

## S

**1058.** *s''nk* /*Sānag?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'spsk s''nk kw'tynk*: inscr. on 20 bullae from one seal, see G.I. BOGOMOLOV, BURJAKOV, 1995; reading LIV., *Sānak*, p. 50. — **P** An owner of a seal, a Manichean bishop (*'spsk* = WMIr. *'spsg* = S *'βt'δ'n*) in Čāč, 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century, the son of *kw't-* (#572)? — **D** “Elevating one”, a WMIr. name?

LIV. (loc. cit.) understands it as a hypocoristic to a name containing a reflex of OIr. *\*sāna-* “elevate”. However, S knows only *sn* and *syn* from this root (neutral grade and causative form, respectively). Cf. *s'n* “enemy” and an unexplained *s'n* in *AL1* (2), R8. TREMBLAY’S (2001, p. 93-94) interpretation of the name as /*Sang*/ “stone” looks impossible in view of the double *aleph*; cf. LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 329 n. 18. One should mention, however, that the inscription may not be in the Sogdian *language* but in the Sogdian *alphabet* used for the Pth. or MP *language*. This supposition is justified by the absence of an article *ZK* between the name and patronym and the WMIr. patronymical suffix, attached to a name known in WMIr. and otherwise unknown in Sogdian (*kw't-ynk*). In this case, one can easily derive the name *s''nk* from WMIr. *s'n* “to lead up, take up” (with the hypocoristic suffix *-ak/-ag*).

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

### *s'γ'r'k* > *s'γr'k* #1060

**1059.** ( *s'γ'wn* /*Sayun*/ m.: **B** N(M), *γwly xyp s'γ'wn | xwš(t)ʔy*: So 13881/2 R3-4 apud SUND., *Three Fragments*, p. 109-10 (= p. 735-6). — **P** A “presbyter” (? or “chief”?, *xwštʔy*) in a Manichean monastic (?) account. — **D** P. ZIEME (apud SUND., op. cit., n. 52) compares it to the Qarluq title *sayun* and PN *ata-sayun*. It is possible, however, to transliterate the name as *snγ'wn* for the Uygh. title *saγun* (ultimately from Chinese *jiangjun*, 將軍, EMCh. *tsiaγ-kun* “general”, see under *'lp'tmyš snkwn*, #71; cf. also *cnkwr*, #373; ZIEME, 2006, p. 117-18); “Sangun” in the translation of the document (p. 110 = 736) would rather hint at the second possibility. )

**1060.** *s'γr'k*, *s'γ'r'k* /*Sāyarak?*/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'HRZYm | pīškw't s'γ'(r)['](k) β'nkr'm*: *AL1* (2), R3-4. — **P1** An authority (of unidentified

function:  $\beta'nr'm$ , hardly  $\beta'zkr'm$ ) in the Sogdian community in Dunhuang. — **B2** N(A), 'YKZYm *pryšt* | *cntry s'r s'yr'k* 'PZY *prn''γ[t]*: AL2 (2), R31-32. — **P2** A trader in “Inner China”, companion of *prn''γt* (#897: 1). Hardly the same person as *s'yr'k* in AL1, who was at that time resident in Dunhuang. — **D** Probably, related to the names of the Pont. Ir. circle, *Sagaris*, *Saggarius*, *Ξησσαγαρος* *Sagillus*, *Panasagorus*, cf. *σάγαρις* “(Scythian) battle-ax”, as LURJE, *Step. Ir.*, No. 28 (however, TOKHTASJEV, 2006, No. 26, derives *Σαγάριος* (gen.) from a Paphlagonian river-name). The Indian name *Sāgara* is a possible alternative.

### *s'kδyw* > *snkδyw* #1083

**1061.** *s'm* /*Sām*/ m.: **B1** *s'm*: UI2, No. 435 (42:4); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247; *s'm*: UI2, No. 496 (53:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2, P2** See *ly s'm* (#626). — **B3, P3** see *s'hm* (#1068). — **D** Either a personal or family-name, related to Av. *Sāma-*, MP, NP *Sām* (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 68), Bct. *Σαμο*, reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 103 (= No. 496).

To be separated from the Chinese *s'm* “three” in *ly s'm*. Ahmad TAFAZZOLI (*KQ I*, p. 10) compares it to the PN *s'm'n* in the Arabic rendering of Kitāb al-Qand. If so, the dynastic name of the Samanides can also originate here (however, their eponym *Sāmān-xudāh* is closely related to Khorasan and Balkh and not to Sogdiana, cf. details by KAMOLIDDIN, 2005, but with untenable conclusions); cf. also *sy'myc*, #1129?

**1062.** *s'ngwn yzd* /*Saṇun Yazad*/ m.: **B** M, *J(g)* *yyšw'y'n s'ngwn yzd*: M406, 9 apud SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 270. — **P** A person in a Manichean name-list. — **D** Uygh. *saṇun* “title” + WMlr. *yazad* “deity”. However, one can read *yyšw'y'n s'ngwn* as a single name and *yzd* as the beginning of another one, as proposed by ZIEME, 2006, p. 117.

**1063.** (*s'ryy prs trx'n* /*Sariy Bars Tarqan*/ m.: **B** N(M), *s'ryy prs trx'n*: BL, C11. — **P** A high official (*tarqan*) in Turfan. — **D** Turkic *Sariy Bars* “Yellow Tiger”.

Cf. GABAIN, 1973, p. 73, for rare, but still attested Uyghur PNs with *sariy*; see also HAMILTON, 1986, p. 34, 17; RÁSONYI, 1962, p. 235; *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 634 ff. )

**1064.** *s's* /*Sās*/ m.: **B** N, *s's ZK (r)šndys BRY* | *kw 100: UII*, No. 272 (36: 56) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *ršndys* (#1018). — **D** SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 68) compares it to Pont. Ir. *Σάσας* without further

remarks. Maybe a *Kurzname* to *s's'n* (#1065, where *-n* was understood as a suffix), or the base of the name *Sāsān*, as SIMS-W. apud *Step. Ir.*, No. 29? Cf. Bct. PN *Οτιοσασο, Σαυσο, Σασορηο* (SIMS-W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 308-9). Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 42c.

**1065.** *s's'n* /*Sāsān*/ m.: **B** N, *s's'n* ZK | *'(rns●)tk* BRY: UI2, No. 498 (53:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'rns●tk* (#130). — **D** A WMIr. name (originally, probably a theonym), as IPth. (Nisa) *ssn*, MP *s(')s(')n(y)*, Bct. *Σασαβο*, OChor. *s's'nk* (Liv., 1984, p. 272, 6; n. 128 p. 284); for its etymology see SCHWARTZ, 1998; cf. also under *sysn* (#1136); alternatively, enlarged from *Sās* with the suff. *-ān*; see previous.

The name *Abū Sāsān* in the *Kitāb al-Qand* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ* I, p. 10) can hardly be Sogdian since its possessor has the Arab tribal *nisba al-Bāhili*.

**1066.** *s'tdyw* /*Sā(t)δēw*/ m.: **B** N, Z(Y) Z(K) *s('tdy)w* (*'yw 'yz*)H: Muγ, B-1, L8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or a spear, *'zyH*). — **D** Reading extremely unsure; BOGOL., SMIR. limit themselves to transliterate *s/*, although I see a definite *δ* and *w* at the end (however, it can hardly be *snkδyw*, see #1083). This name, if reliable, means “All daevas, pandemonium” (cf. the names on *δyw-*, #469 ff.).

**1067.** (*s'tt'nH* /*Sātān*/ f.?: **B** N(M), *rtms 'k[rt](n)y* | *k'rcH xH s'tt'nH* *z-wγš'ncH*: *Magi*, 35-6, p. 138. — **P** Satan, the “sinner, cruel one (if *z-wγš'ncH* for *z-wγm'ncH*, see HENN., *Magi*, p. 141-2, n. 7), the calumniator of Jesus's faith according to M belief. — **D** WMIr. *s't'n* < Sem. *stn*; as noted by HENN., *Magi*, p. 140, n. 7; cf. *BBB*, p. 101; the translator took Satan as feminine, cf. also *kynH* (under #532).

Could *Satanæ* from the Ossetic epics have affected this identification (cf. cautiously FRITZ, GIPPERT, 2005, p. 420, n. 74)? Antje WENDTLAND (2005, p. 691) thinks that calumniators *Eva* and *Āz* (both fem.) in the same prophetic history are responsible for the gender change of *s'tt'nH* and *kynH*.)

**1068.** *s'xm, s'hm* /*Sāhm*/ m.: **B** M, *xw s['hm qwy?]*: *Giants*, C3, p. 65; *s'jhm qwy*: *Giants*, C12, p. 65; *'rty xw* | *s'hm qwy*: *Giants*, I3-4; N(M), *rtš[y \*'yw 'wx/y' n['m]* | *kwnt' oo kyZY 'xw s(wγδy)w s'(xm)* | *kw'y 'z[γy](r)ty*: *Giants*, H10-12, p. 70; *s'x](m) kwy*: *SFBL*, 17, 4, p. 63 (SIMS-W., *SC*, No. 217, reconstructs *s'j](m)*, but such a form of his name, to my knowledge, is not attested in S); *rty s'xm kw[y]*: So 10700a+S0 20193a, V10

apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 60 p. 60; *sJ(')xm kwy pōy*: So 20193a, R2, apud loc. cit.; *s'xm k(w)[y]*: So 20193b V8 apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 319. Dr. COLDITZ kindly informed me about two other attestations of *s'xm* in the unpublished fragments. — **P** A giant, son of *šxmyz't* (#1182, and *šmwmmH*, #427?), the elder brother of *Ahya* = *p'ts'xm* (#878). — **D** OIr. \**Sāma-*, as *s'm* in the MP version, used to translate *Ohya* of the Semitic original (see 'wxy', #208). This “translation” of *Ohya* into *Sām* was justified by the longevity of both characters and their fight with dragon (HENN., *Giants*, p. 54-55). The spelling *s(')hm* is also attested in the Pahlavi and Arabic texts, see HENN., *Giants*, p. 52-3, CERETI, 2003, p. 312, but I cannot explain this phenomenon (Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS thinks that one should choose another etymon in view of this *h*). The “powerful” *s'xm* also appears in the S text LM20: 1480/22(02) which was presented by Yutaka YOSHIDA at the Boris MARSHAK memorial conference in Petersburg in November 2008.

