

x, h, h

x̣' > tyn ky twnk #1286

1396. (*x' brt'n-* /*Xā Vartān?*/ m.: **B** N, *x' brt'ny nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A12 (obl.). — **P** A fabric (*rγzy*) trader. — **D** Initial *x'* (or *γn, xn*) is probably a Chinese surname, either *He* 何 (EMCh. KG. **γā*, PLB. *ya*), or *He* 賀 (EMCh. KG. *γā*, PLB. *ya^h*); the name of a person (*brt'n, brt'r brt'z, β't'r* etc.) can be either a Chinese bisyllabic name or (less likely) a Sogdian one. In the latter case cf. *prtr'k* (#924); or another S rendering of WMIr. *Vardān* (cf. *wrd'n*, #1335)?)

1397. *x'n kwtr'y* /*Xān kōtāre*/ m.: **B** B, *x'n kwtr'y | cwr'kk*: *TSP*, 8, 167-8. — **P** A clan-name of *cwr'kk* (#392: 1). — **D** “Samarkandian”, from Chinese Kang (康, EMCh. *k^hay*), a clan-name for immigrants from Samarkand, see HENN., *Date*, p. 603 n. 2; YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 366 and '*n kwtr-* (#18) for futher details. For a S equivalent of this clan name, see *sm'rknδc* (#1075); reading follows that of HENN. (*STP*, p. 736).

1398. *x'n'k, x'n'kk* /*Xānak*/ m.: **B1** N, *x'n'kk* (?): *UI2*, No. 414 (40:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 242: “rather indistinctly written. Possibly preceded by another word in a different hand”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 13. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, (*γ*)*wm'yt ZK | x'n'kk BRY*: *UI2*, No. 504 (53:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — **P2** Father of *γwm'yt* (#495: 2); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 86a. — **B3, P3** *ʃx'n'kk > š'n'kk* (#1151). — **B4** N, *x'n'k*: *UII*, No. 205 (34:91); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Probably a derivative of S *x'n'k* “house” or “spring, source”, which is attested in toponymy (cf. *ILAST*, p. 145); both interpretations were proposed by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 78; cf. *wyšx'n* (#1388), *štyx'nc* (#184), *xtwx'nc* (#1430); also Pont. Ir. *Xavakḡç* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §250; *Step. Ir.*, No. 34). The inscriptions are probably too early to contain *x'n* = Chinese *Kang*, a surname for Samarkandians.

x'twn > [δβ'mn] after #421

1399. (*x'y 'nkwyn /Xay Əḡwin/* m.: **B** B, 'wyn βγγ βγρ'wr *x'y 'nkwyn 16-myk srδy: Intox.*, 34. — **P** The dating formula goes as “in the 16th year of the Divine Son of Heaven (βγρ'wr) *x'y 'nkwyn*”. — **D** Not a PN in the proper sense but an Era-name (*nianhao*). As recognized already by REI., *HP*II, p. 70, it is *Kaiyuan*, (開元, EMCh. *k^həj ŋuan*, KG. *kai ŋywan*) the famous “era” (713-741) of the Tang emperor Xuan Zong (玄宗, 712-756); the colophon was thus composed in 739-740, cf. *t'y cw t'y z'n-* (#1223), *rwnkšwy* (#1033), *y'ncyw* (#1492).

For EMCh. (pharyngeal) *k-* transcribed with *S x* comp. *x'n* for *Kang*, *x'* for *jia* “clan”; for EMCh. initial *ŋ-* (*y-* in Hanyu Pinyin) rendered as '*nk-* /əng-/ see HENN., *Date*, p. 608-9.)

1400. (*x'y yyl'xr /Qay Yaylaqar/* m.: **B** N, *x'y yyl-'xr xwβw pny || (βγγ twrkyš x'y'n):* coin, see *zeno.ru*, No. 46641, 46642 (with a preliminary note by the author); KAMYSHEV, 2002, No. 34-35. — **P** A person who issued coins found on the Krasnaja Rechka site in the Chu valley. The opposite side of the coin has a degenerated inscription, possibly βγγ *twrkyš x'y'n*, as LIV. apud KAMYSHEV, and a *tamgha*. — **D** Turkic name. *Yaylaqar* is the first ruling clan of Uyghurs, the first word is probably *Qay* “strong”.

The clan-name *yyl'xr* is attested also in Sogdian on the Karabalgasun and, probably, Sevrej inscriptions (see *yyl'xr 'wk' 'wtwr pγ'trx'n*, #1503; *yyl'xr 'wk' xwtlwγ*, #1504; *yγ(l)●●γ*l, #1505), in MMP (*yyl'xr 'yn'l*, MN, 62); the Uyghur phrase *yyl'xr x'nm(y)[z /yaylaqar xanīmiz/* on Ch/U 6384 v7 apud *Mlr. Hss.* 1, No. 365; OTu. *yaylaqar*, Chinese Yaoluoge (藥羅葛), the later *Ĵālāyir*. The preceding word, *x'y*, can stand for the Turkic PN *Qay* (attested since 12th century, see *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 402-3), which either means “strong” or originates in the tribal name *Qay*, cf. also Bct. PN *Xaio*; less likely, OTu. *qaya* “rock” (cf. under 'yl t'γ, #237). Alternatively, this word can be transliterated as *xcy*, in this case *S* copula, and the legend can be thus translated as “(this) is the penny of the king Yaghlaqar”. LIV. was reading *x'y 'yn'l 'nyr* (apud KAMYSHEV, 2002, No. 34-35), but good photos do not support such a reading. The historical circumstances of the appearance of coins of the Yaghlaqars in the Chu valley will be dealt with in a separate article under preparation.)

†*x'y yn'l 'nyr* > *x'y yyl'xr* #1400

1401. (*hbyl /Hāvēl/* m.: **B** C, 't *ptyx(w) 'y hbyl xypθ br't.*: C2, *57 V30; [*hby*](l) m't (?): *Schüler*, IIIV4 with n. 36; cf. *hw'* (#214: 1) — **P** Abel. — **D** Syr. *hbyl /Hābēl/*, from Old Hebrew.)

1402. (*hcyē* /*Hajēj*/ m.: **B** C, C3 = TiiB 40, unpublished, cited by SUND., *Brs. Kg.*, p. 97-98, in Syriac transliteration *hšyṣ*. — **P** Abū Muḥammad al-**Ḥajjāj** b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam b. ‘Aqīl al-Ṭhaqafī, governor of the Eastern part of the Caliphate between 694 and 714. — **D** Arabic *Ḥajjāj* (lit. “frequent performer of the pilgrimage to Mecca”), the *yodh* indicates the *imāla* pronunciation *Ḥajjēj*, which is common in Iraqi Arabic and in Early NP, including EJP and MNP, see SUND., loc. cit., cf. also *Khamir*, No. 5. The Syriac versions of the “Life of John of Dailam” render his name as *Ḥgg* (BROCK, 1981-2, p. 140, 188.)

1403. (*hln’* /*Helenā*/ f.: **B** C, *pr šyrkrē hln’ xšwnc myθqry*: C14, 1, 16 (*STi*, p. 514). — **P** St. Helena (c. 248-329 CE), mother of the emperor Constantine (#597), discoverer of the cross. — **D** Syr. *hln’* /*Helenā*/ from Gr. *Ἑλένη*.)

1404. (*hlp̄y-* /*Halpay*/ m.: **B** C, *’t yḡqwb ḥlp̄yy (z) ’ty*: (obl.) C5, 14, V17 (*STi*, p. 32-33). — **P** Father of *yḡqwb* (#1487: 2). — **D** Syr. *hlp̄y* /*Halpay*/, i.e. Clopas, Alphaeus. The final *y* stands for oblique case marker, cf. *yḡqwb* (#1487: 3).)

1405. *xm’c* /*Xamač?*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyprn* | *ZK xm’c*: *UII*, No. 182 (34: 68); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P** Father (or *nisba?*) of *nnyprn* (#798). — **D** Unclear. The final *-’c* can be a suffix (cf. *mr’c*, #681; *’ykp’c*, #223), the base *xm* can be related to S **xm-* “bent”, akin to NP *xam* “crooked” which is probably indirectly attested in toponymy (*ILAST*, p. 73, p. 232, not to be confused with S *γmy* “humble”)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 50c, has *cm’c*. Hardly to late S *cm*, *cym* “eye”. Hardly related to Oss. *Xæmyc*, the name of Nartic hero.

