

## HUNNIC AND TURKIC TITLES IN THE BACTRIAN DOCUMENTS

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Between 1991 and 2001 I carried out several research stays at the Institut für Vergleichende Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft und Indoiranistik of the Universität des Saarlandes under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt, who became for me a true *Doktorvater* in the shadow, helping me in every possible way when researching, writing and publishing my PhD, as well as in the first years of my later career. I have always felt indebted to him, even if – I regret to say – I have never found the proper way to express him my gratitude for all his attentions during so many years. I hope that this small token of respect and appreciation will, in some way, repair that void.<sup>1</sup>

In Sims-Williams' words, "the discovery of more than 150 Bactrian documents written in cursive Greek script has at last made it possible to complete the decipherment of the script and to obtain a fuller understanding of the language itself, as well as providing an invaluable new source for the history of Afghanistan and the adjacent regions".<sup>2</sup>

After my PhD research on the Alans I have ever since felt interested in the interaction between Iranian and Turkic nomads in the periphery of the West Eurasian steppes and, eventually, in the titles which they shared for centuries.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, as a newcomer to Bactrian studies, I was surprised to find so many of these titles attested for the first time in the Bactrian documents,<sup>4</sup> often before they made their way into the oldest records in any Turkic language – leaving aside their transcriptions in earlier Chinese sources. The main goal of this paper is not to solve the problem of their origin and etymology, which has often resisted the efforts of

1 Three years ago my student Nuria Olaya (whom I deem to be to some extent an "intellectual granddaughter" of Prof. Dr. Schmitt) successfully defended her PhD thesis on the topic of Classical and Eastern sources on the Northern borders of the Sasanian empire (Olaya 2017) – a work which has unfortunately remained unpublished in spite of its merits. Anyway, among her minor publications there is also a review paper in Spanish which I (rather unconsciously) encouraged her to write under my advice on the language of the Hephthalites (Olaya 2012–14) and which inspired myself a talk delivered at the 2nd Meeting of the Society of Iranian and Turanian Studies in Salamanca (4th December 2015), which is at the origin of this article. Let it be said that I expected it to yield better and more original results, but I fear that the current pandemic situation has prevented me from achieving this goal. I am indebted to José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente for his bibliographical support while preparing the manuscript.

2 Sims-Williams 2008, 88.

3 See e.g. Alemany 2001, 2009.

4 The idea for this paper was inspired by the list (table 8) in Sims-Williams 2002, 235.

scholars much more capable than me, but to gather evidence on how and why they came to be used in this particular region and period; nevertheless, what follows is basically a compilation of materials which I hope to be useful as a reference work and as a step towards further research.

A section is given for every title in alphabetical order, containing the following subsections:

1. Evidence for the title in the Bactrian documents (BD1–2);
2. Chronology of the document(s) attesting the title (according to SCBD);
3. Title-bearers, with a brief prosopographical commentary (after IPNB II/7);
4. Additional evidence in other Bactrian sources of the Hunnic-Turkic period (esp. types of coinage after DGIH, BW & CIH)
5. Evidence for the title in other Middle Iranian languages, esp. Sogdian and Khotanese;
6. Evidence for the title in Orkhon Turkic<sup>5</sup> as well as relevant entries in GOT, ATGr, TMEN, EDPTCT & Rybatzki 2006.
7. Brief commentary on additional forms, history and suggested etymologies of the title.

#### 1.1. *ενηλο*

— N8, 3' *χολχανο ιενηλο ταρχανο* “Xulxan, the *inal tarxan*” (BD1, 69).

1.2. EBD 407 = 629 CE (cf. BD1, 14; SCBD 125).

1.3. Xulxan, the *inal tarxan* (N8, 3'), lord of (the estate) Wilargan (N8f, 4' *ουλαργανο χοδδηο*); unclear, maybe a Turkic name (BD2, 281; IPNB II/7, § 538).

1.4. A hapax in Bactrian (cf. BD2, 210).

1.5. Often attested in Sogd. *ʾyn ʾl /Īnal/* (IPNB II/8, §§ 25, 75, 232, 242, 245–6, 260, 1114, 1468) and especially *ʾyn ʾδ trx ʾn /Īnal Tarqan/* ~ *ενηλο ταρχανο* (IPNB II/8, § 244); Khot. *īnaḍa* (Bailey 1939, 91).

1.6. OT *inal* (x2: T): GOT 335–6 s.v. *inäl* “pers. n.”; ATGr 336 “hoher Beamtentitel, n. pr.”; TMEN IV 196–99 s.v. *ینال* (§ 1900) “Stellvertreter”; EDPTCT 184–5 s.v. *ina:l* etymologically something like “trustworthy”; Rybatzki 2006, 133–35 s.v. *inal*.

