

**1302.** *w'ck' /?-wāčak?/* m.: **B** N, *wxw'●● | J(w)'c(k') (?)*: *UII*, No. 353 (39: 48); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230; [*Jw'ck' ZK | (w)xwš[ (?)*] *BRY*: *UII*, No. 355 (39: 50); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P** Father of *wxw'●●* (#1358), son of *wxwš[* (#1372: 1), the visitor to Shatial. — **D** The name might be incomplete at the beginning in both inscriptions. The surviving part is S *w'c* “emission, gift” + hypocoristic on *k'*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 74; in the second inscription, one can read *Jw'kk'* as well, as SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 28.

**1303.** (*w'δ' /Wadan?/* m.?: **B** N, *w'δ' [*: inscr. on a bull from Dzhiga-Tepe, ed. LIV. apud KRUGLIKOVA, 1984, p. 145, 16, 16a; cf. *HMS II*, p. 84, n. 58. — **P** A name of a possessor of a seal, written in an early lapidary script, a king. — **D** The accompanying Kharoṣṭhī inscription was read by LIV. as *vadanaśa rayasa* “(of the) King Vadana”. The Sogdian text preserves only the initial part of the owner’s name. Cf. *Vadhanasa* on a Khar. inscription from the Upper Indus valley (SALOMON, 1997, p. 586). It is interesting to note that in this early inscription Khar. *v-* corresponds to S *w*, not *β* as in the later Indian borrowings. The Indo-Aryan provenance of this name, however, is not established. )

*†w'δy'n > wrδy'n* #1338

*†w'γzn'kk > wnx'n'kk* #1329

**1304.** *w'krny /?/* m.: **B** N, *(w')k(rny) (?) | βnt'kk*: *UI2*, No. 444 (47:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 249. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *βnt'kk* (#294: 1). — **D** Unclear. *-ny* to MP *nēw* “nice, good” (cf. *sp'ncnyw*, #159)?

**1305.** *w'st'k /Wāstak?/* m.: **B** N, *ZKw nym(')k w's(t)'k (?) || '(H)RZY δbr't*: *Panj.-2001*, 1, R3-V1, p. 84-85. — **P** A supplier of wood. — **D** Unclear, see loc. cit. for various suggestions (a derivative of *'wst'y* “to erect”?), or maybe, S *w's-* “blow” and *\*tak-* “flow”, thus “Sturm und Drang”, as I suggested in *Rahmat-name*, p. 223, n. 36?

[ *ʃwʹškrt* **B** N, *trtsʹr kw wyztkrt sʹr*: Muγ, B18, 15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 123-4, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 133). — **P** A place/person where a letter was sent. — **D** LIV. (*SDGM II*, p. 126) was reading it as *wʹškrt* and supposed that it is a PN or, less likely, *Wēšgird* in medieval Khuttal (southern Tajikistan). F. GRENET and E. DE LA VAISSIÈRE (*Last Days*, p. 161) transliterate it *wztkrt* and compare it to *Wazgird*, *Wizd* to the SE of Samarkand (now accepted by LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 136). ]

**1306.** *wʹxšcwr* /*Wāxščōr*/ m.?: **B** N(M?), *J(●)nt wʹxšcwr*[: *Ōt.*, U829, Chinese side, B2, p. 168. — **P** A name in an unclear context. — **D** Combination of *wʹxš* “ghost” (cf. under *rywʹxš*, #1047) + *cwr* (see #391).

**1307.** *wʹxšwtʹw-* /*Waxšutāw-?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwtʹw wʹxšwtʹwy pny*; *xwtʹw wʹxšwtʹwy pny* || *prn*: coin, LIV. apud KAMYSHEV, 2002, p. 92, No. 21, 36; cf. *zeno.ru*, No. 14; 14279; 37836; 37818; 29519 (a unique specimen without square hole). — **P** A ruler in Semirechje (Talas and Chu valleys), 8<sup>th</sup> century, of the Tūrgeš circle (as clear from *tamgha* on his coins). — **D** Unclear; transliteration is ambiguous. Cf. *wʹxšcwr* (#1306), or *wxwšβntk* and related names (#1364; the transliteration *wxšwtʹwy* is also possible), for the final part cf. *tʹw* (#1220).

Note final -y, which is attached to PNs in oblique case commonly in CS and late Turko-Sogdian texts. One would of course expect a Turkic name of the ruler on such a coin, but (clearly written) initial *w* is highly untypical for OTu. (cf. s.v. *wnʹntmʹx*, #1315: 2). Maybe, *wrxwtʹwy* “miracle-lord”? *wnʹntmʹxy* is an unlikely transliteration of this name.

**1308.** *wβʹntk rwxšn-* /*Wəvande Rōxšn*/ m.: **B** B, *(rt)[y]* | [*ZK wβʹntk rwxšny J(wʹ)β*: *VB*, II, 1, 2-3; *nwkr ZK wβʹntk rwxšny* | [*wʹβ*]: 1, 5-6; *rty wβʹnkt rw]xšny KZNH (w)[ʹ](β*: 1, 8; *rty ZK wβʹntk rwxšny KZN(H)* | [*wʹβ*]: 1, 15-16; *nwkr (ZK) wyδʹγty wβʹntk [rwxšny*]: 2, 6 (*ZK* is misplaced, as *SUND.*, *KUDARA*, op. cit., Note 44, p. 122; all forms contain *rwxšny* in nom. sg. of the light stem). — **P** *Bodhisattva* “Net-light”, one of the 16 greatest saints of the present *kalpa*. — **D** A translation of Skt. *Jālinīprabha(kumāra)* “Net-light(-boy)” or *Prabhajāla* “Net-light”.

The Chinese versions of the Sūtra give both *Ming-wang*, 明網 “light net” and *Wang-ming*, 網明 “net light”. Kōgi *KUDARA* and *SUND.* (*VB II*, p. 117-118) understand the name as “light (adj.) net”, in this case the source of S translation had *Wang-ming*; however, they provide the evidence that S *rwxšn-* could serve as a substantive, too. I cannot exclude that the translator slavishly rendered *wang* as “loop” (S *wβʹntk*) and *ming* as “light” (S *rwxšn-*), ignoring the differences of the Chinese and Sogdian syntax. Cf. also ●●*xšn* (#1666).

*wδ'r > pδ'r #881*

*†wγ'tmnk > wn'ntm'x 1307: 2*

**1309.** *wγšy 'γδ'k* /*Wiyaši Āyade?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *ky L' pyr't βr't wγšy* ('γδ)/'k: *PB*, c7, corr. by YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85. — **P** The “brother” in the colophon of the *Parabelbuch*. — **D** “Wish of joy”, as YOSH., loc. cit.

Cf. in MMP rendering *wγšym'x t'pmyš trx'n*, *wγšy-frn*, *wγšyy*, *wγšyfrn*, *wγšyy β'm* (*MN*, 57-58; 86-87, 115, 116, 142; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 200, No. 19); however, one can see “Oxus” in the first part as well, see s.v. *wxwšβntk*, #1362, but the deity Oxus is not attested among Manichean names. Cf. *myr 'γδy* “Sunday wish” in an Uyghur fragment, apud HENN., *Argi*, p. 554 (=582), n. 2. The final *w* in YOSH.’s reading (*wγšy* ('γδ)/'kw/) seems superfluous.

**1310.** *wγšyprn* /*Wiyašifarn*/ m.: **B** N(M), *wγšy-prn*: Ch/So 12400 r apud *MIr. Hss.*, No. 74; *J(n) wγšy-prn 'yšwy'[n*: Ch/U 6225 R apud *MIr. Hss. I*, No. 360. — **P** A person in two colophons (as suggested by YOSH. apud loc. cit.). — **D** Probably, “rejoicing glory”, as *wγšyfrn* in *MN*, 86-7, 116, where -y- finalizes the light stem of the first part of the compound. Less likely, *wxšyprn* “Glory of Oxus”, cf. under *wxwšwprn*, #1370.

**1311.** *wky* /?/ m.: **B** N, *wky* (?) | *ZK* (?) | 's●/: *UI2*, No. 492 (52:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 258. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of 's● (#177). — **D** Unclear; maybe *wk'*.

**1312.** *wk●●●●* /?/ m.: **B** N, 'ry''sy – (?) | *ZK wk- - -* (?): *UII*, No. 38 (23: 9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 145. — **P** Father (or *nisba*) of 'ry''sy (#125). — **D** The final letters have an unusual shape and cannot be transliterated. Cf. *wky* (#1311).

**1313.** *wmxsk* /*Wəmaxsak*/ m.: **B1** N, *wmxsk* | *ZK kytn*: *UII*, No. 334 (39: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 227. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *kytn* (#619). — **B2** N, *wmxs[k* | *rns-* - /: *UI2*, No. 486 (50:29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 256. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *rns-* - (#1015). — **D** As SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 75), to an unattested S inchoative verb similar to Pth. *wmyxt*/\**wmyxs* “to be mixed” (in the sense “(he with) mixed blood” (?), cf. *wysrn*, #1384; *ptryst*, #947). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No.29 (= No. 334) has *βymxsk* (???).

**1314.** *wn'nt* /*Wanand*/ m.: **B** N, *wn'nt* *ZK nnk'* *BRY*: *UII*, No. 346 (39: 41); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *nnk'* (#782: 1). —

**D** Present participle from the root *wn-* “to win”, see following entries, *rzmwnwn* (#1056).

Cf. S *wn'ntk* “victorious”; Bct. *oavivdo* (and PNs *Baγooavivdo*, *Oaxpooavivdo*) or S name of the 20<sup>th</sup> lunar mansion, *wnnd*, recorded by BĒRŪNĪ (cf. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 13). Elam. PN *Man(n)anda* from \**vananta-*, GERSH., *Amber*, p. 203. This reading was proposed by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 346. For loss of *-k* in the PN cf. *prnxwnt* (#910); the suffixed form as a name we observe in the Arabic rendering *w<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>ndh* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11).

