

## **t, t̲**

**1209.** *t'šyn z'δk'* /*Dāšin Zādag*/ m.: **B** N(M), *t'šyn z'δk' š'x'n prns'r*: BL, C24. — **P** A person in the circle of *xw'r z'δ'k'* (#1433), possessor of an unclear title *š'x'n* (cf. s.v. *r'ymst yzδ š'x'n k'xy z-xky*, #1009); maybe, his second (secular?) name was *xwtrwy tyr'k* (#1473; written directly above *t'šyn z'δk'*). — **D** WMIr. *z'δk'* stands for *zādag* “son” (cf. *xw'r z'δ'k'*, #1433; spelling *-k'* could be a way to express the articulated final velar, cf. UI2, p. 38, see under *snk'* #1081); *t'šyn* is WMIr. *dāšin* “present, gift”.

**1210.** *t'βn* [/?/ m.: **B** N, *t'βn●●* (?): UII, No. 96 (31: 67); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Only partially preserved, unclear. Cf. *t'β-* in *t'βn'k* “burning”?

**1211.** *t'dqwšsp* /*Dād-Gušasp*/ m.: **B** C, *t'd*[(*q*)wšsp: C2, 1R21. — **P** The brother of *yzdyn* (#1544), son of *mrxy*l (#693). — **D** MP name “Given (by) Guš(n)asp” (a common MP name, cf. GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, p. 71-72).

The loss of internal *n* is attested in NP *Gušasp*; restoration *t'd-* for *Dād-/Dād-* is in accord with other transcriptions in this text, cf. SIMS-W., C2, p. 68; for MP *g* spelt in CS as *q* see BENV., *Ét.*, p. 250. Cf. *ywšnsptyc* (#499) as well.

**1212.** (*t'δyH*, *t'δyyH* /*Taδī?*/ f.: **B** N(M), *ZKH t'δyyH xwt'ynH* | *nβš' xw'rH ZKn kysr δβ'mpnwH*: MKG, 3.3 IR10-11, 450-51, p. 42; *t'δyH xwt'ynH*: MKG, 19, 2, 2050, p. 123, supplemented by YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 81. — **P** Zenobia, the queen of Tadmor (Palmyra, ruled in 267-272); sister of *nβš'* (#770), wife of the “Emperor” (i.e., *Odaenathus*, see *kysr*, #617: 2). — **D** SUND., MKG, p. 41-42, considers this name to be a hypocoristic (cf. SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 246 = p. 487) of the name which appears as “Queen *Thadamōr*” (i.e., “Queen of *Taδmōr*, Palmyra”) in the lost M Coptic codex; TUBACH, 1996, p. 197 n. 14 examines the possibility that hypocoristic building could originate not in Sogdian but had already appeared in the Aramaic *Vorlage* of this text. D. DURKIN-MEISTERER NST (2006, p. 323-4) vocalizes the name as *Taδay* and understands it as an adjective (*nisba*) from *Taδ*, a short form for *Taδmōr*.

The fragment So 15502 = T III D 271k, 12 V, cited by SUND. in *MKG*, p. 42, is to be read (apud YOSH.) *t'δy(s)[t'n]* (*βr*)*wrty* “letter (to the) law-court”, see SUND. 1986a, p. 61, n. 64 (= p. 238); now SUND., 2009b, p. 265. Alternatively, SUND. apud DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, 2006b, p. 323 n. 19, proposes to understand *t'δy(s)* as Thaddeus, the second name of Sisinnius (see *sysn*, #1136), which is not attested elsewhere. )

***t'δys > t'δyH* #1212**

***t'k > tnk* #1232**

**1213.** ( *t'k kynlwnk* /Dēk ?/ m.: **B** N, *t'k x' kynlwnk x' nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A21. — **P** A trader of fabric (*ryzy*). — **D** The Chinese surname is *t'k* (or *tnk*, #1232; hardly akin to Bct. PN *Tako*), while *kynlwnk* (or *kyrlwnk*) is an unidentifiable bisyllabic Chinese name of person. The first *x' /qā/* is Chinese *jia* 家 (EMCh. *kai*, *kæ*; KG. *\*ka*) “family”, cf. #1283, while the second *x'* in the text is probably the writer’s error. )

**1214.** *t'kry* /?/: **B** N(A), *nwkry ZK t'kry pt(')yst Z(K) (c)[/]*: L.M.II.ii.09 = Or. 8212 (1823) apud *SC*, No. 370, R6 (photo of recto in STEIN, 1928, 3, plate CXXIV). — **P** A name/realia in a letter in archaic script (*t'kry* may “ask, beg”, cf. *UI2*, p. 65; or “grow”, if we transliterate *ptryst*). — **D** Unclear.

***t'm'r x'wš, t'm'r xwš > tm'r xwš* #1227**

**1215.** *t'r βyrt* /Tār vyart/ m.: **B** B, *ZK ZY (t)'r βyrt pwtystβ*: *Vim.*, 207. — **P** Bodhisattva, an interlocutor of Vimalakīrti. — **D** “(He who) obtained the peak”; his reconstructed Skt. name according to Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation (underlying the Sogdian one) and the Tibetan version is *Guṇakūṭa*, “id.”; the version of Xuan Zang reflects Skt. *\*Śrīkūṭa*, cf. *šr'ykwty* (#1175).

MACK., *BSTBL*, ii, p. 27 No. 207 gives a long discussion on this name and proposes to place <*p'š*> for *śrī* between *ZK* and *ZY*, see *p'š βyrt'k* (#876).

**1216.** *t'(r- - /?/ m.?:* **B** N, *γyc xw (?) t'(r- - )*: *UI2*, No. 660 (Thalpan III, without signature). — **P** Father of *γyc* (#503?). — **D** Unfinished, but cf. *t'r* “summit, forehead”, *t'r'k* “dark”.

It is unclear whether *xw* is an article (which is spelt only with arameogram *ZK* in the *UI* inscriptions), or if it represents a part of a name *xw-t'(r- -)*, *xw-š'(r- -)*, cf. *xwš'kk*?

***t'sp'r x'γ'n > my'' t'tp'r #664***

**1217.** ( *t's 'lpsnkwn 't'y t's ty'y 'yrβrt'n trx'n* /*Taš Alp-Saḡun Aday Taš Tayay Ervartan? Tarxan/* m.: **B** N, (*'ty? t's*) *'lpsn(?)kwn* (*'*)*t'y t's t(γ'y)* *'yrβ(?)rt'n trx'n xwβw δywt' xwsyn | x'twn*: Kulan-say, III-a, 13-14, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 147-148, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A Visitor to Kulan-say. Alternatively, the father of *yrwpylk' x'twn* (#1516) or *xwsyn x'twn* (#1452), or several different persons named after one another. — **D** Turkic lofty name(s): “stone” (cf. under *'yn'l t's tk'yn δswpšy*, #245) + “hero-sangun” + “nestling” (attested as PN, *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 6) + “stone” + “uncle” (cf. *xwtlwγ 'yn'l 'ymyš 'lp twγryl ty'y twty 'ylcy*, #1468) + “male ?” + *tarxan*. *βrt'n* remains unclear, maybe *'yrβrty* for *Erβerdi* “given as hero” (*Erverdi* is attested, albeit in Ottoman Turkish, see *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 261), LIV. suggests *'nβrt'n* as another possibility.

The reading of this line according to the photo, however, is very dubious. Cf. also *'yt'y t's*, #261. )

**1218.** ( *t't'γwr* /*Tatayur?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'yn'k pwsty 'z-w t't'γwr y(w)[xty]*: *PB*, c6, p. 34, cf. YOSH., *Coloph.*, p. 128; [*kw*] | *'wk'prmyš y'mcwr wn'ntm'x t't'γw[r]* | *s'r psy sw't t't'γwr*: *PB*, c7-9, p. 34; cf. YOSH., *Coloph.*, p. 128 (*sw't* for *šw't*). — **P** A person in a colophon (cf. YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85), probably the author of colophon? — **D** Turkic; P. Zieme (apud SUND., *PB*, p. 34, n. 147) derives the name from the root *tatir* “kosten lassen” + suff. *γur/gür*. )

**1219.** *t'tc* /*Tātič*/ m.: **B** B, *t'tc δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 183. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** Unclear. In *TSP*, *tytc* (but in translation also *t'tc*), this transliteration was cautiously rejected by HENN. (*STP*, p. 737). Cf. Bct. PNs *Tato*, *Tηto*, OChor. *t'tk* (LIV., 1984, p. 269, 14), OIr. *\*tāta-(ka-)* (Aram. *Tt*, Babylonian *Ta-a-ta*, *ta-ta-*, *Ta-tak-ka-*, see TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 322), lit. “father, daddy” (*Lallwort*), Toch. B *Tati* etc. Less likely, from OTu. *tat* “foreigner, agriculturalist, Iranian”? Or a hypocoristic to a WMIr. name containing *(-)dād(-)* “given”?