1.7. Cf. *Inäl Qayan* (T 31, 45), the Tarduš Šad, operating in Western Turkistan in 710/11 CE; Saqa, Tāzīk, Toqar and Soydaq submitted to him (for the problems associated with this passage, cf. Berta 2004, 68). Identified with Chin. *Yiniè Kěhàn* 移涅可汗; contra Rybatzki 2000, 226–7, who suggests that *Inäl Qayan* was the title of Bilgä Qayan before his enthronisation. Unknown among the Khazars but often attested in Uyghur, even once *inäl tarqan* (Moriyasu 1997, 46, R9–10 without context). According to al-Kāšġarī DLT I, 147 [fol. 73–4] “the name for any young man whose mother is a Khātūn and whose father is a commoner”.

5 In this subsection OT = Orkhon Turkic; BQ = Bilgä Qayan; KČ = Küli Čor; KT = Kül Tigin; O = Ongi; T = Toñuquq.

2.1.  $\alpha\beta\gamma\omicron$ 

— **eh3\***  $[\eta\beta\omicron]\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron \alpha\beta\gamma\omicron$  “the *yabγu* of Hephthal” (BD2, 123).

— **ja2\***  $\eta/\beta\omicron\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron \imath[\alpha]\beta[\gamma\omicron]$  “the *yabγu* of Hephthal” (BD2, 125).

— **jb1f**  $\varsigma\alpha\rho\tau\omicron \chi\omicron\eta\beta\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\upsilon\omicron \varphi\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\omicron \eta\beta\omicron\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron \alpha/\beta\gamma\omicron$  14\*  $\varsigma\alpha\rho\tau\omicron \chi\omicron\eta\beta\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\upsilon\omicron \varphi\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\omicron \eta\beta\omicron\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron \imath[\alpha\beta\gamma\omicron]$  “Sart Xudebandan, the glorious *yabγu* of Hephthal” (BD2, 127).

2.2. All of them undated; **eh** according to Sims-Williams c. 485 CE; **ja-jb** probably same time span, since both of them mention the Hephthalite *yabγu* as well (cf. BD2, 24, 26; SCBD 52–3, 72–3, 83).

2.3. **jb** Sart Xudebandan, *yabγu* of Hephthal (**jb1f**), ruler of Rob, scribe of the Hephthalite lords, judge of Tuḥaristān and Ġarčistān (**jb2f**  $\rho\omega\beta\omicron\chi\alpha\rho\omicron \eta\beta\omicron\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\eta\omicron\alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron \lambda\alpha\beta\iota\rho\omicron \tau\omicron\chi\omicron/\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron \gamma\alpha\rho\varsigma\iota\gamma\omicron\varsigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron \lambda\alpha\delta\omicron\beta\alpha\rho\omicron$ ). As for  $\chi\omicron\eta\beta\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\upsilon\omicron$  (BD2, 263, 280; IPNB II/7, §§ 421, 536), cf.  $\chi\omicron\alpha\delta\eta\omicron\beta\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\upsilon\omicron \sim$  Sogd. *xwt'wβntk* /Xutāwvande/ (IPNB II/7, § 522; II/8, § 1458).

2.4. Bactrian inscription, clay sealing, Pahlavi coinage (cf. BD2, 215; DGIH 182–3; BW 202; CIH 527–30).<sup>6</sup>

— IDilT 4.9  $\alpha\beta\gamma\omicron$  (Kushan period: Livšic/Kruglikova 1979, 103 “jabgu”; cf. BW 132).

— AA 7 (Hc007)  $\eta\beta\omicron\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron$  —  $\beta\beta\gamma\omicron$  “the *yabγu* of Hephthal” (Lerner 2011, 83–4)

— types 265, 265A Ov. Pahl. *ybgw bhlk'n* “Bactrian *yabγu*” (CIH 630–32).

2.5. Sogd.  $\acute{z}p\gamma w$  /Ġabγu/, *cpγw x'γ'n* /Ġabγu Qayan/ in coins from Chach minted by the Western Turkic rulers (Babayarov 2013, 332, 338–41); cf. IPNB II/8, §§ 379 *cpγw*, 1259 *cpγw/zpγw*, 1561 *zpγw* /Ġabγu/.

2.6. OT *yabγu* (x6: BQ KT O T): GOT 394 “a high title”; ATGr 381 “Titel des Oberhauptes der Töliš, d.h. des Ostteils des Türk-Reichs”; TMEN IV 124–36 s.v.  $\text{بيغو}$  (§ 1825); EDPTCT 873 s.v. *yabġu*.; Rybatzki 2006, 272–3 s.v. *jabaγu*.

2.7. A title of great antiquity, attested among the Kushan kings; Prakrit *yavuga-*, *yaiūa-*, Greek  $\zeta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (gen.) already on the coins of Kujula; Chin. *xīhòu* 翕侯 (EMC 332, 125 *xip-γəw*) as the name of the five princes of the Dà Yuèzhī 大月氏 of Dàxià 大夏/Tuḥaristān. In the Türk period, however, the usual Chinese form is *yèhù* 葉護 (EMC 364, 128 *jiap-γə<sup>h</sup>*). Usual among Türks and Khazars (Chavannes 1900, 321, 332; Golden 1980, 187–90; BT2, 130: Gr. Ζιέβηλ, 275 Σιλζιβουλος, 290 Σπαρζεσυοῦν; Arab. جبغويه *ġabġūya*). A Chinese origin was suggested by Sims-Williams 2002, 229–30, 235; on the other hand, the title was explained by Bailey as Iran. \**yam-uka-* “leader” or \**yāvuka-* “troop-leader”, both of them phonetically troublesome (see Sims Williams/de la Vaissière/Bosworth 2007 with further evidence).