**1315.** *wn'ntm'x* /*Wanand-māx*/ m.: **B1** N(M), [*kw*] | 'wk'prmyš y'mcwr *wn'ntm'x t't'γw[r]* | s'r: *PB*, c7-9, p. 34; cf. YOSH., *Coloph.*, p. 128. — **P1** A person in a colophon (cf. YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85); cf. *J(')ntm'x*, ●●*tm'x* (#1586) in very similar contexts. — **B2** N, *wn'ntm'x (?) xwβw* || βγγ *twrkyš x'γ'n pny*: a series of coins, see THIERRY 1999; KAMYSHEV, 2002, §4, 2; LIV., *Sujab*, p. 167-168; <http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=799>. — **P2** A name of a ruler (?) on the coins, which are commonly called the *Tukhus* tribal mint, dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century and found in great numbers in the Chu valley. The inscription on the opposite side of the coin means “penny of the Lord Tūrgeš-kaghan”, so *wn'ntm'x* can be considered as heir or subordinate of the Tūrgeš kaghanate. — **D** S “Victorious moon”, cf. *wn'nt* (#1314), names containing *m'x* (#639 ff.).

In *Parabelbuch*, SUND., *PB*, esp. n. 151, transliterated the name as *wrytm'x* “ausgegossener Mond”, with M cosmological connotations. YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85, (as well as *Ōt.*, p. 81), corrects the name into *wn'ntm'x* “victorious Moon”, cf. *J(')ntm'x*, ●●*tm'x* (#1586). As for the **coin legend**, it was interpreted by various scholars as *txws'nk* “Tukhusian” (the name commonly applied to this mint by the numismatist), *txwm'x* “(city) Toqmaq”, *wy'tmnk*, *p'tm's* as PNs(?), *ty'wms/wy'tmns* /*w'γwm's*/ *wy'tmyš*/ *wytmy'γ*/ *p'tmyš* etc. (see THIERRY, 1999, p. 329-330; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 226-230, with literature; ISKHAQOV, 2008, p. 197). Although many specimens represent a good state of preservation of the legend (see, e.g., *zeno.ru*, No. 3505, 15871, 29492) the final reading (*w/t-x/γ/š-n/z-w/t-m/s-n/z/* /*y-x/γ/s*) and decision is not possible now, cf. LIV., *Sujab*, p. 167. However, the reading *wn'ntm'x* was recently put forward by YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85, and it is possible for all specimens known to me, and moreover has the advantage of being an attested (and transparent) Sogdian name.

**1316.** *wn'wk*, *wnwkk* /*Wanūk*/ m.: **B1** N, *ZK* | *wn'wk BRY wn'wk ZK rštβntk* | *srtp'w BRY*: *Xian*, 8-10. — **P1** Father of *wyrk'k* (#1381), son of *rštβntk* (#1019); the Chinese version gives his name as *Enuqie* (阿奴伽, EMCh. *ṣa-nɔ-gia*). — **B2** N, *MLK'* | *wnwkk*: coin, *Sv. Kat.*, No. 78-100, p. 108-111; Table V-VI; LXIII. — **P2** A king of Samarkand, mid 7<sup>th</sup> century

CE. — **D** Hypocoristic to a name based on S *wnw* “to win, be victorious” (cf. LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 271 n. 12). Prof. SCHMITT kindly reminded me of OIr. PN \**Vanuka-* (in Elam. *ma-nu-ik-ka* etc., see TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 337-338).

SMIR. (*Sv. Kat.*, p. 38) cautiously accepted the reading *wzwrk* “great” (which is normally spelt *wz’rk* in S); she also mentions certain *Tong’e*, a ruler of Samarkand in 643 according to the Chinese sources, who could possibly issue these coins. The reading *tnwkk*, however, is rather far from the Chinese *Tong’e* (同娥, EMCh. *dəwŋ-ŋa*), and, moreover, the text describes the embassy of Tokharistan, Samarkand and Khotan to China in 645, where the word *Tong’e* seems to be the name of a locality, as CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 156. In many other cases these characters stand for OTu. *Toŋa* “Hero”. The reading *wnwkk* “conqueror” has its pendant in the orthographic variant *wn’wk* and completely agrees with the photos. Cf. also ISKHAQOV, 2008, p. 179.

**1317.** *wn’y-n’k, wn’y-nk* /*Wanēne*/ m.: **B1** N, *cwz’kk* | *ZK wn’y-nk BRY* | *’HRZY šy* | *’H(Y) š’ns ’BY* | *wkw(r) βγ’*: *UII*, No. 304 (36: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P1** Father (?) of *cwz’kk* (#397: 1) and *š’ns* (#1152). — **B2** N, *nty npxšt wn’y-n’k*: *Muy*, B-8, V4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P2** Scribe of the deed of half of a *nā’ūs*. — **D** As LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 53 (cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 58), from S *wn-* “to win” + *-y-n’k* for present participle (*GMS*, §890), cf. OChor. *wny-nk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 12; n. 102 p. 283.

**1318.** *wn’yptβntk* /*Wanipatvande*/ m.: **B1** N, (*βr*)[- - - - -] | *ZK* | *wn’y(pt)[βntk]*: *UII*, No. 49 (26: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 149. — **P1** Father (?) of *βr-* (#316). — **B2** N, *wn’yptβntk* | *ZK prnc*: *UII*, No. 34 (20: 4); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 142; *wn’yptyβntk* | *ZK* | *prnc* (?) *BRY*: *UII*, No. 94 (31: 65); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166; *wn’yptβntk ZK prnc BRY*: *UII*, No. 125 (31: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *prnc* (#907: 2). — **B3** N, *wn’yptβntk ZK* | *krnt’y-k m’y-mryc*: *UII*, No. 115 (31: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169. — **P3** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *krnt’y-k* (#548), native (?) of *m’y-mry* (or grandson of *m’y-mryc*, #657: 2); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 70d. — **D** “Slave (of the deity) *wn’ypt*”. The deity is probably “lord of the forest”, as OInd. *vānas-pāti-* (OIr. \*-*ah-* gives *-i-*, cf. *GMS*, §402, as HUMB., *SIF*, p. 204; SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 75). Cf. OChor. PN *wnyptk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 12.

Another possibility, proposed by SUND. (apud HUMB., *SIF*, p. 204): to see in *wn’y-* Skt. *vinaya-* “(Buddhist) discipline” is weakened by the fact that Buddhist influence on the inscriptions of Upper Indus is minimal.

**1319.** *wnkw'y* /Wankaway?/ m.: **B** N, *wnkw'y* | ZK *kw(y)* BRY: UII, No. 202 (34: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 190. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *kw'y* (#573). — **D** S “Winning hero”, S *wn* “to win, conquer” + *kw'y* “hero”, see under *kw'y*. Note the similarity between the father’s and the son’s names. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 96, has already *kw'y*.

**1320.** *wnrzmk* /Wanrazmak/ m.: **B** N(A), 'HRYm *prst't wnrzmk 't drw'n* AL2 (2), R57. — **P** A Sogdian trader in Dunhuang. — **D** “Winning the battle” (cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14), an inverted compound, cf. names on *wn*, *rzmc*, *rzmn* and especially *rzmnwn* (#1056).

**1321.** *wns* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *wns*: *Fbs. Sh.*, 30:37, p. 157. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal? — **D** Unclear. Sogdian? PN?

[*ʔwnšt* (HUMB., *SIF*, No. 4a), read Brāhmī *vilata* + , see O. von Hinüber apud SIMS-W., UI2, p. 15, No. 469.]

**1322.** *wnt-* /Wand-?/ m.: **B** N, *wnt-*: UII, No. 149 (34: 35); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** Maybe, *wns-*, probably unfinished. To the root *wn-* “to conquer”? Or to Av. *vand-* “loben”, *vanta-* “Lob, Preis, Huldigung”, as SIMS-W. apud GRENET, *Trois Documents*, p. 198, cf. *wntc* (#1323); cf. Babylonian *Ū-na-at* if from OIr. *\*vanata-* (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 590-592).

**1323.** *wntc* /Wandič/ m.: **B** N, (*š*)yr'yt *wntc*: *Afr. document*, 2, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 55-56, as corrected in *Trois documents*, p. 198; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 342-4. — **P** A witness in the deed of “Lion”. — **D** Hypocoristic to *wnt*. LIV. reads *wrtc*, from MS *\*wrt* “calm”.

**1324.** *wnwcr* /Wanūčōr/ m.: **B1** N(C), *wnwcr ryš y't' m'syōry dsty'*: *DTS*, G20. — **P1** A priest (*m'syōr*), “the head of the Church”, (i.e. “bursar, steward” *ryš y't'* = *Syr. r(y)š 'dt'*, see SIMS-W., 2009, p. 286-7). — **B2** N, (MN) *wnwcr of*: *Ōt.*, No. 7501, 2, p. 148. — **P2** The addresser of the letter. The identity the of two *wnwcr*'s is rather unlikely, as the editors of *Ōt.* note on p. 148. — **D** Iranian name, for *wnw* (from *wn-* to conquer) cf. the names with *wnwn* (#1325 – 27), *wnws'w* (#1328); also *wnwm'x*, *wnwšyr*, *wnwβ'm*, *wnwncβ'm* in MN, 60, 63, 141, 146; for the second part see under *cwr* (#391).

**wnwkk > wn'wk #1316: 2**

**1325.** **wnwn** /Wanwan/ m.:— **B1** N, *c'c'nn'p(n)c wwnw xwβ*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, p. 22-59; RTVELADZE, *Chach*, p. 13, 26-27, 37; cf. YOSH., *Phoenicians*, p. 191; LIV., 2006c, p. 215-216. — **P1** A ruler (?) of Čāč, 3<sup>rd</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (?), see RTVELADZE, loc. cit., for further details. On some issues, the inscription is mirrored, on many others degenerated. — **B2** N(A), *lw(n)w(n)l*: *KT*, 5, 1, p. 103. — **P2** A word on a fragment of a brick from Kulbobe, near Chimkent, 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE or earlier. Since the title *c'c'nn'pc* is also attested on the Kultobe inscriptions (2, 2; 1, 2) it seems likely that the brick-fragment from Kultobe mentions not a mere namesake, but a prosopographically related person with **wnwn** on the coins (however, of an earlier generation); maybe **wnwn** was a kind of hereditary name of the rulers of Čāč? — **B3** N, *wnw(n)*: *UII*, No. 243 (36: 27); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206; **wnwn**: *UII*, No. 284 (36: 68); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212; **wnwn** (?): *UII*, No. 386 (39: 81); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 87c (=284). In No. 386 the reading is unsure, maybe *wnyk*, *wntn*. — **D** S *wn-* “to win, conquer” + suffix *-wn*, probably a shortening of a name like *rzmnwnwn* (#1056) or *nnynwnwn* (#804); cf. *wnwnδ* (#1326); also *wnwβ'm* in *MN*, 141, etc.

SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 75, as well as YOSH., loc. cit.) supposes that **wnwn** is “victorious”, but usually suff. *-wn* forms abstract nouns, while only *-wn'k/-wny(y)* builds *Nomen Agentis* (cf. *GMS*, §1084-1090); similarly, “victorious” is attested in the form *wnwny(y)* (to the references in *SD* add M5266, 6 [= *TiD66*, 2 apud *Cosm.*, p. 314]; *Polemic*, R12; So 18196, R6 in YOSH., 2001, p. 112, *wnwn'kw* in *BL*, A4), while **wnwn** would mean “victory”. LIV. (*Predvoditel'*, p. 215-216) considers it to be a shortening of the name *nnynwnwn*, vel sim. However, it is not necessarily a S formation, cf. Parthian king *Vanones*, *ONΩNOY* /\**wanōn-* on the Indo-Saka coins (ALRAM, *NPIN*, No. 937-944, p. 219-220), *Ovavouvoβapoc* from Tanais (ZGUSTA, 1955, §688), OChor. **wnwn**, LIV., 1984, p. 272, 3; p. 284, n. 126, see *Step. Ir.*, No. 33. On the other hand, the name is attested as **wnwn**, native of Kušānī(ya) in the Arabic history of Samarkand, see TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11; on the Čāč coins SIMS-W. (*KT*, n. 13 p. 110) proposes to read *wnwn-xwr* “victorious sun” instead of *wnwn xwβ*.

**1326.** **wnwnδ** /Wanūn-?/ m.: **B** N, *wnwn(δ)*: *UI2*, No. 594 (Oshibat, 18:132, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat. — **D** See **wnwn** (#1325); probably unfinished.

**1327.** **wnwnxsrδ** /Wanūnxsarθ/ m.: **B** N, *(w)wnwnxsrδ* | *ZK nrck BRY*: *UI2*, No. 465 (50:8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of

*nrck* (#810). — **D** “Rule of victory”, “(he who has) victorious rule”, cf. *wnwn* (#1325), *xsrδ'kk* (#1419). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 4b, has *wnxsrδ*.

***wnwnxwr* > *wnwn* #1325: 2**

**1328.** *wnws'w* /*Wanusāw?*/ m.: **B** N, *δw(r)k* | *wnw(s)'(w)* BRY: *UII*, No. 248 (36: 32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P** Father of *δwrk* (#452: 3). — **D** Here *wnw* is related to *wn* “win” (cf. *wnwecwr*, #1324), *s'w* seems to be connected with *sw'*, *sw*, *s'w* “strength”, cf. names beginning on *sw*(')- (#1106 ff.), *cyrδsw'n* (#405), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 70-71, 75; one can read also *wnwš'n* or alike; cf. Bct. *Oavoσao* on another rock at Shatial (*UI2*, No. 452), who could be the same person.

**1329.** *wnx'n'kk* /*Wə"xānak*/ m.: **B** N, *MN wnx'n'kk* BRY: *Muy*, Nov.3 R4; *kw* | *nwyktcw xwβw cyr kw wnx'n'kk* BRY: Nov.4, R3-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21-22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28-29, *YAK.*, *Marr.*, p. 311). — **P** Father of *cyr* (#403). — **D** “(He who is born on) Tuesday” (MS *wnx'n*, *wnx'r* or *wnx'n* in *Muy* A-12 = *SDGM*, I, 48, from MP), + hypocoristic in 'kk, as *YAK.*, loc. cit., along with criticism on LIV.'s earlier reading *w'yzn'kk*; cf. *wnx'ncwr*, #1330.

This reading is further reinforced by PN *wnx'n* in the Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11), *Wenhan* (搵漢, EMCh. .*uən-xān*, see YOSH., *PNSChS*) and (Kang) *Yunhan* (雲漢, EMCh. *wun-xan*<sup>h</sup>, see YOSH., 1997, p. 569; RONG, 2009, p. 407) in the Chinese rendering, maybe Bct. PN *Oavηxavo*; for the PNs based on dates in the Middle East see SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 61-64.

**1330.** *wnx'ncwr*, *wnh'ncwr* /*Wə"xānčōr*/ m.: **B1** M, *wn(h')n(c)wr*: M759 IIV7, ed. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, *Hymns LS*, 1316 with n. 418. — **P1** A name written between the cantillation of Pth. hymn and the Sogdo-Parthian caption of another hymn. HANSEN (1940, p. 152, n. 1) quoted it in the form *wnx'ncwr*, cf. also *DTS*, p. 75. — **B2** N(M), *w'xš* | *δbryny wnx'ncwr*: Ch/So 13401, R2-3 apud *Mir. Hss. I*, tr. LURJE, 2008c. — **P2** A name in an exercise on the Chinese side of the text; *Wanxānčōr* is probably a teacher who gives marks to his pupil *tytz'kcwr* (#1297). It is completely possible that he is the same person with #1330: 1. — **D** Sogdian, “Čōr (a high title, cf. *cwr*, #391, born on) Tuesday”, see *DTS*, p. 75 n. G20.1.

SUND., 2009a, p. 241 understands the colophon in 1359: 2 in a different way, assuming that *tz-kcwr* was the writer of the sermon on the Recto side, and *wrx'ncwr* was probably “reciter” (lit. “word-giver”). P. ZIEME, 2006, p. 116, follows SUND.'s reading *Wrxañ-čōr* = “Bahrām čōr”.



**1331.** *wnxrk* /Wə<sup>n</sup>xrak/ m.: **B1** N, *bwxs'k* | *ZK wnxrk B(RY) '(γ)tk*: *UII*, No. 228 (34: 114); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 194. — **P1** Father of *βwxs'k* (#333: 1). — **B2** N, *wn(x)rk ZK* | *'βy'mββntk* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 307 (36: 91); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'βy'mββntk* (#51: 5). — **B3** N, *wn(x)rk*: *UI2*, No. 506 (53:12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260; *(wn)x[rk ?*: *UII*, No. 139 (33: 10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177; *wnxrk* | *ZK*: *UI2*, No. 421 (40:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial; for No. 139, “The end of the inscription has disappeared because the surface of the rock has broken away” (SIMS-W., *UII*, No. 139), thus the reconstruction is uncertain. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 86d, has *β* (?) *'ryk* (= No. 506) while No. 31a (= No. 421) – *wnxrk*. — **D** To S *wnxr* “voice” with hypocoristic suffix, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 75.

**1332.** ( *wpr'tt* /Upgatt?/ m.: **B** N(M), *'xw wpr'tt šmny*: *Magi*, 30, p. 138. — **P** A Buddhist monk, calumniator of the Buddha's teaching (cf. *šwk' – Aśoka*, #1179) according to the Manichean belief. — **D** HENN., *Magi*, p. 141, n. 3, explains this name as Indian *Upagupta* (the fourth “patriarch” of Buddhism, a contemporary of Aśoka), which has undergone a number of distortions: a Prakritic form *Upagutta* could be borrowed into WMIr. as \**'wpgt*, hence \*(*'*)*wpk'tt* in S, resulting, with common confusion of *r* and *k* in this script, in attested *wpr'tt*.

On the other hand, one can compare it with the name of a “prophet” *Parcus*, the opponent of Terebinthus-Buddha in the anti-Manichean composition *Acta Archelai* (LXIII), cf. under *δyβδtt*, #462. )

**1333.** *wr'[(•)('•)]* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *wr'[(•)('•)]* |: *UI2*, No. 441 (45:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 248. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear.

**1334.** *wrcnmk* /Warčnāmak?/ m.: **B** N, *(w)rcnmk* (?) | *(x)[wt'wn]'mk*: *UI2*, No. 417 (40:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *xwt'wn'mk* (#1461: 1). — **D** The first part is probably S *wrc*- “miracle” (in compounds); the second part, *nmk*, was linked by SIMS-W. with S *n'm* “name”; cf. *xwt'wn'mk* and *xwt'wnm'k* (#1461).

SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 58) supposes that the name with the short vowel in *-nm*- may be an artificial formation, based on the elements of the name of his father, *xwt'wn(')m(')k*, where the shortening is regular. For *wrc*, cf. a PN *wršykn* in the Aramaic document of Bessos' reign from Bactria (SHAKED, 2003, p. 1524, 49), maybe IPth. *wršk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 191, on various etymological possibilities).

**1335.** *wrδ''n, wrδ'n* /*Warδān*/ m.: **B1** N, *wrδ''(n)*: *UII*, No. 172 (34: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. Inscription, due to a crack in the rock, seems to be incomplete, but the name seems to be preserved as full. — **P1** A visitor to Shatīal. — **B2** N, *wrδ('n)*: *UI2*, No. 466 (50:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal; *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 4b, has *wrδ●●*. Less likely, *wrδ'k* (#1336). — **B3** B, *wrδ'n δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 179. — **P3** A person in the colophon. — **D** Pth. borrowing, cf. IPth. *wrdn*, MP *wlt'nky*, *wld'n*, *wrd'n*, Arm. *Vardan*, Lat. *Vardanes* etc., from \**vṛti*- “brave”.

Or patronym to *wrδ* “flower”? (The latter etymology is preferred by J. RUSSELL, 1995, p. 65 = p. 471; it is also attractive in view of Bct. *Oplavo*, SIMS-W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 308-9). Cf. *wrd'n* in the Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11); IKEDA, 1965 (p. 63) understands the name in the Chinese recording *Fuluotan* (拂羅壇, EMCh. *p<sup>h</sup>ut-la-dan*) as *wrδ'n*, too.

**1336.** *wrδ'kk* /*Warδak*/ m.: **B** N, *wrδ'k(k)*: *UII*, No. 19 (17: 14); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** “Rose”, cf. Bct. PN *οαρδογο*, IPth. *wrdk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 191), OChor. PN *wrδ'k* (LIV., 1984, p. 265), MP *Vardag* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB II/2*, No. 945). Another possible reading is *wrz'k(k)*, then to *wrz* “miracle”. *HUMB.*, *SIF*, 64b: *wrβ'kk*.

### *wrδ'n > wrδ''n* #1335: 2-3

**1337.** *wrδnk* /*Warδang?*/ m.: **B** N, *w(r)δnk*: *UI2*, No. 596 (Oshibat, 19:1, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 82). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat. — **D** To *wrδ* “brave” or “rose”, with a suffix. SIMS-W. mentions *wβδnk* as alternative reading. Cf. also *wrnδk* (#1341).

**1338.** *wrδy'n* /*Warδyān*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY MN βrz-'nk n'β wz-xwβy-'n ZY wrδy-'n*: Muγ, B-6, 3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of *Varz* (*Varzimunor* = *Zahmatobod* = *Ayni*) on the Upper Zarafšān. — **D** “Rose-boon”.

LIV. reads *w'δy'n*, without the etymology of the first part, BOGOL., SMIR., p. 100, propose both *wrδy'n* and *wyδy'n*, with *-y'n* being a patronymical suffix. Later, BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 11, compared the first part of the name to *wyδ'k 'nxr*, Bērūnī's *wyδw* “10<sup>th</sup> lunar mansion”. The meaning “Rosengabe” was proposed by WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 203, now accepted in *SÉSAS*, p. 172 n. 357; IKEDA, 1965 (p. 65, also WEBER, loc. cit.) compares this name to *Wudayan* (无達延, EMCh. *muδ-dat-jian*) from the Chinese records about the Sogdian colony near Dunhuang.

**†wrytm'x > wn'ntm'x #1315: 1**

**1339.** *wrk'n* /Warkān/ m.: **B** N, *wrk'n* ZK *βxtwrz* || *BRY*: Muγ, B-8 R23-V1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; *SMIR.*, *Ocherki*, p. 108; *GRENET*, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P** A witness in the deed of buying a half of a *nā'ūs*, son of *βxtwrz* (#340). — **D** LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 53 traces it back to S *wyrk-* (*wrkyH* in *TSP*, 2, 635) “Wolf”; -'n might be a patronymic suffix.

**1340.** *wrmzt* /Ōrmezd/ m.: **B** N(M), *](●●●)yc'n wrmz-t*: Ch/U 6536b v2 apud *MIr. Hss.* I, No. 379. — **P** A name in the colophon? — **D** Ohrmezd, probably what is preserved has been a part of a compound name; cf. S *wrmzt* (*jmnw*) “Tuesday, Dies Jovis”, from *WMIr.* 'w(h)rm(y)zd. Cf. also *y'xywrmzt* (#1501), *nyw* 'whrm(y)zt, *nyxwrmzt* (#858); the native development under 'xwrmzt't (#217).

**1341.** *wrnδk* /?/ m.: **B** N, *w(r)nδk*: *UI2*, No. 596 (Oshibat, 19:1). — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear, maybe, *w(β)nδk*. To S *wrn* “faith” + ?; or misspelling of *wrnδk* (#1337)? Cf. *OChor. wrnk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 11; n. 114, p. 284?

**1342.** *wrsw* /Wārsō?/ m.: **B** 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. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *snk* (#1081: 1). — **D** Not completely clear. Cf. the names with *s'w*, *sw* “strength”?; for *wr-*, maybe, S *wrH* “profit?”; or *OIr.* \**varu-* “broad?”.

Alternatively, cf. S *wrs* “hair”, *OIr.* *varsa-van(t)-* “hairy”, as *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 76; cf. *Elam. Maršakka* (for \**varsaka*, *GERSH.*, *Amber*, p. 206), *MP PN Varsin* (*GIGNOUX*, *IPNB*, II/2, No. 956) and *Bct. family-name Οορσιγγανο*. Cf. also *Warsanēn*, a borough of Samarkand (*ILAST*, p. 85), if from a PN. Cf. also the tribal name *Aorsi* (cf. *Dahae* in S PNs, #456 ff.)? The reading was proposed by *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 58 (= No. 135), while in No. 105 (= No. 533) he reads *wštw*.

**wrtc > wntc #1323****wrx'ncwr > wnx'ncwr #1330: 2**

**1343.** ( *wry trx'n* /Uri Tarxan/ m.: **B** N(C?), *wry trx'n* | *pr βyy (n)'m* 'yt'ym: *Ladakh*, 5; *wry trx'n*: *Ladakh*, 8. — **P** A visitor to Ladakh. — **D** A

Turkish name, “young Tarqan”, cf. *trx'n* (#1243), *'wry* (#198) and SIMS-W., *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 45-46, n. 13. )

***wrz'kk > wrδ'kk* #1336**

**1344.** *wrzmyšcwr* /*Warzmiš-čor?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'yny ywk wrz-m(yš-cwr)* | *xy-(pδ)*: Ch/So 15530 R1-2 apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 230 (I read *xypδ* from the photo at *DTA*). — **P** A person in a colophon. — **D** One can also read *trz-m(yš-cwr)*. The final element, *cwr*, is common in both Sogdian and Old Turkic onomastics (cf. #391), and *-myš-* seems to be OTu. preterite suffix. However, the root *wrz* or *trz* is, to my knowledge, unusual. Maybe, borrowed from S *wrz* “miracle”, thus a hybrid name? Hardly related to PN *Uruz beg* in the Oghuz-nāme (*DrTS* p. 616). Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested to compare this name to *crδmyš* (#383).

**1345.** *wrzy'n* /*Warzyān*/ m.: **B** N, *wrj(z)y'n*: *UII*, No. 160 (34: 46); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185; *wrz(y'n)*: *UII*, No. 231 (34: 117); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 194. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** “Miracle-boon”? Another possible restoration of No. 160 is *prj(n)y'n* “Glory-grace” (see #912). Cf. *βxtwrz* (#340), maybe *wrδ'kk* (#1336), *by'mnwrz*; *fryštwrz*, *yyšwwrz* in *MN*, 68, 82; the reading of No. 231 is “hardly more than a guess”, too.

**1346.** *wr•δ* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *w(r•δ - - '')γt - -* | *yrs - - -* | (*s- - k*): *UII*, No. 274 (36: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear; read *w(δyδ '')γt* “came there”; cf. *yrs- - -* (#1514); *s- -k* (#1141)?

***wsw'r > psw'k* #937**

**1347.** *ws- - -* /?/ m.: **B** N, *pysk (ZK)* | *'y(k')p(c) (?) BRY* | (*w*)*s- - -*: *UI2*, No. 473 (50:16); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P** A title (or grandfather, *nisba*?) of *pysk* (#987: 17). — **D** Unclear. To S *wyspyδr'k* “prince” (?), cf. also *ws'k* in *MN*, 116. *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 3, has *ws••*.

[ *wšγ'n'* /*Wāšγana*/ : **B** N(M?), *wšγ'n'*: *Ōt.*, 1565-1573 R, p. 61. — **P** The only word that has survived on the recto of two tiny fragments. — **D** *Vārəθrayna*. The editors prefer to see here Adamas, the third son of the Living Spirit in Manicheism, S *wšynyy βγγ*; probably not a PN, but *wšyn'h* (*rwč*), the name of 20<sup>th</sup> day of the month; the second possibility is likely in

view of the final *aleph*. Cf. *wyδr'yn* (#1376). Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested to read *wš'yn'*, which is also possible from the facsimile and agrees better with the day-name. ]

**1348.** *wt'wny* /*Witāwne?*/ m.?: **B** N, *XZY s(rδ)[ | wt'(w?)ny | x(w)βw (?)* βγ: *Panj.-1978*, No. 15 p. 138. — **P** A name (?) in a writing exercise on a wooden piece. — **D** Not necessarily a name; cf., first of all, *S wyt'wn'k*, *wyt'wny* “obstiné; Begehrlichkeit?” (*TSP* 2, 1130; *LN* 42b, p. 110), maybe as a nickname.

**1349.** *wt-* /*?*/ m.: **B** N, *w(t)[*: *UI2*, No. 429 (40:21); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear.

**1350.** *wx'rš'k* /*Waxə'se*/ m.: **B** B, *'yw pwtystβ wm't wx'rš'k ZY | n'm*: *TSP*, 6, 81-2; *ZKw wx'rš'k pwtystβ*: 121, 174; *xw wx'rš'kw pwtystβ*: 125-6; *ZK wx'rš'k pwtystβ*: 176, 184. — **P** A name of Bodhisattva, “Seeker of Salvation” in the Chinese text, probably Skt. *Śaraṇamukti* (LIEBENTHAL apud *TSP*, p. 209 note). — **D** S *wx'rš* “Salvation”, the S translation of Skt. *mukti*, Chinese *jie*, 解, with the suffix -'k.

**1351.** *wxβ* /*?*/ m.: **B** N, *(wxβ ???) | ZK δk(k')*: *UII*, No. 221 (34: 107); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *δkk'* (#425). — **D** The line is irregular, reading is unclear, SIMS-W. provides his transliteration only in notes; maybe *rxβ*. If *wcβ*, cf. *Wushi* (烏濕, EMCh. *Ṗo-čip*) apud IKEDA, 1965, p. 65?

**1352.** *whmn cwr* /*Wahman-čōr*/ m.: **B** M, *J(r) cwr whmn cwr m'x*: M406, 10 apud SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 270. — **P** A person in the name-list. — **D** “Wahman (good thought; Nous in MMP)” + title *cwr* (see #391; cf. *whmn | cwr* in *MN*, 117-18).

