

COMPETING NARRATIVES BETWEEN NOMADIC PEOPLE AND THEIR  
SEDENTARY NEIGHBOURS

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# Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

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## Contents

István Zimonyi	
Preface .....	7
Augustí Alemany	
A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads (II) .....	11
Tatiana A. Anikeeva	
Geography in the Epic Folklore of the Oghuz Turks .....	37
Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy	
Changes of Ethnonyms in the Sino-Mongol Bilingual Glossaries from the Yuan to the Qing Era .....	45
Chen Hao	
Competing Narratives: A Comparative Study of Chinese Sources with the Old Turkic Inscriptions .....	59
Edina Dallos	
A Possible Source of 'Tengrism' .....	67
Andrei Denisov	
Scythia as the Image of a Nomadic Land on Medieval Maps .....	73
Szabolcs Felföldi	
Personal Hygiene and Bath Culture in the World of the Eurasian Nomads .....	85
Bruno Genito	
An Archaeology of the Nomadic Groups of the Eurasian Steppes between Europe and Asia. Traditional Viewpoint and New Research Perspectives .....	95
Zsolt Hunyadi	
Military-religious Orders and the Mongols around the Mid-13 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	111
Éva Kincses-Nagy	
The Islamization of the Legend of the Turks: The Case of <i>Oghuznāma</i> .....	125
Irina Konovalova	
Cumania in the System of Trade Routes of Eastern Europe in the 12 <sup>th</sup> Century ...	137
Nikolay N. Kradin	
Some Aspects of Xiongnu History in Archaeological Perspective .....	149
Valéria Kulcsár – Eszter Istvánovits	
New Results in the Research on the Hun Age in the Great Hungarian Plain. Some Notes on the Social Stratification of Barbarian Society .....	167

Ma Xiaolin	
The Mongols' <i>tuq</i> 'standard' in Eurasia, 13 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> Centuries .....	183
Enrico Morano	
Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script .....	195
Maya Petrova	
On the Methodology of the Reconstruction of the Ways of Nomadic Peoples .....	217
Katalin Pintér-Nagy	
The Tether and the Sling in the Tactics of the Nomadic People .....	223
Alexander V. Podossinov	
Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe and Greeks of the Northern Black Sea Region: Encounter of Two Great Civilisations in Antiquity and Early Middle Ages.....	237
Szabolcs József Polgár	
The Character of the Trade between the Nomads and their Settled Neighbours in Eurasia in the Middle Ages.....	253
Mirko Sardelić	
Images of Eurasian Nomads in European Cultural Imaginary in the Middle Ages .....	265
Dan Shapira	
An Unknown Jewish Community of the Golden Horde .....	281
Jonathan Karam Skaff	
The Tomb of Pugu Yitu (635–678) in Mongolia: Tang-Turkic Diplomacy and Ritual .....	295
Richárd Szántó	
Central Asia in the Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna .....	309
Katalin Tolnai – Zsolt Szilágyi – András Harmath	
Khitan Landscapes from a New Perspective. Landscape Archaeology Research in Mongolia.....	317
Kürşat Yıldırım	
Some Opinions on the Role of the Mohe 靺鞨 People in the Cultural and Ethnical Relationships between Tungusic, Turkic and Mongolian Peoples....	327
Ákos Zimonyi	
Did Jordanes Read Hippocrates? The Impact of Climatic Factors on Nomads in the <i>Getica</i> of Jordanes .....	333
István Zimonyi	
The Eastern Magyars of the Muslim Sources in the 10 <sup>th</sup> Century.....	347

## A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads (II)

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In the Sixth International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe held in Szeged in 2016 I discussed the pros and cons of a prosopographical approach to Medieval Eurasian nomads of the Pre-Mongol Period. Two years later, in a similar way, I again brought this idea to the attention of the Seventh Conference in Shanghai with the intention of presenting it to the Chinese scientific community. In the meantime, the main project improvements have been [1] the creation of a computer database for storing –and allowing cross-searching of– hitherto collected data and [2] the extension of the initially covered period from the late fourth to the early seventh century (Hun empire to the early Avar kingdom). The Szeged paper, which includes a sample basic research on the Hun period (in fact, ca. A.D. 370–527) based in *PLRE* I-II,<sup>1</sup> will hopefully have been published by now.<sup>2</sup> That is why we have decided to take advantage of this occasion to produce a second paper dealing with the individuals contained in *PLRE* III (for the period A.D. 527–641), in this case mostly post-Attilanic Huns, Avars, Turks, Khazars and their counterparts among sedentary empires and other related peoples.

The following tables have been prepared in accordance with the guidelines already spelled out in the previous paper (name of the individual; reference to the relevant pages in *PLRE* III; extract from the entry giving the main source & the number of other available sources in brackets; chronology). However, even if the former organization in three main sections (Eurasian nomads / Sedentary empires & kingdoms / Other peoples) has been kept, that of the sub-chapters has been modified here according to ethnic origins, although the old basic categories informing the career of every individual have been preserved following an easy

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1 *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I A.D. 260–395, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971; vols. II. A.D. 395–527 & IIIAB. A.D. 527–641, ed. J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1980–1992.

2 A. Alemany (2019) “A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads”, *Chronica* 18: 6–24.

classification system based on chess icons already used for the Szeged presentation.<sup>3</sup>

Needless to say, this is once more a preliminary work with the goal of showing both the benefits and problems of a prosopographical approach to the Eurasian nomads of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, but also with the aim of providing at least a useful tool for easy reference—a digest of 1,456 pages in about a dozen: a first, unavoidable step before extensive source mining and the development of an *ad hoc* methodology.

- ♔ king / emperor / ruler
- ♚ queen / *Augusta*
- ♚ chieftain / leader / army commander
- ♚ diplomat
- ♚ in Roman service (other than *MVM*)
- ♚ in Roman service (*MVM*)
- ♚ other individuals

3 A & B = *PLRE* IIIA & B. No Byzantine emperors are listed, since *PLRE* does not deal with their reigns, which are otherwise well known; as an exception, *Iustinus 5* (Justin II) and *Tiberius Constantinus 1* are included because of events prior to their becoming *Augusti*. Regarding the Huns in Roman service attested by Procopius, [M] stands for Μασσαγέτης “Massagete ~ Hun” and [δ] for δορυφόρος “bodyguard officer” (lit. “spearman”). The names of Eurasian nomads and the relationship of sedentaries and other peoples to them are highlighted in bold. Early Slavs and individuals related to them have been incorporated, even if not explicitly connected with Eurasian nomads (in such a case, they are labeled with #), insofar their presence is often linked to episodes of Avar history. In dates, an asterisk [\*] stands for: *circa* ‘approximately’. Greek original text for titles has only been given for Eurasian nomads when available in the source; as for Greek <ou>, transliterated both as <ou> and <u> in *PLRE* III, the latter solution has been generalized. Accordingly, the transliteration of names in Armenian and Persian sources has been modified when necessary. Quoted sources: Agath(ias), *Anth(ologia) Gr(aeca)*, *Chron(icon) Pasch(ale)*, Const(antinus) Porph(yrogenitus), *Ep(istolae) Wisig(oticae)*, Fredegar(ius), Evagr(ius), Greg(orius) Magnus, Greg(orius) Tur(onensis), Joh(annes) Eph(esius), Joh(annes) Mal(alas), *K(art’lis) C(xovreba)*, Marcel(linus) Com(es), Men(ander) Prot(ector), Mich(ael) Syr(us), *Mir(acula Sancti) Dem(etrii)*, Mov(sês) Dasx(uranc’i), Nic(ephorus), Paul(us) Diac(onus), Proc(opius), Sebeos, Theod(orus) Sync(ellus), Theoph(anes), Theoph(ylact) Sim(ocatta); Zacos = G. Zacos–A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Basel 1972. Roman / Byzantine official titles: *mag. off.* = *magister officiorum*, *MVM* = *magister utriusque militiae*, *PPO* = *praefectus praetorio*, *PVC* = *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae*, *QSP* = *quaestor sacri palatii*.