6 Ghirshman 1948, 50 saw the title as *iapgu* in a Türk coin of the mid seventh century (§ 45 CPI IAPIV ŠAHO), but today this legend (type 206) is read as  $\varsigma\alpha\rho\iota \tau\alpha/\omicron\gamma\iota\upsilon\omicron \beta\alpha\upsilon\omicron$  (DGIH 140–1; BW 98; see § 5.4). Besides, other forms like  $\zeta\alpha\beta\omicron\chi\omicron$ , previously seen as Bactrian reflexes of *yavuga/yabγu*, are not clear (BW 296–7; IPNB II/7, § 139).

## 3.1. μαγατορο

— S8 χοδδηοο μαγατορο βοκολανο μαρηγανο “the servants of Lord Magatur Buklah” (BD1, 95).

3.2. EBD 470 = 692 CE (cf. BD1, 15; SCBD 126).

3.3. Magatur Buklah, a ruler or landowner, identified with *Púluó* 僕羅, younger brother of the Turkish *yabγu* of Tuḡaristān, who lived at the Chinese court ca. 705–18 CE; presumably both of them Turkic names (BD2, 229; IPNB II/7, § 232).

3.4. A hapax in Bactrian (BD2, 229).

3.5. So far unattested in Sogd. & Khot.

3.6. Unattested in OT; ATGr 326 s.v. *bayatur* “Held, nom. pr.”; TMEN II, 366–77 s.v. بهادر (§ 817); EDPTCT 313 s.v. *baḡa:tu:r*; Rybatzki 2006, 209–10 *bayatur*.

3.7. Cf. Chin. *Mòhèduò* 莫賀咄 /*Bayatur*/ (EMC 218, 123, \*85 *mak-γah-tuət*), ruler of the Western Türks c. 630 CE (Chavannes 1900, 53–4; for Chin. *mò* 莫 ~ Bactr. *μα-* ~ Turk. *ba-* cf. Chen 2012, 47, 151–54). Occurring only once in the early period in a letter from Dunhuang (Orkun 1994, 288, 904 *Bayatur Čigši*); probably also in the name of the Khazar *qayan* تعاطر *T'āt.r* (instead of بغاطر \**Bayatur*: Golden 1980, 155–6); Bulg. βαγατούρ, *uaga{r}tur* (BT2, 83, 355); a usual title & name among the Alans, maybe because of Khazar influence (Alemany 2001). According to Clauson, originally a Hunnic (Xiōngnú) proper name, that of their second *chanyu*, *Mòdùn* 冒頓 (EMC 84, 217 *mək-twən<sup>h</sup>*); for Doerfer (TMEN II, 370) maybe a loanword from the language of the Róurán. However, the first element *baγa-* resembles Iran. \**baga-* > Bactr. βαγο, Sogd. *bγ* /*vay*/ “god, lord” > Turk. *bäg*; cf. Chin. *Mòhè* 莫賀 /*baγa*/ (von Gabain 1983, 622; Chen 2012, 128; Atwood 2012/13, 61–68 suggests reading /magha/, “the older Sogdianized transcription” *mγ* ['] of OInd. *mahā-* “great”, but see Rybatzki 2000, 220).

## 4.1. σωπανο

— K2f τητο βαβορανο σωπανο “Tet, the headman of Šaburan”; 3f πιο / σοροσανιγο σωπανο “Piy, the headman of Sursah” (BD1, 57).

4.2. EBD 356 = 578 CE (cf. BD1, 13; SCBD 124).

4.3. Tet, headman of Šaburan (K2–3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15), probably a “reduplicative hypocoristic” (BD2, 269; IPNB II/7, § 465) & Piy, headman of Sursah (K3, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16), unclear (BD2, 256; IPNB II/7, § 375); both of them parties to a contract.

4.4. A hapax in Bactrian (BD2, 266).

4.5. Maybe Khot. *chaupam* “a title of low rank” ~ Chin. *chībàn* 叱半 (Yoshida 2004, 133); sometimes linked to Iranian words for “shepherd” like Pahl. *šp'n'* /šubān/, Sogd. *xwšp'ny* /*xušpānē*/ (Gharib 1995, § 10790), NPers. شبن *šubān* – but the NPers. form of the title is چوپان *čōpān*.

4.6. Unattested in OT; TMEN III 108–10 s.v. چوپان (§ 1130); EDPTCT 397–8 s.v. *čupan*; Rybatzki 2006, 275–6 s.v. *coban*.

