT 72 **Arslan*; cf. Beckwith 1987: 207 maybe a Greek form of the *Ashina* 阿史那 clan’s name: unlikely].

9. Ascel (Theoph. am 6055 Ἀσκήλ) 563

King of the Hermechiones (τοῦ ῥηγὸς Ἑρμηχιόνων, often identified as Türks), sent envoys to Constantinople [PLRE III 133-4 s.v. *Ascel*: Hermechiones = Avars / a tribe from the Baltic region; but cf. Sinor 1990: 302 “a Türk delegation”; OT **Eskil*, cf. BT 75].

10. Ashina (ZS 5 [Bj565 568], 9*, 33 阿史那) 551-582

Daughter of → Muhan Kehan, she married Bei Zhou⁺ →Wudi in 568 and became empress (H 2836 *huanghou* 皇后) [L 771^a *A-schi-na, Kaiserin*; OT **Ašina*].

11. Bahrām VI (Ṭabarī 992-1001 بهرام, Theoph. Sim. iii.6.9-16 Βαράμ, etc) 588-591

Persian general, surnamed Čōbīn, killed → Šāba with a legendary arrow shot and captured his son → Barmūda; later, when he deposed →Hormozd IV, confronting his heir Husrav II Abarvēz, his army included a contingent of Türks; after being defeated, he escaped to the land of the Türks and remained there until Persian agents brought about his death [for additional sources PLRE III 166-7 s.v. *Bahram 2*; Bosworth 1999: 305 n. 714].

12. Baoxian (DZJ 50.433, 55.276 寶暹) 582-584

Buddhist monk from Xiangzhou 相州, went to India with other monks and acquired 260 Sanskrit sūtras, but on coming back they stayed with the Tujue⁺ and →Shenajueduo because of the downfall of Bei Qi⁺ and the persecution of Buddhism by Bei Zhou⁺ [L 796^b *Pao-sien*].

13. Barmūda (Ṭabarī 993; Ṭa’alibī 648-57 برمودة Ferdowsī VI 604-689 588 برمودة)

Son of → Šāba, after his father’s death he was attacked, besieged in Baykand (Ṭa’alibī بيكند) or in the fortress of Āvāza (Ferdowsī آوازه دژ) and forced to surrender by Bahrām Čōbīn [Dīnawarī *Aḥbār al-ṭiwāl* 81 gives a more Turkic form يلتکين *Y.l.t.kīn*, held to be an invention of a later age; cf. Bosworth 1999: 303 n. 710].

14. Bochanus (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Βόχανος) 576

Türk military leader, sent by →Turxanthus with a large force against the Romans in Bosphorus [PLRE III 235 s.v. *Bochanus*; OT **Buqan?* / *Buqa-qan?*, cf. BT 108].

- 15. Bo Jian** (*BQS* 40* 白建) 564
Bei Qi⁺ Cavalry Officer of the Great Chancellery (H 5889, 6876 *da chengxiang fu qibing canjun* 大丞相府騎兵參軍), on →Wuchengdi's orders he recovered and took care of the war horses from Daizhou 代州 and Xinzhou 忻州 evaded after a Tujue⁺ inroad [L 798^a *Po Kien*].
- 16. Buli Kehan** (*ZS* 19; *SS* 84 步離可汗) 563
Son of →Rudan Kehan, marched against Bei Qi⁺ together with →Muhan Kehan, →Tabo Kehan and 100,000 horsemen [L 798^b *Pu-li Khagan*; OT **Böri qayan*].
- 17. Datou Kehan** (*SS* 1-2 [^{Bj}584 599], 84 *et passim* 達頭可汗) r. 575-602
Son of →Shidianmi Kehan, personal name Dianjue 玷厥, Tujue⁺ qayan [L 805^b *Ta-t'ou Khagan*; OT **Tardu qayan* ~ Men. Prot. Τάρδος →Tardu].
- 18. Daxi Wu** (*BQS* 7 [^{Bj}563]; *ZS* 19 達奚武) 563-564
A general sent by Bei Zhou⁺ →Wudi with some 10,000 men to join the Tujue⁺ against Bei Qi⁺ [L 805^a *Ta-hi Wu*].
- 19. Dengshuzi** (*ZS* 50 鄧叔子) 552-555
Ruler of the Rouran⁺ after his nephew →Anagui's death; defeated by →Muhan Kehan, he fled to Xi Wei⁺, but was later delivered to the Tujue⁺ by →Yuwen Tai and then executed [L 808^a *Teng-schu-tse*].
- 20. Dengzhu** (*BQS* 4 [^{Bj}552], *BS* 98 登注) 552-553
→Anagui's cousin, who held the title *silifa* 俟利發 (OT **iltäbär*); he fled to Bei Qi⁺ and later was chosen as leader of the Rouran⁺, but was killed by his advisor Afuti 阿富提 [L 808^a *Teng-tschu-sse-li-(fa)*].
- 21. Dou Yi** (*ZS* 5 [^{Bj}565], 9, 30*, 50 竇毅) 565
Bei Zhou⁺ General-in-chief (H 5897 *da jiangjun* 大將軍), Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Shenwu 神武, sent along with →Yuwen chun, →Yuwen Gui and →Yang Jian to escort the Tujue⁺ princess →Ashina [L 809^b *Tou I*].
- 22. Duan Shao** (*BQS* 7 [^{Bj}564] 段韶) 564
Bei Qi⁺ general, Prince (H 7634 *wang* 王) of Pingyuan 平原, on Emperor →Wucheng's orders he chased beyond the border the remnants of the defeated Bei Zhou⁺ and Tujue⁺ army led by →Yang Zhong [L 814^b *Tuan Schao*].
- 23. Dulan Kehan** (*SS* 84, etc 都藍可汗) r. 589-599
Son of →Shabolüe Kehan, personal name Yongyulü 雍虞閭, Tujue⁺ qayan [L 813^a *Tu-lan Khagan* / 828^a *Yung-yü-lü*].