## Eurasian Nomads

## Unspecified Huns


☞ <i>Glom</i>	A 538	king (ῥῆξ) of a section of the Huns, an ally of Cavades <sup>4</sup> , defeated and killed by the Sabirian Boa [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	528
☞ <i>Grod</i>	A 557-8	king (ῥῆξ) of the Crimean Huns, a Roman ally, killed by his people and replaced by Mugal [Joh. Mal. <sup>+5</sup> ]	528
☞ <i>Mugel</i>	B 896	king (ῥῆξ) of the Crimean Huns after his brother Grod, fled before an expedition sent by Justinian [Joh. Mal. <sup>+5</sup> ]	528
☞ <i>Tyranx</i>	B 1346	king (ῥῆξ) of a section of the Huns, an ally of Cavades <sup>4</sup> , defeated and captured by the Sabirian Boa, sent in fetters to Justinian and executed in Constantinople [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	528
☞ † <i>Bleda</i>	A 233-4	<i>comes</i> & supporter of Totila, commander of a Gothic army, his name may be of Hunnish origin [Proc. <sup>+2</sup> ]	542
☞ <i>Ragnaris</i>	B 1076	a Hun from the Vittores tribe, commanding (ῥῆξ/ῥῆγεῖτο) the Gothic garrison in Tarentum, he was defeated by Pacurius; later, as leader of 7,000 Gothic troops, besieged and killed by Narses 1 at Compsa [Agath. <sup>+1</sup> ]	552 554/5
☞ <i>Aeschmanus</i>	A 20	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard in Italy, sent with Constantinus 3 to Etruria [Proc.]	537
☞ <i>Aigan</i>	A 32-33	[M] cavalry commander (στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἱππέων ἄρχων), officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard, fought the Persians at Dara and the Vandals at Tricamarum, was killed by the Moors <sup>5</sup> [Proc.]	530-534
☞ <i>Ascan</i>	A 133	[M] he and Simmas served under Belisarius at the battle of Dara commanding a cavalry force (ἱππεῖς ῥῆξον) 600 strong; later he was killed at the battle of Callinicum [Proc.]	530-531
☞ <i>Balas</i>	A 169	[M] on the Vandal expedition he and Sinnion led a contingent of Hun mounted archers (ἵπποτοξοτῶν ῥῆγουντο) in Belisarius' army [Proc.]	533

<sup>4</sup> *Cavades I* (488-531), king of Persia (*PLRE* II 273-4).








<sup>5</sup> A Moorish army in Byzacena led by the chieftains *Cutzinias* (A 366-68), *Esdilasas* (A 451), *Iourphouthes* (A 717) and *Medisinissas* (B 870) [Procopius].

Ξ <i>Bochas</i>	A 235	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard in Rome, wounded by the Goths in the <i>campus Neronis</i> [Proc.]	537
Ξ <i>Chalazar</i>	A 280	[M] officer [δ] of Ioannes' 46 bodyguard, he and Gudilas 2 were given command (ἐπιστήσας) of a force of 300 Illyrian horsemen at Rusciane; he surrendered to Totila but was tortured and killed by him [Proc.]	547-548
Ξ <i>Chorsamantis</i>	A 302-3	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard, he fought in Etruria under Constantinus 3 and was killed when taking on overwhelming numbers during the siege of Rome [Proc.]	537
Ξ <i>Elmingirus</i>	A 440	<i>tribunus</i> (λοχαγός) in Lazica, he and Dabragezas were in charge of boats guarding the river Phasis [Agath.]	556
Ξ <i>Elminzur</i>	A 440	?comes rei militaris (ταξίαρχος) under Iustinus 4 in Lazica, sent with 2,000 cavalry to take Rhodopolis [Agath.]	556
Ξ <i>Gubulgudu</i>	A 560	[M] officer [δ] of Valerianus' 1 bodyguard, he fought bravely against the Goths in Ancona [Proc.]	538
Ξ <i>Hodolgan</i>	A 601	commander of the Roman garrison (ἡρχε τῆς ... φρουρᾶς) in Perusia, he co-operated with Martinianus 1 and recaptured Spoletium <sup>6</sup> [Proc.]	547
Ξ <i>Simmas</i>	B 1152-3	[M] he and Sunicas successfully defended Dara from the Persians; perhaps <i>tribunus</i> (χιλίαρχος), he and Ascan commanded a cavalry force (ἱππεῖς ἡρχον) 600 strong at the battle of Dara; later <i>dux</i> (δούξ / ἑξαρχος) at the battle of Callinicum [Proc. <sup>+2</sup> ]	527 530-531
Ξ <i>Sunicas</i>	B 1206-7	[M] he fled to the Romans and was baptized; styled <i>dux</i> (δούξ / ἑπαρχος), he killed the Persian commander Baresmanas at Dara, led a force against the Persians encamped at Gabbula, fought at Callinicum [Proc. <sup>+2</sup> ]	530-531
Ξ <i>Vldach</i>	B 1387	he commanded a Hun force at Pisaurum with Artabanes 2 and Roman troops (ἄμα στρατεύματι Ῥωμαϊκῷ τε καὶ Οὐννικῷ), defeating the advance guard of the Alaman Leutharis [Agath.]	554
Ξ <i>Zarter</i>	B 1415	[M] officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard in Italy, sent by Constantinus 3 to Etruria [Proc.]	537


6 Surprisingly recalled as Ὀδολγῶν δὲ Οὐννος (not a Μασσαγέτης, as usual) by Proc. BG III.23.6.

 <b>Curs</b>	A 360-1	? <i>MVM</i> , a Hun or a Goth (Σκυθῆς ἀνὴρ), he served in Italy under Narses 1, later under Maurice <sup>7</sup> against the Persians in Armenia; he and Theodorus 32 took hostages from Albanians and Sabirs [Men. Prot. <sup>+6</sup> ]	574-582
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### Kutrigur & Utigur Huns

 <b>Anagaeus</b>	A 59	ruler of the Utigurs (ἐκράτει τοῦ φύλου τῶν Οὐτιγούρων) somewhere north of the Caucasus, he went on campaign with a Turkish army near the city of Bosphorus [Men. Prot.]	576
  <b>Sandilchus</b>	B 1111-2	king (βασιλεὺς / ἡγεμὼν) of the Utigur Huns, a Roman ally, thrice invited by Justinian to make war on the Kutrigur Huns, mostly under Zabergan 2, until both tribes disintegrated because of prolonged warfare [Proc. <sup>+2</sup> ]	551 557-559
  <b>Sinnion</b>	B 1156	[M] he and Balas led a contingent of Hun mounted archers (ἱπποτοξοτῶν ἡγούντο) in Belisarius' army; later, as a leader (ἡγούντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σ.) of the Kutrigur Huns, he was allowed by Justinian to settle in Thrace [Proc.]	533 551
 <b>Zabergan 2</b>	B 1410	ruler (ἡγεμὼν) of the Kutrigur Huns, he crossed Moesia and Scythia into Thrace, sent half of his army to attack Greece and half to seize the Thracian Chersonese but was defeated by Belisarius near Constantinople [Agath. <sup>+2</sup> ]	557-559
 <b>Chinialon</b>	A 296	one of the leaders (ἄλλοι τε ἡγούντο καὶ Χ.) of a 12,000 strong Kutrigur army which ravaged Roman territory at the request of the Gepids [Proc.]	551

### Unogunduri / Bulgars

 <b>Kubratos</b>	B 763	lord (κύριος) of the Unogunduri, baptised in Constantinople, he rebelled against his overlord the khan of the Avars, expelled them from his homeland, sent an embassy and concluded a peace treaty with Heraclius [Nic. <sup>+2</sup> ]	M VII
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<sup>7</sup> Later emperor Maurice (582–602), at that time *MVM per Orientem* (B 855–60 *Mauricius* 4).

☞ <b>Alciocus</b>	A 40	Bulgar leader, escaped from the Avars to the Franks and sought asylum with Dagobert 2; when the latter had them massacred by the Bavarians, he fled to the Wends with 700 men and their families [Fredegar.]	M VII
☞ <b>Organas</b>	B 956	uncle of Kubratos, presumably a chieftain of the Unogunduri (Bulgars) [Nic.]	E VII
☞ <b>Anonymus 75</b>	B 1440	a Bulgar, <i>spatharius</i> of Narses 1, staying at the house of Valerianus 2 at Rome [Greg.]	M VI
☞ <b>†Ascum</b>	A 136	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> (στρατηλάτης), a Hun (Bulgar?), defeated Bulgars invading Scythia and Moesia, later he was captured by them and carried off into captivity [Joh. Mal. <sup>+2</sup> ]	528

### Sabirs

☞ <b>Blach</b>	A 233	king (*ῥῆξ) of a section of the Sabirian Huns, husband of Boa, who succeeded him upon his death [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	<i>ante</i> 528
☞ <b>Boa</b>	A 234	wife of Blach, on his death she became queen (ῥήγισσα) of a section of the Sabirian Huns; she destroyed a Hun army allied to Persia, killing Glom and sending Tyrax to Constantinople [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	528
☞ <b>Balmach</b>	A 170	one of three leaders (ἡγοῦντο) of some 2,000 Sabirian Huns serving with the Roman army in Lazica [Agath.]	556
☞ <b>Cutilzis</b>	A 365	one of three leaders (ἡγοῦντο) of some 2,000 Sabirian Huns serving with the Roman army in Lazica [Agath.]	556
☞ <b>Iliger</b>	A 618	one of three leaders (ἡγοῦντο) of some 2,000 Sabirian Huns serving with the Roman army in Lazica [Agath.]	556

### Avars

☞ <b>Baian</b>	A 167-69	khan (χαγάνος) of the Avars, he defeated the Franks under Sigibertus I; helped the Lombards against the Gepids; sent a Kutrigur army against Dalmatia; occupied Pannonia; attacked the Slavs; took Sirmium [Men. Prot. <sup>+2</sup> ]	?561-582/5
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☞ ☞ <b>Apsich 1</b>	A 101-2	one of the Avar leaders during the siege of Sirmium; later he was the commander (ὑποστράτηγος) of the Avars in Dardania and negotiated with Petrus 55; previously he had been sent as envoy to Tiberius [Men. Prot. <sup>+2</sup> ]	569/570 *581 601
☞ <b>Hermitzis</b>	A 590	Avar commander (ἐπαρχος) during the siege of Constantinople, he protested the capture and execution of Persian envoys on their way back from a mission to the Avars [ <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> ]	626
☞ <b>Samur</b>	B 1110	Avar commander, dispatched with 8,000 men by the khan, defeated by Salvianus in Moesia [Theoph. Sim.]	592
☞ <b>Candich</b>	A 269	first envoy of the Avars to the Romans, sent to Constantinople by Iustinus 4 from Lazica [Men. Prot.]	557
☞ <b>Coch</b>	A 319	envoy of the Avar khan to Priscus 6 at Durostorum [Theoph. Sim.]	593
☞ <b>Cunimon</b>	A 360	envoy to Justinian, he disclosed the Avars' secret intentions to his friend Iustinus 4 [Men. Prot.]	*561
☞ <b>Solachus</b>	B 1167	envoy sent to Tiberius by the khan Baian to demand the surrender of Sirmium [Men. Prot.]	*580
☞ <b>Targitis</b>	B 1217	envoy of the Avar khan Baian to Constantinople on numerous occasions for almost 30 years [Men. Prot. <sup>+2</sup> ]	565-593
☞ <b>Anonymus 87</b>	B 1442	envoy of the Avar khan Baian to Tiberius, on his return killed by raiding Slavs in Illyricum [Men. Prot.]	*580
☞ <b>Apsich 2</b>	A 102	called a Hun, probably an Avar, when Philippicus 3 fell ill he was appointed commander (ὑποστράτηγος) of the army in the east; in charge of the left wing with Eiliphredas at the battle of Solachon [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+2</sup> ]	585-586
☞ <b>Boocolabras</b>	A 245	a priest, probably an Avar even if called a Scythian (Σκύθης ἀνὴρ), he fled from the Avar khan after sleeping with one of his wives but was captured by the Romans and reclaimed by the khan [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	582

## Turks &amp; Khazars

☞ <i>Arsilas</i>	—	‘senior’ (supreme / eldest?) ruler of the Turks (ὁ παλαιότερος μόναρχος Τούρκων) <sup>8</sup> [Men. Prot.]	L VI
☞ <i>Čepetux</i>	A 286	‘Chinese’ leader who joined the khan of the Khazars and helped Heraclius in the Persian war <sup>9</sup> [Sebeos]	*627
☞ <i>Cunaxolan</i>	A 360	one of the three khans (χαγάνοι) who helped the Great Turkish Khan to defeat the usurper Turum [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
☞ <i>Sizabulus</i>	B 1163-4	khan of the Turks (ὁ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμὼν) in Sogdia, he campaigned against the Ephthalite Huns and chased the Avars; he received Zemarchus 3 after two unsuccessful embassies to Chosroes and concluded a treaty with Justin II <sup>10</sup> [Men. Prot.]	552-576
☞ <i>Sparzeugun</i>	B 1181	one of the three khans (χαγάνοι) who helped the Great Turkish Khan to defeat the usurper Turum [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
☞ <i>Stembis-chagan</i>	B 1182	an ally of the Turks, whom he helped subdue the Avars <sup>11</sup> [Theoph. Sim.]	M/L VI
☞ <i>Tardu</i>	B 1217	ruler of the Turks in the vicinity of mount Ectal, son of Sizabulus and brother of Turxanthus [Men. Prot.]	576
☞ <i>Tuldich</i>	B 1332	one of the three khans (χαγάνοι) who helped the Great Turkish Khan to defeat the usurper Turum [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
☞ <i>Turum</i>	B 1332-3	a relative of the Great khan of the Turks (πρὸς γένος καθεστὼς τῷ Χαγάνῳ), after rebelling against the latter he was defeated with the help of other three great khans, Cunaxolan, Sparzeugun and Tuldich [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI

<sup>8</sup> Lacking in *PLRE* III.

<sup>9</sup> Arm. *Čenastann čepetux* (v.l. *čembux*) [Sebeos] ~ *jebu xak'an* [Mov. Dasx.] = Old Turkic *yabyu qayan*, identified by Marquart as Tong yabyu qayan (Chin. *Tongyehu Kehan* 統葉護可汗), who reigned over the Western Turks from 619 to 630.

<sup>10</sup> Σιζάβουλος, Σιλζιβουλος [Men. Prot.] or also سنجيبو *Singibū* [Ṭabarī], often identified with Ištāmi qayan, named after the Old Turkic title *\*sir yabyu*.

<sup>11</sup> Στεμβισχάγαν [Theoph. Sim.] seems in fact to be Ištāmi qayan's true name; we give the reading of the Vatican ms. instead of the vulgate reading Στεμβισχάδας adopted by Wirth and B 1182 (we have kept *PLRE*'s duplicity in the table in order to correct the disambiguation).

☪ <i>Turxanthus</i>	B 1333	a Turkish khan (εἷς τῶν παρὰ Τούρκων ἡγεμόνων), son of Sizabulus and brother of Tardu, one of the eight rulers of the Turks, he was visited by Valentinus 3 and sent him on to see Tardu; later he despatched an army against the Roman city of Bosphorus and captured it [Men. Prot.]	576
☪ <i>Bochanus</i>	A 235	Turkish military leader, sent with a large force by Turxanthus against the Romans in Bosphorus [Men. Prot.]	576
☪ <i>Čorpan Tarxan</i>	A 355	Khazar general, sent against Armenia with 3,000 troops to prepare the way for the khan [Mov. Dasx.]	629
☪ <i>Tagma</i>	B 1214	a Turk, appointed envoy to the Romans by Sizabulus, he held the dignity of Tarchan (ταρχάν); he accompanied Zemarchus 3 back to Constantinople [Men. Prot.]	571
☪ <i>Jebu Xak'an</i>	A 611-2	leader of the Khazar forces sent to help Heraclius against Persia, he put Tiflis to the sword [Mov. Dasx. <sup>+5</sup> ]	E VII
☪ <i>Šat'</i>	B 1115	a Khazar, Jebu Xak'an's son, Roman ally, he invaded Georgia, took Tiflis and subdued Albania [Mov. Dasx.]	627-628

#### Other Eurasian peoples (Alans, Choliatae, Hermechiones, Uguri)

☪ <i>Ascel</i>	A 133-4	king (ῥῆξ) of the Hermechiones, he sent envoys to Constantinople [Theoph.]	563
☪ ☪ <i>Saroës</i>	B 1115	king (βασιλεύς / ἡγεμών) of the Alans, he mediated between Iustinus 4 and the Avars when the latter sought contact with the Romans; later he welcomed Zemarchus 3 when he returned from his embassy to the Turks; an ally of the Romans, he joined Ioannes 88 shortly before the battle of Nisibis [Men. Prot. <sup>+1</sup> ]	557 571/2 573
☪ <i>Anonymus 80</i>	B 1441	ruler of the Uguri (ὁ τῶν Οὐγούρων ἡγούμενος), a subject of the Turkish khan Sizabulus [Men. Prot.]	*570/571
☪ <i>Anonymus 81</i>	B 1441	ruler of the Choliatae (ὁ τῶν Χολιατῶν ἡγεμών), he received permission from the Turkish khan Sizabulus to send some of his people to accompany the returning embassy of Zemarchus 3 [Men. Prot.]	*570/ 571