4.7. Earliest known attestation; Chin. *chūbàn* 處半 (EMC 60, 29 *te<sup>h</sup>iə<sup>h</sup>-pan<sup>h</sup>*), Turfan Uyghur *čupan* “Provinzialbeamte” (Moriyasu 2004, 51, 119), Nagy-Szentmiklós ζοαπάν (Göbl/Róna-Tas 1995, 22–24), Protobulg. ζουπανος (BT2, 131–2), Lat. *iopan*, *zuppan*, Hung. *ispán*; cf. al-Kāšgarī DLT I, 306 [fol. 202]

“assistant to the village chief”. In fact, a ‘Wanderwort’ with several proposed origins (Iranian, Slavic, Avar, Hephthalite); I gathered the evidence and tried to explain it as a mixed term \**ču(b)-pān* “protecting a prefecture” (OT *ču[b]* < Chin. *zhōu* 州 [EMC 411 *teuw*] + Iran. *-pān*) in Alemany 2009.

### 5.1. ταγίνο

— **ag**10f ταγίνο/κο “Taginuk” (BD1, 157).

— **ai**3\* ταγίναγο “the Taginan (family)” (BD1, 159).

5.2. Both of them undated; according to Sims-Williams, not much earlier than 705 CE (cf. BD1, 19; SCBD 66, 84).

5.3. **ag** Taginuk, producer of wine at Golg (IPNB II/7, § 458); **ai** Taginan, family name; in both cases presumably derived from ταγίνο.

5.4. Bactrian & Pahlavi coinage (cf. BD2, 267; DGIH 140–45, 164–5; BW 98–9, 281–2; CIH 538–44):

— types 206–7 Ov. σρι τογίνο βα(υ)ο “His Perfection, Tegin, the King” (CIH 648–50);

— type 240 Ov. ταγίνο υωρσανο βαυο “Tegin, king of Khorasan” (CIH 651–53);

— type 240A Ov. τογίνο βαο “Tegin, King” (CIH 654–5);

— type 208 Ov. Skt. *śrī śahi tiginadeva* “the perfect (?) Śahi Tigin Lord”; Rv. Pahl. *tkyn' hwl's'n MLKA* /Tegin Xorāsān šāh/ (CIH 656);

— type 210 Rv. Pahl. *tkyn' hwl's'n MLKA* /Tegin Xorāsān šāh/ (CIH 657–8);

— types 329 Ov. Pahl. *tkyn' bg hwt'p' hwl's'n MLKA* “Tegin, His Majesty, Lord, King of Khorasan”; 329A Ov. Pahl. *tkyn' bg hwt'p'* “Tegin, His Majesty, Lord” (CIH 646–7).

5.5. Sogd. *tk'yn* /Tegin/ (IPNB II/8, §§ 222, 242, 245–6, 579–80); Bugut *†mγ'n t'kyn* /Mahan tegin/ now read as *mγ'' t'p'r* /Maγa Tatpar/ (cf. Kljaštornyj/Livšic 1972, 85–87; Rybatzki 2000, 215–6; IPNB II/8, § 664); Khot. *digyina* (Bailey 1939, 91).

5.6. OT *tigin* (x31: BQ KČ KT): GOT 381 “prince”; ATGr 371 “Prinz”; TMEN II 533–41 s.v. تگین (§ 922); EDPTCT 483 s.v. *tégin* “son, or grandson, of a ruling *xağan*”; Rybatzki 2006, 378–82 s.v. *digin*.

5.7. Cf. Chin. *Wūsān Tèqín Sǎ* 烏散特勤灑 /Tegin Xorāsān šāh/, king of Jibīn 闐賓/Kāpīsā; another *Tèqín Sǎ* 特勤灑, son of a Tūjué king, founded a monastery in Gandhāra (Chavannes 1900, 132 n. 3; EMC 304, 254 *dək-gin*). Maybe a memory of the former is kept in Arm. Իրթգինն Խուրսանաց *Irt'ginn Xursanac* “the \*Il-Tigin of Xorāsān”, a Khazar (!) chieftain, if not a confusion with the خراسان شاه *Ḥursān šāh* of Dāgestān (Golden 1980, 186–7; Minorsky 1970, 144–5, 411). A very old title and a loanword in Turkic, possibly from a Mongolic language (cf. Erdal 2004, 128), as shown by the non-Turkic Pl. *tegit*. A Hephthalite origin was suggested by László 1940, 31, 35.

### 6.1. ταδονο, ταδανο

— S3, 6, 11 σηρο τορκο γαζο ταδονο “Ser the Turk, the *tudun* of Gaz” v1\* [σηρο] τ[ο]ρκο] or [γαζο] τ[α]δ[ονο] (BD1, 95–97; corr. BD2, 36 ad loc.).

— **Uu**6 ιακανο ταδανο “Yakan the *tudun*” (BD1, 113).

6.2. **S** EBD 470 = 692 CE; **Uu** EBD 500 = 722 CE (cf. BD1, 15–16; SCBD 126).

6.3. **S** Ser the Turk, *tudun* of Gaz, where *σηρο* could be whether a PN or the title *šēr* used for the rulers of Bamiyan and Ġarčistan (BD2, 263; IPNB II/7, § 428); **Uu** Yakan the *tudun*, unclear (BD2, 215; IPNB II/7, § 165); both of them witnesses to a contract.

