

δ, d, θ

412. (θ'dsys /Tēdosīs/ m.: B C, qw | [θ'dsy](s) (mzyx) xwš(y)wnw s(').: C2, *77 V*13; c'nw(p)tyγwš θ'ds(y)s | [: C2, *77 V*17-18. — **P** Roman emperor Theodosius the Great (379-395). — **D** Syr. t'dsys /Tēdosīs/, var. for t'wdwsyws, from Gr. Θεοδοσίος.)

413. (d'dyn' /Dādyānā/ m.: B C, fr'my d] 'dġn' qw xypθ 'mrθt: GP, 78; d'dġn' xšywny: GP, 167; qw d'dġn' xšywny | s'r: GP, 182-3. — **P** The Roman governor, torturer of St. George. — **D** Syr. d'dġn', ddyn' /Dādyānā/ < Latin *Dadianus*.)

414. δ'knyš /?/ m.: B N, ZY δ'k-nyš 'ywh 'y-zH: Muγ, Б-1, L3 (SDGM, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a spear (or a water-skin, 'zyH). — **D** Unclear. The reading δzknyš might mean “fortress-destroyer”, cf. s.v. δrk'nk (#434; or δzk'nk?).

θ'm' > θ'wm' #420

415. δ'nδ't /Δānδat?/ m.: B N, nnynzt ZK | (k)wnt'kk BRY | δ'nδ't (?) npyšn (?): UII, No. 271 (36: 55) cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 207. — **P** Grandfather (if npyšn is the right reading) of nnynzt (#796: 1); father of kwnt'kk (#588: 1); the last line, however, is written in a different hand, so it is unclear whether it belongs to this inscription or not). — **D** SIMS-W. chooses the transliteration δ'nδmt (without etymology), although he adds that readings such as δ'nms and δ'nδ't are also possible. For the last one he (UI2, p. 49) proposes an etymology linking it to Av. dāmi.dāta- “created by the creator”, OP *Dāmi-dāta-, known through Elam. damidadda, Aram. dmydt and IPth. dmydt (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 181). A borrowing from Indian dāna- “act of giving” (cf. δ'p'tsyγH, #416) cannot be excluded too. HUMB., SIF, No. 42b, has δ'•mt.

δ'nδmt > δ'nδ't #415

416. $\delta'p'tsy\gamma H$ / $\Delta\bar{a}p\bar{a}ts\bar{e}y?$ / f.: **B** N(M), $\delta'p'tsy\gamma[H?]$: HENN., *So.*, VI, 2 (p. 7). — **P** A female name written on a margin of the list. — **D** “Fine (through, for?) $\delta'p't$ ”. For $\delta'p't$ - comp. Gr. $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\tau$, Mandæan *dlyb't*, *lyb't*, *dyb't*, Pth. *dybt*, if “Große Jungfrau” (as *Mir. Man.*, iii, 880, 60-61; cf., however, P.O. SKJÆRVØ, 1994, p. 243, where *dybt* is interpreted as *Devadatta*, cf. *tyβd'tt*); alternatively to B $\delta'p't$ “donor”, Skt. *dānapati*, Chin. *Tan-yue*, (檀越, EMCh. *dan wuat*, see MACK., *BSTBL*, p. 183), both variants were already proposed by HENN., *So.*, p. 7. Another interpretation, linking the first part of the name with CS *d'p't* “truly”, was introduced later by the same author (HENN., *S God*, p. 253, n. 72). For the second part, S *syγ*- “fine”, cf. Bct. PN $\Sigma\eta\gamma o$.

417. $\delta'p't\dot{s}yr$, $\delta'p't\dot{s}yrH$ / $\Delta\bar{a}p\bar{a}t\dot{s}ir$ / m., f.: **B1** N(M), $\delta'p't\dot{s}yrH$: HENN., *So.*, VI,1 (p. 7). — **P1** a female name from a list. — **B2** N, *m'xy-'n* ZK | $\delta'p't\dot{s}yr z'tk$: Muγ, B-4, R4-5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62). — **P2** The father of *m'xy'n* (#653: 1); obviously a male name. — **D** “Good (through, for?) $\delta'p't$ ”, or “good donor”, see $\delta'p'tsy\gamma H$ (#416) for further details. The names ending in *šyr* can be both feminine (cf. $\delta\gamma wty\dot{s}yrH$, #423) or masculine (as *nwy šyr*, #845).

In the case fem. $\delta'p't\dot{s}yrH$ (as well as in *m'xšyrH*, #649, *nny šyrH*, #801, $\delta\gamma wty\dot{s}yrH$, #424) one might attempt to transcribe the final *-H* with /a/, since S *šir-* is a light stem, but the parallel male names in *-šyr* (*tymšyr*, #1280, $\delta'p't\dot{s}yr$, #417, *βntyšyr*, #294, *nwy šyr*, #845) and never in **-šyry* disagree with this transcription.

418. $\delta'rprn$ / $\Delta\bar{a}rfarn$ / m.: **B** B, *cnn* $\delta'rprn \delta st'$: *TSP*, 8, 176. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** “(He who) possesses glory”, a compound of *Dāraya-vahuš* type, as WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 196-7, No. 7; cf. already Elam. *Dariparna* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.360), Babylonian *Da-ri-pa-ar-na-* (and other variants, see ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 246-47). Desmond DURKIN-MEISTERERNST kindly suggested an alternative: to understand it as an imperative “hold (your) glory”.

419. $\delta't'yk$ / $\Delta\bar{a}t\bar{ik}$ / m.: **B1** N, *prnxwn tk* Z(K) | $\delta't'()$ [*yk*]: *UII*, No. 211 (34: 97); *UI2*, Addenda, p. 26; cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P1** Father (?) of *prnxwn tk* (#911: 1). — **B2** N, $\delta't'yk$ (?): *UI2*, No. 641 (Dadam Das, 48:42, cf. *Fbs. DD*). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** Probably, to S $\delta't'yk$ “law-abiding”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 49, or a hypocoristic to a shortening of a name like *nnyδ't* (#789; as it was kindly suggested by Johnny CHEUNG, e-mail of 9.01.2008), OIr. **Dāt-ika-*.

In No. 211 the end of the line is broken away. The reading in No. 641 is unsure, maybe $\delta't'k$, $\delta'ty'k$, $\delta't'r$, etc., less likely $\delta's^o$, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 23. If $\delta't'r$, to MP *dādār* “creator”, if $\delta't'k$, to Pont. Ir. *Δαδαγος*, *Δαδακος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §99; *Step. Ir.*, No. 11), Elam. *Dadda*, *Dadaka*, *Datena* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 238; MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.320; 8.368), Elam. *da-ti-ya*, Gr. *Δᾱτις* (SCHMITT, 1997, p. 166-8; 2006, p. 96-97)? Cf. also Zhaowu *Dadi* (達地, EMCh. *dat-di^h*), the ruler of Kushaniya in the mid-7th century (SHIRATORI, 1928, p. 114; however, CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 145, reads on this place *P'o-ta-ti*, 婆達地).

† $\delta't(^{\circ})/ > \delta't'yk$ #419

420. ($\theta'wm'$, $\theta'm'$ /*Tōmā*/ m.: **B** C, *pyšt* $\theta'wm'$ | (*y*)*wtr cn dw'(t)snw xyd* *qt wyty bwt* $\theta'm'$: C5, 10, II V 13-14 (*NBS*, p. 270; *STi*, p. 78); $t' \theta'wm'$: C5, 14, V16 (*STi*, p. 32-33). — **P** The apostle Thomas. — **D** Syr. *t'wm'* /*T'omā*/, lit. “twin”.)

† $\delta'ykwrtw > \beta wkw$ #324

421. (δ)'(\bullet / \circ ?/ m.: **B** N, (δ)'(\bullet Z)K | *xwt'wδ*: *UI2*, No.616 (Dadam Das, 22:11; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 95). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das, son (?) of *xwt'wδ* (#1460). — **D** Unclear.

