c

356. *c'c* /Čāč/ m.: **B1** N, *c'c*: *UI1*, No.3 (4: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.* p. 123; *c'c*: *UI1*, No. 256 (36: 40) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208; *(c)'c* (?) *ZK* | - - - - -: *UI1*, No. 306 (36: 90); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215; *c'c*: *UI2*, No. 412 (40:4); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 242; *c'c*: *UI2*, No. 526 (53:32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 263. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *c'c ZK yzts'c BRY*: *UI1*, No. 206 (34: 92); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *yzts'c* (#1548). — **D** Definitely related to the name of the region *c'c*, Čāč, later Šāš, now Tāškent (*UI2*, p. 48).

Cf. *c'cynk* "native of Čāč" (Muγ, A-14, 5, *SDGM*, II, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86, *Last Days*, p. 167), *c'cn'y* (*So.*, VII b 6, p. 8-9); in the name *j'ḥnh*, a Samarkand resident according to *Kitāb al-Qand* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 7-8), we can recognize the same form *Čāčine*, if جاحنة* stands for جاحنة*, i.e. چاچنه*; the title *c'c'nn'pc* "(he who belongs) to the people of Čāč" (s.v. *wnwn*, #1325, 1-2; *my'rx''n*, #724; *[] ●●●sp*, #1639). In No. 306 the reading is unsure. HUMB., *SIF*, already gives this reading for No. 125b (= 412), No. 46a (= 526), No. 92a (= 206). For place-names used as PNs without formal derivation, cf. *pwx'r* (#969).

357. (*c'δ'yšrwn* /Jātišrōn/ m.: **B** B, *yw c'δ'yšrwn* | *pr''mn*: *Len.*, 93, 23. — **P** A pious Brahmin. — **D** Transcription of an Indian name *Jātiśroṇa-*, lit. "prepared for birth"; we meet him also in the Tocharian B translation of *Udānālaṅkara*, 2b4, 3a2 as well as in Skt texts from Turfan (*SWTF*, II, 297); *Jāṇussoṇi* in Pali. **)**

[*c'kw*: **B** N, *ZKn c'kw*: Muγ, A-13, 5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 69, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 74). — **P,D** Probably, "check", and not a PN.

FREIMAN, 1936, p. 153-154 read *s'kw* "tribute", but the first letter cannot stand for *s* (as LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 69, cf., however, HENN., *S God*, p. 249, n. 40); BOGOL., SMIR. (*SDGM*, III, p. 71-2) read the name as *cnkw*, without further discussion. GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE (*Last days*, p. 187) propose reading it as a place-name, "Chak Bridge". The context, however, strongly suggests that *c'kw* is equivalent to Chor. *čk̄*, NP *čakk*, Ar. ṣakk, Bct. σακο "cheque". This word is supposed to have been borrowed from Chinese *ce* (冊, EMCh. *tʂʰəijk*/*tʂʰɛːk*) "writing tablet; register; document" *via* Sogdian, where it is not attested otherwise; cf. MACK., 1990, n. 96, 110, p. 90, SIMS-W., *Invaders*, p. 233. See now LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 75 and elsewhere, for the corrected rendering. **]**

358. *c'm''n* /*Čamān?*/ m.: **B** N, *kyntr | ZK (c'm')'n[ ]*(?) *BRY | m'nk*: UI1, No. 300 (36: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P** Father of *kyntr* (#614). — **D** Unclear; -*'n* seems to be a suffix.

> Cf. the place-names *Jāmγar* not far from Turfan and *Ṣāmγār* in Farghāna (BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 162; *Ḥ-'Ā*, 17a, 18a, for etymology cf. speculations in *ILAST*, p. 121: Khot. *tcāma* "locust, grasshopper"?); the name may be incomplete at the end.

359. (*c'n* /*Can?*/ m.: **B** N, *šmny y'nsy'(n) | 'xw 'wt' BRY c'n kwtr*: *ΔP*, R3-4. — **P** The clan-name of *y'nsy'n* (#1497). — **D** Chinese surname *Zhang* (張, EMCh. *triaŋʰ*); further see s.v. *y'nsy'n*, #1497. **)**

[*c'nkw* : **B** N, *rtβγ c'nkw t'β'k wytr*: Муγ, Б-13, 2 (*SDGM*, p. II, 144, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 167; *SDGM*, III, p. 80). — **P, D** Probably, *c'n(')kw* "when"; as LIV., who translates it as "and, lord, when (I, your slave) departed to you". BOGOL., SMIR. consider it to be a PN, which I regard as unlikely explanation. **]**

360. (*c'ntr[* /*Čandra-?*/ m.: **B** B, *δp'yr c₍?₎'nt(r)[*: graffito in a cave-temple in the Kuča region, CHAO et alii 1987, Table XCIV; ed. YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 239. — **P** A Buddhist visitor to the Kucha caves, the "scribe" (*δp'yr*). — **D** An Indian name (cf. *tδ'ktswm*, #1224), starting with *Candra* "beautiful" (cf. *cntrβrwcwn*, #377), as SIMS-W. apud YOSH., loc. cit. **)**

361. *c'rs'r* /*Čārsār*/ m.: **B** N, *w']rpn'k c'rs'r ''st*: Муγ, B-6, 2, X+6 (*SDGM*, III, p. 42; *SDGM*, II, p. 85, n. 37 [without translation] , cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 92 n. 44); *c('r)s'r kw (prm)'nδ'r s'(r)[*: Б-1, L9; *c['r](s)'r ''st*: L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44); *rt(βγ) (c')rs'r (p)r''štw δ'rm*: Муγ, Б-17, x+2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 176, 221, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 210; *SDGM*, III, p. 78). — **P** The recipient of armour (*w'rpn'k*, Bct. *oρβαγγο*); the porter of the Framānδār. — **D** Unclear. Б-1 L10 is not transliterated in *SDGM III*. The final part may be either "head" or "direction". In Б-17 LIV. reads *(cy)rs'r* "downwards" (and the same in *SÉSAS*), BOGOL., SMIR. have *trts'r* "to you".

362. (*c'r'ynH* /*Jālin*/ f.: **B** B, *c'r'ynH n'm*: *VJ*, 15a; *'M c'r'ynH pr'yw*: *VJ*, 282; *'M δγwtH c'r'ynH pr'yw*: *VJ*, 352; *δγwtH – | c'r'ynH*: *VJ*, 56e-57e; *ZKH | c'r'ynH*: *VJ*, 1096-7; *ZKw δγwtH | c'r'ynH*: *VJ*, 1149-50; *ZKw c'r'ynH*: *VJ*, 1301. — **P** A child of *swδ''šn* (#1111). In the Chinese version

of the Jātaka, *Ye-li* (Skt. *Jāli*) is the son of Sudāna (*swδ''šn*), while here *c'r'ynH* is his daughter, cf. *kršny'n* (#551). — **D** Skt. *Jālin* "decorated"? **)**

363. *c't'ysH* /*Čatēs?*/ f.: **B** N(A), *'(D) p(r)[yw] | m'tH[| [c't'ysH]*: *AL1 (2)*, V1-3; *'D pryw [m'tH] c't(')ysH*: *AL1 (2)*, R1. — **P** Mother of *mywn'yH* (#741), addressee of *AL1*. — **D** The name has been compared with *Catisa* of the Khar. documents from Niya (HENN., *Date*, p. 603 n. 3; cf. also *rnysH*, *r'nysH*, #1017, maybe *βysH*, #352) on the one hand, and can be compared to S *cttH* (#386) on the other. The suffix *-(')ysH* can represent a Bactrian development: *-(i)s(a)* from OIr. **-čī-*, as SIMS-W., 1996, p. 52; *AL1 (2)*, p. 188; the base remains unclear.

364. *c'swy* /*Čāsōy?*/ m.: **B** N, *c('s)wy*: *UI1*, No. 338 (39: 33); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 227. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 48) compares *-wy* to a MP hypocoristic in *-ōy*, cf. *δzwy* (#476). Readings *r'swy* and *y'swy* are less likely.

365. (*c'wšr* /*?*/ a.: **B** B, *'yw 'kwty wm'tw | c'wšr n'm*: *Len.*, 93, 38. — **P** A white dog, reincarnation of the Brahmin *Taudiya*. — **D** Unclear. The Skt. version of the Kakadoo-sūtra gives *Śaṅkhakuñjara* ("conch-shell elephant"), as YOSH., *Bud. Lit.*, p. 110-111. Could the Sogdian form be a very weak transcription of it? YOSH., 2009a, p. 303 notes that this name (he transcribes it as *Chaushar*) has no counterparts in other extant versions of the *Śuka-sūtra*. **)**

366. (*c'wtyšk', cwδ'yk'* /*Jōtiška, Jōdīka*/ m.: **B** B, *ZY c'wtyšk'*: *Len.*, 93, 25; *'YKZY 'myn cwδ'yk'*: *SCE*, 199. — **P** A character in Buddhist texts. — **D** Skt. *Jyotiṣka* (originally, a name of plant: "Premna, Plumbago, Trigonella"); cf. *''m'yt'* (#15) for the final *aleph*. In SCE, the borrowing is affected by the Chinese mediation: *Shutiqie* (樹提伽, EMCh. *dʑuǒ' dɛj gia*, KG. *źiu diei gya*); cf. also *p'(š)tsyn* for *Bhaiṣajyasena*, #877. **)**

367. (*c'ytr'* /*Čētra*/ m.: **B** N(B?, hardly C), *pr'šym | c'ytr' | sm'rknδc | šmny*: *Ladakh*, 7, 2-5 (nom.); *(c')ytr'* (?): *Ladakh*, 11. — **P** A visitor to Ladakh (envoy to the Tibetan Kaghan), Samarkandian (by birth or by family), a Buddhist monk (?, if *šmny* denotes him and not *nwšprn*, #836). — **D** Reading by SIMS-W.; he understands this name as a usual Skt. PN *Caitra* (lit. "2nd spring month"). **)**

cγr > *ßsr* #317

368. *cgšyy rwšn* /*Čigši Rōšn?*/ m.: **B** M, *](by)tg'cy cgšyy rwšn*: M406, 8 apud SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 270. — **P** A person in the M name-list. — **D** The three words in the line are easily recognisable as Uygh. *bitigäči* "scribe" (ZIEME apud SUND., loc. cit.), *čigši* "high title" (< Chinese *ci-shi* 刺史 "military commander") and WMIr. *rōšn* "light"; the sequence of these elements, however, remains difficult: *čigši*, to my knowledge, is attached to the end of a name (*DrTS*, p. 145), and "scribe" does not look like a PN.

369. *ck'wš'k* /*Čakušak*/ m.: **B** N, *ck'wš'k ZK n'nc BRY*: Muγ, Nov.4, V13 (*SDGM*, II, p. 24, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 30; YAK., *Marr.*, p. 314). — **P** A witness in the marriage contract, son of *n'nc* (#757: 1). — **D** An *-ak* hypocoristic from "hammer", (Av. *čakuša-*, NP *čakuš*). LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 44 (cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 48) mentions that this name could have been given with reference to the shape of nose of the character or to the first object seen by the father after the child's birth. Among the Yaghnobis, the names are also often given after the instrument which was used to cut the umbilical cord (PESHCHEREVA, 1976, p. 61). Cf. the names in *tš-* (#1246 – 48), *swx'n* (#1121), maybe *δwk'yn* (#450).

370. (*ck'yn cwr ßyδk''* /*Čegin Čor Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N, *'LKŠNT 'YKZY ZKn ßxtyk | MLK' pncy MR'Y ck'yn cwr | ßyδk'' ZKn pycw-tt BRY | XIII II ŠNT ''z*: Muγ, B-8, 1-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GERSH., *Frog-plain*, p. 196; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P** The king of Panjakent who ruled between *cm'wky'n* and *δyw'štyc* (i.e., probably before 708) for fifteen years or more. The same ruler abbreviated his name into *ßyδk''* (#342) on the local coinage. — **D** A Turkic name. The last element is *bilgä* "wise", *čor* is a usual title (cf. *cwr*), *ck'yn* may be understood as a "mongolized" (with *tI > čI*) variant of *tegin* "prince" (YAK., *Marr.*, p. 315) and hardly as the title *čïγan* (as LIV., *SDGM*, II, 51, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 55), since Turkic uvular *q/γ* is normally rendered with *x, γ* in Sogdian.

His title *ßxtyk MLK'* can be explained as "Happy Ruler"(LURJE, 2005) or as "king of Balkh" (DE LA VAISSIÈRE, Fc.). In *SDGM* we see *ßyδk''* while *ßyδk'H* is given by GERSH., *Frog-plain*, p. 205 and so accepted in *SC*, both readings are equally possible according to the facsimile, but I prefer the first one since a male name ending with *-H* is a very rare case (cf. *zyδ'nH*, #1572). Cf. also a resumee by STARK, 2008, p. 232-236. OTu. /b/ is rendered with S <ß> also in *ßwkw* (#324), *'šßr'* (#178), *ß'y s'nkwn* (#271), under *mγ' wmn'* (#663), *'yl tyrkwk 'lp ßrγwc'n 'lp trx'n* (#240).)

371. (*ckrβrt cynt''mny* /Čakravart Cintāmani/ m.: **B** B, *''[ry'βrwkδyšβr]* | *ckrβrt cynt''mny cšmy rwrH βyšykrn prykr'k*: *Padm.*, 31-32; *ywn'k* | *ckrβrt cynt''mny t'rn'y*: *Padm.*, 64-65; *mn' prβ' yrt* | *[cynt']'mny ckkrβrt xwt'w'n t'rny*: *TSP*, 15, 18-19 (as reconstructed in *SC*, No. 240); *p'r'γz ckr(β)rt cnt'mny r(tn)y t'(rny)[]*: *TSP*, 15+30, 25 (joined and transliterated in *SC*, No. 240). — **P** An epithet of Avalokiteśvara, prescription and dhāranī. — **D** Sogdian transcription of Skt *Cakravarti(n) Cintamāṇi* "(he who has) wish-jewel (of wheel-turning) king", cf. *cnt'mny rtny 'rδ'yp' pttpy* (#375). **)**

372. *cm'wky'n* /Čamūkyān/ m.: **B1** N, *pncy MR'Y cm'wky'n*: coin, SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 735-757, p. 230-233; Table XXIV-XXV;LXXIII. — **P1** A ruler of *Panč* (Panjakent) in the late 7th century CE. — **B2** N, *pns'r xwβw c(?)m'wky'n*: coin SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 733, p. 228-229; Table XXIV. — **P2** The name of a ruler? — **D** Probably, "boon of *Čamūk* (Sogdian aristocracy)". LIV. (*Praviteli Pancha*, p. 56-57) proposes the reading *γ'm'wky'n* "boon (of a divinity) *γ'm'wk*"; SMIR. (op. cit., p. 46-47) hesitates between *rm'wkk'n*, *cm'wky'n* and *'m'wky'n*, preferring the last. YOSH. (2004c, p. 408; *Zhaowu*, p. 48-49) maintains the reading *cm'wky'n* (in fact, the first letter of the name has a very ambiguous form). The same name, transcribed as *(Kang) Zhimuyan* (康之目延, EMCh. (kʰaŋ) tɕi/tɕi-muwk-jian) is applied to a Sogdian settler in the vicinity of Dunhuang in 750 CE. The same title /Čamuk/ is also mentioned by NARŠAXĪ (Ḥamūk for *Jamūk, Čamūk) as a word for "noble" in the Bukharan language; see also *'wkkwrt cm'wk* (#191). Final *-y'n* is, of course, "boon".

Concerning B2, P2: SMIR. attributed this *unicum* either to the *Fān-daryā* district (in Pārγar) or to a certain *Bāsār(ān)* near Čaγāniyān. The obverse of the coin has *prn* "glory". Another coin (no. 734) with similar tamghas was transliterated as *prγ'r xwβw...* "king of *Pārγar*…" (with *prn βγy* "glory; deity" on the obverse). However, two more specimens (in a good state of preservation) of the second type have recently became available (www.zeno.ru, No. 13; No. 29397; worthy of note is that the latter is reported to have been found in Beiting in Jungaria!); they show the same verso inscription as SMIR.'s No. 733 and *prn βγy* on the obverse. I see *p-'/c-s/m/r-•-r/z_xwβw_y/š-'/n/z/-w/δ-y/k/r/β-n/'/H*. The word preceding *xwβw* could be the *Băsār* (for various transcriptions see BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 70, n. 1); historically less likely *p'm(y)r* "the Pamirs(!)"; the name could be *š'wkn* (cf. *Šawkar* [شوكر for *شوكن   ?] b. Ḥamīk of Ṭabarī, who was active in 722 in Sogdiana, p. 1447 = XXIV. p. 177), a suffixed derivate of *š'w* "black", or of *γ'w* "cow", *šδw* "neck", but hardly *cm'wky'n*; cf. also ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 185-6.

cnk'sp > *rnk'sp* **#1014**

†cnkw > [c'kw] #357 bis

373. (*cnkwr* /*Čankur*/ m.?: **B** N(A), *](c)nkwr(w) ••[*: LM.II.ii.09 = Or 8212 (1823), apud *SC*, 370 R8 (graph. acc.); *ZK (cn)kwr δ(xy)β'*: LM.II.ii.09 = Or 8212 (1823), apud *SC*, 370, R9 (unpublished elsewhere). — **P** A person (?) in a letter written in Ancient Script found at Loulan. — **D** Unclear. SIMS-W. (1996, p. 49 with n. 29) compares it to the title *caṃkura* in the Niya Prakrit. It probably originates in Chinese *jiangjun* (將軍, EMCh. *tsɨaŋ-kun*) "general" (wherefrom also OTu. *Saŋun*, see under #1059), see YOSH., 1996a, p. 70 n. 3. **)**

374. *cnp'k* /*Čambak?*/ m.: **B** N, *cnp'k*: *UI1*, No. 174 (34: 60); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Cf. Bct. PN *Σαμβο*, further unclear.

> Possibly, to OIr. **kamp-, *čamp-* "to bind" (as Khot. *caṃbula-* "disturbed", *caṃbuva* "thicket, bushes", Wanetsī *camba* "back of hand", NP *čamba* "large bar", S *nk'np* "to bend", Chor. *nknb(y)-* "id.", see *DKS*, p. 99; *ÉSIJa*, II, p. 227)? Or to Ygh. *čumf-* "to push" (*JaT*, p. 242, hardly from Taj., NP *jumbīdan* "to move"), or finally a *nisba* to Indian *Campā*, Bct. *ζιριταμβο* – *Śrī-campā* (*Rabatak*, 5-6)?

375. (*cnt'mny rtny 'rδ'yp' pttpy* /*Čintāmani-ratni-ərδēfā-pattapē*/ m.: **B** B, *'wyn cnt'mny rtny 'rδ'yp' pttpy pwδystβy*: *Suv.*, *STii*, 7, 29; *ywn'k cnt'mny (r)[tny 'rδ'yp' pttpy pwδystβy]*: *Suv.*, *STii*, 7, 40. — **P** A Bodhisattva. — **D** Semi-translation of Skt. *Cintāmaṇi-ratna-prabhāsa-pratāpa* (?), "Cintāmaṇi-("thought-gem")-jewel-radiance-luminiscence", where S *pttpy* "lamp" seems to render Skt. *pratāpa* "light", which is witnessed by the Chinese version (*STii*, p. 593); other elements are rendered precisely (but note S. light-stem ending in *rtny*), cf. *ckrβrt cynt''mny* (#371), *cynt'm'n rtny* in *VJ*, 7. **)**

376. *cntn* /*Čandan*/ m.: **B** N, *ZKw cyn rytkw cntn*: Muγ, B-18, 9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 123, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 133, *Last Days*, p. 159). — **P** A Chinese page (?, MP *rēdag*, Bct. *ρηδγ-*), a messenger from Δēwāštīč to the Qaγan. — **D** Acc. to GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE, "Sandalwood", S *cntn*, Skt. *candana*, MP, NP *čandal* etc.

> Cf. maybe *cnd'(ty?) z'dg oo*, (a Pth. name of a parable in MS text), *BBB*, D9, p. 47, which one "bei sehr gutem Willen könnte … *cnd'l* lesen" and thus equate with Skt. *caṇḍāla* "outcast" (HENN., *BBB*, p. 99, n). LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 123, reads *cy-n 'stkw cntn kyZY...* "Chinese envoy, the one that...", which is unlikely since S *cntn* seems to designate only inanimate nouns and is not used before *kyZY*; in *SÉSAS*, p. 135 he accepts the reading of GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE.

377. (*cntrβrwcwn* /Čandarvarōčon/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm wyn cntrβrwcwn pwtystβ mx'stβ*: TSP, 8, 22; *[nm'cw βr'm 'wyn] cntrβrwcw[n pwδystβ mx'stβ prn*: SFBL, 10, 3. — **P** A name of a Bodhisattva. — **D** *Bodhisattva Candravairocana* (*Candra-* "beautiful, moon" with a patr. to *virocana* "shininig"), see *swryβrwcwn pwtystβ mx'stβ* (#1118) in the neighboring lines of both Mss; *βyr'wcn* (#347). **)**

378. *cnwrnk?* /?/ m.: **B** N, *pny c'cynk xwβ-w cnw-rnk*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 142-147, p. 161-164, cf. BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 79. — **P** A name(?) on a coin from the Chach oasis, 7th – 8th century. — **D** Unclear; the name has survived only on two coins. BABAYAROV gives variants such as *cnwrnk/cnw'βk/cnwynk*, maybe, *'zwrnk*, prothetic variant to *zwrnk* "time", *''prnk* etc.?

[*cp'δtH* (hardly a name, see s.v. *'cp'δ'k*) **]**

379. (*cpγw* /J̌abγu/ m.: **B** N, *cpγw x'x'n pny*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 62-67, p. 91-96, possibly degenerated in No. 68-70, p. 95-96; No. 74-76, p. 100-101. — **P** A ruler who issued coins in Chach, 7th century (?). — **D** Two Turkic titles, *yabγu/ǰabγu* and *qaγan*. I follow the reading of BABAYAROV, KUBATIN, 2005, p. 99; BABAYAROV, 2005, p. 198. Here we probably have a shorter form of *twn cpγw/zpγw x'γ'n* (#1259). Alternatively, it serves not as a PN, but rather as the title of the ruler of the Western Turkic Kaghanate, see BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 26-28.

> For the alleged *cpγw x'γ'n* on another coin-type see s.v. *βwkw* (#324); for No. 74-76 BABAYAROV and KUBATIN propose *twn cpγw x'γ'n*, but I do not see *twn* on any specimen, instead of *cpγw* it is better to read *zpγw*. Earlier readings (LIV. apud *Chach*, p. 62-63: *δ'ykwrtw*, RTVELADZE loc. cit. *xnk ... nw xwβ*, BABAYAROV, 2004, p. 31 (*non vidi*, apud BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 13: *[y] 'p/wγw γ(')γ'n*) are less convincing. **)**

†*cpγw kr crδnk, cpγw yrcrδnk, cpγw yryrδnk > zpγw yrcrδnk* #1561

380. *cr'γk* /Čərāγak/ m.: **B** N, *cr'(γk)*: Panj.-1978, No. 9, p. 137. — **P** A name inscribed on a fragment of bone. — **D** S *cr'γ* "lamp" with a hypocoristic suffix. Cf. Taj. *Чароғ* as a PN, Arabic *Ṣirāǰ*, etc.

381. *cr'k* /Čarak?/ m.: **B** Bu, *mš(?)yk xwβ cr'k snky II C XX XX XX III II rm ptxwr*: SSNSS, No. 16, p. 167-168; the same reading of the name by FRYE,

1956, p. 120 (p. 174). — **P** A king of *mš* (?), owner of a silver vessel. — **D** Unclear.

> Hardly *šr'k* (LIV.-LUKONIN, p. 167-8, as LIV., KAUFMAN, DIAKONOFF, 1954, p. 160); S *cr'k* "pasture" does not yield adequate semantics. A hypocoristic to *cyr* (#403; for S internal *y* = Bu Ø cf. *myw* "tiger" and *mw'k*, #701; *δzwy*, #476?). ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 106 reads *šr'k*, from S *šyr* "good".

382. *cr'pc* /*Čarāpič?*/ m.: **B** N, *[Z]Y (c)r'pc '(yw)H 'yz-H*: Муγ, Б-1, L3; *ZY cr'p(c 'yw 'zy)H*: L7; *rty δβrt ZKn cr'pc 'δwy wy-z-βcH*: L14 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a spear (or water-skin, *'zyH*) and some *wyzβcH* (unclear word, see under *βwrsr'k*, #329). — **D** Unclear; BOGOL., SMIR. transliterate *cr'pc* (without etymology), but the writing is ambiguous.

> One can explain the name as a *nisba* to a hydronym *cr'p-* "*Cr*-Water". For the latter, cf., possibly, a canal *Ǯarǰōy* "*Ǯar*-canal" to the South-East of Samarkand according to 15th century documents (see CHEKHOVICH, 1974, p. 191, 216; p. 398, n. 177); less likely, a nickname (cf. NP *ǰōrāb* "socks"; Tajik *чалоб* "soup made of sour milk"; Tajik *чалаб* "prostitute" comes from Arabic); cf. also *'yk'pc*, #223.

383. *crδmyš* /*Čirθmiš*/ m.: **B** N, *crδmyš | MR'Y*: coin SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1419, p. 324-326; Table XXXVI; LXXVIII. — **P** A ruler of Ustrushana (6th – 7th century), his name appears on an *unicum* coin. — **D** "(One with) essence/lineage (of/from) Mithra", an inverted compound, as already in BOGOL. apud SMIR., op. cit., p. 32-33, see *cyrδc* (#404), *n'wcyrδ* (#765), etc.; for *myš* "Mithra" cf. *myšyy* in M texts. R. SCHMITT kindly drew my attention to OIr. **Čiθra-miθra-* in the Elam. rendering *Zí-ut-ra-mi-ut-ra* (TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 158). Alternatively, to OIr. compound **čiθram-aiša-* "powerful (in respect of his) lineage", as OP *ciçantaxma-* (GRENET-SIMS-W., 1987, p. 115, n. 59); cf. also *Step. Ir.*, No. 9.

384. *crδyk'* /*Čirθīk?*/ m.: **B** N, *crδyk'*: *SSNSS*, 22, p. 173 (*VS*, XLVI, 80 and *SSNSS*, p. 174, ill. 2). — **P** The owner of a silver pitcher. — **D** Ambiguous handwriting; SMIRNOV ignored this inscription in his album and it is represented only in the article of LIV. and LUKONIN. They propose *mδrk'* (from hypothetic *mδr-* for *myδr*, *myš* "Mithra") or *prδrk'* , but I see a clear *cr-* on the photo. If so, the name is formed from S **crδ, cyrδ* "essence, form" (cf. *crδmyš*, #383; *cyrδc*, #404, etc.) with a hypocoristic in -(')*yk*, cf. *Step. Ir.* No. 9; for the final *aleph* cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 38.

csr > βsr #317

385. (*ctβ'r'tsr'n* /*Čitfāradsarān?*/ m.: **B** B, ZK *''n kwttr'k ctβ'r'tsr'n wp's'y*: *Intox.*, 35. — **P** The Buddhist layman (*upāsaka*), who supplied the translator *ny''ncynt* (#849) with the Indian (Chinese?) version of *Intox*. — **D** Probably Skt. *Catvāryadhiṣṭānāni* ("the four firm resolves"), *BSTBL*, ii, p. 9, n. 35; the name could be re-interpreted as S *ctβ'r* "four", as was suggested by HENN., *STP*, p. 736, cf. BENV., *Ét.*, p. 59. SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 67) supposes that *ctβ'r'ts* here is the expected, though unattested form for "fourteen", for *r'n* cf. *r'zn'w* (#1011), cf. also *XIIII-y'n*, #1578. **)**

386. *cttH* /*Čad?*/ f.: **B** N, *wδwH ky ZY KZNH n'mt δγwtγwncH ky ZY šy ZK | py-šn'm'k cttH*: Muγ, Nov.3 R5-6; *'mH | cttH wδwH*: Nov 3, R 8-9, R23; *ZNH | cttH*: Nov3, R12-13; *ZNH cttH*: V12; Nov.4 R9; *pr | cttH L' wγty*: Nov.3 R16-17; *ZNH cttyH*: (obl.) Nov.3, R18; *cttyH | wδ(k)r'n'k*: Nov3, V label, 2-3; *cttyH pwstk*: Nov.4 V label, 1-2; *ZNH wδyH | cttyH*: (obl.) Nov.3, 19-20; *ZNH cttyH*: (obl.) Nov.3, V2; *δγwtγwncH ky ZY ZK pyšn'm'k cttH ZYwH | wy-'ws δγwtH*: Nov.4, R6-7; *'m'y cttyH*: (obl.) Nov.4 R15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21-23, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 29; YAK., *Marr.*, p. 310-314). — **P** The "after-name" (i.e., surname, see s.v. *zyδ(')nH*, #1572) of *δγwtγwncH* (#423), bride of *'wttkyn / zyδ(')nH* (#205; #1572), ward of *cyr* (#403), daughter of *wy'ws* (#1375: 1). — **D** Unclear. LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 29) compares it to OTu. *čada-* "be able", without futher details. In view of *c't'ysH* (#363), cf. PN *Cato* which was found among the documents from Kroraina (BURROW, 1935, p. 671). In any case, probably a foreign name, maybe Indian (e.g., Skt. *Jaṭā* "wearing twisty locks of hair")? Bct. masc. PN *Σιτο* maybe also here?

cw > t'y cw t'y z'n- #1223

387. *cwγt* /*Čuγd*/ m.: **B** N, *cwγt*: *UI2*, No. 638 (Dadam Das, 45:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 109). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** "Owl", S *cγwty*, NP *čuγd*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 48. Cf. *βwβ* (#321).

cwδ'yk'> c'wtyšk' #366

388. (*cw kymš'n* /*Čō Kim-Šan*/ m.: **B** B, *kymš'n*: Khot. Jātakastava, 39 V4, see BAILEY, 1945, p. 219; DRESDEN, 1955, p. 446, facsimile *Cod. Khot.*, p. 183; written upside down, i.e. from left to right, as the surrounding Khotanese text; *(cw) kymš'n*: Khot. Siddhasāra, 156 V, right margin upside

down, see BAILEY, 1945, p. 104, fasc. *Cod. Khot.*, p. 67. — **P** A Buddhist literatus in Khotan, who ordered the surviving copy of the Khotanese Jātakastava; the owner (?) of the copy of Siddhasāra; furthermore, the author of the Khotanese Vajrayāna verses, he is also mentioned in a Chinese text from Khotan, and was active in the second half of the 10th century, see PULLEYBLANK, 1954, p. 94. — **D** Transcription of the Chinese name, *Zhang Jin-shan* (張 金山, EMCh. *trïaŋ[h] kim-ṣəjn/ṣɛːn*, the individual name lit. "Goldberg"), Khot. *cā kīma śanä*.

> One cannot be sure that these glosses are in Sogdian: the date and rather late script could show that these words could be written in Uyghur language as well (cf. *Kimzin, Kimtso* in Uyghur texts, ZIEME, 1977, p. 81, 83 with the identical initial element; Toch. B *Kim-* apud KRAUSE, 1953, p. 14). However, Chinese final *-ŋ* is normally rendered as *n* or *nk* by Sogdians (cf. *y'nsy'n*, #1497, *tynk*, #1283) and as a labial (semi-)vowel by Uyghurs and Khotanese, but the transcription may mirror not the Middle Chinese, but already the Khotanese form. **)**

389. (*cwmyš swntwr* /?-*mïš Sundur?*/ m.: **B** N, *cwmyš swntwr*: Kulan-say, IIIb, ed. *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 148. — **P** A visitor (?) to Kulan-say. — **D** Unclear, but probably Turkic; *swntwr* can be connected with OTu. *sundurï* "sea" (Maḥmūd Kāšγarī), a corruption of *samudra* (as CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 837); or to *Sundun*, attested as a PN among the Oghuz in the 13th century (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 675). The first part is unclear; a past participle in -*mIš*? **)**

†*cwn'kk* > *cwz'kk* #397

390. *cwnmc* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *cwnmc UI1*, No. 367 (39: 62); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear, -*c* looks like suffix. One can read also *cwnm'* or *cwnm'c*. In the last case, cf. S *nm'c(yw)* "prayer" (with unclear initial part)?

391. *cwr* /*Čōr*/ m.: **B1** N(C), *'kw c(wr)y δβ'rt'*: (obl.) *DTS*, F24. — **P1** A person to whom the letter was intended, from the house (*x'nycyk*) of *'ltwn yk'n* (#84). — **B2** N, *cw(r?)* | *wyr*: *Afr.*, inscr. d, p. 67. — **P2** A name (?) inscribed on a sleeve of the ambassador from Čaγāniyān in the Afrasiab painting. — **D** This name resembles, first of all, the Turkic title *čor/čur*, used for junior representatives of a ruling family, but it is often used in the Iranian S names and, in view of *cwr'kk* (#392) in the *UI* inscriptions and colophon *TSP*, 8, where no Turkic loans are attested, *čōr/čūr* can be regarded as pre-Turkic.

Cf. *wnwcwr* (#1324), *cwr'k* (#392), *ck'yn cwr βylk''* (#370), *z'k cwr* (#1550), *wnx'ncwr* (#1330), *whmn cwr* (#1352), *ymkycwr* (#1508), *tytz'kcwr*, (#1297) as well as in *xwm'r cwr* and *by'mnwrz | cwr* in *MN* (78, 100-101), and *''pryncwr* "Blessing Č.", *m'xwcwr* "Moon-Č." in Uygh. texts, *Nayū chārā* (=/Nēw čōr/ "nice Č") in Khotanese (see *DTS*, p. 75); for further examples see ZIEME, 2006, p. 115 ff., also Bct. PN *Σωρο*; the Chinese rendering Shi *Chuo* (啜, EMCh. *ʨʰwiat*, see RONG, 2009, p. 409) can represent this name, too. An Iranian etymology was proposed by H.W. BAILEY: from **čyaura-* "walker > hunter" (1985, p. 99), but it cannot be supported by futher documentation; moreover in S OIr. **čy* normally develops into *š* (cf. *š'twx*, *š'w-*). In *DTS*, maybe, *c(yr)y*, as remarked by the editors on p. 61, see *cyr* (#403).

392. cwr'kk /Čōrak?/ m.: **B1** B, *x'n kwtr'y | cwr'kk 'xw n'pt'yr BRY*: *TSP*, 8, 167-8; *mn' 'wyn βntk mrty cwr'kk*: *TSP*, 8, 191. — **P1** The person who ordered the Sogdian translation of the dhāraṇī P8 (not exactly *Avalokiteśvarasyanāmāṣṭaśatakastotra*, see YOSH., *Bud. Lit.*, p. 105-106), son of *n'pt'yr* (#761) and *pwtyδ'yH* (#967), grandson of *my'c* (#723) and *'rwtprnδ'yH* (#149), husband of *m'xδ'yH* (#647), from the family *x'n kwtr'y* (#1397, Samarkandians). — **B2** N, *(cw)r'kk*: *UI1*, No. 377 (39: 72); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** See *cwr* (#391), with a hypocoristic suffix; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9a, has *'prnm'kk*.

cwrt'n > ''n cwrt'n #17

393. (cwry /Čulï/ m.: **B** N, *cwry x'γ'nt ... δ'r'yδ'*: Mongolküre, 21. — **P** *Chuluo Kaghan* of the Western Turks (599-611), the successor of Nili (*nry*, #817) and founder of the Mongolküre funerary site. — **D** Chinese *Chuluo kehan* (處 羅 , EMCh. *ʨʰiǝʰ-la*); for his identification and historical importance see T. ÔSAWA, *Mongolküre*, *passim*. The etymology is unclear (as in the case of a major part of the names in the inscriptions of the Early Turkic period), cf. *cwr*, #391. **)**

394. (cwrypnt'kk /Čūri-pantak/ m.: **B** B, *wyδp't cwrypnt'kk γrβ'*: So 10921, I, 5, YAK. apud YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 330. — **P** An *arhat*, character in the *vinaya*-text. — **D** From Skt. *Cūḍapanthaka* "road of crown of head" (cf. *SWTF*, II, p. 260). For S *r* in the place of Skt. *ḍ* see under *βyr'wr'y* (#349). **)**

395. cwy'kkH kwtr'ncH /Čuyak? Kōtǝrānǰ/ f.: **B** N, *δ'yH cwy'kkH kwtr'ncH 'wyH twrkstny z'tcwH 'wp'cH | ty n'm*: *ΔP*, R5-6. — **P** The clan-name of *'wp'cH* (#195). — **D** Unclear; one can read *cwt'kkH* as well. The form *kwtr'ncH* is feminine to *kwtr'k* (see *''n kwttr'k*, #18), while the first

part should stand for a Sogdian, Chinese or more likely Turkic (as *'wp'cH* was born in Turkestan) clan name, name of origin, tribe, etc. However, I could not find an etymon in any of these languages, although *cwy'kkH* could be formed from **cw-*, a S rendering of Chinese *Cao* (曹, EMCh. *dzaw*), the name of Ustrūšana and the northern part of the Samarkand oasis (see under *''n kwttr'k*, #18).

396. cwyws /*Čawyūs?*/ : **B** N, *xwβw cwyws XX X srδy*: *Chilhujra*, 1, 1, p. 80, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 286 ff. — **P** The ruler in the dating formule. — **D** As suggested intitally by O.I. SMIRNOVA, this name corresponds to *Kāwūs*, the king (*afšīn*) of Ustrušana (where the document was found) mentioned for the year 822 by Arabic sources. (LIV., op. cit., p. 83); Either *cwyws* is a peculiar dialect form of **k'ws* (Av. *Kauui- Usan*, NP *Qābūs* etc.; this view is favoured by LIV.), or this name appears in ṬABARĪ'S text in a corrupted and re-etymologized guise.

The name of Kāwūs probably appears in the S text LM20: 1480/22(02) which was presented by Yutaka YOSHIDA at the Boris MARSHAK memorial conference in Petersburg in November 2008.

397. cwz'kk /*Čužak?*/ m.: **B1** N, *cwz'kk | ZK wn'ynk BRY | 'ḤRZY šy | 'Ḥ(Y) š'ns 'BY | wkw(r) βγ'*: *UI1*, No. 304 (36: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *wn'ynk* (#1317: 1), brother of *š'ns* (#1152). — **B2** N, *rty 'wδ wm't | tyšr't 'xw cwz'kk BRY m'ymrγc*: *ΔP*, R18-19. — **P2** Father of *tyšr't* (#1292). — **D** "Chicken" as S *cwz'kk*, Khwar. *twžk*, Ygh. *čúǰa*, NP *čōča, jōǰa*, Yazgh. *čiγak* etc., as a nickname; cf. also *cytcyt* (#409) and under *βwβ* (#321); Elam. PN *Suzza* can belong here as well (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1468). YOSH.'s initial reading in *ΔP* was *cwn'kk*, but corrected into *cwz'kk* in *ΔP-2*, p. 160).

398. cx'pk /*Čaxāpak?*/ m.: **B** N, *cx'pk | ZK rzmwnwn | BRY rysn*: *UI2*, No. 474 (50:17); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *rzmwnwn* (#1056), from the family (?) *rysn* (#1045). — **D** Unclear, maybe *cx'pr. cx'pk* can be possibly a *nisba* in origin "(native) of *Čax* river"?, cf. *cx'yc, cxcy* (#399), *'yk'pc* (#223), *cr'pc* (#382). A certain village *J̌axzan(a)* was located in Samarkand oasis in the 13th century, see BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 124; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 123 has the same reading.

399. *cx'yc, cxcy* /*Čaxič, Čaxiči?*/ m.: B1 N, *cx('yc) ZK | x(twx'n)c BRY*:
UI2, No. 621 (Dadam Das, 23:4, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 96); one can also read the
first line as *cx('yc)nk*. Or *cs(yc)*? — **P1** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of
xtwx'nc (#1430). — **B2** N, *yw'rn ZK | cxcy*: *UI1*, No. 13 (8: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*,
p. 131. — **P2** Father (?) of *yw'rn* (#1525). Another possible reading is *czncy*.
HUMB., *SIF*, No. 63a, has *'x'y*. — **D** From S *cx* "to fight" + suff. *-'yc*? Final *-
cy* may be an old form of the suffix *-c*, *-(')yc*, cf. *δxc(y)* (#458). Or a *nisba*
from *cx-*?

400. *cxr'yn* /*Čaxrēn*/ m.: B N, *cxr'yn ZK r'mc BRY*: Muγ, Nov.3 V20;
cxr'yn | ZK r'mc BRY: Nov.4 V13-14 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28,
YAK., *Marr.*, p. 311). — **P** A witness in the marriage contract, son of *r'mc*
(#1002). — **D** A hypocoristic (cf. *UI2*, p. 45) from S *cxr*, OIr. **čaxra-*
"wheel" (thus LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 40, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 45) as MP *Čaxrĭd* (*IPNB*,
II, 2, No. 267), cf. also under *βsr* (#317).

401. *cyn'ncH* /*Čīnānǰ*/ f.: B N, *xnsc | δwγt'kkH cyn'ncH*: *UI1*, No. 371
(39: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P** A female visitor to Shatial, daughter of
xnsc (#1408). — **D** "Chinese" (appellative, at least in origin) with the
feminine adjectival suffix *-'ncH*, thus already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9c.

Cf. *cyn'ncknδH* "Gaochang", lit. "China-town" (*ΔP*, R1 ff., *BL*, A-39), MMP *cyn'ncknδ-*
(*MN*, 55), where the feminine suffix is dictated by the fem. gender of *knδH* "town".

402. *cynwnytβnt* /?/ m.: B N, *šw'nkk | (c)ynwnytβnt*: *UI1*, No. 50 (27: 1);
cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 149. — **P** Father (?) of *šw'nkk* (#1178: 3). — **D** Unclear.
HUMB., *SIF*, No. 61, reads *cnwnytβnt* (???).

The first letter can be *š* as well and some letters have been lost before this. Can *-βnt* be a
variant of *βntk* "slave" (cf. Bct PNs with *-βανδο*)? A more risky explanation would imply
that *cynwnyt* could be a S form of Av. *činuuant-*, MP *činvad*, the name of the bridge
leading the souls into the after-life according to the Zoroastrian beliefs? In this case *βnt*
could be equal to NP *band* "damm" (the Chinvat bridge is depicted on a Sino-Sogdian
sarcophagus-relief of *wyrk'k* from Xi'an, see GRENET, RIBOUD, YANG, 2004).

403. *cyr* /*Čēr*/ m.: B N, *MN nwyktc | xwβw cyr MN wnx'n'kk BRY*: Muγ,
Nov. 3 R3-4; *ZNH cyr*: Nov. 3 R7; *kw | nwyktcw xwβw cyr kw wnx'n'kk BRY*:
Nov.4, R3-4; *tw' cyr*: Nov.4 R8; *kw t'β'k cyr*: Nov.4 R17; *cyr* Nov.4, V6
(*SDGM*, II, p. 21-23, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28-30, YAK., *Marr.*, p. 311-313). — **P**
Ruler of *Nawēkaθ*, son of *wnx'n'kk* (#1329), guardian of *cttH/δγwtγwncH*
(#386, #423), the bride of *'wttkyn/zyδ(')nH* (#205, #1572). — **D** Acc. to LIV.,

from OIr. *čarya-, MP čēr "overpowering, brave, victorious". However, MMP cyryy is glossed with S skrtky'ẖ in So., G, R11, p. 35, 37, but a foreign word used as a PN is not surprising. YAK. (p. 317) compares this name to cyrk' (#406). Cf. also under cwr (#401).

> According to LIV., loc. cit., Čēr's nwykt- "New town" is identical with Nawīkaθ/Nawākat in Semirechje, probably the site of Krasnaja Rechka. However, there are many places with similar names closer to Samarkand: Nūjkaθ in Čāč and Ustrušana, Nūkaθ in Čāč-Īlāq, Nauqad(-i) Quraiš and Nauqad(-i) Barīn in Naxšab, Naukand and Naukadak in Ištīxan (near Samarkand), see LURJE, 2003, p. 196, 199, 200. Cf. also Bct σηρο(τορκο), a name or title of the ruler of Gōzgān, contemporary of cyr.

404. cyrδc /Čirθič/ m.: **B** N, my'y | kwrsyk | snk | cyrδc | kwš'nk'n: UI2, No. 560 (Thor I, 26). — **P** A visitor to Thor, companion of my'y (#725), kwrsyk (#594), snk (#1082: 4), kwš'nk'n (#599: 2). — **D** To OIr. *čiθra-, Pth., MP čihr "brilliant, family", Bct. PN Σιυραγο (SIMS-W., 1994, p. 174), Khot. cira- "visible", cf. n'wcyrδ (#765), crδmyš (#383), cyrδsw''n (#405). The final -c is either a hypocoristic or adjectival suffix; there are certain reasons for considering the names with c(y)rδ borrowings from a dialect close to Pont. Ir. and Oss., see *Step. Ir.*, No. 9.

405. cyrδsw''n /Čirθsawān/ m.: **B** N(A), 'YKZY | cyrδsw''n MR'Y XIII (s)rδ (w)m'tw: AL2 (2), V61-62. — **P** A king (of Samarkand?) in the dating formula (different interpretation in HENN., *Date*, p. 611). — **D** OIr. *čiθra-savāna- "he who brings prosperity to his lineage", as GRENET, SIMS-W., 1987, p. 115; both parts of this name show Pont. Ir. features; see *Step. Ir.*, No. 10.

406. cyrk' / Čērak/ m.: **B** N, snk | cyrk' | ''p'δk | [x]wmn' (?): UI2, No. 656 (Thalpan III, 83). — **P** A visitor to Thalpan, companion of snk (#1081: 7), ''p'δk (#21), xwmn' (#1440). — **D** Hypocoristic to cyr (#403). For the final "silent" aleph see SIMS-W., UI2, p. 38; less likely to be read as cyrkc.

407. cyš /?/ m.: **B** Fergh., βrγ'nk MR'Y cyš: coin, LIV. apud BARATOVA, 1999, p. 248; p. 246, abb. 3, 36. — **P** A ruler in Ferghana, 6th – 7th century? — **D** Unclear in writing and interpretation.

> The present coin-type, according to LIV., 1968, p. 229-230, represents the unique example of the Old Ferghanian branch of Middle Iranian Aramaic-based alphabets. In the report of 1968, LIV. did not attempt to transliterate the name, but gives čyš apud BARATOVA, cf. βcs'(?, #274) on coins of similar type. Cyš can be interpreted as a regular S development

of OIr. *čiθra-* "substance", cf. *cyrδc* (#404). Needless to say, the interpretation of a name on a unique coin (and not the best preserved one) in an otherwise unattested alphabet cannot be any more than a guess.

408. *cytβntk* /*Čētvande?*/ m.: **B1** N, *cytβntk ZK sr'wk BRY*: *UI1*, No. 60 (30: 11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154; *cytβntk ZK | sr'wk'*: *UI2*, No. 564 (Thor I, 42). — **P1** A visitor to Shatial and Thor, son of *sr'wk* (#1091: 1). — **B2** N, *cytβntk | ZK šyrc*: *UI1*, No. 36 (23: 7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 145; *cytβntk | ZK šyrc BR{Y}*: *UI1*, No. 40 (24: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 146; *(cy)t(βnt)k (?) | ZK (šyrc?) | BRY*: *UI1*, No. 156 (34: 42); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *šyrc* (#1194: 1-2). — **B3** N, *(c)ytβnt(k)*: *UI1*, No. 163 (34: 49); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185; *(cy)tβntk ZK n'(w)cyrδ*: *UI1*, No. 164 (34: 50); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son of *n'wcyrδ* (#765: 1). — **B4** N, *[c]yt[β](ntk) | rywβ(ntk)*: *UI1*, No. 198 (34: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 190. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *rywβntk* (#1049: 1). — **B5** N, *'rwδ'ync | cytβntk*: *UI1*, No. 260 (36: 44) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208. — **P5** Father (?) of *'rwδ'ync* (#141: 3). — **B6** N, *cytβntk | ZK mrty BRY*: *UI1*, No. 312 (36: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215; *mrty ZK | [c](y)t(βn)tk (?) BRY*: *UI1*, No. 313 (36: 97); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. — **P6** A visitor to Shatial, father or (and?) son of *mrty* (#689: 1). Probably, nephew and grandfather were namesakes, but it is not clear whether *mrty* or *cytβntk* was father-and-son of two namesakes (cf. SIMS-W., *Ir. Inscr. Shatial*, p. 530). — **B7** N, *ZK*sic *cytβntk | ZK kmyzt*: *UI2*, No. 479 (50:22); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P7** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *kmyzt* (#535); patronyms clearly show that we are dealing with at least six different persons. — **D** According to HUMB., *SIF*, p. 203 and SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 49, "slave of *cyt-*", *cyt-* being equal to S *cytk* "spirit, ghost, *rākṣasa*" (cf. *r'mcytk*, #1003), OIr. **kaita-*, MP *kyd*, Pth. *qydyg*, *cydyg*.

> This etymology is weakened by the fact that **cyt* (without **-aka-* suffix) is, to my knowledge, never attested (except for the PN *cytcyt*, #409, which probably does not contain "ghost", see below). Alternatively, *cytβntk* may be an enriched *-k* derivative of the attested noun *cytβnt* "salutation, homage" (cf. *p'š/p'š'k*, for the opposite case cf. *prnxwnt*, #910), thus "saluted" or "saluting". In this case, the names of the father and the son, *sr'wk* (#1091: 1) and *cytβntk* (#408: 1), would have a semantic correlation. This transliteration has already been introduced by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 1 (= No. 479), No. 134 (= No. 564) and No. 109a (= No. 312). Cf. also under *'zβntkk* (#264).

409. *cytcyt* /*Čēčēt?*/ m.: **B** N, *cytcyt δsty*: Muγ, A-1, R4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 142, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 161; *SDGM*, III, p. 73); *ZY ZKn cytcyty ctβ'r*: Muγ, A-5, 20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181; *SDGM*, III, p. 51, obl.). — **P** A person who delivered

some precious matters from *''pn'k* (#23) to the steward *'wtt* (#204, in A-1), a recipient of 4 drachmae. — **D** Unclear. A nickname after a type of bird?

Lɪᴠ. (*SDGM*, II, 143, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 163-4) compares it to S *cytk* "ghost", and translates "ghost of ghosts". I cannot agree with this etymology since *cyt* (unlike *cytk*) is not attested in S; moreover the simple reduplication of the root does not give a supposed meaning (cf. e.g. *βγ'n βγtm*). However, the name sounds onomopoetic, cf. Uzb. *čittak*, NP *čutūk*, Wakh. *čṭiq* "a kind of a bird" (*ÉSVJa*, p. 131); cf. Elam. *Zizza* interpreted as *čič(č)a-*, OInd. *ciccaká*, name of bird, by Gᴇʀsʜ., *Amber*, p. 251, but cf. Mᴀʏʀʜᴏғᴇʀ's skepticism in *OnP*, 8.1892; further *cwz''k* (#397); also cf. Uzb. *čečak* "flower", "smallpox"? Cf. *cytβntk* (#408), *r'mcytk* (#1003).

410. (*cyttr'n* /Čittarān/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn cyttr'n pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 15. — **P** A name of a Bodhisattva. — **D** Not identified in *TSP*, but probably a simplification of *Cittanavarāṇa*, lit. "covering of mind", mentioned by Nagarjuna in *Daśabhūmika*. **)**

411. *c●●●●k* /?/ m.: **B** N, *'myc ●●●* (?) | *ZK c●●●●k* (?) | *BRY: UI1*, No. 263 (36: 47) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** Father of *'myc - - -* (#93). — **D** Unclear.