6.4. Bactrian coinage (cf. BD2, 268; DGIH 168; BW 100, 281):  
— types 245, 245C Rv. ταδονο ταρχανο βαγδδιγγο ναροβιδο “Tudun, *Tarxan* of Balx, the Commander” (CIH 661–2, 664).

6.5. Sogd. *tōwn* /Tudun/ (IPNB II/8, § 1634), already in the Bugut inscription (BII:2, II:8 *twōwnt*: cf. Kljaštornyj/Livšic 1972, 86).

6.6. OT *tudun* (x1: BQ E40): GOT 386 “a title”; TMEN III 207–10 s.v. *دوتوم* (§ 1194); EDPTCT 457 s.v. *to:ḡun* “a Türkü title of office”; Rybatzki 2006, 344–5 s.v. *tudun* ~ *dutum*.

6.7. Earliest known attestation; Chin. *tùtún* 吐屯 (EMC 312, 313 *tʰɔʰ-dwən*), a title of the kings of Yānqí 焉耆 (Qarašahr) and Shí 石 (Taškent), well attested among Turks and Khazars (Chavannes 1900, 372); Arm. թըղեսւն *tʿndean* (Golden 1980, 215–6); Gr. τουδοῦνος (BT2, 317–8); for type 245 ταδονο ταρχανο see Arab. تن طرخان *\*tudun tarḥān* (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, p. 1626), a conjecture drawn from several meaningless variant readings (cf. BW 281).

#### 7.1. ταποαγλιγο / ταπαγλινο<sup>7</sup> υλιτοβηρο

— N5f, 2ʼf (BD1, 69) φραμαριζμο βαβορανο ιαβζοδοφαρανο χαγανο ταποαγλιγο υλιτοβηρο “Frama-rizm Šaburan, the *tapayliḡ iltābir* of the *qayan* prosperous in glory”.

— P4ʼf (BD1, 85) ζονολαδο βαβορανο ια[β]ζοδοφα[ρανο χαγανο ταπαγλι]/υο υλιτοβηρο “Zun-lad Šaburan, the *tapayliḡ iltābir* of the *qayan* prosperous in glory”.

— Q5f ζονολαδο βαβορανο ιαβζοδοφαρανο χαγανο τα/παγλινο υλιτοβηρο 4ʼf ζονολαδο βαβορανο ιαβ[ζοδο]/φαρανο χα[γανο ... υλιτοβη]ρο (same text as P4ʼf).

7.2. **N** EBD 407 = 629 CE; **P** EBD 446 = 668 CE; **Q** EBD 449 = 671 CE (cf. BD1, 14; SCBD 125–6).

7.3. **N** Frama-rizm, ruler of Rob, lord of Parpaz (N7, 3ʼ ρωβοχαρο παροπαζο χοδδηο) & **PQ** Zun-lad, ruler of Rob (P3, 5ʼ Q6, 5ʼ ρωβοχαρο), witnesses to several contracts, both of them having Iranian names, belonging to the family βαβορανο (~ MP *Šābuhrān*) and holding the title “*tapayliḡ iltābir* of the *qayan* prosperous in glory” (BD2, 213, 276; IPNB II/7, §§ 160.iii, 506.iv).

7.4. Otherwise unattested in Bactrian (cf. BD2, 268–9 “possessing service”); for υλιτοβηρο see § 10.4.

7.5. So far unattested in Sogd. & Khot.

7 Cf. T1ʼf χοτολογο / ταπαγλινο βιλγανο σαβουο 1ʼf χο/τολογο / ταπαγλινο βιλγανο σαβουο 20–21 χοτολο / ταπαγλινο βιλγανο σα/βουο 20ʼ χοτολογο ταπαγλινο βιλγανο σαβουο “Qutluḡ Tapayliḡ Bilgä Sävtüg” (BD1, 99, 103: EBD 478 = 700 CE; cf. BD1, 15; SCBD 127), husband of princess Bag-aziyas (T1, 1ʼ βαγοαζιασο ... οισλογδο), a ruler with a fully Turkic name (BD2, 281; IPNB II/7, § 542 “fortunate + reverend + wise + beloved”) and the only case so far where *tapayliḡ* appears without *iltābir*.

7.6. *tapaŋliŋ* unattested in OT, but see ATGr 367 *tapiŋ*, *tapuy*, *tapay* “Dienst”; EDPTCT 437 s.v. *tapiŋ* “service”, 438 s.v. *tapiŋlig*; Rybatzki 2006, 334–5 s.v. *tobuqa*; for *iltäbir* see § 10.6.

7.7. *Mahrnāmag* 1.56 *tapglg sajun* (name + title: Müller 1913, 8, 10; cf. Erdal 2004, 92 *tap-ag+lig* “revered” & n. 163 [Ht VII 2051] *tapiŋlik* “for reverence”; also 2007, 82); Rybatzki 2006, 334 translates *ταποαγγλιγο υλιτοβηρο* as “the eltebär of long service” (cf. al-Kāšgarī DLT I, 368 [fol. 248] *tapuyluŋ är* “a man of inveterate service”).