1406. (*xmwr kwky* /*Qamur Kōki?*/ f.: **B** N, (*x-m?*)*wr kwky x’twn*: Kulan-say IIIa, 14, *SĒSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A female visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Unclear, but probably Turkic.

LIV. compares the first part to Uygh. *Qumar*, cf. *xwmyr cwr* (#1441), but vowel metathesis, though well attested in Sogdian, is not typical for Turkic. Probably it has nothing to do with the place-name *Qamul* (*Hami*) either. In *kwky* one can look for Turkic *kök* “blue, green”, but the final *y* is superfluous. The writing is extremely ambiguous, particularly in the case of *x’twn*. Read *kwkywnt*• for *kök-yund* “blue horse”?)

1407. (*xmyr, xm’yr* /*Xamīr?*/ m.: **B** N, *MN xypδ βntk xmyr*: *Muy*, A-6, 2; *MN βntk xmyr*: *Muy* A-6, 12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 141, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 159; *SDGM*,

III, p.74); *ZY ZKn xm'y-r 'dry w'ry-'k*: Muγ, Nov.1 R24; *ZY ny-m'kw xm'yr*: V53 (*SDGM*, III, p. 38); *JZKn xmy-(r)l*: Muγ, B-6, 2, X+7 (*SDGM*, III, 42; II, 85, n. 37 [without translation]). — **P** A person sent by Δēwāštīč to control his steward 'wtt (#204), the author of A-6, a recipient of three lambskins (? , w'ry'k). — **D** It is impossible that this *xmyr*, humbly addressing to the steward 'wtt, would be an Arabic *amīr*, even of a low level. Probably *Amīr* is a personal name given in honour of the *amīr* of Xurāsān (thus LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 142; *SÉSAS*, p. 160); the same seems to be true for Bct. PN *Xαμipο* (760 CE; his relatives have mostly Iranian names). On this and other *amīr*-s in Sogdian texts, see my *Khamir*, No. 5, 7, 9-11, 25.

Differently BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 11, where he regards this name a hypocoristic on -yr from a shortening of the name of the 7th lunar mansion *xmsryš*, *xmšryš*.)

**xnk ... nw > cpγw x'γ'n #380*

1408. *xnsc* /Xaⁿsič/ m.: **B** N, *xnsc* | δwyt'kkH cyn'ncH: *UII*, No. 371 (39: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P** Father (?) of *cyn'ncH* (#401). — **D** To S *xns* “strong” (cf. *rywxns*, #1053) + hypocoristic -c. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9c.

**xnzkδnn > cpγw x'γ'n, #379; βwkw #324*

hprwnh, hprwrnh > γpkw #485

1409. *xr'r-* /Xərār-?/ f.? **B** N(A), *ZNH ZY y-'m-k ZK-w-y tx-s-'y-cy-H γ-'δp-'ny-ny-H xr-'r-y-H ZK-w-y-H δ-r-s-m-'ty-H x-y-p-δ XX X s n'k-r-t-k*: (obl.) SIMS-W. apud *Silver Wares*, p. 56-58, an inscr. in early Sogdian script on a silver bowl found in 1990 in Karashahr, now in Kurler Museum; cf. *UI2*, p. 49-50; *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228-9. — **P** The owner of the bowl? She could be a daughter of *δrsm'tyH* (#436); alternatively, *xr'r* might be a title. — **D** Unclear, not necessarily Sogdian. Reading *xr'ky*, from S *xr-* “donkey” with a hypocoristic suffix, is paleographically less likely. See also under *δrsm'tyH* (#436).

xrδwm > srδwm #1096

1410. *xrnm'rn* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *nnyβntk* | *ZK šyrprn* | *xrnm'rn*: *UII*, No. 268 (36: 52); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** A grand-father, family name, *nisba* or nickname of *nnyβntk* (#787: 11). — **D** Unclear, maybe *xrnm'rz*.

HUMB., *SIF*, No. 48 – *xrnm'rc*, but SIMS-W. notes that the last letter cannot be *c*. If *xrnm'rz*, possibly “(he who) rubs (= has intercourse with?) a donkey”, as a pejorative nickname? There are, to my knowledge, no other examples of the final *z* in the script of Upper Indus inscriptions, but according to the photo the final letter is similar to *z* in other early Sogdian varieties.

1411. *xrsδy-* /?/ m.: **B** N, *xrsδy - (?)* | - - - - : *UI2*, No. 442 (45:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 248. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** The reading is quite uncertain, maybe *xnšδy-*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 14. If *xnsδy-*, the first part to *Sxns* “strong, stable, safe” (cf. #1408)? For the second part, cf. *'rwd'yinc* (#141), or restore *S δyn* “religion, belief, church”?

1412. *xrstrnk* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), *KZNH pt(γw)š(t) xrstrnk*: *AL5* (2), 21. — **P** A person (name; title?) in the letter. — **D** Unexplained. To *S rnk-* “colour”; or NP *rang* “wild-goat”, OInd. *raṅku-* “(kind of) deer”; *xr* “donkey” (cf. under *xrtr'k*, #1415)?

For “deer” see HORN, 1893, p. 139; this word is possibly attested in *S* (Muy) *rnkerm* “antelope-skin”, as TAFAZZOLI, 1997.

1413. *xrt'k* /*Xartak*/ m.: **B** N, *MN δry'wtk n'β ZK 'nc't'k xwn ZY xrt'k*: Muy, B-6, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of *Δaryāwut* (modern Dary on the Upper Zarafšān). — **D** PPP “gone” (BOGOL., SMIR., 94).

Semantically, it is probably a magical name, like Arabic *Yamūt* “dies”: the evil forces are supposed to be deceived with such a name and not harm the child. Alternatively, BOGOL., SMIR. propose *xr-t'k* “donkey-rider”. LIV. links it to Av. *harəta-* “red”. Cf. also *xrytk*, #1418.

1414. *xrt'yx* /?/ m.: **B** N, *xrt(y)x*: *UII*, No. 407 (39: 102); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237; *xrt'yx*: *UI2*, No. 601 (Oshibat, 21:8, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 85). — **P** A visitor to Shatial, Oshibat. — **D** Unclear. Cf. Pont. Ir. *Χαρδεις* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §251; *Step. Ir.*, No. 35)?

1415. *xrtr'k* /*Xartarak*/ m.: **B** N, (*rt(y) '(s)t xr(tr)'k 'y-wH 'zyH*: Muy, B-1, L5-6 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or a spear, *'zyH*). — **D** *S xrtr'k* “mule”, here as a nickname.

Cf. the name *xrjyk* in Arabic rendering (a diminutive to *xr* “donkey”?), TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11; cf. OChor. *xrk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 1-2; n. 94 p. 283. BOGOL., SMIR. read *yrwkkws 'k*, but the photo does not support it; cf. also under *srδwm*, #1096; *xrstrnk*, #1412.

1416. (*hrwds* /*Herōdes*/ m.: **B C**, *pr hrwds* [*xšywny]: C17, 28, V17 (*Nachl. III*, p. 200, 203). — **P** Herod, the king of Judaea (74 BCE – 4 CE). — **D** Syr. *hrwds* /*Herodes*/ from Gr. *Ἡρώδης*.

The form *hrwds* in *Nachl. III* is a misprint (correct form in the index), Syr. *h* with two points below (ⲙ, for vocalization *e*) is visible on the photo (Tafel IX of *Nachl. III*), as I was kindly informed by Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS.)

1417. *xrwmk* /*Xurumak*?/ m.: **B N**, *xrwmk*: *Graff.*, No. 10. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** Possibly, a hypocoristic to a name containing *xrwmzt'βγ* (this form with metathesis is attested in M247, R5-6 apud *GMS*, §73, n; §424; *SC*, No. 189), or from *Sxwrm/xrwm* “soil”? Alternatively, one can read *xrwsk*, to MP *xrōs*, NP *xurōs* “rooster”? Or *škwsk*, *skwmk* etc.

1418. *xrytk* /*Xrītak*/ m.: **B B**, [*cn*](*n*) 'ny-'*k* *xrytk* *δst*': *Ōt.*, No. 2921, 1, p. 54 (also YOSH., *Misc.* Ⅲ, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 240.). — **P** The “grandfather” ('ny'*k* = *ny'k*) in the colophon. — **D** PPP “(The) bought (one)” (?) cf., first of all, *al-Ixrīd*, the ruler of Keš before 751 according to the Muslim records and OChor. PN *xrytk*, LIV., 1984, p. 273, 1.

YOSH. (*Misc. III*) compares this name to *Asp-xrīd*, *Diz-xrīd* in the MP onomastics. Cf. also Bct. *σαγοχιρδο*, Pont. Ir. *Χορητος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §731; *Step. Ir.*, No. 36). The names meaning “bought” or “exchanged” are well attested in the Middle East and are based on magical acts of buying, changing of a newborn, see SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 60; GAFUROV, 1971, p. 6. Cf. also *xrt'k* (#1413)

1419. *xsrδ'k*, *xsrδ'kk* /*Xsarθak*/ m.: **B1 N**, *xsrδ'k*: *UII*, No. 291 (36: 75); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2 N**, *wxwn'm* | *ZK xsrδ'kk* | *BRY: UII*, No. 6 (5: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; *m'ymrγc* *ZK xsrδ'kk* *BRY: UII*, No. 117 (31: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169; *x(srδ)'kk* *BRY: UII*, No. 118 (31: 89); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169. — **P2** Father of *wxwn'm* and *m'ymrγc* (#1360: 1; #657: 3) probably, the two brothers; HUMB., *SIF*, 78b reads *ssrδ'kk*. — **D** An -*k* hypocoristic to *xsrδ*, which reflects OIr. **xšaθra*- “power, rule”, cf. '(*')**wxsrδ* (#36), *wxwnxsrδ* (#1327), *xsrδmyw* (#1420) *xsrδr'n* (#1421), *y'nxsrδ* (#1498), *-mwxsrδ* (#1618).

Both changes of OIr. *xš into *xs* and *θr into *rθ* are known, but marginal in S (cf. 'xs'ynH < *axšaina- and GMS, §440; under *xsyn'kk*, #1422), so this name was explained as a “Scythian”, proto-Osetic loan, as PNs *Æxsært*, *Æxsærtæg* in the Nartic epos (thus UI2, p. 78-79, cf. Pontic Ir. Σατράκης), cf. also *nnyxs'y*, #806; further speculations in *Step. Ir.*, No. 38.

1420. *xsrδmyw* /*Xsarθmēw*/ m.: **B** N, *xsr(δ)my(w) | nn(y)*: UII, No. 176 (34: 62); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *nny* (#1420: 2). — **D** “Tiger-power”, or “Tiger of the State”, cf. under '*rtmyw*' (#137); Turkic '*yl p'rs trx'n*' (#233) with the similar meaning.

1421. *xsrδr'n* /*Xsarθrān?*/ m.: **B** N, *xsrδr'n ZK n'wcyrd BRY*: UI2, No. 608 (Dadam Das, 21:7; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 93). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *n'wcyrd* (#765: 5). — **D** *xsrδ* “rule, power” + unexplained element *r'n*, cf. *r'zn'w* (#1011), *ctβ'r'tsr'n* (#385)? Cf. also PN *Ξατράννος* from Hellenistic Bactria (GRENET, 1983, p. 375).

1422. *xsyn'kk* /*Xsēnak*/ m.: **B1** N, *xsy(n)'kk (ZK ●)[- - -]yp BRY*: UII, No. 405 (39: 100); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of ●- -yp (#1591). — **B2** N, '*zt'y(k) | ZK | xs(y)n'kk | BRY*: UII, No. 165 (34: 51); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186; *xs(y)n'k(k) | ZK | 'zt'yk*: UII, No. 166 (34: 52); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, possibly named after his grandfather. The two inscriptions can indicate a genealogical line '*zt'yk*' (#266: 1) – *xsyn'kk* – '*zt'yk*' or *xsyn'kk* – '*zt'yk*' – *xsyn'kk* (cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 65-66). Possibly, however, No. 166 is written from below to above, as HUMB., 1994, p. 180. — **D** From S *xš'yn*, '*xs'yn'k*, OIr. *axšaina-ka-“greenish, blueish”; cf. *xsrδ-* (#1419 ff.), *nnyxs'y* (#806) for S *xs-* < OIr. *xš-.

1423. *xš'wkk* /*Xšāwak?*/ m.: **B** N, *xš'wkk*: UI2, No. 565 (Thor I, 50). — **P** A visitor to Thor. — **D** As SIMS-W., UI2, p. 79, to S *xš'wn* “power” with the loss of the final *-n*, which has its parallel in '*pryw*' (AL) as compared to S '*prywn* “blessing”, the names with *wnw-* and *wnwn* (#1324 – 1328); hypocoristic suffix *-kk* at the end.

1424. *xš'yt, xšyt* /*Xšēt*/ m.: **B** N, *xš'yt ZK | nnyβntk BRY*: UII, No. 91 (31: 62); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *nnyβntk* (#787: 4). — **B2** N, *šy'n ZK xšyt BRY*: UI2, No. 411 (40:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 242. — **P2** Father of *šy'n* (#1184); reading by HUMB. (*SIF*, No. 125a). — **D** OIr. *xšaita- “bright, glorious”? (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 79), cf. IPth. PN *hšyt(k)*

(SCHMITT, 1998, p. 184), OP **Xšaita-* (in Elam. *Hi-še-ud-da*, Accadic *A-hi-še-te₉-e* etc., TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 359; ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 11-12). Hardly to S *xš'yd*, Arabic rendering *ixšīd* “ruler”? Cf. also *ywδ xšytk* (#1529).

1425. *xšnt* /*Xšand?*/ m.: **B** N, *x(šn)t ZK* (- - - -*n*): *UII*, No. 352 (39: 47); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of - - - -*nk* (#1620). — **D** Unclear; hardly *xšyt*.

1426. *xšwrδH-βntk* /*Xšōrθvandak?*/ m.: **B** N(A), *xšwrδ | Hβntk*: inscr on a “Kushan” gem, see CUNNINGHAM, 1892, pl. XXII, No. 13; p. 115, ed. by LIV., 1969, p. 57-58, n. 52; *Sānak*, p. 48 (wrongly *xšwδrhβntk*); LIV., 2009, p. 247. — **P** The owner of a seal, 3rd – 4th century CE? — **D** “Slave of *xšwrδH*”. The latter word is probably a theonym, which is compared by LIV. to Av. *xšnaoθra-* “gratitude, mercy, forgiveness”, MP *šnōhr*, MMP, Pth. *'šnwhr/ 'šnwhr*; the loss of *-n-*, however, needs additional explanation.

Alternatively, to Av. *xšūdra-* “flowing, liquid” (cf., maybe, Elam. *Šušurrakka*, *Ukšušturra*, GERSH., *Amber*, p. 232, but differently MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1707)? Cf. *nnyH-βntk* (#805), *δrw'spH m'xw* (#439) for *he* at the end of the feminine *Vorderglied* in the compound. In this name, however, there is no other indication of the gender of its first part.

xšyt > *xš'yt* #1424: 2

1427. *xšyt'kk* /*Xšētak*/ m.: **B** N, *'kwt'kk ZK | xšyt'kk | BRY: UI2*, No. 639 (47:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 111). — **P** Father of *'kwt'kk* (#66: 2). — **D** Hypocoristic to *xšyt* (#1424).

1428. *xšy/* /*?*/ m.?: **B** N, *xš(y)l: UII*, No. 143 (33: 14); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** The end of the inscription is weathered away. Cf. *xš'yt* (#1424)?

1429. (*xt'yβ'k* /*Qutayba?*/ m.: **B** N, *w(β)[yw?] (x)t('y)β'k xmy-r wm'(t?)*: Muḡ, B-10, R7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 107, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 115). — **P** The name of an *amīr* (*xmyr*) in a badly preserved letter B-10, possibly Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhīlī, the Muslim conqueror of Mā warā al-Naḥr (669–715/16). — **D** The present author’s reading instead of *(m?)t(r●)w'k* given by LIV. (without explanation), see *Khamir*, No. 11; the shape of (parts of) letters allows such a reading, but does not dictate it as the only possible one.)

[*xttt* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *xt(t)t*: *UII*, No. 63 (30: 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154. — **P** Probably not a name, but a writing-exercise (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 79).]

1430. *xtwx'nc* /*Xətuṣānič?*/ m.: **B** N, *cx('yc)* ZK | *x(twx'n)c* BRY: *UI2*, No. 621 (Dadam Das, 23:4, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 96). — **P** Father of *cx'yc* (#399: 1). — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 79, a *nisba* to a place-name *xtwx'n*, maybe “Judge’s springs”, “Judge’s house”, cf. *'štyx'nc* (#184), maybe *'yšn'x'nk* (#257), *wyšx'n* (#1388), *swx'n* (#1121), *x'n'kk* (#1398), *xtwz'ty* (#1431) for “judge”.

1431. *xtwz'ty* /*Xətu-zāte*/ m.: **B** N, *xt(w)z'-ty*: *Ladakh*, 4. — **P** A visitor to Ladakh. — **D** “Son of a judge”, as SIMS-W., *Ladakh*, p. 157, cf. *xtwx'nc* (#1430).

ʃxw'nkk > *xwn'kk* #1443

hw' > *'hw'* #214: 1

1432. *xw'r βrwy* /*Xwār Farrux*/ m.: **B** N(M), *r'ymst βrwy xw'r βrwy xwšt'rt*: *BL*, C21. — **P** A Manichean presbyter (*xwštr*). — **D** “Glorious with prosperity”, or “glorious sun”, see *xw'r z'δ'k'* (#1433); *r'ymst βrwx* (#1007).

[*xw'ry-z'tk*: **B** N, *MN xypδ* | *βntk xw'ry-z'tk*: *Muy*, B-16, 1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 174, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 208; *SDGM*, III, p. 85). — **P** The author of B-16. — **D** Common noun “cousin”, “sister’s son”, or a PN with the same meaning.

The first explanation may be preferable from a morphological viewpoint: S *xw'r* is a heavy stem and *y* in the compound seems unlikely, so it is probably an oblique case ending; cf. *xw'r z'δ'k'* (#1433) but also *xwnyz'tk* (#1445).]

1433. *xw'r z'δ'k'* /*Xwār zādāg*/ m.: **B** N(M), *kw ... xw'r z'δ'k' xwštr m-z-γγ prms'r*: *BL*, C2. — **P** The addressee of the Bāzāklik letter C, a Manichean presbyter. — **D** WMIr. “Son of prosperity / of Sun”?

To be kept distinct from *xw'ry z'tk* “cousin”; as Dr. COLDITZ kindly remarked in her letter, such names would be hardly applicable to Manichean Electi, cf. under *rwsn pwxr*; YOSH., *BL*, p. 124, 182, is more inclined to see here “son of Sun”, WMIr. *xwr*, written *plene* with *aleph*. Another candidate is Pth. *xw'r*, *hw'r* “good days, prosperity”; *z'δ'k'* (with final *aleph*) probably indicates articulation of /-g/, cf. *t'šyn z'δk'* (#1209), a transcription of WMIr. *zādāg* and not genuine S /*zātel*/.

1434. *xw'yk* /*X^wāyak?*/ m.: **B** N, *xw'yk*: *UII*, No. 257 (36: 41) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 79), links it to OIr. **xvahaya*- “to strike”, which is attested in S with various preverbs: *ptxw'y* “to kill”, *nxw'y* “to crush”, etc. (see CHEUNG, *EDIV*, p. 142), with the suffix *-k*. Another possible transliteration is *xβ'yk*.

1435. *xw'-* /*Xu-?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwzβ('k)k* | *x(w'-)*: *UI2*, No. 579 (Oshibat, 17:3, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 49). — **P** Father (?) of *xwzβ'kk* (#1480) — **D** Unclear.

1436. (*xwβ'βyš* /*Huvāveš*/ m.: **B** N(M), [*xwβ*](['])*βyš* 'M *kw'yšt*: *Ōt.*, 7447, 4, p. 139. — **P** A name of a Giant. — **D** S transcription of MP *hwb'byš*, which renders Aram. **hwbbš*, ultimately from the Proto-Sumeric *Ĥumbaba*, the monstrous enemy of Gilgamesh, see SCHWARTZ, 2002, p. 231-233.)

1437. *xwδ'wn'k* /*Xuδāwanak?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwδ'wn'k*: *UI2*, No. 494 (52A:1; better 65: 1 as *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 272). — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 79, from WMIr. *xwadāwan* (MMP, Pth. *xwd'wn*, OIr. **xva-tāvan-*, S *xwt'w*) “lord”, + suff. *-'k*.

1438. *xwmδ't* /*Xōmdat*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn xwmδ't* | *ctβr*: Muγ, A-5, 20-21 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51); [*ZY*] *xwmδ't* [...: Muγ, B-1, L2; *ZY ZKn xwmδ't* 'yw wγz-βcH: L14 (*SDGM*, III, p. 43; not visible on the photo). — **P** A recipient of 4 drachmae(?); of a *wγzβcH* (cf. under *βwrsr'k*, #329). — **D** Both LIV. and BOGOL., SMIR. (cf. also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 203, n. 42) understand it as “created by haoma”.

Cf. *Hwmdt* in Aramaic rendering (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1731), *Um-ma-da-a-tú* in Babylonian one (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 587), IPth. (*h*)*wm(dtk)* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 181). In S, we meet *xwm*, a kind of cosmic substance in the beliefs of Sogdian magians, see BĒRŪNĪ, *India*, p. 249-250, *hwm* in a polemic fragment of MMP cosmogony (on which see LURJE, Fc. d), Bct. patronym or family-name *Yoμukavo*, Tajik (Zarafshan valley) *xuma* “ephedra” (*ÉSVJa*, p. 425), which is called in Afghanistan *hum*, *huma*, *yehma*, *hum-i bandak* (STEIN, 1931, p. 504.).

1439. *xwmy'zn* /*Xōmyazn?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwmy'zn* | (*Z*)*K*: *UII*, No. 37 (23: 8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 145. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 79, the name consists of *xwm* “Haoma, substance” (cf. *xwmδ't*, #1438) and *γ'zn* “treasure”, which is, however, spelt in S *γzn*, without *aleph*.

1440. *xwmn'* /*Xumna?*/ m.: **B** N, *snk* | *cyrk'* | ''*p'δk* | [*x*]*wmn'* (?): *UI2*, No. 656 (Thalpan III, 83). — **P** A visitor to Thalpan, companion of *snk* (#1081: 7), *cyrk'* (#406), ''*p'δk* (#21). — **D** The first, broken letter, judging from its joining with the following, can be *aleph*, *beth*, *c*, *n/z* or *x* (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 24). If *xwmn'*, cf. *xwm(')n* in ''*trxwmn* (#35), *βrxwm'n* (#311), *m'ny wxmn* (#635), MS *xwmn'*, from Av. *vanhauue mananhe* "(day of) Good thought", the second day of the month, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 80. Cf. MP PN *Vahman*, IPth. *hwmy* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 179, from **hu-manah-*) Οδύμνης in Hellenistic Bactria (GRENET, 1983, p. 376), OChor. *whwmn*, *whwmnδ't*, LIV., 1984, p. 265, etc.

1441. (*xwmyr cwr* /*Qumar Čor?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *βnty mrty xwmyr cwr ptškw*[: *Ch/So 21005 r2 apud *Mlr. Hss. 1*, No. *442. — **P** An author of the letter-exercise. — **D** *Čor* is a common title both in S and OTu. onomasticon, the preceding *xwmyr* looks quite similar to *xwm'r cwr* in MN, 78, cf. *Qumar Arslan* in Uygh. documents, *xwm'r* in Uyghur colophon from Dunhuang (HAMILTON, 1986, 1, 16'), maybe *xmwr kwky* (#1406). The lost fragment in question is known now only in W. LENTZ's transliterations and so it is impossible to check whether the fourth letter could be *aleph*.

Dr. COLDITZ proposes an Iranian etymology, and HAMILTON, 1986, p. 18-19, quotes Turkic names which he derives from S *xwm'r* "consolation", cf. *šyrwxwm'r*, #1202.)

1442. *xwn* /*Xūn, Xōn?*/ m.: **B1** N, *ZY x(wn)*: Muγ, A-5, 10; *ZKn xwn*: A-5, 16 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 213, 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51); *ZY xwn ''st pnc kpc 'pxtw*: Muγ, B-9, 2; *ZY xwn pnc kpc*: B-9, 5 (*SDGM*, III, p. 32-33); *rty ''βr MN 'sk'tryH pry-n'm'k ZY 'spzy-wr ZY xwn ZY zwc 10+3 (k)[pc y?]w*: Muγ, B-14, 1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35); *ZY ZKn xwn*: Muγ, B-2, 4 (*SDGM*, III, p. 41); *ZY ZK mrtš-(y)k xwn ''st 'yw RBkw 'z-γrw ZY 'δw(y) 'zγr'*: Muγ, B-1, L1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 43); *MN δry' 'wtk n'β ZK 'nc ''t'k xwn ZY xrt'k*: Muγ, B-6, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P1** A recipient of cotton (*wšwy'nk*) and a shirt (*kwrd'k*), of *w'rp'n'k* (armour), of chain-mail (*'zγr*); a porter of Framāndār, a supplier of barley(?). Possibly, three different namesakes, since *xwn* in B-14 is associated with Iskodar, in B-1 *xwn* is said to be a native of *mrtš-* (Madruškat?) and in B-6 '*nc ''t'k xwn* (see also #96) is representative of *Δaryāwut* (today, *Dary*); all three villages are located in the highland part of the Zarafshan valley above Panjakent, but at several days distance from one another. — **B2** N, *xwn ZK | nnyβntk | B{RY}*: *UII*, No. 44 (25: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148. — **P2** A visitor to

Shatial, son of *nnyβntk* (#787: 3). — **B3** N, *xwn ZK* | *t'wc BRY: UII*, No. 46 (25: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148; *xwn ZK* | *t'w'(kk) (BRY) (?)*: *UII*, No. 289 (36: 73); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son of *t'wc* or *t'w'kk* (#1221 – 22, which seem to be variants of one and the same name, cf. SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 64-65, No. 14). — **B4** N, *(x)wn (Z)K* | *nyw'(kk) BRY: UII*, No. 87 (31: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial, son of *nyw'kk* (#856: 1). — **B5** N, *xwn: UII*, No. 107 (21: 78); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168; *xwn: UII*, No. 276 (36: 60); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211; *x(wn) [| ZK - - /: UI2*, No. 462 (50: 5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253; *xwn ZK: UI2*, No. 538 (57:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 270; *xwn: UI2*, No. 584 (Oshibat, 17:33, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 51). — **P5** Visitor(s) to Shatial and Oshibat; reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 101 (=276). — **B6** N, *xwn ZK* | *'pkwtrk' (?)*: *UII*, No. 362 (39: 57); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P6** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *'pkwtrk'* (#115); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17c. — **B7** N, *xwn ZK* | *βrz'kk BRY: UII*, No. 380 (39: 75); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233; *xwn ZK* | *βrz'kk: UI2*, No. 451 (47:14); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250; *x(wn ZK) | βrz'kk | BRY: UI2*, No. 528 (53:34); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 263; *(xwn ZK) βrz'kk: UI2*, No. 535 (55:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 269. — **P7** A visitor to Shatial, son of *βrz'kk* (#313: 2); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17f (= No. 380) and No. 36a (= No. 451); in No. 536 – faint, but fairly clear, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 18. — **B8** N, *xwn ZK* | *(βwδr- - t) (?)*: *UI2*, No. 607 (Dadam Das, 20:25; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 92). — **P8** A visitor to Dadam Das, son (?) of *βwδr- - t* (#323). — **B9** N, *ZNH ZY pty- 'δ | cn nr-kk | xwn | B-RY: SSNSS*, No. 20, p. 172 (*VS*, XXXVIII, 67). — **P9** Father (?), the word *BRY* is written ambiguously) of *nrkk* (#813: 3); LIV., LUKONIN see here *spn*, *špn* or *γpn* (the latter is said to be a late S derivative of OIr. **Hu-farna(h)-*), but *xwn* is equally possible. The same reading was proposed by YOSH. apud AMAN UR RAHMAN, GRENET, SIMS-W., 2006, p. 129 n. 32, cf. YOSH., 2009b, p. 352 n. 9. — **D** Nickname, “Hun, Turk”, as BOGOL., SMIR., 94, later confirmed in *UI2*, p. 80 (in the script of the inscriptions of Upper Indus *γ* and *x* are distinct from one another), cf. GRENET, *Huns*.

LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 120, p. 149) transcribes *Γōn*, from OIr. **gauna-* “color” (cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172, with n. 353, where two alternatives are given). The supposed date of the Upper Indus inscriptions (4th – 6th century) would probably show that this name initially referred not to Turks but to “White Huns”, Hepthalites; Étienne DE LA VAISSIÈRE (*HMS*, II, p. 82-83, cf. YOSH., 2004b, p. 171) notes that *xwn* is never used as a patronym in the *UI* corpus. Now we have an epigraphic evidence of Hunnish dominion over Samarkand, see AMAN UR RAHMAN, GRENET, SIMS-W., 2006. An expected S feminine of *xwn*, **xwn'ncH*, is possibly attested in the form *Hkhonānc* (PN?) in Toch. A.

1443. *xwn'kk* / *Xūnak, Xōnak?*/ m.: **B1** N, *xwn'k(k)*: *UI2*, No. 624 (Dadam Das, 24:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 96-7; the final *k* is unsure). — **P1** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **B2** N, *x-w-n'-kk c'c-y-n-k xw-βw*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 193-197, p. 201-204. — **P2** A ruler in Chach oasis, 7th-8th century. — **D** Hypocoristic to *xwn*.

On the coins, RTVELADZE (apud *Cat. Chach*, p. 203) was reading *xwn/sβk*, KUZNETSOV (loc. cit.) *xwnyrk* and BABAYAROV (2007, p. 65-66) *xwnyrk/xw'nkk*. The reading proposed above has the advantage of being an attested and etymologically transparent name.

1444. (*xwncwyH* / *Xunjuj*/ f.: **B B**, *cnn xwncwyH δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 175. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** BENV., *TSP*, p. 217, n. 172 sq. identified this name with Uygh. *xunčui, xunžui*, from Chin. *gong-zhu* (公主 EMCh. *kəwŋ-teuǎ'*) “princess”; cf. Uygh. PN *qunčuy täjrim* apud GABAIN, 1973, p. 71, MMP *xwncwy, xwnjwy(y)*, Bct. rendering *χιυζωιο*.)

†*xwn/sβk* > *xwn'kk* #1443: 2

†[/*xwnt* > *prnxwnt* #910: 4

†*xwnyrk* > *xwn'kk* #1443: 2

1445. *xwnyz'tk* / *Xūnizāte, Xōnizāte?*/ m.: **B N**, *ZY xwn(y)-z-'(t)k ''st* (')*δwy* (')*xsyn 'z-(y)H*: *Muy*, B-1, L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of dark-blue water-skins (or spears, *'zyH*). — **D** “Child of Hun/Turk”, as Chor. *hwnz'd'k* “slave-boy” and synonymous PN *xwnz'k* in *MN*, 115 (cf. *UI2*, p. 80); cf. *δxz'tk* (#460), maybe under *'sp'nk* (#161).

The medial *y* can be explained as a compound vowel after the light-stem *Vorderglied* of the compound. However, *xwn* behaves as a heavy-stem noun. BOGOL., SMIR. read *γwns'rk*, but I cannot see *s* on the photo.

1446. *xwp* / *Xūp?*/ m.: **B M**, *'ty xwp m'xtysyy*: *SUND.*, *Briefe*, M112, 9, p. 305; *Briefe II*, p. 405-407. — **P** Possibly a person in the Manichean letter (thus *SUND.*, *Briefe II*, p. 407, n. 12); alternatively, adjective “good”, which seems syntactically preferable. — **D** Even if a PN, it probably originates in *S xwp* “good”; cf. *m'xtysyy* (#651).

xwprn > *'xwprn* #215

1447. (*ǰwrc* /*Qurč*/ m.: **B** N(C), *ǰwrc prw* 'skw'tym: *DTS*, F11. — **P** A trader of cotton fabric (*wšyny*)? — **D** OTu. *qurč* “steel”; it is not clear if either “steel” itself is meant, or a person with such a name (as in names with *Tämür*, *Temür*, #1227 etc.), although I could not find *qurč* “steel” in Turkic onomastics; cf. also *kwrcy*, #587?)

1448. *xwrmyw* /*Xurmēw*?/ m.: **B1** N, *xwr(m)[y*w (?): *UI2*, No. 512 (53:18); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261; the end of the line has broken away. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *xwrmyw* | (*pys'kk*): *UI2*, No. 527 (53:33); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 263. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *pys'kk* (#987: 16). — **D** Initial *xwr* seems to be OIr. **xvar-* “sun” (normally *xwyr* in S) + *myw* “tiger” (#738 ff.), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 80.

1449. *xwrxšyδ-* /*Xwarxšēd-^o*/ m.: **B** N(M), *sry' xwrxš[yδ.]*: *BL*, A 114. — **P** A high authority (named third after the “teacher” *mr 'ry'm'n pwxr*, #683 and bishop *r'ymst βrwy*, #1007, with the words “afterwards, X.”) in the Manichean cloister at Bāzāklik. — **D** MP *xwrxšyd*, *hwrxšyd* “sun”, maybe coupled with another element which did not survive.

YOSH. (*BL*, p. 84) compares bishop *mry xwrxšyd whmn*, the author/editor of the *Huyadagmān* cyclus (SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 247-8: hardly the same person) and *mr xwrxšyδz'δ'*, a Manichean Patriarch of Dunhuang (?) according to a fragment of an Uyghur letter (MORIYASU, 2004, p. 243, 5; 247); cf. also *mry wh(m)n* | *xwrxšyd*, the Patriarch of the Eastern church in the early 11th century (cf. also MORIYASU, 2003, p. 90-92) and bishop of Four-Tuystān *mry b'ryst xwrxšyd*, both according to the MP “Hymn for the Heads” (SUND., 1992b, p. 68, IB8259, 5-6 = p. 466); *rdn xwrxšyd* depicted on a meal scene: MIK III 4979, V apud BeDUHN, 2001, No. 32, p. 227.

1450. *xwsw* /*Xwasaw*?/ m.: **B1** N, (*x*)*ws(w)*: *UI2*, No. 546 (105:12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *xwsw* (?) *ZK* | *xwswc* (?) (*B*)*RY* | (*n*)*wk*••: *UI2*, No. 550 (108:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 277. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *xwswc* (#1451). — **B3** N, *xwsw*: *Graff.*, No. 11. — **P3** A graffito on a *Buxār-xudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. The reading is unclear, maybe *xwmk*, *xwšk* etc. — **D** Unclear; one can read (*c*)*ws*w as well (and also *cws*wc in No. 550); the inscription No. 546 may be incomplete at both ends, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 18.

Maybe, from OIr. **hu-savah-* “good strength”, see under *sw'rm* (#1109), *wxwn'm* (#1360). Cf. *hwsk*, the satrap of Susa in 215 CE (HENN., 1952b, p. 176 = p. 384; SCHMITT, 1998, p. 173); Pont. Ir. *Χοσας*, *Χοσσου* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §732-733; cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 39), Bct. PN

Χοασο, OChor. *xws(s?)*, LIV., 1984, p. 256, 7; Does *Husuo* in the Chinese rendering (忽娑, EMCh. *xwāt-sa*, IKEDA, 1965, p. 64) belong here too?

1451. *xwswc* /*Xwasawič?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwsw* (?) *ZK* | *xwswc* (?) (*B*)*RY* | (*n*)*wk●●*: *UI2*, No. 550 (108:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 277. — **P** Father of *xwsw* (#1450: 2). — **D** Unclear; probably *xwsw*, with *-c* hypocoristic; note the similarity of the father's and the son's names. One can equally read *xwsws*, *cwswc* or *cwsws*.

1452. (*xwsyn* /*Qusin?*/ f.: **B** N, *xwsyn* | (*x*)*twñ*: Kulan-say, IIIa, 13-14, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A female visitor to Kulan-say. Possibly daughter of *t's* 'lpsnkwn 't'y t's ty'y 'yrβrtn trx'n (#1217). — **P** Unclear, LIV. compares the name to *Qusi* from Uyghur texts, but it does not have etymology. I see *swy'n* instead, cf. *pwyr* 'swyn *twñkw* 'lptrx'n (#954).

Hardly related to OChor. *xwsyn*', LIV., 1984, p. 261.)

1453. (*xwš-* /*Quš*/ m.: **B** N(B?), *xwšy z'ty pwzy δsty*': *DTS*, E12 (obl.). — **P** Father of *pwz-* (#971). — **D** Turkic, "Bird", as *DTS*, p. 47, cf. *tm'r xwš*, #1227.)

1454. *xwš'kk*, *'xwšk* /(*ə*)*Xušak*/ m.: **B1** B, *xwš'kk δst*': *TSP*, 8, 181. — **P1** A person in the colophon. — **B2** N, *δrxw(n)ysk* (*ZK*) (?) | *xwš'kk*: *UII*, No. 406 (39: 101); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P2** Father (?) of *δrxwnysk* (#441). — **B3** N, *'xwšk*: inscr. in ink on a rib found in the Panjakent Temple I, ed. LIV. apud SHKODA, 2009, p. 94; ill. 144. The script can be determined as mature but clear cursive. — **P3** A person named in the inscription which was found in the same locality where another group of short inscriptions came to light earlier (see LIV., SHKODA, 1982). — **D** Various possibilities. BENV. related this name to the root **gauš-* "to listen", but *SC* reading would rather imply *xwš* "to grow", or *wxwš*, *xwšw* "Oxus"; the orthography of the Indus inscriptions excludes *γwš* "ear", *γwš-t* (pl. tantum) "metal", *γwš* "14th day of the month" (cf. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9); SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 52) prefers to derive the name in the colophon *TSP*, 8 from *wγš-* "joy". The same explanation is given by LIV. apud SHKODA, loc. cit. (however, he reads *'γwšyk*, but there is no *y* on the photo). Or "spica", as MP *Hōšag* (?), see ZIMMER, 1991, p. 141); cf. also OChor. *xwšk*, LIV., 1984, p. 268, 10.

1455. *xwšc* /*Xušič*/ m.: **B** N, *xwšc* | *xypδ*: inscr. on a bronze seal found recently at Kanka (Tashkent oasis), see *zeno.ru*, No. 59126 (the image and my preliminary reading). — **P** The owner of the seal, c. 7th - 9th century. — **D** Hypocoristic to *xwš* (or *γwš*), as *xwš'kk* (#1454) above.

1456. *xwšm'ncH* /*Xušmānj*/ f.: **B** B, *xwšm'ncH δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 179. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** A Sogdian name with several etymological possibilities. BENV., *TSP*, p. 218 understood it as *xwš-m'n* “à l'esprit bon”. Maybe to a deity-name *xšwm* with a typical vowel metathesis and fem. suffix; cf. *'xšwmβntk* (#212)? SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 52) prefers to derive *γwšm'ncH* from *wγš*- “joy” and BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 12 from *wxšprn* (*'nxr*) “12th lunar mansion”; cf. also *xwš'kk* (#1454); *'xwšprn* (under #1370); however, in *SC*, No. 232, SIMS-W. transliterates *xwšm'ncH*. Cf. *nny m'ncH* (#794), *βym'ncH* (#279); Pont. Ir. *Χοσουμενη* (*ZGUSTA*, 1955, §734) also possibly here, see *Step. Ir.*, No. 40.

xwt' > kw xwt' #604

1457. (*xwt'δmyš* /*Qutadmiš*/ f.: **B** N, *x-twn 'y'y '(l)wl'n tk'yn 'lptrx'n xwβw* | *δyt' xwt('δ)m(yš) xtwn δwyt*: inscr. IIIa from Kulan-say, line 10-11, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 148, *SĒSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** Mother of *'yn'y 'lwlyn*, or a separate visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Turkic, “(she/he) who obtained happiness” (an attested Turkic name, *DrTS*, p. 472; cf. *'lp'tmyš snkwn*, #71), as *xwtdmyš* (#1465), *q̄wt'δδmyšyg'n* (#602). The handwriting, however, is far from being perfect; *δ* was added above the line, *y* looks more like *w*.)