## Sedentary Empires &amp; Kingdoms

## Roman / Byzantine Empire

✠ <i>Epiphania 2</i>	A 445-6	<i>Augusta</i> , daughter of the emperor Heraclius, promised in marriage to the khan of the <b>Khazars</b> [Nic. <sup>+3</sup> ]	*629
✠ <i>Alexander 1</i>	A 41-2	<i>comes</i> , envoy to the Ostrogoths, he complained about their welcome of <b>Hunnic</b> deserters from the Roman army in Africa [Proc.]	534
✠ <i>Ananastes</i>	A 59	envoy to the <b>Turks</b> , he came back together with some of them who later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576
✠ <i>Andreas 23</i>	A 80	envoy sent by Heraclius to the <b>Khazars</b> to seek military assistance against Persia [Mov. Dasx.]	626
✠ <i>Aratius</i>	A 103-4	military commander, sent by Justinian as envoy to <b>Chinialon</b> , leader of the <b>Kutrigur Huns</b> [Proc.]	551
✠ <i>Athanasius 10</i>	A 148	<i>patricius</i> , envoy to the khan of the <b>Avars</b> on several occasions during the siege of Constantinople [Nic. <sup>+2</sup> ]	626
✠ <i>Comitas 5</i>	A 327	envoy, sent with the interpreter Vitalianus 2 to the <b>Avar</b> khan <b>Baian</b> , who held them both captive [Men. Prot.]	*568
✠ <i>Cosmas 20</i>	A 358	<i>QSP</i> , envoy of Heraclius to the <b>Avar</b> khan when the emperor was nearly captured by treachery [Nic.]	*620
✠ <i>Elpidius 1</i>	A 440-1	<i>patricius</i> , a member of the senate of Constantinople, twice envoy to the khan of the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+2</sup> ]	583 584
✠ <i>Eutychius 2</i>	A 476	envoy to the <b>Turks</b> , some of whom accompanied him back home and later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576
✠ <i>Georgius 8</i>	A 515	envoy, he accompanied Zemarchus 3 on his embassy to the <b>Turks</b> [Men. Prot.]	569-571
✠ <i>Georgius 48</i>	A 521	ἀρχων at Constantinople during the <b>Avar</b> siege, went with others to see the khan at his request [Chron. Pasch.]	626
✠ <i>Harmaton</i>	A 579	envoy of Maurice to the khan of the <b>Avars</b> , he negotiated an end to the war [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	598
✠ <i>Herodianus 2</i>	A 595	envoy to the <b>Turks</b> , some of whom accompanied him back home and later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576












☪ Narses 4	B 930-1	<i>spatharius</i> , sent by Tiberius as envoy to the <b>Avars</b> , fell ill and died after landing near the Danube [Joh. Eph.]	*581
☪ Paulus 19	B 979	envoy to the <b>Turks</b> , some of whom accompanied him back home and later left with Valentinus 3 [Men. Prot.]	571/576
☪ Theodorus 43	B 1258-9	a doctor, sent as envoy by Priscus 6 to the <b>Avar</b> khan to negotiate an end to the fighting [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+2</sup> ]	593
☪ Theodorus 159	B 1277	<i>syncellus</i> , one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople who went with Athanasius 10, Georgius 48, Theodosius 40 & Theodorus 160 on an embassy to the khan during the <b>Avar</b> siege; he wrote an account (extant) of the siege [Chron. Pasch.]	626
☪ Theodorus 160	B 1277	<i>vir gloriosissimus, commerciaris</i> , one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople who went on an embassy to the khan during the <b>Avar</b> siege [Chron. Pasch.]	626
☪ Theodosius 40	B 1298	<i>patricius &amp; logothetes</i> , an envoy to the khan during the <b>Avar</b> siege of Constantinople [Chron. Pasch.]	626
☪ Valentinus 3	B 1353	?scribo, Rome's first envoy to the <b>Avars</b> , he possibly accompanied Zemarchus 3 on his embassy to the <b>Turks</b> and later was sent on a second embassy to <b>Turxanthus</b> and <b>Tardu</b> [Men. Prot.]	*558 569-571 576
☪ Vitalianus 2	B 1379	he accompanied Comitas 5 as interpreter on an embassy to <b>Baian</b> , khan of the <b>Avars</b> [Men. Prot.]	568
☪ Zemarchus 3	B 1416-7	<i>MVM per Orientem</i> , envoy to the khan of the <b>Turks</b> in Sogdia, <b>Sizabulus</b> , with a returning <b>Turkish</b> embassy under Maniach; sent back to Constantinople with another <b>Turkish</b> embassy led by <b>Tagma</b> [Men. Prot.]	569-571
☪ Anonymus 96	B 1444	<i>excubitor</i> , sent by Maurice with a false message to deceive the khan of the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+2</sup> ]	588
☪ #Alexander 11	A 45-6	?comes rei militaris / dux in Thrace, he encountered and defeated several <b>Slav</b> forces [Theoph. Sim.]	593-594














✠ <i>Althias</i>	A 49-50	one of the nine commanders of <i>foederati</i> ( <b>Huns</b> among them) in Belisarius' Vandal expedition, <sup>12</sup> he defeated the Moor laudas with about seventy <b>Huns</b> under his orders [Proc.]	533 535
✠ <i>Anianus</i>	A 82	<i>mag. off.</i> , after pressure from the khan he sent gifts to secure the release of hostages in <b>Avar</b> hands [Nic.]	*635
✠ <i>Ansimuth</i>	A 85	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> / <i>dux</i> , he retreated towards the Long Walls when the <b>Avars</b> overran Thrace but was captured by them; the rumours of his and Castus' capture agitated Constantinople [Theoph. Sim.]	587
✠ # <i>Asbadus</i> 1	A 133	<i>candidatus</i> , officer of Justinian's bodyguard, defeated, captured and killed by marauding <b>Slavs</b> [Proc.]	550
✠ <i>Barbatus</i> 1	A 170-1	cavalry commander of the right wing with the <b>Hun Aigan</b> and Pappus at the battle of Tricamarum [Proc.]	533
✠ # <i>Bonosus</i> 1	A 239	a <i>scribo</i> , he prepared transports for Guduin's 1 Roman force to cross the Danube against the <b>Slavs</b> [Theoph.]	602
✠ <i>Busas</i>	A 248	an expert in siege warfare captured by the <b>Avars</b> , he taught them how to build siege engines [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	587
✠ # <i>Callinicus</i> 10	A 264-5	<i>exarchus Italiae</i> , he wrote to pope Gregory to announce victories over the <b>Slavs</b> [Greg.]	599
✠ <i>Callistratus</i>	A 266	<i>PPO</i> (? <i>Illyrici</i> ), sent by Tiberius to surrender Sirmium to the <b>Avars</b> after the failure of Narses 4 [Joh. Eph. <sup>+1</sup> ]	581/582
✠ <i>Charias</i>	A 283	presumably <i>PPO</i> ( <i>Illyrici</i> ), he arrived in Thessalonica during the siege by the <b>Avars</b> and <b>Slavs</b> [ <i>Mir. Dem.</i> ]	*618
✠ <i>Cutilas</i>	A 365	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard, he, Artasires and the <b>Hun Bochas</b> attacked the Goths near Rome [Proc.]	537

<sup>12</sup> The other eighth commanders of *foederati* were *Cyprianus* (A 368-70), *Cyrillus* 2 (A 371-2), *Dorotheus* 2 (A 420-1), *Ioannes* 15 (A 636), *Marcellus* 2 (B 814), *Martinus* 2 (B 839-48), *Solomon* 1 (B 1167-77) and *Valerianus* 1 (B 1355-61). However, only Althias is explicitly recorded as commanding Huns in Africa.

✠ <i>Dagaris</i>	A 379	a bodyguard captured by <b>Hun</b> allies of Persia, after being released he won many victories over them [Proc.]	530
✠ <i>Dalmatius</i>	A 384	<i>tribunus (militum)</i> , commander of the Roman garrison in Bosporus, killed by the <b>Hun Mugel</b> [Joh. Mal. <sup>+2</sup> ]	528
✠ <i>Damianus</i> 3	A 385	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> / <i>dux</i> , sent by Tiberius to accompany <b>Avar</b> envoys to the emperor Justin [Men. Prot.]	*571
✠ <i>Eiliphredas</i>	A 435	<i>dux Phoenices Libanensis</i> , he and <b>Apsich 2</b> commanded the left wing at the battle of Solachon [Theoph. Sim.]	586
✠ <i>Germanus</i> 4	A 528	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> (East), defended the wall of Chersonese from the <b>Hun</b> army of <b>Zabergan</b> [Agath.]	559
✠ <i>Gudilas</i> 2	A 540	an officer of Ioannes' 46 bodyguard, joint cavalry commander with the <b>Hun Chalazar</b> at Rusciane [Proc.]	547-548
✠ <i>Ioannes</i> 7	A 625-6	<i>comes angustiarum Pontici maris</i> , sent with a Gothic force by sea against <b>Mugel's Huns</b> [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	528
✠ <i>Ioannes</i> 35	A 643-4	<i>Stotzas iunior</i> , rebel leader in Africa, commanding Romans, Vandals and some eighty <b>Huns</b> [Proc.]	545-546
✠ <i>Ioannes</i> 46	A 652-61	<i>magister militum</i> in Italy, allegedly betrayed by the <b>Bulgars</b> under him when attacked by Totila, somewhat later he garrisoned Rusciane with 300 Illyrian cavalry under Gudilas and the <b>Hun Chalazar</b> [Proc. <sup>+1</sup> ]	547
✠ # <i>Ioannes</i> 64	A 665-67	"the Glutton" (ὁ Φαγῶς), military commander in Italy, he and Traianus 2 were given command of 1,200 men mostly drawn from Belisarius' bodyguard; later he twice defeated plundering <b>Slavs</b> in the Balkans [Proc.]	541 545/6 551
✠ <i>Ioannes</i> 91	A 677	<i>PPO Illyrici et quaestor exercitus</i> in Pannonia, he transported <b>Avar</b> cavalry across the Danube [Men. Prot. <sup>+1</sup> ]	578
✠ # <i>Iustinianus</i> 3	A 744-47	he and his brother Iustinus 4, among other commanders, led an army against the <b>Sclaveni</b> in Illyricum [Proc.]	552











✠ <i>Iustinus 1</i>	A 748	? <i>MVM et dux Moesiae (Secundae)</i> , he was killed when he and Baduarius 1 joined battle with an army of <b>Huns (Bulgars)</b> invading Scythia and Moesia [Joh. Mal. <sup>+1</sup> ]	528
✠ <i>Iustinus 5</i>	A 754-56	<i>cura palatii</i> , sent by Justinian to escort the <b>Hun</b> invaders under <b>Zabergan</b> back safely across the Danube, later <i>Augustus</i> 565-578 [Theoph. <sup>+1</sup> ]	559
✠ <i>Martinianus 1</i>	B 838	a soldier who recaptured Spoletium for Belisarius with the help of the <b>Hun Hodolgan</b> [Proc.]	547
✠ <i>Maxentius 2</i>	B 864	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> in Lazica, he and Theodorus 21 led 300 cavalry against <b>Sabirian Hun</b> mercenaries in Persian service and inflicted heavy casualties on them [Agath.]	556
✠ <i>Maximinus 2</i>	B 865-6	appointed <i>PPO Italiae</i> , he sailed from Constantinople with a force accompanied by some <b>Huns</b> [Proc.]	542
✠ <i>#Nazares 1</i>	B 936-7	military commander in Scholasticus' 1 expedition against <b>Slavs</b> who were plundering the Balkans [Proc.]	551
✠ <i>Pappus</i>	B 966-7	cavalry commander of the right wing with the <b>Hun Aigan</b> and Barbatus at the battle of Tricamarum [Proc.]	533
✠ <i>Rufinus 1</i>	B 1097-8	cavalry commander in Africa, killed together with the <b>Hun Aigan</b> by the Moors in Byzacena [Proc.]	533-534
✠ <i>#Scholasticus 1</i>	B 1117	palatine Eunuch, he was given overall command by Justinian of an expedition against the <b>Slavs</b> [Proc.]	551
✠ <i>Solomon 4</i>	B 1177-8	? <i>dux</i> , in command of Sirmium during the <b>Avar</b> siege, allegedly careless and inefficient [Men. Prot.]	*581
✠ <i>Stephanus 26</i>	B 1189	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> , he and the <b>Avar Apsich 2</b> were given command of the army in the east [Theoph. Sim.]	585
✠ <i>#Tatimer</i>	B 1220	Roman officer in Thrace, appointed commander of a force of 300 men by Priscus 6, he had difficulties with <b>Slav</b> forces while escorting booty won from them to Constantinople [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	593
✠ <i>Theodericus 2</i>	B 1237	? <i>comes foederatorum</i> (East) commanding <b>Scythian</b> units ( <i>foederati</i> from the Danube area?) [Evagr. <sup>+1</sup> ]	581

 <i>Theodorus</i> 21	B 1251-2	?comes rei militaris in Lazica, joined Maxentius 2 in an attack on the Persians' <b>Sabirian Hun</b> allies [Agath.]	556
 <i>Theodorus</i> 163	B 1277-79	a general, maybe the unnamed brother of emperor Heraclius whose arrival near Constantinople was announced by Bonus 5 to the <b>Avar</b> khan at the end of the siege [ <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> ]	626
 <i>Valerianus</i> 1	B 1355-61	he was sent with an army of 1,600 cavalry to Italy (mainly <b>Huns</b> , <b>Slavs</b> and <b>Antae</b> , including <b>Gubulgudu</b> ); later he met and destroyed most of an army of <b>Huns</b> sent by Chosroes into Roman Armenia [Proc.]	536 541
 <i>Vlimuth</i>	B 1390	an officer of Belisarius' bodyguard, he and the <b>Hun Gubulgudu</b> helped to avert the capture by Vacimus of Ancona [Proc.]	538
 <i>Anonymus</i> 94	B 1444	Roman officer, perhaps a <i>tribunus</i> , he supposedly spoke out in a military assembly against the plans of Comentiolus 1 to stay and fight the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim.]	587
 <i>Babas</i>	A 161-2	?MVM in Lazica, led an attack on the Dolomitae, already in flight from the <b>Sabirs</b> in Roman service [Agath.]	556
 <i>Baduarius</i> 1	A 163-4	?MVM <i>et dux Scythiae</i> , he fought against the Crimean <b>Huns</b> under <b>Mugel</b> to recover Bosphorus and together with Iustinus 1 against an army of <b>Huns (Bulgars)</b> invading Scythia and Moesia [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	528
 <i>Belisarius</i>	A 181-224	MVM <i>per Orientem</i> , Justinian's famous general, his armies included <b>Massagete (Hunnic)</b> troops fighting against the Persians in Mesopotamia, the Vandals in Africa and the Ostrogoths in Italy, often led by <b>Hun</b> officers belonging to his bodyguard ( <b>Aeschmanus</b> , <b>Aigan</b> , <b>Ascan</b> , <b>Balas</b> , <b>Bochas</b> , <b>Chorsamantis</b> , <b>Simmas</b> , <b>Sinnion</b> , <b>Sunicas</b> , <b>Zarter</b> ); later he defeated the <b>Kutrigur Huns</b> under <b>Zabergan</b> near Constantinople [Proc. <sup>+6</sup> ]	529-559
 <i>Bonus</i> 4	A 241-2	MVM ( <i>per Illyricum?</i> ) under Iustinus 4, guarding the Danube frontier against the <b>Avars</b> , probably in command in Sirmium during the <b>Avar</b> siege; he sent an <b>Avar</b> embassy on to Constantinople [Men. Prot. <sup>+1</sup> ]	568/9-570


 <i>Bonus</i> 5	A 242-44	<i>MVM</i> (?), in charge of the defence of Constantinople against the <b>Avars</b> during the siege; his illegitimate son Ioannes 259 was sent as hostage to the <b>Avars</b> [Theod. Sync. <sup>+4</sup> ]	622-626
 <i>Castus</i>	A 274-5	? <i>MVM</i> ( <i>vacans</i> ), he defeated the <b>Avars</b> in Thrace, later he was taken prisoner and ransomed [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	587
 # <i>Chilbudius</i> 1	A 286-7	<i>MVM per Thracias</i> under Justinian, he waged war north of the Danube and was killed by the <b>Slavs</b> [Proc.]	530-533
 <i>Comentiolus</i> 1	A 321-25	<i>MVM Praesentalis</i> / ? <i>per Thracias</i> , he was sent on several campaigns against <b>Avars</b> and <b>Slavs</b> in Thrace and Moesia; he also accompanied as <i>scribo</i> Elpidius 1 on an embassy to the <b>Avars</b> at Anchialus [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+3</sup> ]	583-587 598-599
 # <i>Constantianus</i> 2	A 334-37	<i>MVM</i> ( <i>vacans</i> ), one of the commanders of an army sent against the <b>Slavs</b> in the Balkans [Proc.]	551
 <i>Constantinus</i> 3	A 341-2	? <i>MVM vacans</i> (in Italy), he led an army which included many of Belisarius' <b>Hun</b> bodyguards [Proc.]	537
 <i>Constantiolus</i>	A 352-3	? <i>MVM et dux Moesiae secundae</i> , he defeated the <b>Bulgars</b> ; later captured and ransomed by them [Joh. Mal. <sup>+1</sup> ]	528
 <i>Dorotheus</i> 2	A 420-1	<i>MVM per Armeniam</i> , instructed to take action against a raiding party of <b>Sabirian Huns</b> [Joh. Mal. <sup>+1</sup> ]	531
 <i>Edermas</i>	A 434-5	<i>MVM</i> in Thrace, he and Sergius 4 were overwhelmed and captured by the <b>Huns</b> of <b>Zabergan</b> [Joh. Mal. <sup>+2</sup> ]	559
 # <i>Gentzon</i>	A 512-3	? <i>MVM</i> in Thrace, sent as infantry commander with Priscus 6 against <b>Musocius' Slavs</b> [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	593
 <i>Georgius</i> 45	A 520	? <i>MVM</i> (East), perhaps he served under Philippicus 3 in Thrace against the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	*601/602
 <i>Godilas</i> 1	A 539-40	? <i>MVM per Thracias</i> (or <i>vacans</i> ), he fought against the <b>Huns</b> of the Crimea and a <b>Bulgar</b> army [Joh. Mal. <sup>+3</sup> ]	528
 <i>Guduin</i> 1	A 561-2	? <i>MVM</i> ( <i>vacans</i> ), sent across the Danube against the <b>Slavs</b> ; previously a ? <i>dux</i> , sent by Priscus to recover Singidunum from the <b>Avars</b> and to spy on the khan's forces in Dalmatia [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+2</sup> ]	595 602

✠ <i>Ioannes 101</i>	A 679-81	MVM in Thrace, <i>qui et Mystacon</i> , he and Drocton defeated the <b>Avars</b> besieging Adrianople [Theoph. Sim.]	587
✠ <i>Iustinus 4</i>	A 750-54	MVM <i>per Armeniam</i> , the <b>Avars</b> first established relations with Justinian through his mediation; ? <i>Quaestor Iustinianus exercitus</i> , famous for preventing the <b>Avars</b> from crossing the Danube to raid Roman territory through diplomacy; earlier commander with Iustinianus 3 of an army sent against the <b>Slaveni</b> in Illyricum [Proc. <sup>+3</sup> ]	552 *557 *561
✠ <i>Marcellus 5</i>	B 816-7	MVM (? <i>vacans</i> or <i>per Thracias</i> ), sent by Justinian with a large army to defend Constantinople from the <b>Huns (Bulgars)</b> who were raiding Thrace [Theoph.]	562
✠ <i>Martinus 2</i>	B 839-48	MVM in Lazica, he withdrew before an army of Persians and <b>Huns</b> led by Mermeroes; later, as MVM <i>per Armeniam</i> , he stationed <b>Hun</b> allies in the plain near Archaeopolis and was the chief commander in the attack on <b>Onoguris</b> ; <sup>13</sup> earlier in his career, as <i>magister militum</i> , he and Valerianus 1 had arrived in Rome with 1,600 cavalry, mainly <b>Huns, Slavs</b> and <b>Antae</b> [Proc. <sup>+1</sup> ]	537 552 555-556
✠ <i>Martinus 3</i>	B 848	?MVM ( <i>vacans</i> ), in command of the right division of Comentiolus' 1 army in Thrace, he surprised the <b>Avar</b> khan near Tomi and put him to flight [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	587
✠ <i>Mundus</i>	B 903-5	MVM <i>per Illyricum</i> , maybe of <b>Hun</b> descent, he routed the <b>Getae (Slavs)</b> who were raiding Illyricum and defeated the <b>Huns (Bulgars)</b> who had invaded Thrace [Marcell. com. <sup>+3</sup> ]	529-530

13 Several other persons are recorded in connection with the attack and siege of the fort of Onoguris during the Lazic wars: on the Roman side, *Buzes* (A 254-57), *Iustinus 4* (A 750-54) and *Rusticus 4* (B 1103-4), as well as *Dabragezas*, one of the *Antae* (A 378-9) and the Herul *Vligagus* (B 1389-90); on the Persian side, *Mermeroes* (B 884-5) and *Nachoragan* (B 909-10). However, beyond the name, the episode does not seem to be of any relevance for the history of the Onogurs.

 <i>Petrus</i> 55	B 1009-11	<i>MVM</i> (? <i>per Thracias</i> ), heavily defeated by Peiragastus when leading a campaign north of the Danube against the <b>Avar</b> khan's <b>Slav</b> and <b>Bulgar</b> allies; later he prevented an attempt by the <b>Avars</b> under <b>Apsich 1</b> to occupy land in Dardania and was ordered by Maurice to attack across the Danube [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+8</sup> ]	594 601-2
 <i>Philippicus</i> 3	B 1022-26	? <i>MVM per Thracias</i> , he led a successful campaign against the <b>Bulgars</b> (presumably the <b>Avars</b> ) [Mich. Syr.]	*598
 <i>Priscus</i> 6	B 1052-57	<i>MVM per Thracias</i> , appointed supreme commander against the <b>Avars</b> , he fought in several campaigns against <b>Avars</b> and <b>Slavs</b> , often achieving victory over them [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+4</sup> ]	588 593-599
 <i>Romanus</i> 4	B 1091	<i>MVM</i> (East), sent across the Tigris with the <b>Scythian (Hun) Curs</b> on a plundering mission [Theoph. Sim.]	578
 <i>Salvianus</i>	B 1108	? <i>MVM</i> , appointed ὑποστράτηγος by Priscus 6 and sent to defend Moesia against the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+2</sup> ]	588
 <i>Sethus</i>	B 1138	<i>MVM</i> at Singidunum, he agreed to send an embassy from the <b>Avar</b> khan <b>Baian</b> to Constantinople [Men. Prot.]	579
 <i>Sittas</i>	B 1160-63	<i>MVM praesentalis</i> , he sent envoys to the Persian generals besieging Martyropolis, who withdrew fearing the attack of some <b>Huns</b> ; later he defeated a <b>Bulgar</b> army in Moesia near the river Iatrus [Proc. <sup>+1</sup> ]	531 535
 <i>Theodorus</i> 32	B 1254	? <i>MVM</i> in Armenia, he and the <b>Scythian (Hun) Curs</b> took hostages from the <b>Sabirs</b> in Albania [Men. Prot. <sup>+6</sup> ]	574-575
 <i>Theognis</i> 1	B 1303	? <i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , the emperor Tiberius ordered him to surrender Sirmium to the Avars and he negotiated the details with khan <b>Baian</b> [Men. Prot.]	581-582
 <i>Tiberius</i> <i>Constantinus</i> 1	B 1323-26	? <i>MVM vacans</i> , supreme commander during the <b>Avar</b> war, he was first victorious but was later defeated and forced to reach an agreement ending the war, later <i>Augustus</i> 578-582 [Men. Prot. <sup>+4</sup> ]	569-571



