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The “Alanic” Title **Bayātar*¹

Although there cannot be the slightest doubt that what we might call “Alanology” belongs to the sphere of Iranian studies, I am convinced that the joint effort of scholars devoted to the various fields of Orientalism is the only way to really improve on our present knowledge of the world of the Alans. In order to illustrate this idea and as an example of my methodology, here I would like to deal with the “Alanic” title **Bayātar*, as this is widely documented in very different places and historical periods. I have deliberately put the ethnicon in quotation marks, because I do not deem this title to be of “Alanic” origin, nor am I intending to prove yet another – this time an “Alanic” – etymology for it out. In our case, we are talking about a widespread culture and wandering word, dating back to a Turco-Mongolian culture heritage.

On the other hand, I dare to say that Iranists take an interest in the Alans only when they hope to find out remains of their *Iranian* language, but they leave aside those Alanic personal names and titles which are of foreign origin, most of them in fact, as if these were not worthy of attention. However, I think that we cannot truly understand the historical background of a steppe folk if we do not bear in mind their relationships with neighbouring peoples. The Alans spent over a millennium living together with various Turkic nations and, on these grounds, we are going to try to ascertain what is to be learnt about the Turkic – but usual among the Alans and therefore also “Alanic” – title **Bayātar* from the comparison of literary sources, and what chances the research on the Alans offers to Orientalists.

1. Several Georgian (§ 1.1), Arabic (§ 1.2; 1.5) and Chinese (§ 1.4) sources, as well as the inscription from the river Zelenčuk (§ 1.3) and an Ottoman Turkish document from Hungary (§ 1.6) bear testimony to Alanic forms of the latter. Moreover, in both Iron and Digor Ossetic there is a word which is derived from it, meaning ‘hero’ or ‘brave’, like its Turco-Mongolian counterparts: Oss.I. *bæyatyr* or – with metathesis – *qæbatyr*, D. *bæyatær*². And Abaev interpreted the name of Batraz, son of Xæmyc and one of the most outstanding

heroes of the Nart epic, as **batyr-as* “Alanic hero”³. Let us refer to the evidence in detail and in chronological order.

1.1. The oldest testimony is provided by the Georgian Chronicle (*K'art'lis C'xovreba*), which mentions an Ossetic giant (*bumberazi Ovst'agan*) named *Baqat'ar*, slain by king Vaxt'ang Gorgasal (447-522) in single combat; we shall deal later (§ 3.3) with this episode, in all likelihood of legendary character.⁴ Two other persons called *Baqat'ar* are recorded in the same work: the former was an ally of king Bagrat I of Ap'xazet'i (887-99)⁵ the latter a collaborator of the Mongols and enemy of the Georgians († ca. 1306)⁶. Both of them have the title *mt'avari* – i.e. “(Sovereign) Prince” – of the Ossetes⁷.

1.2. The second piece of news is perhaps the most important. According to the Arabic author Ibn Rusta (beginning of the 10th c.), “the king of the Alans is called *B.gāy.r.*, a name which applies to every one of their kings”.⁸ In this passage, **Bağātar* is a relevant correction (cf. Oss.D. *bæyatar*) instead of the wrong reading *B.gāy.r.*⁹

1.3. Thirdly, in my opinion it is significant that the only certain epigraphic monument of Alanic, though unfortunately lost, contained the word twice in Greek transcription as Πακαθαρ. However, Zgusta's interpretation for the central part of the Zelenčuk inscription¹⁰ cannot be considered definitive, because his reconstruction mixes Digor and Iron forms and lines 6 to 10 present too many problems: uncertain additional letters, the ligature *στο/στε* and the dubious names *Xovs*, *Saxir* and *Istur*, which are either not documented anywhere else or whose meaning remains unclear. I would like to point out that the vocalization of Zgusta's restored form **Bæqatar* is unfounded and inconsistent with that of the modern forms of the word as given by Ossetic dictionaries; on this subject, see § 2.1.