***t'tp'r x'γ'n > my'' t'tp'r #664***

**1220.** *t'w* /*Taw*/ m.: **B1-2** N, *t'w* | *ZK t'w* | *BRY: UII*, No. 45 (25: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148. — **P1-2** A visitor to Shatial; his father with an identical

name (cf. *kwnt*, #587: 1-2, *šyrc*, #1194: 1-2). — **D** “Power”, to S *t’w*, Olr. \**tavah-*, nom. \**tavā*; cf. following names, maybe, *w’xšwt’w-* (#1307?).

***t’w’ > t’wc* #1222**

**1221.** *t’w’kk* /*Tawak*/ m.: **B** N, *xwn ZK* | *t’w’(kk)* (*BRY*) (?): *UII*, No. 289 (36: 73); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P** Father of *xwn* (#1442: 3), probably the same person as *t’wc* in No. 46 (#1222), cf. SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 64-65, n. 14. — **D** S *t’w* “power” with the hypocoristic suffix *-’kk*.

**1222.** *t’wc* /*Tawič*/ m.: **B** N, *xwn ZK* | *t’wc BRY*: *UII*, No. 46 (25: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148. — **P** Father of *xwn* (#1442: 3). — **D** SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 46 hesitates between *t’w’* and *t’wc*. The last reading implies a hypocoristic with suffix *-c* from *t’w* “power”; *t’w’kk* (#1221) could be the same person, whose name thus could be in use with two different hypocoristic suffixes (cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 64-65, n. 14). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 62, 119, read *š’w’*, obviously to *š’w* “black”.

***t’wyδ > dwyd* #454: 2**

**1223.** (*t’y cw t’y z’n-* /*Day Čuw Day Z’ay*/ m.: **B** N, *mz’yxxw* [*t’y*] *cw t’y z’nw δw’* | *srδ*: *Xian*, 1. — **P** Not a personal name in the proper sense, but an era-name (nianhao) of Jing Di 靜帝, emperor of the Northern (here, “Great”) Zhou dynasty, namely Da Xiang era (579-581 CE), which is used in a calendar formula, cf. *x’y ’nkwyn* (#1399), *rwnkšwy* (#1033). — **D** Transcription from Chinese, where *t’y cw* is used for the dynastic name Da Zhou (大周, EMCh. *daj<sup>h</sup>*, *da’ tēuw*), and *da* “great” is further reinforced by S *mz’yxxw* “great”, while *t’y z’nw* transcribes era-name Da Xiang (大象, EMCh. *daj<sup>h</sup>*, *da’ zīay*). )

**1224.** (*tδ’ktswm* /*Taḍāgatsōm*/ m.: **B** B, *tδ’ktswm* | (*m*)*δy ’’γtγm*: graffito in the cave-temple of the Kuča region, Table XCI(2) in CHAO et alii, 1987, apud YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 239. — **P** A Buddhist visitor to the Kucha caves. — **D** The Buddhist Indian name, *Tathāgatasoma* “Soma (essence of) the Future Buddha”, *δ* on the place of Skt. *t(h)* is probably a prakritism, cf. SIMS-W., *Indian Elements*, p. 137. )

***tδwn > •rtδwn* #1634**

[ *ʔtkʔ* : **B** N, *p-ny tkʔ r-y-t-tp-y-r cʔ-c-y-n-k xw-βw*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 107-109, p. 128-130; cf. No. 110-112: [ *r*]y-*ttp-y-r cʔ-cynk*], cf. *Chach*, 79-80, BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 42, 48-49. — **P** An ilteber (cf. *ryttypyr*) in Chach oasis, 7<sup>th</sup> century? — **D** Unclear, probably Turkic.

The coin was initially read as *y(w)ztpyr MYRʔY*. RTVELADZE proposes to see the names of different rulers on different specimens: *y(w)ztpyr*, ..[*x*]βw *pyrk* or *pyrk*, [*xw*]βw *š/syrδwk* (*Chach*, 79-80), *pny nyʔr ywztpyr cʔcynk xwβ* (apud *Cat. Chach*, p. 129). G. BABAYAROV in his reading given above supposes that *tkʔ* is a abbreviation of *tkʔyn* “tegin” (*ZNH pny tkʔyn cʔcynk* is attested on several coin-types of this series). However, I cannot see these letters on the images of this coin I could use; maybe *y-nk-y* for OTu. *yanī* “new”? ]

***tkʔyn ʔp trxʔn > ʔyʔ ʔylʔn tkʔyn ʔptrxʔn #222***

**1225.** ( *tkʔyz /Tekiz/* m.: **B** B, *tkʔyz pw(tyʔk) β(r)n | βyrʔn*: *DTS*, C1-2; *wpʔsy tkʔyz*: C4 (I do not see two dots above *k* on the photo of the first line; transliteration without *aleph* (*tkʔyz*) in the first occurrence is probably a misprint, but the correct form given in the commentary, similarly YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 371) = *TSP*, 26, C. — **P** A lay Buddhist (*upāsaka*), who ordered *twryyl* (#1253) to paint two images of the Buddha. — **D** Turkic, “plain, equal, wise” (*DTS*, p. 37-38), attested also as a PN, *Onom. Turc.*, p. 727 ff. YOSH., 2009a, p. 328, n. 95, suggests *T(ä)ngiz* as alternative explanation. )

**1226.** *tkwt /Takūt?/* m.: **B** N(A), *ʔZY tkwt ʔNwZK βyʔ ʔpnʔwt*: *AL2* (2), R52; 32 *yxsyH tkwty xypδ*: (obl.), *AL2* (2), R58. — **P** A person named in the letter. The late father of *nnyβntk* (#787: 1) as supposed by F. GRENET apud SIMS-W., *AL2* (2), p. 277? — **D** Akin to the name of the Kushan ruler (*Οημο*) *Taktoo*, as SIMS-W., *Invaders*, p. 237 (further attestations of his name are investigated by FALK, 2009). This identification implies that the name is not Sogdian, and possibly even non-Iranian (SIMS-W., loc. cit.); in any case no S etymology of this name have been proposed.

**1227.** ( *tmʔr xwš, tʔmʔr xwš, tʔmʔr xʔwš /Tämär Quš/* m.: **B** N(C), *MN tmʔr xwš | xšyδ*: *DTS*, G5-6; *MN tmʔr xwš xšyδy*: G22 (obl.); *ʔny tʔmʔr xwš xʔw*: *DTS*, H1; *Zyms | tʔmʔr xʔwš*: H2-3. — **P** A “sovereign” (*xšyδ*), author of the letter; probably, active in Ganzhou around 884-885, a member of Longjia (龍家 “Dragon’s clan”) ethnic state (*DTS*, p. 63, 68-9); most probably, the same person is mentioned twice on a subscript of the obscene sketch *DTS*, H. — **D** A Turkic name, *Tämär Quš* “Iron Bird”, where *tämär* stands for *temir*

(on its usage as PN among Old Turks cf. GABAIN, 1973, p. 73, cf. also *tymwr*, #1282; *tmrkwr* (#1229), *tmyr* 'wyz, #1230, *xwrc*, #1447).

W.B. HENNING's equation of this name with a place-name *Ṭamāxuš* near Isfara in Farghana, known from the Islamic sources (*Argi*, p. 558) can hardly be accepted as a direct relationship of the two names, albeit the place-name *Ṭamāxuš* could have the same etymology. As for text and sketch H, the author was probably playing with the second meaning of OTu. *quš* "penis", as *DTS*, p. 77-78.

It is noteworthy that another name written on the sketch, *ymkycwr* (#1508) is clearly Manichean, while the text G (where we meet *tm' r xwš* for the first time) has Christian references (cf. *kw'r'k*, #590, *yw'rk's*, #1524). A rare case of interreligious contacts within Turko-Sogdian community in Dunhuang? )

**1228.** ( *tmy'c trx'n*, *tmȳc trx'n* /*Tamȳač Tarxan*/ m.: **B1** N, *tmy'c tr-x'n βxc*: *SSNSS*, No. 21, p. 172 (*VS*, XXX, 58). — **P1** A name or title of *βxc* (#335: 2), the owner of the silver-vessel. **B2** N, *kt/w ●● tmyc trx'n nypyš*: inscr IIr of Terek-say, 1-3, *Ist Kirg*, p. 146. — **P2** The visitor to Terek-say, the scribe of the inscription. — — **D** Turkic, "Tarkhan – the Chinese" (if *tmyc* here is *taβȳač* / *tamȳač*, see SCHAEDEER, 1934, p. 44).