#### 8.1. *ταρχανο*

— N8, v3 *χολχανο ιενηλο ταρχανο* “Xulxan, the *inal tarxan*” (BD1, 69; cf. our § 1.1).

— P5' *χοσαροο ταρχανο* v4\* [*χοσα*]ροο *ταρχανο* “Xusaru the *tarxan*” (BD1, 85–87).

— Q6f *ταρχανο χοσαροο ταρχανο πο/ρο* 5' *ταρχανο χοσα*[ροο ...] “the *tarxan*, son of Xusaru the *tarxan*”, v5 *ταρχανο* “the *tarxan*” (BD1, 89–91).

— jg1 [...]γγινο *ταρχανο* “[...]ngin the *tarxan*” (BD2, 135).

8.2. N EBD 407 = 629 CE; P EBD 446 = 668 CE; Q EBD 449 = 671 CE (cf. BD1, 14; SCBD 125–6); jg uncertain date, according to Sims-Williams, not much earlier than 675 CE (cf. BD2, 26; SCBD 74, 84).

8.3. N for Xulxan see § 1.3; PQ Xusaru, the *tarxan*, witness to a contract and the father of another unnamed *tarxan*; *χοσαροο* is maybe a variant spelling of *χοασραο* “Xwasraw” ~ MP *Husrav* “Chosroes” (BD2, 281; IPNB II/7, § 541); jg for the *tarxan* [...]γγινο, addressee of a letter, see IPNB II/7, § 578.

8.4. Bactrian coinage (cf. BD2, 269; DGIH 168; BW 100, 282–3; our § 6.4):

— type 245, 245C Rv. *ταδονο ταρχανο βαγδδγγγο υαροβιδο* “Tudun, *Tarxan* of Balx, the Commander” (CIH 661–2, 664).

8.5. Sogd. *trx'n* /*Tarxan*/, maybe also in the PN *trxwn/trx'wn* /*Tarxūn*/, a king of Samarkand (Gharib 1995, § 9685; IPNB II/8, §§ 515, 1243–44; cf. our §§ 1.5); already in the Bugut inscription (BII:2, II:7 *trxw'nt*, III:4 *trxw'n*: cf. Kljaštornyj/Livšic 1972, 86–7, 89); Khot. *ttarkqni*, *ttarkana* (Bailey 1939, 95).

8.6. OT *tarqan* (x10: BQ KT O T): GOT 375–6 “a high title”; ATGr 367 *tarxan*, *tarqan* “hoher Rang”; TMEN II 460–74 s.v. *ترخان* (§ 879); EDPTCT 539–40 s.v. *tarxa:n*; Rybatzki 2006, 422–3 s.v. *darqan*.

8.7. Chin. *dágān* 達干 (EMC 69, 102 *dat-kan*), Gr. *ταρκάνος*, Arab. *ترخان* / *طرخان* *t/tarḥān*, Arm. *թարխան* *t'arxan*, usual among the Turks and especially among the Khazars (Chavannes 1900, 239 n. 2; Golden 1980, 150–55, 176–7, 181–2, 210–13; BT2, 299–300); a title of great antiquity, most probably non-Turkic (Mongolic: cf. Erdal 2004, 128) because of its Pl. *tarqat*, with no convincing etymology; linked with the Xiōngnú title *chányú* 單于 by Pulleyblank (1962, 256–7), but sometimes also explained as Iranian (Abaev 1958–89, III 275–77; Bailey 1985, 33).

#### 9.1. *τογγα*

— Y1 *κηραυτογγαυο τογγαυοσπαυο* “Kera-tonga Tonga-spara” (BD1, 143).

9.2. EBD 549 = 771 CE (BD1, 17; SCBD 128).

9.3. Y Kera-tonga Tonga-spara, “governor of the renowned *qayan* of prosperous glory, king of the people of Kadag” (Y2–3 ναμοοινδαδο αβζοδοφαρανο χαγανο καδογοβιδο καδα/νο βανο); the repetition of τογγανο could be due to dittography; κηρανο is unclear, but σπαρανο reminds of *šp’r’* (Mahrnāmag 1.119; cf. Müller 1913, 12, 14, 39), *šp’r’* (MIK III 36 Rii, l. 16) and the OT PN *isbara*, *isbara*, *išbara* (GOT 333, 336); for the whole name IPNB II/7, § 211.

9.4. A hapax in Bactrian (BD 2, 222, 270).

9.5. Sogd. *twnk’ rsl’n* /Toṇa Arslan/ (IPNB II/8, § 1260).

9.6. OT *toṇa* (x2: BQ ~ KT): GOT 384 PN; ATGr 372 “Held”; EDPTCT 515 s.v. *toṇa*: “hero, outstanding warrior” (not “tiger” as al-Kāšgarī DLT II, 337 [fol. 605]); Rybatzki 2006, 400–1 s.v. *tungquidai*.