1458. *xwt'wβntk* /*Xutāwvande*/ m.: **B** N, *xwt'wβntk* | *ZK mwrδry*: *UII*, No. 70 (31: 41); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 163. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *mwrδry* (#707). — **D** “King's slave”, *xwt'w* “king” here may be an epithet of a certain god.

Maybe, *xutāw* is *Zurvān*?, cf. *zrw' xwt'w*, *zrw' MLK'* in *Dhy.*, *'xšyyδ 'zrw'h* in *ManD*, 546. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 66a. Cf. also Bct. PN *Χοαδηοβανδαγο*.

1459. *xwt'wc* /*Xutāwič*/ m.: **B** N, *n'mδ'r 'xw xwt'wc BRY* | *sm'rknδc*: *ΔP*, R19-20. — **P** Father of *n'mδ'r* (#754). — **D** Hypocoristic to a name containing *xwt'w*.

1460. *xwt'wδ* /*Xutāwθ(vār)?*/ m.: **B** N, (δ)'(•)ZK | *xwt'wδ*: UI2, No.616 (Dadam Das, 22:11; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 95). — **P** Father (?) of (δ)'(•) (#421). — **D** Perhaps unfinished, restoration *xwt'wδ{β'r}* “kingly gift” was proposed by SIMS-W., UI2, p. 22.

1461. *xwt'wn'mk, xwt'wnm'k* /*Xutāwnāmak*/ m.: **B1** N, (w)rcnmk (?) | (x)[wt'wn]'mk: UI2, No. 417 (40:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243. — **P1** Father (?) of *wrcnmk* (#1334). — **B2** N, *xwt'wn'mk* | ZK *kš'yknδc*: UI2, No. 563 (Thor I, 42). — **P2** A visitor to Thor, son (?) of *kš'yknδc* (#560). — **B3** N, *sp'ncnyw* | ZK *xwt'wnm'k*: UII, No. 4 (5: 28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127. — **P3** Father (?) of *sp'ncnyw* (#159: 2). — **D** “(He who has) the king’s name (or fame)”; the restoration of the name in No. 417, however, is no more than a guess, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 13.

The shortening of *n'm'k* “name” in *xwt'wnm'k* is due to the long vowel in the preceding syllable, as UI2, p. 58, cf. *wrcnmk* (#1334). Alternatively, the second part to *nm-* “to accept, consent”?

1462. *xwt'y-nβntk* /*Xutēnvandel*/ m.: **B** N, ZY (x)wt'y-nβntk *pnc kpc* H'MRH: Muγ, Б-9, 3; ZY *xwt'y-nβntk pnc kpc* H'MRH: Б-9, 7 (SDGM, III, 32-33). — **P** A porter of Framāndār. — **D** “Slave of the queen”; one can speculate that this “queen” is the goddess “(lady) Nanaia”.

Cf. also the Chinese rendering *Hutianpantuo* (呼典畔陀; EMCh. *xo-ten'-ban^h-da*, see YOSH., *PNSchS*); Toch. A *Hkhuttem-Wām* (apud TREMBLAY, 2005, p. 430) = /*Xutēn-vām*/ “Queen-glow”; Arabic *Xudayna* (from late S /*xudēn*/), the nickname of a luxury-loving amīr *s'ytt pwn 'βtr'zyz* (#1069; cf. *GMS*, §133, n. 1).

1463. *xwt'ync* /*Xutēnič*/ m.: **B** N, *y-rk'y* | ZK *xwt'y-nc* BRY: Muγ, B-4, V5-6 (SDGM, II, 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 63). — **P** Father of *yrc'y* (#1513). — **D** A hypocoristic to a name containing *xwt'y-nH* “queen”.

1464. *xwtc'nk* /*Xutacane?*/ m.: **B** N, ZKn *xwprn* ZY *xwtc'nk*: Muγ, A-3, 4 (SDGM, II, p. 138, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 154). — **P** A recipient of grain. — **D** Acc. to LIV., from **hu-tačānaka* “(the one who is) good (at) running”, as Av. *x'ātačīna-*. Alternatively, one can read *xwtcynk* (cf. *y* in *sywδyk* in line 7), “hope (for him)self”, from S *cyn'kH* “hope, expectation”.

†*xwt'yt* > *xwtz't* #1476

†*xwt'ywrH* > *xwtzywrH* #1477

1465. (*xwtđmyš* /*Qutadmiš*/ m.: **B** C, *xwt-(d)myš*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 5. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Turkic “glorious” see *xwt'đmyš* (#1457), *q̄wł'đđmyšyg'n* (#602); other comparanda by SIMS-W., *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 57, n. 77.)

1466. (*xwtl'γ* /*Qutluy*/ m.: **B** B, *np'xšty xwtl'γ pr xypđ oo đst(wβry)*: *Vaj.* 2, STii, 8, 11. — **P** A scribe of the Berlin version of Sogdian Vajracchedikā. — **D** A Turkish name, *Qutluy* “Glorious”, cf. *prnxwnt('k)*, #910 – 11; the spelling, however, is irregular.)

1467. (*xwtlwy, xwtrwy* /*Qutluy*/ m.: **B**1 N(M), *γ●●●●●●xwtlwy●*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 3(1), p. 15. — **P**1 A dignitary in the Uyghur Empire. — **B**2 N(M), [*ky*] (*L'*) *pyr't xwtrw(γ)*]: *Ōt.*, 2586A, a3, p. 80-81. — **P**2 A person in a Manichean colophon, cf. *YOSH.*, *First Fruits*, p. 85. — **D** Turkic “Glorious”, most likely as a part of a composite name.)

1468. (*xwtlwy 'yn'l 'ymyš 'lp twryrl tγ'y twty 'ylcy* /*Qutluy Īnal Yimiš Alp Toyrīl Tayay Totoq Elči*/ m.: **B** N, *xwtlwy 'yn'l | 'ymyš 'lp twryrl tγ'y twty 'ylcy | xwβw*: Kulan-say, III-a, 8-10, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 147; *SĒSAS*, p. 377 ff. with photo No. 111. — **P** A visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Turkic lofty name: “glorious” + “*inal* (title, cf. 'r 'yn'l, #25)” + “fruit” (cf. *yymyš x'twn*, #1539; *'yšy 'lp s[yn] γwr 'yn'l 'ymyš*, #260) + “hero” + “hawk” (cf. *twryrl*, #1253) + “uncle” (cf. *t'š 'lpsnkwn 't'y t'š tγ'y 'yrβrtn trx'n*, #1217) + “commander” (cf. *'wđwn twtwy*, #184 bis; *'đpw x'γ'n twtwy*, #58) + “messenger” (also a PN, see *DrTS*, p. 170). It is impossible to define the limits of composite names of various persons in this inscription, cf. *'lp twryrl*, #77.)

1469. (*xwtlwy nzwk-* /*Qutluy Nāziük?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *xwtlwy nz-wk-đ'*: Ch/U 8123a r2 apud *Mlr. Hss.* 1, No. 414 (Turkic loc.). — **P** The name of the recipient in the letter-exercise? — **D** “Glorious” *nzwk*; if *nzwk* is the wrong spelling of *n'zwk* (as RECK, loc. cit., n. 3), the second part of the name stands for *WMlr. nāzug* “graceful, delicate, young”. On the other hand, it looks similar to *nyjwk s'ngwn 'wg'* (*MN*, 38-39); maybe read *nywk* for *WMlr. nēwag/nēk* “nice, brave, well”? At the end of the name the Turkic locative affix is placed.)

1470. (*xwtlwꝯ pylk' /Qutluꝯ Bilgä/* m.: **B** N(M), [*cn'kw*] | *xwtlwꝯ pylk' x'γ'n 'βc'npδy xr'mtd'rt*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 13-14(1), p. 18. — **P** The sixth kaghan of the Uyghur Empire, 790-795, cf. MACKERRAS, 1968, p. 157, RYBATZKY, *Titles*, p. 240; the names of this kaghan in the Chinese texts are *Achuo* (阿啜, EMCh. *ʔa-tc^hwiat*) *Fengcheng* (奉誠) and *Guduolu pijia kehan* (汨咄綠毗伽可汗). — **D** Turkic name, “Glorious + wise”.)

1471. (*xwt pwk' /Qut Bögäl/* m.: **B** N, *xwt pwk' xwβw x'twn* ●●: Inscr. II-B from Terek-say, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 146. — **P** A “ruler” (*xwβw*), visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, “Glory + Hero”; *bögä* is attested in Turkic PNs since 11th century, see *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 116.)

1472. (*xwt pwyl' /Qut Boyla/* f.: **B** N, *xwt p(wyl' x'twn)*: Terek-say, Ib, 2, 39, *SĒSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A lady, visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, “glory” + title *bojla*, cf. *pwyl'*, #970.)

xwtrwꝯ > *xwtlwꝯ* #1467: 2

1473. (*xwtrwꝯ tyr'k /Qutluꝯ Tiräk/* m.: **B** N(M), *xwtrwꝯ tyr'k*: *BL*, C24 (written above the line). — **P** A person in the circle of *xw'r z'δ'k'* (#1433), maybe the same person as *t'šyn z'δk'* (#1209, whose name is written directly below *xwtrwꝯ tyr'k*). — **D** Turkic, *qutluꝯ tiräk* “glorious support”, cf. *yncw pylk' tyr'k*, #247.)

1474. (*šwtwzꝯ- /Qotuz/* m.: **B** B, *šwtwzꝯ z'ty twꝯryl*: *DTS*, C3 (obl.) = TSP26 B. — **P** Father of *twꝯryl* (#1253). — **D** OTu. *qotuz*, *qutuz* “yak, deer” (*DTS*, p. 38; *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 514.)

1475. *xwtwyw'rn /Xuti yawārnl/* m.: **B** N, 'sk'n ZK | *xw(t)yyw'rn* (?) - - -: *UII*, No. 344 (39: 39); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P** Father (?) of 'sk'n (#154). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 80-81) understands it as “mechanical (corn) mill”, taking into account S *xwt'rn* 'k “water mill”, Yaγn. *xutánna* etc., and Av. *yāuuarəna-* (cf. *yw'rn*, #1525 ff.). Such a name could be a nickname. HUMB., 1994, p. 184 proposes to see in the second part OIr. **vivārana-* “opening, manifesting”, (cf. S *yw'r* “separation”), which gives to the name a meaning “sich selbst enthüllend”. The initial reading of HUMB. (*SIF*, No. 30) was *šw sy ywrn.*, and reading *šwsy y'wrn* is given by SIMS-W. as a legitimate

alternative. Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly reminded me of IPth. PN *hwtrn*, which seems to belong here, too.

1476. *xwtz't* /*Xutzāt*/ m.: **B** B, *cnn xwtz't δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 184. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** “Born by himself”, the name of a foundling (? as HENN., *STP*, p. 737; cf. *krzβy'rt*, #558); BENV.’s reading *γwt'yt* does not make sense.

1477. *xwtzywrH* /*Xutzēwar*/ f.: **B** B, *xwtzywrH | δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 179-180. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** “Adornment-for-herself”, from *zywr* “ornament, necklace” (thus HENN., *STP*, p. 737).

BENV. had *γwt'γwrH*, “soi-même (*γwt'γ*) success (*wrH*)”; both readings of the fourth letter are possible paleographically, but *xwt'γ* is relatively rare spelling for *xwt(γ)*.

1478. *xwt - - - /?/* m.?: **B** N, *xwt - - - : UII*, No. 325 (36: 109) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 217. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Begins with *xwt(γ)* “self” or *xwt'w* “king”?

1479. (*ǰw[ft- /Qut-?/* m.?: **B** N(M), *ǰw[ft*: M6791 v2 apud *Mir. Hss. I*, No. 426. — **P** A name in a colophon? — **D** Probably, Turkic *qut* “glory”, it is likely that only a part of the name survived.)

1480. *xwzβ'kk* /*Xuzβāk?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwzβ('k)k | x(w'-)*: *UI2*, No. 579 (Oshibat, 17:3, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 49). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat, son (?) of *xw'* (#1435). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 81) understands it as unknown *xwzβ-* or *xwnβ-* with the suffix *-kk*. I would rather think of S *zβ'k* “tongue”, prefixed by *xw-* “good” (OIr. **hu-*) cf. PN *xwmn'* (#1440), (*'*)*xwprn* (#215) and names beginning with *wxw-* (see under *wxwn'm*, #1360). For semantics, cf. NP PN *Šīrāzabān* (*INB*, p. 302).

1481. *xw[J /?/* m.?: **B** N, (*p*)*[rn]xwnt xw[J | ZK γ'[tk]*: *UI2*, No. 428 (40:20); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244. — **P** Father (?) of *prnxwnt* (#910). — **D** Unclear, maybe *xt[J*.

It can hardly be an article *xw* (=ZK): in this case no place is left for the following word (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 13), not to forget that in other instances in the *UI* corpus the article is always rendered ideographically. The surviving part is too fragmentary for any further identifications. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 34b.

(xw...z')δ > prwx'n 'z'δ #925

1482. (*xyšyx* /*Qišiq?*/ m.: **B** N, *MN* 'wttkyn ky *ZY ZK* | *pyšn'm'k zy-δnH MN xyšyx BRY*: Muγ, Nov.4 R2-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21-2, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 29; *YAK.*, *Marr.*, p. 313). — **P** Father of 'wttkyn / *zyδ(')nH* (#205, #1572). — **D** Turkic, compared by LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 26, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 35) with *qiš* “to bend, bow”, as a nickname (cf. OTu. *qišiy* “bent, crooked”, *SÉSAS*, p. 35). *YAK.* accepts this etymology, although paleographically he would prefer *xyxyš/γγγš*. Or from *qiš* “winter”?)

xyxyš > *xyšyx* #1482

1483. (*xz'ky'* /*Hezakiyā*/ m.: **B** N(C), *xj(ž-)'ky'*: *STSC2*, p. 164 (T III T III T.V.B, R3 = Psalm 29, title); *cw (? xž-')[ky']*: *STSC2*, p. 165 (T III TIII T.V.B., V10 = Psalm 30, title). — **P** Hezekiah, the king of Judah. — **D** Syr. *hzyqy'* /*Hezaqyā*/, from Old Hebrew *Hizqiyāhu* “the lord has strengthened”. Note that in Psalm 20 (*STSC2*, p. 161, T II B 65 07 + T II B 68 V 16) the name *Hezekiah* is a pure restoration.)

1484. *xz'nc* /*Xəzānič*/ m.: **B1** N, *ZY xz'-nc* | (*'βt*): Muγ, A-11, 4-5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 185, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 220; *SDGM*, III, p. 54). — **P1** A recipient of 7 drachmae. — **B2** N, '*kw't'kk* | *ZK xz'nc* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 381 (39: 76); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233. — **P2** Father of '*kw't'kk* (#66: 1); *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 17g, has *xnmnc*, LIV. (op. cit., p. 228) proposed *γ'm'c*, *γ'm'k*. — **D** Probably, “(he born in) autumn”, as MMP *xz'n* (*MN*, 84, thus LIV. and *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 81), cf. *xz'nyy* below.

S *xz'nH* “autumn” seems to be attested only once (Muγ A-17, 2, *SDGM*, II, p. 169, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 199); *BOGOL.*, *SMIR.* (*SDGM*, III) have the paleographically impossible *γr'nc* without etymology, and *BOGOL.*, *Otrazhenie*, p. 9, explains this name as the simplification of *xz'n'nc* “6th month”.

1485. *xz'nyy* /*Xəzānīl*/ m.: **B** M, *ms xz'nyy 'tyh*: *SUND.*, *Briefe II*, I, 31, p. 408, 410. — **P** A name (?) in the Manichean letter; in the first edition of the letter *SUND.* translated it as “im Herbst”, and in the second takes it as PN. — **D** If a PN, see *xz'nc* (#1484), but with the different suffix.

1486. *x - - - /?*/ m.: **B** N, *y'n(x)srδ* | *ZK (x - - -)*: *UI2*, No. 522 (53:28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262; unusual shape of *x* (in the both lines). — **P** Father (?) of *y'nxsrδ* (#1498). — **D** Unclear.