 <i>Vitalius 1</i>	B 1380-81	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , the Illyrian troops under his command in Northern Italy heard of an attack on Illyricum by the <b>Huns</b> and chose to desert and return home [Proc.]	544
Δ <i>Agathias</i>	A 23-25	advocate, poet and historian, he undertook to describe the collapse of the <b>Hun</b> empire [Agath.]	M/L VI
Δ <i>Eustathius 1</i>	A 469-70	?PVC, he erected an equestrian statue of Justinian depicting him as victorious over Persians and <b>Scythians</b> (Persia's <b>Hun</b> allies) at Dara [Anth. Gr.]	530/531
Δ <i>Ioannes 255</i>	A 705-6	bishop of Thessalonica, he died about a month after the siege of Thessalonica by <b>Avars</b> and <b>Slavs</b> [Mir. Dem.]	*620
Δ <i>Ioannes 259</i>	A 706	illegitimate son of the <i>patricius</i> Bonus 5, sent to the <b>Avars</b> as a hostage [Nic.]	622
Δ <i>Ioannes 260</i>	A 706	<i>qui et Atalarichus</i> , illegitimate son of Heraclius, sent to the <b>Avars</b> as a hostage [Nic.]	622
Δ <i>Maria 12</i>	B 829	sister of Heraclius, she had a son, Stephanus 60, whom she ransomed from the <b>Avars</b> [Nic.]	E VII
Δ <i>Menander 1</i>	B 873	the main historian on Zemarchus' embassy to the <b>Turks</b> and the first two decades of <b>Avar</b> raids [Men. Prot.]	L VI
Δ <i>Patricius 6</i>	B 972	<b>Avaricus</b> (?) in a seal with the legend Πατρικίου τοῦ Ἀβαρικου [Zacos 2817 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1460]	VI
Δ <i>Sergius 4</i>	B 1124-28	<i>patricius</i> , robbed and taken prisoner in Thrace by the <b>Huns</b> under <b>Zabergan</b> , later ransomed [Agath. <sup>4</sup> ]	559
Δ <i>Stephanus 60</i>	B 1196-7	nephew of the emperor Heraclius, given to the <b>Avars</b> as a hostage and ransomed by his mother Maria 12 [Nic.]	622-*635
Δ <i>Theodorus 28</i>	B 1253	a doctor, he tended the general Bonus 4 during the <b>Avar</b> siege of Sirmium [Men. Prot.]	568
Δ <i>Valerianus 2</i>	B 1361-2	<i>advocatus</i> at Rome, among those staying in his house was <b>Anonymus 75</b> , a <b>Bulgar</b> <i>spatharius</i> [Greg.]	M VI
Δ <i>Anonymus 3</i>	B 1428	<i>PPO Illyrici</i> , he gave 800 <i>solidi</i> to Vitalianus 2 to pay to the <b>Avar</b> khan <b>Baian</b> to stop him raiding [Men. Prot.]	568
Δ <i>Anonymus 139</i>	B 1451-2	<b>Avaricus</b> (?) in a seal with the legend ... τοῦ Ἀβαρικου [Fogg Art Museum seal 1460]	VI/VII

**Sasanid Persia**

☞ <i>Chosroes I</i>	A 303-6	he married the daughter of the <b>Turkish</b> khan <b>Ištāmi</b> [Joh. Eph. <sup>+9</sup> ]	531-579
☞ <i>Hormisdas IV</i>	A 603-4	king of Persia, his mother was a <b>Turkish</b> princess, the daughter of khan <b>Ištāmi</b> [Joh. Eph. <sup>+9</sup> ]	579-590
☞ <i>Adergudunbades</i>	A 15-16	Persian military governor (χαναράγγης) whose province bordered the lands of the <b>Ephthalite Huns</b> [Proc.]	498-541
☞ <i>Artasires 1</i>	A 131	a Persian, officer [δ] of Belisarius' bodyguard, he, the <b>Hun Bochas</b> and Cutilas attacked the Goths near Rome [Proc.]	537
☞ <i>Baresmanas</i>	A 171	one of the Persian generals under Perozes in the battle of Dara, killed by the <b>Hun Sunicas</b> [Proc.]	530
☞ <i>Bahram 2</i>	A 166-7	<i>Čobīn</i> , Persian general, under Hormisdas, he defeated the <b>Turks</b> to the east of Persia [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+7</sup> ]	588-589
☞ <i>Mermeroes</i>	B 884-5	Persian commander, he marched from Mocheresis with reinforcements from the <b>Sabirian Huns</b> [Proc. <sup>+1</sup> ]	552
☞ <i>Nachoragan</i>	B 909-10	Persian commander in Lazica, in a futile action he lost many of his Dilimnitae against <b>Huns</b> from the Roman army near Archaeopolis [Agath.]	556
☞ <i>Šahrbarāz</i>	B 1141-44	Persian general, present at Chalcedon during the <b>Avar</b> siege of Constantinople [Theod. Sync. <sup>+10</sup> ]	626

**Transcaucasian kingdoms (Armenians, Iberians, Abasgi, Lazi)**

☞ <i>Adarnase I</i>	A 13-14	ruler of Iberia, he assisted the <b>Khazar Jebu Khak'an</b> with the siege of Tiflis [ <i>K'.C'</i> . <sup>+2</sup> ]	627/628
☞ <i>Gubazes</i>	A 559-60	king of the Lazi, he formed an alliance with the Alans and the <b>Sabirian Huns</b> to guard Lazica [Proc.]	<i>ante</i> 548
☞ <i>Opsites 2</i>	B 955-6	king of the Abasgi, after the defeat of his army by the Romans he escaped to the <b>Huns</b> of the Caucasus [Proc.]	550
☞ <i>Stephanus 55</i>	B 1195-6	ruler of Iberia, loyal to Persia, killed when the <b>Khazars</b> allied to Heraclius besieged Tiflis [ <i>K'.C'</i> .]	627

𐌺 Artabanes 2	A 125-30	an Armenian, senior commander in Italy, he destroyed many of the advance guard of Leutharis' army in Pisaurum with <b>Vldach</b> and an army of Romans and <b>Huns</b> [Agath.]	554
𐌺 Isaaces 1	A 718	<i>dux</i> , a native of Persarmenia, he and Ioannes 46 were sent with an army of Romans and barbarians (with <b>Huns</b> and/or <b>Bulgars</b> among them) to join Belisarius at Epidamnus [Proc.]	546
𐌺 Narses 1	B 912-28	an eunuch, a native of Persarmenia, commander-in-chief of an expedition to Italy, he was blocked by an army of <b>Huns</b> when marching overland to Salona; he placed himself on the left wing at Busta Gallorum with the best Roman troops, including <b>Huns</b> ; he had a <b>Bulgar</b> <i>spatharius</i> in his bodyguard and died at the time of an <b>Avar</b> attack on Pannonia [Proc. <sup>+1</sup> ]	551-552 *573
𐌺 Pacurius	B 959	Iberian prince, commander of the Roman troops in Hydruntum, he defeated the <b>Hun Ragnaris</b> [Proc.]	552
𐌺 Sahak Mamikonian	B 1106	pro-Roman Armenian noble, commander of 1,000 cavalry levied for use in Thrace against the <b>Avars</b> [Sebeos]	ante 589
𐌺 Smbat Bagratuni	B 1209-11	Armenian noble, commander of a troop of cavalry 1,000 strong levied for use against the <b>Avars</b> [Sebeos]	ante 589

### Eastern peoples & kingdoms (Chinese, Sogdians)

𐌺 𐌺 Maniach	B 810	ruler of Sogdia (τῶν Σογδαίων προειστῆκει) and a subordinate to the khan of the <b>Turks</b> , he advised <b>Sizabulus</b> to seek alliance with the Romans and was sent as envoy to Constantinople [Men. Prot.]	568/569
𐌺 Taisan	B 1214	“son of God” (Ταῖσάν), the name of the governor (κλιματάρχης) of the people of Taugast, in diplomatic contact with the khan of the <b>Turks</b> <sup>14</sup> [Theoph. Sim.]	L VI
𐌺 Anonymus 79	B 1441	son of Maniach, sent by the <b>Turkish</b> khan <b>Sizabulus</b> to accompany Zemarchus 3 as envoy [Men. Prot.]	570/571

<sup>14</sup> The Chinese title *Tianzi* 天子 “Son of Heaven”.

## Other peoples

**Lombards**

☞ <i>Agilulfus</i>	A 27-29	<i>qui et Ago</i> , king of the Lombards, he sought peace with / helped / made a perpetual peace with / was sent <b>Slav</b> allies by the <b>Avars</b> [Paul. Diac.]	593-603
☞ <i>Alboin</i>	A 38-40	king of the Lombards, after destroying the Gepid kingdom he allied himself with the <b>Avars</b> , invaded Italy and abandoned Pannonia to them [Men. Prot. <sup>*2</sup> ]	566-568
☞ # <i>Aio</i>	A 33-34	<i>dux</i> of Beneventum, killed in fighting with the <b>Slavs</b> near Sipontum [Paul. Diac.]	642
☞ <i>Cacco</i>	A 258	<i>dux</i> of Friuli, he was captured by the <b>Avars</b> with his brothers Radoaldus and Taso but escaped [Paul. Diac.]	*610
☞ <i>Gisulfus 2</i>	A 537-8	<i>dux</i> of Friuli, killed in battle against a greatly superior <b>Avar</b> force in Venetia [Paul. Diac.]	*610
☞ <i>Ildigisal</i>	A 616-7	former commander of a <i>schola palatina</i> , he defeated a small force of <b>Huns</b> allied to Rome in Thrace [Proc.]	552
☞ <i>Radoaldus</i>	B 1074-5	<i>dux</i> of Beneventum, he was captured by the <b>Avars</b> with his brothers Cacco and Taso but escaped; later he avenged Aio's death near Sipontum against the <b>Slavs</b> [Paul. Diac.]	*610 642
☞ <i>Taso 1</i>	B 1218	<i>dux</i> of Friuli, he was captured by the <b>Avars</b> with his brothers Cacco and Radoaldus but escaped [Paul. Diac.]	*610
♀ <i>Appa</i>	A 101	daughter of the <i>dux</i> Gisulfus 2, she was carried off into captivity by the <b>Avars</b> and sold as slave [Paul. Diac.]	E/M VII
♀ <i>Romilda</i>	B 1094	wife of Gisulfus 2, after her husband's death she betrayed Forumiulii to the khan of the <b>Avars</b> [Paul. Diac.]	*610

**Franks**

☞ <i>Chilpericus 1</i>	A 292-96	king of the Franks, he made war on his brother Sigibertus while on campaign against the <b>Avars</b> [Greg. Tur.]	*562
☞ <i>Dagobertus 2</i>	A 383-4	king of the Franks, he allowed the <b>Bulgars</b> of Pannonia, fugitive of the <b>Avars</b> , to settle in Bavaria, but then gave orders for them to be massacred [Fredegar.]	*630/632
☞ <i>Samo</i>	B 1109-10	a Frank by race, the <b>Slavic Wends</b> made him their king after he helped them to defeat their <b>Avar</b> overlords; he ruled them for 35 years, during which they were victorious in many battles against the <b>Avars</b> [Fredegar.]	M VI
☞ <i>Sigibertus I</i>	B 1146-48	king of the Franks, he campaigned successfully against the <b>Huns (Avars)</b> , but later was defeated, captured and ransomed by them, securing by gifts a treaty with the khan <b>Baian</b> which ended warfare [Greg. Tur. <sup>44</sup> ]	562 566
☞ <i>Theodericus 4</i>	B 1237-39	king of the Franks (Theoderic II), he sent an embassy with Bettus and Boso 2 to Constantinople offering to help the empire against the <b>Avars</b> ; his offer was refused by Maurice [Theoph. Sim.]	*598
☞ <i>Bettus</i>	A 231	envoy sent by Theodericus 4 to Maurice to offer military help against the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim.]	*598
☞ <i>Boso 2</i>	A 247	envoy sent by Theodericus 4 to Maurice to offer military help against the <b>Avars</b> [Theoph. Sim.]	*598
☞ # <i>Sicharius 2</i>	A 1145	envoy of the Frankish king Dagobert to the <b>Slavs</b> under Samo [Fredegar.]	630

**Other Germanic peoples (Alamanni, Bavarii, Gepids, Goths, Heruls, Sueves, Vandals)**

☞ <i>Cunimundus</i>	A 364	king of the Gepids, attacked by the <b>Avars</b> , defeated and killed by the Lombards [Men. Prot. <sup>44</sup> ]	566/567
☞ <i>Tassilo</i>	B 1218-19	king (or <i>dux</i> ) of the Bavarians, involved in attacks on the <b>Slavs</b> , he suffered heavy losses when the <b>Avars</b> intervened [Paul. Diac.]	595/596
☞ # <i>Totila</i>	B 1328-32	king of the Ostrogoths, suspected of bribing the <b>Sclaveni</b> to attack Roman territory, which they did [Proc.]	551/552

☞ <i>Turisindus</i>	B 1345-6	king of the Gepids, he invited the <b>Kutrigur Huns</b> to help them against the Lombards, transported them over the Danube and sent them to raid Roman territory; later he ferried the <b>Sclaveni</b> likewise [Proc.]	551-552
☞ <i>Brunichildis</i>	A 248-51	a Visigothic princess married to the Frankish king Sigibert I, she bought off the <b>Avars</b> when they attacked Turingia [Paul. Diac.]	*596
☞ <i>Bulgar</i>	A 251-2	apparently a Visigoth, ? <i>dux Narbonensis</i> under king Gundemar, deeply concerned at rumours about an <b>Avar</b> attack against Theodebert instigated by Brunichildis and the Frankish king Theodericus 4 [ <i>Ep. Wisig.</i> ]	610/612
☞ # <i>Crodobertus</i>	A 314	<i>dux</i> of the Alamanni, he won a victory over the <b>Slavs</b> [Fredegar.]	630
☞ # <i>Garibaldus</i> 2	A 504	<i>dux</i> of the Bavarii, defeated at Aguntum (in Noricum) by the <b>Slavs</b> , later he expelled them [Paul. Diac.]	E VII
☞ <i>Gebamundus</i>	A 505	Vandal noble, sent with 2,000 men by Gelimer, all killed by Belisarius' <b>Huns</b> near Ad Decimum [Proc.*2]	533
☞ <i>Leutharis</i>	B 789-90	an Alaman, commander of Franks in Italy, his advance guard was ambushed and routed by Artaban 2 and the <b>Hun Vldach</b> [Agath.]	554
☞ <i>Vacimus</i>	B 1350	Gothic commander, sent by Vitigis to attack Ancona, repelled by the <b>Hun Gubulgudu</b> [Proc.]	538
☞ <i>Vliaris</i> 2	B 1388-9	a Goth, ? <i>comes Neapolitanae civitatis</i> , he welcomed <b>Hun</b> deserters from the Roman army in Africa [Proc.]	533/534
☞ <i>Vsdibadus</i>	B 1396	Gepid leader, he took refuge with the Romans and the <b>Avar</b> khan <b>Baian</b> demanded his surrender [Men. Prot.]	568
☞ <i>Droctulfus</i> 1	A 425-27	<i>qui et Drocton</i> , a Sueve, army commander in Thrace, he and Ioannes 101 Mystacon defeated the <b>Avars</b> besieging Adrianople [Theoph. Sim.*1]	587
☞ # <i>Philemuth</i>	B 1020-21	a Herul, commander of Herul federates, he and Narses 1 defeated a marauding force of <b>Slavs</b> in Thrace [Proc.]	545/546

ⲁ #Anonymus 100	B 1445	a Gepid and a Christian with the <b>Slavs</b> in Thrace, he deserted to the Romans and gave information to Priscus 6 which enabled the Romans to defeat the <b>Slavs</b> under <b>Musocius</b> [Theoph. Sim.]	593
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#### Slavic peoples (Antae, Croats, Sorbs, Wends, unspecified Slavs)

ⲁ #Musocius	B 906	king of the <b>Slavs</b> , captured by Alexander 11 in a surprise night attack [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	593
ⲁ #Porgas	B 1048	ruler of the <b>Croats</b> when they accepted Christianity during the reign of Heraclius [Const. Porph.]	E/M VII
ⲁ Walluc	B 1399	ruler of the <b>Wends</b> , he gave refuge to <b>Alciocus' Bulgars</b> after being massacred by the Bavarians [Fredegar.]	M VII
ⲁ #Ardagast	A 106	<b>Slav</b> leader, defeated by Comentiolus 1 near Ansinon & by Priscus 6 north of the Danube [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+3</sup> ]	585 593
ⲁ #Chatzon	A 285-6	<b>Slav</b> chief, he led a concerted siege of Thessalonica, but was captured and stoned to death [Mir. Dem.]	614/615
ⲁ Daurentius	A 390	one of the <b>Slav</b> leaders who killed envoys sent by the <b>Avar</b> khan <b>Baian</b> [Men. Prot.]	M/L VI
ⲁ #Dervanus	A 396	<i>dux</i> of the <b>Sorbs</b> , for a long time subject to the Franks, he submitted to the <b>Wends</b> under Samo [Fredegar.]	630
ⲁ Lobelos	B 794	a chief of the <b>Croats</b> , who arrived in Dalmatia and subdued the <b>Avars</b> there [Const. Porph.]	E VII
ⲁ Peiragastus	B 988	<b>Slav</b> leader, an ally of the khan of the <b>Avars</b> who ambushed Petrus 55 with a cavalry force [Theoph. Sim. <sup>+1</sup> ]	594
ⲁ Mezamerus	B 887	one of the leading <b>Antae</b> , assassinated on an embassy from the <b>Antae</b> to the <b>Avars</b> [Men. Prot.]	*558/560
ⲁ #Chilbudius 2	A 287	one of the <b>Antae</b> , captured by the <b>Slavs</b> , involved in a plot to claim that he was the former Roman <i>MVM</i> Chilbudius 1 [Proc.]	545/546