9.7. Chin. *Tóngé* 同俄 (EMC 310, 86 *dəwŋ-ŋa*), e.g. in *Tóngé Tèqín* 同俄特勒 /Toṇa Tegin/, a cousin of Bilgä Qayan killed at the battle of Biš Balīq (BQ E31); cf. Chavannes 1900, 28, 56, 96 *Tōng Tèlè* 統特勒 /\*Toṇ Tegin/,<sup>8</sup> *Tōng Tùtún* 統吐屯 /\*Toṇ Tudun/, as well as *Tōng Yèhù Kéhàn* 統葉護可汗 /\*Toṇ Ĵabyu Qayan/, ruler of the Western Turks killed ca. 630 CE, where I wonder if *Tōng* 統 (EMC 310 *t<sup>h</sup>awŋ<sup>h</sup>*) could be an alternative for *Tóngé* 同俄 /Toṇa/; nevertheless, Sogd. *twn* /Ton/, *twn cpyw/zpyw x’γ’n* /Ton Ĵabyu Qayan/ (IPNB II/8, §§ 1258–9) seems to point otherwise. Often used as a component in PNs, but otherwise poorly attested in the *Nebenüberlieferung*; for Bactr. κηρανοτογγανο cf. Uyghur *tongqara sngun* in the contract Sa 01:16 (Yamada 1993, II, 4–5; Rybatzki 2006, 400 reads /tonga=qara/).

10.1. υλιτοβηρο

— **Tt**4 υλιτοβηρο λιζγο καροοαλο “Hilitber, the leader of the people of Lizg”, 13–14 υλιτοβηρο/o “Hilitber” (BD1, 105).

— **U**4f, 19, 4’, 20’f υλιτοβηρο “Hilitber” PN (BD1, 107, 111).

— **W**5, 26, 4’, 26’ υλιτοβηρο “Hilitber” PN (BD1, 127–35).

10.2. **Tt** EBD 483 = 705 CE; **U** EBD 490 = 712 CE; **W** EBD 525 = 747 CE (BD1, 16; SCBD 127–8).

10.3. **Tt** Hilitber, leader of the people of Lizg (IPNB II/7, § 481.i); **UW** Hilitber, son of Bah and brother of Wurol (**W**5, 4’ μανο οορωλο οδο μανο υλιτοβηρο βανο πορανο), of the house Wurolan (**W**6 οορωλανο); the name of his father is unclear, but οορωλο is Parth. *wrwd* “Orodes” (IPNB II/7, § 481.ii; cf. §§ 76, 360).

10.4. Bactrian & Sanskrit coinage (cf. BD2, 272; DGIH 142–45; CIH 530–1):

— types 314A, 314B χαδολαγο ιαρνο υλιτοβηρο according to Sims Williams *ad loc.* probably two PNs + the title *İltābār* (CIH 637–8).

— type 208 quasi-Skt. *śrī-hītivira*<sup>9</sup> *kharalāva* “His Perfection *İltābār* of the Khalaj” (CIH 656).

<sup>8</sup> For *lè* 勒 instead of *qín* 勤 see Appendix 1.

<sup>9</sup> Standing for *\*hiltivira* with simplification of the ligature *lt* according to Humbach 2002, 417, who also read *kharalakha* = *\*karlukha* “Qarluqs” instead of *kharalāva*.

10.5. Sogd. *ryttypyr/δyttypyr* in the documents of Mount Mugh, Man. *lytβyr/Litbir* (Sims-Williams 2002, 235; BD2, 272); also in the legend *pn̄y tk' ryttypyr č'č̄ynk xwβw* “coin of *tk' ryttypyr*, king of Chach” (Kamoliddin/Babajar 2006–7, 78, 80).

10.6. OT *el-tābār* (x3: BQ KT), *il-tābār* (x1: BQ), *ärtābār* (x1: KČ): GOT 329, 331, 335 “governor-general”; ATGr 338 (*il-tāb(i)r*) “ein Titel”; TMEN II 201–3 s.v. *إلتبر*\* (§ 655) “Titel von Großvasallen, halbautonomen Herrschern”; EDPTCT 134 s.v. *elteber* “a title for a tribal ruler subordinate to a superior ruler”; Rybatzki 2006, 82 s.v. *el*.

10.7. Chin. *xiélìfā* 頡利發 (EMC 341, 188, 89 *yet-li<sup>h</sup>-puat*), also *silìfā* 俟利發 (with EMC 293 *zī/zī-*); Arab. *رُتْبِيل* *rutbīl*, a title of the rulers of Zābulistān (CIH 551–2); Arm. Արիւնութիւն *Alp'-ilut'uēr*, a vassal of the Khazar Qayan; Խաթիրլիբեր *Xat'ir-lit'bēr*, a commander of the Khazar army (Golden 1980, 147–50, 197–8). For Sims-Williams 2002, 235 the initial aspirate of *սլիտօթիւն* /*hilitbēr*/ “suggests that it may be a Khalach form” (cf. however Erdal 2007, 82 n. 34), the Khalach being remnants of the Hephthalite confederation (*al-Hayātila*) according to al-Ḥwārazmī (Bosworth/Clauson 1965, 6, 8); for the title in general, see Bombaci 1970.

#### 11.1. χαγανο, қағано

— N5f *ιαβζοδοφαρανο χαγανο* 2'f *ιαβζοδοφ/αρανο χαγανο* “the *qayan* prosperous in glory” (BD1, 69).

— Q5 *ιαβζοδοφαρανο χαγανο* 4'f *ιαβ[ζοδο]/φαρανο χα[γανο* “the *qayan* prosperous in glory” (BD1, 89).

— Y2 *ναμοοινδαδο αβζοδοφαρανο χαγανο* “the renowned *qayan*, prosperous in glory” (BD1, 143).

11.2. N EBD 407 = 629 CE; Q EBD 449 = 671 CE; Y EBD 549 = 771 CE (cf. BD1, 14, 17; SCBD 125–6, 128).

11.3. PNs of title-bearers unknown in all cases.

11.4. Bactrian coinage (cf. DGIH 166–68, 186–7; BW 99–100, 102, 205, 290; CIH 556, 643–4; BD2, 276):

— type 244 Rv. *σρι βαγο δδηβο βαγδδιγγο καγανο* “His Perfection, the Lord, his Majesty, the Bactrian *Qayan*” (CIH 643–4).

— type 272 Rv. † *χαγανο* “*Qayan*” (DGIH 187, 192; BW 102; CIH 532 “not clear”).

11.5. Sogd. *x'γ'n* /*Qayan*/ (Gharib 1995, § 4047 s.v. *γ'γ'n*); in coins from Chach (Babayarov 2013, 332–38); already in the Bugut inscription (BI:3, \*II:8, as well as linked to the names – often unclear – of several *qayans*: cf. Kljaštornyj/Livšic 1972, 85–87; Rybatzki 2000, 206–21; IPNB II/8, §§ 663–4, 715, 820); Khot. *khahq:nī*, *ha:hq:nī* (Bailey 1939, 91).

11.6. OT *qayan* passim: GOT 338–340; ATGr 336 s.v. *χαγαν, qayan* “Kaiser, König, Herrscher”; TMEN III 141–79 s.v. *خان, خاقان* (§ 1160–61); EDPTCT 611 s.v. *xağan* “an independent ruler of a tribe or people”; Rybatzki 2006, 484–89 s.v. *qahan*.

11.7. Chin. *kēhán* 可寒, later 可汗 (EMC 173, 118 *k<sup>h</sup>a'-γan*); a title of great antiquity, first attested among the Xiānbēi, Róurán and Tǔyǔhùn (Molè 1970, 69–71); Pulleyblank (1962, 260–62) tried to see its origin in the Xiōngnú title *hùnyú* 護

𐰽 (in the same direction, a Yeniseian connection was suggested by Vovin 2007). Most common among Altaic peoples, also designing the supreme Türk and Khazar rulers (cf. BT2, 332–34; Golden 1980, 192–96; 1992, 71–2: Gr. χαράνος, Arab. NPers. خاقان *hāqān*, Arm. խաքան *xak'an*, etc); variously explained from Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Iranian, etc (see esp. TMEN *supra* & de Rachewiltz 1989, 289–90).

12.1. χινζωιο

— T1f, 20f, 1'f, 19'f βαγοαζιασο στορογο τοροσανζο οισλογδο χοτολογο ταπαγλιο βιλγανο σαβο(ο)υο χινζωιο χαλασανο οισλογδο καδαγοστανο φινζο “Bag-aziyas, the great Turkish princess, the queen of Qutluy Tapaylīy Bilgä Sävüg, the princess of the Xalač, the lady of Kadagstan” 4, 9, 15f, 5', 9', 16' χινζωιο καδαγοστανο φινζο “the queen, the lady of Kadagstan” (BD1, 99–103).

12.2. EBD 478 = 700 CE (BD1, 15; SCBD 127).

12.3. Bag-aziyas, queen of Qutluy Tapaylīy Bilgä Sävüg (for all her titles see § 12.1), party to a contract (BD2, 200; IPNB II/7, § 45).

12.4. Only attested in T (BD2, 277).

12.5. Sogd. PN *xwncwyH* /xunjuy/, Man.MPers. *xwncwy*, *xwnjwy(y)* (IPNB II/8, § 1444; BD2, 277); cf. Wakhi *xənzō*, *xinz/zō* “beautiful, the wife of a ruler”, Khovar *xunza* “queen”, with the same origin, rather than a LW from Pers. *hānzāde* “prince(ss)” as suggested by Steblin-Kamenskij 1999, 411–2.

12.6. OT *qunčuy* (x2: KT BQ): GOT 347 “princess”; ATGr 359 “Prinzessin”; TMEN III 561 s.v. قونچوی (§ 1585); EDPTCT 635 s.v. *kunču:y*; Rybatzki 2006, 508–9 s.v. *qungju*.

12.7. The Chinese title 公主 *gōngzhǔ* “daughter of the emperor, (imperial) princess” (EMC 108, 414 *kəwŋ-teuă*’; cf. Hucker 1985, 291 sub § 3408), one of the few titles of Chinese origin really integrated into the OT system; it came to be used for “consort, wife” when neither husband nor wife were royal.