

k, q

†k'c'k > knk'k #537

512. (*k'δm'* /*Kādmä*/ m.: **B** N(M), *k'δ(m' x)[y](p(?))δ(?)●●*: So 13881/2 R2 apud SUND., *Three Fragments*, p. 109 = 735. — **P** A person in a Manichean monastic (?) account. — **D** Turkic, maybe *k'δ(myš)*; a person named *Kādmä* is attested in the Manichean Uyghur monastery ordinance (*Erlaß*, 38), see MORIYASU, 2004, p. 80.)

513. *k'm'k* /*Kāmak?*/ m.: **B** N, *k'm/s'k*: inser. Ilr from Terek-say, 4, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 146. — **P** A visitor to Terek-say. — **D** From S *k'm* “will” with hypocoristic suffix. The only transparent Sogdian name in the whole corpus of the Talas inscriptions, as LIV., loc. cit.

No other derivative of *k'm* “willing” is attested in the Sogdian onomasticon (but cf. Elam. *kamakka* for OP **kāmaka-*, GERSH., 1970a, p. 188, Babylonian *Ka-ma-ak-ka*, ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 330). Another possibility mentioned by LIV. is *k's'k*, cf. *k's'kk* (#520).

514. *k'n* /*Kān?*/ m.: **B1** N, (*βxty*)*wc* (?) *k(')n*: *UI2*, No. 588 (Oshibat, 17:37, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 52). — **P1** Father (?, family-name?) of *βxtywc* (#391). — **B2** N, *k'n(?)*: *UII*, No. 133a (31: 105); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 171. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear.

Probably in Shatial (B2,P2) an unsuccessful attempt to write *k'nk*: such a name was written nearby (#515: 2); one can also read *k'w* (#524), *r'w*, *r'n* (SIMS-W., *UII*, No. 133a).

k'n' > k'w #524

515. *k'n'k trx'n 'sk'tc, 'sk'tc k'n'k trx'n* /*Kānak Tarxān Īskāč?*/ m.: **B** N, *'kw βyy k'n'k trx'n 'sk'tc s'r*: *Ōt.*, No. 6341, R2; *βyw 'sk'tc k'n'k trx'n s'r*: *Ōt.*, p. 106-7, cf. YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 241-2. — **P** A recipient of a letter. — **D** *trx'n* here is probably a title, while *'sk'tc* and *k'n'k* are attested S names (cf. *k'n'kk*, #525, (*'*)*sk'tc*, #155). It is noteworthy is that the sequence of the name elements in the final address is different from that on the label on the reverse.

516. *k'n'kk, k'nk* /Kānak?/ m.: B1 N(A), 'D βγ(w) | xwt'(w) | βr(z)kkw | nn(yδβ) 'r(w) | k'n'(kkw): (graph. acc.) AL2 (2), V1-5; 'D βγw xwt'w βrz'kkw nnyδβ'rw k'n'kk: AL2 (2), R1. — P1 A family-name (or grandfather and father, cf. SIMS-W., *Greeting*, p. 181, n. 5) of βrz'kk (#313: 1) and nnyδβ'r (#791: 1), addressees of the Ancient Letter II. — B2 N(A), k'n'kk: incised in a lapidary script on the body of a pithos found at Afrasiab in 1989; Frantz GRENET, *Trois Documents*, gives a drawing and his reading in a Russian summary, but in the main body of the article the relevant section seems to have been lost; Prof. GRENET kindly sent me his preprint. — P2 A name inscribed on a pithos. — B3 N, k'(nk): UII, No. 76 (31: 47); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164; k'n(k): UII, No. 77 (31: 48); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164; k'nk: UII, No. 133 (31: 104); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 171; k'nk ZK (?) | m(wr - - -)k: UII, No. 192 (34: 78); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189; - - - | - - - - | (- - - - k'nk) (?): UI2, No. 667 (Dadam Das Addenda, 60:2). — P A visitor to Shatial, Dadam Das (?), maybe several namesakes, son (?) of mwr - - - - k (#710). The reading was given already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 52a. — D Unclear, cf. k'n (#514), also Kānā in NARŠAXĪ's history (FRYE, 1949, p. 25), OChor. king k'ny-k (LIV. apud VAJNBERG, 1977, p. 60); Bct. *Kavayo* (cf. SIMS-W., 2002b, p. 1056 n. 28), maybe *Akavo*. YOSH. (*Misc. III*, p. 242) draws attention to the Chinese rendering of this name: *Jiana* (迦那, EMCh. *kia-na*).

517. *k'n'snk'* /Kānasang?/ m.: B N, k'n'(sn)k' ZK | 'n'xtβntk | BRY: UII, No. 343 (39: 38); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — P A visitor to Shatial, son of 'n'xtβntk (#95: 3). — D Unclear. For k'n' cf. k'nk (#516), *snk'* is an old spelling for *snk* "stone" (UI2, p. 38, cf. #1081: 6). One may also read k'n'(rn)k' for MP *kanārang* (a high military commander)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 27, has k'wβntk'.

***k'nk > k'n'kk* #516: 3**

518. *k'n* /?/ m.: B N, k'(n)[(?) | δf: UI2, No. 507 (53:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — P A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of δf (#477). — D Unclear. See k'n.

519. *k's* /Kās/ m.: B B, k's δst': TSP, 8, 178. — P A person in the colophon. — D "Pig", cf. other "animal"-names (under βwβ, #321), Bct. patronym or family-name *Kασavo*.

520. *k's'kk* /Kāsak/ m.: **B** B, (c)nn *k's'kk* (δ)s(t)': *Ōt.*, No. 2921, 3, p. 54, cf. YOSH., *Misc.* Ⅲ, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc.* III, p. 240-241. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** YOSH. (*Misc.* III, p. 241) compares it to Elam. *Kasakka* (MAYRHOFFER, *OnP*, 8.789: from **kas* “gewahr werden”, GERSH., *Amber*, p. 201: “*kāsaka*-stone, lapis”), cf. further Pont. Ir. *Κασαγος*, *Κασακος*, *Κασαις*, *Κασκηνος* (various attestations, see ZGUSTA, 1955, §128, 129, 300). A hypocoristic from S *k's* “pig”, however, seems to be the easiest solution; cf. also *k'm'k* (#513).

521. *k'sy'ol* /?/ m.: **B** N, *pysk* | *k'sy'ol*: *UI2*, No. 568 (Thor I, 128). — **P** Father (?) of *pysk* (#987: 15). — **D** Or *k's'ol*? Unclear, cf. *k's* (#519).

522. *k's'k* /Kāše?/ m.: **B1** B, *k's'k* δst': *TSP*, 8, 185. — **P1** A person in the colophon. — **B2** N, *ZY* 'y[w]H 'z-yH *ZK* *k's'k* mr'z: *Muγ*, B-1, L6; *ZY* 'st *k's'k* [...]H: *Muγ*, B-1, L8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P2** A recipient of a water-skin (or spear, 'zyH), with the title *mr'z* “assistant”. — **D** Cf., first of all, the *nisba* *k's'k* “Kāšyarian” (*So.*, VII, 10, p. 8); the same interpretation was proposed by LIV. in *addenda* to *SDGM*, II, p. 221; as for *TSP* 8, however, there are no other ethnic names in the colophon.

The name is further witnessed by the Chinese rendering *Jiasha* (加沙, EMCh. *kai/ke:-ša/ʃe:-*, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64, with etymology; also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14). The PN *q's'nc* in *MN*, 146, is the regular fem. from *k's'k* (*GMS*, §1048).

523. (*k's'yp*, *k'yš'yp* /Kāšēp/ m.: **B1** B, *rty nwkr* *ZK* *k's'yp* pwtystβ: *MPN*, I, *STi*, 10, 20, 32-33; *m'yδ* | *k's'()*[y]p': (voc.) *MPN-II*, 5-6; *m'yδ* *k's'yp*': (voc.) *MPN-II*, 17; *m'()*δ *k's'()*yp': (voc.) *MPN-II*, 24; *m'()*δ *k'yš'y(p)*': (sic!, voc.) *MPN-II*, 32; [*rty nw*](*kr*) *k's'yp*': (voc.) *MPN-II*, 56; *rtβyms prβ'yr'n* *k's'yp*: *MPN-II*, 61; (*k's'y*)p': *MPN-II*, VI (Mainz, 158), b 2. — **P1** Bodhisattva *Kāśyapa*, interlocutor of the Buddha. — **B2** B, *nm'w* *k's'yp* pwt'y *X(s)'*: *Len.*, 93, 14 (corrected in *SC*, No. 334). — **P2** A Buddha in an invocation. — **D** *Kāśyapa* (lit. (pro-)patronymic to *Kaśyapa*, “the one having black teeth”), see *mz'yx* *k's'yp*, *mx'k's'yp*' (#717), *k'y''* *k's'yp*' (#531), *'wrpyrβ*' *k's'yp*' (#197), *n't'y* *k's'yp*' (#764).

The spelling with -y- can reflect a monophthongization of -ya-; it is stable in all the S attestations. Cf. also Toch. A *Kāśśap.*)

524. *k'w* /Kaw?/ m.: **B** Bu, *pwx'r* *xwβ* *k'w*: coin, a legend on the so-called *Buxārxudāh* silver coins, 5th-9th century. — **P** A hereditary name (rather than

title, see FRYE, 2001) of Bukharan rulers. — **D** Reading uncertain, but commonly accepted transliteration (since *SSNSS*, p. 166) is *k'w*, which is compared to Av. *Kauui-*, S *kw-* “giant, hero”, cf. *k'wyprn*, etc; Bct. PN *Kaoo*; Manichean teacher *Mar Yišo Yazd Kaw Možak* in an Uygh. text from Dunhuang (HAMILTON, 1986, 7, 13).

The first transliterations implied *k'n'* (Allotte DE LA FUYE apud FRYE, 1949, p. 112; JAVICH, 1947; this name recalls *Kānā* in the History of Buxārā, see under *k'n'kk*, #516), *k'wy* by F. ALTHEIM, *Porphyrios und Empedokles*, Tübingen 1954, p. 47 (*non vidi*), criticized by FRYE, 1950, p. 234-5 = 153-4, cf. HENN., *Mittelir.*, p. 27.

k'wδ'm > k'wt'm #527

525. (*k'wšr't* /*Gošila?*/ m.: **B** B, *ZY k'wšr't: Len.*, 93, 25. — **P** A positive character in a Buddhist text. — **D** Unclear, but probably an Indic loan. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 418, compares the name to *Ghošila*, donor of the garden *Ghoṣāvatārama*. The final part, however, remains obscure. Maybe *Ghošila-rāja*, cf. *rwk'yntr r't* for *Lokendrārāja* and examples given under #33. SIMS-W. suggests *Ghoṣa-rāja* (cf. Pali *Ghosaka*, *Ghosita* for BHS *Ghošila*. Maybe from (*Mahā*-)*Koṣṭhila*, a pupil of Buddha? Or *Kośilarāja*, an epithet of the king *Prasenajit*?)