- 24. Euty chius** (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Εὐτύχιος) 571/576
Envoy to the Türks, some of whom accompanied him back to Byzantium and later returned home with → Valentinus [*PLRE* III 476 s.v. *Euty chius* 2].
- 25. Feidi** (*ZS* 50 廢帝) 553
Xi Wei⁺ Emperor (r. 551-553), under his reign →Yixiji Kehan sent an embassy with a present of 50,000 horses [L 774^a *Fei-ti der West Wei*].
- 26. Gao Baoning** (*BQS* 12, 41*; *SS* 84, etc 高寶寧) 578-581
Prefect (H 7567 *cishi* 刺史) of Yingzhou 營州 (Liaoning), with Tujue⁺ support he enthroned → Gao Shaoyi, who appointed him Chancellor (H 483 *chengxiang* 丞相); he tried to aid → Lu Changqi without success leading several myriads of cavalry, Barbarians and Chinese (夷夏 *Yi Xia*); later he was joined by → Shabolüe Kehan to attack Linyüzhen 臨渝鎮 and took it [L 783^a *Kao Pao-ning*].
- 27. Gao Shaoyi** (*ZS* 6 [Bⁱ577 580], 50; *BQS* 12*; *SS* 39 高紹義) 577-580
Third son of Bei Qi⁺ →Wenxuandi, Prince of Fanyang 范陽, after the fall of his dynasty went into exile among the Tujue⁺ during → Tabo Kehan's rule and claimed the throne with their military assistance without success; finally, he was turned over to Bei Zhou⁺ → Jingdi by →Heruoyi [L 783^b *Kao Schao-i*].
- 28. Georgius** (Men. Prot. 10.4 Γεώργιος) 569-571
Envoy, a member of → Zemarchus' embassy; on the journey back he set off for Byzantium with twelve Türks by a shorter route [*PLRE* III 515 s.v. *Georgius* 8].
- 29. Gongdi** (*ZS* 50 恭帝) 555-556
Xi Wei⁺ emperor (r. 554-556), during his reign →Shi Ning waged war on the Tuyuhun⁺ with Tujue⁺ support; his death prevented him from marrying a daughter of → Muhan Kehan, betrothed to him through →Yuwen Tai's mediation [L 788^b *Kung-ti der West Wei*].
- 30. Heluoba** (*ZS* 28 賀羅拔) 555
Tuyuhun⁺ king, tried unsuccessfully to block the advance of →Shi Ning and →Muhan Kehan at a pass [L 778^b *Ho-lo-pa*].
- 31. Herodianus** (Men. Prot. 19.1 Ἡρωδιανός) 571/576
Envoy to the Türks, some of whom accompanied him back to Byzantium and later left with → Valentinus [*PLRE* III s.v. *Herodianus* 2].
- 32. Heruo Yi** (*ZS* 50; *BQS* 12; *SS* 39*, 53 賀若誼) 580-582
Bei Zhou⁺ envoy to →Tabo Kehan, requested the delivery of →Gao Shaoyi, captured him and was rewarded for this mission with the title General-in-chief (H 5897 *da jiangjun* 大將軍);

later sent against Barbarians (*hu* 胡)⁶ as Area Commander-in-chief (H 7110 *zongguan* 總官) of Lingzhou 靈州 under Sui⁺ →Wendi 2 [L 778^a *Ho-jo I*].

33. Hexi Yong'an (*BQS* 41* 紇奚永安) 576

Bei Qi⁺ Commander (H 3103 *kaifu* 開府), sent as envoy to →Tabo Kehan by →Houzhudi to ask for help against Bei Zhou⁺ [L 778^a *Ho-hi Yung-an*].

34. Hormozd IV (Ṭabarī 988, 991-3 هرمز; Theoph. Sim. iii.6.9 Ὁρμίσδας, etc) 588

King of Persia (r. 579-590), the son of a Türk princess (→*Anonyma* 2); he had to face →Šāba's invasion, thwarted by his general →Bahrām Čōbīn [*PLRE* III 603-4 s.v. *Hormisdas IV*].

35. Houzhudi (*BQS* 8 [Bj576], 41 後主帝) 576

Bei Qi⁺ Emperor (r. 565-576), sent →Hexi Yong'an to →Tabo Kehan to ask for help and intended to flee to the Tujue⁺ after his defeat by Bei Zhou⁺ →Wudi [L 779^a *Hou-tschu der Nord-Ts'i*].

36. Hulü Guang (*BQS* 17* 斛律光) 564

Bei Qi⁺ general under →Wuchengdi, attacked the Tujue⁺ with his cavalry and captured more than a thousand horses [L 779^b *Hu-lü Kuang*].

37. Hulü Xian (*BQS* 17* 斛律羨) 564-565

Bei Qi⁺ Commander-in-chief (H 7311 *dudu* 都督) of Youzhou 幽州, organized its defences against the Tujue⁺ and acted as intermediary in peace negotiations between →Muhan Kehan and Bei Qi⁺ →Wuchengdi [L779^b *Hu-lü Sien*].

38. Husrav I (Ṭabarī 895-6, 899 ڪسرى; Men. Prot. fr.10.1-3 Χοσρόης, etc) 560/570

King of Persia (r. 531-579, surnamed *Anōšruvān*), married a daughter of a Türk qayan (→*Anonyma* 2) and marched together with the latter against the Hephthalites; he received a Türk embassy from →Sizabulus consisting of Sogdian envoys led by →Maniach, but later poisoned most of the members of a second embassy, causing hostility and war between Persians and Türks [*PLRE* III 303-6 s.v. *Chosroes I*; Christensen 1944: 373, 380].