[$\delta\beta'mn$ f.: **B** N(C), $<\delta\beta'mn x'twn>$: Credo, V19 (*STi*, p. 85, 87; *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 58, cf. *SC*, No. 206). — **P** A *secunda manu* subscript to the “Nestorian Credo”. — **D** S $\delta\beta'mpnH$ “lady” in late spelling; probably not as a PN.

One can speculate that it is a personal name of the “lady” (*xatun*), or *vice versa* (as SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 58) but since $\delta\beta'mn$ is virtually a synonym to Uygh. *xatun*, the subscript could merely represent a glossary entry.]

422. $\delta\gamma''n$ /*Δayān?*/ m.: **B** N, $\delta\gamma''n$ | *kwnt*: *UI2*, No. 652A (the inscription is located somewhere between Dadam Das and Thalpan, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 24). — **P** A visitor to the Upper Indus, son (?) of *kwnt* (#587: 9). — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 49, to S $\delta\gamma'n$ “fierce”.

423. $\delta\gamma w t \gamma w n c H$ /*Δəγudyōñj*/ f.: **B** N, *wδwH ky ZY KZNH n'mt* $\delta\gamma w t \gamma w n c H$ *ky ZY šy ZK* | *py-šn'm'k cttH*: Muγ, Nov.3 R5-6; $\delta\gamma w t \gamma w n c H$ *ky ZY ZK pyšn'm'k cttH ZKwH* | *wy-'ws δγwtH*: Nov.4 R6-7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28, YAK., *Marr.*, p. 310, 313). — **P** The “ordinary name” of *cttH* (#386), the bride of *'wttkyn* / *zyδ(')nH* (#205; #1572), ward of *cyr*

(#403), daughter of wy'ws (#1375: 1) in the marriage contract. — **D** Various possibilities for the second part, while the initial *δγwt-* is “daughter”.

LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 29 (cf. now *SÉSAS*, p. 37) proposed understanding this name as “profitable daughter” from Av. *gaona-* “Gewinn” (cf. C *γwnnc* C2, *45 R25 and SIMS-W., C2, comm. p. 100); or as “beautiful daughter”, from S *γwnc*. Note that S *γwnc* means “colour(ed)”, while “beauty” can be expressed only by *γwncy'kH*, an abstract derived from *γwnc* (*SCE*). YAK. (*Marr.*, p. 317-318), on the other hand, compares this name to similar expressions in Bct.: *ασνοουνο ασνοουογογο* “a daughter-in-law [to be treated] like a daughter-in-law”, *ολο ολογογο* “a wife [to be treated] like a wife” and understood *δγwtγwncH* as “daughter-like”, a name that might have been given to her by the guardian, *cyr*. One can also understand the second part with the help of NP *γunča* “rose-bud”, a word with an East-Iranian appearance (thus LURJE, *Pyšn 'm 'k*, p. 238); cf. SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 106 ff. for female names of this type among Middle Eastern peoples. For WMIr. *dwxt* cf. 'z'd *dwxt* (#40); *δwγt'ns'h* in MN, 148, seems to be a mixed Sogdo-WMIr. name (on MP parallels, see ZIMMER, 1991, p. 118-119).

424. δγwtγšyrH /*Δαγυδιšir*/ f.: **B** B, *δγwtγšyrH dšt'*: *TSP*, 8, 180. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** “Good daughter”; for -y- after the first part of the compound see *SCpd.*, p. 138-9, cf. *δ'p'tšyrH* (#417).

425. δkk' /*ʔ*/ m.: **B** N, (*wxβ* ???) | *ZK* (?) *δk(k')*: *UII*, No. 221 (34: 107); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P** Father (?) of *wxβ* (? , #1351). — **D** Unclear; reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 49c. Cf. Bct. PN *Λαγο(κο)*?

426. (dqyws /*Dekiyōs*/ m.: **B** C, *ty](s) (d)[qyws*: C2, *77 R1; (p)r (*dqy*)ws *xwšywny m.(y)θt*: C2, *77 V*10. — **P** The Emperor Decius, persecutor of the sleepers of Ephesos (249-251 CE). — **D** Syr. *dqyws* /*Deqiyōs*/, also *dqys*, *dwqyws*, from Latin *Decius*.

Incidentally, *Dakianus-Shahri*, one of the modern names for the ruins of Toyoq in Turfan is derived from the same PN, in an enriched Arabic form *Daqyānūs*; the story of the sleepers of Ephesos was popular in the Islamic world (cf. R. PARET, 1986), and *Daqyonus* in Tajik and Persian is broadly equal to English *Queen Anne* (in “when Queen Anne was alive”), German *Anno Tobak* or Russian *Царь Горох*. LE COQ, 1923, p. 21-22, refers to a sanctuary of the “seven sleepers” in Toyoq.)

427. (δmwmmH /*ʔ*/ f.: **B** N(M), *ZKn šxmyz'ty (cnn δ)m(wmH w)δ(wHʔ)*: *Giants*, H9 p. 70 (with n. 1, followed by *SC*, No. 137). — **P** The wife of the giant *šxmyz't* (#1182)? — **D** Unclear. HENN. (loc. cit., n. 1) gives the variant *δmpmH* and notes that *δβ'mprnwH* is impossible. The context of the Book of Enoch would suggest “(kidnapped) human wife of *Shemihazah*, the chief

fallen angel”, although her name does not seem to be preserved in other extant sources.)

428. (*dny'yl* /Dāniyēl/ m.: **B** C, *dny'yl z't't*: C22, 5, 1 (STii, p. 31); *myd wyd'rt dny'yl*: C22, 5, 4 (STii, p. 31); *wyny dny'yl*: C22, 5, 27 (STii, p. 32); *wyny | dny'yl*: C22, 5, 31-32 (STii, p. 33); *myd wyd'rt dny'yl bywny*: C22, 5, 35; *cn dny'yl | bywny*: C22, 5, 40-41 (STii, p. 33); *pr dny'yl*: C22, 5, 43 (STii, p. 33); *pr dny'yl | wsyd pš'd'ry m'x βγγ šy dny'yl ms | prbty θbr'*: C22, 5, 44-46 (STii, p. 33). — **P** The prophet Daniel. — **D** Syr. *dny'yl* /Dāni'yēll/, *dny'l*, from Old Hebrew.)

429. *δp'x* /Δəpāx?/ m.: **B** N, MN (*δ*)*p'x kw 'nwtc*: Muγ, A-7, 1 (SDGM, II, p. 74, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 82; *SDGM*, III, p. 64). — **P** The author of a receipt. — **D** Unclear. The final letter is clearly *x*, not *γ*.

430. *δpyrptw* /Aip̄rpat^u/ m.: **B** N, *δp-yrptw*: *Graff.*, No. 6. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** “Chief of scribes”; the spelling *δp'yrptw* with the final *w* also in *Afr.*, 3; *ΔP*, 22, 24 (cf. *SIMS-W.*, C2, p. 61). Since all other graffiti from this hoard contain personal names (but cf. *twwδ*, #1269?), it is likely that *δpyrptw* serves here as a PN or professional nickname.

431. (*θrbw* /Tarbō/ f.: **B** C, *θrbw w'nw w'(b)*: C2, *66 R5; *'t t(γ)w qy θr(b)w 'χš*: C2, *66 R14; *q(w γnq)[y]n (θr)[bw s']*: C2, *66 V12; *(θrb)w swgb'r'nc (o)*: C28 R12 apud SCHWARTZ, 1970, p. 392. (C28 is a fragment of a manuscript of the same text different from C2, see SCHWARTZ apud *SIMS-W.*, C2, p. 139 n. 15). — **P** St. Tarbo, the sister of Simon, the martyr (executed in 345). — **D** Syriac *trbw* /Terbō/, *trby* /Tarbī/.)

432. *δrc* /Δarič?/ m.: **B** N, (*pr'p δr'c*): *Panj.-1978*, p. 138, No. 11. — **P** A recipient (?) of unknown goods. — **D** Unclear, but probably a *nisba* to *δr*-“valley”, cf. *γrc* (#486), *δrk'nk* (#434).

433. *δrγw'k* /Žəγuwak/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn *δrγw'k*: Muγ, A-5, 11, 19 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** The recipient of one drachma for shoes and of 5 drachmae for unspecified goods. — **D** From B *δrγw*, *zγw*, M. *jγw*, *jwγ* “hard, cruel” with the hypocoristic suffix -'k,

as in BOGOL., SMIR., p. 93. A nickname? SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 50) proposes reading *δrxwnk*, see *δrxwnysk* (#441).

434. *δrk'nk* /*Δarkāne?*/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn *δrk'n(k) pr 'δwy δrxm kβšt'*: Muγ, A-5, 9; ZY *δrk'nk*: A-5, 10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of shoes and other equipment. — **D** Unclear. BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 93) give an etymology from OIr. **θraha*kānaka- “coward”, and LIV. sees an adjective from a place-name **δr(k)-* (cf. *δrc*, #432, *kwš'nk'nk*, #600).

Cf. *Darān*, a village near Samarkand acc. to *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 23a, cf. *ILAST*, p. 138. Transliterations *δ'k'nk*, *δnk'nk*, *δzk'nk* are equally possible. The latter would be a *nisba* to the large town *Dizak*, *Dēzak* in medieval Ustrušana, today *Žizraq*, half way from Samarkand to Tashkent; cf. also under *δ'knyš* (#414).

435. *δrm ryzkr* /*Darm-rēžkar*/ m.: **B** B, *pwtystβ wm't prw δrm ryzkr n'm*: *Vim.*, 190-191. — **P** Bodhisattva, an interlocutor of Vimalakīrti. — **D** “Acting at will in the Dharma”; a translation of some name; however, both Chinese versions of the sūtra imply Skt. *Dharmeśvara* “Dharma-independent, Dharma-lord”, while Tibetan has *Dharmavikurvaṇa*, “Modifying one’s dharma”, see *BSTBL*, ii, p. 39, No. 61.

Cf. fem. PN *ryjgrc* in *MN*, 143. Noteworthy is that no other PNs with /*rēž*/ “will” have ever been found in S texts so far, while in MP Maḥnāmag S names *βyryj* “god’s will”, *MN*, 79, *ryj* | *y'n* “grace of will”, *MN*, 101-2, *ryj wnwβ'm* “will-victory-light”, *MN* 141, and *ryjgrc* are found.

436. *δrsm't-* /*?*/ f.?: **B** N, 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, in an inscr. in early Sogdian script on a silver bowl found in 1990 in Karashahr, now in Kurle Museum; cf. *UI2*, p. 49-50; *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228-9. — **P** The owner of the bowl? Or her father of mother? — **D** Unclear, cf. following; the names with *δrym(')t-* (#442 – 43). The final *H* is normally a feminine marker, the preceding *-y-* is obl. case-ending?

This inscription, although it represents a well known formular of S labels on silver vessel (“this cup is somebody’s own, 30 staters of silver”) and is incised in a clear hand, contains a number of unclear words and expressions. *txs'ycyH* is obl. of the theonym *Taxsīč* (cf. *txs'ycβntk*, #1274), or a place-name *Taxsīč* near Samarkand (BARTHOLD, *Turkestan*, p. 132), the following *γ'δp'nynyH/γ'δp'zynyH/γ'δp'nyzyH* might be a noun, and SIMS-W. proposes to see here a feminine of **γ'δ-p'n*, MP **gāhbān* “treasurer of a throne”, *xr'ryH*

(#1409) seems to be another PN, maybe that of the owner, and *δrsm'tyH* was her father or mother? Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS was very kind in informing the author on whereabouts of this inscription and giving his preliminary reading, which is more detailed than the published Chinese version (e-mail dated 31.12.08).

437. *δrsm'tβntk* /ʔ-vande?/ m.: B N, *δr(smtβn)tk*: UII, No. 345 (39: 40); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — P A visitor to Shatial. — D SIMS-W.'s initial reading was *δr(●●●●βn)tk*, corrected into *δr(smtβn)tk* in the *Addenda*. He compares this name to *δrymt* and adds *δrsm'tyH*. The reconstruction *δr(ymtβn)tk* (#443) cannot be excluded, too. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 91a, has ZK ●●βntk.

438. *δrw'spβntk*, *δrw'sβntk*, *δrwspβntk* /Žuwāspvande, Aruwāspvande/ m.: B1 N(A), 'LH *pysk δrw'spβntk*: AL2 (2), R42; J(δrw)'s(βn)[tk: AL2 (2), R44. — P1 Father of *pysk* (#987: 1). — B2 N, *p(r)[nc ZK (?)]* | *δrw'(sp)[βntk*: UII, No. 258 (36: 42) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208; *prnc ZK* | *δrw'spβntk* | BRY: UII, No. 366 (39: 61); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — P2 Father of *prnc* (#907: 4). — B3 N, *n'wmyw ZK* | *δrw'spβntk*: UI2, No. 497 (53:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — P3 Father (?) of *n'wmyw* (#766). — B4 N, *δrwspβntk*: UI2, No. 519 (53:25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — P4 A visitor to Shatial; the absence of *aleph* could be probably a misspelling. — D "Slave of (the deity) *Druuāspā*". *δrw'sβntk* could be not merely a misspelling, but also a simplification of a difficult consonant cluster /*sp-v*/, cf. *'xwrmtz't* (to which Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS proposes to add Bct. Ασβίδο < **aspa-pati*-). Readings already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 124c (= No. 366), No. 104 (= No. 497).

***δrw'spH* > *δrw'spH m'xw* #439**

439. *δrw'spH m'xw* /Žuwāsp-māx?/ m.: B N, *np]('xšt δpyr?) δrw'spH* (*m*-)'*x*-(*w*?): Alphabet, 4, p. 263, cf. *ŚÉSAS*, p. 304. — P The scribe who wrote the alphabet on an ostrakon from Panjakent. — D LIV. reads *δrw'sph* 'šy' "Druwaspa for remembering" and took *δrw'sph* as a male PN of the scribe. However, I see a letter before *aleph* in the second word, most probably the higher part of *m*; the following letter is more similar to *x* rather than *š*. If my reading is correct, the name consists of two theonyms: *Druuāspā* and *Māh*. For this type of names cf. *r'mtyš* (#1004). For the final -*H* in *δrw'spH* note that Av. *Druuāspā* was a feminine deity (unlike, of course, Kushana Αροοασπο and NP *Luhrāsp*, see also *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 239 n. 51); cf. *nnyH βntk* (#805) and *xšwrδH βntk* (#1426) for *H* at the end of the feminine initial part of the compound name.

***δrwspβntk* > *δrw'spβntk* #438: 4**

440. *δrw●* /Žuwāspvande?/ m.: **B** N, *δrw●*: *Fbs. Sh.*, No. 40:24, p. 245. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Probably unfinished *δrw'spβntk*, as SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 245.

441. *δrxwnysk* /?/ m.: **B** N, *δrxw(n)ysk(Z)K (?)* | *xwš'kk*: *UII*, No. 406 (39: 101); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *xwš'kk* (#1454: 2). — **D** Unclear. For *-sk* hypocoristic cf. *kr'yšk●* (#546), *Jn'pxwcsk* (#751). Cf. also *δryw'k* (#433), *trxwn* (#1244).

442. *δrym't* /Žēmat/ m.: **B1** N, *δrym['t?]*: *UII*, No. 138 (33: 9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 176-7, the end of the inscription is weathered away. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *nn(y)wn(wn) ZK* | *δrym't BR[Y]*: *UII*, No. 208 (34: 94); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P2** Father of *nnynwnn* (#804), maybe the same person as *δrym't* in No. 138; SIMS-W. (*Fbs. DD*, p. 93) takes into account the possibility of reading this inscription as Dadam-das 21: 8 (*nnβntk ZK δrymtβntk*), but considers such a transliteration as palaeographically difficult. — **D** “Demetra, Δημήτηρ”, a shortened name from a compound like *δrym(')tβntk*, cf. *'n'xt* (#94). For this Greek goddess in Bactria (*Δηματρ-, Δρηματ-*) and Sogdiana (*δrym't, jymt*) see SIMS-W. – DE BLOIS, 1998, p. 165; SIMS-W., *Invaders*, p. 228; SIMS-W. – DE BLOIS, 2005, p. 189; this transliteration is first given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 95b (= No. 208).

Cf. also *δrsm't, δrsmtβntk* (#436-437).

443. *δrymtβntk* /Žēmatvande/ m.: **B1** N, *nnβntk ZK* | *δrymtβntk*: *UI2*, No. 609 (Dadam Das, 21:8; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 93); *nnβntk ZK* | *(δ)rym(tβn)tk (BRY) (š)y(rw'β)k (?)*: *UI2*, No. 615 (Dadam Das, 22:5; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). — **P1** Father of *nnβntk* (#787: 16), note the similarity in the father's and the son's names. — **B2** N, *βr'yšmnβntk δrymtβntk* | *pr'wtβntk*: *Xian*, 30-31. — **P2** Son of *wyrk'k* (#1381). — **D** “Slave of Demetra”.

The name of *Wirkak's* son in the Chinese version is written *Weimo* (维摩, EMCh. *jwi-ma*; YOSH., *Xian*, p. 60-61, n. 6, mentions that in the 6th century the initial *j* (from OCh **d-*) could still be pronounced as *dž*); the same *weimo* was used to transcribe *Vimalakīrti* in Chinese (cf. *βr'yšmnβntk*, #303); note the parallelism between the three brothers' names. Incidentally, another *Žēmatvande* of the Kešš clan is known to have been active in the North-Western China at the same time (Shi Shewupantuo, 史射勿槃陀, EMCh. *zid^h-mut-ban-da*, on a tomb-inscription, 609 CE), but his ancestors bear names strikingly different

from those of this *δrymβntk*, see YOSH., *Xian*, p. 62; another namesake of his was mentioned in the Dunhuang documents, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64

444. *dryst rwšn* /Drīst-rōšn/ m.: **B** M, *kww yzd 'ry'm'n dryst rwšn myhr whmn 'ty whmnš 'h s'r*: SUND., *Briefe*, I, 28, p. 306; *Briefe II*, p. 408, 410. — **P** A member of the Turfan Manichean community. — **D** MMP, “whole light” or “proper light”, cf. *rwšn pwxr* (#1036). Cf. *dʳʳst* as a name of a person from the district of Samarkand in Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 5).

† *δr●●●●βntk* > *δrsmtβntk* #437

445. *δs* /Δas?/ m.: **B** N, *δ(s) (?) nnyβntk*: *UII*, No. 99 (31: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *nnyβntk* (#787: 5); “the two words stand on either side of the picture of a stairway leading up to a stupa, a rare piece of *prima facie* evidence for a direct association between Sogdian name and Buddhist carving” (SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 16). — **D** Maybe not a name, but a numeral “ten”, or a PN with the same meaning. Cf. Bct. PN *Λασομυρο*, or maybe *Δασο*, although S /δ/ normally corresponds to Bct. λ (alternatively, it could have come from Skt. *dāsa*- “slave”, as a short-name, cf. *δyβδ's*, #461, *pwttδ's*, #965).

446. *δs'kr* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), *MN βnt(k)w δs'k(r)[*: *AL7*, 1. — **P** The author of the letter. — **D** Transliteration follows that of *SC*, No. 368, *REI*. left it as ●●'k, SIMS-W., *Greeting*, p. 177, 180 gives *δs'k●[*], with probably one more letter missing. Meaning is unclear, to *δs*- “ten”?

447. *δstf* /Δastʰ-?/ m.?: **B** N, *J●kk ZK δ(st)[* (?): *UI2*, No. 456 (48:4); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 252. — **P** Father (or *nisba*, title) of *J●kk*. — **D** To S *δst* “hand”?, cf. *sw'rm* (#1109); NP PN (*Šn.*) *Dastān*.

δšcy > *δxcy* #458: 2

448. *δšcy'pt* /Δiščyāpat/ m.: **B** N, *δšcy'pt δykH*: *Ōt.*, No. 6341, V2, cf. YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 241-3. — **P** The sender (?) of the letter. Noteworthy is that he is named *βγyβntk* (#287: 2) on Recto. — **D** YOSH., loc. cit., understood it as either a PN or a title, equal to *δš'pt/δc'pt* in *MN*, 68, 81-82 with the meaning “(he who is) watched over or approved (*-āpat* < *āpāt*) by

(as being born on the day of the) Creator ($\delta\check{s}cy$), as suggested by SIMS-W. This possibility is maintained in the edition of the Ōtani collection.

The editors also compare it to the name (*Kang*) *Dishebo/fa* ([康] 地舍撥, EMCh. $di^h\text{-}cia^h\text{-}pa^h/puat$) from Chinese documents from Dunhuang; see also YOSH.-YAK., *SghS*, p. 251; $d\check{s}'(p)[t]$ *cykšy* in a M Uyghur prayer (YOSH. apud MORIYASU, 2004, p. 230, 7; 241); furthermore, the same name is manifested in *Daishibi* (代失畢 EMCh. $daj^h\text{-}cit\text{-}pjit$), a ruler of Samarkand who is mentioned under 575 and 603 in Suishu (cf. SHIRATORI, 1928, p. 104; *Sv. Kat.*, p. 423).

449. $\delta wcrs$ /?/ m.: **B** N, $'y\omega w'r$ | $pn'kw \delta wcrs$: Muγ, B-2, 2-3 (*SDGM*, III, p. 41); *ZY* $\delta wcrs$ $'y\text{-}wH$ $'y\text{-}z\text{-}H$: Muγ, B-1, L3 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of armour ($w'rpn'k$) and a spear (or water-skin, $'zyH$). — **D** Unclear. $\delta wcrm$ as “(made of) two pieces of leather” (LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 85, n. 37, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 93 n. 44) is possible for B-2, but does not suit the context of B-1.

450. $\delta wk'y\check{n}$ / $\Delta\delta kin$?/ m.: **B** N, $\delta wk'y(n)$ | $kync$: *UII*, No. 226 (34: 112); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of $kync$ (#611). — **D** Unclear; one could read $\delta wk''(n)$, $\delta wky'(n)$.

If $-yn$ could serve here as a hypocoristic suffix (cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 45), for δwk cf. MP, NP $d\delta k$ “spindle” (which can be attested as a PN $\Delta\omega\gamma o$ in Bct. as well: a borrowing?); cf. $ck'w\check{s}'k$ (#369) for semantics. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 47a, has ●● y .

451. $\delta wr wyt''p'k$ / $\Delta\ddot{u}r Witāpe$ / m.: **B** B, *ZKn* $\delta wr wyt''p'k n'm pwt\ddot{y}$ $'\beta c'n(p)\delta$: *Sukhā*, V6. — **P** The Buddha “Shining afar”. — **D** Translation of *Yuanzhao biyou* 遠照彼有 “shining afar” in the Chinese version by Kang Senkai (but *Dusprasaha* in the Pali version of the Sūtra translated by Max MÜLLER, p. 66).

452. δwrk / $\Delta\ddot{u}rak$?/ m.: **B1** N, $pysk ZK$ | δwrk : *UII*, No. 142 (33: 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177. — **P1** Father (?) of $pysk$ (#987: 4). — **B2** N, $\delta wrk ZK nny\beta nt(k)$ | $B(R)Y$: *UII*, No. 245 (36: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206; δwrk | $nny\beta nt(k)$: *UII*, No. 280 (36: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211; $\delta(wrk)$ | (ZK) (?) | $nny\beta nt(k)$ | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 330 (39: 25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 226; $\delta wrk ZK nny(\beta n)tk$: *UI2*, No. 499 (53:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259; $nny\beta nt(k)$ | $\delta wrk ZK$: *UI2*, No. 645 (Dadam Das, 48:78, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 123). — **P2** A visitor to Shatial and Dadam Das, son of $nny\beta nt(k)$ (#787: 9). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 43a (=No. 245), has δwkk . For inverted word-order in No. 645 see s.v. $pysk$ (#987: 2). — **B3** N, $\delta w(r)k$ | $wnw(s)'(w) BRY$: *UII*, No. 248 (36: 32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P3** A visitor

to Shatial, son of *wnws'w* (#1328); the spacing of the first line may suggest *δw(● Z)K* as well. — **B4** N, *δwrk* | *ZK* | *wxw(š)'kk* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 652 (Dadam Das, 61:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 138). — **P4** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *wxwš'kk* (#1363: 2). — **B5** N, *βwr* | *δ(wr)k: UI2*, No. 672 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 65:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 143). — **P5** Father of *βwr* (#326: 3?), or a separate visitor to Dadam Das; "...enough can be seen to make the above reading very probable", as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 25. — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 50) sees here S *δwr* "far" + hypocoristic in *-kk*. Cf. Av. PN *dūraē-kaēta-*, *dūraē-srūta-*, Pont. Ir. Δυρπαναίς (ZGUSTA, 1955, §587, if not Thracian?), Elam. *Durakka* (fem.) can also belong here (differently GERSH., 1970a, p. 197, and MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.392); cf. also OChor. *δrwk-*, LIV., 1984, p. 258, 2? Cf. also *Rahmat-name*, p. 224, n. 60.

453. δwt'yk /*Δūtīk*/ m.: **B** N, *δwt'yk ZK pys'kk* (?) | *BR(Y): UI2*, No. 513 (53:20); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *pys'kk* (#987: 19). — **D** Either to S **δwt*, OIr. **dūta-* "messenger" or to MP *dūd(ag)* "hearth, family"; cf. OP (Elam.) *Dudda*, *Dutena*, *Dutukka*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 50. Bct. *δoδayo* can be either a PN or a common noun derived from MP *dūdag*. The transliterations *δwt'k*, *δnt'yk*, *δwy'k*, etc. look possible, too.

454. (dwyd, t'wyδ /*Dawīδ*/ m.: **B1** C, *dwydy ywbty:t* (obl.) C2, *55 V23; *f(š'mnq)' dwyd 't šy wyn': C2*, 60 V21; *pr dwyd* | *xypθ bnty: x'ny:* C5, 1, R15-16 (*STi*, p. 31; *NBS*, p. 267); *wynt' pr dwyd* | *bywny: MIK III 52*, 6-7 (*STii*, p. 34); *wy'z dwyd* | *bywny 't w'b'z: MIK III 52*, 8-9 (*STii*, p. 34); *'t dwyd bywny pt'w'z 't myθ w'b'z: MIK III 52* 10 (*STii*, p. 35); *ptyθy' wn' dwydy: MIK III 32*, 12 (*STii*, p. 35; obl.); N(C), *ny'δ' cw βrtδ'rt* | *t'wyδ c'nw βz- 'y'wkw m't: STSC2*, p. 160, 10-11 (T II B 65 01 v, Psalm 6, 1); *c/w ywyδ'rt t'wyδ: STSC2*, p. 164 (T III T III T.V.B. R2, Psalm 29, heading); cf. SCHWARTZ, 1971, p. 413, n. 6. — **P1** The Biblical king David. — **B2** N(C), *t'wyδ swkβ'r prns'r: DTS*, F20. — **P2** An addressee of the letter, a Christian monk (*swkβ'r*). — **D** Syr. *dwyd* /*Dawīd*/, from Old Hebrew.

In the Turko-Sogdian letter F the name *t'wyδ* was recognized by M. SCHWARTZ, *Psalms*, p. 257, n.4, cf. *DTS*, p. 60.)

455. δwynk /*Θwēnak?*/ m.: **B** N, (*rty ZK δ*)[*wynk*] (*ZY*)[*: Legends*, 1 (Room 1/Sector XXII), 5, p. 164; *rty (●●) δwynk cw(p'r?):* *ibid*, 8; (*rt*)[*y*] (*δwynk š*)*y-m'r: ibid*, 10. — **P** A hero of the inscription and the wall-painting? — **D** Unclear.

LIV. (op. cit., p. 164-165) rejects any connection of the name with S *’δw(’)* “two” and Av. *aduuān-* “way, road”, but understands it as a development of Av. *θway-* “to terrify”, *θwaitaŋha-* “danger, threat”, *θwaitahvant-* “terrible, frightful” with suff. *-ynk* (cf. *swynk*, #1123) in the sense of a protective name “designed to frighten away demons”; however, one would expect S **δβ’y* from this root.

456. δx /*Δax*/ m.: **B1** N, *δx ZK* | *rnk’sp*: *UII*, No. 222 (34: 108); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *rnk’sp* (#1014), reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 49c. — **B2** N, *tyδrβntk ZK* | *δx*: *UII*, No. 401 (39: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — **P2** Father (?) of *tyδrβntk* (#1277: 1). — **B3** N, *δx ZK ry(w)δ(β’)[’r]BRY*: *UII*, No. 404 (39: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son of *rywδβ’r* (#1051: 2), probably identical to *δx* in No. 401 (see SIMS-W., 1997-8, p. 526). — **D** S *δx* is not attested except in PNs, but has comparanda with a large scope of meanings. It may be “land, country, village” (as CS *δyx’w*, OP *dahyu-*, MP *dēh* etc.), or “man, male” (Khot. *daha-*, Waxī *δay*), “servant” (OIr. **dāhi-*, although here, as in S *δ’y* “slave-girl”, Pth. *d’hyft* “servitude” and NP *dāh* “slave”, one would expect a long *ā*), or *Dahae* tribe (OP *daha-*, Av. fem. adj. *dāhī* and PN *Dāŋha*, Elam. PN *Da-ha* etc.), see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51. SIMS-W. suggests a comparison with Bct. PN *Λavo* (*UI2*, No. 665 p. 25).

R. SCHMITT (1993, p. 60), prefers the last explanation; cf. also *δxz’tk* (#460) as compared to *xwnyz’tk* (#1445), cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 13; moreover Gr. *Δαος*, which was frequently given to slaves (cf. ZGUSTA, 1955, §761) can belong here too; all the above forms are ultimately related. Cf. also *(Δ)δaxkaθ*, a town in Čač (LURJE, 2003, p. 192) and Ochor. PN *δh kynk*, interpreted as “sword (S *kyn’k*) of Dahae” (LIV.-MAMMETULLAEV, 1985, p. 40).

δx’ > δxc #458

457. δx’nk /*Δaxānak*/ m.: **B** N, *δx’nk ZK* | *tš’kk* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 434 (42:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *tš’kk* (#1246). — **D** *δx* + patronymic suffix *-’nk*. One can read *δxcnk* as well.

458. δxc, δxey /*Δaxč, Δaxci, Δxci?*/ m.: **B1** N, *βynt* | *ZK δxc* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 53 (29: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 152. — **P1** Father of *βynt* (#346: 1). — **B2** N, *tk’yn* || *tyšβ’n* || *δxey* | *βyy; βyy* || *δšcy* | *βyy; δšcy* | *βyy*: countermarks on the drachmae of Pērōz and Xusrō I, see BARATOVA, LIV., 2002, p. 21-26, cf. SMIR., 1967, p. 39-40; *SSNSS*, p. 173-175; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 223-224; good photo in ZEIMAL’, 1994, Fig. 4, 4. — **P2** A name of a ruler in Northern Tokharistan? — **D** Suffix *-c(y)* (either of hypocoristic or adjectival nature, cf.

cx'yc, *cxcy*, #399, maybe *kwrcy*, #591) is attached to *δx* (#456). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 41 has *δx'* (equally possible in SIMS-W.'s view).

On the countermark, maybe *δšcy* (the reading preferred by SMIR., also LIV., *Alphabet*, p. 257 n. 3, *Panj.-1998*, p. 50-51, BARATOVA, LIV., 2002, BARATOVA, loc. cit.), with the meaning “(born on the day) *δšcy* (= *δaθušō*, the 8th or 15th day of the month)”. LIV. and LUKONIN suppose that this name is related to *δyxcy* (see under *δyšcy*, #465) and consider a possibility that the owner of the silver bowl is the same person as *δxcy*, the prince of *pyškw* (see also under *tyšβ'n*, #1291).

459. *δxyw'k* /*Δaxyu'ak?*/ m.: **B1** N, ●●●●● | *δxyw'k*: *UI2*, No. 470 (50:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254; one can also read *δxyw'n*. — **P1** Father (?) of a visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *δxyw'(k)* | *'štyx'nc*: *UI2*, No. 592 (Oshibat, 18:130, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68). — **P2** A visitor to Oshibat, son (?) of *'štyx'nc* (#183). — **D** To CS *dyx'w*, *dyxw* OIr. **dahyu-* “country” cf. Median (Gr.) *Δηϊόκης*, OP (Elam.) *Da-a-hi-ú-uk-ka*, see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51 and SCHMITT, 1993, p. 60; cf. also now Bct. PN *Δηϊαγο?*

460. *δxz'tk* /*Δaxzāte*/ m.: **B1** N, *dxz'tk*: *UII*, No. 204 (34: 90); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *δxz'tk* ZK *prnc*: *UII*, No. 297 (36: 81); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *prnc* (#907: 5). — **B3** N, (*txs*)*'ycδβ'(r)* | ZK *δxz(')t(k)* B(RY): *UI2*, No. 593 (Oshibat, 18:131, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68). — **P3** Father of *txs'ycδβ'r* (#1275). — **D** “Son (*z'tk*) of *δx*”, see under *δx* (#456), cf. *myrz'tk* (#734), *xtwz'ty* (#1431), *xwtz't* (#1476) and, especially, *xwnyz'tk* (#1445). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 92b (= No. 204), has *δx'●●●*.

461. (*δyβδ's*) /*Dēvdās*/ m.: **B1** N, *δ(yβδ's)*: *UII*, No. 97 (31: 68); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, the inscription is written carelessly, so the reading is unsure. — **B2** N, *nnyznc* (ZK) *δ(y)βδ's* | - - - c: *UII*, No. 100 (31: 71); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P2** Father (?) of *nnyznc* (#807); however, the third or the fourth word (or both) may not belong to the same inscription, so this *δyβδ's* may not be a father of *nnyznc*. Moreover, it is strange to find an Indian name of the father together with an Iranian name of the son. — **D** An Indian name, *Devadāsa-* “Servant of god”, cf. *pwt(t)δ's* (#965; as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51). The first part corresponds to the Bct. PN *Δδηβο* and the second possibly to *Δασο*.)

462. (*dyβδtt, tyβδ'tty* /*Dēvdatt*/ m.: **B1** B, *nwkr dyβδtt 'xw: Dhu.*, 106. — **P1** *Devadatta*, the Buddha's rival. — **B2** N(M), 'xw *tyβδ'tty 'krt'nk'r'y: Magi*, 32, p. 138. — **P2** *Devadatta*, the calumniator of the Buddha's teaching in the M text. — **D** Skt. "Given by god(s)".

Probably, he is *dybt* in M Pth. (*Mir. Man.*, iii, 880, 60-61; P.O. SKJÆRVØ, 1994, p. 243), cf. also under *δ'p'tsyγH*, #416; *Labdacus*, the opponent of Terebinthus-Buddha in the anti-Manichean composition *Acta Archelai* (LXIII) seems to be another corrupted transcription of this name (cf. *wpr'tt*, #1332); I cannot explain the final -y of the M form but to note that a similar -y appears in some other foreign PNs in S, cf. *rwstmy* (#1035).)

463. *dyk'r* /?/ m.: **B** B, *cnn dyk'r [δst']*: *Ōt.*, No. 1144, 1, p. 54 (also YOSH., *Misc.* 三, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc.* III, p. 240.). — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** Unclear. A foreign name? Or to *dykH* "letter"; cf. also *δs'kr* (#446)?

464. (*dykptryš 'ltwn t'γ 'lp r'δm'z trx'n smwr* /? *Altun Tay Alp ? Tarxan? Samōr?*/ m.: **B** N, *rty δ(y?)kptryš 'ltwn t's 'lp r'δm'(z?) | [trx'']n smw(r?) δwyt'*: Kulan-Say, IIIa, 14-15, *SĒSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** Father of a lady-visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Turkic, but largely unclear, as the handwriting is weak.

Instead of *rty δ-*, I see rather *swyn*, see s.v. *pwyr'* *swyn twnkw 'lptrx'n* (#954); *xwsyn* (#1452); for *'lp r'δm'z* (the single Iranian, though not explained, name-element, as LIV.), maybe better *'lp 'δmy(š)*, see *'lp'tmyš snkwn* (#71); *trx'n* is completely invisible, and the following word (transliterated *smwr* by LIV., see *sm'wr'kkH*, #1076?) looks more like *snkwn* "general"; *altun* "gold" and *t'γ* "mountain" (cf. s.v. *'yl t'γ*, #237) are clear.)

dylwmy' > ywhnn #1534: 3

δyn'kk > nrkk #813: 3

465. *dyšcy* /*Δišči, Δixči?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZNHZY (y) 'mk ZKn n'pcβzty-cyk dyš-cy xypδ 'yw knpy 'YKZY XX s n'krtk: SSNSS*, No. 25, p. 173; ill. 3 (a silver bowl from Chilek). — **P** The owner of the bowl. — **D** LIV.-LUKONIN hesitate between *δγcy* (or *δyxcy*) and *dyšcy*. The second possibility agrees with M *δšcy* "eighth and fifteenth day of the month"; while the first may be understood as a *plene* writing of *δxcy* (#458; the possibility of prosopographical identity of *δšcy* and *dyšcy* is examined as well), cf. *cxcy* (#399); later LIV. (*Panj.-1998*, p. 49-50; cf. *Sānak*, p. 49; *Predvoditel'*, p. 218), preferred *dyšcy*, "(the one who was born on the day of the) creator".

The final -y might indicate the oblique ending. The reading $\delta yxcy$, however, would agree with Dizhe (狄遮, EMCh. *dejk-teia*), the ruler of Kešš in the early 7th century (CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 146).

466. $\delta yšt't'c$ /*Δištāc?*/ m.: **B** N, *cnn* $\delta yšt't'c$ *pr'yw*: Muṣ, A-9, R8 (*SDGM*, II, p. 94, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 99; *Last Days*, p. 171). — **P** “with Δ”; if a PN, a companion of the unnamed addressee of the letter; more probably a common noun, maybe “in haste” (as *Last Days*, p. 174). — **D** An earlier reading $\delta yšt'w'c$, interpreted by SIMS-W. (*UI2*, 74) as “emission of the day *daθušō* (SM *δšcy*, N *δtš*, BĒRŪNĪ, *dst*, cf. Bct. *δαθp-*)” does not agree with the facsimile. GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE understand the last part of the word as *t'c* “hastening”, the first part remains unclear. LIV. (in a letter of 12.11.2007; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 99) understands it as a nickname “built up quickly”, which seems to be the best possibility.

†δyšt'w'c > δyšt't'c #466

467. δyt /*Δēt*/ m.: **B** N, δyt : *Panj.-2001*, No. 2, p. 85-86. — **P** A name written on a potsherd. — **D** Unclear, cf. $\delta ytk'n$ (#468); SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51, compares its initial part to S **δyt*, from OIr. **dātiya-* “law-abiding”; R. SCHMITT kindly drew author’s attention to OIr. PN **Dāt-īya* (in Elamite and Greek renderings, see SCHMITT, 2006, p. 96-97; TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 172) which is a hypocoristic to a name containing **(-)dāta-*.

468. $\delta ytk'n$ /*Δētkān*/ m.: **B** N, $\delta ytk('n)$: *UII*, No. 11 (5: 34); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; $\delta ytk'n$: *UII*, No. 382 (39: 77); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** See δyt (#467) + patronym in *-k'n*. Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17g.

δytpyr > [rytpyr] after #1045

469. δyw /*Δēw*/ m.: **B** N, $\delta y-w$, $\delta(y)-w$: *Graff.*, No. 21-22. — **P** Graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** “Daeva, Dēw”, likely to be a shortening of a PN such as $\delta yw'styc$ (#471).

470. $\delta yw'kk$ /*Δēwak*/ m.: **B1** N, $\delta yw'kk$: an unpublished seal from the Hermitage museum, see *SDGM*, II, p. 104, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 109. — **P1** Owner of the seal. — **B2** N, $\delta y(w')kk$ (?) | *ZK wxwšwδb'r* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 567

(Thor I, 124). — **P2** A visitor to Thor, son of $w\bar{x}w\bar{s}w\delta\beta'r$ (#1357: 2). — **B3** N, $\delta yw'kk$: *UI2*, No. 630 (Dadam Das, 32:4, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 100). — **P3** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** $\Delta\bar{e}w$ with hypocoristic suffix.

471. $\delta yw'styc$ / $\Delta\bar{e}w\bar{a}\bar{s}t\bar{i}\bar{c}$ / m.: **B1** N, 'LKŠNT 'Y-(K)ZY ZKn $s\bar{y}-w\delta y-k$ MLK' | (*s*) $m'rkn\delta c$ MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$ 'yw ŠNT | (''z): Muγ, B-4, R1-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZKn $pncy$ (M)R'Y ($\delta y-w's$) $ty-c$ | XI ŠNT ''z: Muγ, B-3, 1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 71, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 76; *SDGM*, III, p. 62); MN MLK' $\delta y-w'styc$ | MN $y-w\delta'x\bar{s}y-tk$ BRY: Muγ, B-4, R5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZKn MLK' $\delta y-w'styc$: Muγ, B-4, R12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZK MLK' $\delta yw'st(y-c)$: Muγ, B-4, R22 (*SDGM*, II, p. 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZKn $xw\beta w$ $\delta y-w'sty-c$ | XI $sr\delta$ ''z: Muγ, A-10, 8-9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 73, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 81; *SDGM*, III, p. 57); 'YKZ(Y) ZKn | $xw\beta \delta yw'sty(c)$ [...ŠNT ''z]: Muγ, A-7, 5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 74, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 82; *SDGM*, III, p. 64); 't $\beta\gamma w$ $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $s\bar{y}w\delta y-$ 'nk MLK-' $smr-kn\delta c$ MRY-' | $\delta yw'sty-cw$: (graph. acc.) Muγ, A-14, 1-2; 't $\beta\gamma w$ $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $s\bar{y}w\delta y-$ 'nk MLK-' $smrkn\delta c$ MRY-' | $\delta yw'sty-c$: Muγ, A-14, 32-33 (*SDGM*, II, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86; *Last Days*, p. 167; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1* & *A14*, p. 117-118); 't $\beta\gamma w$ $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $s\bar{y}w\delta y-k$ ' (sic!) | MLK' $sm'rkn\delta c$ MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$: Muγ, Nov.2 R1-2; 't $\beta\gamma w$ $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $s\bar{y}w\delta y-k$ MLK(') (*s*) $m'(r)kn[\delta c]$ | MR'Y $\delta yw's(t)y-c$: Nov.2, R15-16 (*SDGM*, II, p. 104, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 111; *Last Days*, p. 163); 't $\beta\gamma w$ $xw\beta w$ RBcH '(nwt)[H $s\bar{y}w\delta ykw$ MLK' $sm'rkn\delta c]$ | MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$: Muγ, B-10, R1-2; 't $\beta\gamma w$ $xw\beta w$ $s\bar{y}w\delta ykw$ MLK(') $sm'(rkn)[\delta c$ MR'Y] | $\delta yw'sty-c$: Muγ, B-10, R14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 106, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 113); 't $s\bar{y}w\delta y-k$ MLK' $sm'rkn\delta c$ MR'Y | $\delta y-w'styc$: Muγ, 1.1, 2-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 120; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1* & *A14*, p. 114; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 222; YAK., *I.1 Rev.*, p. 234); MN $xw\beta \delta y-w'sty-c$: Muγ, B-17, R1; MN $x(w)\beta \delta y-w'sty-c$: B-17, R20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 116-117, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 128); MN $s\bar{y}w\delta y-k$ MLK' $\delta y-w'sty-c$: B-18, 1; 20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 123, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 132; *Last Days*, p. 159); MN $s\bar{y}w\delta yk$ MLK' $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-18, R1; R10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 132, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 147, *SDGM*, III, p. 69); MN $s\bar{y}w\delta yk$ MLK' $sm'rkn\delta c$ MR'Y | $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-2, 1-2; MN $s\bar{y}w\delta yk$ MLK' $sm'rkn\delta c$ | MR'Y $\delta y-w'styc$: A-2, 8-9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 137, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 152; *SDGM*, III, p. 67); MN $s\bar{y}w\delta y-k$ MLK' $\delta y-w'styc$: A-3, 1; MN $s\bar{y}w\delta yk$ MLK' $\delta yw'sty-c$: A-3, 7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 138, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 154); MN $s\bar{y}-w\delta yk$ MLK' $sm-<'>rkn\delta c$ | MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-16, 1-2; ZKn MLK' | $\delta y-w'sty-c$ 'δw $sr\delta$ ''z: A-16, 11-12; $rt\bar{y}$ $t'\beta\bar{y}$ ZNH $n'mk$ ZKn | MLK' $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-16, 14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 139, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 157; *SDGM*, III, p. 70); J(δ) $y-w'sty-c$ (context lost): Nov.5,

x+3; 'M $\delta y(w)['](\dot{s})ty-c p(r)[']yw$]: Nov.5, x+4 (SDGM, II, p. 170, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 201); ZKn $\delta yw-'\dot{s}ty-c xwt'w X | sr\delta ''z$: Nov. 6, 1-2; $xwt'w \delta yw-'\dot{s}tyc | XII sr\delta ''z$: Nov.6, 7-8; ZKn $xwt'w \delta yw-'\dot{s}ty-c XIII | sr\delta ''z$: Nov.6, 12-13 (SDGM, II, p. 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 222, 224; SDGM, III, p. 49); [ZKn] $x(w)[\beta w] \delta y(w'\dot{s}t)y-c [?' sr\delta ''z] (rty)$: B-1, L3 (SDGM, III, p. 44); ZKn *pncy MRY'* $\delta y-(w)'\dot{s}ty-c 'x(w-\dot{s})w | sr\delta ''z$: A-4, R1-2 (SDGM, III, p. 60); ZKn *pncy MR'Y | \delta yw'\dot{s}ty-c | '\dot{s}t sr\delta ''z: A-8, 1-3 (SDGM, III, p. 62); $\delta yw'\dot{s}tyc xw\beta w XIII sr\delta ''z$: B-1, 1 (SDGM, III, p. 64). — **P1** $\Delta\bar{e}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}\dot{c}$, son of $yw\delta x\dot{s}ytk$ (#1529), heir to $ck'yn cwr \beta y\delta k''$ (#370), the main character of the Mt. Muḡ documents, $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}\dot{f} / D\bar{i}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}$ in the Arabic sources, the ruler of Panjakent, who claimed to be the king of Sogdiana (probably 708 – 722), crucified by the Muslim governor after being captured at the castle of *Abaryar* (the site of Mt. Muḡh); for the latest research on this character see GRENET, DE LA VAISSIERE, *Last days*; MARSHAK, 1996; for his coinage see s.v. *nn-*. — **B2** N, $(\delta)yw-('s)tyc$: *Panj.-2004*, No. 2, p. 55, photo XXV, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 305. — **P2** A name written on an ostrakon from Panjakent. It is quite likely that the local ruler $\Delta\bar{e}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}\dot{c}$ is mentioned here since an ostrakon found nearby (*Panj.-2004*, No. 1, p. 54, photo XXIV) contains the dating formula (as a scribal exercise). — **D** This name (also attested as Arabic (*dihqān*) $\delta yw'\dot{s}tj$, but applied to a different person, see TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 6) is identical to MS $\delta yw'\dot{s}tyc$ (M 549, 7, HENN., *Magi*, p. 142, $\delta yw'styc$ in M 664, 27 apud GMS, §1277), CS $\delta yw'\dot{s}tync$ (SIMS-W., *Polemic*, r13, p. 404) adj. “Demonic, Ahrimanic”. However, $\delta yw'\dot{s}tyc$ and similar names (δyw , $\delta yw'kk$, $\delta yw\gamma wn$, $\delta ywsr$, $\delta ywn'm(k)$ (#469 – 75), $s't\delta yw$ (#1066), $snk\delta yw$ (#1084), Chinese rendering *Liaoyan*, 了延 for $*\delta ywy'n$, see YOSH., 1989. p. 149, or $rywy'n$ (#1054?); $D\bar{e}wd\bar{a}d$ son of $D\bar{e}wdast$ among the rulers of Ustrushana in Ṭabarī's *History*) seem to imply a “positive” attitude to the $*daiva-$ in the eyes of Ancient Sogdians.*

The same attitude is probably attested also among the forefathers of Ossetians (*ĪÉSOJa*, I, p. 84) and, maybe, proto-Paštuns (*ĒSIIa*, II, 310), and particularly for the usage among Ustrūšaniāns see HENN., *S God*, 254; NÖLDEKE, 1923; ZARSHENAS, 2004; I.M. ORANSKIĬ (1957, p. 82) notes in this connection that names based on *Devona* “mad, berserk” were common among the pre-modern Pamiris, while JUNKER, 1930, p. 107, mentions the apparently positive attitude of the Yaghnobis towards *Dew-i Sapēd* “the white Dew”. Cf. also a Saka *De-e-mi-ši* in Achaemenid Babylonia, if from $*Daiv-i\dot{c}a-$ (with ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 249).

The correct reading $\delta yw'\dot{s}tyc$ instead of initial $\dot{f}\delta yw'sty$ (which was established on the basis of the corrupted Arabic form) was proposed by HENN., *Kalender*, 88; the etymology of the second part, $-\dot{s}t-$ from OIr. $*a\dot{s}ta-$, PPP from $*az-$ “move, induce” was introduced

by FREJMAN, 1952. BOGOL. and SMIR. (1955 [*non vidī*], also *SDGM-III*, p. 93) understood this name as “native of *δyw’šr*”, where the latter toponym corresponds to the modern *Devaštaw*, mountains to the south of Panjakent (possibly named after the king?); later BOGOL. (1995, p. 232) proposes **Daivā-vršta-* “nurtured by *Daeva* (взрошенный ДЭВОМ)” with partonymical suffix. LIV. (*Praviteli Pancha*, p. 61 n. 22) notes that the Arabic dictionary *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (III, 319) explains the name *Dīwāšī* as “(he) with Jinn” مع الجن.

As Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly noted to me, the adjective *δyw’štyc* in S is not a feminine form (pace *GMS*, §1277), but rather gender unspecific. It is clear from *δyw’štync mng* “devilish jealousy” in *Polemic*, r13, where *mng* (BS *mnk*) is clearly masculine. The antonym of *δyw’štyc*, namely *‘xwrmztyc* “Ahuramazdean”, can equally characterize both m. and f. nouns, see *GMS*, §1278. Cf. also TREMBLAY in GRENET, MARSHAK, TREMBLAY, 1998, p. 19.

472. *δywywn* /*Δēwγōn*/ m.: **B** N, *rty np’xšt ZKn ‘sp’nk δywywn*: Muγ, A-9, Vbis 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 94, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 100; *Last Days*, p. 172). — **P** The second name (patronym or nickname?) of *‘sp’nk* (#161) the scribe of A-9. — **D** A *γwn*-adjective to /*Δēw*/, either negative (thus, nickname “devilish”, *Last Days*, p. 175, *SDGM*, II, p. 104) or positive, “heavenly” (HENN., *S God*, p. 253, cf. now LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 109).

473. *δywn’m* /*Δēwnām*/ m.: **B** N, *pyk’n ZK | δyw-n’m*: UI2, No. 574 (Thor I, 143); the name is written as if it were two separate words. — **P** Father (?) of *pyk’n* (#976). — **D** “Name, fame of daevas”, cf. *xwt’wn’mk* (#1461), *pryn’m’k* (#928), *δywn’m’k* (#474).

474. *δywn’m’k* /*Δēwnāme*/ m.: **B** N, *MjN wyspn’[cy βnt’kty? | MjN δywn’m’k]*: *Panj.-2004*, No. 4, 2-3, p. 55, photo XXVII. — **P** The name of the addresser of a “letter” in a writing exercise. — **D** See *δywn’m* (#473, with hypocoristic suffix); the line 3 seems to be deliberately erased and in this case is not related to the text.

475. *δywsr* /*Δēwsar*/ m.: **B** N, *rty ‘st (ms δy)wsr ‘(yw)H ‘z-yH*: Muγ, B-1, L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or spear, *‘zyH*). — **D** The text is damaged, so reading unsure. BOGOL., SMIR. read */kwsr*, but I see an initial *δ* on the photo. This name, if the proposed reading is correct, would mean “(one with) a daevic head”, or “led (by) daevas”, cf. *myrsr* (#733), *‘ypr* (#251), *βwrsr’k* (#329), *βsr* (#317?).

δyxcy > *δyšcy* #465

476. *δzwy* /Dizōy?/ m.: **B** Bu, *pwx'r xwβ δzwy*: FRYE, 1950, p. 108; LIV., KAUFMAN, DIAKONOFF, 1954, p. 158; SSNSS, No. 15, p. 167. — **P** A king of Buxārā, possessor of a silver plate. — **D** Unclear, maybe *δnwy*; *-ōy* could be a MP hypocoristic suffix, as FRYE, 1956, p. 119, cf. *c'swy*. Prof. R. SCHMITT (letter of 22.05.2008) kindly suggests that if indeed the Bukharan script was reluctant in marking internal /I/-like sounds with *yodh* (cf. *cr'k*, #381, *mw'k*, #701), this name could be related to names like NP *Dīnōy* and *Dīzōy* (JUSTI, *INB*, p. 85).

477. *δl* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *k('n)[(?) | δl*: UI2, No. 507 (53:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — **P** Father (?) of *k('n)[* (#518). — **D** Unclear.

478. *δ●●šyst* /?/ m.: **B** N, *δ-[-](š)yst |](š)pnd[●](t)wt*: UII, No. 277 (36:61); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *](š)pnd[●](t)wt?* (#1643). — **D** Unclear. Reading *-(š)yts* is also possible; MP *dōšist* “the nicest”, common among MMIr. names (see SUND., *Pn. Man.*); cf. also OChor. *δwšy(t)'nk*, LIV., 1984, p. 268, 9; n. 73 p. 282?