526. (*k'wšyk'* /*Kaušika*/ m.: **B** B, *rtms k'wšyk' kδ 'x[w: Len.*, 78 (SI 2Kr/10), R3, re-edited (as V3) by YOSH., *Notes*, p. 513-15 and accepted by SIMS-W. in *SC*, 330. — **P** A character in a version of *Pañcaviṃśatisūtra* (SPb version is different from the Berlin fragments published by KUDARA, SUND., *Pancav.*). — **D** Skt. *Kauśika* ((pro-)patronymic to *kuśika-*, lit. “squint-eyed”, cf. *SWTF*, II, p. 130), Chinese *Jiao-shi-jia* (僑尸迦, EMCh. *kiaw-εi-kia*) in Kumārajīva's translation; for the final *aleph* see under '*m'yt'* (#15).)

† k'wšyp' > k'wšyk' #526

527. (*k'wt'm, k'wt'm', k'wδ'm* /*Gautam*/ m.: **B** B, *k'wt'm' | tyw: TSP*, 5, 12; *k'wt'm' rty tyw: TSP*, 5, 19; *rty ms šrmn k'wt'm' tyw: TSP*, 5, 23; *rty ms šrmn k'wt'm' tyw: TSP*, 5, 27; *rtyms šrmn k'wt'm' tyw: TSP*, 5, 31; *rty ms šrmn k'wt'm' pyrnmsr tyw: TSP*, 5, 35; *rtyms šrmn k'wt'm' tyw: TSP*, 5, 40; *[rt]y ms šrmn k'wt'm' tyw: TSP*, 5, 49; *rtyms šrmn k'wt'm' tyw: TSP*, 5, 53; *k'wt'm': TSP*, 5, 64 (all voc.); *pr k'wδ'm (šm)[ny]: Len.*, 49, 1; *δ'wn k'wt'm*

šmny prw: *Len.*, 49, 3; *k'wδ'm šmny*: *Len.*, 81, 9; *xw k'wδ'm šmny*: *LIV.*, *KR IV/879*, 26. — **P** The private name of the historical Buddha. — **D** *Skt. Gautama* (vṛddhi patronymic to *gotama-*, lit. superlative to “cow”).

Cf. ultimately *γwtms 'c* (#501); final *aleph* in *TSP*, 5 is probably vocative (less likely OInd. -a of thematic declension, cf. 'm'yt', #16), but cf. *k'wδ'm* in SPb fragments, which SIMS-W. (*Indian elements*, p. 137) regards as a Prakrit form, co-existing with *Skt. k'wt'm*; YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 348, n. 26, is sceptical about such an explanation; cf. also *Skt.* variant spelling *Gotama* in the Turfan texts (*SWTF*, II, p. 194).)

528. k'wy-prn /*Kawi-farn*/ m.: **B** N, (c●●β) *prn k'wy pr(n?)*: *Alphabet*, 3, p. 263, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 304 n. 32. — **P** A person who ordered (?) the alphabet on an ostracon from Panjakent to be written down, probably a teacher. — **D** “Glory (of the) hero”, cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 197, No. 9.

SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 54) supposes that this name would come directly from a phrase like Av. nom. *kauuaēm x'arəñō*, gen. *kāuuaīieheča x'arəñəñhō*. Cf. names in *kw-*; *k'wfrn* in *MN*, 81; maybe Pont. Ir. *Κοφαρνος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §134) and Chinese *Jiafan* (迦犯?, EMCh. *kia-buam?*, apud IKEDA, 1965, p. 64) render the same name. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9, compares the name to S *kyw'n (zmnw)* “Saturday”.

529. k'wyprnc /*Kawi-farnič*/ m.: **B** N, *βy-rtw MN šy-r'yys* | *MN k'wy-prnc*: *Muy*, Nov. 6, 3-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 223; *SDGM*, III, p. 49). — **P** Father of *šyr'yys* (#1190). Or his companion in supplying wheat? — **D** See above; -c may be either a hypocoristic or adjective suffix.

†k'wyrδn > zpyw yrcrδnk #1561

530. (k'y /*Käy*/ m.: — **B** N(M), *kw (xwβy) k'y prn*: *Ch/So 20508 v3* apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 346. — **P** The addressee of a letter (or scribal exercise), the ruler of Turfan? — **D** Probably, Turkic *key* “strong, good”, attested as a PN since 9th century (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 358). Or MP *k'w*, NP *kay* “Kauui-”?

However, the second letter is ambiguous, maybe *kwy*, cf. under *k'w* (#524). I see *kw xwrw* (MP *hurram*, NP *xurram?*) *k'y prn* [in *Ch/So 20230 v9*. Note ungrammatical *xwβy* instead of *xwβw*.)

531. (k'y'' k's'yip' /*Gayā Kāšēpa*/ m.: **B** B, *ZKw pncw* | *šmnt' mx'k's'yip'* *ZY 'wrpyrβ' k's'yip'* *ZY n't'y k's'yip'* *ZY* | *k'y'' k's'yip'*: *Len.*, 93, 18-20. — **P** A disciple of the Buddha. — **D** *Skt. Gayā Kāśyapa* (lit. “descendant of *Kāśyapa*, from home”, cf. *SWTF*, II, p. 73), as already explained by F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403, see under *k's'yip* (#523).)

532. (*q'yn, kynH* /*Kāyen, Kain*/ m., f.?: **B1** C, *qy pcy(γ)'z q'(y)n*: C2, *57 V17; *ywxš' cn q'yn w'xš*: C2, *57 V29; [2-3]; *q'y.ny*: (obl.) *Schüler*, IIIV5. — **P1** Biblical Cain in Christian texts. — **B2** N(M), *xH kynH wm'tw*: *Magi*, 19, p. 138. — **P2** Cain in a Manichean text. — **D** Syriac *q'yn* /*Qāyen*/ from Old Hebrew; for “economical” spelling *kynH* in the with a single *yodh* cf. *mrtyNH* (#690) in the same ms.

As noted by HENN. (*Magi*, p. 140, n. 6; *BBB*, p. 101), Cain in the MS text figures in the fem. gender, cf. also *s'tt'nH* (#1067) “Satana” in the same text, cf. Antje WENDTLAND, 2005, on this phenomenon.)

k'yš'yp' > k's'yp' #523

†k'zmn'k > krzmn'k #559

533. *kβct* /*Kaffid*?/ m.: **B** N(A), *k-β-c-t ML-K-*': coin, HENN., *Mittelir.*, p. 26; ZEIMAL', 1983b, p. 253; *NPIN*, p. 272, No. 1219. — **P** A ruler of the Buxārā Oasis (? thus ZEIMAL') between 2nd century BCE – 1st century CE, imitator of Euthydemus' coins. — **D** Unclear. HENN. cautiously compares the name with *Kadphises* (Gr. *Καδφισης*, Khar. *kāṭhphiśa*, Bct. *καδφισο*, *Rabatak*, 12, 13), the second name of *Vima*, a Kushāna ruler, with a series of metatheses.

M. ALRAM notes that the third letter is probably *š* and the first can also be *r* or *β*. Maybe *RBšt* /*Masišt*, *Mazišt*/ “greatest”, as an ideographic writing (cf. PN *ma-si-iš-tu₄* in Babylonian rendering, ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 358)? Naymark, 2008, p. 65, n. 54, proposes the transliteration *k/ββλtmk'*. The legend can be either Aramaic or proto-Sogdian, but the script is in any case very archaic.

534. (*kβryxβ, gbryhb, kpryxβ* /*Gavryahv*?/ m.: **B1** N(M), *ZK kβryxβ*: *MKG*, 3.4 R23, 539, p. 47 (cf. *Fasts*, 7, A, p. 155); [*ZK*] | *kβry-xβ*: *MKG*, 3.4, R25-26, 541-2 (cf. *Fasts*, 7, A, p. 155); *ZK* | *kβryxβ*: *MKG*, 3.4 R39-40, 555-6, p. 47; *kpry-xβ wy-δβ'γ* [: *MKG*, 3.4 VÜ, 557; *rty ZK kβry-xβ*: *MKG*, 3.4 V20, 577, p. 48; *rtxw kβry-xβ*: *MKG*, 3.4 V27, 584, p. 49; *ZK* | *kβry-xβ*: *MKG*, 3.4, 31-32, 588-9, p. 49; *rtxw* | *kβry-xβ*: *MKG*, 3.4 V38-39, 595-6, p. 49; *kβrykβ'*: Ch/So 12398 apud *MKG*, p. 183-4; *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 73. — **P1** Gabryahb, Mani's missionary in Armenia. — **B2** M, *'ty p(r)w nyw'nz'dg mwj'kyy s(ryy) gbryhb* (*'ft'δ'n*) [*s*]tty [: SUND., *Briefe*, II, 19, p. 310, corrected by GERSH., op. cit., p. 316; *Briefe II*, p. 412 with n. 53 (where *†gbry[hβ]* in line 3 is emended into *δβry[m]*, following the suggestion of YOSH., 2002b), 414, 416. — **P2** The representative of a criticized Manichean

community (Mihriya, *myhry'nd*, #746 or Miqlāšīya, *mkl'sykt*, #671), the bishop (?). — **D** Pth. *gbryhb*, MP *gbryhb*, Gr. Γαβριάβιος. From Semitic, *gbryhb* /*Gabryab*/ “bestowed (by a deity? saviour?) Gaḇrā” see TUBACH, 1997, 386-7.

The “wahrscheinlich falsche Umschrift” (so SUND., *MKG*, p. 183-4) *kβrykβ* seems to incorporate the Aramaic definite article and to be based on a Ms. in Manichean script, where *k* and *x* differ in a single diacritic dot. The second *gbryhb* was named after the first.)

535. *kmyzt* /*Kamyazd*?/ m.: **B** N, *ZK^{sic} cytβntk* | *ZK kmyzt*: *UI2*, No. 479 (50:22); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P** Father (?) of *cytβntk* (#408). — **D** Unclear. The second part may contain *yzt* “deity”, cf. *yztδβ'r*, *yzts'c*, *yzt'* (#1541 ff.). Alternatively, to OIr. **ka-mižda-* “what a reward!”, cf. *Kambyzes* etc. (for this type of name see REMMER, 2006, p. 38-59), both proposed by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 53. Reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 1.

536. *kn'r* /?/ m.: **B** N, *rty p'ry-c kn'r*: Muγ, B-10, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 128-9, n. 11, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 140 n. 236; *SDGM*, III, p. 34). — **P** An officer responsible for collecting wheat and barley (?). — **D** Unclear; one can read *k-'/n/z/r-'/n/z/r-y/r*. LIV. prefers *kr'r* as a PN (without etymology). Read *krzy* for S *krz* “miracle” (also attested in PNs), where -y stands for historical -k?

537. *knc'k* /*Kanjak*?/ m.: **B** N, *MN knc'ky*: (obl.) Muγ, A-10, 2; *knc'k*: A-10, 7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 73, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 80-81; *SDGM*, III, p. 57). — **P** A supplier of leather. — **D** From S *knc'k* “infant”, as a nickname?

LIV. reads *k'c'k* (without etymology). In the first occurrence one can also see *k'c'k*. BOGOL., SMIR. (*SDGM*, III, 95) read *knc'k* and compared it to a language *Kanjakī*, spoken in the vicinity of *Kāšyar* at the time of Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī and to Chor. *knck* “shirt”. ZADOK (*IPNB VII/1b*, No. 331) derives Babylonian *Kān-šak-ka-* from OIr. **kanču-* “Umhang, Mantel”.

538. *kncγwδ'k* /?/ m.: **B** N, [*ZY*] *kncγwδ'k*: Muγ, B-1, L2 (*SDGM*, III, p. 43; not visible on the photo). — **P** A recipient of a chain-mail? — **D** Unclear, possibly a *nisba* to the otherwise unattested place-name *kncγwδ-* (as BOGOL., SMIR., p. 95).

For this place-name, cf. *pyšγwδ-* in Muγ, B-8, R9. The name *kncxwδ-* would probably mean “girls’ hill”, cf. *ILAST*, p. 151. SCHWARTZ, *STSC*-2, p. 40 n. 8, however, understands the word as “overgarment”, where *knc(k)* is “shirt” and -γwδ'k “covering”.

539. (*kn̄cns' r* /*Kan̄jansār*/ m.: **B** B, *kw* (*kn̄*)*cns' (r)* | *tkwš' ynt*: *Kāñc.*, R30-31; *ZKw kn(c)ns' r*: V2; [*kn̄*](*c*)*ñs' r xwt' w*: V18 cf. HENN., “Tocharian” language, p. 160, n. 2. — **P** The king in a Buddhist narrative. — **D** Skt. *Kāñcanasāra*, lit. “(the one with) golden head”.

His story was very popular in Central Asian Buddhism, cf. OTu. *kančansari*, Khot. *Kājenesā rre* (or *Kājenesār(r)a rre?*); the shortening of the initial long *ā* occurred due to Tocharian intermediation, with SUND., *Kāñc.*, p. 719-720. In R30-31, an expression **kw kn̄cns' r s' r* is expected, which seems to have lost the postposition due to haplology.)

540. (*knk'* /*Kanaka*/ m.: **B** B, 'WZY *knk'* *cytk*: TSP, 8, 46. — **P** A supernatural being in the invocation. — **D** Indian *Kanaka* (lit. “a kind of plant; gold”), as BENV., TSP, p. 107.)

541. (*knkmwny* /*Kanakamuni*/ m.: **B** B, *nm' w knkmwny pwty nw'*: Len., 93, 14. — **P** A name of a Buddha in an invocation. — **D** Skt. *Kanakamuni* (lit. “golden sage”), as already translated by F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403.)

542. *knpyβr'n* /*Kambivarān*/ a.: **B** N(M), 'z- 'nt (MN) | *krwβr'n ZY knpy-βr'n oo*: PB, b136-7, p. 28; *ZY δβt[ykw]* | *knpy-βr'n n'm*: b139-140, p. 28. — **P** The name of a serpent in the parable. — **D** “Trageleicht”, where *βr'n* is a participle of *βr-* “to bear” and *knpy* “less”; probably a translation of virtual Pth. **kambbarān* in the original of this text (SUND., PB, p. 46-47); cf. *krwβr'n* (#554).

543. (*kntyk* /*Gantīk*/ a.: **B** B, *ZY kntyk cytk*: TSP, 8, 46. — **P** A name of a supernatural being. — **D** Skt. *Ghaṇṭikā*, lit. “alligator”, as already BENV., TSP, 8, p. 107.)

[*†knwn βγ'nwt* m.?: **B** N, *xwβ* | *tδw-n* | *knwn βγ'nwt* || *βγγ pr-n*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 285-296, p. 261-266, cf. BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 54-55. — **P** A tudun in Chach, 7th - 8th century? — **D** Unclear.

The readings of the lengthy round legend as *stter* of SMIR. (Sv. *Kat.*, No. 1564-1577, p. 391-393), *stery/swck/stck* by RTVELADZE (*Chach*, p. 59), and *c'cyнк* by the same author (apud *Cat. Chach*, p. 264) can surely be abandoned. BABAYAROV's *knwn βγ'nwt* “godly support of the law” looks erroneous as well, at least as the round legend can begin with *x*, *γ*, *š*, *c*, *m*, or *t*, but not with *k*; I see something like *xnwγ-βk xnw-t*, which does not invite any interpretation.]

†*knycwr pyδk* > *tw n cpγw x'γ'n* #1259

†*knycyr*, †*knycyrty* > *zyrt* #1575

†*KNZmr'k* > *krzm'nk* #559

†*kn[●●●]* > *krps'k* #550

kpryxβ > *kβryxβ* #534: 1

544. *kr'n βγy* /*Kārān-vayil*/ m.: **B** B, ZK | *kr'n βγy pwtystβ*: TSP, 9, 53-4. — **P** A Bodhisattva, interlocutor of the Buddha in P9. — **D** BENV. translates it as “bodhisattva Pur-Dieu”, but I do not know a Bodhisattva with such a name. Maybe *Vidyuddeva*, lit. “Shining god”(?).

The meaning of “shining” for S *kr'n* looks quite possible since it is an attribute of gold (*Dhu.*, 286, *Dhy.*, 42, 198, 200), silver (*Dhy.*, 258-9) and drachmae (*SDGM*, II, Nova 3, 20R; Nova 4, 21; *Marr.*). S *kr'n* is used in translating Chinese *zhen* (真, see *BSTBL*, II, p. 190) “real, pure”, but also “visible, clear”.

kr'r > *kn'r* #536

545. (*kr'wr* /*Garur*/ a.: **B** B, 'WZY *kr'wr cytk*: TSP, 8, 46. — **P** A name of a supernatural being. — **D** Probably Indian *Garuḍa* (“Name eines Dämons” in *SWTF*, II, p. 173), Chinese *Jialouluo* (迦樓羅, EMCh. *kia-ləw-la*), Toch. A *Karuṭe*, B *Garur*, a mythical bird, cf. *synmry*, #1132.)

546. *kr'yšk●* /*Karēšk-?*/ m.: **B** N, *st'yδ* | ZK *kr'yšk●*: UI2, No. 425 (40:17); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244; the last illegible letter (●) may be imaginary (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 13). — **P** Father (or *nisba*?) of *st'yδ* (#1101: 2). — **D** SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 53) considers *-sk* or *-ysk* to be a hypocoristic suffix (cf. *δrxwnysk*, #441; *n'pxwcsk* #751), and leaves the base without explanation. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 39a, has *k●'●'kk*; SIMS-W. proposes *βr'yšk●* as an alternative. Cf. also Bct. PN *Καρασο?*

547. (*krkswn-* /*Krakswan-?*/ m.: **B** B, *nm'w krkswn(●)[pwtγ]* | 'št': *Len.*, 93, 13-14. — **P** A Buddha in an invocation. — **D** Skt. *Krakucchanda*, as already translated by F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403.

ROSENBERG (op. cit., p. 419) compares it to Mong. *Kerkessundi*, cf. also Pāli *Kakusandha*, BHS also *K(r)akutsunda*, Turfan Skt. *Krakasunda* (*SWTF*, II, p. 132), Toch. A *Krakasundi*; the name, at least its second part, seems to be transcribed from the Chinese form *Ju-lou/liu-sun* (拘樓/留孫, EMCh. *kuə-ləw/luw-swən*).)

548. *krnt'yk* /*Karntēk*?/ m.: B1 N, *wn'yptβntk* ZK | *krnt'yk m'ymaryc*: UI1, No. 115 (31: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169. — P1 Father of (?) *wn'yptβntk* (#1318). — B2 N, *nwβk* | ZK *krnt'y(k)*: UI2, No. 558 (Thor I, 22). — P2 Father (?) of *nwβk* (#822). — D Unclear. SIMS-W. examines two possibilities: unknown *krnt/krzt* + suff. -'yk or *krz* “miracle” (cf. *krz*, #557; *znprkz*, #1559) + unknown *t'yk*. If we read *krnt'yk*, *krnt* may be akin to *ptkrnt* “to cut”, while 'yk would appear related to pres. part. ending -*ēk* (*GMS*, §897; which is however attested only in CS texts of a relatively late date). The meaning would exactly correspond to *Caesar* (cf. *kysr* #617). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 70d (=115) has *krzt'yk* and in No. 133 (=558) – *krzt BRY*.

**krp' > krpc* #549

549. *krpc* /*Karpič*?/ m.: B N, (ZKw) *krp(c)* XX ZY 'δry yr'k: Muγ, Nov.1 V42 (*SDGM*, III, 37). — P The recipient of a kind of dress. — D Reading unsure; BOGOL., SMIR. have *krp'*. Hypocoristic to *krps'k*, #550?

550. *krps'k* /*Karpase*?/ m.: B N, ZY *kr(ps'k)*: Muγ B-1, L7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — P The recipient of a water-skin (or spear, 'zyH)? — D Reading unclear; the editors transliterate only *kn*[●●●]; however, an unambiguous *p* is visible on the photo. If my restoration is correct, we have a nickname “lizard”. Cf. also *krpc*; *βwβ* (#321) for semantics.

551. (*kršny'n* /*Kə'shnyān*/ m.: B B, 'xw *kršny'n*: VJ, 281, 1361; 'M z'tk – | *kršny'n...pr'yw*: VJ, 351-2; ZKw z'tk *kršny'n*: VJ, 55e; ZKw *pry'n prytm z't'kw kršny'n*: VJ, 1149; ZKw *kršn* | *y'n*: VJ, 1300-01. — P The son of *swδ''šn* (#1111). In the Chinese version of the Jātaka, however, *Ge-na-yin*, i.e. *Kṛṣṇājīnā*, as well as in Pali *Kaṇhājīnā*, is the name of Sudāna's daughter (cf. *c'r'ynH*, #362). — D Skt. *Kṛṣṇājīnā* “(having a) skin of black antelope”. Borrowing seems to be unconventional (even taking into account that *j* could be articulated as *y* in NW Prakrit). Probably the S translator interpreted it as *kršn-* “beauty, form” + *y'n* “boon”? Cf. under *swδ''šn*. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, 2009, p. 72, understands it as “Kṛṣṇa's boon”.)