39. Jingdi (*ZS* 8 [Bj579 580], 50 靜帝) 579-580

Bei Zhou⁺ Emperor (r. 579-581), when a marriage alliance was proposed by →Tabo Kehan, he gave him the Qianjin Princess (→*Anonyma* 3) as wife and was delivered →Gao Shaoyi in exchange [L 811^b *Tsing-ti der Nord-Tschou*].

40. Justin II (Men. Prot. fr. 10.1-2, 13.5 Ἰουστινός) 568/9

Byzantine emperor (r. 565-578), at the beginning of the 4th year of his reign he received a Türk embassy from →Sizabulus led by →Maniach and sent →Zemarchus as envoy in reply; asked to join the Türks against the Persians [*PLRE* III 754-56 s.v. *Iustinus* 5].

6 Here maybe Türks, not Iranians or Sogdians (cf. Liu 1958: 95 “Barbaren”).

41. Katulph (Men. Prot. fr. 4.3, 10.1 Κάτουλφος) 560/570

A Hephthalite nobleman, betrayed his own tribe to the Türks and later joined the Persians; he advised →Husrav I to buy and burn the raw silk brought by the Sogdian envoys led by →Maniach before their eyes and later to poison the members of a second Türk embassy [OT **Qatīl-p?*, cf. *BT* 156; monographic study in Felföldi 2001].

42. Kualü (ZS 50 夸呂) 555

Tuyuhun⁺ ruler, first to adopt the title *kehan* 可汗 (OT *qayan*); →Shi Ning and →Muhan Kehan attacked him by surprise and defeated him, taking his wife and children captives and seizing much booty [L 787^b *K'ua-lü*].

43. Kudi Zhi (ZS 33* 庫狄峙) 554

Commander Unequaled in Honor (H 3105 *kaifu yitong sansi* 開府儀同三司) and Director of the Chancellery (H 5229 *shizhong* 侍中), sent as Xi Wei⁺ envoy to the Tujue⁺ by →Yuwen Tai to convince them to break relations with Bei Qi⁺ [L 787^a *K'u-ti Tschī*].

44. Kunaxolan (Theoph. Sim. vii.8.9 Κονναξολάν) L VI

One of three *qayans* (χαράνοι), with →Sparzeugun and →Tuldich, who helped the Türk *qayan* in the East (→*Anonymus* 4) to defeat the usurper →Turum [absent from *PLRE* III; OT **Qunaqšolhan?*, cf. *BT* 168].

45. Kuti (BQS 4 [^{Bi}552]; BS 98 庫提) 552-553

Elder son of →Dengzhu, chosen as Rouran⁺ ruler after his father's death, fled back to Bei Qi⁺ under attack by the Tujue⁺ and →Wenxundi replaced him with →Anluozhen [L 787^b *K'u-t'i*].

46. Li Delin (BQS 20 李德林) 565/576

Bei Qi⁺ Vice Minister of the Palace Secretariat (H 1620, 5278 *zhongshu shilang* 中書侍郎), wrote a preface for →Liu Shiqing's translation of the *Nirvāṇasūtra* into the language of the Tujue⁺ [L 790^a *Li Tê-lin*].

47. Liu Shiqing (BQS 20* 劉世清) 565/576

Bei Qi⁺ Commander Unequaled in Honor (H 3105 *kaifu yitong sansi* 開府儀同三司), a polyglot, on →Houzhudi's orders he translated the *Nirvāṇasūtra* into the language of the Tujue⁺ as a present for their *qayan* [L 792^a *Liu Schi-ts'ing*].

48. Liu Xiong (ZS 50; BS 66* 劉雄) 578

Bei Zhou⁺ Pillar of State (H 1400 *zhuguo* 柱國), led an army against the Tujue⁺ under →Tabo Kehan when they attacked Youzhou 幽州 (Hebei), but was defeated and killed [L 791^b *Liu Hiung*].

49. Lu Changqi (*BQS* 12, 41 盧昌期) 578

A rebel against Bei Zhou⁺ from Youzhou 幽州, captured Fanyang 范陽 and joined →Gao Shaoyi, who was supported by the Tujue⁺, but was defeated by →Yuwen Shenju [L 792^b *Lu Tsch'ang-k'i*].

50. Luo Moyuan (*ZS* 33 羅莫緣) 565

Tujue⁺ envoy in →Zhao Wenbiao's retinue escorting →Ashina [L 792^b *Lo-mo-yüan*; maybe *Moyuan* 莫緣 ~ OT **Bayan*?, cf. L 535 n. 336; Skaff 2012: 346 n. 10].

51. Maniach (Men. Prot. fr. 10.1-3 Μανιάχ) 568/569

Sogdian ruler (τῶν Σογδαῖτῶν προειστήκει), a subject (κατήκοος) of the Türk qayan, sent as envoy to →Husrav I and →Justin II, he advised →Sizabulus to seek alliance with the Romans; he set off back with →Zemarchus embassy, but died before the latter's return and his son (→*Anonymus* 1) got his position [*PLRE* III 810 s.v. *Maniach*; OT **Manaq(a)*, cf. *BT* 181; maybe Uighur *Manyaq*, Chinese **Moruo* 末弱, cf. Wang 2020].

52. Maurice (Theoph. Sim. vii.7.7 Μαυρίκιος) 595

Byzantine emperor (r. 582-602), he received an embassy from the Türk qayan in the East (→*Anonymus* 4) [*PLRE* III 855-60 s.v. *Fl. Mauricius Tiberius* 4; for the date, cf. de la Vaissière 2015: 91].

53. Mei Shenglang (*BQS* 8 [^{Bi}576] 梅勝郎) 576

Bei Qi⁺ General of the Palace Guard (H 3754 *lingjun jiangjun* 領軍將軍), persuaded →Houzhudi not to flee to the Tujue⁺ [L 793^b *Mei Scheng-lang*].

54. Menander (Men. Prot. fr. 1 *et passim* Μένανδρος) L VI

A Guardsman (Προτίκτωρ), author of a history of the period ca. 558-582 – in spite of being only fragmentarily preserved, one of the main sources on the Western half of the First Türk Empire and Byzantine-Türk contacts [*PLRE* III 873 s.v. *Menander* 1].

55. Mingdi (*ZS* 4 [^{Bi}558 560], 50 明帝) 558 560

Bei Zhou⁺ Emperor (r. 557-560), he twice received envoys from →Muhan Kehan [L 794^a *Ming-ti der Nord-Tschou*].

56. Muhan Kehan (*ZS* 9, 19, 28, 33, 50; *BQS* 17; *SS* 39, 46, 84 木汗可汗) r. 553-572

Son of →Yili Kehan, also known as Muhan 木扞 or Mugan 木杆, personal names Sijin 俟斤 and Yandu 燕都, maybe the Da Yiniwen Muhan 大伊尼溫木汗 in the inscription of the Tujue⁺ temple in Chang'an (cf. L 805^b); Tujue⁺ qayan [L 794^b *Mu-kan Khagan* / 801^a *Sse-kin* / 824^b *Yen-tu*; OT **Muqan qayan*, Bugut *mwx'n*].

57. Paulus (Men. Prot. 19.1 Παῦλος) 571/576

A native of Cilicia, envoy to the Türks, some of whom accompanied him back to Byzantium and later left with →Valentinus [*PLRE* III 979 s.v. *Paulus* 19].

58. Rudan Kehan (*BS* 99; *SS* 84 褥但可汗) L VI

Son of →Yili Kehan, father of →Buli Kehan [L 782^b *Ju-tan Khagan*].

59. Šāba (Ṭabarī 991-93 شابة Ṭa'alibī 642-47 شاه Ferdowsī VI 566-621 ساوه) 588

Supreme ruler of the Türks (ملك الترك الاعظم *malik al-Turk al-a'zam*), in the eleventh year of →Hormozd IV (r. 579-590) he attacked the Sasanian empire reaching Bādġīs and Herāt, but was defeated and killed by →Bahrām VI [often identified as →Yehu Kehan, cf. A. Sh. Shahbazi *EIr*² online s.v. *Bahrām VI Čōbīn*].

60. Saroes (Men. Prot. fr. 5.1, 10.5 Σαρώσιος, Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 Σαρώης) 557/8 571/2

King of the Alans (ὁ Ἀλανῶν βασιλεύς), mediated between Justin II and the Avars fleeing from the Türks; welcomed →Zemarchus' embassy, but had a conflict with the Türk envoys accompanying him [*PLRE* III 1115 s.v. *Saroes*].

61. Shabolüe Kehan (*SS* 1 [^{Bj}581 585 586 587], 84, etc 沙鉢略可汗) r. 581-587

Personal name *Shetu* 攝圖, son of →Yixiji Kehan, Tujue⁺ qayan [L 803^a *Scha-po-lüe* / 804^a *Schê-t'u*; OT **Īšbara qayan*].

62. Shenajueduo (*DZJ* 50.433, 55.276 闐那崛多) 574-584

Buddhist monk from Puruṣapura (Gandhāra), left China when Buddhism was forbidden by Bei Zhou⁺, staying with the Tujue⁺ for more than a decade invited by →Tabo Kehan, but returned to China later under Sui⁺ →Wendi 2, a Buddhist devotee [L 804^a *Schê-na-küe-to*; Skt. *Jñānagupta*].

63. Shidianmi Kehan (*JTS* 194b; *XTS* 215b 室點密可汗) r. 552-575

Younger brother of →Yili Kehan, also known as Shidianmi 室點蜜, Western Tujue qayan [Chavannes 1900: 322^b *Che-tie-mi*; OT *Istāmi qayan* KT E1, BQ E3 →Singībū', Sizabulus, Stembischagan].

64. Shi Ning (*ZS* 28*, 50 史寧) 555

Bei Zhou⁺ Prefect (H 7567 *cishi* 刺史) of Liangzhou 涼州, sent by →Yuwen Tai to wage war against the Tuyuhun⁺ with the assistance of →Muhan Kehan's cavalry [L 804^b *Schi Ning*].

65. Singībū' (Ṭabarī 895-6 سنجبوا) 560/563

Türk qayan (خاقان الترك *Hāqān al-Turk*), he attacked and defeated →W.r.z, king of the Hephthalites, conquering most of their lands; won over the Abḡaz, B.n.ġ.r (*Bulġār) and Balanġar to his side; threatened to attack both Bāb Ṣūl (Darband) and Ğurġān, but desisted

because of Sasanian border fortifications [OT **Sir-yabyu* →Sizabulus, cf. Bosworth 1999: 153-4 n. 394; currently identified as →Shidianmi Kehan].

66. Sizabulus (Men. Prot. fr. 4.2, 10.1-4, 19.1 Σιζάβουλος, Σιλζιβουλος) 552-576

Leader of the Türks (ὁ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμών), he campaigned against the Hephthalites; chased the Avars; received →Zemarchus after sending two unsuccessful embassies to →Husrav I and waged war on the Persians; concluded a treaty with →Justin II; his burial was conducted by →Turxanthus and attended by →Valentinus [OT **Sir-yabyu*, cf. *BT* 275-6 →Singibū'; currently identified as →Shidianmi Kehan].

67. Sparzeugun (Theoph. Sim. vii.8.9 Σπαρζεγυοῦν) L VI

One of three Great qayans (μεγάλους χαγάνους), with →Kunaxolan and →Tuldich, who helped the Türk qayan in the East (→*Anonymus* 4) to defeat the usurper →Turum [*PLRE* III 1181 s.v. *Sparzeugoun*; OT **Šparsājun*, cf. *BT* 290; better **Išbara Sajun*, where ζευγοῦν/*sajun* ~ Chin. *jiangjun* 將軍 “general”, cf. de la Vaissière 2019: 101].

68. Stembischagan (Theoph. Sim. vii.7.9 Στεμβισχάγαν) M/L VI

An ally of a Türk qayan in the East (→*Anonymus* 4), whom he helped subdue the Avars [*PLRE* III 1182 s.v. *Stembischadas*; OT *Istämi qayan* →Shidianmi Kehan].

69. Suozhou (*ZS* 28 娑周) 555

Tuyuhun⁺ king, confronted by →Muhan Kehan and →Shi Ning, killed in battle by the latter [L 801^a *So-tschou*].

70. Tabo Kehan (*ZS* 8 [Bj579], 19, 33, 50; *BQS* 12, 41; *SS* 84, etc 他鉢可汗) r. 572-580

Third son of →Yili Kehan, also known as Tuobo 佗鉢, probably the same person as Ditou Kehan Ashina Kutou 地頭可汗阿史那庫頭, Tujue⁺ qayan [L 806^a *T'a-po Kaghan* / 808^a *Ti-t'ou Kagan* / 771^b *A-schi-na K'u-t'ou*; OT **Tatpar qayan*, Bugut *t'ip'r*].

71. Tagma (Men. Prot. fr. 10.3 Ταγμα) 571

Türk envoy sent by →Sizabulus to the Romans, a *tarqan* (ἀξιόμα δὲ ταρχάν), he accompanied →Zemarchus back to Constantinople [*PLRE* III 1214 s.v. *Tagma*; OT **Ταγμα*, cf. *BT* 296].

72. Taisan (Theoph. Sim. vii.9.2 Ταϊσάν) L VI

Name of the regional commander (κλιματάρχης) of the people of Taugast (Ταυγάστ ~ OT *Tabyač* ~ Chin. *Tuoba* 拓拔), meaning “son of god” (υἱὸς θεοῦ), on good terms with the Türks [*PLRE* III 1214 s.v. *Taisan*; Chin. *Tianzi* 天子 “son of Heaven”, standard name for supreme rulers of China (H 6719)].

73. Tang Yong (*BS* 55* 唐邕) 562

Bei Qi⁺ Chamberlain for the National Treasury (H 6043 *da sinong qing* 大司農卿), on

→Wuchengdi's orders he went to Jinyang 晉陽 and efficiently recruited soldiers and horses against a Tujue⁺ inroad [L 807^b *T'ang Yung*].

74. Tardu (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Τάρδου) 576

Ruler of the Türks in the vicinity of mount Ectel, son of →Sizabulus and brother of →Turxanthus, visited by →Valentinus' embassy [*PLRE* III 1217 s.v. *Tardou*; OT **Tarduš*?, cf. *BT* 299 →Datou Kehan].

75. Tiberius II (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1 Τιβέριος) 576

Byzantine emperor (r. 578-582), in the second year of his co-regency as Caesar (Καῖσαρ) with empress Sophia because of →Justin II's insanity he sent →Valentinus' embassy to the Türks [*PLRE* III 1323-26 s.v. *Tiberius Constantinus I*].

76. Tiefa (*BQS* 4 [^{Bi}552 553]; *BS* 98 鐵伐) 552-553

→Dengzhu's second son, ruler of those Rouran⁺ who did not flee before the Tujue⁺, killed by the Khitan [L 808^b *T'ie-fa*].

77. Tuldich (Theoph. Sim. vii.8.9 Τουλδίχ) L VI

One of three Great qayans (μεγάλους χαγάνους), with →Kunaxolan and →Sparzeugun, who helped the Türk qayan in the East (→*Anonymus* 4) to defeat the usurper →Turum [*PLRE* III 1332 s.v. *Touldich*; OT **Tuldiq* ~ *Tuldik*, cf. *BT* 318].

78. Turum (Theoph. Sim. vii.8.8 Τουρούμ) L VI

A relative of the Türk qayan in the East (πρὸς γένος καθεστῶς τῷ Χαγάνῳ →*Anonymus* 4), after rebelling against the latter he was defeated with the help of other three qayans: →Kunaxolan, →Sparzeugun and →Tuldich [absent from *PLRE* III; OT **Turum*, cf. *BT* 328, but probably identical with →Dulan Kehan, cf. de la Vaissière 2019: 100].

79. Turxanthus (Men. Prot. fr. 19.1-2 Τούρξανθος) 576

Türk qayan (εἷς τῶν παρὰ Τούρκων ἡγεμόνων), son of →Sizabulus and brother of →Tardu, one of the eight rulers of the Türks, he was visited by →Valentinus' embassy; later he dispatched an army against the Roman city of Bosphorus [*PLRE* III 1333 s.v. *Tourxanthus*; OT title **Türk-šad*, cf. *BT* 328]

80. Valentinus (Men. Prot. fr. 5.2, 19.1 Οὐαλεντῖνος) 568-571 576

An imperial bodyguard (εἷς τῶν βασιλικῶν μαχαιροφόρων / ξιφηφόρων, a *scribo*?), Rome's first envoy to the Avars, he possibly accompanied →Zemarchus on his embassy to the Türks; later he was sent on a second embassy to →Turxanthus and →Tardu [*PLRE* III 1353 s.v. *Valentinus* 3].

81. Wang Bao (*ZS* 41* 王褒) 553/572

Vice Minister of Works (H 2439 *xiao sikong* 小司空), court poet and official in Xi Wei⁺ and Bei Zhou⁺ service, composed the inscription of the Tujue⁺ temple in Chang'an [L 820^a *Wang-Pao*].

82. Wang Jie (ZS 19 王傑) 564

Bei Zhou⁺ general, helped →Yang Zhong to subdue the Jihu 稽胡 by threatening them with a Tujue⁺ attack [L 819^b *Wang Kie*].

83. Wang Qing (ZS 33* 王慶) 563 565-572

Bei Zhou⁺ envoy to the Tujue⁺ on several occasions, every year since 565; he probably held the title Grand Master of Defense (*wubo dafu* 武伯大夫); known to have refused to slash his face as a sign of mourning at the time of →Muhan Kehan's death [L 820^a *Wang K'ing*].

84. Wendi 1 (ZS 50 文帝) 551

Xi Wei⁺ Emperor (r. 535-551), upon his death →Yili Kehan sent an embassy to express condolences with a present of 200 horses [L821^a *Wen-ti der West Wei*].

85. Wendi 2 (SS 1-2, 84, etc 文帝) r. 581-604

Sui⁺ Emperor, personal name Yang Jian 楊堅, son of →Yang Zhong, regent (580) and later founder of his dynasty; he improved border security, fortifications and the Great Wall against the Tujue⁺ and weakened their power by creating dissension among them [L 821^a *Wen-ti der Sui*].

86. Wenxuandi (BQS 4 [Bⁱ553 554 555], 12; BS 98 文宣帝) 553-555

Bei Qi⁺ Emperor (r. 550-559), fought off the Tujue⁺ and received tribute from them; welcomed the Rouran⁺ remnants under →Anluochen; ordered the construction of 3,000 *li* of the Great Wall, possibly against the Tujue⁺ [L 821^a *Wen-süan-ti der Nord-Ts'i*].

87. *W.r.z (Ṭabarī 895 وروز)

King of the Hephthalites (ملك الهياطلة *malik al-Hayāṭila*), attacked and killed with the greater part of his troops by →Singibū' [maybe close to Av. *varāza-*, MPers. *Warāz* "wild boar", cf. Bosworth 1999: 152 n. 393].

88. Wuchengdi (ZS 7 [Bⁱ563 564], 11; BQS 17; BS 55 武成帝) 563-567

Bei Qi⁺ Emperor (r. 537-569), waged war against an alliance of Bei Zhou⁺ →Wudi with the Tujue⁺; later, as from 565, he received tribute from the Tujue⁺ [L 822^a *Wu-tsch'eng-ti der Nord-Ts'i*].

89. Wudi (ZS 5-6, 50, etc 武帝) 563-4 568 578

Bei Zhou⁺ emperor (r. 560-578), temple name Gaozu (高祖), son of →Yuwen Tai, brother of →Yuwen Chun; entered into an alliance with the Tujue⁺ and launched attacks against Bei Qi⁺ with their support; married →Muhan Kehan's daughter →Ashina; engaged in a military campaign against the Tujue⁺ shortly before his death [L 822^a *Wu-ti der Nord-Tschou*].

90. Yang Jian (ZS 5 [Bⁱ565], 9, 30, 33, 50 楊荐) 563-565

Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Nan'an 南安, Xi Wei⁺ envoy to the Rouran⁺ (535-550) and later

also thrice Bei Zhou⁺ envoy to the Tujue⁺; sent along with →Yuwen Chun, →Yuwen Gui and →Dou Yi to escort →Ashina to →Wudi [L 823^a *Yang Tsien*].

91. Yang Zhong (ZS 5 [Bⁱ563 564], 11, 19*, 33, 50; BQS 7 [Bⁱ563] 楊忠) 563-564

Bei Zhou⁺ general, Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Sui 隋 and Pillar of State (H 1400 *zhuguo* 柱國), attacked Bei Qi⁺ and besieged Jinyang 晉陽 supported by the Tujue⁺, but was defeated by →Duan Shao [L 823^a *Yang Tschung*].

92. Yehu Kehan (SS 51, 84, etc 葉護可汗) 587-588

Personal name Chuluohou 處羅侯, also known as Mohe Kehan 莫何可汗, Tujue⁺ qayan [L818^b *Tsch'u-lo-hou* / 823^b *Ye-hu Khagan* / 794^a *Mo-ho Khagan*; since Chavannes Yehu 葉護, Mohe 莫何 ~ OT **yabyu*, **baya*, but cf. Yoshida 2019: 100 where Mohe 莫何 ~ Bugut *my'*; often identified as →Šāba).

93. Yili Kehan (ZS 50; SS 84; XTS 215b 伊利可汗) 545-552

Personal name Tumen 土門, Tujue⁺ chieftain under Rouran⁺ rule, defeated the Tiele⁺, revolted against the Rouran⁺ and became the first Tujue⁺ qayan [L 781^b *I-li Khagan* / 814^a *T'umen*; OT **Illig* / *Bumīn qayan* KT E1, BQ E3].

94. Yixiji Kehan (ZS 50 乙息記可汗) r. 553

Son of →Yili Kehan, personal name Keluo 科羅, Türk qayan [L 781^b *I-si-ki Khagan* / 786^b *K'o-lo*; OT **Issik qayan*].

95. Yuan Hui (SS 46*, 51 元暉) ¹555 ²565 ³581

Bei Zhou⁺ envoy to the Tujue⁺ ¹to establish friendly relations with →Muhan Kehan, ²to bring wedding gifts to →Ashina and ³to present a wolf head standard to →Datou Kehan and create discord between him and →Shabolüe Kehan [L 827^a *Yuan Hui*].

96. Yuwen Ce (ZS 27* 宇文測) 542

Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Guangchuan 廣川, Xi Wei⁺ →Wendi 1's nephew, after being transferred to Suizhou 綏州 (Shaanxi) he put an end to yearly Tujue⁺ inroads through a ruse [L 827^a *Yü-wen Ts'é*].

97. Yuwen Chun (ZS 5 [Bⁱ565], 9, 33, 50 宇文純) 565

Son of →Yuwen Tai, brother of Bei Zhou⁺ →Wudi, Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Chen 陳, sent along with →Yuwen Gui, →Dou Yi and →Yang Jian to escort →Ashina [L 827^a *Yü-wen Tsch'un*].

98. Yuwen En (BQS 12 宇文恩) 578

Bei Zhou⁺ General-in-chief (H 5897 *da jiangjun* 大將軍), sent by →Yuwen Shenju with 4,000 men to Youzhou 幽州 against →Gao Shaoyi and the Tujue⁺; he was defeated and lost half of his army [L 826^b *Yü-wen En*].

- 99. Yuwen Gui** (ZS 5 [Bj565], 9, 33, 50 宇文貴) 565
Bei Zhou⁺ official, Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Xu 许, sent along with →Yuwenchun, →Dou Yi and →Yang Jian to escort →Ashina [L 827^a *Yu-wen Kuei*].
- 100. Yuwen Hu** (ZS 11*, 19, 50 宇文護) 564
Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Jin 晉, regent of Bei Zhou⁺ dynasty (r. 556-572), launched an attack against Luoyang⁺ allied to the Tujue⁺ but was defeated by Bei Qi⁺ armies [L 826^b *Yü-wen Hu*].
- 101. Yuwen Shen** (ZS 5 [Bj572] 宇文深) 572
Bei Zhou⁺ General-in-chief (H 5897 *da jiangjun* 大將軍), Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Changcheng 昌城, sent by →Wudi as envoy to the Tujue⁺ [L 827^a *Yü-wen Schen*].
- 102. Yuwen Shenju** (BQS 12, 41 宇文神舉) 577-578
Bei Zhou⁺ general, Pillar of State (H 1400 *zhuguo* 柱國), Duke (H 3388 *gong* 公) of Dongping 東平, fought off →Gao Shaoyi and the Tujue⁺ and defeated the rebel →Lu Changqi [L 827^a *Yü-wen Schen-kü*].
- 103. Yuwen Tai** (ZS 9, 11, 28, 30, 33, 50; BS 98; ^{Bio}ZS SS 宇文泰) ¹545 ²551 ³555
Also known as Wenhuangdi 文皇帝 (though he never reigned as emperor), posthumous temple name Taizu 太祖 (usual in the annals), a Xi Wei⁺ general who laid the foundations of Bei Zhou⁺ dynasty, ¹the first to send an embassy to the Tujue⁺ through →Annuopantuo; ²married princess Changle (→*Anonyma* 1) to →Yili Kehan and ³delivered →Dengshuzi and 3,000 Rouran⁺ fugitives to →Muhan Kehan [L 827^a *Yü-wen T'ai* / 807^a *T'ai-tsu der Nord-Tschou*].
- 104. Zemarchus** (Men. Prot. 10.2-5, 19.1 Ζήμαρχος) 569-571
MVM per Orientem (τῶν πρὸς ἕω πόλεων ... στρατηγός), a Cilician, sent as envoy to →Sizabulus with a returning Türk embassy led by →Maniach; he travelled back to Constantinople with another Türk embassy headed by →Tagma [*PLRE* III 1416-17 s.v. *Zemarchus* 3].
- 105. Zhao Wenbiao** (ZS 33* 趙文表) 565
Bei Zhou⁺ General-in-chief of Chariots and Cavalry (H 352, 5897 *cheqi da jiangjun* 車騎大將軍), Unequaled in honor (H 3024 *yitong sansi* 儀同三司), accompanied →Yuwen Gui as envoy to the Tujue⁺ and escorted →Ashina back successfully to Ganzhou 甘州 (Gansu) [L 816^b *Tschao Wen-piao*].
- 106. Zhengnan** (ZS 28 征南) 555
Tuyuhun⁺ king (H 7634 *wang* 王), defended their old capital Shudun 樹敦 against →Shi Ning, but was defeated and captured; seized booty was handed over to the Tujue⁺ [L 817^b *Tscheng-nan*].

107. *Anonyma 1* (ZS 50) 551

Xi Wei⁺ Princess (H 3408 *gongzhu* 公主), surnamed Changle 長樂 “Eternal happiness”, given in marriage to →Yili Kehan by →Yuwen Tai, became the first to hold the title *kehedun* 可賀敦 (OT *qatun*), mother of →Yixiji Kehan, →Muhan Kehan and →Tabo Kehan [L 816^a *Tsch'ang-lo, Prinzessin*].

108. *Anonyma 2* (Ṭabarī 899, 988, etc) 560/570

Daughter of a Türk qayan, married to the Persian king →Husrav I and mother of Hormozd IV [her father is mostly identified as →Singibū'/Sizabulus, even if this is not stated by any source; cf. Bosworth 1999: 160 n. 404; Christensen 1944: 380 n. 2; additional sources in *PLRE* III 303].

109. *Anonyma 3* (ZS 7 [^{Bi}580], 50; SS 51, 67, 84; BS 99) 579-593

Daughter of Yuwen Zhao 宇文招, Bei Zhou⁺ Princess (H 3408 *gongzhu* 公主), surnamed Qianjin 千金 “Thousand Gold”, married →Tabo Kehan; after the latter's death, she was adopted by Sui⁺ →Wendi 2 as Dayi 大義 (“Great Justice”) Princess and was married to →Shabolüe Kehan; because of her plots against Sui⁺, she was killed by her third husband, the latter's son →Dulan Kehan, at Sui⁺ →Wendi 2's instigation [L 811^a *Ts'ien-Kin Kung-tschu*; cf. *BDCW* 378-80].

110. *Anonyma 4* (BQS 12) 580

Daughter of Feng Xiaowan 封孝琬 and wife of →Gao Shaoyi, fled from the Tujue⁺ after the latter's capture by →Heruo Yi.

111. *Anonymus 1* (Men. Prot. fr. 10.3) 570/1

Son of →Maniach, sent by →Sizabulus to accompany Zemarchus as envoy; he was given his father's title after the latter's death and ranked immediately after →Tagma [*PLRE* III 1441 s.v. *Anonymus 79*].

112. *Anonymus 2* (Men. Prot. fr. 10.4) 570/1

Ruler of the Choliatae (ὁ τῶν Χολιατῶν ἡγεμὼν), allowed by →Sizabulus to send some of his people to accompany the returning embassy of →Zemarchus [*PLRE* III 1441 s.v. *Anonymus 81*: Qalač?].

113. *Anonymus 3* (Men. Prot. fr. 10.4) 570/1

Ruler of the Ugurs west of the Volga, “who maintained →Sizabulus authority there” (ὁ τῶν Οὐγούρων ἡγούμενος, ὃς διέσωζεν ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Σιζαβούλου τὸ κράτος), warned →Zemarchus of a Persian ambush ahead [*PLRE* III 1441 s.v. *Anonymus 80*; for Gr. Ἀτίλαν ~ OT *Ātil/Itil* “Volga”, cf. *BT* 78-9].

114. *Anonymus 4* (Theoph. Sym. vii.7.7–9.1) L VI

Türk qayan in the East (ὁ πρὸς τῇ ἔφ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Χαγᾶνος ὑμνούμενος), conquered the Abdeli (Hephthalites), enslaved the true Avars, subdued all the Ogur, defeated the usurper

→Turum and later sent an embassy to →Maurice [identified as *Niri qayan (Nili Kehan 泥利可汗, Mongolküre *nry x'γ'n*) by de la Vaissière 2019: 91-92; as →Datou Kehan / Tardu by Chavannes 1900: 249].

— Tujue 突厥 rulers and their relatives (Eastern sources): Abo Kehan (Daluobian), Anluo, Buli Kehan, Datou Kehan (Dianjue), Dulan Kehan (Yongyulü), Muhan Kehan (Sijin/Yandu), Rudan Kehan, Shabolüe Kehan (Shetu), Shidianmi Kehan, Tabo Kehan (Tuobo/Ditou), Yehu Kehan (Chuluohou/Mohe), Yili Kehan (Tumen), Yixiji Kehan (Keluo).

— Türk rulers and their relatives (Western sources): Arsilas, †Ascel, Barmūda, Kunaxolan, Singibū', Sizabulus, Sparzeugun, Stembischagan, Šāba, Tardu, Tuldich, Turum, Turxanthus, *Anonymus* 4.

— Chinese rulers: [Xi Wei 西魏] Feidi, Gongdi, Wendi 1; [Bei Zhou 北周] Yuwen Tai (Wenhuangdi/Taizu), Jingdi, Mingdi, Wudi; [Bei Qi 北齊] Houzhudi, Wenxuandi, Wuchengdi, Gao Shaoyi (imperial prince claiming the throne); [Sui 隋] Wendi 2.

— Western rulers: Bahrām VI, Hormozd IV, Husrav I, Justin II, Tiberius II.

— Türk military leaders: Bochanus.

— Chinese generals & officers: [Bei Zhou 北周] Daxi Wu, Dou Yi, Heruo Yi, Liu Xiong, Shi Ning, Wang Jie, Yang Zhong, Yuwen En, Yuwen Gui, Yuwen Shen, Yuwen Shenju, Yuwen Tai, Zhao Wenbiao; [Bei Qi 北齊] Bo Jian, Duan Shao, Gao Baoning, Hexi Yongan, Hulü Guang, Hulü Xian, Mei Shenglang.

— Chinese envoys: [Xi Wei 西魏] Annuopantuo, Kudi Zhi [Bei Zhou 北周] Heruo Yi, Wang Qing, Yang Jian, Yuan Hui, Yuwen Shen, Zhao Wenbiao.

— Byzantine envoys: Anacastes, Euty chius, Georgius, Herodianus, Paulus, Valentinus, Zemarchus.

— Tujue 突厥 / Türk envoys: Luo Moyuan, Maniach, Tagma, *Anonymus* 1.

— Xianbei 鮮卑 *Yuwen* 宇文 family (Bei Zhou 北周): Yuwen Ce, Yuwen Chun, Yuwen En, Yuwen Gui, Yuwen Hu, Yuwen Shen, Yuwen Shenju, Yuwen Tai.

— Princesses: Ashina, *Anonyma* 1, *Anonyma* 2, *Anonyma* 3, *Anonyma* 4.

— Buddhist Pilgrims: Baoxian, Shenajueduo.

— *Litterati*: Li Delin, Liu Shiqing, Menander, Wang Bao.

— Rebels: Lu Changqi.

— Rouran 柔然: Anagui, Anluochen, Dengshuzi, Dengzhu, Kangti, Kuti, Tiefa.

— Tuyuhun 吐谷渾: Heluoba, Kualü, Suozhou, Zhengnan.

— Hephthalites: Katulph, W.r.z.

— Other peoples: Anagaeus, Saroes, Taisan, *Anonymus* 2, *Anonymus* 3.

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- BDCW* = Lee-Stefanowska 2007 // *BT* = Moravcsik 1983 // *H* = Hucker 1985 // *L* = Liu 1958 // *PLRE* III = Martindale 1992
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