1.4. The official annals of the Yuan dynasty, which governed China from 1264 to 1368, inform us of the activities of three Alan (*Asu*) mercenaries in the service of the Mongols, named *Yelie Baduer* (†1275), *Baduer* (†1297) and *Shila Baduer* († 1302).¹¹ As *Baduer* = *Bātur*~*Bādur* is the usual contraction of the Mongol title *bayatur* (Turk. *bātur*)¹² in the Chinese sources of that period, as the easiest solution it may be thought that they bore Mongol names or titles; but no other Alanic name in China is documented three times, nor even twice, and therefore we can ask ourselves why this one was esteemed to such an extent.

1.5. Fifth, the Egyptian chronicles mention a famous Alan Mamlūk named *Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur Ās* († 19 Safar A.H. 730 = 12 Dec. A. D. 1329), who governed the province of Safad in Syria and was *Amīr* in Damascus.¹³ All the Mamlūks were given an Arabic title (*laqab*) with the element *al-Dīn* (here the most used *Sayf al-Dīn* “Sword of the Faith”)¹⁴ and a Turkic proper name (here *Bahādur*), while *Ās* is the *nisba* denoting the “race” of the slave, i.e.

Alanic. Seven other Mamlūks who bore the same title and name, also dating from the 14th c., are to be found in the sources, and it is possible that one or many of them were Alans as well.¹⁵

1.6. And lastly some one thousand Jassic personal names have been preserved by an Ottoman census of the Hungarian Jászság (1550). Among them two men called *Bōqātōr Ōrbān* and *Baqātōr Šebešken* are listed, both from the village *Dōša* (present-day Jászdózsa, NE of its capital Jászberény).¹⁶

2. This is all the evidence available as far as I am aware. Of course, this widespread diffusion cannot be fortuitous and, in my opinion, first of all we must look for the key in the Ossetic forms of the word.

2.1. Abaev¹⁷ suggested a Turkic or Mongol origin for them, but he felt unable to choose between one or the other. On the other hand, Doerfer¹⁸ preferred to see a loanword from Russ. *bogatyř* and rejected a direct borrowing from any Turco-Mongolian language because of its vocalism; but it seems that he compared Russ. *bogatyř* with Oss.I. *bæyatyř*. However, it was accepted long ago that “on the whole Digor represents a more archaic stage of development than Iron”,¹⁹ and therefore this dialect has been considered – and has also proved itself to be – more suitable for restoring the original form of Alanic words and names. Furthermore, Oss.D. *bæyatar* cannot have been borrowed from Russian or from most of the Turco-Mongolian languages because of its second syllable vocalism, but it reminds us of two of the oldest testimonies of the Alanic title (Old Gorgian Chronicle *Baqat’ar* & Zelenčuk Πακαθαρ), and it could easily lie behind the wrong Arabic form *B.gāy.r* = **Bağātar*. All in all, we could conclude that there was an Alanic title **bayātar* in the Caucasus region from the 9th to the 12th c. A. D., the golden age of the Kingdom of Alania.²⁰

2.2. Although we take Ibn Rusta’s report into consideration, it is all too evident that **bayātar* was not an Alanic word for “King” (as its Ossetic derivative would have the same meaning), but a title associated with kingship. If this conjecture is right, we must also understand as such the form Πακαθαρ appearing in the Zelenčuk inscription. Below I suggest a new interpretation of lines 11-21; the first lines are given in *scriptio continua* and I do not deal with them because of the aforementioned (§ 1.3) problems. The Ossetic transcription follows the Digor dialect throughout, since the latter fits in with Greek itacism better than Iron. I do not read this sequence as “X, king, son of king Y” but as “[X]... Bayātar, son of a Bayātar”:

Lines 6-10: (6) CAXHPT(7) PHΦOY (8) XOBCH (9) Ϟ PHΦ (10) OYPT

- (11) ...Πακα(12)θαρ Πα(13)καθα(ρ)η (14)φουρτ ... *bæyatær bæyatæri furt*
 (15) Ανπα(16)λαν Α(ν)πα(17)λανη φ(18)ουρτ *æmbalan æmbalani furt*
 (19) Λακα(20)νη τζηρ(21)θε *læqwæni cirtæ*

“[X]... Bæyatær, son of a Bæyatær; Æmbalan, son of an Æmbalan; stele of Læqwæn (or of a young man)”.²¹

2.3. The consecutive repetition of both Πακαθαρ and Ανπαλαν has led me to think that the latter could have been another title or maybe a class designation. The Ossetic word *æmbal*, which appears as a personal name (or, if we are right, as a title) in the Old Russian Chronicles,²² signifies today “comrade”, but we can conjecture a primitive meaning “comrade in arms”, as it is a derivative from the root **bār-* ‘to ride’. The second element of *æmbal* is also found as a word of its own: *bal* ‘group, party’, which – according to Abaev – goes back to an older meaning “cavalry war band”, so *æmbal* and its derivative Ανπαλαν probably designated first a “member of cavalry war band”²³ and afterwards some kind of horse-riding, warlike aristocracy, perhaps similar to the Mongol *nököd*²⁴.

2.4. In short, we can explain the variety of the documented forms of **bayātar* in this way: it was one of the titles held by the kings of the Alans for some three centuries and therefore it became a prestigious name among them, so we often find its foreign forms in the lands where they settled and the Turco-Mongolian title was already known. This hypothesis applies to Egypt (*Bahādur*: no other Turkic name was more suitable for an Alan Mamlūk) and to Hungary (*Bōqātōr*, *Boqātōr*), but as regards China it is possible to go further.

2.5. The oldest mention of Alans recruited by the Mongols speaks of a so-called “lord of the Asud country” (*zhu Asu guo*) named *Hanghusi* (v.l. *Anghesi*), who submitted himself to Tai Zong (Ögödei 1229-41). Shortly afterwards, he was granted the title *Baduer* and was ordered to levy an unit of one thousand warriors (Chin. *qianhu suo*, Mong. *mingyan* “battalion”)²⁵. Maybe this *Hanghusi* was an Alan king (the kingdom of Alania lasted until the 12th-13th c.), and he received the Mongol title, but by holding it he was confirmed among the Alans as **bayātar*, that is “king” or “prince”. In any case, whereas the three aforementioned (§ 1.4) mercenaries were called *Bādur* by the sources, *Hanghusi* is to the best of my knowledge the first and only Alan upon whom the Mongol title *Bādur* (= Alanic **bayātar*) was bestowed.

3. Finally, I would like to return to the question of its origin. Iron *bæyatyr* can be explained as an innovation under the influence of a Turkic form ending in *-tir*²⁶ or of Russ. *bogatyř*’ (cf. Abaev’s and Doerfer’s conjectures § 2.1), but

Digor *bæyatær* < Alanic **bayātar*, an older form ending in *-tar*, needs a different solution.²⁷

3.1. I intend this hypothesis to be an attempt to solve the problem, but the collaboration of Altaists is required to establish whether it is plausible or not. All the Turco-Mongolian forms going back to this title end in *-tur*, *-tir*, *-tīr*, except the Chuvash word *pattār*, meaning “strong, vigorous, firm” (last syllable with a mid front vowel *ǎ* = /ɨ/; Chuvash has no voiced/unvoiced opposition in the stop series). The role played by Chuvash in Altaic studies is similar to those played by Hittite in Indo-European linguistics and by Eblaite in Semitics: it was first considered to be a “daughter”, but later a “sister” of its own mother tongue, as it is the most divergent language inside its family.

3.2. Only a few remnants are known of Khazar, an extinct Turkic language, but they seem to be enough to assign the latter, together with Chuvash and Volga Bulgar, to the same subgroup of West Turkic. The close relations between Alans and Khazars (8th – 10th c. A. D.) – more important than the temporary dominion previously held by Huns and Western Turks over the Caucasus region – allow us to explain Alanic **bayātar* as a loanword of Khazar origin, taking account of Chuvash *pattār*.²⁸ The Arabic author Ibn A’tam mentions ca. 760 a Khazar Qayan named *T. ‘āt.r*, who, in spite of this wrong reading and its unknown vocalism, probably bore this title (*Bağātar*).²⁹

3.3. As we have seen (§ 1.1), the oldest reference to an Alanic **bayātar* is in the episode of the legendary war waged on Ossetia by Vaxt’ang Gorgasal ca. A.D. 454/5.³⁰ The kings of Ossetia were joined by “a force from Khazaria” (*dzali Xazaret’it’*) and, according to the Georgian Chronicle, both a Khazar named *T’arkan* and the Ossete *Baqat’ar* (§ 1.1) were slain by king Vaxt’ang; however, *T’arkan* is another Turkic title, which seems to have been usual among the Alan troops in the service of the Khazars, since Arabic sources speak of an **Ās Tarḥān*, maybe “the (Khazar) Tarhān of the Ās (Alans)”.³¹ This passage contains yet another anachronism: after his Ossetic expedition, Vaxt’ang also ravages the land of the Pechenegs (*Pačaniket’i*). In mid 5th c. there were neither Khazars nor Pechenegs (the latter arrived to Lebedia, somewhere North of the Azov Sea, only after being driven out from their former country between the rivers Volga and Ural by Khazars and Oghuz at the end of 9th c.), but it is interesting to note that these two titles – *Baqat’ar* and *T’arkan* – appear always related to the Khazars and that the text is riddled with 8th-9th c. facts.

3.4. All things considered, we can conclude that the commanders of the Alans in the service of the Khazar kingdom bore Turkic titles and probably were Khazars themselves, at least in the earliest times. But, as Khazar power weakened, depending on these Alans more and more, they were able to choose their chiefs among themselves and later became masters of their own, finally

giving rise to the kingdom of Alania. And the most prestigious title **bayātar*, maybe conferred to the Khazar Qayan (cf. § 3.2 *T. 'āt.r*), was then also granted to Alan kings.

4. I am fully conscious that my conjectures are large extent unverifiable; but I rely on the help provided by other scholars, so as to be able to refine my analysis of data. However, I hope to have shown that:

- facts are not so scanty as it could seem, but very scattered throughout Eurasia;

- it is very important to distinguish between facts (§ 1) and conjectures (§§ 2-3), in order to be able to ascertain what we really know and what we only imagine; and

- without an interdisciplinary collaboration with the different fields of Orientalism and a joint exposition of all collected evidence, the research on the world of the Alans is impossible.

With my best wishes for *Nartamongæ*.

¹ This paper is part of the research project DGES PB97-0173 (Spain) and was delivered originally in Sept. 1998 during the 27. Deutscher Orientalistentag under the title "Alanenforschung und Orientalistik: der 'alanische' Titel **Bayātar*". I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. Jürgen Untermann and Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt for their help and suggestions in preparing the original German version. Abbreviations: Q = *K'art'lis C'xovreba*. Ed. S. Qauxč'išvili, I-II, T'bilisi 1955-59; *ИЭСОЯ* = В. И. Абаев, *Историко-этимологический словарь осетинского языка*, I-V, Москва-Ленинград 1958-95; *ОРНСл.* = В. Ф. Миллер, *Осетинско-русско-немецкий словарь/Ossetisch-russisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, I-III, Ленинград 1927-34 [reprint The Hague-Paris 1972]; *ОЯФ* = В. И. Абаев, *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, Москва-Ленинград, 1949.

² Cf. *ОРНСл.* 331 s.v. "богатырь, храбрый"; Held, **Hüne, ein Tapferer*"; *ИЭСОЯ* I 245-6 s.v. "храбрый, богатырь".

³ Also *Batraz, Baturaz*; cf. *ИЭСОЯ* I 241 s.v. "из *batyr-as*, т.е. 'богатырь асский (аланский)'" ; G. Dumézil, *Romans de Scythie et d'alentour*, Paris 1978, esp. p. 21-49 "l'Osse héroïque"; A. Sikojev, *Die Narten. Söhne der Sonne*, Köln 1985, p. 147-222.

⁴ Q I 154-5; v.l. *Baqt'ar, Baqar, Baġat'ar*; cf. R.W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation*, Oxford 1996, p. 169-70.

⁵ Q I 261¹³; v.l. *Baqt'ar, Baqt'r* (the latter with abbreviation sign); cf. Thomson, *Caucasian History*, p. 264-65; J. Gippert, "Zur historischen Onomastik des Georgischen", *Georgica* 7, 1984, p. 37-42 (esp. p. 38).

⁶ Q II 305, 316-7. A Georgian inscription in the chapel of Nuzal (North Ossetia), copied in the beginning of the last century and since lost, mentioned an *Os-Baqat'ar* (?), perhaps this person; cf. V. Kouznetsov-I. Lebedynsky, *Les alains: cavaliers des steppes, seigneurs du Caucase*, Paris 1997, p. 127-131.

⁷ Q I 261₁₃ *Baqat'ar, mt'avari Ovsī*; II 305₁₁ *Ovst'a mt'avari Baqat'ar*.

⁸ Ibn Rusta *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafīsa* ed. M.J. De Goeje BGA VII, 1892, p. 148.

⁹ Cf. V.I. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, p. 169, n. 8.

¹⁰ L. 6-21 according to L. Zgusta, *The Old Ossetic Inscription from the River Zelenčuk*, Wien 1987, p. 59-60:

(6) Σαχη(7)ρη φουρτ (8) Χοβς	<i>saxiri furt xovs,</i>	“Xovs son of Saḫir;
Η(9)στορη φ(10)ουρτ (11) Πακα(12)θαρ	<i>īsturi furt bæqatar</i>	Pakathar son of Istor;
Πα(13)καθα(ρ)η (14) φουρτ (15) Αντα(16)λαν	<i>bæqatari furt æmbalan</i>	Ambalan son of Pakathar;
Α(ν)πα(17)λανη φ(18)ουρτ (19) Λακ	<i>æmbalani furt læg</i>	Lak son of Ambalan.
α(20)νη τζηρ(21)θε	<i>ani cirtæ</i>	Their stele”

¹¹ А. Ивановъ, [1914] “Исторія монголовъ (Юань-ши) объ асахъ-аланахъ”, Христианскій Востокъ 2/3, S. 281-300; A.C. Moule, “The Minor Friars in China”, *JRAS* 1917, p.1-36. Sources: *Baduer = Yuanshi* 132; *Yelie Baduer = Yuanshi* 132 (“Elijah Bādur”; cf. *Yeliya = “Elijah” [Yuanshi 123]* and *Iron Wac-illa, Digor Wac-elia*, name of a heavenly spirit); *Shila Baduer = Yuanshi* 135 (= “Šila (?) Bādur”).

¹² Cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, p. 132, n. 2; D.M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule*, Stuttgart 1990, p. 30.

¹³ Cf. G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safī*, Le Caire 1932, p. 100, § 695; J. Sauvaget, “Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks”, *JA* 238, p. 31-58 (esp. 37); D. Ayalon, “Names, titles and ‘nisbas’ of the Mamlūks”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 5, p. 189-232 [= *The Mamlūk Military Society*, London 1979, IV], esp. 201, n. 41.

¹⁴ Almost the only one used in the Late Mamlūk period (cf. Ayalon, “Names, titles and ‘nisbas’”, p. 191-2).

¹⁵ Wiet, *Manhal Safī*, p. 101-2 §§ 696-98, 700-703. Cf. also three Mamlūks named *Sayf al-Dīn ‘Allān*, two of them in Syria (Wiet, *Manhal Safī*, p. 224 §§ 1528-30). ‘Alī Ibn ‘Asākir († 571/1176) already mentions a Mosque of the Banī ‘Allān (*Tārīḥ madīnat Dimašq* ed. Damas 1954, vol. II, p. 62) and the house of a certain Ibn ‘Allān (*ibid.* p. 156) in Damascus.

¹⁶ L. Fekete, “Eine Konskription von den Jassen in Ungarn aus dem Jahre 1550”, *AOri-entHung* 11, 1960, p. 115-143.

¹⁷ Cf. ИЭСОЯ I 246 s.v. “усвоено от тюрко-монгольских народов [...] *Ос. bæḡatur* идет, во всяком случае, не из персидского [*bahādur*], а из монголо-тюрецко-го [*baḡatur, baḡadur*]; cf. *OjaF* I 85 “бывает трудно определить, усвоено ли данное слово из тюрко-ского или монгольского”.

¹⁸ G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, I-IV, Wiesbaden 1963-75, vol. II, p. 374-77 (esp. 374); it contains “eine Fülle verschiedener Meinungen” on the

etymology of the Turco-Mongolian title. Cf. D. Sinor *EI*² I [1986] 913 s.v. *Bahādur*: “it is impossible to state the directions in which borrowings were made, but it seems probable that either the Turkish or the Mongol trisyllabic forms [i.e. **bayatur*] were original [...]. Inter-borrowings within the same group must have been frequent. *Bahādur* is, clearly, a word of civilization”.

¹⁹ F. Thordarson, “Ossetic”, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, p. 456-479 (esp. p. 456).

²⁰ The following titles were bestowed upon Alan kings according to the sources:

[a] Georg. *Ovst'a mep'e* “the king of the Ossetes” (Q I 24₂₋₃, 27₁, 56₁₈, 295₄₋₆, 297₇, 313₆); Pl. *Ovst'a mep'eni* (Q I 45₈), *mep'eni Ovst'ani* (Q I 157₃), Obl. Pl. *mep'et'a Ovset'isat'a* (Q I 151₁₆) “the kings of the Ossetes / of Ossetia” (cf. C. Toumanoff, “Medieval Georgian Historical Literature”, *Traditio* 1, 1943, p. 139-82, esp. 157, n. 44: “the Georgian equivalent of ‘King’, *Mep'e*, denotes a reigning monarch of royal rank, whether man or woman”); Arab./Npers. *malik al-Lān* (Ibn Hurdabih, Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn Rusta, al-Muqaddasī, al-Mas'ūdī, *Hudūd al-'ālam*), *sāhib al-Lān* (al-Mas'ūdī); Heb. *melek 'Alan* (Cambridge Document T-S Loan 38, l. 44-60; cf. S. Schechter, “An Unknown Khazar Document”, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. 3, 1912-13, p. 181-219, esp. 206-209); Gr. ὁ ἐξουσιοκράτωρ / ἐξουσιαστής Ἀλανίας (Const. Porph., Anna Comn.), ὁ τῆς Ἀλανίας ἀρχῶν (Nic. Myst.), ὁ Ἀλανίας ἐξουσιάζων (Niceph. Bryenn.);

[b] Georg. *mt'avari* “sovereign prince” (§ 1.1); cf. Toumanoff, *ibid.* p. 147, n. 25: “the term *mt'avari* ... is derived, like *t'avadi* (“Prince”), from *t'avi* (“head”); it is used to render from Greek both the noun ἀρχὼν and (in compound words) the prefix ἀρχι-”; cf. *Ipat. Let.* 6624 A.M. (= 1116 A.D.) *Ясьскаго князя дщерь* “the daughter of an Alan prince”.

²¹ Cf. Vs. Miller, *ОЯФ* I 262.

²² Russ. *Амбаль / Аньбаль яснѣ* (*Lavr. / Ipat. Let.* 6683 A.M. = A.D. 1175).]

²³ *ИЭСОЯ* I 135 s.v. *æmbal* “товарищ” [...] первоначально ‘товарищ по походу’ < **ham-bārya-*; 232-3 s.v. *bal* “группа, партия” < “конная военная партия”; 236-7 s.v. *baræg* “всадник”; **bār-* “ездить верхом”, cf. Np. *hambār* “comrade”, *bāre* “horse”.

²⁴ On Mong. *nökör*, Pl. *nököd* “comrade” see B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols. Le féodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948 [= *Общественный строй монголов. Монгольский кочевой феодализм*, Ленинград 1934], p. 132-3: “...les *nököt*, les aristocrates de la steppe ralliés au haan – la plupart des *nököt* appartenaient à ce même milieu aristocratique – obtiennent en fonction des services qu’ils ont rendus et compte tenu de leur personnalité, à titre de paetimoine féodal, un nombre d’*ayil* nomades pouvant selon les cas lever cent ou mille combattants, dans des cas plus rares jusqu’à dix mille”. Cf. also the “Companions” (Gr. ἑταῖροι) of Alexander the Great and the origin of the title “Count” (Lat. *Comes* “companion, one of the imperial court or train”).

²⁵ *Yuanshi* 132; he was the great-grandfather of *Fuding*, lat. *Fodim Jovens, princeps Alanorum in Imperio Tartarorum consistentium* in 1336 (letter sent by the Alan princes to Pope Benedict XII).

²⁶ E.g. Cuman *batır*, cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, vol. II, p. 366

²⁷ Forms (§§ 1.1 –1.3): Georg. *Baqat'ar* (v.l. *Baġat'ari* "hero"; always as name of Ossetes), Arab. **Baġātar*, Gr. Πακαθαρ; for Gr. Π, K~/b,γ/, cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I-II, Budapest 1942-43, vol. II, p.33-35.

²⁸ However, cf. the Old Bulgar forms βαγατούρ, βογοτόρ, uaga[r]tur in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, p. 83.

²⁹ Ibn A'tam al-Kūfī *Kitāb al-Futūh* Hs. Topkapi, III, Ahmet Ktph. 2956, II, f. 241v, l.13; according to P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, Budapest 1980, p. 155, an error instead of **Baġātur* / **Baġātir* (maybe **Baġātar*?).

³⁰ Q I 150-57; cf. § 1.1.

³¹ Cf. Russ. Астрахань in ИЭСОЯ III 276; Golden, *Khazar Studies*, p. 151-54.

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Georgian	
<i>Baqat'ar</i>	ბაგათარ
<i>T'arkan</i>	თარკან
Hebrew	
<i>melek 'Alan</i>	מלך אלן
Arabic (if not otherwise stated)	
<i>Āst.rhān</i> (* <i>Ās Tarhān</i>)	استرخان
<i>Banī 'Allān</i>	بني علان
<i>Baġātōr Šebešken</i> (Turk.)	بقاتور شبشکن
<i>Bātur</i> (Turk.)	باتور
<i>B.ġāy.r</i> (* <i>Baġātar</i>)	بغایر (*بغاتر)
<i>Bōqāṭōr Ōrbān</i> (Turk.)	بوقاطور اوربان
<i>Ibn 'Allān</i>	ابن علان
<i>malik al-Lān</i>	ملك اللان
<i>šāhib al-Lān</i>	صاحب اللان
<i>Sayf al-Dīn 'Allān</i>	سيف الدين علان
<i>Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur Āṣ</i>	سيف الدين بهادر آص
<i>T. 'āṭ.r</i> (* <i>Baġāṭar</i>)	تعاطر (بغاتر)

Chinese

A-su

Ang-he-si

Ba-du-er

Fu-ding

Hang-hu-si

qian-hu suo

Shi-la Ba-du-er

Ye-li-ya

Ye-lie Ba-du-er

zhu A-su guo

阿速

昂和思

拔都兒

福定

杭忽思

千戶所

失刺拔都兒

也里牙

也烈拔都兒

主阿速國