HARMATTA, *Avar Objects*, p. 61, reads *tmy'n* on the silver vessel and identifies him as Tagma Tarchan of Menander, the Western Turkic ambassador to Byzantine. On the Terek Say inscription, read alternatively read *tmy'* for Turkic *tamȳa* "sign, seal, tamgha", (also proposed by LIV., loc. cit., n. 193); *kt/w ●●* may represent a part of his PN; cf. *img'ntix'n* in *MN*, 98. )

**1229.** ( *tmrkwr* /*Temir-kür*/ m.: **B** N, ...*tmrkwr* (?)...: *Terek-say*, II-a, p. 54. — **P** A name (?) in the inscription. — **D** Turkic, *temir* "iron" + *kür* "brave"? )

**1230.** ( *tmyr 'wyz-* /*Temir Öz*/ m.: **B** N, *tmyr 'wyzy nβ'nt*: (obl.) *DTS*, A2. — **P** A fabric (*ryzy*) trader in Changle (*cnkl'xy*), Gansu. — **D** Turkic, "(he with) iron essence", cf. *'wyz 'δgw*, #209. )

**1231.** ( *tngrȳ 'lp-* /*Tānri Alp*<sup>o</sup>/ m.: **B** M, *oo t[ngry? 'l]p*: *Öt.*, No. 6191, V6, p. 198. — **P** A name (?) in a fragment of the Manichean calendar. — **D** Turkic, "Heaven + Hero+ ?". Needless to say, the restoration is completely hypothetical. However, in the recent re-edition of the fragment YOSH. (*Bema*, p. 454) reads *t[ngry 'wyγwr x'n?]* "Lord Uyghur Kaghan". )

**1232.** ( *tnk* /*Dəŋg*/ m.: **B** N, *tnk x'*: *DTS*, A15; *tnk x' nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A23. — **P** A fabric (*ryzy*) trader. — **D** Transcription of a Chinese surname.

He is named only with his Chinese surname (*x'*, *jia*, 家), the editors propose to read it as *t'k* and compare to the surname *Di* (翟, EMCh. KG. *d'iek*, PLB. *dəjk*), but YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 367, shows that this character was pronounced as *Jai*, EMCh. *\*d'ek*, Tib. *Jeg/Cheg* in Dunhuang of 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century (the possibility which is envisaged by the editors, too), so their alternative reading *tnk* for Chinese *Deng* (鄧, EMCh. *dəŋ*<sup>h</sup>, Middle Chinese *dəŋ*), the surname attested in Dunhuang texts as well (*DTS*, p. 29-30), seems to be a better possibility; cf. *tynk* (#1283), *tnk xr'* (#1236) as well.)

**1233.** ( *tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmyš 'lpw xwtlwy 'wlwy pylk'* /*Tängridä Ülüg Bulmiš Alp Qutluy Uluy Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N(M), *pts'r tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmyš 'lpw xwtlwy 'wlwy pylk' x'γ'n xšty*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 14(1), p. 18. — **P** The 7<sup>th</sup> Kaghan of the Uyghur Empire, 795-808, see details in MACKERRAS, 1968, p. 157; RYBATZKY, *Titles*, p. 240. — **D** A lofty Turkic name: “(he who) obtained (his) share from Heaven, Hero, Glorious, Great, Wise” Kaghan.

He is called *Denglihuo yulu momishi he guduolu hulu pijia kehan* in the Chinese rendering (登里囉羽綠沒蜜施合汨咄綠胡綠毗迦可汗, vel sim). For spelling '*lpw* cf. '*y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'* (#38), for *xšty* see under '*lpw xwtlwy pylk'* (#79).)

**1234.** ( *tnkryδ' pwlmyš 'yl 'ytmyš pylk'* /*Tägridä Bulmiš El Etmış Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N(M), [*tn*] *kryδ' pwlmyš 'yl 'ytmyš p[ylk' x'γ'n xšty]*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 7(4). — **P** The second Kaghan of the Uyghur Empire, 747-759, son of *kwl pylk'* (#578), for his names in Chinese sources see MACKERRAS, 1968, p. 156; RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 233-234. — **D** A Turkic lofty name “(he who) obtained from Heaven (by God), Regulates the state, Wise” Kaghan. )

**1235.** ( *tnkryδ' pwlmyš kwlwk pylk'* /*Tägridä Bolmis Külüg Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N(M), *•••tnkryδ' pwlmyš kwlwk pylk' x'γ'n xšty*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 13(6), p. 18; [*tnp*](*r*) *p'(ry)cw tnkryδ' p(wlmy)s* (sic!) *kwl-[k p]ylk' x[γ'n*: in the present state of preservation, *KB-Y2*, 7a, 4/13, p. 216. — **P** The fifth Kaghan of the Uyghur Empire, 789-790, cf. MACKERRAS, 1968, p. 157, where *Ay Tägridä Qut Bulmiš Külüg Bilgä*, cf. RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 239-240. — **D** A Turkic lofty name, “(he who) Obtained from Heaven and Moon, Famous, Wise” Kaghan. )

**1236.** ( *tnk xr'* /*Taŋ Qara*/ m.: **B** N, *tnk xr'y*: (obl.) *DTS*, G10; *tnk xr'*: G12; *tnk xr' pryw*: G13. — **P** An official in Ganzhou; probably, he was a head of the Uyghur kingdom there. — **D** The final *xr'* stands for Turkic *qara*

“black” (on its usage as PN see GABAIN, 1973, p. 73; also under #1156 ff.), while *tnk* is more likely to be OTu. *taγ* “dawn” (also attested as PN, see *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 710), rather than a Chinese surname (cf. *tnk*, #1232), as *DTS*, p. 71. As it was pointed by Prof. SCHMITT “black dawn” is an oxymoron, maybe here we have a mechanical composition of two widespread name elements?)

**†tnwkk > wnwkk #1316: 2**

**1237.** ( *tr’ywmwkt* /Trimukt/ m.: **B** B, *nm’cyw βr’m ’wyn tr’ywmwkt pwtystβ mx’stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 16. — **P** A Bodhisattva in an invocation. — **D** Acc. to BENV., *TSP*, Skt. *Trimukti*, “(the one who obtains) triple salvation”; however, I was not able to find a Bodhisattva with such a name. )

**1238.** ( *trδ’wš*, *trδwš* /Tarduš/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn* | *trδ’wš X w’ry’k ZY ’δw pwst* | *ZY ’δw w’ry’k γr’k*: Muγ, Nov.1 R31-33 (*SDGM*, III, p. 37); *rty ’st trδwš ’yw ’yz-H*: B-1, L7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of lambskins (? , *w’ry’k*), of a water-skin (or spear, *’zyH*). — **D** A nickname from the ethnic name, Turkish *Tarduš* tribe (as BOGOL., SMIR., 99, LIV., *SDGM* II, p. 177 n. 4), cf. *’yl t’k trtš tyrk wrwn cwr* (#238), Khot. *ttarādūsa*. )

**1239.** ( *trδw* /Tardu/ m.: **B** N, *trδw* || *x’γ’-n*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 320-327, p. 285-288, cf. BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 9, 24-26. — **P** Tardu Kaghan, the ruler of the Western part of the first Turkic kaghanate (576-603), cf. *tnw cγγw x’γ’n* (#1259), the successor of Tardu on the Western Turkic throne; *Tardu* also served as an honorary title. — **D** Old Turkic *Tardu* (though its etymology remains unclear), in the Chinese sources *Datou* (達頭, EMCh. *dat-dəw*), Gr. *Ταρδοϋ*. )

**trδwš > trδ’wš #1238**

**trγ’mc > wyrγ’mc #1380**

[ *†trnβc*, *trnβn* on the coins from Chach oasis (*Sv. Kat.*, No. 1499-1554, p. 372-384; RTVELADZE, *Chach*, p. 59, *Cat. Chach*, p. 235-239, No. 243-248, BARATOVA, 1999, p. 255) – read *xwβw* | *tk’yn*, with BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 44. ]

**1240.** *trwδ cxršnk-* /*Drōδ Čaxršang?*/ m.: **B** N(M?), 'yny (●●●) 'tšyry ZY *trwδ cxršnky* 'zw prw[: (obl.?) *Ōt.*, U829, Chinese side, C1, p. 168. — **P** A name in an unclear context (scribble or colophon?). — **D** The initial *trwδ* is obviously WMIr. *drōd* “well-being; greeting” (cf. the following), while in the following word one can see either WMIr. *cyhr* “nature, essence, form” or *cxr* “wheel”; the following letters, however, do not give any clue.

**1241.** *trwδ'* /*Drōδ-?*/ m.: **B** M, *trwδ'* *nywš'k* (w'β): M794a/II/R/2 apud MORANO, 2009b, p. 193-194; cf. BOYCE, *Catalogue*, p. 53. — **P** The name of an auditor? — **D** WMIr. *drōd* with a final *aleph* of unclear function, but cf. *r'ymzt yzδ'* (#1009).

**1242.** ( *trwkkm'n* /*Trukmān*/ m.: **B** N, *rty* 'st *trwk-k-m'(n)* 'ywH ['z-y-H]: Muγ, B-1, L-5 (*SDGM*, III, 44). — **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or spear, 'zyH). — **D** Either “interpreter”, Pth. *trkwm'n* (from Aramaic), or “Türkman” (both proposed by LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 177 n. 4), not a PN in the proper sense in either case. )

**1243.** ( *trx'n* /*Tarxan*/ m.: **B1** N, *kw trx'n* ZY βyy | *prnw*: Muγ, A13, 2-3 (*SDGM*, I, p. 38; *SDGM*, II, p. 69, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 74; *SDGM*, III, p. 71, *Last Days*, p. 187, n. 33). — **P1** One of addressees of A13 (cf. βyy *prn-*, #490). — **B2** N(C?), *tr(x)'n*: *Ladakh*, 6. — **P2** A visitor to Ladakh, maybe the same person with wry *trx'n* (#1343). — **D** In the Mt. Mugh text, FREJMAN, LIV. and BOGOL., SMIR. understand it as the common noun, Turkic *tarxan*. The subject of the document (a year's taxation of a bridge) seems not to be adequate to *tarxan*'s duties, so the interpretation of *trx'n* as a PN (thus HENN., *Kalender*, p. 89, n. 1; GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE, *Last Days*) seems to be the better possibility. This PN cannot be separated, however, from the Turkic title. Both interpretations are possible for the Ladakh inscription. Cf. *k'n'k trx'n 'sk'tc* (#515) and *trxwn* (#1244). The Bukhariot (*An*) *Dahan* (達漢, EMCh. *dat-xan<sup>h</sup>*), i.e. *Tarxan*, is mentioned in the documents from Dunhuang (see IKEDA, 1965, p. 63). )

**1244.** ( *trxwn*, *trx'wn* /*Tarxūn*/ m.: **B1** N, *trxwn MLK' X srδ* 'z: Muγ, Nov. 3 R1, Nov. 4 R1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21-22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 29, YAK., *Marr.*, p. 311); *trxwn* | *MLK'*; *trx'wn MLK'*: coin, SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 215-358, p. 138-158; Table X-XIII; LXVI-LXVIII. — **P1** A king of Samarkand, 700(?) – 710-11 CE, *Ṭarxūn* of Arabic authors, *Ṭarxān* of Bal'amī, *Tuhun*

(突昏, EMCh. *dwāt/t<sup>h</sup>wāt-xwān*) in the Chinese sources, a client of Qutaiba bin Muslim, heir of *Ni-nie-shi-shi* (泥涅师师, 698-700?), predecessor of *Īurak* (#186, 'wyrk, 711-720?); for further discussion see KRACHKOVSKIE, 1934, p. 61 ff., R.N. FRYE, 1951; *SDGM*, II, p. 65 ff; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 210 ff., *SÉSAS*, p. 23 ff. — **B2** N, *rty(?) trxwn*: Muγ, B-7, V8 (*SDGM*, II, p. 167, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 196). — **P2** A person in a letter. He is of course distinct from *Ṭarxūn*, the king of Samarkand: the latter would hardly be mentioned in a passage about 4 drachmae! — **D** A Turkic name, probably connected with the title *tarqan*, Arabic *tarxān*, Bct. *ταρχανο*, but S *tr-xw-'nt* in *Buγ*, BII, 2, see LIV., *Praviteli Pancha*, p. 58; BOSWORTH, CLAUSON, 1975, p. 11-12; the title itself does not have any unambiguous etymology; for the latest summary of the discussion see P.B. GOLDEN, 2000. One cannot exclude its Iranian origin, cf. *ḏrxwnysk* (#441) and *IÉSOJa*, III, p. 275-7.

For *ṭtry'wn* on a gem attached to the Muγ document B-4 (pace FREJMAN, 1960, p. 212-214), read *prγ'n[H]* (for *p/brγnH* “sign”) with LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 54-56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 58ff., or *wrn-zn-* (*k/y*) “trust-sign” with LIV., *Praviteli Pancha*, p. 62 n. 30. However, on several specimens of his coins one sees the form *trx'wn* rather than *trxwn* (*Sv. Kat.*, No. 269, 300, 324, 346). The grandson of *Īurak*, according to the *Kitāb al-Qand* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11) bore the same name *trxwn*. The name *Tuhun* (written in the same characters as the name of the Samarkand king) was applied to two residents of Dunhuang, one of Tashkent origin and another Bukhariot, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64. Cf. also under *tyšprn*, #1292.)

**1245.** (*trytr'št* /*Dritarāšt*/ m.: **B** B, 'wyn trytr'št mx'r'c: *TSP*, 8, 50. — **P** *Mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, the Heavenly king of the East, see β'yšrβn mx'r'c (under #302), βyr'wt'kk mx'r'c (under #349), βyr'wp'kš mx'r'c (#348). — **D** Skt. *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, lit. “(The one whose) empire is firm”. The loss of the last -r can be explained as a prakritism or a result of simplification.)

**1246.** *tš'kk* /*Təšak*/ m.: **B** N, ḏx'nk ZK | *tš'kk* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 434 (42:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247. — **P** Father of ḏx'nk (#457). — **D** More probably, hypocoristic to *tš* “axe”, rather than to “*Tištriya*” (see the names with *tyḏr*, #1277 ff.).

For semantics of this and similar names, cf. *ck'wš'k* (#369). The same etymology can be applied to Elam. *Te-ša-ka* (although GERSH., *Amber*, p. 237, MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1629 and TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 164-165, give other possibilities).

*tš'rt* > *tšprt* #1247

**1247.** *tšβrt* /*Tašvarat?*/ m.: **B** N, *tšβrt*: *UI2*, No. 419 (40:12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 73) understands this name as “(he by whom) an axe (is) borne”, cf. the similar name *m'nβrt* (#630).

One can also think that *-βrt* is akin to *S βrt'wx* “tranquil, secure”, thus “(the one who is) secure (with his) axe”? Or *βrt* is here 3Sg. pres. indic. finite form? Cf. *n'βrtmsH* (#752). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 32, has *tnnδβ'rt*. Another possible reading, given by SIMS-W., is *tš'rt*.

**1248.** *tšc'kk* /*Tašičak*/ m.: **B** N, *tšc'k(k)* | (*tw*)*δ'yc*: *UII*, No. 103 (31: 74); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *twδ'yc* (#1250: 1). — **D** See above; here the base *tš* is supplemented by the composite hypocoristic suffix *-c'kk*. Reading introduced by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 67c.

**1249.** *twδ'kk* /*Tōδak*/ m.: **B** N, *MN wxwšwβyrt MN twδ'kk BRY* | *sm'rknδc*: *ΔP*, R4-5. — **P** Father of *wxwšwβyrt* (under #1355: 3). — **D** Probably related to *S twδ'k* “heap, mass”, as a kind of nickname (?); the context excludes its usage as *nisba*, cf., however, the names similar to *prnmyδn* (#908). Cf. Bct PN *Toδako* (SIMS-W., 1994, p. 176).

**1250.** *twδ'yc* /*Tōδič*/ m.: **B1** N, *tšc'k(k)* | (*tw*)*δ'yc*: *UII*, No. 103 (31: 74); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P1** A patronym or *nisba* of *tšc'kk* (#1248); in view of the following inscription, maybe his companion. — **B2** N, *twδ'yc*: *UII*, No. 104 (31: 75); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial (cf. B1, P1). — **D** Probably, a *nisba*; even if the father's name, originally a *nisba*, too.

It may belong to *twδ-kδ-* mentioned in *BL*, B70, to Islamic *Tōδ* near Samarkand, *Tōδič* in Semirechje, *Tōdīna* near Naxšap (Nasaf), see *ILAST*, p. 144-145, alternatively, cf. *twδ'kk* (#1249, with the different suffix); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 67c (No. 103), reads *sδ'yc* and No. 67d (No. 104) *twδ'y*.

**1251.** ( *twγ'n'r?* /*Toyan Er?*/ m.: **B** N, *tw-γ'n'r*: HARMATTA, *Avar Objects*, p. 62. — **P** A name(?) in a Sogdian (?) inscription (?) on a silver strap from an Avar grave in Zamárdi, Hungary. — **D** According to HARMATTA, OTu. *toyan er*, “falcon-man”. The inscription (?) is, alas, too faint and laconic for any degree of surety in its reading. )

**1252.** ( *twymyš'wrkw* /*Toymiš Örgü*/ m.: **B** N(M), *twymyš'wrkw xwβw*: *BL*, C11; *twymyš'wrkw xwβwy*: *BL*, C14-15. — **P** A “ruler” in Turfan. — **D** Turkic, *toymiš* is “descended” (a past participle of *toy* “be born”, attested

as PN, cf. ZIEME, 1978-9, p. 90), *örgü* “tumor, protuberance, *al-sanām*” (CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 465, 223). )

**1253.** ( *twyryl* /*Toyrill*/ m.: **B** B, *ṣwtwzy z'ty twyryl*: *DTS*, C3 (*TSP*, 26, b: *twyryk*, corrected into *twyryl* by HENN., *STP*, p. 714). — **P** A painter, who drew two images of the Buddha, ordered by *tk'yz* (#1225). — **D** Turkic *toyriḷ* “a kind of hawk”, *DTS*, p. 38, commonly used in PNs, cf. *DrTS*, p. 571, ZIEME, 1977, p. 81-2; cf. s.v. *xwtlwy 'yn'l 'ymyš 'lp twyryl t'y twty 'ylcy* (#1468); *swp 'šy twyryl 'yn'l* (#1114); maybe, *twry'r* (#1264)? )

**1254.** *twk'sp'δ'k* /*Tōkaspāde*/ m.: **B** N, *twk-'sp'δ'k M(L)K'*: coin, SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 191-214, p. 131-137; Table IX-X; LXVI, cf. SMIR., 1953. — **P** A king of Samarkand; mentioned by the Chinese as *Dusuoboti* (篤娑鉢提 EMCh. *təwk-sa-pat-dej*) in 696 CE (CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 137). — **D** S *'sp'δ* is “army” (cf. *'sp'δ'k*, #158), while *twk* can stand for “powerful”, OIr. *\*tavaka-*, as LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 68, n. 19, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 73 n. 125; cf. *twkznk* (#1255), *t'w* (#1220)ff.; Bct. *Tōyo* (?), DAVARY, 1982, p. 286?

His namesake *Tūqāsbāda* توقاسباده of Tabarī, corrupted into *Tūṣāda* توغ شاده in the “History of Buxārā”, *Dusaboti* (篤薩波提, EMCh. *təwk-sat-pa-dej*) in the Tangshu (see CHAVANNES, 1903, 138 ff.) at the same time (693-727) was ruling in Buxārā, cf. also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14. Prof. SCHMITT kindly reminded me of OP PN *Taxma-spāda-*, which is semantically similar to this name.

**1255.** *twkznk* /*Tōkazang?*/ m.: **B** N, *'t βγw xwβw RBcH* | *'nwtH pryw 'HYw twkznk[w?]* | (*ptšk*)*w'nH*: (graph. acc.?), Marw inscription, V2-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 68; photo p. 64-65, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 73; *SC*, No. 315). — **P** An otherwise unknown ruler addressed in a scribal exercise on ostrakon from Old Merv, 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** Unclear.

LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 68 (cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 73), understands the name as “(the one who has) strong kin”, “(the one who descends from) strong kin” and compares the first part to *twk* “powerful” in the name *twk'sp'δ'k* (#1254), from *\*tav-*. One is puzzled, however, with a translation of *znk* as “kin”, this word meaning in S only “kind, sort”. Read *twkz'k* “powerful child”, *twk'nk* with patronymic suffix, or *twr'nk*, “the *Tūrānian* one” (cf. #1262)? FREJMAN’s reading *twrxn* (*SDGM*, I, p. 64-68) is unacceptable.

Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested to see in the addressee of the letter-exercise a variant of S *twz'nk* “ordinary; so-and-so” (SIMS-W., 1994b, p. 46, 51). He also reads *pryw 'HYw* “dear brother” (cf. *SC*, No. 315) instead of *pryw 'šyw* “dear, \*honored” of LIV., cf. also YOSH. apud *Last Days*, p. 190 n. 84.

**1256.** ( *twln cwr* /*Tolun-čor*/ m.: **B** C, *twln c(w)r(.)*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 6. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Turkic, “*čor* (cf. *cwr*) of the Full Moon”, see references in SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 57, n. 76; ZIEME, 1977, p. 82. )

**1257.** ( *twm'x* /*Tomaq?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY twm'x ZK zym BRY*: Muγ, B-8, V3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P** A witness in the deed of half of a *nā'ūs*, son of *zym* (#1573). — **D** The editors transliterate *tws'x* but propose *twm'x* as a variant. It sounds Turkic and, indeed, the name *Tomaq*, lit. “wooden ball, mace” has been attested in Turkic onomastics since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 776-777. )

**1258.** ( *twm* /*Ton?*/ m.: **B** N, *'yw sr'kH twm δ'βr*: Muγ, B-4, 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p. 65); *ZY 's(t t)wn 'yw 'yz-H*: Muγ, B-1, L7; *ZY twm ('st)*: R22 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A supplier of a helmet, recipient of a water-skin (or a spear, *'zyH*). — **D** Probably Turkic, cf. following and *twmtrx'n* in *MN*, 60. Acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., p. 100, a noun from *\*tav-* “to be able”.

It is not clear whether he is mentioned in Muγ A-1, R13 (*SDGM*, II, 142, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 163; *SDGM*, III, 73), where the sequence *ZY 'yw twm xypδ spt'kw* can be understood as “one pearl (of a special kind, Arabic, NP *tūm*?) in its container (NP *sabad*, Syr. *spt'*, or “Обточка” apud *SDGM*, III, p. 74; “Knäuel” apud SUND., *SSeele*, p. 137, n. 110, 11)” or “and one [item] completely for *twm*”.)

**1259.** ( *twm cpyw, twm zpyw* /*Ton Ĵabyul*/ m.: **B** N, *β-γγ t-[wn] zp-γw [x](-)γ'n; βγγ t-w-n cpyw x-γ'γ'n*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, p. 70-102, No. 40, 53-55, BABAYAROV, KUBATIN, 2005, p. 97-105; BABAYAROV, 2005; BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 9-12, No. 3-10, p. 28-30 et passim. — **P** A ruler who issued coins in Chach oasis. G. BABAYAROV identifies *twm cpyw/zpyw* with Ton Yabghu Kaghan (*Tong Shehu kehan*, 統葉護可汗), the ruler of Western Turks in 618-630, who had his residence in the locality of “One Thousand streams”, immediately to the north-east from Čāč-Tāškand. — **D** Turkic, *Ton* appears in a number of PNs (e.g., *Tonyuquq*), *yabyu* (in its western dialect form *ĵabyu*, with Turkic *ĵ* rendered with S *c* or *z*, cf. MMP *yβγw* and *jβγw* in *MN*) and *xayan* are well known titles.

The readings of RTVELADZE (*c'cyn'k MR'Y 'w'βH*, *Chach*, p. 61-62; *'yšβr ...δwr ywLk* (?) p. 64-65; [*ZNH*] *pnj tōwn šwy'* in *Cat. Chach* p. 85) as well as *xwβw knycwr pyδk'* (BABAYAROV, 2004, p. 32 [apud BABAYAROV, 2007 p. 11]) seem to be quite outdated. I

see *βγγ* “lord” instead of *pn̄y* “penny”; G. BABAYAROV, “On the orthography of the title “djabghu” in the coins with Sogdian letters relating to the Chach epoch of the Western Turkic Kaghanate”, I, 4 (through the kindness of the author, the preprint of this article was made publicly available at groups.yahoo.com/group/Sogdian-L/) gives *βγγ* as a variant transliteration. Cf. *cp̄γw x’γ’n*, #379; *z̄p̄γw kr crōnk*, #1561.)

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

**1260.** (*twnk’ ’rsl’n* /*Toṇa Arslan*/ m.: **B** N, *nyw ms twnk’ ’rsl’n*: *DTS*, A11; *twnk’ ’rsl’n xypδ*: *DTS*, A24. — **P** A fabric (*ryzy*) trader. — **D** Turkic, “Tiger-Lion”, or “Lion-Hero”; the second word can be transliterated *’rsl’n*, too (*DTS*, p. 24: cf. under #132 ff.), but it does not change the meaning.)

### *twnk̄w ’lp̄tr̄x’n* > *pw̄yr’ swyn twnk̄w ’lp̄tr̄x’n* #954

### *tw̄n z̄p̄γw* > *tw̄n cp̄γw* #1259

**1261.** *tw̄p’yc* /*Tōpič’*/ m.: **B** N, *βy-rtw MN tw̄p’y-c*: Muγ, Nov. 6, 6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 186, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 223; *SDGM*, III, p. 49); *ZY ZKn tw̄p-y(c) pw̄styc w’rpn’k pnc w’ry’k*: Muγ, Nov.1 R26-27; *ZY tw̄p’yc ZKn | w’r’yc w’rpn’k wxw-šw w’ry[’k]*: Nov.1 R29-30; *ZY ZKn | tw̄p’y-c ZKn w’r’y-c w’rpn’k | ’yw ZY n(ym’kw) [β]r’ytc p’sw’k*: Nov.1, V50-52 (*SDGM*, III, 38); *prw | tw̄p-’yc prm’nH*: Muγ, B-2, 5-6 (*SDGM*, III, 41). — **P** A supplier of four drachmae, a recipient of some clothes, armour. — **D** Although the reading is unambiguous, there are several more or less satisfactory possibilities for the interpretation.

A *nisba* to a toponym *tw̄p-* (cf. *tw̄δ’yc*, #1250, a town *Tūban* in Southern Sughd, *Tūbkār* in Farghāna, cf. BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 141, 163)? SIMS-W., *Ladakh*, p. 155, n. 10, interprets it as *\*tw̄p’yt-c*, from *tw̄p’yt*, var. of *tw̄p’wt* “Tibet”; cf. also Pont. Ir. *Toφως* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §716), Bct. PN *Toβαζην-*, or the name *tw̄p’fwšyy* (*MN*, 70, and p. 32 where the first part is compared to *Doubō* 都播, a Turkic tribe; for this suggestion I am grateful to Dr. COLDITZ).

**1262.** *tw̄r’k* /*Tūrak’*/ m.: **B** N, *tw̄r-’k | xwβ*: coin, *Sv. Kat.*, No. 26-29, p. 93, Table II, LX. — **P** A king of Samarkand (around 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century CE). — **D** I accepted above the reading of A.A. FREJMAN (apud *Sv. Kat.*, p. 21); SMIR. (*Sv. Kat.*, p. 21) prefers *tw̄y-’k* but on p. 93 (in the catalogue) mentions only *tw̄r’k*; both are paleographically possible; ISKHAKOV (2008, p. 174) pleads for *tw̄y’k*. FREJMAN linked it to the people *Tūriia-* in Avesta (cf. also *Tūr*, *Tūrak* in *Šn.*; Av. PN *Tūra*; MP *Tūr-Spand-Gušnasp*, GIGNOUX, *IPNB*

II/2, No. 912), SMIR. to *t'w* “force” (in this case, however, the orthography and morphology of the name are unusual); cf. also *twrk* (#1265) and *Jswr'k/r* (or *Jtwr'k/r*) on an archaic terracotta figurine from Samarkand (LIV, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 59 and 315).

**1263.** *twr'ntš-* /*Tūrāntš?*/ m.: **B** N, MN | *cy-'nkw xwβw tw(r)'ntšw:* *Afr.*, 3-4, p. 59-61, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 317. — **P** The king of Čayāniyān, mid 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. — **D** “Battle-axe of the Tūrānians”, as LIV., *Afr.*, p. 63-64, cf. *twr'k* (#1262), *twrk* (#1265), *tš'kk* (#1246); the final -w is probably a graphical marker (op. cit., p. 61).

**1264.** ( *twry'r* /*Tor(i)yar?*/ m.: **B** N, *twry'r* | *MLK'*: coin, *Sv. Kat.*, No. 474-656, p. 191-217; Table XVII-XXI; LXXI; *twr-yr*: on “*Buxārxudāh*” coin, see [DOVUTOV-ZEJMAL'], *Drev. Tadzh.*, No. 638, p. 254; ZEJMAL', 1994, p. 265 n. 14; cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 11614. — **P** A king of Samarkand, son of 'wyrk (#186) mentioned in 738 and 750 CE under the name *Duohe* (咄曷/喝, EMCh. KG. *tuət-yât*) in the Chinese sources (CHAVANNES, 1904, p. 58-59, 83). — **D** The name sounds Turkic. Maybe, a dvandva *torïy-ār* “bay-(and)-reddish”? Less likely, *Toyril* “a kind of hawk” (cf. *twryrl*, #1253) with metathesis? Cf. also the Chaghatai name *Turqar* (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 799). )

**1265.** ( *twrk* /*Türk*/ m.: **B** N, ZY 'ywH ZK *twrk*: Muγ, B-9, V3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 160, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 187; *SDGM*, III, p. 55); ZY *tw(rk)'s*t ' [ywH] '(z-y-H): B-1, L6 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44); *rty* (*npšš*) | *t twrk*: B-5, 13-14 (*SDGM*, III, p. 58). — **P** A recipient of ruby, of water-skin (or spear, 'zyH), the scribe of the carelessly written document B-5; probably ne and the same person. — **D** Most probably, a nickname from the ethnic name *türk*, S *tr'wk*, *trwk*, cf. *xwn* (#1442), *p'rs* (#873).

Cf. *Türk* as PN in MN (54, spelt *twrk*) and on Nestorian grave-stones from Semirechje (apud RÁSONYI, 1953, p. 326). BOGOL., SMIR., *SDGM*, III, compare it to *Tör*, *Ṭuwurg* of Šn., and to the Turks as well, LIV. vocalizes *Türk*, cf. *twr'k*, #1262. )

**1266.** ( *twrkš* /*Türgeš?*/ m.: **B** N, ('Y)K *t(w)rkš* [●●●]n/H: *Legends*, 2 (Room 41/Sector VI), 1, p. 168. — **P** A person (?) named in the wall-inscription. — **D** Probably, *türgeš*, either as a Turkic ethnic name or as a nickname.

LIV. (op. cit.), however, separates this name from the *Türgeš* tribe since the latter is always spelt *twrkyš* (on coins and in KB, 20, 2) and he understands the PN as OIr. \**tūra-*

*kaša*- “Turanian teacher”. The inscription is to be dated to *c.* 750 CE (MARSHAK, 2002, p. 166-167), the very high point of the Tūrgeš dominion, so the ethnonymic interpretation (with irregular spelling) seems preferable, cf. *Rahmat-name*, p. 214, n. 5. Cf. *tʳrkš*, descendant of *Ūrak* in *Kitāb al-Qand* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 10), a late Khotanese official (*spāta*) with the name *Tturgäši* (SKJÆRVØ, 2002, p. 560, a1). )

**1267.** ( *twrf* /*Türk?*/ m.: **B** N, *twrf*: *Panj.*-1978, No. 5, p. 136. — **P** A name (?) inscribed on the rim of a bowl. — **D** Cf. *twrk* (#1265), *twr'k* (#1262; with the editors), or *twry'r*, #1264? )

*tws'x* > *twm'x* #1257

**1268.** ( *twswl* /*Tusul?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *Jtwswl yw'rks*: Ch/U 6536b v4 apud *MIr. Hss. I*, No. 379. — **P** A name in the colophon? — **D** The letter *l* shows that the name is probably Turkic. Maybe from OTu. *tusul*- “to be useful”? The name might be incomplete at the beginning, medial *s* is ambiguous according to the photo an *DTA*. )

*twtmš 'δpw x'γ'n* > *'δpw x'γ'n twtwy* #58

*twtwx* > *'wδwn twtwx*- after #184

[*ʔtwttβ'r*: **B** N, Muγ A-14, 10, pace BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1* & *A14*, p. 117) – read *twttk'γ*, obl. of Turkic *totoq* (LIV., *SDGM II*, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86, GRENET, DE LA VAISSIÈRE, *Last Days*, p. 167). ]

[ *twty*: **B** N(M), not a name in a letter-fragment (as SIMS-W., HALÉN, *Hels.*, C, 1), but “parrot”, narrator of a parable, as RECK, *MIr. Hss. I*, No. 373; MORANO, 2009b, p. 178. ]

**1269.** *twwδ* /*ʔ*/ m.: **B** N, *twwδ* ʔ: *Graff.*, No. 7. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** Unclear inscription. One can read also *mwpδ* and see here NP *mōbaδ* “Zoroastrian priest” (with fricative articulation of postvocal *d*, as typical for the early NP)?

**1270.** ( *twwn* /*Ton?*/ m.: **B** N, (*βγ*)-y *tww-n* (*x'γ*)-'n ʔ: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 177-191, p. 189-198, cf. RTVELADZE, *Chach*, p. 90-91, BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 18-20. — **P** A ruler in Chach, 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** Unlike the many Chach coins with the names of Western Turkic Kaghans (*twn cpyw x'γ'n*,

#1259; *trδw x'γ'n*, #1239; *'šβr'*, #178, cf. also unnamed kaghans, BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 20-23), the present type provides a number of difficulties.

First of all, no dignitary with the name Ton Qayan (vel sim.) in relevant written sources is known to me. Moreover, the inscription is far from being well written: for βγγ one sees initial *k* or *r*, it is followed by *n* or *z*, after it *y*, *δ* or *c* and finally *z* or *y*; the spelling of *twwn* with double *w* has no parallels in S orthography (and the coin is too early to refer to the Uygh. spelling with *ww*); the first two letters of *x'γ'n* are in fact represented by a single stroke (read βγ- 'n?). The name can be read *tp-r* as well, cf. *my'' t'p'r x'γ'n* (#664)? Various readings which were proposed by RTVELADZE on different occasions (βδy'c n/r, ...nk xwβ δ/l, γ/nz y/β cnkny xwβ, ...nk wL/δš..., š'γy(?) 'Lpww ...n, yncw, cf. *Chach*, p. 89, 90, 93; BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 19-20 and literature given there) are also not convincing.)

**1271.** *twxmyn /Tōxmēn/* m.: **B** C, *xw (t)/wxmyn*: C2, 11 R19. — **P** A Persian officer, subject of *'dwrprzqrt* (#60), suppressor of Pethion. — **D** MP *Tōhmēn* (adjective or hypocoristic to OIr. *\*tauhma-* “seed, lineage”), *thmyn/thmn/twhmyn* in Syr. text (GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 410a).

The reconstruction of *x* rather than *h* in S texts is dictated by the same rendering of /h/ in the other names in the story of Pethion, see s.v. *wxwr'n* (#1362).

### *twy'k > twr'k* #1262

**1272.** ( *twyzwn s'nkwn /Tüzün sangun/* m.: **B** N, *twyzwn s'(n)kwn* [*: DTS*, E4; *twyzwn*] | *s'nkwn nβ'nt*: *DTS*, E5-6; *kšy twyzwn s'nkwn*: *DTS*, E7. — **P** A general (*sangun*), money-lender (?). — **D** Uygh. *tüzün* “well ordered, virtuous, excellent”, as *DTS*, p. 44 (Zieme, 1978-9, p. 84, 86, translates “Edler, edel”). )

**1273.** *txs /Txs-?/* m.: **B** N, *txs*: *UII*, No. 147 (34: 33); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 183. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** Possibly an incomplete name, beginning with a theonym *txsyc* (#1274 – 76).

**1274.** *txs'ycβntk /Txsīčvandel/* m.: **B1** N(A), *'YMTw txs'yc-βntk mz'y(x)k* | β't: *AL2* (2), R53-54; 3 *y'tk txs'yc-βntk* 'sy: *AL2* (2), R59. — **P1** A person in the letter; probably the son of *nnyβntk* (#787: 1), but also called “orphan” (as if living in Samarkand and being separated from his father in Dunhuang). — **B2** N, *txs'y(c)* | *βntk* ZK | *wx(wš)βntk*: *UII*, No. 296 (36: 80);

cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213; *txs'ycβntk* | *ZK wxwšβntky BRY: UII*, No. 378 (39: 73); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233; *txs'(')ycβntk* | *ZK wxšβ(n)tky* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 545 (105:11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *wxwšβntk* (#1364: 2); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 8 (= No. 378) and No. 83 (= No. 545). — **B3** N, *nnyβntk ZK* | *txs'ycβntk BRY: UII*, No. 369 (39: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P3** Father of *nnyβntk* (#787: 13); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9e. — **D** “Slave of *txs'yc*”, a S divinity, with functions similar to that of Adonis (on this deity see GRENET, MARSHAK, TREMBLAY, 1998). Cf. *J(●)yc βndy* (#1670); also under *δrsmt* (#436)?

**1275.** *txs'ycδβ'r* /*Taxsīčθvār*/ m.: **B** N, (*txs*)'ycδβ'(r) | *ZK δxz(')t(k) B(RY): UI2*, No. 593 (Oshibat, 18:131, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68, where (*txs*)'ycδβ'(r) is given instead; the photos published cannot support either variant of the reading). — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *δxz'tk* (#460). — **D** “Given by *txs'yc*” (cf. #1274); the restoration, however, is unsure.

**1276.** *txs'yck, txs'yck'* /*Taxsīčak*/ m.: **B1** N, *t(xs)'y(ck) ?*: *UI2*, No. 610 (Dadam Das, 22:0, better 22: 15, as *Fbs. DD*, p. 95). — **P1** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **B2** N, *txs'y(c)k'* | *ZK sn'kk [BRY (?)]*: *UI2*, No. 480 (50:23); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *sn'kk* (#1079). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 2, has *txs'y*. — **D** Hypocoristic to a name containing *txs'yc* (e.g., *txs'ycβntk*, #1274). for graphical *-k'* for *-ak'* see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 38 and under *snk'* (#1081).

*†txws'nk > wn'ntm'x* #1315: 2

*tyβδ'tty > dyβδtt* #462: 2

**1277.** *tyδrβntk* /*Tišvande*/ m.: **B1** N, *tyδrβntk ZK* | *δx: UII*, No. 401 (39: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236; acc. to SIMS-W., clearly visible on the rock but difficult to photograph. — **P1** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *δx* (#456: 2). — **B2** N, (*tyδrβ*)[*ntk* (?)]: *UI2*, No. 459 (49:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 252, writing is very faint. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** “Slave of Tištrya-”, cf. S *tyš* as a 13<sup>th</sup> day by BĒRŪNĪ, *tyšfrn* in *MN*, 119, *tyšr't*, #1293; *tyšyc*, #1295, etc.

The spelling <δr> for /š/ is pseudo-historical, which was modelled after *myδr* for /Miš/ “Mithra”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 79. This name is probably the best evidence for the development of OIr. \*θr into š in S at the time of the *UI* inscriptions.

**1278.** *tyδrw* /*Tiš-?*/ m.?: **B** N, *tyδ(rw)* | *p/tšt'*: *Alphabet*, 2-3, p. 263. — **P** A name (?) in a postscript to the alphabet on an ostrakon from Panjakent. — **D** “Tištrya- +?”; LIV. understands *tyδ* as “this”.

**1279.** *tyδry'n* /*Tišyān*/ m.: **B** N, *tyδr(y)['n]*: inscr. in ink on a potsherd from Afrasiab, see *Trois Documents*, p. 200; fig. 6; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 348. — **P** A name inscribed on a potsherd. — **D** “Boon of Tištrya-“, cf. *tyδrβntk* (#1277) etc.; also OChor. *tyšy'n*, a S loan, apud HENN., 1965a, p. 173; 178, n. 47.

**1280.** *tymšyr* /*Tīmšir*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ty-(mš)y r 'δry kpc*: Muγ, B-9, 1; *ty-mšy-(r) 'δry kpc*: B-9, 7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 32-33); (*rt*)y ps-w *ZY ty-mšy-r ZY βy-rprn IIII IIII kpc ZY 'yw k(p)c'kk*: Muγ, B-14, 2 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35). — **P** A porter of Framānḏār, a supplier of some products. — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 100) understand it as “good (in) bazaar”, parallel to Taj. PN *Bozor*, better “Good (he who was born in an) inn”?

Cf. in this connection modern Central Asian names like *Sapar* “(she/he who is born during) travel”, *Yaylaq* “(he who is born on a) summer camp” etc., RASONYI, 1962, p. 230; 237). Or from S *tym* “again”, thus “good (once) again”, a name for a child who was born a short period after his elder sister/brother died?

**1281.** *tymšyr z'tk* /*Tīmšir zāte*/ m.: **B** N, *rty 's(t ZK) tymšyr z'tk 'δwy 'xsyn 'zyH*: Muγ, B-1, L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of two dark-blue water-skins (or spears, 'zyH). — **D** “Son of Tīmšir”, see above.

Maybe, *z'tk* can be understood as a part of the name or an anonymous son of *tymšyr* (apparently the same person with one in B-9 and B-14) is mentioned. The second possibility is more likely since ZK before PNs is rarely used in the Mt. Mugh documents.

**1282.** ( *tymwr* /*Temür*/ m.: **B** N, [ ](*tymwr?*●●●: *Terek-say*, Ib, 2, 22, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A (part of?) a name of a visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, “Iron”, cf. *tm'r xwš*, #1227. )

**1283.** ( *tynk* /*Teng?*/ m.: **B** N, *tynk x' 'lty ywrwnk x'rs twyrt xyz | yl*: *DTS*, A17-18 (an Uyghur phrase in S text). — **P** A trader of fabric (*ryzy = qars*). — **D** The Chinese surname (*jia*, 家), most probably, *Ding* (丁, EMCh. KG. \**tieng*, PLB. *tejŋ*), well attested in the contemporary Dunhuang documents, as *DTS*, loc. cit. )

**1284.** ( *tynk βwcyn* /*Teng* -?/ m.: **B** N, *tynk x' βwcyn*: *DTS*, A18; *βwcyn nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A23. — **P** A trader of fabric (*ryzy*). — **D** For the family name, see #1283; the personal name *βwcyn*, is more likely to be an (unidentified) Chinese bisyllabic name rather than S (cf. *βwc*, #322; *prnyn*, #913; or a counterpart of Persian *bōzīna* “monkey”?); on the second appearance one can transliterate it as *βwšyn/βwsyn*, too. )

**1285.** *tynk'n* /*Dēnkān*?/ m.: **B** N, *tynk('n)* (?): *UII*, No. 262 (36: 46) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear. The final *-k'n* seems to be a (pro)patronymic suffix, but the base *tyn* remains unclear and the reading, particularly, at the end, is uncertain. Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested to see WMIr. (and Bct.) *dēn* “belief, religion, church” in the first part.

**1286.** ( *ty n ky twnk* /*Dēn*?/ m.: **B** N, *ty n ky twnk δβtykw 'δry rzy δbr'*: *DTS*, A5; *δ'brw ty n x' ky twnky*: (obl.) *DTS*, A7. — **P** A fabric (*ryzy*) trader. — **D** A Chinese name; the first *ty n* probably represents the surname *Tian* 田 (EMCh. PLB. *dēn*, KG. \**d'ien*), the following *ky twnk* is a name of a person, *Ki-tung*, *Ki-tong* etc., as *DTS*, p. 26; *x' /qā/* is Chinese *jia* 家 (EMCh. *kai*, *kε*;; KG. \**ka*) “family”, as *DTS*, p. 27-28; cf. *twnk* in *MN*, 117. )

**1287.** *tynt* /?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY* | *tynt*(?) *pnc kpc 'pxtw*: *Muy*, Б-9, 3-4; *ZY* *tynt pnc kpc 'pxtw*: Б-9, 5 (*SDGM*, III, p. 32-33). — **P** A porter of Framānḏār. — **D** Unclear; the first occurrence is invisible on the published photo.

**1288.** ( *typ'nkr* /*Dīpankar*/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cw βr'm 'wyn typ'nkr pwtty prn* [ : *SFBL*, 7, 6. — **P** A name of a Buddha. — **D** The Buddha *Dīpaṅkara* (lit. “light-causer”), as already REI., *HRII*, p. 78, cf. *rxwšny wn'y*, #1044; Bct. *Δηβοαγαπο*, Toch. B *Dīpankar*, etc. )

**1289.** *tyr* /*Tūr*/ m.: **B** N, *tyr*: *UII*, No. 196 (34: 82); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** OIr. \**tūri-*/*\*tūra-*, a peripheral Iranian deity, name of the planet “Mercury”, of Near Eastern provenance, here probably as a short-form of a compound name.

Cf. Av. PN *Tīrō.nakaθβα-*, OP PN \**Tīridāta-* (cf. SCHMITT, 2006, p. 199-203), IPth. PN *tyry* (and numerous compounds, see *Nisā*, p. 204-205; SCHMITT, 1998) MP PN *tyr* (and numerous compound names, see GIGNOUX, IPNB, II/2, 896 ff.), Bct. PNs *Τιροαρη-* etc., OChor. *tyry'smk*, *tyrk*, *tyrynyw'βntk*, *tyrn* (LIV., *Kalaly-gyr*, p. 19). In S, *tyr* is attested as

a name of a lunar mansion *tyry* (*SDGM*, I, p. 48, A12, 3, 7) and “Wednesday”, *tyr zmnH* in *SDGM*, I, p. 48, (A12, 6, 4); *tyr* in M115Ri 6 ff. (first published in MÜ., 1907b, p. 3, transliteration in *SC*, No. 189). For the differentiation of S *tyr* (\**Tīri*-) and *tyš*, *tyōr* (\**Tištrya*-, “Sirius”) in S pantheon see GRENET, MARSHAK, TREMBLAY, 1998.

**1290.** ( *tyrkwyk* /*Tirkūk*/ f.: **B** N, [ *Jtyrk(wy)k x'twn* | [*t*](*wtwy*●●●): *Terek-say*, IB, 2, 34-35, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A lady, visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, lit. “Support”, probably a part of a longer name-sequence, cf. 'yl *tyrkwk* 'lp *βrɣwc* 'n 'lp *trx* 'n, #240. )

**1291.** *tyšβ'n* /*Tištān*/ m.: **B** N, *tkyn* || *tyšβ'n* || *δšcy βɣy*; *tyšβ'n*; *tyšβ'n* || *δšcy βɣy*: *coin*, countermark on Pērōz and Xusrō I drachmae, see BARATOVA, LIV., 2002, p. 21-26; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 223; photos in ZEIMAL', *Drev. Tadž.*, p. 255-156, No. 647-649. — **P** Obviously a name of some king in the territory of Southern Tajikistan, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** “(He who possesses) the light of Tištrya-”, as LIV., op. cit., p. 22 (cf. under *tyōrβntk*, #1277).

This countermark seems to have been transliterated as *twh*['*r*]/*i*/k (sic!) “Tocharian” by ZEIMAL', 1994, p. 253. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9, suggests that the names containing *tyš* reflect *tyš rwc*, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of month, and indicate the person's birthday. Cf. *Tiš* / *Dishe* (帝賒, EMCh. *tej<sup>h</sup>-čia*), the ruler of Chaghāniyān (region of Termez) in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century (CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 157, n. 5; Ṭabarī, II, p. 1180).

### *tyšδ't > wyšδ't* #1385

**1292.** *tyšprn*, *tyšp'rn* /*Tištarn*/ m.: **B** N, *tyšp'r-n(?)* ZK *w(xšβ)[nt]k* | *tyšp'r-n(?)* (Z)K *wxwšβntk* | *tyšprn* ZK *w[xš]β(n)t-k*: *Panj.-2009*. — **P** A name on an inscription on a pebble, son (?) of *wx(w)šβntk* (#1364: 8). — **D** “Glory of Tištrya/Sirius”, cf. the Chinese rendering Zhishifan (知尸番, EMCh. *triā/tri* or *tie* – *či* or *ši* – *p<sup>h</sup>uan*, see YOSH., *PNSChS*), *tyšfrn* in MN, 119.

The spelling *p'rn* “glory” with the internal *aleph* (which is absent in the third line!) is exceptional, but possible according to the general orthographic conventions used in Sogdian script. Alternatively, one can transliterate *tyšp-r-n*, with the final-shaped *pe*. LIV. (apud. *Panj.-2009*) proposes to read *trxwnyH* instead (cf. #1244).

**1293.** *tyšr't* /*Tištāt*/ m.: **B** N, *rtɣ* 'wδ *wm't* | *tyšr't* 'xw *cwz'kk* BRY *m'ymrɣc*: *ΔP*, R18-19. — **P** A witness in the contract (639 CE), son of *cwz'kk* (#397: 2), native of *m'ymrɣ-* (under #657). — **D** “Gift of Sirius/13<sup>th</sup> day of month”, see *tyšyc* (#1295), *nnyr't* (#799).

**1294.** *tyšw* /*Tiš*/ m.: **B** N, *tyšw*: *Graff.*, No. 16. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** “*Tištrya*” (a shortening of a compound name?), with the silent final *w*. Alternatively, one can read *mwšt*, *wyxp*, *twsn*, etc.

**1295.** *tyšyc* /*Tišič*/ m.: **B** N, *rty np'xšt sy-'m(?)yc ZKn* | *ty-šyc BRY*: Muγ, B4, V8-9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 57, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 62). — **P** Father of *sy'myc* (#1129). — **D** Hypocoristic to a name containing *tyš*, cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 200, No. 18.

### *t'tc* > *t'tc* #1219

**1296.** ( *tytyk* /*Tetig*/ m.: **B** N(M), *tytyk*: Ch/U 6394, R apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 368. — **P** A name of the owner of the Ms.? — **D** Probably Turkic, *tetig* “sharp, quick-witted, smart”; alternatively, cf. Bct. PNs *Tητο*, *Tητοκο*, also s.v. *t'tc* (#1219), *tytz'kcwr* (#1297). Chr. RECK (*Mlr. Hss. I*, loc. cit.) informs that this name appears also on So 20237 (V3: *tytyk xy(p?)*[δ]. )

**1297.** *tytz'kcwr* /*ʔ-čōr*/ m.: **B** N(M), (*pws/š ty-tz*)-*'kcwr ywxtym*: Ch/So 13401, R1 apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, transl. by LURJE, 2008c. — **P** A name in an exercise on the Chinese side of the text. — **D** Or *tz-tz*-*'kcwr*. For *Čōr* cf. *cwr*, #391; the first part remains unclear for me, it can be either Iranian or Turkic, cf. under *wnx'ncwr* (#1330), *t'tc* (#1219), *tytyk* (#1296); Dr. COLDITZ kindly suggested that we have *S z'k* “child” in the medial part. Cf. also *z'k cwr*; maybe, the same person? I understand the initial *pws* as MP *pws* “son”.

SUND., 2009a, p. 241, understands this colophon in a different way, assuming that *tz-'kcwr* was the writer of the sermon on the Recto side, and *wrx'ncwr* (see *wnx'ncwr*) was probably “reciter” (lit. “word-giver”); moreover, he joins *pws* and the initial *ty* of *ty-tz-'kcwr* and so reads *pws-ty* “book” (the same reading was kindly suggested to me by Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS).

**1298.** *tywc* /*Tēwič*/?/ m.: **B** N, *tywc* ?/: *Graff.*, No. 3. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** Possibly, *S t'yw'kk* “child”, with different hypocoristic suffix. The reading, however, is indistinct; maybe *tmwc*, *tspc*, etc. Or rather *mywc* (#740)?

### *tztz'kcwr*, *tz'kcwr* > *tytz'kcwr* #1297

**1299.** *t•trw(δ)* /?/ m.: **B** N, *pr(n)xw(nt)k* ' *Z(K)t•trw(δ)* (?) | - - - -: *UI2*, No. 661 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P** Father (or *nisba*, second name) of *prnxwntk* (#911: 2). — **D** Unclear; maybe the first two signs are also part of the name, thus *zrt•trw(δ)*, *nβt•tkw(δ)*, vel sim.

**1300.** *t•t[ ](w'r)* (?) /?/ m.?: **B** N, *t•t[ ](w'r)* (?) | - - [ ] 'p: *UI2*, No. 516 (53:22); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of - - [ ] 'p (#1587)? — **D** Unclear. *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 46b, has 'mw (??).

**1301.** *t - - -, t - - - -* /?/ m.?: **B1** N, *(y)β'γc* | *(p'p)['kk]* (??) | *(t - - -)*: *UII*, No. 264 (36: 48). — **P1** Grandfather (or *nisba*; any other type of name) of *yβ'γc* (#1502, if the three lines represent a single inscription), or a separate visitor. — **B2** N, *(t - - - -)* | *(kt - - - -)* | *(nn)γny*: *UII*, No. 285 (39: 69); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *kt - - -* - (#568), grandson (?) of *nnny* (#781)? — **D** Unclear.