**1353.** *whmnrwšn* /*Wahman-rōšn*/ m.: **B** M, *Jknyg whm(nr)wšn*: M6760 R6 apud SUND., *Namen v. Göttern*, p. 128, n. 192. — **P** SUND. (*op. cit.*, p. 101) sees here “Light-voūč” (however, this is a single attested case of such an appellation of this deity in S); alternatively, a PN; the form *'rtyβγ* “and, sir”, which I see in the line 5, is typical for epistolary texts, where personal names are often found. — **D** WMIr. “Wahman-the-light”, or “light of Wahman”, cf. *whmnš'h*, #1354.

**1354.** *whmnš'h* /*Wahman-šāh*/ 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** WMIr. “Wahman (good thought; Nous)-the king”, cf. *δwyt'nš'h*, *'ry'nš'* in MN, 148; 207.

**1355.** *wxš'βy'rt, wxwšwβyrt* <sup>/wUxušu-avyart/</sup> m.: **B1** N, *w(xš'β)y('rt) ?*: UII, No. 58 (30: 9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154. the reading is quite uncertain. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *wxš'βy'rt | '(x)w (β?)γryw(xrx) | BRY*: UII, No. 113 (31: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *γrywrx* (#491). HUMB., *SIF* No. 71d, has *βxx'βy'rt*, LIV. (*ibid*, p. 226), corrected it into *βxš'βy'rt*, which would apparently mean “obtained (through) gift”. — **B3** N, *MN wxwšwβyrt MN twδ'kk BRY | sm'rknδc*: *ΔP*, R4-5; *wxwšwβyrt δyw*: *ΔP*, R14; *pr wxwšwβyrt prm'nwH*: *ΔP*, R22. — **P3** Seller of the slave-girl *'wp'cH* (#195), son of *twδ'kk* (#1249), native of a Samarkand family (mentioned under 639 CE). — **D** “Received (through the deity of) Oxus”, see under *wxwšβntk* (#1364), cf. Bct. PN *Οαχποβοποδο*.

*wxšβntk* > *wxwšβntk* #1364: 2

**1356.** *wxšmryk, 'xwšmryk, 'wxšmryk, 'xšwmryk, wxšmryk* <sup>/wUxušumarik/</sup> m.: **B** N, *kw | [m](rt)škw 'w'zy-(p)tw wxšmry | kw*: (graph. acc.) Muγ B-3, 4-6; *c'β'k wxšmry-k' | ZKw mrtškw ''(w)'[z]y-(p)[t...]*: (voc., abl., or as indication of articulated /k/, cf. *snk'*, #1081: 6?), Muγ, B-3, 7-8 (*SDGM*, II, p. 71, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 76; *SDGM*, III, p. 62); *'zw ZNH wxšmryk*: Muγ, A-10, 1; *rty MN 'y-w wxšmryk*: Muγ, A-10, 6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 73, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 81; *SDGM*, III, p. 57); *rty 's | t 'xwšmryk*: Muγ, B-5, 3-4; *rty ms 's-t 'xwš-m(r)[y] | k*: B-5, 8-9; *rty šn 'yw 'xw-š(m) | ryk δ'rt*: 11-12; *pr | 'wxš-mryk | prm-'nH*: 13-15 (*SDGM*, III, p. 58); *rty βy-r ZK 'xwšmry-(k)*: Muγ, A-4 R3; *βyr ZK 'xšwm-ry(k)*: R6; *(Z)Kn 'xwš(mry)k*: R7; *rty βyr 'xšwmryk*: R9; *ZKn 'xšw-(m)ryk*: R11; *ZKn 'xwšmryk*: R13; *rty δ'βr ('xw)šmryk C C X II p(wst)*: V15 (*SDGM*, III, p. 60); *rty βy-r 'xwšmryk*: A-8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 62). — **P** A water-attendant, *mīrāb* (‘w'zy-pt, from ‘w'zH “lake, pond”) in the village of *mrtšk* (present-day *Madruškat* in Matčā?). — **D** “Servant of Oxus”, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 77, where *-mryk* = Bct. *μαρηγο*, \**marya-ka*–; such names are common in Bactrian, and *O(a)χp(o)μαρηγο* is attested, too. Cf. also OChor. *wxwšmry*, LIV., 1984, p. 268, 18; n. 82 p. 283?

LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 72, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 78) interprets the name as “(the one, who is) happy (in) thoughts”, from S *wyš* and OIr. \**mar*-; acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., this name comes from \**hu-šmar*- “one who thinks good”. BOGOL., SMIR.’s reading *’xw/[šmry]k* in B-19, 8-9 (*SDGM*, III, p. 59) is hardly possible: the second letter is not *x* (LIV., *SDGM*, II, 73, n. 5 rightly reads *’zw* “I”); the reading *’xwšmryk/’xšwmryk* was established by HENN., *Kalender*, p. 88; more on names with *Oxus* see under *wxwšβntk*, #1364). Since the name of this character is linked with the documents dealing with leather, LIV. (*SDGM*, II, 72) thinks that *’w’zypt* was responsible for a leather-tanning pool.

### *wxšyprn* > *wγšyprn* #1310

**1357.** *wxw* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxu*/ m.: **B** N, *s(t) ’’(yδ)* | *ZK wxw: UII*, No. 290 (36: 74); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P** Father (?) of *st ’’yδ* (#1101: 1). — **D** From OIr. \**vahu*- “good” (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 76, cf. the following names, #1358 – 1361), if complete. Cf. also SCMITT, 2006, p. 206-7.

**1358.** *wxw’●●* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxu-?*/ m.: **B** N, *wxw’●●* | *J(w) ’c(k’)* (?): *UII*, No. 353 (39: 48); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *w’ck’* (#1302)? — **D** S \**wxw* “good” + ?; cf. also *wxwšf* (#1372: 1).

**1359.** *wxwc* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxuč*/ m.: **B** N, *βwr’kk* | *ZK wxwc: UII*, No. 78 (31: 49); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164. — **P** Father (?) of *βwr’kk* (#327: 1). — **D** A -*c* hypocoristic to a name containing \**wxw* “good”.

**1360.** *wxwn’m* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxunām*/ m.: **B1** N, *wxwn’m* | *ZK xsrδ’kk* | *BRY: UII*, No. 6 (5: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; *wxwn’m: UII*, No. 42 (24: 4); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 147; (*m’ymry*)*c* | (*w*)*xwn’m: UII*, No. 244 (36: 28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206. — **P1** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *xsrδ’kk* (#1419: 2). Since we have *m’ymryc* *ZK xsrδ’kk* in No. 117 (cf. #657: 3), in No. 244 *wxwn’m* and *m’ymryc* are probably brothers; the No. 42 is “faintly scratched but quite clear” (*UII*, p. 14). — **B2** N, *rwδ’* *ZK pysk BRY* | *wxwn’m ZK {pysk BRY}*: *UII*, No. 116 (31: 87); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal, brother of *rwδ’* (#1029: 1), son of *pysk* (#987: 2). The second line converges with the first, so repeating of the patronym was unnecessary. — **D** “(He who has) good name”, cf. other names in *wxw-*, *’wxw’n* (#207), *xw-* (#1435; #1440; #1480), (*’*)*xwprn* (#215), also *šyrwxwm’r* (#1202) and those containing *n’m* “name” (*xwt’wn’mk*, #1461, etc.); cf. MMP *xwšn’m* “(he with) good name”, MP *Vahnām* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, No. 924), cf. also Elam. *Unama* (<\**hu-nāma*-, GERSH., *Amber*, p. 242).

**1361.** *wxwprm'n* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxuframān*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyβntk* ZK | *wxwprm'n* | BRY: UI2, No. 439 (44:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247. — **P** Father of *nnyβntk* (#787: 14). — **D** “Good command”, cf. other names in *wxw-* (under #1360), *šyrprm'n* (#1196, which is almost synonymic). Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 121.

**1362.** *wxwr'n* /*Wəxurān?*/ m.: **B** C, *w](x)wr'n z'ty*: C2, 1R8. — **P** Warahrān/Bahrām IV, the Sassanian king (388-399). — **D** MP *Wahrām*, *Warahrām*, *Warahrān*, for etymology see *wyḏr'yn* (#1376). As noted by SIMS-W., C2, p. 68, in the “Pethion Story” in C2 MP *h* is regularly rendered with CS *x* (cf. *'drxwrmzt*, #59, *n'xyd*, #94: 2; *twxmy*, #1271; *mrxy*, #693).

MP spellings of the name are *włhl'm*, *włhl'n*, *włl'n*, *włl'n*, cf. GIGNOUX, *IPNb*, II/2, p. 171, IPth. *wr(y)hr'n*, *wryhr'm*, Bct. *Oapapavo*, *Oaupavo*, *Oapvvo*, *Oapavo*; Syr. texts give *whrn/whrwn/whrn*, see GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 422. The *w* appearing between *x* and *r* is hard to explain; adjusting the name to a *wxw-* type, well attested in Sogdiana? Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested that S metathesis *wx-/xw-/wxw-* could play its role.

**1363.** *wxwš'kk*, *wxwšk* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušak*/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'HRZY wr wxwš['](k)[k ]'xw m'•[•• ](w)m't*: AL2 (2), R36. — **P1** A trader (?) in Guzang. — **B2** N, *ḏwrk* | ZK | *wxw(š)'kk* | BRY: UI2, No. 652 (Dadam Das, 61:2), cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 138. — **P2** Father of *ḏwrk* (#452: 4). — **B3** N, *wxwš'kk* | ZK *k(wnt)* (?) (BRY) (?) : UI2, No. 449 (47:12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250, weak irregular writing. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, either *wxwš'kk* or *kwn*t (#587: 7) in this inscription probably is the same person as his namesake in No. 363; Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 40. — **B4** N, *kwn*t ZK | *wxwš'kk* | BRY: UII, No. 363 (39: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 23. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial; reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17d. — **B5** N, *wx(wš)k*: UII, No. 299 (36: 83); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214, maybe, *wxwšc*. — **P5** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic (in *-kk*) to a name containing *wxwš(w)-* “Oxus”.

**1364.** *wxwšβntk*, *wxšβntk*, *wxwšwβntk* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušuvande*/ m.: **B1** N, [*wx](w)šβntk*: UII, No. 67 (30: 18); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 155; *wxwšβntk*: UII, No. 136 (33: 7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 176. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial; reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 56a (=No. 136). — **B2** N, *txs'y(c)βntk* ZK | *wx(wš)βntk*: UII, No. 296 (36: 80); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213; *txs'yc* | *βntk* | ZK *wxwšβntky* BRY: (obl.) UII, No. 378 (39: 73); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233; *txs'ycβntk* | ZK *wxšβ(n)tky* | BRY: (obl.) UI2, No. 545 (105:11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P2** Father of *txs'ycβntk* (#1274: 2); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 8 (= No. 378): *wxwšwβntky*



(lapsus calami?); No. 83 (= 545): *idem.* — **B3** N, *wxwšδβ'r* | *ZK wxwšβntk* | *n'p'ns'k*: *UII*, No. 302 (36: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P3** Father of *wxwšδβ'r* (#1367: 4-5); probably, either *wxwšβntk* or *wxwš(w)δβ'r* in Nos 302 and 433 is one and the same person. — **B4** N, *wxwšβnt(k)* | *wxwšwδβ'[r]*: *UI2*, No. 433 (42:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 246. — **P4** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *wxwšwδβ'r* (#1367: 4-5). — **B5** N, *wxwšwβntk ZK spy'm*: *UII*, No. 150 (34: 36); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P5** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *spy'm* (under #165: 2). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 54 – *idem.* — **B6** N, *'sp'δk' ZK* | *wxwšwβntk BRY*: *UI2*, No. 573 (Thor I, 143). — **P6** Father of *'sp'δk'* (#158: 1); reading by *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 130. — **B7** N, *nytc* | *wxwšwβntk*: *Tri nadpisi*, 1, p. 101 — **P7** A person on an ostrakon from Panjakent (differently *LIV.*, *Tri nadpisi*, but cf. *HENN.*, *Mittelir.*, p. 130, and *YOSH.*, *First Fruits*, p. 84 n. 20, also *ISKHAKOV*, 2008, p. 129-130), cf. *nytc* (#853). — **B8** N, *tyšp'r-n(?) ZK w(xšβ)[nt]k* | *tyšp'r-n(?) (Z)K wxwšβntk* | *tyšprn ZK w[xš]β(n)t-k*: *Panj.-2009*. — **P8** Father of *tyšp'()rn* (#1292) — **D** “Slave of Oxus”.

Cf. such names as *'xšw'k* (#211), *'xwšwn'm'k* (#219), *wxš'βy'rt* (#1355), *wxšmryk* (#1356), *wxwšδβ'r* (#1367) and following names, maybe *xwš'kk* (#1454), *w'xšwt'w-* (#1307). *Oxus* was a popular deity not only in Sogdiana, but also in Bactria and Chorasmia, cf. *GRENET*, 1983, on Hellenistic Bactria, *wšwšwβndk* in a document from Bactria of Bessos' time (*SHAKED*, 2003, p. 1524, 46), *Oaxpo* in *Bct. PNs*, *Kalahy-gyr*, p. 190-191 for Chorasmia.

### *wxwšδβ'r* > *wxwšwδβ'r* #1367: 4-5

### *wxwšk* > *wxwš'kk* #1363: 5

**1365.** *wxwšpnn* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušfann*/ m.: **B** N, *w-xwšp(n)n*: *Graff.*, No. 1. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. — **D** Probably, “Glory of Oxus”, see *'xwšprn*, *wxwšwprn* (#1370).

The final *pnn* from *prn* can reflect a late Sogdian (and Ygh.) development of *-rn* into *-nn* (cf. *GMS*, §356), probably also attested in the PN *šyrpn* (#1197).

**1366.** *wxwšw'sk'n*, *wxwšw'sk''n* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušuəskān*/ m.: **B** N, *wxwšw'sk'n* | *ZK (')ry'yn* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 7 (5: 30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; *wxwšw'sk''n* | *ZK 'ry'yn BRY*: *UII*, No. 364 (39: 59); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231; *wxwšw'sk''n* | *ZK 'ry'yn BRY*: *UII*, No. 391 (39: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *'ry'yn* (#126). — **D** “Oxus” + *'sk'n* which may be “design, line” (cf. *'sk'n*), as *UI2*, p. 43.

Alternatively, cf. *-ask*, *-askān* in the toponymy of Sogdiana (*ILAST*, p. 149)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 124a (=No. 364), 78a (=No. 7), 16a (=No. 391) has *wxwšw'sk'k(k)*.

***wxwšwβntk* > *wxwšβntk* #1364: 1-2; 5-6**

***wxwšwβyrt* > *wxš'βy'rt* #1354: 3**

**1367.** *wxwšwδβ''r*, *wxwšwδβ'r*, *wxwšδβ'r* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušuθvār*/ m.: **B1** N, *w]xwšwδβ''(r)*: *UI2*, No. 455 (48:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 251. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *δy(w)kk (?)* | *ZK wxwšwδβ''r* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 567 (Thor I, 124). — **P2** Father of *δyw'kk* (#470: 2). — **B3** N, *wx(wšw)δ(β'r) (?)* | *m('xpr)[n] (?)*: *UII*, No. 294 (36: 78); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial. Comparison of this inscription with No. 102 (*m'xprn* | *ZK wxwšwδβ*●, cf. #648: 1; #1368) suggests that we have a genealogical line *wxwšwδβ'r* – *m'xprn* – *wxwšwδβ'r* or *m'xprn* – *wxwšwδβ'r* – *m'xprn* (cf. SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 65-66). — **B4-5** N, *wxwšβnt(k)* | *wxwšwδβ'[r]*: *UI2*, No. 433 (42:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 246; *wxwšδβ'r* | *ZK wxwšβntk* | *n'p'ns'k*: *UII*, No. 302 (36: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P4-5** Father (?) of *wxwšβntk* (#1364: 3); either *wxwšβntk* or *wxwš(w)δβ'r* in Nos 302 and 433 is one and the same person. — **D** “Gift of Oxus”.

**1368.** *wxwšwδβ*● /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušu-*/ m.: **B** N, *m'xprn* | *ZK wxwšwδβ*●: *UII*, No. 102 (31: 73); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** Father (?) of *m'xprn* (#648: 1). — **D** A composite name starting with *wxwšw* “Oxus”. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 67b reconstructs *wxwšwδβ['r]* “given by Oxus”, which seems attractive in view of *wxwšwδβ'r* (#1367: 3), son of *m'xprn* in No. 294.

**1369.** *wxwšwk'n* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušukān*/ m.: **B** N, *pt'yc ZKn xwy-št wxwšwk'n* | *ZKn βrxm'n BRY*: Muγ, Nov.3 V18-19; *pt'y-c ZKn xwyšt wxwšwk'n ZKn* | *βrxm'n BRY*: Nov.4 V11-12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22-24, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 30; *YAK.*, *Marr.*, p. 313). — **P** The “elder” (*xwyšt*), son of *βrxm'n* (#311: 2), an authority in the “Foundation Hall”, where the marriage contract was written. — **D** LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 39 reads *wγwγwk'n* and compares it to *wxw* “good”. *YAK.* (op. cit.) suggests that this name is a historical patronym (or, better, propatronym, since <sup>w</sup>*Uxušukān*’s real father was *βrxm'n*, possibly the king of Samarkand) to the hypocoristic name *wxwš'kk* (q.v.) from *wxwšw* (the same explanation is suggested by YOSH. in *ΔP*, p. 14, n. 23).

**1370.** *wxwšwprn*, *’xwšprn* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušufarn*/ m.: **B1** N, *rty* | *np’xšty r’mtyš ZKn* *’xwšprn BRY*: Muγ, Nov.3 V20-21; *rty np’xšty r’mtyš ZKn* | *’xwšprn BRY*: Nov.4 V14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 30; *YAK.*, *Marr.*, p. 310-311). — **P1** Father of *r’mtyš* (#1004), the scribe of the marriage contract. — **B2** N, *wx(w)šwprn*: *Panj.-2004*, No. 7, p. 56, photo XXXI. — **P2** A name on an ostrakon. — **D** “Glory of Oxus”, cf. *wxwšpnn* (#1365), maybe *wγšyprn* (#1310); *LIV.* alternatively proposes to read *w’nprn*. Or *w’tprn* “glory of the Wind(-god)”?

Cf. in this connection the Chinese rendering *Bi Yueyan* (畢越延, *EMCh.* *wuat-jian*) of a Buddhist monk from a Paykend family, which comes from *\*w’t-y’n* “gift of the Wind”, see *YOSH.*, *Bodh.*, p. 333.

Interpretation of the name in Mt. Mugh document follows *UI2*, p. 77; also *YAK.*, *Marr.*, p. 323, *contra* *LIV.*, *SDGM*, II, p. 40 and *WEBER*, *ZSP*, p. 200, who understand it as “(the one) whose glory is joyful” (with *S wγš-*, also *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 52, cf. *wγšyprn*, #1310) Or *’γwšprn* (cf. *γwšprn*, #500)?

**1371.** *wxwšw-* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxušu-?*/ m.: **B** N, [*’*](*t*) *sm’rkndc βt’γtyn [βγn]ptw w(x)wšw●* [*’*]: Muγ, the letter used as a scabbard-cover (*SDGM*, II, p. 221). — **P** The Sogdian priest of uncertain rank (*βt’γtyn*; alternatively “chief scribe of justice”, if we transliterate *rt(γš)tyH (δ)[pyr]ptw* instead, see *Khamir*, No. 10, n.), addressee of the letter. — **D** “Oxus+?”.

**1372.** *wxwš[’]* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxuš-?*/ m.: **B1** N, [*’*]*w’ck’ ZK* | (*w*)*xwš[’]* (?) *BRY*: *UII*, No. 355 (39: 50); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P1** Father of *w’ck’* (#1302); maybe, one can read *wxw’[’]* (cf. #1358), as *SIMS-W.*, *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **B2** N, *wxwš- - - (?)*: *UI2*, No. 431 (41: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 246; “Quite uncertain. One could even consider reading this in the opposite way up as a Bactrian inscription (*avo- - - -?*)” as *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 13. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. **D** Incomplete at the end, “Oxus” +?

**1373.** *w(x)w- - -, wxw●* /<sup>w</sup>*Uxuš?°*/ m.?: **B1** N, *w(x)w- - -*: *UI2*, No. 453 (48:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 251; possibly *w(x)w(š - -)?* — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *kynck ZK* | *wxw●*: *UI2*, No. 533A (54:30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 268, maybe, *wxwc*. — **P2** Father (?) of *kynck* (#612). — **D** The final part is illegible, probably “Oxus” in the beginning.

**1374.** *wy'k* /Wyāk?/ m.: **B** N, *wy'k*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 8, p. 136. — **P** A name (?) inscribed on a rib. — **D** The editors do not separate this inscription from common S *wy''kH* “place” and take it as a nickname.

**1375.** *wy'ws, wy'wsyH* /Wyūs, Wyūsi?/ m., f.: **B1** N, *wδwH...ZKwH wy'ws δγwtH*: *Muy Nov.* 3 R 6; *δγwtγwnCH ky ZY ZK pyšn 'm'k cttH ZKwH* | *wy-'ws δγwtH*: *Nov.4 R6-7 (SDGM, II, p. 21-2, cf. SÉSAS, p. 28-30; YAK., Marr., p. 311 ff.)*. — **P1**. Father of *δγwtγwnCH* / *cttH* (#423, #386). — **B2** N, *ZKH kty-'βr synpyn* | *z't(c)H wy'wsyH n'mt*: *Xian*, 10-11. — **P2** Wife of *wyrk'k* (#1381), native of *synpyn* (#1133), but originating from a Samarkand (Kang, 康) family. She married *wyrk'k* in 519 CE, died on 15 July 579. — **D** LIV., *SDGM, II, p. 29* compares it to S *wy'ws* “dawn”, Av. *vii-usa-* “aufleuchten” and the name of a Cappadocian *Ἀρούσης* (for semantics); cf. OChor. *w'ywsk, 'wsynk* (LIV., 1984, p. 272, 9-10). This name possibly reflects the time of birth, and Bct. PN *Ουοσο* stands here as the closest. See also *pk'ws* (#885).

I cannot, however, explain the penultimate *y* of *wy'wsyH*: the verb *n'm-*, as far as I can see, needs an object in the direct case; etymologically, OIr. *\*vyusa-* is expected to develop into the light-stem, but the spelling with -'w- (as well as indeclinability of *wy'ws*) would rather suggests an opposite.

**1376.** *wyδr'γn* /Wīšayn?/ m.: **B** N, *wyδ(r)'(γn)*: *UII*, No. 167B (Inscription 34.53B in *UII*, p. 19, and 34: 173 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 201); addenda in *UI2*, p. 26; *wyδr'γn*: *UI2*, No. 632 (Dadam Das, 32:7). — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, Dadam Das. — **D** Obviously Verethraghna, Av. *Vərəθraγna-*, cf. SIMS-W. in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 201; *Fbs. DD*, p. 101: “Name eines Gottes, wahrscheinlich als Personennamen verwendet”; SCHMITT, 2008, p. 205 adds that it is likely to be a shortening of a compound name; SIMS-W., *AL2* (2), p. 279: *wyδr'γn* “Vərəθraγna”.

Other derivatives of *Vərəθraγna-* are attested in S in *wšγn'(H)*, *wxšγn* by BĒRŪNĪ and in *Panj.-2001*, R2 “name of the 20<sup>th</sup> day of the month” (cf. after #1347) and “Adamas”, the third son of the Living Soul, MP *wysbyd/whr'm* in the Manichean mythology (SUND., *Namen v. Göttern*, p. 101 = p. 127). *δr* is a historical spelling of actual /š/, for the *yodh* in the first syllable, cf. pairs like B *kšt'yc/ C qyštyc* “cornfield”, *GMS*, §147, for OIr. *\*CrC* > S *CyC* see SIMS-W., *AL2* (2), p. 279.

*fwyδy'n* > *wrδy'n* #1338

**1377.** *wykr'syšn wyspwxr* /Wigrāsišn (?) Wispuhr/ m.: **B** N(M), *rwšn pw(x)[r ZY wyk'r']* | *syšn wyspwxr o pyrwz wyspwxr*: BL, A118-119 (not *\*wyspwr* as in the Chinese edition, as it is clear from the photo; correct transliteration is given in the unpublished English version of the edition. I am grateful to Dr. COLDITZ for noticing it). — **P** An electus (prince?) who lived in the same place with *šxry'r z'δ'k-* (#1183), cf. *rwšn pwxr* (#1036), *pyrwz wyspwxr* (#986). — **D** MP name, *wygr'syšn* “wakefulness” + *wyspwhr* “prince”.

SIMS-W. (apud BL, p. 85) alternatively proposes reading *sysn* for *sysyn* “Sisinnius” (a Manichean Apostle, #1136); moreover, a certain *sysyn* (*w*)[*ys*](*pw*)*r* appears in Pth., at the end of a hymn, see RECK, 2004, 118; cf. SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 251, 256, 259, DMMPP, p. 312.

**1378.** *wynm'* /?/ m.?: **B** N(M), *w'xrš kw wynm'* | *s(?)r n(y)pys*: SUND., *Zrth.*, II, 2-3. — **P** A *hapax* in the Manichean legend on Zoroaster. — **D** Unclear. SUND. (note 52 p. 479 = p. 871) compares it to CS *wnm'* “so, derart”; SIMS-W. (apud SUND., loc. cit.) writes “perhaps a personal name?”.

#### *wynt* > *nwyzt* #846

**1379.** *wynt'●●* /?/ m.: **B** N, *wynt('●●)* | ZK *'spyw[δ?]* | BRY *m'x(c)* | ZK *y'tk*: UI2, No. 662 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P** A visitor to Hunza-Haldeikish, son of *'spywδ* (#169), companion (?) of *m'xc* (#645). — **D** See *wynt* (under *nwyzt*); maybe, to MP *windād* “let he win” (also a PN, see GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, No. 998 ff.), cf. Bct. *Oivδ-* in numerous PNs.

**1380.** *wyry'mc, wyry''mc, yry'mc* /<sup>w</sup>*Iryāmič?*/ m.: **B1** N, *prnc* | ZK | *wyry'mc*: UII, 9 (5: 32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127. — **P1** Father (or a *nisba*) of *prnc* (#907: 1). — **B2** N, *p(rn)* (?) *wyry''(m)c*: UI2, No. 631 (Dadam Das, 32:6, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 100-101). — **P2** Father (*nisba*, family-name?) of *prn* (#896: 2), if No. 631 represents a single inscription (in this case the *p(rn)* here may probably be equated with *prnc* in No. 9), or a name of another visitor to Dadam Das. — **B3** N, *nnyprn* ZK | *nnyβntk* BRY | *yry'mc*: UII, No. 347 (39: 42) and Addenda, UI2, p. 26; cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229. — **P3** A *nisba* (?) of *nnyprn* (#798: 6). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 88 had *tryrmc* and SIMS-W. initially *try'mc*. — **D** Unclear. SIMS-W., UI2, p. 78 takes it as a *nisba* to a virtual Indian place-name *\*Vi-grāma*. The *nisba* (?), at least in its origin) *yry'mc* is interpreted as a variant form of *wyry'mc*, as in S *wyryt/yryt*. Both a change of initial *wy* to *y* and a metathesis of *yr/ry* are not unknown to S. HUMB., 1994,

p. 184, understands it as OIr. *\*vi-grāma-* “Reichtum ausbreitend”. Alternatively, *wyr̥y'mc* can mean “(the one who has a) male step” with hypocoristic suffix.

In this case *y̥r̥y'mc*, possibly a *nisba*, is to be separated, but SIMS-W.'s initial reading *try'mc* suggests a comparison with *Fartanyām* (i.e., “After *Tanyām*”), a district in Ustrūšana (*ILAST*, p. 47).

**1381.** *wyrk'k* /*Wirkak*/ m.: **B** N, *wyrk'k n'mt*: *Xian*, 8. — **P** The person commemorated in the *Xian* inscription, who originated from a Keš family (*kšy'n'k kwtr'k*, #562), and obtained a post of Sabao of Guzang (*kc'nc'n'k srtp'w*), authority (*'st'm δ'r*, cf. Bct. *ῥασταμογαρο?*) of Sogdiana (or “Sogdian colony”, *sywδykst'n*), son of *wn'wk* (#1316: 1), grandson of *rštβntk* (#1019), husband of *wy'wsyH* (#1375: 2), father of *βr'yšmnβntk* (#303), *δrymβntk* (#443: 2) and *pr'wtβntk* (#119: 2); 494 – 16.06.579 CE; he was buried in an elaborate Chinese aristocratic tomb in Xi'an with mostly Zoroastrian iconographic motifs, for which see GRENET, RIBOUD, YANG, 2004. — **D** A hypocoristic to S *wyrk* “wolf”.

Cf. MP PN *Gurg(ēn)*, GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, 404-405; also LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 271 n. 12); the Chinese text of the inscription gives simply Shi Jun 史君 “lord of Shi (= Kešš family)”; cf. also *wrk'n*, #1339.

**1382.** *wyrwysprn* /*Wirwisfarn*/ m.: **B** N, (*sr')**m(yw Z)K (k●●k)* | *wyrwysprn* | *BRY: UII*, No. 170 (34: 56); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P** Father (?) of *sr'myw* (#1090, or *k●●k*, #620). — **D** Several possibilities: *prn* “Glory”, *wyr*, probably, “husband”. Internal *wys* can be either OIr. *\*vis-* “house, tribal division” (cf. S *wyspyδr'k* “prince”), or *wysprn* may be a simplification of /*wisp-farn*/, “all-glory”, cf. OP PN *\*Visa-farnah-* (attested as Aram. *Wsprn* and Elam. *Mi-iš-bar-na* (TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 351). In both cases this name seems to be an appositional (*karmadhāraya*) compound, “husband – all glory” or “husband – glory of the house”, cf. the names beginning with *δywt-* (#423, #424). Finally, we cannot exclude that *wyrwys* was an otherwise unknown S deity.

[ *wyspδr* : **B** N(A), *'H[R]ZY ZNH (w)'(w)yspyw (●●) wyspδr βr'm*: *AL4*, R5. — **P** Unclear passage, left untranslated by REI.. HENN. (*BBB*, p. 73, n. 579) tentatively translated it as “dann bringe ich all solches dem Prinzen” and noted that “es ist übrigens möglich, daß *wyspδr* ‘Prinz’ hier Eigenname

ist”. Later, however, HENN. recognized here OIr. *\*vispaθra-*, later S *wysprδ* “everywhere” (apud GMS, §440, n. 1). ]

**1383.** *wyspwxr mwrw’* /*Wispuhr Murwāʰ*/ m.: B N(M), *wyspwxr mwrw’*: MIK III, 6918, II, 3, apud BeDUHN, 2001, No. 91, p. 244. — P A name written on the figure of Electus on the mural. — D MMP, “Sign (of) Prince”, as SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 251, from *mwrw’(h)* “omen” (cf. #692, #709, #1519) + *wyspwhr* (see #1377; cf. S *wyspyδr’k*) “prince”. The language of the inscription (MP? OTu.? S?) is unidentifiable.

**1384.** *wysrn* /*Wiseran?*/ m.: B N, *wysr(n)*: UI2, No. 586 (Oshibat 17:35, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 52); this inscription is possibly continuation of No. 585 (*nnyδβ’(r)* ZK | *’spcwβγ(n)c*). — P If related to the previous inscription, a family-name (or *nisba*?) of *nnyδβ’r* (#791: 2); if not, another visitor to Oshibat. — D SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 78) connects it to S *wysyr-* “to mix” (*DTS*, G15 and comm, cf. *wmxsk*, #1313; *ptryst*, #947). Final *-n* can be regarded consequently as a (patronymic?) suffix.

### *wyšβcH > wyšy’n* #1389

**1385.** *wyšδ’t* /*Wēšdāt*/ m.: B N, *wy-šδ’t* (Z)Y *m’xc pn(c)*: Muγ, Б-14, 1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35). — P A supplier of some products. — D “Given by Vayu”.

Cf. Bct. PN *Onḫolado*, not *\*vθra-* as BOGOL., SMIR., p. 100. The Chinese rendering *Wuxiduo* (烏悉多, EMCh. *ṣ-sit-ta*) is compared by IKEDA, 1965, p. 65. Cf. *wyšy’n*, *wyšx’n* (#1388 – 89). LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 63; *SÉSAS*, p. 70) prefers to transliterate *tyšδ’t* “given by Tištrya”. For the deity-name (Bct. *onḫo*, S *wyšprkr*), see HUMB., 1975.

### *wyšt’m > wyštck* #1387

**1386.** *wyšt’sp-* /*Wištāsp*/ m.: B N(M), ‘M | [*wyšt’s*](p)w ML(K)w: (graph. acc.) SUND., *Zrth.*, III, 10-11; *wy]št’sp[w*: III, 13; (ZKw *wyšt’spw*: (graph. acc.) IV, 3. — P The king, patron of Zoroater (in particular, in the Manichean legend). — D Av. *Vīštāspa* lit. “mit (zum Rennen) losgebundenen Rossen” (MAYRHOFFER, *IPNB* I/1, No. 379).

In the S Manichean text, it could be either a direct Sogdian continuation of this hero’s name or be borrowed from Pth., MP *wyšt’sp*. Note graphical accusative.

**1387.** *wyštġkk* /*Wēštak*/ m.: **B** N, 't βγw xwβw kwštwtkw xwβw *wy-štġkk*: Muγ, B-7, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 172, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 206; *SDGM*, III, p. 84). — **P** The prince of Kištut (a river-valley to the east of Panjakent), an addressee of B-7. — **D** Probably, from OIr. *\*vahišta-* “the best”, with a hypocoristic suffix.

Both editors read *wyšt'm*, but the transliteration *wyštġkk* is no less possible. GERSH. (apud *SDGM*, II, p. 173, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 207) identifies it with OIr. *\*Vistahma-*, Arm. *Wstam*, NP *Gustah(a)m*, Ar. *Bisṭām*. All these names, however, demonstrate *st* and not *št*, moreover, *\*-tahma-* in S is expected to give *\*-txm*. Acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., p. 100, it originates in *\*vṛθratāma-*, from the theonym *\*vṛθra-*. This name, if *wyštġkk*, could be a hypocoristic to *\*wyšt*, a regular S derivative of *\*vahišta-* “the best” (which is attested only in the compound *w(y)štm'x* “paradise” < *\*vahištam ahūm*). Maybe to Av. *Yōišta-*?

**1388.** *wyšx'n* /*Wēšxan?*/ m.: **B** N, *nyw('β's)(?)* | *w(yšx'n)(?)*: *UII*, No. 295 (36: 79); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P** Father (?) of *nyw'β's* (#854). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 78) understands this name as containing *wyš* = *wyšprkr* “Vayu” + *x'n* “source”, cf. *'štyx'nc* (#184), *xtwx'nc* (#1430).

However, for a place-name one would expect the meaning “grass-source”, i.e. “source (surrounded by) grass”, with S *wyš* (OIr. *\*vāstrya-*) “herb, plant” in the first part.

**1389.** *wyšy'n* /*Wēšyān*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn wy-šy-'n pr 'δwy δrxm kβšt'*: Muγ, A-5, 6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 3213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of shoes. — **D** LIV., followed by WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 203 No. 38, understands it as “eminent boon”. More probably, “boon of Vayu”, cf. under *wyšδ't* (#1385). BOGOL., SMIR. read *wyšycH* or *wyšβcH*, as an adjective to a place-name *\*wyš* (p. 100) or *\*wyšβ* (p. 108), modern *Vešap* to the east of Panjakent.

*wyšycH* > *wyšy'n* #1389

**1390.** *wyt'w* /*Witāw*/ m.: **B** N(B?), *βγγ - - - (?) wyt'w <z'tk> (?) pwtypn*: *Ladakh*, 13. — **P** Father (?) of the visitor *βγγ* [ (#292), son (?) of *pwtypn* (#968). — **D** Unclear. Cf. S *wyt'w* “to endure” (M133, 83, *GMS*, §216, *LN*, 37,3, n. p. 106). Or read *wyt'p* “illumination”?

Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly reminded me in this connection of Oss. *dawæg/idawæg* “deity”, which is etymologized from OIr. *\*vi-tāva-ka* (*ĪÉSOJa*, I, p. 348-9), and Prof. SCHMITT suggested (nom.) *\*vi-tavā* “durch und durch [= große] Kraft/Stärke habend”.

[ *wyztġkrt* > *†w'škrt* after #1305 ]



*†wzwrk* > *wnwkk* # 1316: 2

**1391.** *wzxwβy'n* /?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY MN βrz-'nk n'β wz-xwβy-'n ZY wrδy-'n*: Muγ, B-6, 3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of *Varz* (*Varzimunor* = *Zahmatobod* = *Ayni*?) on the Upper Zarafšān. — **D** Reading is assured, but the first part of the name, before *y'n* “favour”, is unclear.

If *xwβ* is “lord”, the initial part of the name, *wz* would express a name of some deity. Cf. the name of a legendary king, Av. *Uzauna* (MAYRHOFER, IPNB, I/1, 87-8), NP (*Šn.*) *Zaw*?; cf. also *wzyr* (after #1391), *šyrwz'n* (#1203), *βrwz'n* “bird”. BOGOL.-SMIR., *SDGM*, III, p. 100, trace this name back to OIr. *\*uzgaubayāna-* “calling one”.

[ *wzyr* /?/ : **B** N, *rty ZKH xmyr ZY wz-y-rf*: Muγ, 1.I, 23 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 121; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 115; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 222, YAK., *I.1 Rev.*, p. 234). — **P** A companion of the Amīr? — **D** Unclear, probably not a name at all. LIV. reads *wyz* (without comments), and so does YAK., p. 241, as well. BOGOL., SMIR. read *wzyr* “vizier”. However, the institution of *wazīr* appeared 50 years later than the date of the composition of this text. The name (if a name) could contain *-yr* hypocoristic (cf. *'kwzyr*, #67) and an unexplained element *wz* (cf. *wzxwβy'n*) before it. It is possible to see here another metathetic variant of S *wrzz-*, *wyzr-*, *wzrw-* “straight”, as I suggested in *Khamir*, No. 18. ]

*wyz* > [*wzyr* after #1391]

**1392.** *w●●'kk* /?/ m.?: **B** N(A), [*'D βγw*] *xw(t)'w (w)[●●]'kkw*: AL6, R1; [*'D βγw*] | *xwt'w* | [*w●●*] *'kkw*: (graph. acc.) AL6, Va 1-3. — **P** An addressee of the letter. — **D** Or (*p*)●●'kk? Unclear; most likely, a hypocoristic with unknown base.

**1393.** ( *w(●)n''* 'yry *myl'* ) /?-Eri Maya?/ m.: **B** N, *w(●)n''* 'yry *myl'* ]: Bug., III, 4. — **P** An unclear sequence at the end of inscription. Maybe a personal name. — **D** For *my'* cf. *my' t'tp'r x'γ'n*, *my' wnm' x'γ'n* (#663 – 664); 'yry could be OTü. *er* “man, male” with the Turkic 3 sg. possessive marker /-I/ (in this case, the single etymologically Turkic gloss in the whole inscription!). T. ÔSAWA, *Mongolküre* (p. 477, n. 19) suggests that the Turkish ruler *Yili kehan* (已利, EMCh. *ji'ji'-li<sup>h</sup>*) stands for 'yry. )

**1394.** *w●s/ /Wərsō?/ m.?:* **B** N, *w(●s)/*: *Fbs. Sh.*, No. 52: 8, p. 258. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** SIMS-W. (*Fbs. Sh.*, p. 258) tends to restore it as *w(rs)/w*, see #1342.

**1395.** *w/ | x/ /?/ ?:* **B** N, *w/ | x/*: *UI2*, No. 436. (42:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247. — **P** First letters of two lines, probably of the father's and the son's names. — **D** Unclear.