**1069.** ( *s'ytt pwn 'βtr'z'yz* /*Sayīd bun Abdalazīz*/ m.: **B** N, [MN] *xm'yr s'ytt (p)[w](n) 'βtr'z'yz*: Muγ, scabbard-cover, 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 221). — **P** *Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, nicknamed *Xudayna* “Lady” (cf. #1462), the Muslim governor of Khurāsān in 720-721. — **D** Arabic name, see *'βtrxwm'n pwn supx* (#4) for details of S orthography of Ar. names; also *Khamir*, No. 10. Transliteration *'βtr'z'yz* seems more in accord with the photos rather than LIV.'s *'βtr'zyz*; cf. *sytt*, #1138? )

### *sβ'r > 'sβ'r* #152

**1070.** *scδn* /?/ m.: **B** N, *''zk (?) scδ(n)*: *UI2*, No. 472 (50:15); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P** Father (?) of *''zk* (#41:2). — **D** Writing is rather ambiguous (except *δ*); etymology unknown; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 120, has *ssδ●●*

### *sykw'n > mšyprn* #698

### *sk'tc > 'sk'tc* #155

**1071.** *sk'kk* /*Səkak*/ m.: **B** N, *sk'kk* | *ZK* | *'rwmy(w)* | *BRY: UII*, No. 357 (39: 52); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'rwmyw* (#143: 1). — **D** S *sk'*- “high” + *-'kk*, cf. Bct. *Σκαγο* (SIMS-W., 2002b, p. 1056 n. 28; SIMS-W., 2008a, p. 118-119).

**1072.** *sk'---* /?/ m.: **B** N, *p-----* | (*s*)*k*(*'--*): *UII*, No. 109 (31: 80); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — **P** Father of *p-----* (#996: 1)? — **D** Unclear, cf. (*'*)*sk'tc* (#155), *sk(r)'[●●]k* (#1637).

***skrywt'yq > yhwd' #1538: 2***

**1073.** *skwntkH* /?/ f.?: **B** N, *skwntkH* | *γwmyt*: *UI2*, No. 580 (Oshibat, 17:6, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 49). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat, daughter (?) of *γwmyt* (#495: 3). — **D** Unclear, cf. OChor. PN(?) *skwnt*, *LIV.*, 1984, p. 274; p. 286, n. 148. Maybe to OIr. *\*sku-n-* “to be distinguished, famed”, cf. OP *Skunxa-* (Elam. *Iš-ku-in-ka*), PN of the Saka rebel, OChor. PN *skwḥk* (*LIV.*, *Kalaly-gyr*, p. 193)?

The final *-H* (if, indeed, *H*) remains a problem; cf. *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 240. SIMS-W. (*Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 49) understands it as a feminine name.

**1074.** ( *sm'nptr*, *sm'nt pwtr*, *sm'ntpttr* /*Smān(t)bodr?*/ m.: **B** B, *ZY sm'nptr pwtystβ*: *TSP*, 5, 95; *nm' sm'nt pwtr*: *TSP*, 7, 204; *nm'cyw βr'm'wyn sm'ntpttr pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 18. — **P** A Bodhisattva. — **D** Skt. *Samantabhadra*, lit. “wholly auspicious”.

Probably, the first part of the name in *TSP*, 5 was misunderstood as S *sm'n* “sky” by the translator (or result from dissimilation?), for *w* in the second part (in *TSP*, 7) cf. SIMS-W., C2, p. 61, 24R13; cf. *Samantabad(i)ri* in Uygh., which is considered to be a S borrowing (see ZIEME, 1992, p. 24). Aleksandr NAYMARK (2003, p. 16) cautiously suggests that a character seated on the elephant on the famous wall-painting at the palace of Varakhsha near Buxārā could be Samantabhadra in popular Sogdian perception. )

**1075.** *sm'rknōc* /*Smarka"θič*/ m.: **B1** N, *ZY 'y(w) βrwrthk (crm) sm'r | knōc mrty βyr*: Muγ, B-11, V3-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 64-65, n. 4, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 71 n. 119; *SDGM*, III, p. 42). — **P1** A recipient of a rolled leather (or a leather document, cf. GHARIB, *SD*, No. 2790). Here *mrty* (#689: 5) can be either a name of a person or a common noun “man” — **B2** N, *MN wxwšwβyrt MN twδ'kk BRY | sm'rknōc*: *ΔP*, R4-5. — **P2** The *nisba* of *wxwšwβyrt* (#1355: 3), an adaptation of the Chinese “clan-name”, used for Sogdians, see *x'n kwtr'y* (#1397). — **B3** N, *n'mδ'r 'xw xwt'wc BRY | sm'rknōc*: *ΔP*, R19-20. — **P3** The *nisba* of *n'mδ'r* (#754), cf. #1075: 2. — **D** Literally, “man from Samarkand”, not a PN in the strict sense.

BOGOL., SMIR.'s reading *MR'Y* in B-11 as “king of Samarkand” is graphically impossible. In all the other occurrences of the form *sm'rknōc* (*SDGM*, *passim*; *AL2*, 20, *Ladakh*, 2) it cannot be treated as a PN.

**1076.** *sm'wr'kkH* /*Sāmōrak?*/ m.: **B** N, (*š'n*)'kk (?) ZK *sm'wr'kkH* (?): *UII*, No. 189 (34: 75); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189. — **P** A nickname, *nisba* or patronym of *š'n'kk* (#1151: 1). — **D** Probably a nickname “sable (marten)”, as MP, NP *sāmōr*, Pth. *σίμωρ* (apud Hesych), Bct. (as PN) *Σομωρο*, with a hypocoristic suffix; see LURJE, *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 240-241.

The final *-H* can be a gender-marker of an underlying common noun “sable”; cf. also *Sumi* (蘇密, EMCh. KG. *suo-mjēt* in IKEDA, 1965, p. 64)? As “ermine” as Turkic PN, RÁSONYI, 1962, p. 236; cf. also *dykptryš 'ltwn t'γ 'lp r'δm'z trx'n smwr* (#464)? Another possible reading is *sm'wr'krH* (*UII*, No. 189).

**1077.** *sm'wtry H* /*Sāmudre-ərδašf?*/ m.: **B** B, *sm'wtry H* | [*rδ'šp n'm pykšw?*]: *Len.*, 51, 1-[2] apud YOSH., *Notes*, p. 517-518. — **P** A *Bhikṣu* named Ocean-Banner, interlocutor in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-Sūtra*. — **D** Translation of Skt. *Sāgaradhvajā* “Ocean-Banner”, Chinese *Haichuang*, 海幢 “id.”, for reconstructed *rδ'šp* cf. *BSTBL*, II, p. 174.

The final *H* is a line-filler, the preceding *-y* is the marker of genitive of the light-stem *sm'()**wtr-* “sea, samudra”.

**1078.** *smyδnc* /*Sāmēθanič*/ m.: **B** N, *nn'y'βy't smyδnc*: coin, SMIR., 1967, p. 36-39; cf. also *www.zeno.ru*, No. 36094; No. 59153. — **P** A *nisba* (?) on the coins of *nn'y'βy't* (#785). — **D** An adjective to the place-name *smyδn-*, which is more likely to correspond to Early Islamic *Ismēthan* near Kušāniyya (to the west of Samarkand) rather than to *Sa(q)matīn* near Buxārā (see SMIR., op. cit.; cf. *ILAST*, p. 115-116).

The second part of the place-name is *S /mēθan/* “settlement”, cf. *prnmyδn* (#908), etc. It seems historically unlikely that a small settlement like *əSmēθan* issued coins of its own, so *smyδnc* is probably the *nisba* of the ruler, whose PN was *nn'y'βy't*.

**1079.** *sn'kk* /*Sanak?*/ m.: **B** N, *txs'y(c)k'* | ZK *sn'kk* [*BRY* (?)]: *UI2*, No. 480 (50:23); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P** Father (?) of *txs'yck'* (#1276). — **D** Unclear. SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 69) cautiously compares *S sn-* “to rise”, cf. maybe *sn'xr'mH* (#1080), *s'nk* (#1058). Another possible reading is *šn'kk* “small”, cf. *kwnt* (#587)? Reading was given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 2.

**1080.** *sn'xr'mH* /*Snāxrām?*/ f.: **B** N, *sn'xr'mH* | ZKH *pry ●δ●●H* | *γ'tH*: *UII*, No. 18 (17: 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P** A lady visitor to Shatial, possessor of the title *γ'tH* (fem. of *γ'tk*, see 'δ'k, #5), daughter (?) of *pry ●δ●●H* (#934). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 69) supposes that the second part is

*xr'm* “to walk, step, come, walk gracefully”, while the first part is probably cognate of OInd. *śānaiḥ* “gradually, slowly”; less likely it is related to S *sn-* “to rise”. This reading was proposed by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 64a.

**sng, snk > šmywn #1169: 1**

**1081.** *snk, snk'* /Sang/ m.: **B1** N, *wrsw ZK* | *snk BRY: UII*, No. 135 (33: 6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 176; *wrsw ZK s(nk) BRY: UI2*, No. 533 (54:29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 267. — **P1** Father of *wrsw* (#1342); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 58 (= No. 135) and in No. 105 (=533) *t●'* is given. — **B2** N, *snk ZK: UII*, No. 148 (34: 34); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 183; (*s*)*nk: UII*, No. 255 (36: 39) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208; *snk* (?): *UI2*, No. 482 (50: 25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial (several different persons?); the inscription No. 148 is probably unfinished. — **B3** N, (*s*)*nk* | *myδk(n)* | *prnyn: UI2*, No. 518 (53:24); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, companion of *myδkn* (#726: 2: or his son?) and *prnyn* (#913; or his grandson)? — **B4** N, *my'y* | *kwrsyk* | *snk* | *cyrδc* | *kwš'nk'n: UI2*, No. 560 (Thor I, 26). — **P4** A visitor to Thor, companion of *my'y* (#725), *kwrsyk* (#594), *cyrδc* (#404), *kwš'nk'n* (#599: 2). — **B5** N, *snk ZK prtmyw'c BRY: UII*, No. 384 (39: 79); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P5** A visitor to Shatial, son of *prtmyw'c* (#923: 2); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17i. — **B6** N, *snk' ZK* | *βxt'kk BRY: UII*, No. 246 (36: 30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206; *snk* | *β(n)t'kk: UI2*, No. 605 (Dadam das, 16:3, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 88). — **P6** A visitor to Shatial and Dadam Das, son (?) of *βnt'kk* (#294: 4; or *βxt'kk*?). Probably one and the same figure. — **B7** N, *snk* | *cyrk'* | *'p'δk* | *[x]wmn'* (?): *UI2*, No. 656 (Thalpan III, 83). — **P7** A visitor to Thalpan, companion of *cyrk'* (#407), *'p'δk* (#21), *xwmn'* (#1440). — **D** “Stone”, Πέτρος.

Further, cf. *šmywn sng* (#1169: 1), *ptrws* (#945), *'yn'l t'š tk'yn δswpšy* (#245); Elam. *Aššanka* for \**asanga-* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 184), Bct. Σαγοχιρδο, *snk škry* in Uygh. (HENN. apud HAMILTON, 1986, p. 89); Toch. B PN *Sankene* (from S *snkyn'k* “made of stone”, attested in *Xian*, 29); cf. Taj. Сангак, Тошбоӣ; hardly related to *s'nk* (#1058). The final *aleph* in #1081: 6 is probably soundless (*UI2*, p. 38), cf. *k'n'snk'* (#517), *txs'yck'* (#1276), *wxšmryk'* (#1356), *t'šyn z'δk'* (#1209). Hardly to BS *snk'*, Skt. *saṃgha-* “Buddhist monastery”.

**1082.** *snkc* /Sangič/ m.: **B** N, *snkc: UII*, No. 101 (31: 72); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic to a name containing *snk* “stone”.

**1083.** *snkδyww* /*Sangδēw*/ m.: **B** N, *ZKn snk-δyww* 'δry | w'ry-'k: Muγ, Nov.1 R22-23 (*SDGM*, III, p. 37). — **P** A recipient of three lambskins (? , w'ry'k). — **D** Probably, “stone-demon” (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 69).

BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 99) propose an Indian etymology from *saṃgha-deva*. This interpretation comes up against a hindrance in the fact that Skt. *deva-* is always rendered as *δyβ* or *tyβ* in S. An obvious autochthonous etymology from “stone-demon” is supported by other names with *snk* “stone” and with *δyww* “demon, god”; however, “[this name] may not be certain enough to come into consideration [i.e., the discussion on the meaning of *δyww* in S – PL]”, as HENN., *S God*, p. 253, who also takes into account the possibility of *s'kδyww*, that is “number-demon”, cf. also *s'δyww* (#1066)?

**1084.** *snkryt* /*Sang-rīt*/ m.: **B** N, ...] *snkryt*: Muγ, B-1, L12 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A person named in the distribution list of skins. — **D** Probably “(the one with) stony face” (= without mimic, as a nickname); cf. *'stnpsr'k* (#173). SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 69) proposes reading *snksyt* (#1085). BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 99) give an Indian etymology, from *saṃgha-rta* “truth of the monastery”, which is hardly acceptable.

#### *\*snksxs > snksyt* #1085

**1085.** *snksyt* /*Sangsēt?*/ m.: **B1** N, *snks(yt)* ZK | *βrzyrk BRY*: *UII*, No. 387 (39: 82; see addenda in *UI2*, p. 26, correcting *snksxs* given in *UII*); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *βrzyrk* (#315: 2). — **B2** N, *(sn)k(s)yt* ZK | (- - *s)yt* (*B)RY*: *UI2*, No. 617 (Dadam Das, 22:12; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 95). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of - - *syt* (#1641); note the similarity of the final elements of the father's and the son's names. — **D** “Stone” + ? Maybe “(the one who) demonstrated (himself as a) stone” (untypical compound).

Hardly Indian *Samghasiddhi-* “success of the community” (probably too early for Buddhist names). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 19 – *s'kst/n* ?].

#### *sp'cny > 'sp'ncny* #159

**1086.** *sp'δrwc* /*Sapāδrōč*/ m.: **B** N, *mzt'kk* (ZK) | (*s*)*p'δ(rw)c* BRY: *UII*, No. 261 (36: 45) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** Father of *mzt'kk* (#749). — **D** “Light (OIr. *\*raučah-*, cf. *'my'rw*, #92) of the army (cf. under *'sp'δkk*, #158)”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 67. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 44, has (*s*)*p'δ(r)w(')nk*.



**1087.** *sp'δxrš* /Səpāδxə's'/ m.: **B** N, *pysk* ZK (*s*)*p'δxrš*: *UII*, No. 88 (31: 59); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165; *pysk* ZK | (*s*)*p'δxr(š B)RY*: *UII*, No. 201 (34: 87); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 190. — **P** Father of *pysk* (#987: 3). — **D** “Commander, general”, lit. “army-leader” (*xrš-*, *xnš-* “to pull, draw”), an appellative serving as a PN. This compound finds parallels in Gr. στρατηγός, Khot. *hīnāysa-* (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 69, with references); Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly reminded me of the title *sp'δny* in Kultobe inscriptions (*KT*, 2.3; 4.1).

**1088.** *sp'nc* /Səpanj/ m.: **B** N, *šyn* (?) | *sp(')nc* (?): *UII*, No. 216 (34: 102); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 192. — **P** Father (?) of *šyn* (#1188). — **D** “Inn”?, cf. *'sp'ncny* (#159), as a short name? Or to OIr. *\*spanta-* “holy” + hypocoristic in *-c*?, cf. *(-)βxc* (#335, #1193), if from *\*βxt-c*?

*sp'ncny*, *sp'ncnyw* > *'sp'ncny* #159

*sp'ndt* > *'sp'nd't* #160

*spy'm* > *'spy'm* #165

*šspn* > *xwn* #1442: 9

**1089.** *sprn'k*, *sprynk* /Səparene?/ m.: **B1** N, *sprynk* | ZK (*r*): *UI2*, No. 575 (Thor I, 177). — **P1** A visitor to Thor, son (?) of (*r*) (#1057). — **B2** N, *sprn'k* γ'wy *BRY*: inscr. on a bronze seal in a cursive script, ed. LIV., *Sānak*, p. 48, images so far unpublished. — **P2** An owner of a seal, son of γ'w- (#481). — **D** To S *\*(')spr* “shield” (OIr. *spara-*, MP *spar*, NP *sipar*) + suff. *-(y)nk*, cf. also, *'sprmywc* (#166), *šspr(nc)k* (#1640). The final part of the name can be either S adjective suffix *-(y)n'k* or a combination of hypocoristic suffixes *-yn* (cf. Elam. *Iš-ba-ri-na*, TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 313) and *-k* (as it was kindly suggested to me by Prof. SCHMITT).

The place-name *Siparangī*, *Isfaranj* in the vicinity of Samarkand (BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 124; *ILAST*, p. 71-72) is probably related here too; cf. also Bct. PN (*α*)Σπρινγο, Elam. *Išbaramanya* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.667-670 ff.), etc.

LIV. (loc. cit.) understands *sprn'k* on the seal a continuation of OIr. *\*us-purna-* + *-ka-* “the complete (one)”, but this root is realized as *'spwrn-* in S. More likely to be identical to *sprynk* with the regular shortening of *-ēn-* into *-en-* (*GMS*, §1052 ff.).

*spyt sp* > ●●●● *sp* #1639

**1090.** *sr'myw* /*Saramēw*?/ m.: **B** N, (*sr'*)*m*(*yw* Z)*K* (*k●●k*) | *wyrwysprn* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 170 (34: 56); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *k●●k* (#620) or *wyrwysprn* (#1382). — **D** “Tiger-headed”, for *aleph* reflecting OIr. *-āh* cf. *my'*- (#722 ff.), *rwδ'* (#1029), *sw'* (#1106, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 70); under *'rtmyw* (#137).

Less likely, *aleph* can stand for the ablative case (cf. *βy'βy'rt*), giving a sense “tiger (from his) beginning”. Another possible transliteration is *srcmyw* and this reading, if the final *wāw* is silent, is parallel to *srcmyk* (#1095; also proposed by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 70).

**1091.** *sr'wk, sr'wk'* /*Srawak, Srōk*?/ m.: **B1** N, *cytβntk* ZK *sr'wk* *BRY*: *UII*, No. 60 (30: 11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154; *cytβntk* ZK | *sr'wk'*: *UI2*, No. 564 (Thor I, 42). — **P1** Father of *cytβntk* (#408: 1); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 134 (= No. 564). — **B2** N, *'yntwk'* | ZK *sr'wk* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 126 (31: 97); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170; *'yntwk* | ZK *sr'wk* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 557 (Khanbari II). — **P2** Father of *'yntwk* (#249: 1); Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 69 (= No. 126). — **B3** N, (*'np●●k*)(?) | *βy'βy'rt* | ZK *sr'wk* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 127 (31: 98); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P3** Father of *βy'βy'rt* (#275: 3), probably the same person as *sr'wk* in No. 126 (#1091: 2; cf. SIMS-W., 1997-8, p. 526); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 76. — **B4** N, *sr'wk*: *UI2*, No. 562 (Thor I, 29). — **P4** A visitor to Shatial; reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 136. — **D** From CS *sr'w*- “to sing”, OIr. *\*sravah*- “fame”, *\*srau*- “to praise”, cf. Pth. *sr'w*, MP *srāy*, etc. (*UI2*, p. 70). Alternatively, cf. Pth. *sr'wg* “young”.

**1092.** *sr'wš'rt'y'n* /*Srōšartyān*/ m.: **B** N(M?), *sr'wš[r](t)y-'n* | *[s](r)'w(šr)ty-'n*: *Ladakh*, 4. — **P** A visitor to Ladakh. — **D** “Boon of (the god) *Srōš-art*”, Av. *Sraošō Ašiiō*. Since in S *srwš'()**rt βy* is attested only in M texts, being the S term for the “Column of Glory”, this person is likely to have been a Manichean (thus SIMS-W., *Ladakh*, p. 157-8). Cf. also OChor. PN *srwš[k]*, LIV., 1984, p. 265.

**1093.** (*srβšwr, srpšwr, srp'šwr* /*Sarvašūr, Sarfašūr*?/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn srβšwr pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 10; *Jy sr(p)['š](w)r pwd(ys)tβ'*: *SghS*, 3a, r8; *rt'y srpšwr* ||: *SghS*, 3a, v6; *srβšwr pwdys(β)*: *SghS*, 4a, 4'; *[sr]βšwr pwdysβ*: *SghS*, 4a, 6'; *srβš(wr)['*: *SghS*, 4b, 3'; *'wy[n]* | *[p't](syn) pwdystβ ZY srβšwr [s']()*: *Len.*, 82a 13-14 (= *SC*, 312, *SGHS-L*, 98-99). — **P** A name of Bodhisattva. — **D** Skt. *Sarvaśūra* “all-strong”.

The spelling with *p* in *SGHS* 3a, finds a parallel in *'wrpyrβ' k'š'yp* in the same *SghS* (#197), as noted by the editors on p. 251.)

**1094.** ( *srβ''rtt sytt* /*Sarvārt Sidd*/ m.: **B** B, *o srβ''rtt sytt o*: TSP, 8, 32. — **P** An epithet of the Buddha. — **D** A regular transcription of the Skt. name *Sarvārthasiddha*, “(One who has) accomplished all aims” into S. )

**1095.** *srcmyk* /*Sarčmīk*/ m.: **B** B, *srcmyk BRY pwtyy'n*: Intox., 32. — **P** Father of *pwtyy'n* (#966: 1; an inverted formula, see UI2, p. 31, No. 1.1.4?). — **D** Unclear; one sees S *sr* “head, beginning” in the first part. Maybe M, C *cm* “eye” in the second? SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 70, s.v. *sr'myw*) understands it as a “compromise” between *srcy* “first” and its synonym *'prtyk*.

We should note that the interpretation of *srcmyk* as “oberst; premier” was independently introduced by BENV. (*Ét.*, p. 59) and WALDSCHMIDT – LENTZ (*ManD*, p. 568), and, although corrected by MACK. (who recognized it as a PN), found its way into SD, p. 361, and apparently *Ōt.*, p. 65, No. 2919 V7, where *src(m)[yk]* is restored and translated as “highest, 最高”. Another similar name (*\*srke?*) appears in the Chinese rendering *Xijiazhi* (悉迦支, EMCh. *sit-kia-tçiā/tçi*).

### *srcwt > sy'wt-* #1130

**1096.** *srδwm* /*Sarδum?*/ m.: **B** N, *MN srδwm*: Muγ, Б-12, 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 155, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 182; *SDGM*, III, p. 48). — **P** A resident of *Ʒzrāwadhk*. — **D** Unclear. LIV. understands it as a nickname “head-tail” (“хвостатоголовый”) and BOGOL., SMIR. propose variants like *xrδwm* “donkey’s tail”, *srδwm* or *m'δwm* as a *plene* spelling of the place-name *mδm*, the present day Madm on the Upper Zarafshan. SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 75) sees in the second part *wm* “prayer”, cf. *rtštwm* (#1027), *zrw m* (#1563); hence, *srδ* “year” in the first part?

**1097.** ( *srgys, srkys* /*Sergīs*/ m.: **B1** C, *pr šrqty zp rt srgys pšt*: C14, 2, 6 (*Stīi*, p. 20). — **P1** St. Sergius (beheaded in 303 CE), cf. *bkws*, Bacchus, his fellow-martyr (#293). — **B2** N(C), *MN srkys msyδ'r*: DTS, F51. — **P2** A Nestorian priest, author of the letter. — **D** Syr. *srgys* /*Sergīs*/, from Latin *Sergius*.

The name in the letter was identified by HENN., *BBB*, p. 76, n. 614, see DTS, p. 52-53. It is well attested in the Syriac gravestone inscriptions of Kirgizia; REL., *HRII*, p. 58-9, had *srkyš*. I owe to Prof. YOSHIDA information that this name appears also on an unpublished terracota plaque from Taraz. )

### *†srkyš > srkys* #1097

***srp(ʼ)šwr > srβšwr #1093***

**1098.** ( *srpywn* /Sərafīyōn/ m.: **B** C, ](p)t[ry s]rpywn ..: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r2, p. 53; *xw srpywn swqbʼr*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r6; *fr(m)ʼ(d)ʼrt srpywn*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r24, p. 54; *ʼt (s)[rpywn ]xwty pʼdʼ [w]ʼ[št]*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r25, p. 54; *ʼʼ(γ)š(d)ʼrt s(r)[pywn*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1v5, p. 54; *xw šyrngʼrʼ srpywn*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1v10; *(s)rp(yw)n d(s)tw.. | [ s](rpyw)n pʼdy*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1v 34-35; *(šyr)ʼngʼ(ry s)rp(ywn swq)[bʼr*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 2v1, p. 57; *ʼt srpywn ʼxšt x(r)[t*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 2v5, p. 57; *xw srpywn .. ZY wʼnw wydʼrt srpywn*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 2v14; *](sr)pywn ..* : *Nachl. HANS. I*, 2v24, p. 58; *(x)w srpywn | [*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 3r4; *pr srpywn dstw*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 3v11, p. 65; *]• s[rpywn*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 3v16. — **P** St. Serapion the Sindonite, the Egyptian hermit (died c. 356). — **D** Syr. *srpywn* /Sərapīyōn/ from Gr. Σεραπίων. )

[ *srwcyk* **B** N, *ZKn srwcyk xwβ*: *Muy*, Nov 1, R20, R33 (*SDGM*, III, p. 37). — **P** A recipient of several lambskins (? , *wʼryʼk*). — **D** In *Otrazhenie*, p. 12, BOGOL. explains it as a PN, related to S *srwy* (*ʼnrx*) “14<sup>th</sup> lunar mansion”. In the *SDGM*, III, p. 107-8, the authors analyse it as “prince of *srw*”, where *srw* is equated with the modern Sarīṭay in the Fan Mountains; it is far more attractive to compare it to *Sarvkad* of the 16<sup>th</sup> century documents (CHEKHOVICH, 1974, p. 357), modern *Sawr* in the immediate neighbourhood of Panjakent. The position of the word *srwcyk* before *xwβ* makes it clear that it is an adjective from a place-name, not a PN. ]

***ʼsrwyʼn, ʼsrwʼš > rywyʼn #1054******ʼsrwt > mʼyc #656***

**1099.** *srw•[* /Sarw-/ m.: **B** N, *srw•[* | *ZK s•[* | *•[*: *UII*, No. 177 (34: 63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *s•[* (#1140). — **D** Partially legible, maybe *trw•*; the fourth letter could be *s*, but hardly *š*.

The name might start with “cypress”, MP, NP *sarv* (not attested in S, see YOSH., 1998, p. 169); cf. OChor. *srwywk* apud HENN., 1965a, p. 179; Σαρώνς, king of Alans c. 557-573 (ALEMANY, 2000, p. 242-3), Pont. Ir. Σαρκη (ZGUSTA, 1955, §202), cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 31. Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS suggests to compare it to *srʼwk* (#1091).

**1100.** *sryδβʼr* /Sariθvār/ m.: **B** N, *prnʼys* | *ZK sryδ(βʼ)ʼr*: *UI2*, No. 521 (53:27); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P** Father (?) of *prnʼys* (#903: 1). — **D** SIMS-

W. (UI2, p. 70) thinks that the first part is rendering of OInd. *Śrī* “happy” as Bct. *σπι(ο)* (as a kind of title). Alternatively, “initial gift” (as a name given to the first child?), cf. names with *-δβ''r*, *sr'myw* (#1090), *'stnpsr'k* (#173), *δywsr* (#475). For the *yodh* after the first part of a compound (here probably a case-ending or compound vowel) see GERSH., *SCpd.*, p. 138-139, SIMS-W., UI2, p. 36, s.v. *βγγδβ'r*.

**1101.** *st'yδ, st'yδ /Stāyīd?/ m.: B1 N, s(t)'(yδ) | ZK wxw: UII, No. 290 (36: 74); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 212. — P1 A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of wxw (#1357). — B2 N, st'yδ | ZK kr'yšk: UI2, No. 425 (40:17); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 244. — P2 A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of kr'yšk (546). HUMB. (SIF, No. 39a) read 'γš'yδ. — D SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 70) understands it as MP *stāyīd* “praised”.*

**1102.** *st'sp /Satāsp/ m.: B N, st'sp ZK | y(rznc): UII, No. 199 (34: 85); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 190; (s)t'sp ZK | yrz(n)c | BRY: UI2, No. 636 (Dadam Das, 37:14, cf. Fbs. DD, p. 105). — P A visitor to Shatial and Dadam Das; son of yrznc (#1518). — D “(He who has) hundred(s of?) horses”, as OP *\*sata-aspa-*, known through Elam. *Šadašba*, Gr. *Σατάσπης* (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 70), etc. HUMB., SIF, No. 99b, has *mt'sp*. Cf. also *stwy'n* “a hundred favours” in MN, 99 (cf. BENV., *Ét.*, p. 25), *stck* (#1103), *sttc-* (#1104).*

**1103.** *stck, stcky, stwck /Satučik?/ m.: B1 N, stcry MR'Y: coin SMIR., Sv. Kat., No. 1422-1431, p. 327-331; Table XXXVI; LXXVIII, cf. also www.zeno.ru, No. 6874, 15535; 20480; 20210; 16899. — P1 A ruler of Ustrushana (7<sup>th</sup> century?). — B2 N, s-t-c-r-y tδ(w)-n c'-c-y-n-k xw-β: coin, Cat. Chach, No. 207-212, p. 209-212, cf. Sv. Kat., No. 1561, p. 389; RTVELADZE, Chach, p.58; BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 52-53; xwβw | stcr: coin, Cat. Chach, No. 225-230, cf. BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 57-58, RTVELADZE, Chach, p. 57; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 268, Abb. 11, 3-4; xwβw | prn | stwck: coin, Cat. Chach, No. 231-236, p. 226-230. — P2 A ruler (or several rulers) in Chach, 7<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> century; No. 213-224, as well as No. 255-258, might be imitations of this inscription. — D Unclear, but maybe “Centurio” (as a PN or a title)?*

SMIR. (Sv. Kat., p. 33; with deeper detail in SMIR., 1981b) compared the name with Skt. *sadācārya* “teacher” or *sādācārīn* “he with good conduct” (however, one would expect the long *ā* to be rendered with an *aleph* in S). LIV. understands this name as “(One who has) a hundred palaces” see *sttcry*. One can also read on these or those specimens *stcyn*, *stc'β*, *st'yn* or even *st'yδ* (#1101). Various possibilities (*rw'k*, *rtck*, *st/wck*, *st'k*, *stw'k*, *st'r*,

*stc'r*, *ktck* etc.) have been proposed by RTVELADZE, KUZNETSOV and BABAYAROV for the coins from Chach, see *Cat. Chach*, p. 222-234, cf. also s.v. *ʃknwn βγ'nwt* (after #543). The form *stwck* with a clear *wāw* shows that the first part is probably S *st(w)*, OIr. *\*satam* “100”, cf. *stp'δ'k* “centipede”, and *stw-pnc's* “150”, PN *stwy'n* in MN, 99 (WEBER, ZSP, p. 203, No. 36). In the final part one can see the suffix *-ck(y)*, thus giving a meaning similar to “centurio”, cf. *srcy(k)* “first” (or a combination of two hypocoristics). As a whole, an uncertain explanation, too.

Recently, however, a unique coin came to light ([www.zeno.ru](http://www.zeno.ru), No. 63105), which combines the imagery of the coin of Ustrushana ruler *crδmyš* with a round S legend which is preserved to its half. The word on its left side begins with *stt*(, less likely, *stw*(. It remains so far unclear whether this coin contains the name *sttcr(-)*, *stwck*, or not.

### ***stcr*, *stcry* > *stcky* #1103**

**1104.** *sttcr-* /*Sattačar-?*/ m.: **B** B, *sttcry δst'*: (obl.?) TSP, 8, 181. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** “(He who has) hundred(s of?) palaces”, as LIV., *Chilhujra*, p. 82 (also *SÉSAS*, p. 289) from *st* “100” and *M tcr*, Pth. *tcr* “Palace” while *-y* for *\*-aka-* or obl. case ending?

Cf. similar MP names (ZIMMER, 1991, p. 124), Balochi *Sadganj* “(one who has) hundred treasures” for semantics (BADALKHAN, 2003, p. 292), maybe S *šyr'pδnk* (#1192). According to HENN. (STP, p. 737), “Having a hundred courses” (rather strange for PN); SMIR. (Sv. *Kat.*, p. 33), compares it to the name *stcry* (SMIR.'s reading) on the coins from Ustrushana and traces both names back to Skt. PN *Sadācārya* (see s.v. *stck*, #1103).

### ***st/wck*, *stwck* > *stck* #1103**

**1105.** *stf* /*Sat-?*/ m.: **B** N(M?), *'tkw pryw βr't s(t)[*: So 14715b, R1 apud *Mlr. Hss. 1*, No. 210, p. 158. — **P** An addressee of the letter. — **D** Incomplete, cf. the previous names. I am grateful to Dr. COLDITZ for reminding me of this reference.

**1106.** *sw'* /*Sawā?*/ m.: **B** N, *sw'*: *UII*, No. 152 (34: 38); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** To *\*sw-* “force, strength, strong”, OIr. *\*savah-*, OInd. *śavas-* (*EWA*, II, p. 623); the final *aleph* was explained by SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 70-71) as a reflex of the OIr. nom. sg. *\*savāh*, cf. *Sauuah-* as PN in Av. (MAYRHOFFER, *IPNB*, I/1, 276); cf. *sr'myw*, #1090, *my'-* #722ff., *rwδ'*, #1029). Another possible reading is *swc*, in this case maybe a hypocoristic to *sw-*. Cf. Bct. *Σono* (Shatial, *UII*, No. 534), patronymic or family-name *Σaoavo* and PN *Σooaδaδo*, SIMS-W. apud *Hodar*, p. 284;

OChor. *swβytk*, LIV., 1984, p. 268, 16; n. 80 p. 283; maybe, *xwsw(c)* (#1450 – 51).

**1107.** *sw'βr* /*Sō-āvar*/ m.: **B** N, *nny'kk* ZK | *sw'βr* | BRY: *UII*, No. 24 (17: 19); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P** Father of *nny'kk*. — **D** S \**sw* “strength, strong” + \**βr* “to bring”, or \**sw* “strength” + *βr* “to bear”, both proposed by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 71. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 112a – *idem*, cf. also *swrβ'* (#1116).

**1108.** *sw'rδn* /*Sō-ara(θ)n?*/ m.: **B** N, *sw'rδn* | ZK *ptšpr* | BRY: *UII*, No. 137 (33: 8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 176. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *ptšpr* (#948: 3). — **D** SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 71 puts forward an attractive idea that the name means “(he who has) strong elbows” (cf. *sw'rm*, #1109), where \**rδn* is a genuine S derivative of OIr. \**araθni-*, while S \**rync*, *Yayn. orínj* are West Iranian borrowings.

However, *θ* before *n* was to disappear in Sogdian (at a later time, at least; maybe, here as a historical spelling, as suggested by Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS), see *GMS*, §300. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 56b, reads *sw'kδr*.

**1109.** *sw'rm* /*Sō-arm*/ m.: **B** N, *sw'rm* ZK | *jsk(r)'[●●]k*: *UII*, 2 (2: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 121. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *jskr'●●k* (#1637). — **D** The word \**sw-*, *s'w-*, *sw'* apparently means “strength” (Av. *sauuah-*, OInd. *śávas*) or “strong” (OIr. \**suvi-*) in the *UI* inscriptions, while \**rm* “arm”.

Cf. S \**pš'rm'y* “arms behind”, OIr. \**arma-* etc., as *UI2*, p. 70-71; OP PN \**arma-saxta-*, if in Elam. *harmāšakda* “Mr. Armstrong” (GERSH., 1970b, p. 85), OChor. PN \**rm*, LIV., 1984, p. 264. *sw'rmnk* is a less likely reading.

**1110.** ( *swβrncwty* /*Suvarnačūdi*/ m.: **B** B, *swβrncwty o*: *TSP*, 8, 32. — **P** A Bodhisattva. — **D** Transcription of Skt. *Suvarṇacūḍa* (“Golden Head”), see *mncwty* (#674), *rtncwty* (#1021), *pwšpcwty* (#963). The final -y may indicate the oblique case of all the four -*cūḍa* Bodhisattvas who are mentioned in this line (cf. also *šr'ykwty*, #1175). )

**1111.** *swδ''šn*, *swδ'sn* /*Sudāšan*/ m.: **B** B, *pry z't'* | *swδ''šn*: *VJ*, 24a-25a (voc.); *xw wyspyδr'k swδ''šn*: *VJ*, 70, 208, 400-401, 1300; *xw swδ''šn*: *VJ*, 74, 139, 149, 158, 189, 7b, 50b, 52b, 64b, 288-9, 308, 372-3, 405, 419, 420, 432, 436, 2c, 16c, 52c, 66c, 16d, 22d, 59d, 465, 481, 483, 513, 547, 563, 581, 622, 639, 655-6, 662, 674, 688, 691, 693, 707, 710-11, 713, 728, 762,

771-2, 14e, 30e, 35e, 49e, 54e-55e, 831, 885-6, 899, 926, 933, 965, 972, 1024, 1035, 1074, 1081, 1141, 1192, 1209 1213, 1216, 1404, 1437, 1460, 1500, 1504; 'xw wyspyδr'k swδ'sn: VJ, 90; 'kw wyspyδr'k swδ'sn s'r: VJ, 119; 'xw wyspyδr'y swδ'sn: VJ, 136-7, 222-3, 349-50; swδ'sn s'r: VJ, 166; xw swδ'sn: VJ, 171, 291, 296-7, 451; cnn swδ'sn: VJ, 181, 426, 25c-26c, 9d, 633, 682, 735-6, 22e, 1078-9, 1227; xw swδ'sn: VJ, 30-31b, 743-4, 748-9, 1067-68; ZKw wyspyδr'k swδ'sn: VJ, 214; swδ'sn: VJ, 55c, 41d, 870, 1416; swδ'sn: VJ, 217, 1420, 1431; 'wyn z'tk swδ'sn: VJ, 263; wyspyδr'k swδ'sn: VJ, 267; 'xw 'BY' swδ'sn: VJ, 284, 1320; 'kw swδ'sn: VJ, 327; 'xw swδ'sn: VJ, 331-2, 37d, 564-5, 643, 766, 851, 1114, 1153, 1391, 1441-2; ZKn swδ'sn: VJ, 337-8, 1337-8; rty 'xw swδ'sn n'mt: VJ, 412, 47d-48d; 'xw... swδ'sn n'm: VJ, 8c, 64c, 1d-2d, 69d; 'ym 'xw šβ'y xwt'w z'tk swδ'sn: VJ, 18c-19c; ZK swδ'sn: VJ, 33c, 460, 517, 542, 585, 599, 602, 659, 673, 727, 768, 784, 787, 897; 'wyn swδ'sn: VJ, 51d, 963, 1256; ZKn swδ'sn: VJ, 541; 'xw swδ'sn n'm: VJ, 554; swδ'sn n'm: VJ, 611-12; ZNH swδ'sn: VJ, 623; 'xw swδ'sn n'm: VJ, 668-9, 721, 2e; ZK swδ'sn n'm: VJ, 1271; (ZKH sw)δ('sn): VJ, 66e (scarcely visible); ZKw swδ'sn p'δt: VJ, 804; ZKw swδ'sn | yr'ywH: VJ, 809-10; 'M swδ'sn: VJ, 815; ZKw swδ'sn: VJ, 822, 908, 928, 969, 1008, 1042, 1066; 'wyn swδ'sn: VJ, 845, 863; ZKn swδ'sn: VJ, 847-8, 1201, 1385; ZK swδ'sn: VJ, 924; xwty swδ'sn n'm: VJ, 939; cnn swδ'sn: VJ, 944; mrtxm'n xwt'w swδ'sn: VJ, 1048; [Z]K wyry swδ'sn: VJ, 1058; 'wyn wyry swδ'sn: VJ, 1224; ZKw | swδ'sn z'kt: VJ, 1235-6; ZK mn' z'tk swδ'sn: VJ, 1377; ZKw pryw z'tk swδ'sn: VJ, 1381; 'kw z'tk swδ'sn s'r: VJ, 1417; ZKw swδ'sn: VJ, 1424; 'wyn swδ'sn prn: VJ, 1428; prw z't'kw swδ'sn srw: VJ, 1449-1450; 'wyn | pwtystβy swδ'sn: VJ, 839-40; ZKn swδ'sn | pwtystβy: VJ, 1012-13. — **P** The prince, the main character of the Sogdian version of Vessantara Jātaka, an incarnation of the Buddha. Originally, the nickname of the prince *Viśvantara* (Pali *Vessantara*, Khot. *Veśvāmttara*, Mong. *Ušandara*), but the latter name is not attested in the Sogdian text. He is the son of the king šβ'y (#1163), husband of *mntr'yH* (#677), father of *c'r'ynH* (#362) and *kršny'n* (#551); an incarnation of Buddha. — **D** As it was recently shown by T. LENZ (2003, p. 159) and E. PROVASI (2009, with special emphasis on S material), this name transcribes the same name which is given as *Sudaṣa* in the newly discovered Gāndhārī collection of jātakas, a Prakritic development of Skt *Sudamṣṭra* (lit. “(he with) beautiful teeth”), which is also attested as epithet of the prince; the Chinese forms like *Xu-da-na* 須大拏 vel sim. also mirror this name, while Skt. *Sudāna* (which was believed to be the original of swδ'sn) is in fact



never attested in this Jātaka. The Chinese rendering *Sutuoshana* (蘇陀沙拏, EMCh. *so-da-ṣai/ṣe:-nrai/nē:-*) in the Buddhist treatise of Xuanying (玄奘), 649 CE stands particularly close to the S form, see YOSH., *Bud. Lit.*, p. 101; now also YOSH., 2009a, p. 307.

The earlier explanation of *swδ'sn* as a semi-translation of *sudāna* “good gift” with the Middle Iranian (but not Sogdian!) *dāšn* “gift” (SIMS-W., *Indian Elements*, p. 139; cf. *t'šyn z'δk'*, #1209) must therefore be abandoned (one, however, might examine the possibility that the Gāndhārī form was borrowed from Iranian?). For attestations of the name *swδ'sn* with or without an article, see GHARIB, 1974, p. 391 ff; HESTON, 1979, p. 45, n. 42.

**1112.** *swδ'k /Suδak?/* m.: **B** N, *swδ'k*: *UI2*, No. 644 (Dadam Das, 48:53, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 120). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 71, to S *swδ*-“to hurry”; cf. CS *swdq* “hastily”.

**1113.** *swδ'r /?/* m.: **B** N, *swδ'r*: *UI2*, No. 671 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 64:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 143). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** Cf. *swδ'k* (#1112), maybe the final *k* was left unfinished; alternatively, cf. *pry swδr* (#930).

#### *swδ'sn > swδ''sn* #1111

**1114.** ( *swp'šy twryrl 'yn'l /Sü-baši Toyrl İnal/* m.: **B** N(M), *swp'šy twryrl 'yn'l*: *BL*, C17. — **P** A person who went from *š'γ wyspwxr* (#1147) to *xw'r z'δ'k'* (#1433). — **D** Turkic, *sü baši* is “army-head” (CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 781, attested in compounds, cf. *'yn'l t'š tk'yn δswpšy*, #245), *toyrl* “hawk”(?), see *twryrl* (#1253), *inal* is a high title, cf. *'yl mnkw 'yn'l*, #232; *'r 'yn'l*, #25. )

**1115.** *swp'yn, swpyn /?/* m.: **B1** N, *swp'yn*: *UI2*, No. 599 (Oshibat, 19:9, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 83). — **P1** A visitor to Oshibat. — **B2** N, *swpyn ZK | n'pxs*: *UI2*, No. 571 (Thor I, 132); *swpyn | ZK n'pxs | BRY*: *UI2*, No. 583 (Oshibat, 17:32 cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 51). — **P2** A visitor to Thor and Oshibat, son of *n'pxs* (#760: 2). — **D** Unclear. Maybe \**sw* “strong” (cf. *sw'rm*, #1109, etc.) + *pyn* “open”? Or unknown *swp* + suff. -*'yn*, cf. *sypwnH* (#1135) as well, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 71. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 132 (= No. 571), has *swpyk*. In *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 51, SIMS-W. gives the transcription *Sōpēn*.

#### *swpx > 'βtrxwm'n pwn swpx* #4

**1116.** *swrβ'* /?/ m.: **B** N, (*s*)*wrβ'* | *ZK* *rwδ'ync*(*c*): *UII*, No. 62 (30: 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *rwδ'ync* (#141). — **D** Probably a misspelling of *sw'βr* (#1107). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 57c has *n'w(R)B'* (with *RB-* = *mz* in the second part?, cf. *pyδmz*, 1017; under *kβct*, #533) and *HARMATTA*, 1994, p. 439 gives *n'wrβ'*. Cf. also *Jswr'k/r* (or *Jtwr'k/r*) on an archaic terracotta figurine from Samarkand (*LIV, Dok. Sam.*, p. 59 and 315).

**1117.** *swry'kk* /*Sūriyak*/ m.: **B1** N, *swry'kk* | *ZK* 'γ*tptr* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 535 (54:28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 267. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of 'γ*tptr* (#9). — **B2** N, *swry'k(k)*: *UI2*, No. 540 (105:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** “Syrian” cf. *S swrstn* “Syria”, *M swryk* “Syriac”, *Pth. swryg*.

The suffix *-y'kk*, however, does not serve for building ethnic adjectives (*nisba*-s), so we can suppose that in Sogdian the name “Syria” itself was bisyllabic /*Sūrī*/, while the suffix is *-kk*, which forms adjectives; see *GMS*, §967. *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 100 (= No. 535), has *swβy'kk*; in No. 540, maybe one can read it as *swcy'k(k)*, as *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 18. For other ethnic names (probably nicknames) based on distant countries among the Upper Indus inscriptions, cf. *'yntwk* (#249), *cyn'ncH* (#401), *p'rs'k* (#874). For the similar practice of name-giving among Turfan Uyghurs cf. *GABAIN*, 1973, p. 72 and *RÁSONYI*, 1953, p. 337-345; among the Iranians of Persepolis – *MAYRHOFER*, *OnP*, 11.1.4.2.

**1118.** ( *swryβrwcwn* /*Surēvirōcon*/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm wyn swryβrwcwn pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 21; [*nm'cw βr'm 'wyn*] *swryβrwcw(n)* [*pwδystβ mx'stβ prn*: *SFBL*, 10, 4. — **P** A name of Bodhisattva. — **D** Skt. *Sūryavairocana* (*Sūrya* “sun” + patronymic to *virocana* “Sun-shining”), cf. *cntrβrwcwn* (#377). The *w* in the last syllable is hard to explain: some Prakrit intermediation? )

**1119.** ( *swttrs'yn* /*Sūtrasēn*?/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn swttrs'yn pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 20; [*nm'cw βr'm 'wyn*] (*sw*)*ttrs'yn* [*pwδystβ mx'stβ prn*: *SFBL*, 10, 2. — **P** A name of Bodhisattva. — **D** Unclear, probably Indian.

The name seems to imply *\*Sūtrasena* “army of Sūtras”, quite meaningless but Buddhist-looking name, which, to my knowledge, is not attested. Cf. Skt. *Sundarasena*, who, however, does not appear as Bodhisattva. *BENV.*, loc. cit., was reading *swttrs'nyn* (for Skt. *Saudarśaṇāyana*, although I was unable to find Bodhisattva with such a name), corrected by *SIMS-W.*, *SC*, No. 232. )

**1120.** ( *swttršny* /*Sudaršani*/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn swttršny pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 19; [*nm'cw βr'm 'wyn s*]/*wttršn(y) (p)*[/*wδystβ mx'stβ prn*: *SFBL*, 10, 1. — **P** A name of Bodhisattva. — **D** Skt. *Sudarśana*, lit. “beautiful” in S transcription.

The final -y in *TSP*, 8 might be a *lapsus calami*, since all the other names of bodhisattvas (except those on *cwty*, see *swβncwty*, #1110) in the list are written without an indication of the final vowel of Skt. form (or oblique case). )

*\*swttršnyn > swttrs'yn* #1119

**1121.** *swx'n* /*Sōxān*?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY C XXXXX swx'n*: Muγ, B-12, 3 (*SDGM*, II, 155, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 182; *SDGM*, III, 48). — **P** A person in *Ėzrāwaδk*? — **D** BOGOL., SMIR., 49, compare this name with NP *sōhān* “(carpenter’s) file”, cf. *ck'wš'k* (#369) for semantics. LIV. instead has *swγr'*, as a variant for *sγr*, Oss. *sary* “saddle”. Maybe also “strong spring”, cf. *sw'rm* (#1109), *štyx'nc* (#184), cf. also *swzx'n* (#1124).

**1122.** ( *swykty* /*Sökti*/ m.?: **B** N(B), *nyw 'δw' rzy swykty*: *DTS*, E17. — **P** The text means “two pieces of fabric (*rzy*) to/for *swykty/swnky*”; most probably some kind of goods (Turk. *sökti* “bran”), rather than PN (cf. *γynk*, #505), which can be an alternative interpretation. — **D** If a PN, cf. fem. PN *swkty* in an Uyghur document of similar provenance, see *DTS*, p. 48 and HAMILTON, 1986, p. 98. Even in this case case, the name seems to originate in OTu. *sökti* “bran”, too. )

**1123.** *swynk* /*Sawēne*?/ m.: **B** N, *myr'y(n) | swynk*: *UII*, No. 292 (36: 76); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P** Father (or *nisba*) of *myr'yn* (#730: 2). — **D** “Powerful”; formed from \*sw- (see #1106 ff.) with either adjective suffix -*ynk* or a combination of hypocoristic -(')*yn* and -*k*.

**1124.** *swzx'n* /?/ m.: **B** N, *rty δ'βr ZK | s(w)z-x'n 'yw w'r | pn'kw*: Muγ, B-2, 1-3 (*SDGM*, III, p. 41). — **P** A distributor of cloaks (or: breast-plates). — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. do not give an etymology but suggest that *swzx'n* is a Turkic name. Reading unclear; maybe *stn-x'n*, *mcz-xzn* etc. Cf. *x'n'kk* (#1398), *wyšx'n* (#1388), *štyx'nc* (#184), *xtwx'nc* (#1430), *swx'n* (#1121?) for *x'n* “source?”, “house?” in PNs.

**1125.** *swf* /?/ m.?: **B1** N, *swf*: UI2, No. 552 (108:8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 277. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, - - - - - | *sw*- - - -: inscr. at Chilas-Bridge, 66: 9, SIMS-W. apud *Fbs. Thalpan*, p. 86, Taf. 99. — **P2** Father (?) of a visitor to Thalpan. — **D** The form is unclear since the rock is broken away in the first attestation and most of the inscription is illegible in the second. In any case, cf. *sw'βr*, *sw'rm*, *sw'rδn*, etc (#1106 ff.).

**1126.** *sxswrk* /?/ m.: **B** N, *sxswrk*: UI2, No. 495 (53:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; one can read *txswrk*, less likely *txšwrk*, *sxswrn* etc. To OIr. \**sūra*- “strong” with an unclear initial part? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 107, has *xswrc*.

**1127.** *sxtwyy* /*Saxtōy*/ m.: **B** M, *sxt(w)yy* (*mwj*)'k 'ty ktwn' (')ft'δ'[n] (*st*)*n*(*d cnd*)[n: SUND., *Briefe*, II, 20, with corr. of GERSH., op. cit., p. 316; *Briefe II*, p. 413, 416. — **P** A Patriarch (“Teacher”) of the Mihrīya (*myhry'nd*, #746) or Miqlāšīya (*mkl'sykt*, #671) Manichean community. — **D** MP, a hypocoristic in -ōy of *saxt* “strong”, cf. *Saxtūya* in Ar. texts (*INB*, p. 280), including the History of Samarkand (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ III*, p. 8), cf. now SUND., *Briefe II*, p. 416, n. 95.

**1128.** *sy'my'k* /?/ m.: **B** N, (*M*)*N sy'(m)γ'k*: Muγ, B-5, 9, above the line; ZY 'yw sy'm | γ'k δ'rt: B-5, 12-13 (*SDGM*, III, p. 58). — **P** A supplier of skins to *wxšmryk* (#1356). — **D** Unclear. For the first part, cf. *sy'myc* (#1129), but what is γ'k/x'k/š'k? BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 11, compares this name to S *sy'kH* “shadow” and *my'* (*nxr*) “9<sup>th</sup> lunar mansion”.

**1129.** *sy'myc* /*Syāmič*?/ m.: **B** N, *rty np'xšt sy'm(?)yc ZKn* | *ty-šyc BRY*: Muγ, B4, V8-9 (*SDGM*, II, 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 63). — **P** A scribe of the deed on leasing three mills, son of *tyšyc* (#1295). — **D** Probably a *nisba* (at least in its origin), “native of *Siyām*”, a region to the S of Panjakent, around modern Farab, the upper course of Kaška-darya (cf. BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 134). LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 63, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 70) cautiously compares the name with Av. mountain-name *Siiāmaka*-, from \**syāma*- “black”, cf. also NP *Siyāmak*, the name of two heroes of Šn.; cf. *s'm* (#1061). BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 11, thinks that this name is a shortening of *sy'my'k* (#1128).

**1130.** *sy'wt-* /?/ m.: **B** N, (*k*)*w sy'-wty* (••• (obl.?) Muγ A-1, V9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 144, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 166; *SDGM*, III, p. 43). — **P** A sequence of

letters on a badly preserved document. Maybe a PN. BOGOL., SMIR. read *srcwt*. — **D** Unclear. To OIr. \**syāva*- “black”?

**1131.** ( *symwn* /*Šimōn*/ m.: **B** C, *p'rwt y symwn* | 'yc ny qt' qθ'rt: C22, 4, 3-4 (STii, p. 28); *mwnw* | bžng'ry *symwn y'twq*: C22, 4, 27-28 (STii, p. 29); *pr symwn* | y'twqy sry cwpr: C22, 4, 33-34 (STii, p. 30); *pyštrw symwn c'nw wyd'rt*: C22, 4, 35 (STii, p. 30). — **P** Simon, the magus (*y'twq*) in the apocryphal Act of Peter (*šmywn sng*). — **D** Syr. *symwn*; this form is a Syriac borrowing from the Gr. name Σίμων, which in its turn is a Semitic name in origin, see *šmywn*, #1169. )

**1132.** *synmry* /*Sēnmə'ry*/ a.: **B** B, [*'YK*]ZYms ZK *synmry* ZK[ZY ZKw] | *wysp[w]* n'kt [*xwr*]t: MPN II, 17-18, p. 10; *r[tym]*s 'wyn mrcH *synmry* 'xw prynH 'ywywncyδ: MPN II, 20, p. 10 (obl.). — **P** Skt. *Garuḍa*, Chinese Jinchiniao (金翅鳥 “golden-winged bird”), the giant bird, supernatural being in the Buddhist text, enemy of the *nāgas*. — **D** The translator picked up the name of the giant bird in the Iranian lore, Av. *mərəγō saēnō*, MP *sēnmurv*, NP *sīmurv*, see UTZ, 1976, p. 44.

For S transcription of Indian *Garuḍa*, see *kr'wr* (#545); *Garuḍa* is equated with *Šimury* also in the Syriac (< MP) version of the *Pañcatantra* / *Kalīla wa Dimna*, see de BLOIS, 1997. The images of a fantastic bird with canine head (or with protome of a camel) are frequently attested on Sogdian silver, wall-paintings and dress ornaments (as well as in the Sassanian art) and commonly identified as depictions of Simurgh; see SCHMIDT, 2002.

The “wise” *synmry* also appears in the S text LM20: 1480/22(02) which was presented by Yutaka YOSHIDA at the Boris MARSHAK memorial conference in Petersburg in November 2008.

**1133.** *synpyn z'tcH* /*Sey<sup>n</sup>-biayŋ* (?) *zāč*/ f.: **B** N, ZKH *ky-*'βr *synpyn* | *z't(c)H wy'wsyH*: *Xian*, 10-11. — **P** “Native of *synpyn*”, the *nisba* of *wy'wsyH*'s (#1375: 2). — **D** *Synpyn* obviously represents a place-name; YOSH. (*Xian*, p. 65) proposes seeing here a transcription of the Chinese Xiping (西平, EMCh. *sej-biajŋ*), an important trade-town to the South-West of Guzang (*kc'n*), admitting that this transcription is far from being perfect.

On the other hand, *wy'wsyH* is called “the wife from the Kang (Samarkand) family” (*qi Kang shi*, 妻康氏) in the Chinese version, and this phrase is absent in the more detailed Sogdian text. So, maybe we have a Samarkandian place-name here? If so, cf. *Sānḡfīn*, a canal around Nahr-i Pay to the west of Samarkand, mentioned only as late as in a 16<sup>th</sup> century document (*ILAST*, p. 84-85)? However, the marriage of *wyrk'k* and *wy'wsyH* took

place in *synpyn* as well, and it is more likely that the ceremony was arranged somewhere in China.

**1134.** *synt'kk* /*Sëndak*/ m.: **B1** N, *synt'kk*: *UII*, No. 26 (17: 21 cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 138). — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *βγ'(')βγ'rt 'rwδ'ync synt'kk*: *UI2*, No. 555 (114:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 280 (under no. 114: 6); the three words do not form a straight line, but follow each other, written in the same, easily recognisable hand, so it is impossible to judge if it is a single inscription or not, as SIMS-W., loc. cit. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, companion (?) of *'rwδ'ync* (#141: 2) and *βγ'βγ'rt* (#275: 2). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 71) hesitates between the readings *syzt'kk* from *\*sižd-* “to drive away, to shy, be shy” (Av. *sīždiia-* “zurücktreiben, zurückweichen”, *sīždra* “sheu”, Pth. *sēzdīft* “power”, *sēzdēn* “mighty”, Khot. *śśaysda* “snake”, cf. now CHEUNG, *EDIV*, p. 343) or *sind* “to seem good, please”. I prefer the second explanation since *synt* in *ptsynt* “to be pleased, to approve” is attested in S and the meaning is more acceptable for a PN.

#### *sypwδy* > *sywpwδy* #1139

**1135.** *sypwnH* /?/ f.: **B** B, *sypwnH δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 182. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** Unclear, sounds non-Iranian; cf. *swpyn* (#1115) as well, Bct. patronymic or family-name Σιβοκαιο?

#### *†syrdwk* > *†tk'* #1224 bis

**1136.** ( *sysn*, *sysyn mry sysyn*, *mry sysn* /*Sīsin*/ m.: **B** M, *sysn ptyy frwrt'y*(y): M915 V21 apud HALOUN, HENN., 1952, p. 206; *ptyms mry s[ysn]*: M7950V apud BOYCE, *Catalogue*, p. 132, reconstruction of SIMS-W., *SC*, No. 197; *mrysystyn ymqyy βwt*: *Fasts*, 5, 4, p. 154; *o]/(o m)[rsysyn ymkyy]*: *Ōt.*, 6191, R8 apud YOSH., *Bema* (in the edition of the Ōtani collection, p. 197, the entire name is given in square brackets); N(M), (*oom*)[*ry* ](*sy-s*)[*y-n*] | *βrwrt'kw sy-sy-n tw p(yk')*[*ry βrwrt'kw*]: So 15502 V13 apud SUND., 2009b, p. 265, cf. *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 229. — **P** Sisinnius, the first *Archegos* of the Manichean church, addressee of Mani's letters. — **D** Usually considered to be Semitic, probably from a Semitic deity *Sesen* (see SCHWARTZ, 1998), less likely from *sīsānā* “date-palm”, as TUBACH, 1997, p. 388-390; cf. also *s's'n* (#1065) on the possibility of an Iranian etymology. SUND., *MKG*, p. 142, n. 1, explains the second short vowel. Cf. also under *wykr'syšn wyspwxr* (#1377).

Cf. WMlr. (*mry*) *sys(y)n*, Chin. *Mo Sixin* (末思信, EMCh. *muat-sz'-sin'*), Ar. *sīsin*, etc.; cf. also under *t'ōyyH*, #1212. )

**1137.** *sys*/ /?/ m.?: **B** N, *sys*/: *UII*, No. 286 (36: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear, less likely *s's*/, cf. *s's*, *s's'n* (#1064 – 65).

**1138.** ( *sytt* /*Said*?/ m.: **B** N, *ZKn xmyr sytt*: *Muy*, 1.I, 17 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 121; *BOGOL.*, *SMIR.*, *I.I & A14*, p. 115; *SMIR.*, *Ocherki*, p. 222; *YAK.*, *I.I Rev.*, p. 234). — **P** Probably, Amīr Sa'īd, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Azīz (nicknamed *Xudayna* “the lady”, governor of Khurāsān in 720-722) or Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarašī (the governor of Khurāsān in 722-727), but maybe not a PN. — **D** A transcription of Arabic PN *Sa'īd* “lucky”, cf. *s'ytt pwn* ''βtr''zyz (#1069)?

Contrary to this, LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, and with large commentary in *SÉSAS*, p. 125-126) translates *sytt* as the plural of \**syt* “fear, emotion”, cf. *sym* “fear”, and notices that *aleph* is necessary in S spelling of Arabic *Sa'īd*. Cf. also *Khamir*, No. 22. )

**1139.** ( *sywpwδ'y*, *sywpwδy*, *sypwδy* /*Syūbūdē*?/ m.: **B** B, *ZY sywpwδ'y*: *Vaj.*, 9; *rtym*s *sywpwδ'y*: *Vaj.*, 11; *nwkr* *sywpwδ'y*: *Vaj.*, 15, 18, 22; {*ZK*} *sywpwδy*: *Vaj.*, 25; *sywpwδ'y*: *Vaj.*, 26; *sypwδy*: *Vaj.* 2, *STii*, 8, 5; [*rt*y *sywpwδ'y*]: *Pancav.*, 1; *kw* *sywpwδ'y*: *Pancav.*, 4; *Len.*, 11, 4 (= *SI KrIV/200*); *sy*(w)*pw(δ)*[y]: *Ōt.*, No. 5239, 4, p. 99; *k'w* *sywpwδ'y* [ : *Urumqi*, 80TBI: 554, 9. — **P** An interlocutor of the Buddha in several Sūtras. — **D** Skt. *Subhūti* (“well-being”).

The name in the London version of Sogdian Vajracchedikā and the Berlin-SPb MS of *Pañcaviṃśati...-sūtra*, was borrowed not from Skt., but from the Chinese *xu-pu-ti* (須菩提 EMCh. *syou-bou-dei*, *Lexicon suā-bō-dei*); see SIMS-W., *Indian elements*, p. 138; YOSH., *Sukhā.*, Par. 6. The use of *δ* in place of Chinese *d* might be the result of a reinterpretation of the name with S *pwδy* “bodhi” in the second part (BENV., *Ēt.*, p. 66; *BSTBL*, iii, 132; cf. WELLER, 1936, p. 112-113, n. 2, and literature used there); *sypwδy* in the Berlin version (*STii*) is closer to the Skt. original. )

*syzt'kk* > *synt'kk* #1134

*ʃs*/ > *s'tōyw* #1066

**1140.** *s•*/ /?/ m.?: **B** N, *srw•*/ | *ZK s•*/ | *•*/: *UII*, No. 177 (34: 63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** Father of *srw•* (#1099)? — **D** Unclear.

**1141.** *s- -k* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *w(r●δ - - ' )γt - - | yrs - - - | (s- - k)*: *UII*, No. 274 (36: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210. — **P** Father of a visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear.