# γ, g

[ †γ'βyr Muγ, A-7, 1 (*SDGM*, III, 64), read *m'βyr* "received" as LIV., *SDGM*, II, 74, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 82. ]

γ'm'wky'n > cm'wky'n #372

**479.** γ'mk /Γāmak/ m.: **B** N, γ'mk ZK 'my'(rwc) BRY: UI1, No. 360 (39: 55); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'my'rwc* (#92). — **D** To S γ'm "power, wealth" (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 52). Or to γ'm "step" (cf. HENN., *So.*, Y16)? Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17b.

**480.** γ'ny /Γani?/ m.: **B** N(A), γ'ny (or γ'nk), inscr. on an almandite gem with the image of a bearded man, preserved in the State Hermitage, Gl 1239, ed. LIV., 2009, p. 248 (without photo). — **P** The owner of a gem. The shape of the letters suggests that the inscription is dated by 6th century or earlier. — **D** LIV. interprets the name as a derivation of S γn- "strength, pover, skill" .

However, while examining the same gem independantly, I read it as *''zk* or *''z(y)*, cf. #41.

**481.** γ'w- /Γāw/ m.: **B** N, sprn'k γ'wy BRY: (obl.), a cursive inscription on a bronze seal, apud LIV., *Sānak*, p. 48, images so far unpublished. — **P** Father of *sprn'k*. — **D** S γ'w "cow", cf. γw' (#492), γ'wtws (#482), γ'w in *MN*, 66; *Γāw Uluγ Tiräk* in an Uyghur colophon from Dunhuang (HAMILTON, 1986, 15, 26-27).

**482.** γ'wtws /Γautus/ m.: **B** N(A), 'YK γ'wtws: *AL5 (2)*, R10; (p•)[•] • γ'wtws: *AL5 (2)*, R12; ZK γ(')wtws: *AL5 (2)*, R15. — **P** A trader in Gansu, probably the leader of a caravan. — **D** The first part of the name, γ'w , is obviously "cow" while the second seems to be related to *Tusa-*, the name of an epic hero, cf. Bct. PN *Τωσο(-)* (this derivation looks attractive in view of MAYRHOFER's interpretation [*IPNB*, I, 1, 310] of Av. *Tusa* as a short name from *Tusāspa-* "mit lossprengenden Rosen "); Ulla REMMER (2006, p. 137-8) understands it as "Rinder antreibend".

Less likely, "*Tusa-* (of the land) Gauua" (i.e., Sogdiana)? Weber, 1975, p. 96 compares this name to Av. *Hutaosā* "mit schönem Dickbein", with *\*tausa-* "thigh" and understand it as nickname "Kuhbein"; but see REMMER, loc. cit. for a more probable interpretation of the Avestan name.

**483. (** *gbry'yl* /*Gavrīēl*/ m.: **B** C, *gbry'yl 't myk'yl fryšty.t*: C2, 60 V12; *w'nw w'b gbr'yl qw (m)[yk'yl s']*: C2, 60 V15. — **P** Archangel Gabriel. — **D** Syriac *gbry'yl* /*Gaḇri'ēl*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

**gbryhb, †gβryhβ > kβryxβ #534: 2**

**484.** *γ(n)•[* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *γ(n)•[*: *UI2*, No. 553 (108:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 278. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Not completely legible; maybe also *γ(š)•[*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 19.

**485.** *γpkw* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), *γ-p-k-w M-L-'*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 288-289, No. 1252-1253. — **P** A ruler of Samarkand, 1ˢᵗ – 3ʳᵈ century CE? — **D** Unclear: ZEIMAL' had *hprwrnh* (1983a, p. 270), *hprwnh* (1983b, p. 251), cf. LIV's doubts apud ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 98 n. 1. *γpkw* is ALRAM's reading.

**†γpn > xwn #1442**

**486.** *γr'yk* /*Γrīk*/ m.: **B** N, *γr'(y)k | (r)[*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 7, p. 136. — **P** A name inscribed on a potsherd. — **D** To S *γr'yk* "dust, mud, clay". The name semantically belongs to a "concealing", magical group of PNs, cf. esp. Taj. *Хокиро(х)* "road-dust", also *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. XLIV ff. Alterantively, an adjective from *γr-* "mountain", cf. *γrc* (#487).

**†γr'nc > xz'nc #1484: 1**

**487.** *γrc* /*Γarič*/ m.: **B** N, - - - -*w•* | ZK *γrc* | BRY: *UI1*, No. 327 (37: 1) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 222. — **P** Father of - - - -*w•* (#1664). — **D** S *γr* "mountain" + -*c*, an adjectival or hypocoristic suffix. In the first case cf. Yaγn, Taj. *γalča*, *γatča* "slave, thickset" (lit. "mountaineer"). Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 106a.

**488.** *γrck'* /*Γaričk*/ m.: **B** N, *γrck'*: *UI1*, No. 394 (39: 89); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235; *γrck'* (?): *UI1*, No. 396 (39: 91); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P** A visitor to

Shatial. — **D** A *-čk* hypocoristic to *γr* "mountain", cf. Bct. PN (?) *γαρσογο*. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 117 (= No. 394), has *γrc'*.

**489. γrck'ny** /*Γarčikāne?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *xw γrck'ny*: Ch/So 20503 v4 apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 341; *kw γrck(')[ny*: Ch/So 20511 v5 apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 347. — **P** A person (?) in a parable. The fragments, according to RECK, belong to what is text *D* in *PB*. — **D** If PN (thus RECK, *MIr. Hss. 1*, under No. 304; cf. RECK, 2009b, p. 213), cf. *γrck'* (#488). Maybe a common noun related to S *xr'yck'* "prostitute" (the second character in the parable is a judge)?

**490. γrmcH** /*Γarmič?*/ f.?: **B** N, *ZY γr(m)cH δ'(βr) 'ywH w[yz]βcH*: Муг, Б-1, L14 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A supplier of *wyzβcH* (unclear word, see under *βwrsr'k*, #329). — **D** With BOGOL., SMIR., p. 94, a *nisba* "Native of Γarm" (a borough in Qarātagīn, Tajikistan; for etymology see *ILAST*, p. 78-79). Final *–H* shows that the passage concerns a woman.

**†γrwkkws'k > xrtr'k #1415**

**491. γrywxrx** /*(Va)γrēw-?*/ m.: **B** N, *wxš'βy'rt | '(x)w (β?)γryw(xrx) | BRY*: UI1, No. 113 (31: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — **P** Father of *wxš'βy'rt* (#1355: 2). — **D** The second part is obscure; maybe initial *βγryw-* (see under #281; SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 52). Alternatively, derived from S *γrywH* "self, body", cf. names beginning with *xwt(y)-* (#1475 – 76), *''ztγryw* (#43). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 71d, has *nryw●●●●*.

**492. γw'** /?/ m.?: **B1** N, *(γ)w'*: UI1, No. 458 (49:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 252; "Apparently no more was written, but it is possible that some letters have been totally effaced at the beginning", as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 15. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *γw'* (?) | *k(t●')[ ]kδ(βy)[*: UI2, No. 483A (50: 26A; 50: 35 in *Fbs. Sh.*). — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *k(t●')[ ]kδ(βy)* (#567); maybe, *γyn* (?), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 16; probably the name is preserved completely. — **D** To S *γ'w* "cow" (cf. *kw'*, #570), OIr. *\*gau-*, *gāw-*?

**493. γw'zn, γwzn** /*Γawazn*/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'-r-t-'-w-y || γ-w-'-z-n*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 283-284, No. 1240, cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 20187; N(A), *Υρκωδ || γ-w-z-n*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 282-283, No. 1239. — **P1** A ruler of Buxārā (?, 1st –

3rd century CE), who imitated coins of Hyrcodes. — **B2** N, *γw'zn* | *ZK n'(wc)yrδ*: *UI2*, No. 448 (47:11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250; One can read also *γwcx*. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *n'wcyrδ* (#765). — **D** To S *γw'zn* "deer", cf. *γwznk* (#502), at least in *UI* (HUMB., *SIF*, No. 33, has ●*w'zn*; see SCHWARTZ, *STSC2*, p. 206-206a, on etymological possibilities).

> As for the coin, HENN., *Mittelir.*, p. 26 with n. 4. proposed to see here "noble of Sogdiana", where *γw-* is Av. *gauua-*, "the land, inhabited by the Sogdians", and -*'zn* stays for *\*āzna-* "famous, noble". The same interpretation is reproduced by ALRAM, loc. cit. However, comparison with S *γ'wzn*, *γwznyẖ* "deer" is an easier solution (suggested by D. WEBER apud *NPIN*, p. 282, n. 1014, [cf. also *UI2*, p. 52] but finally rejected by ALRAM). On the above-mentioned specimen from *Zeno* one can see a well shaped *MR'Y* "ruler" instead of *γw'zn*. The same reading of another coin-type meets difficulties, see *NPIN*, p. 285, No. 1243.

**[ † *γwβty'* m.: B** N, *[γ]wβty'* | *xwβ*: coin *Sv. Kat.*, p. 94-95, No. 30-32, Tabl. II, 31-32, Table LX, 30-31-32. — **P** A ruler of Samarkand (6th Cent. CE)? — **D** SMIR. understands it as "praised", a name or epithet of the ruler (p. 21; here the name/epithet is transliterated as *γwβty*). However, I cannot see *γwβty(')*: either *(●●●m)ty* on a drawing (also Table LX), *(t)wy-(k?)* (drawing, Table LX, 31, cf. *twr'k*, #1262), *(mty???)* on LX, 32; a photo in Table II, 32, shows *βγ-'*, written in a mirrored order from below to above. Cf. also scepticism of ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 174. **]**

**494. (** *γwlγ* /Qulaq/ m.: **B** N(M), *γwlγ xyp s'γ'wn*: So 13881/2 R3 apud SUND., *Three Fragments*, p. 109-10 = p. 735-6. — **P** A person in a Manichean monastic (?) account. — **D** Uygh. *qulaq* "ear"; also a PN (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 488). Or is *γwlγ xyp s'γ'wn* one name? **)**

**495. *γwm'yt*, *γwmyt* /Gōmēt?/ m.: B1** N, *γwm'yt ZK* | *''wxsrδ BRY* | *'xwr* (?): *UI2*, No. 446 (47:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *''wxsrδ* (#36: 2). — **B2** N, *(γ)wm'yt ZK* | *x'n'kk BRY*: *UI2*, No. 504 (53:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *x'n'kk* (#1398: 2). — **B3** N, *γwm'yt*: *UI2*, No. 589 (Oshibat, 18:41, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 57). — **P3** A visitor to Oshibat. — **B3** N, *skwntkH* | *γwmyt*: *UI2*, No. 580 (Oshibat, 17:6, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 49). — **P3** Father (?) of *skwntkH* (#1073). — **D** Unclear. Maybe, related in some way to OP *Gaumāta-*, Av. *Gaomaṇt*, Elam. *Kauma* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.809)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 38b (= 446), has *γwkβ'yt (??)* and *xwm'yt* in No. 86a (= No. 504).

**496.** *γwnc CWRH wysprδ wyn'nc'y* /*Γōnǰ tambār wisparθ wēnānǰe*/ m.:
**B** B, *pwtystβ wm't γwnc CWRH* | *wysprδ wyn'nc'y*: *Vim.*, 59-60. — **P** A
Bodhisattva, interlocutor of *Vimalakīrti*. — **D** "Form-body-everywhere-
visible"; the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Sūtra imply a certain
variation in his name in the lost Skt. original: *Samantadarśanarūpakāya*,
*Sarvarūpa(saṃ)darśana*, *\*Rūpakāyasamantadarśana* "Universal manifest
from the body" (*BSTBL*, ii, 38, No. 29).

**497.** *γwnc'kk* /*Γōnǰak?*/ m.: **B** N, *rty ''st γwnc'kk 'ywH* | *ywxt'kH*
*'psp['ntH]*: Муγ, Б-1, L12-13 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of an
unidentified object. — **D** Unclear. Various possibilities may be considered: a
*-c'kk* hypocoristic to *xwn* "Hun, Turk" (#1442); a counterpart of NP *γunča*
"rosebud" (cf. *δγwtγwncH*, #423); CS *γwncq* "cup" (as a nickname?); another
possible reading is *xwyc'kk* "open".

> The latter agrees with the present-day practice of name-giving among Central Asian
> peoples: Taj. *Kušod* "opened" and Uzb. *Očiq* "open" (imperative) are usual names for
> sick infants (GAFUROV, 1971; ZIEME, 1977, p. 78); Elam. *Mišadda*, if from *\*Višāta-*, as
> GERSH., 1970a, p. 191, would be an early example of such names.

*†γwnsr'kk > βwrsr'kk* **#329**

*†γwnsrk > prtr'k* **#924**

*†γwns'rk > xwnyz'tk* **#1445**

**498.** *γwpt* /*Γōpat*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn γwpt XX XX X*: Муγ, A-5, 22 (*SDGM*,
II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of 50
drachmae. — **D** Several possibilites. LIV. cautiously compares this name/title
with MP *Gōbad(šāh)*, who is often represented as a chief of Sogdiana
(MACKENZIE, 2003). Now he is more inclined to see here OIr. *\*gava-pati-*
"head of income", see *SÉSAS*, p. 219. Cf. also *Γūbdīn*, a village/gates in
Nasaf (BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 136; *ILAST*, p. 223, 234, *-īn* is an adjectival
suffix). Or *γwpt* simply means "cow-master"? One can also read *xwpt* and
compare it to BS *xwp't* (spelt *xwpt* in *BL*, A55) "kind, good, nice". The same
name is found in Chinese rendering, *Huo-fa* (火坺, EMCh. *xwa'-buat*), see
IKEDA, 1965, p. 63.

*γwš'kk > xwš'kk* **#1454**

### *γwšm'ncH > xwšm'ncH* #1456

**499. *γwšnspyc*** /*Γušnaspič*/ m.: **B** N, *npyk γwšnsp-yc pr prn'ncH | prm'nH*: *Chilhujra*, 1, V1-2, p. 80. — **P** The scribe of the document. — **D** Hypocoristic to **γwšnsp*, which is borrowed from MP *Gušnasp* (lit. "male horse, stallion", **vr̥šan-+aspa-*), a very popular name in Sasanian Iran (see GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, No. 408), as LIV., op. cit., p. 88; *SÉSAS*, p. 296. Cf. *t'dqwšsp* (#1211). However, the borrowing looks irregular as normally WMIr. *g-* is rendered with S *k* in initial position.

Cf. also **Γuštāsbān*, the ruler of Āxarūn and Šūmān (Northern Bactria) in the early 8th century (Ṭab, II, 1180 / XXIII, 128).

**500. *γwšprn*** /*Γōšfarn*/ m.: **B** N, *[']pzymγδ '(')γt | (nny)βntk ZK | γwšprn BRY*: *UI1*, No. 229 (34: 115); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 194; *'pzymγδ ''γt | nnyβntk ZK | γwšprn BRY*: *UI2*, No. 542 (105:8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P** Father of *nnyβntk* (#787: 8). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 52) understands this name as "glory of *γwš*, the 14th day of the month".

This explanation can also be valid for *'xwšprn* (under #1370: 1), *γwšm'nc* (see *xwšm'nc*, #1456), *γwš'kk* (*xwš'kk*, #1454); for the ancestry line *nnyprn* (#798: 6) – *nnyβntk* (#787: 8) – *γwšprn* see SIMS-W., *Ir. Inscr. Shatial*, p. 530. The Chinese rendering *Hushufen* (胡 數芬, EMCh. *γɔ-ṣuɐ̆ʰ-pʰun*, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 63) stands particularly close to this name. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 11, compares this and similar names to *wxšprn ('nxr)* "12th lunar mansion".

### *†γwt'yt > xwtz't* #1476

**501. *γwtms'c*** /*Γōtamsāč?*/ m.: **B** N(A), *'ḤRZYm prš(t)t γwtms'c 'ḤRZY δrw'k 'yncyy*: *AL2 (2)*, R7. — **P** A Sogdian trader in Dunhuang (?) and in *kwr'ynk*. — **D** For *s'c* "learned" or "fitting" see s.v. *'rm'ts'c* (#128). The first part can be related to the S *γwtm* "relative" (not ***xwtm*, see SUND., 2004, p. 520) or be directly parallel to Av. *Gaotəma* (MAYRHOFER, *IPNB I*, 158, Skt. *gótama-*, superl. to "cow", from which comes the patronym *Gautama-*), cf. *γwt̠m* in *MN*, 84; less likely, an Indian Buddhist borrowing, cf. *k'wδ'm*, *k'wt'm'* in BS (#527). It was recognized as a PN by HENN., *BBB*, p. 98, n. c37.

Cf. also the name of the Sino-Sogdian interpreter of the 7th century (YOSH., 2004c, p. 409) *Shi Hedan* (史訶躭/擔, EMCh. *xe-tam^h*), and the Arabic rendering of a name of a person from Kušānīya, *γwdm*, *γ^awδ^am* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 7; *III*, p. 7).

*γwzn > γw'zn* **#493: 1**

**502. *γwznk*** /*Γawaznak*/ m.: **B** N, *γ(w)znk*: *UI1*, No. 354 (39: 49); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** S *γwzn*, *γ'wzn* "deer" (Av. *gavasna-*, MP, NP *gavazn* etc.) with hypocoristic suffix, cf. *γw'zn* (#493).

One can also read *γ(β)znk*, *γ(r)znk*.

**503. *γyc*** /*Γēč?*/ m.: **B** N, *γyc xw* (?) *t'(r- -)*: *UI2*, No. 660 (Thalpan III, without signature). — **P** A visitor to Thalpan, son (?) of *t'r - -* (#1216). — **D** Unclear, cf. *γyc'kk* (#504).

**504. *γyc'kk*** /*Γēčak?*/ m.: **B** N, *γyc'kk ZK yw'(r)ny(r)[]*: *UI2*, No. 447 (47:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *yw'rnyr* (#1527). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2* p. 53) understands this name as *γyt* (#507) with hypocoristic suffixes -*c*- and -*'kk*. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 35, has *γ'c'kk*.

**505. ( *γynk*** /*Γing?*/ m.: **B** N(B), *'yw rγzy γynk*: *DTS*, E17. — **P** The recipient of a piece of fabric (*rγzy*). — **D** Probably Chinese: *xing* 杏 (EMCh. KG. *γɒng*, PLB. *γəɨjŋ/γɛːjŋ*) "apricot", or *xing* 硎 (EMCh. KG. *γieng*, PLB. *γɛjŋ*) "whetstone"; a surname *Xing* (vel sim.) is not attested in the Dunhuang documents, so this interpretation is less likely; however, *γynk* could be a monosyllabic Chinese name (*DTS*, p. 48). **)**

**506. ( *γysw*** /*?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZKn γy-sw ryttpyr*: Muγ, A-16, 5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 139, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 157; *SDGM*, III, p. 70); *'('δ)[k] γy-sw*: Muγ, Nov 5, 5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 170-171). — **P** A recipient of wine (the second context is too broken), the *iltäbir*. — **D** Unclear; Turkic?

LIV., *SDGM*, II, 140 considered *ryttpyr* a PN, but it is the Turkic title *iltäbir*, so *γysw* (or *xysw*) could be a (Turkic?) name or, better, an adjective to the latter. Now he understands it as a derivative of Turkic *qïs* "to press, short", see LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 158. BOGOL., SMIR. propose *γβsw* "fat" (Ygh. *γafs*), which can serve as a nickname. Cf. also Ygh. *γísa* "juniper"? **)**

**507. *γyt*** /*Γēt?*/ m.: **B** N, *y(st)'tm | (γ)yt*: *UI1*, No. 194 (34: 80); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189. — **P** Father (?, or, rank, cf. *γ'tk*, under *''δ'k*, #5, nickname) of *yst'tm* (#1520). — **D** Unclear.

**508.** *γytk* /*Γētak?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY γytk* (?) *n/z(δ/')* ●●● ●● *(δ)*: *Panj.-2001*, 1, V1, p. 84-85. — **P** A person (?) named in a short order inscribed on a bovine rim from Panjakent. — **D** Hypocoristic to *γyt* (#507); maybe, *šytk*, cf. *šytγwnk* (#1206).

**509.** *γyw* /*Γēw*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY γyw 'yw 'z-γrw*: Муγ, Б-1, L1; *kw γyw s'(r)*: Муγ, Б-1, L12 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of chain-mail, of cow-skin. — **D** From OIr. *\*gāvya-*, NP (*Šn.*) *Gēw* (as BOGOL., SMIR., p. 95), cf. IPth. *gyw* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 172, with lit.), Bct. *Γηο* (LIV., KRUGLIKOVA, 1979, p. 108, of which N. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly drew my attention). In view of the initial *γ*, more likely an indigenous development rather than a borrowing from WIr.

*gywrgys > yw'rk's* **#1524: 1**

**510.** *γy(●y●●)* /*?*/ m.: **B** N, *γy(●y●●)* | *ZK sp'ncny*: UI2, No. 591 (Oshibat, 18:109, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 65). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat, son (?) of *sp'ncny* (#159: 3). — **D** Unclear; maybe, *xy(●y●●)*, *nny(●y●●)*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 21.

**511. (** *γ●w tykyn 'wk'* /*? Tegin Ögä*/ m.: **B** N(M), ●●●●●●●● *γ●w tykyn 'wk'* ////////////////: *KB-H*, 1-6, 2(3), p. 15. — **P** A dignitary in the Uyghur Empire. — **D** Obviously a Turkic name, where *tegin* is "prince", *ögä* a high title, cf. *kwl tykyn 'wk'*, #580. **)**

*†γ*/*nz y*/*β > twwn x'γ'n* **#1270**