552. *krt'yr* /Kirdīr/ m.: **B** N, *krt'yr* ZK | *yytnyww* (- - - -k): UII, No. 337 (39: 32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 227. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *yytnyww* (- - - -k), #1506. — **D** A MP name, *Kirdīr* (probably, OIr. **kṛta*- “made”, short name of *Yazdgird* (vel sim.) + hypocoristic in *-īr*), borrowed into S. Cf. *š'p'wr* (#1154), *p'p'kk* (#868) for these early borrowings. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 337 – has the same reading.

Cf. Brāhmī *Śrī Kirdira* from the site of Shatial (23: 2; 30: 2, see O. VON HINÜBER in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 144). Maybe a PN in the Arabic “History of Samarkand”, *kʿrdyz* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ* I, p. 8), also belongs here, if *کردیز* stands for *کردیز.

553. *krtk* /Kərtak?/ m.: **B** N, *'t βyw xwβw pr-yw 'HYw* | *krtk*: Mt. Mugh (?) document in the possession of the Afrasiab Museum, R2-3 apud *Last Days*, p. 179-180. — **P** The addressee of a fragmentary letter of *'pšwn*, who is known from Mt. Mugh documents (early 8th century). — **D** A hypocoristic with *-ak* to a name ending in *-krt*, as *yzdykyrt*? One can also read *k'tk*, from *k't* “dumb”, or *k't'k* “game”, while R. SCHMITT (letter of 22.05.08) proposes to connect it with Av. PN *Kāta*-, lit. “begehrt” (MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, No. 211), cf. OChor. *k'tpnk* or *kṛtyw'nk*, LIV., 1984, p. 268, 8; p. 283, 17; n. 72 p. 282, Babylonian *Kar-tak-ku* (ZADOK, *IPNB* VII/1b, No. 334).

554. *krwβr'n* /Gəruvarān?/ a.: **B** N(M), *'z- 'nt (MN)* | *krwβr'n* ZY *knpy-βr'n oo*: PB, b136-7, p. 28; *'yw kyrmy krwβr'n n'm xy*: b139, p. 28. — **P** The name of a serpent in the parable. — **D** The meaning, “Trageschwer” is obtained by juxtaposing it with *knpyβr'n* (#542), “Trageleicht”, its brother's name. The parable was probably translated into S from Pth. or MP, and SUND. (PB, p. 46-7) supposes that *krw* is S transcription of Pth. **garu*, related to Av. *gouru* “schwer”.

555. (*kry'n* /Kalyān/ m.: **B** B, *kry'n 'sy' pykšw*: TSP, 7, 228, with YOSH., 1996b, p. 357 (with Skt. gen. ending *-sya?*); cf. YOSH., 2009a, p. 324. — **P** A Buddhist monk (*bhikṣu*), owner of the manuscript TSP, 7; his name (and rank) are inserted in the S transcription of the Skt. Buddhist *dhāraṇī Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya-sūtra*, see YOSH., 1996b, p. 357. — **D** Skt. *kalyāṇa* “beautiful”.)

556. *kryw wxmn* /Grīw Wahman?/ m.: **B** N(M), *βnty kryw w(xmn?)*: Ōt., No. 2517, 2, p. 78. — **P** The sender of a letter, a Manichean. — **D** If the restoration is correct, a WMIr. name (a type common among the *Electi* in

Turfan), from *gryw* “neck, form, self, soul” + *whmn* “Vohu-manah-, Great Nous (MMP)”, cf. *m’ny wxmn* (#635). However, *gryw* rarely appears as an element in PNs (but cf. *’ztryw*, #43, *grywxr*, #491?).

557. *krz* /Kəʒ/ m.: **B** N, *pys’k ’xw krz BRY nwcknδ’k*: *ΔP*, R20. — **P** Father of *pys’k* (#987: 18). — **D** “Miracle”, probably a short name from *krzβy’rt* (#558) vel sim., cf. Pont. Ir. *Καρεῖς* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §590). Cf. also the Chinese renderings *Jieshifen* (羯師忿), *Jieshifan* (羯師范) for S **krzprn*, see WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 197, No. 10.

558. *krzβy’rt* /Kəʒvyart/ m.: **B1** B, *cnn krzβy’rt | δst’*: *TSP*, 8, 174-5. — **P1** A person in the colophon. — **B2** N, *ZY MN p’xwt’k n’β p’rs krz-βy’rt*: *Μuy*, B-6, 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P2** A representative from *Pāxut* (a village on the Upper Zaratšān still known under this name). — **D** “Obtained by miracle”, cf. Weber, *ZSP*, p. 197, No. 10.

For *Muy*, BOGOL., SMIR. read the sequence in a different way: *p’ryβr ZY ’rt*/. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9 accepts LIV’s transliteration and supposes that such a name was given to a foundling, cf. *xwtz’t* (#1476), *znprkz* (#1559).

559. *krzm’nk* /Kəʒzmāne/ m.: **B** N, *ZKn krz-m’nk*: *Μuy*, A-5, 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of drachmae. — **D** LIV. reads *k’z-mn’k* and translates “(the one who obtains) miraculous thought”. However, one reaches this meaning when the transliteration is changed into *krzm’nk* (which seems possible on the facsimile of this text, written in a barely legible handwriting; cf. Ochor. PN *šyrm’nk*, LIV., 1984, p. 272, 1; p. 285, n. 139).

BOGOL., SMIR., p. 92 have *β’zm’rk* “custom’s official”, where *β’z* /vāž/ comes from **bāja-* and *m’rk* from OIr. **(s)mar-* “to count”. Since neither *β’z*, nor *m’r-* is attested in S, this reading is hardly acceptable. Another proposal of the same authors, *KNZm’rk* “treasury-counter”, comes up against the same problem.

krzt’yk > *krnt’yk* #548

560. *kš’yknδc* /Kəšikaⁿθič/ m.: **B** N, *xwt’wn’mk | ZK kš’yknδc*: *UI2*, No. 563 (Thor I, 42). — **P** Father (or *nisba*, family-name) of *xwt’wn’mk* (#1461: 2). — **D** With SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 54), *nisba* (at least, originally), to the place-

name **kš'yknδ-*, which is probably “town (*knδH*) of Kešš”, where the internal vowel appears since the stem *kš* is light.

For various forms of the name of the city see LIV., *Kesh*; LURJE, Fc. a. This name appears similar to the *Kaškaθān*, a wealthy family in Buxārā “of foreign origin” in the time of Qutayba according to NARŠAXI (XII, p. 30), to which E. DE LA VAISSIÈRE kindly drew my attention; HARMATTA (1994, p. 439), equated *kš'yknδ-* with *Kā(yi)škan* near Buxārā (BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 125), but the vocalism of the S and Ar. forms contradict each other.

561. (*kš'ymnkr*, *š'ymnkr* /*Kšēmankar*, *Šēmankar*?) m.: **B** B, *nm'cw βr'm'wyn kš'ymnk(r) [p](wti) prn* [: *SFBL*, 7, 5; *nm'w š'ymnkr pwti δw'*: *Len.*, 93, 11. — **P** A name of the Buddha. — **D** Buddha *Kṣemaṃkara* (lit. “providing tranquility”), as already REI., *HRII*, p. 78; ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403. In *š'ymnkr* S *š* instead of Skt. *kṣ* may be considered as a prakritism or merely *lapsus calami*.)

562. *kšy'n'k kwtr'k* /*Kāšyāne kōtāre*/ m.: **B** N, *wm''t (k)šy'n'k kwtr'k ... wyrk'k*: *Xian*, 4. — **P** The family-name of *wyrk'k* (#1381). — **D** “Native of Kesh, descendant of Keshian family”, which is equal to Chinese *Shi*, 史.

Cf. ''*n kwtr'k* (#18), *x'n kwtr'y* (#1397). The adjective *kšy'n'k* is attested in Nāfīnāmak (HENN., *So.*, 8, 15), on a text used as a scabbard cover from Mt. Mugh (*SDGM*, II, p. 221, 5) and on the coins of ''*xwrpt* (#37, LIV., *Kesh*, p. 123), it also underlies Chin. *Jie-shuang-na* (揭霜那, EMCh. *kīat-šīaŋ-na*); cf. also *kš'yknδc* (#560); it is noteworthy that the Chinese text on the same stone slab (which is significantly more laconic than S) mentions *wyrk'k* only as *Shi jun* (史君), i.e. “lord (from the) Shi (family)”.

563. (*kšytkrp* /*Kṣitigarb* / m.: **B** B, *ZY kšytkrp pwtystβ*: *TSP*, 5, 95. — **P** A Bodhisattva. — **D** A S transcription of Skt. *Kṣitigarbha* (lit. “(the one with) interior abode”).

BENV's translation *Kṣitakalpa* is misleading: no Bodhisattva with such name seems to be attested, while the popular Bodhisattva *Kṣitigarbha* is rendered in S *kšytkrp* with almost all regularity. Cf. *kš'yt'kp* in the S transcription of a Skt dhāraṇī (*TSP*, 18, 2, cf. YOSH., 2009a, p. 296.)

564. *ktβ'r* /?/ m.: **B** N, *ktβ'r* (?): coin, RTVELADZE, 2004; cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 1306. — **P** An inscription on rare coins from the Buxārā oasis, 6-7th century CE. — **D** Unclear; on the coin I see *k/r-n/z-δ(?)*-*β/p/y*-*'/c-r/k*, which could represent colloquial *kzδβ'r* for **krz-δβ'r* (cf. M *kj*, C *kž*) “Given (by) miracle”, cf. *krzβy'rt* (#558).

RTVELADZE's otherwise inspiring attribution of this coin-type to the Hephthalite clan-chief *Ġāt(i)far* of Shāhnāma, who is said to have been defeated near Buxārā by the Persians and Turks in the mid-6th century, cannot be supported by linguistic data. In fact, both the vowels have different quantities in the S and NP forms; *k* and *γ* also are unlikely to represent one and the same consonant.

Prof. LIVSHITS suggests that the name *Ġātīfar* itself could originate in a Sogdian title **/γāθu-var/* “throne-bearer”, vel sim., see *ILAST*, p. 155, n.

†ktck > stcky #1103

565. (*ktwyn-* /*Katγōn?*/ m.: **B** N, (ZN)*H* (*'k*)[*yn*]'*k xypδ (kt?)γ(w)ny* (*k*)[...]'*t rīšy nH ry(p) x['t]*: inscription on a sword from Altai, ed. LIV., 1998a; images by KUBAREV, 1992. — **P** The owner of an ἀκινάκης (*'(k)[yn]'k*), i.e. “backsword” (*naiāu*), 8th—9th century. — **D** Unclear; LIV. does not consider the name as Sogdian. Altaic?

Note that it is unclear whether the sword itself was produced in Siberia or imported from the southern regions, see KUBAREV, 1992; STARK, 2008, p. 156-157; the obl. case marker of the name is typical for late Turko-S texts such as *DTS* and *BL*; but the appearance of both *k* and *γ* in one word contradicts S norms of rendering Turkic back- and front harmony.)

566. (*ktwn'* /*Katōnā?*/ m.: **B** M, *sxt(w)yy (mwj)'k 'ty ktwn' (')ft'δ'[n]* (*st')n(d cnd)[n*: SUND., *Briefe*, II, 20, with corr. of GERSH., apud op. cit., p. 316; *Briefe* II, p. 414, 416. — **P** A bishop of a criticized Manichean community (Mihriya, *myhry'nd*, #746 or Miqlāšiya, *mkl'sykt*, #671?). — **D** Unclear; probably Semitic (SUND., *Briefe*, p. 297); now Syriac *Qeṭōnā* “Wanze” is proposed as an etymon (SUND., *Briefe* II, p. 416 n. 96).)

567. *k(t•')[/kδ(βy)[/?/ m.?: **B** N, *γw' (?) | k(t•')[/kδ(βy)[*: UI2, No. 483A (50:26A; 50: 35 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 256); “The... marks do not continue in a straight line and may not be Sogdian letters. The second line seems to begin with *kt-* or *kw-*, but several of the following letters are ambiguous. — **P** Father of *γw'* (#492: 2)? — **D** Unclear; maybe not a name at all.*

568. (*kt - - - -*) /?/ m.?: **B** N, (*t - - - -*) | (*kt - - - -*) | (*nn*)*γny*: UII, No. 285 (36: 69); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P** Father of *t - - -* (#1301: 2)? (cf. also *nnyny*, #781). — **D** Unclear.

kt/w ●●● > tmγc trx'n #1228: 2

569. (*kw* /Gü?/ m.: **B** N, *kw* | *x'*: *DTS*, A18-19; *kw x'*: *DTS*, A25. — **P** A trader of fabric (*rʔzy*). — **D** Named only by his surname; see *kw xwt'*, #604.)

570. *kw'* /Kaw?/ m: **B** N, *kw'*: *UI2*, No. 629 (Dadam Das, 31:3, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 100). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** To **kavi*-? The inscription is apparently complete, as SIMS-W., op. cit. Cf. *kw'y* (#573), *k'wyprn(c)* (#528 – 9), and *ɣw'* (#492) for the final *aleph*.

[† *kw''n*, as HUMB., *SIF*, No. 42c, read *kw 100* “at the hundred(th) day/year”, as SIMS-W., *UII*, No. 272.]

571. (*kw'nz* /?/ f.: **B** N, *δ(y?)kptryš 'ltwn t'y 'lp r'δm'(z?)* | [*trx'?*]*n smw(r?) δwyt' kw'nz x'twn '(y)t'y t(')š*: Kulan-say IIIa, 14-15, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A lady visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Unclear. Read *kwn'(š)* for OTu. *künāš* “sun”?)

572. *kw'tynk* /Kawātēnag/ m.: **B** N(M), *'spsk s'nk kw'tynk*: inscr on 20 bullae from one seal found at Kanka, see BOGOMOLOV, BURJAKOV, 1995; reading LIV., *Sānak*, p. 50. — **P** (Pro-)patronym of *s'nk* (#1058). — **D** It is obviously a (pro-)patronymic form derived from OIr. PN **kavāta-*, as Av. *Kauuāta-*, MP *Kavād*, Bct. *K(ao)oaado*, NP *Qubād* etc., as LIV., loc. cit.

A rare case of epic anthroponymy found on Sogdian soil, cf. *ɣw* (#509). The patronymic is built with the suffix *-ynk*, which normally forms adjectives in S (cf. *GMS*, §1052-1058). Moreover, for giving the descent in S the phrase *ZK X (BRY)* is normally used instead; so probably it is patronymic only in the historical sense or it may be a WMLr. loan (as possibly the whole inscription is written in WMLr. *language* but Sogdian *letters*, see s.v. *s'nk*). However, there can be some doubts regarding the final *-ynk*; maybe better *kw't III* (see LURJE, Fc. d, 3a), with an examination of TREMBLAY's (2001, p. 93-4) scepticism about the reading of the inscription as a whole.

573. *kw'y* /Kaway?/ m.: **B1** N, *wkw'y* | *ZK kw'(y) BRY*: *UII*, No. 202 (34: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 190. — **P1** Father of *wkw'y* (#1319). — **B2** †*kw'y* > *wkw'y* (#1319). — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 54, to S *kw'y* “hero”.

The same form probably appears in *sm'wtry(') kw'y* “Meeresriesen”; it might have originated from an OIr. stem **kavāy-* “king” with the long diphthong, cf. CS *dyx'w* from **dahyāv-*. Cf. *kw'* (#570), *k'wy-prn* (#528), *k'wyprnc* (#529), *nnykwc* (#793).

574. *kwcy* /Kawči?/ m.: **B** N, *'Y-KZY (k)w-cy m'δ wɣ-wtw*: *Afr. document*, 2, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 55-56; as corrected in *Trois documents*, p. 198. — **P** The

buyer in the deed of “Lion”. — **D** GRENET (loc. cit.) understands this name as gen.-dat. case of *kwc*, hypocoristic to *kw(’)* (#570; cf. also *nnykwc*, #793); cf. *cxcy* (#399), *δxcy* (#458), *δyšcy* (#465). However, it might also be the obl. of *kwc* “mouth”; LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 342-4, reads *nwcy*, cf. *nwcH* (#824), *zwc* (#1567).

575. *kwδ’βtcynw*, *kwδ’rtcynw* /Kulāf-?/ m.: **B** N, *ZK prm’nd’r kwδ’βtcynw w’ctk’m*: (graph. acc.?) *Muy*, Б-18, 4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 153-154, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 180; *SDGM*, III, p. 77). — **P** A messenger from the steward ‘*wt*’ (#204). — **D** Unclear.

LIV. reads *kwδ’rtcynw* without etymology, BOGOL., SMIR., *SDGM*, III, 95 propose several interpretations: *kwδ’β* = MP *kulāf* “hat”; Turkish *kwdyjy* “shepherd” or, if *kwδ’rtcynw*, to Turkish *kwdry* “a kind of leather”. Neither gives an interpretation of the difficult ending -*ynw* (or -*yzw*; hypocoristic in -*yn*?). Read *ywd* (cf. under *ywd’xšytk*, #1529) in the beginning?

576. *kwγwn’k*, *qwγwnyy* /Kuyōne/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtcxw kwγ-wn’kw* | *ZK ’tδrmnw z-’t’k*: *Magi*, 27-28, p. 138; **M**, *[qwγwnyy w’styyt*: *Magi*, II, 11, p. 142; *J(xw) ? qwγwnyy w’βttt*: *Magi*, II, 13, p. 143. — **P** Son of Ahriman, who corrupted the Magian religion after Alexander (*nksyntr*, #777). — **D** Unclear. D.I. ÉDEL’MAN, *ÉSIIJa*, III, p. 244-245, understands it as “one of bad colour”, where *ku-* is a pejorative prefix and *γwn’k* is derived from **gauna-*. The similar etymology was proposed independently by GRENET, 2010, p. 275 (**ka-gauna-ka-* “de mauvaise couleur”), with mythological interpretation.

577. (*kwl* /Kul?/ m.: **B** N(M?), *pry’n* | *pryt m z’ty kwl’*: (voc.) *Tales*, J11-12, p. 483; *pry’n z’ty kwl’*: *Tales*, J14, p. 483. — **P**: Son of king *r’β’n xwβw*, swallowed by the *Kara* fish. — **D** Or *kwln*; in this case, the name resembles *Ju-lang-na* (拘浪拏 *kuš-laŋ-nrai/nε*), Xuanzang’s transcription of prince *Kuṇāla*, the son of Aśoka, as HENN., loc. cit. *Kula*, *Kola* are also known Indian names, cf. Bct. names beginning with *Kol-*.)

578. (*kwl pylk’* /Kül Bilgä/ m.: **B** N(M), *[kwl p]ylk’ x’γ’n*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 5(2), p. 16; cf. *KB-Y2*, 6, 2/5, p. 215; *[kw](l pyl)k’ x’γ’n (tn)p’r p’(r)[ycw*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 7(2), corr. *KB-Y2*, 6, 4/7, p. 215. — **P** Kül Bilgä Kaghan, the founder of the Uyghur Steppe Empire (744-747), *Guli Peihuo* (骨力裴羅) in the Chinese sources, see MACKERRAS, 1968, *passim*; RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 230 ff. — **D** Turkic, “Wise *Köl/Kül*”, the meaning and the reading of the common title *köl/kül* are not established: “lake?”; “ashes?”.)

579. (*kwl tk'yn* /Kül Tegin/ m.: **B** N, 'yny pšt'y xwβw | *kwl tk'yn* 'lptrx'n: Terek-say I-a, 3-4. The present transliteration is based on *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 144, cf. *Terek-say*, p. 53, *Semirechie*, p. 84 and *Bug. L-K*, p. 83 n. 12, *SÉSAS*, p. 375 ff. with photo No. 109-110. — **P** One of the writers of Terek-say inscription I-a (907-908 CE). — **D** Turkic, namesake of the famous chancellor Kül-tegin. Alternatively, *kwl tk'yn* 'lptrx'n can be the name of a single person.)

580. (*kwl tykyn 'wk'* /Kül Tegin Ögä/ m.: **B** N(M), *J●wl tykyn 'wk'*: KB-Y2, 9, 2, p. 218. — **P** An Uyghur dignitary. — **D** Turkic, see the names above; *γ●w tykyn 'wk'* (#511).)

581. (*qwlcw'r* /Kül-čor/ m.: **B** C, (*q*)*wlcw'r*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 4. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** A well attested Turkic name, see SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 57 n. 75, *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 389; cf. *cwr* (#391) for the second part, *kwl tk'yn* (#579) for the first; note that Syr. *ܩ* <*q*> corresponds to frontal /k/ in CS and Turkic orthography.)

582. (*kwlcy x' snkwn* /Külči? Qa Saṇun/ m.: **B** N(M), *kwlcy x' snkwn*: BL, C17 (above the line). — **P** A person who has gone towards *xw'r z'δ'k'* (#1433). — **D** Turkic, *saṇun* is “general” (cf. '*lp'tmys snkwn*, #71); here as a title or part of name), while *qa* is “family” (from Chinese *jia*, see details under *tyn ky twnk*, #1286); consequently, *kwlcy* seems to be a family or tribe-name. *Külči* “laughing one?” or one related to *Küljä?*, cf. *kwrcy* (#591) as well.)

583. (*kwlwk* /Külüg/ m.: **B1** N, *kwlwky swlmy nβ'nt*: (obl.) *DTS*, A 13. — **P1** A fabric (*rγzy*) trader, from *Solmi* (Qarashahr). — **B2** N, *kwlwk*: an inscr. on a wooden block discovered in Karashahr, see YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 365. — **P2** The owner of the block? YOSH., loc. cit., interprets *kwlwk* as “baggage animal” (OTu. *kölük*), but its explanation as a PN remains a probable alternative. — **D** OTu. *külüg* “renowned, famous”, cf. '*yl klwk*, #231.)

584. (*kwm'rβ's* /Kumārvās/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn kwm'rβ's pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 13. — **P** A Bodhisattva in an invocation. — **D** *Bodhisattva Kumāravāsin* “(the one) wearing youngish clothes”, not identified in *TSP*, but named in a preamble of the Tibetan *Samghātasūtra*, a

text very close to the dhāraṇī P8 (not exactly identical with *Avalokiteśvarasyanāmāṣṭaśatakastotra*, see YOSH., *Bud. Lit.*, p. 105-106.)

585. (*kwm'ršyr* /*Kumāršir*/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn kwm'ršyr pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 12 — **P** A Bodhisattva in an invocation. — **D** Bodhisattva *Kumāraśrī*, lit. “Young-happy”; for the spelling *šyr* in the place of Skt. *śyr* “good” see under *mnc'wšry* (#673).)

586. (*kwmp'yr* /*Kumbīr?*/ m.: **B** B, *rty (nwk)[r kw?]* | *kw[m](p')yr y(k)šy s'r*: *Kāñc.*, R32-33. — **P** A name (?) of a *yakṣa* (cf. *SWTF*, II, p. 90). — **D** OInd. *kumbhīra*, lit. “(kind of) crocodile”.

SUND., *Kāñc.*, p. 722 n. 42, transliterates line 33 *kw[2-3](●)yr* and notes that a name of a *yakṣa* can be intended, recalling the Indian demons *Kumbhira* or *Kubera* (the second one was suggested by Jens WILKENS, loc. cit., cf. HAMILTON, 1986, p. 31; it appears also in the form *kwp'yr* in the Skt. *dhāraṇī* in S script, *TSP*, 7, 220). However, he admits that the space for these letters is too small. If we take *kw[* at the beginning of line 33 as part of the name, and restore the preposition *kw* (which is expected to precede the nominal phrase furnished with postposition *s'r*) at the end of line 32, the space will be enough for a reading *kw[m](p')yr*. According to the photo in the *DT4*, So 101320.s._recto_detail2.jpg, the letter preceding *y* even seems to end with a horizontal tail below, typical for *p*. The space is too large even for *kw(p')yr*.)

587. *kwnt* /*Kund?*/ m.: **B1-2** N, *kwnt* ZK | *kwnt* BRY: *UII*, No. 61 (30: 12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154. — **P1-2** A visitor to Shatial and his father; an unusual case that the father and the son have the same names (cf. *šyrc*, #1194: 1-2, *t'w*, #1220). — **B3** N, *p(rnc)* (?) ZK | *kw(n)t* BRY: *UII*, No. 119 (31: 90); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169 “the first words in each line are partly obscured by the (presumably later) inscriptions 31:86 (=No. 115 – PL) and 31:88 (=No. 117 – PL)” as SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 17; *prnc* ZK *kwnt* BRY: *UI2*, No. 600 (Oshibat, 20:6, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 85). — **P3** Father of *prnc* (#907: 3). — **B4** N, *pys'kk* | *kwnt*: *UII*, No. 124 (31: 95); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P4** Father (?) of *pys'kk* (#987: 18). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 68, has *kwzt*. — **B5** N, *nnyδβ'r* | *kwnt* BRY: *UII*, No. 349 (39: 44); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229. — **P5** Father of *nnyδβ'r* (#791: 4). — **B6** N, *kwnt* ZK | *wxwš'kk* | BRY: *UII*, No. 363 (39: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P6** A visitor to Shatial, son of *wxwš'kk* (#1363: 3); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17d, has *kwzt*. — **B7** N, *wxwš'kk* | ZK *k(wnt)* (?) (BRY) (?): *UI2*, No. 449 (47:12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250, indistinct irregular writing. — **P7** Father of *wxwš'kk* (#1363: 4), either *wxwš'kk* or *kwnt* in this inscription probably is the same person as his namesake in No. 363; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 40

has *kwzt*. — **B8** N, *nnyr't* | ZK *kwnt* | BRY: UI2, No. 467 (50:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P8** Father of *nnyr't* (#799); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 5 has *kwzt*. — **B9** N, *δy' 'n* | *kwnt*: UI2, No. 652A (located somewhere between Dadam Das and Thalpan, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 24). — **P9** Either the father (family-name) of *δy' 'n* (#422), or a separate visitor to the Upper Indus. Some of the bearers of this name listed above could be one and the same figure. — **B10** N, *kwn-t*: *Graff.*, No. 8. — **P10** A person named in the graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** The name was interpreted as the Av. demon *kunda-* by LIV. (apud HUMB., *SIF*, p. 226), *Kunda* in the Elamite rendering (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 199); the reading *kwzt*, preferred by HUMB., recalls Khot. *kūṣṣa-* “palace”, Av. *ašta.kaožda-* (thus SIMS-W., UII, p. 54). This name can equally mean “small”, as a nickname.

Cf. Av. *kutaka-* “klein”, Bal. *kūnd* “short”, Oss. *k' yndæg* “narrow, tight” (etc., see *IĖSOJa*, I, 650), cf. also *Kundīkaθ*, *Kundī*, names of two villages near Samarkand (LURJE, 2003, p. 196 and *Addenda*). Cf. also a similar explanation of *[Ku(?)]-ut-tak-ki* in Babylonian rendering (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 343). On another occasion, LIV. (1984, p. 257), compared this name to MP *kundāg* “magician, soothsayer” (on which see now ROSSI, 2006). Cf. also *kw●●*.

588. *kwnt'kk* /Kundak/ m.: **B1** N, *nnynzt* ZK | (*k*)*wnt'kk* BRY | *δ'nδ't* (?) *npysn* (?): UII, No. 271 (36: 55) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210. — **P1** Father of *nnynzt* (#796), son of *δ'nδ't* (#415). — **B2** N, *k(wn)t'kk* ZK | (*'βy*)*'mnβntk* | BRY: UI2, No. 464 (50:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253; more clearly visible on the rock than on the photo, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 15. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'βy'mnβntk* (#51: 2). — **D** Hypocoristic to *kwnt*, cf. OChor. *kwnt'[k]*, LIV., 1984, p. 256, 9. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 42b (= No. 271), has *βnt'kk*.

589. (*kwp'k* /Köpäk/ m.: **B** N, *βyy xr'lwγ x'γ'n pny* || *kwp-'k xwt'w*: coin, unique find from Shish-tube near Bishkek, see *zeno.ru*, No. 46265 (images with my preliminary reading); at the moment several more specimens have come to light, all from Shish-tube. — **P** Either the name of a kaghan of the Karluks, or of his subordinate (cf. the so-called “Tukhus” coins, see under *wn'ntm'x*, #1315: 2), 9th - 10th century. — **D** I prefer to see here OTu. *köpäk* “dog”, which has been attested as a PN since the 12th century at least (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 381).

Or Turkic *göbäk* “navel”? Less likely, it could originate in OIr. **kaufa-* “mountain, hill” (attested in Sogdian only in toponymy, see *ILAST*, p. 122-123); one can also read *pwp-'k*, and in this case it sounds like a *Lallwort*, be it Turkic or Iranian. The toponymical explanation of *kwp'k xwt'w* as “king of *kwp/pwp*” is also possible, but such a place-name

in the Chu valley is unknown to me. A detailed examination of this coin-type is under preparation.)

***kwp'yr > kwmp'yr* #586**

***†kwr > ●●kwr* #1612**

590. (*kwr'k* /Kurak?/ m.: **B** N(C), *kwr'k swkβ'r s'r*: DTS, G14. — **P** A monk (*swkβ'r*), recipient of an imperial edict (ywzy, see DTS, p. 72). — **D** Many possibilities; one can transcribe it equally as *kwn'k*, *kw'nk* etc. The latter would be a Chinese name *Guang* (廣, 光, EMCh. KG. *kwāng*, PLB. *kwaŋ*) or *Kuang* (曠, EMCh. KG. *k'wang*, PLB. *k^hwaŋ^h*); if *kwr'k*, it is either Turkish *küräg* “fugitive, runaway” (also as PN, cf. *'prštk*, #117), or Sogdian, cf. *kwrcy* (#591) with suff. -'k, see DTS, p. 72; cf. also SIMS-W., 2009, p. 286.)

591. *kwrcy* /Kurči?/ m.: **B** N, ZK *ny-z-tk '()*ys ZY ZK | *kwrcy βynptw*: Muγ, 1.I, 3-4; *pr ny-z-ytkw δstw* ZY *pr kwrcy βynptw δstw*: Muγ, 1.I, 13; ZNH *ny-z-tk* ZY ZNH *kwrcy βynptw*: Muγ, 1.I, 15; ZK *nyztk* ZY ZK *kwrcy βynptw*: Muγ, 1.I, 18 (SDGM, II, p. 111, cf. SĖSAS, p. 120-121; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.I & A14*, p. 115; SMIR., *Očerki*, p. 222; YAK., *I.I Rev.*, p. 234). — **P** A priest (*βynptw*, cf. *δpyrptw*), a messenger from Abd al-Raḥmān b. Šubḥ to Δēwāštīč (with *nyz(y)tk*, #861). — **D** Unclear.

The final *cy* may be a suffix (cf. *cxcy*, #399) of hypocoristic or *nisba* nature. In this case, *kwr* would be either a common noun (*kwr* “child”, MKG, 2056, cf. OP *Kuruš*) rather than *kwr* “blind” (the last possibility was accepted by BOGOL., SMIR., *I.I & A14*, p. 121; SMIR., *Očerki*, p. 225: “слепец”) or a place-name, cf. *Kurkaθ* in Ustrushana (BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 166). Alternatively, cf. *kwlcγ x' snkwn* (#582), or the Turkic title *Köl/Kül*? Cf. also the Chinese rendering *Juluo* (俱羅 EMCh. *kuš-la*, in IKEDA, 1965, p. 64) of a name of a Sogdian settler.

592. *kwrδkc* /Kurθakič?/ m.: **B** N, ZY *'yw wšwy- 'nkw y-δkw kwrδkc kwZY* (?): Muγ, Б-4, 1 (SDGM, II, p. 183, cf. SĖSAS, p. 218; SDGM, III, p. 65). — **P** Unclear. Recipient of a fabric? — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. understand it as a PN, a nickname from S *kwrδ'k* “shirt”. LIV. transliterates *kwrδnc*, an adjective from *kwrδ'k* (with unusual suffix -nc).

***†kwrδnc > kwrδkc* #592**

593. *kwrm̐y* [/?/ m.?: **B** B, *cnn kwrm̐y(●)*: *Ōt.*, No. 2921, 2, p. 54, cf. YOSH., *Misc.* 三, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc.* III, p. 240-241. — **P** A person mentioned in the colophon. — **D** Unclear. To *kw*r “boy” (cf. *kwrcy*, #591?) + *my’k*? Or Turkic, cf. *kürmät* “brave”; *körümci* “fortune-teller”, or *Kül/köl*, a widely used OTu. title with an unclear second element?

594. *kwrsyk* [/?/ m.: **B** N, *k(wrs)y(k)*: *UI2*, No. 559 (Thor I, 26); “rather irregular and unclear, but presumably the same word as in line 2 of the following inscription [No. 560]”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 19; *my’y* | *kwrsyk* | *snk* | *cyrδc* | *kwš’nk’n*: *UI2*, No. 560 (Thor I, 26). — **P** A visitor to Thor, companion of *my’y* (#725), *snk* (#1081: 4), *cyrδc* (#404), *kwš’nk’n* (#599: 2). — **D** Unclear; if *-yk* is a suffix, *kwrs* remains unclear; if *kw*r is “child” (cf. *kwrcy*, #591), *-syk* is also without an explanation. Cf. *Κυρσίτη/Κουρσίτης*, an Alan of the 14th century (cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 17)?

***kwrsr’k > βwrsr’k #329**

595. *kwrtšyš* [/?/ m.: **B** N, *rty ’st ’y-wH y-γwtH* | *ptywk’yk pystyw* | *kwrtšyš*: *Muy*, B9, V1-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 160, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 187; *SDGM*, III, p. 55). — **P** A recipient of a ruby. — **D** Unclear. *LIV.*, *SDGM*, II, 162 compares the second part with *šyš* of *šyšpyr* (#1205; “excellent” or “extend”?), the first part remains unclear (in *SÉSAS*, p. 189, he cautiously compares it to S *kwrt* “goitrous, swollen”); however, cf. *kwrcy* (#591). Hardly related to *kwrd’k*, C *kwrt̐y*, *kwrt̐y* “tunic”, cf. *kwrdkc* (#592). Alternatively, if read *rwrtšyš*, *rw’tšyš*, it could be related to (‘)*rw’rt* “fine, delicate” (cf. the shape of *r* in ‘*xwy-rpt* in the same document)? WEBER, 2008, p. 42, compares this name to *kwltwdy* /*Kurdōy*/ of the Berlin Pahlavi document 8.

596. (*qwryqws* /*Kuryakōs*/ m.: **B** C, *mry q(w)ryqws*: *Liber Vitae*, R2. — **P** Cyriac, the martyr (beheaded in 303 CE). — **D** Syr. *qwryqws* /*Quryaqōs*/ < Latin *Cyriacus* (ultimately from Iranian *Kuruš/Cyrus*). SIMS-W. (1993b; 2009, p. 281) notes that an unedited CS version of the Acts of Cyriacus and Julitta is extant in a fragment with old signature T ii B 60 [No. 13] in Berlin.)

***kwts’tt > read kwtr’tt**, as YOSH., *Bug.*, I-2, see under ‘šyn’s (#30).

597. (*qwestntynws* /*Kōstantīnōs*/ m.: **B** C, *γmqyn βγγ šyrxwzy qwestntynws xšwny xypθ* | *m’t*: C14, 1, 17-18 (*STii*, p. 13-14). — **P** Emperor Constantine

the Great (272-337 CE). — **D** Syr. *qwstntynws* /*Qōstanṭīnōs*/ where the first *-n-* has already dropped out (*qwnst'ntynws* is a rare variant in Syr.; cf. Gr. *Κωνσταντίνος*, *Κωσταντίνος*, *Κώστας*) from Latin *Constantinus*.)

598. kwš''n /*Kušān*/ m.: **B1** N, *p'p'kk* | *ZK kwš''n* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 23 (17:18); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P1** Father of *p'p'kk* (#868: 1). — **B2** N, *kwš''n* | (*ZK*) 'zt'k | *ptšpr*: *UII*, No. 69 (31:40a, acc. to *UII*, but 31: 119 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 173). — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of 'zt'k (#42), grandson (?) of *ptšpr* (#948: 2). — **D** *Kushān*, named after the dynasty, see the following names (#599 – 601). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 112b (= No. 23) has *kwš'y(●?)*.

†kwš'nk > βγw'rz #284: 2

599. kwš'nk'n /*Kušānakān*/ m.: **B1** N, *kw(š')nk(')n* (?): *UI2*, No. 438 (43:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247; the shapes of *š* and *aleph* are not typical. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *my'y* | *kwrsyk* | *snk* | *cyrδc* | *kwš'nk'n*: *UI2*, No. 560 (Thor I, 26). — **P2** A visitor to Thor, *my'y* (#725), *snk* (#1081: 4), *cyrδc* (#404), *kwrsyk* (#594). — **D** “Kushānian”, or “Native of Kušānšahr”. The suffix *k'n* is relatively rare in S, but its pendant *-αγανο* usually forms patronymy and famili-names in Bactrian, the language of Kušānšahr.

600. kwš'nk'nk /*Kušānakāne?*/ m.: **B** N, *pwt(t)δ's ZK* | (*k*)*w(š)'nk('nk)*: *UII*, No. 200 (34: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 190. — **P** A *nisba* (or patronym) of *pwttd's* (#965). — **D** Originally, a (pro-)patronymic with the suffix *-k'nk* to *Kušān(šahr)*, see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 55.

It is noteworthy that the person bearing this *nisba* or (pro-)patronymic has the only Buddhist name in the whole Sogdian corpus of the Upper Indus inscriptions; it is generally known that in Bactria (*Kušānšahr*) Buddhism appeared at an earlier date and was much more influential than in Sogdiana. *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 99c, has *c'nk●●k*.

601. kwš'nykk, 'kwš'nyk /(*Ḑ*)*kušānīk*/ : **B1** N, *ZY ZKn kwš'ny-k(k)*: *Muy*, A-5, 4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181; cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51); *ZY ZKn 'kwš'ny-k 'δry w'ry-'k*: *Muy*, Nov.1 R23 (*SDGM*, III, p. 38). — **P1** A recipient of drachmae, of three lambskins (? , *w'ry'k*). — **B2** N, *nyz't 'xw nnykw* | *BRY 'kwš'nyk*: *ΔP*, R20-21. — **P2** *Nisba* of *nyz't* (#860). — **D** A native of Kušāniyya (half way between Samarkand and Buxārā; see LURJE, *Fc. c*).

It is unlikely that the Kushāna dynasty is being mentioned here (in the 8th century!), but the place-name *Kuśāniyya* is, most probably, derived from *Kushānas*. LIV. reads in A-5 *kwš'nyk*('), BOGOL., SMIR. – *kwš'nyk[h]*. Both forms are strange since there is no ending -' in heavy stems (and spelling of final /k/ with <k> is not usual in the Mt. Mugh texts) and -H is a feminine graphical marker. The photo allows a final -k(k) as well, which does not present any orthographical difficulties.

602. (*qwt'δδmyšyg'n* /*Qutadmīš-yegān?*/ m.: **B** M, *oo qwt'(δδmy)šyg'n* | f.: M769 V2 apud *X'ā.*, p. 250. — **P** A lay person who asks forgiveness of sins. — **D** ASMUSSEN (loc. cit., reading *qwt'(δδ my)šyg'n*) suggests we have here the Uygh. name *Qutadmīš* “(he who) became happy” with MP patronymic suffix -*igān*. More likely, the second part contains Uygh. *yegān* “cousin”, very common in PNs, cf. *'ltwn yk'n* (#84).

I do not see a space between *δ* and *m* on the photo; and Dr. COLDITZ kindly informed me that there are two dots visible above the initial *q̄*; *Qutadmīš yegān* appears also in an Uygh. letter from Dunhuang (HAMILTON, 1986, 29, 14).)

603. (*kwyl pwyl'* /*Kül Boyla*/ m.?: **B** N, *x'twn (k)wyl pwyl' x(w)βw* | *δwyt'*: Kulan-say, III-a, 6-7, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 147; *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff., ill. 111. — **P** Father (?) of a female visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Turkic, where *kül* (cf. *kwł tk'yn*, #579) and *boyla* (cf. *pwyl'*, *xwt pwyl'*, #970, #1472) are high titles.

The first letter of *kwyl* is more similar to *p*; maybe it was an unsuccessful attempt to write *pwyl'*? LIV. (p. 380) suggests that *kwyl pwyl' x'nw* was the wife of *'yl tyrkwk 'lp βrɣwc'n 'lptrx'n* (#240) and mother of *'yl pylk' x'twn* (#235: 1), but instead of *x'nw* (so *SÉSAS*, but *'wyw* in *Ist. Kyrg.*), I see *x(w)βw* cf. *xwβw* written in line 10, *'y'y 'lyl'n tk'yn 'lptrx'n xwβw*, #222.)

604. (*kw xwt'* /*Gü ?*/ m.: **B** N, *kw xwt' nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A3. — **P** A fabric (*ryzy*) trader. — **D** Probably Chinese, as *DTS*, p. 26. *Kw* is a surname, either *Yu* 虞 (EMCh. PLB. *ɣuǎ*, KG. **ngju*) or *Qu*, *Ju* 瞿 (EMCh. *guǎ*, KG. *g'iu*); both are attested in the Dunhuang texts; the following *xwt'* (or *ɣwtn*, etc.) is a person's name, also presumably Chinese, but not identifiable.)

605. (*kwyltk* /*Kültäk?*/ m.: **B** N, [*'*] *ty nyp'st(w δ')[rt]* (*n*)*p'yk kwyltk* | *prn xwnty*: Kulan-say, III-a, 17-18, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 148; cf. *Semirechie*, p. 85; *Terek-say*, p. 54, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A scribe of the inscription of Kulan-say, 1026-1027 CE. — **D** Unclear; Turkic?

LIV. compares this name to *Qūlbaq* (read *Qultaq?*), the saint who used to write on stones near Balāsāghūn according to Maḥmūd Kāšgarī (LIV., *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 148), where *kül* was re-interpreted as *qul* “slave” and the whole compound thus obtained back vowel harmony.

According to the photo, the name is written clearly, but I cannot be sure of all the other words in this passage.)

606. *kwz'kk* /Kōžāk?/ m.: B N, *kw-z-'kk*: *Fbs. Sh.*, 31: 56. — P A visitor to Shatial. — D To S *kwz* “hunchback”, cf. #607.

SIMS-W. does not attempt a transliteration and supposes that it might not be Sogdian. The inscription is clearly visible, however, on the photo in *Fbs. Sh.*, Tafel 74. For the hypocoristic suffix, cf. *pys'kk*; or misspelling of the following?

607. *kwz'yk, kwz'ykk* /Kōžīk/ m.: B N, *kwz'ykk*: *UII*, No. 73 (31: 44); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 163; *kwz'(yk)* (?): *UII*, No. 190 (34: 76); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189. — P A visitor to Shatial. — D S *kwz* “hunchback” with the hypocoristic suffix -'yk(k) (*UI2*, p. 44), cf. *'kwzyr* (#67), *kwz'kk* (#606). The writing of the final part in No. 190 is quite uncertain, the first letter is maybe *r*.

***kwzt > kwnt* #587**

[**kwzr*, N, *kw-zr* (?)Муҕ, Б-4, 4 (*SDGM*, III, p. 65 with n. 7): read *kwn'* as LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218.]

***kwzyr > 'kwzyr* #67**

***kw[2-3](●)yr > kwmp'yr* #587**

608. *kw●●●, kw●●* /?, *Kund?*/ m.?: B1 N, *kw - -*: *UII*, No. 93 (31: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. Maybe, *pw - -*. — P1 A visitor to Shatial? — B2 N, *kw●●*: *UI2*, No. 673 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 66:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 144). — P2 A visitor to Dadam Das. — D Unclear. In the second case, the last letters are faint and ambiguous, but I see *kwn(t)*, cf. #587.

***ky > tyn ky twnk* #1286**

609. *ky'/?/* m.: B N, *ky'*: *UII*, No. 110 (31: 81); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — P A visitor to Shatial? — D Unclear; another possible reading is *kyc*.

If *kyc*, maybe a nickname, to S *kyc*, NP *gēj* “stupid, giddy”. In any case, cf. the Chinese rendering *Jiecha* (羯槎, EMCh. *kāt-dzaʔ/dzɛ*., IKEDA, 1965, p. 64) and *Juzhe* (居者, EMCh. *kiā-tɕia*., RONG, 2009, p. 403)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 110, has *ky'*.

610. *kȳδr* /*Kiḍar?*/ m.: **B** N, *k-y-δ-r*: coin, ZEIMAL', 1983b, p. 251; 1983a, p. 270-271; 1996; cf. *NPIN*, p. 289, No. 1254, where *byl'*; [*ZKn*] *k-y-δr* '(βt δ)[s srδ 'z]?: *Paykend-2006*, No. 3. — **P** *Kidara*, a ruler of the Hunnish circle who subjugated Bactria around 420 CE; the control of his dynasty over Sogdiana could have lasted until the early 6th century, cf. F. GRENET, 2002; GRENET, Fc. — **D** Attested in Brahmi as *kidara*, in Bactrian as *κηδδιρο/κιδιρο*, Gr. *Κίδαρ-ῖται*, Chinese *Jiduoluo* (寄多羅, EMCh. *ki^h-ta-la*). Etymology is unclear, but maybe Iranian.

kymš'n > *cw kymš'n* #388

611. *kync* /*Kēnič?*/ m.: **B** N, *δwk'y(n)* | *kync*: *UII*, No. 226 (34: 112); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P** Father (or *nisba*) of *δwk'yn* (#450). — **D** Unclear; cf. *kynck*, *kyncny* (#612 – 13). Maybe derived from *kyn(H)* “vengeance” (cf. Elam. *Kenakka*, Pont. Ir. *Karvaζαρθος*, as MAYRHOFFER, *OnP*, 8.822)? Or from *kyn* 'k “sword, ἀκινάκης”?

Cf. in the last case the common Turkic PN *Qilič* for semantics; OTu. *kānč* is impossible in inscription from *UI* for obvious chronological reasons. This reading has been given already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 47a.

612. *kynck* /*Kēničak?*/ m.: **B** N, *kynck* ZK | *wxw●*: *UI2*, No. 533A (54:30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 268. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *wxw●* (#1373: 2). — **D** See *kync* (#611).

613. *kyncny* /*Kēničnē^w?*/ m.: **B** N, *mrty* | *ky(ncny)*: *UI2*, No. 454 (48:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 251. — **P** Father (or *nisba*, title) of *mrty* (#689: 2). — **D** See *kync* (#611) for the first part + *ny* < *nyw* “good”, cf. (')*sp'(n)cny(w)* (#159), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 55; one can read also *ky(cny)*; *ky(šny)*.

614. *kyntr* /*Kēndar?*/ m.: **B** N, *kyntr* | ZK (*c'm')* 'n[J(?) *BRY* | *m'nk*: *UII*, No. 300 (36: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *c'm''n* (#358). — **D** Unclear; cf. *kyntr'●* (#615). The end of the name seems to be the comparative suffix *-tr*, then the first part may be a reflex of OIr. **kanya-* (vel sim.) “small”, cf. *Kaniška* (? , under #63), thus giving the sense “younger son”; cf. also Toch. B PN *Kentarške* (a borrowed S name with Toch. hypocoristic suffix?)

615. *kyntr'* /*Kēndarak?*/ m.: **B** N, (- - - - ns) (?) | *kyntr'*: *UII*, No. 341 (39: 36); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P** Father (family-name, *nisba*?) of - - - - ns (#1621). — **D** The last letter, though weathered away, may represent *-k* as well, in this case it is a hypocoristic to *kyntr* (#614). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 26b, has *kyntr'●●h*

kynH > *q'yn* #532: 2

616. *kypcp'y* /?/ m.: **B** N, *nn'rs'r* | *kypcp'y* | *BRY: UII*, No. 114 (31: 85); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169; *nn'rt'r* | *ZK* | *kypcp'y* | *BRY: UII*, No. 249 (36: 33) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P** Father of *nn'rt'r* (#780). — **D** Unclear. Cf. *S p'y* “to protect”, *kypc* – “?”.

617. (*kysr*, *qysr* /*Kēsar*/ m.: **B1 N(M), *Jo ZY kysr wδyδδf*: *Tales*, H1, p. 478; *kw ZY xw kysr np'sty* | (*w*)*m't*: *Tales*, H8-9, p. 478; *ZKn kysry*: (obl.) *Tales*, H18, p. 478; *ktxw kysr*: *Tales*, H24, p. 478. — **P1** Caesar, Roman Emperor. Probably, here as a title rather than a PN. — **B2** N(M), *ZKn kysr δβ'mpnwH*: *MKG*, 3.3 IR10-11, 450-51, p. 42; *ZK δβry pr kysr t'p'k tft'k 'skwy*: *MKG*, 3.3 IV6, 466, p. 43; *J* | *kysr šw'*: *MKG*, 3.3 IV19, 479, p. 43; *šw'nky kysr*: *MKG*, 19, 2, 2050, p. 123; *Z/K kys(r)f*: *Öt.*, 7251+7258, 1, p. 128 (=continuation of K16= Ch/S 20216 = M 742 II, *MKG*, 19); *pyšt 'wδp'r* / *ky(sr)* *ZY ZK* [*Öt.*, 7251+7258, 4, p. 128; cf. *SC*, No. 168, 19; *YOSH.*, *First Fruits*, p. 81; *ms 'wδp'r 'δ'y kysr* | *L* ' *z-γ'yr'nt k'm*: fragment of a Manichean church-history 4-5, text joined by *YOSH.*, *First Fruits*, p. 81; *ZY ZK kysr ZKn xwp'xy* | *rytyH*: fragment of church-history, 6-7. — **P2** (Septimius) Odaenathus, husband of Zenobia (see *t'δyyH*, #1212), who possessed the title “*totius Orientis Imperator*” between 262 and 266; it is possible that the same person is mentioned in *Tales* (#617: 1, see *TUBACH*, 1996, p. 196-197, n. 12; on his name see op. cit., p. 198; cf. also *DURKIN-MEISTERERNST*, 2006b, p. 324 et passim). — **B3** C, *nwqr qysr wnm' frm'd'rt*: C22, 4, 2 (*STii*, p. 28); *wydnγ'm qysr pr p'z 'mpst*: C22, 4, 20 (*STii*, p. 29); *pyštrw qysr* | *frm'd'rt*: C22, 4, 26-27 (*STii*, p. 29); *qw qysr s'r*: C22, 4, 29 (*STii*, p. 29). — **P3** Caesar Nero. — **D** Latin *Caesar*. However, it is used mostly as a title and not as a PN in the strict sense.**

This name appears integrated in several traditions surrounding Sogdiana: the Tibetan and Mongol epic hero *Phrom Gesar*, Bct. *Φρομο Κησαρο* = *Fu-lin Ji-so*, the ruler of Tokharistan in the 8th century; see *HUMB.*, 1983; *SIMS-W.*, 2008, p. 123 ff; cf. also *CS qysrq'n* “denarius”.)

618. *kys●'βn* /?/ m.: **B** N, (*k*)ys●'βn: *UII*, No. 105 (31: 76); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear. The initial part resembles *kysr* (#617).

619. *kytn* /*Kētan*?/ m.: **B** N, *wmxsk* | *ZK kytn*: *UII*, No. 334 (39: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 227. — **P** Father (or family-name) of *wmxsk* (#1313). — **D** Unclear; -*n* is probably a suffix. To Av. *kaēta-*, a kind of unfriendly spirit (cf. *cyt* under #408 – 409), MP, Pth. *kēd* “magician, soothsayer”? Reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 29.

620. *k●●k* /?/ m.: **B** N, (*sr'*)*m*(*yw Z*)*K* (*k●●k*) | *wyrwysprn* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 170 (34: 56); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P** Father (?) of *sr'myw* (#1090); cf. also *wyrwysprn* (#1382). — **D** Unclear.

621. *k●●ywn* /?/ m.: **B** N, 'y - - 'n | (*k●●*)*ywn* | (*βnyys'*): *UII*, No. 180 (34: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** Father of 'y - - 'n (#263); if the first line belongs to the same inscription (cf. also under *βnyys'*, #298). Or a separate visitor? — **D** Unclear.

622. *k●●●, k●●* /?/ m.?: **B1** N, *k- - -*: *UI2*, No. 590 (Oshibat, 18:81, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 62). “The letters are clearly visible but ambiguous”; read *krkc?*, *krβ'n?*, *k'k'?*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 21.— **P1** A visitor to Oshibat. — **B2** N, *k●●*: *UI2*, No. 430 (40:22); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear.