DICTIONARY

'aleph , 'ayin

1. (*''β'* /*Avā, Abā*/ m.: **B** N(M), *''β' pry βrwrt'y*: So 15502/v/14, ed. SUND., 2009b, p. 265. — **P** An addresse of Mani's letter "on love" (*pry* = MP *friyīh*). *Abā* by Ibn al-Nadīm, the addressee of the message on love (*risāla Abā fī al-ḥubb*, see SUND., op. cit., p. 266; there are five letters to *Abā* mentioned by al-Nadīm altogether, see DODGE, 1970, p. 799-800). *Ἀββ[α* in *CMC*, 179, 3 could be the same personality, see RÖMER, 1994, p. 161. — **D** Aramaic *'b'* "father", here probably as a hypocoristic of an originally compound name. Cf. in this connection *Ἀβιησοῦς*, "Jesus is my father" and *'bzxy'(')/Ἀβιζαχίας*, "servant of pure ones", two disciples of Mani (cf. TUBACH, 1997, p. 383, n. 51; p. 384).)

2. *''βrxtk* /*Āvraγde*/ m.: **B** N(A), *['ḤRZ]Y '[']z'(t)[k] | m[r]t'xm(k) ''β(r)xt[k] kyZY cyn[ty] (w)yty*: *AL3*, R16-17. — **P** A "freeman" in Dunhuang. The context is not clear for me, but most likely a PN. — **D** The restoration of SIMS-W. at *SC* (REI., p. 22, had *''β.ₓxt*//) implies etymology from OIr. PPP **ā-braxta-ka-* "desired, wished (one)"; the *nomen actionis* of inchoative of the same root, *''βr(')xs'k* "desire, lust", is widely attested in S texts (cf. HENN., *Tales*, p. 487 = *Sel. Pap.*, II, p. 191, n. 2; WEBER, *Inchoativa*, p. 162-3; CHEUNG, 2007, p. 22).

Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS, however, kindly suggests to me that the word is not necessarily a PN and proposes the transliteration *''β(')xt[]* as an alternative.

3. *''βtc-* /*Āvdič?*/ m.: **B** N, *rty MN ''βtc'*: (abl.?) Muγ, B-7, V7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 167, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 196). — **P** A person in a letter. — **D** Most attractively, to OInd. *Āptyá-*, Av. *Āθβiia-* (MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, No. 75), NP *Ābtīn*, the father of *Θraētaona-*. With the same **-č-* suffix this name appears in Elam. *Atpizza*, on which see GERSH., *Amber*, p. 185-189; TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 126.

Alternatively, cf. *'βt* "seven" (cf. *'βtm'xc*, #47; *'βtr'z*, #48)?; or to OIr. **abdā-* "miracle" (cf. OChor. PN *'βt'k*, LIV., 1984, p. 264), but in these cases the initial double *aleph* is hard to explain (*lapsus calami*?). Or "attained one", a *-c* hypocoristic from PPP **āvd*, from OIr.

root *ā̆p-, cf. S *pty'p, pr'yp* (the name of a foundling)? LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 168, argues that the final *aleph* is an ablative ending. However, it seems clear that the root has at least one long syllable (initial *ā*) and thus is a heavy stem.

''βtr''zyz > s'ytt pwn ''βtr'z'yz #1069

4. (*''βtrxwm'n pwn swpx* /*Abdrəxumān bun Subx*/ m.: B N, *MN xmyr ''βtrxwm'n pwn swpx*: Muγ, 1.I, 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 120, BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 114, SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 222, YAK., *1.I Rev.*, p. 234). — **P** *'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ṣubḥ*, a Muslim official (however, he is never called *amīr* in Arabic sources), who was active in Transoxiana, mentioned as early as 102 AH (720-721); for this person, see *SDGM*, II, p. 110, SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 221, YAK., *I.1 Rev.*, *passim*. — **D** A Sogdian transcription of the Arabic name *'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ṣubh*.

For *''* in the place of *'A-* see LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 110, for *-xwm'n* in the place of *-ḥmān*, probably influenced by S *xwm'n < *vahu-manah-* (cf. *''trxwmn*, #35, *βrxwm'n*, #311) see YAK., *1.I Rev.*, p. 236. The letter *w* in *pwn* in this name as well as in *s'ytt pwn ''βtr'z'yz*, #1069, can be explained in different ways; see *Khamir*, No. 9. **)**

5. *''δ'k* /*Ā̆δak*/ m.: B N, *''δ'k | γ'tk*: *UI1*, No. 35 (23: 6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 145. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, a person of high rank *γ'tk*. — **D** To *''δH* "eminence, majesty" with hypocoristic *-'k*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 39, cf. *''δcyk*, #7. One can also compare this name to *A-dak-ka-'* in the Late Babylonian rendering, which is explained as a derivate of OIr. **ā-dā* "Vergeltung, Heimzahlung" + hypocoristic *–ka* (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 5).

According to SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 52, the term *γ'tk* (m.), *γ'tH* (f.), which is not attested in S anywhere except *UI* inscriptions, may mean "Householder, gṛhastha", as Khot. *ggāṭhaa*, Toch. A *kātäk*, BS *k'rt'k*, all from Gdh. **gāṭ'haga-*, cf. SIMS-W., *Indian elements*, p. 137; alternatively "(the one who obtained the) Throne", as in HUMB., 1994, p. 182, dismissing his curious explanation of 1985, p. 56-57; it is translated as "der/die Edle" in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137 ff. In any case, it seems to be some title. See the list of *γ'tk*-s and *γ'tH*-s in the prosopographical index.

6. (*''δ'm, ''dm, 'δ'm, 'dm* /*Ā̆δām*/ m.: B1 C, *t(w)' ptry '(d)m*: *C2*, 51, V12; *tw' ptrw 'dm (.)*: *C2*, 51, V13; p*r)'(d)my | ptyn*: (obl.) *C2* 51 V14-15; *( ) 't w'dm pr xypθ prdbn* ×:×× : *C2*, 52, V*13; *ẗdm pr xypθ ryž*: *C2*, *57 V21; *cn ẗdmy qty'qy*: *C2* *57 V24; *xwny 'd(m) m't*: *Schüler*, I R3; *c'nw 'dm bγn(y) qty*: *Schüler*, II R14; *''dm | (qw)t(r*s*)'r..*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1R9-10, p. 53. — **P1** Adam in Christian texts. — **B2** M, *''δ'my δyn δ'βr*: *Eva*, R15; *wny 'δ'my šytylyy δyyn*: *Giants*, K19; *'d('m)[*: M1070 R5 (Pth. orthography) apud

SUND., *Namen v. Göttern*, p. 118 n. 20; *('’δ’m m’)nwk ßwt*: M141+6795, R3, MORANO, *S Cosm. Ms.*; *’tyy ’δ’myy | [tmb’]ryy*: M141+6795, R8-9; *xww ’’δ’m*: M141+6795, V6; *’rtyy | xww šqlwn ww ’δ’m | cn δynyy ’pst’wyy*: *BBB*, E18-20; N(M) *’βtmw xw ’δ[’m]*: So 18432 R8 apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 285 (alternatively, read *’δ[βγ]*, as SUND. apud loc. cit.); *ZKw ’’δ’m*: *Magi*, 18, p. 138. — **P2** Adam in Manicheism, the first man, created by the demons (see *šqlwn*, #1165, *pysws*, #988); husband of Eve (see *’ḥw’*, #214: 2), see VAN LINDT, 1992, p. 185-189; SUND., *Eva*, passim. — **D** From Semitic (e.g., Syriac) *’dm* /*Āḏām*/, the Manichean spelling renders the long vowel in the second syllable with *aleph*. **)**

7. *’’δcykk* /*Āδčik*/ m.: **B** N, *]’’δ(c?)y-kk ’’y-s*: Muγ, B-10, V1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 107, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 115). — **P** "*’’δcykk* came"; this badly preserved document seems to be a fragment of a political letter. — **D** Not clear.

LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 107-8 hesitates between reading *’’δcy-kk* and *’’δyz-kk*. The first reading would mean a *-cyk* derivative from *’’δH* "eminence, majesty", cf. *’’δ’k*, #5. The suffix *-cyk* is used to form adjectives (*GMS*, §§1014-1018); however, both *-c* and *-k* are usual hypocoristic suffixes and possibly we can see here a combination of both (cf. names on *-(y)ck*). Transliteration *r’δ(t)’-kk* "traveler" does not look impossible either. LIV. (letter of 01.10.07) kindly shared another alternative: *’’δcykk* for Turkic *elči* "messenger", see now *SÉSAS*, p. 116.

8. *’’γtprn* /*Āγatfarn*/ m.: **B** N(M?), *ZY ’’γt(p)r(n) xypδ o XX z’m k’γδ’ xypδ xcy*: T ii T, apud *Tales*, p. 482-3 (So 14744V apud *SC*, No. 208; So 14744R apud *DTA*, written carefully as *’’γ-tprn* in a late S script; RECK gives *’’γ-t(p)r(n)*, *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 163). — **P** The owner of a book containing "20 nice pieces of paper"; RECK (loc. cit.) points out that the same person appears as the main character on the unpublished verso side of the text, which seems to contain a letter about travels in China. — **D** A *Satzname* "Fortune-has-come", cf. *prn’’γt* (#897) with inverted order, and the following names; cf. its antonym M *n’ ’’γt frn* "unlucky" (common adjective), M765k, 5 apud *GMS*, §1156; cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 195, No. 1.

9. *’’γtprtr* /*Āγatfartar*/ m.: **B** N, *swry’kk | ZK ’’γtprtr | BRY*: UI2, No. 532 (54:28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 267. — **P** Father of *swry’kk* (#1117: 1). — **D** A *Satzname*, "The better one has come", S *’’γt* "came", *prtr* "better", cf. *’’γtprn*, #8 and *ßtrc*, #49, *prtr’k*, #924. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 100, has *’’γtprtc*, which is a less likely reading according to SIMS-W.

10.   *''γtz'k* /*Āγatzāk*/ m.: **B N, *''γtz'k*: *UI1*, No. 158 (34: 44); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A *Satzname* "a child has come", as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 34, 1.2.1; cf. #8, #9 and *]δβykz'k* (#1601); *xwnz'k* "Hunnish child" in *MN*, 115. One can also read *''γtz/n'r*, less likely *''γtšk*.

11.   *''k'c ptc''n* /*Ākāč-paččān*/ m.: **B B, *ms 'xw ''k'c | ptc''n pwtystβ*: *Ōt.*, No. 2356, 10-11, p. 72; cf. YOSH., 1985, p. 51-54. — **P** Bodhisattva, an interlocutor of the Buddha in the Chinese apocryphal Zen-Buddhist sūtra *Fawangjing* (法王径, "Sūtra of the king of justice"). — **D** "Treasure of space"; the Chinese text gives the name of this Bodhisattva as *Xukongzang* (虚空藏), lit. "(he who) conceals empty sky"; S form consists of *''k'c* "*ākāśa*, empty space" + *p(t)c''n* "treasure", which is used for translating the same Chinese *zang* 藏 "to hide, to conceal, to hoard" in *SCE*, 63; YOSH. modifies its meaning into "treasure house" to fit the Chinese counterpart (op. cit., p. 54).

12.   (*''k't* /*Agatt?*/ m.?: **B B, *(')'k't rwrH*: *MPN II*, 27, cf. *SC*, Pt. 188. — **P** "Medicine of *''k't*". — **D** UTZ, 1976, p. 20, translates "Medicine of Agasti", implying *Agasti*, the *r̥śi* who wrote on medicine, with prakritic development of -*st*- into -*t(th)*-. SIMS-W. (on the margin of a copy of UTZ's dissertation which he kindly sent me, p. 20) explains it as Skt. *agada*- "antidote". **)**

''lpw pylk' > ''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk' #38

''m'kp'š > ''m'wkp'š #14

''m't' > ''m'yt' #15

13.   (*''m'wk* /*Amōg*/ m.: **B B, *ZKn ''m'wk pwtystβ mx'stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 17. — **P** A Bodhisattva in the invocation. — **D** Probably a shortening of *Amoghapāśa* (see *''m'wkp'š*, #14) or *Amoghadarśin*, lit. "seeking infallibility", *Amoghavajra* "infallible diamond". **)**

14.   (*''m'wkp'š, ''mwkp'š, ''m'kp'š* /*Amōgpāš*/ m.: **B B, *rty ywn'k pwstk ZK ''ry'βrw[kδyšβr] | mx'stβ ''m'kp'š δry'zwr ZK*: *TSP*, 7, 1-2; *'PZY βγ' mn' ''m'kp'š n'm δry'zwr*: *TSP*, 7, 24; *mn' | xypδ ''mwkp'š δrzy'wr*: *TSP*, 7, 117; *rty ywn'k ''m'wkp'š 'βt y'wr prw m'nyH šm'r'*: *TSP*, 7, 129; *ZKw*

ywn'k ''mwkp'š | δrzy'wr: *TSP*, 7, 142-3; *xw ywn'k ''mwkp'š | δrzy'wr*: *TSP*, 7, 176-7. — **P** The Lokeśvara ("lord of the world"; an incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara*), in the expression *Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya* "Heart (i.e., essence) of A.", cf. also *''m'wk*, #13. — **D** Skt. *Amoghapāśa* "infallible noose".

The form *''m'kp'š* (with the internal *aleph* in the place of Skt. *o*) in two consequent occurrences may result from an error of a translator or a scribe (note that *δry'zwr* which follows *''m'kp'š* in both cases is an error for *δrzy'wr* "heart, *hṛdaya*", too). Subsequently, the scribe wrote the correct form, *''m(')wkp'š* (and correct *δrzy'wr* as well). **)**

15. **(** *''m'yt', ''myt', ''m't'* /*Amita*/ m.: **B** B, *'wy ''m't' pwty*; *TSP*, 2, 1193; *'w ''myt' pwty*: *TSP*, 5, 94; *'wyn ''m'yt' pwty*: *TSP*, 8, 2; *ZKn ''myt' pwtty nβ'nt*: *TSP*, 8, 73; *'wyn ''myt' pwtty nβ'nt*: *TSP*, 8bis, 7; *nm'cw βr'm 'wyn ''myt' pwtty prn [*: *SFBL*, 7, 8. — **P** Buddha Amita, Amitābha, the patron of the West and of Ultimate Bliss in Mahayana. — **D** Skt. *Amita*, also *Amitābha*, lit. "of unmeasured (splendour)".

''m't' is a copist's error while *ť'myt'* in *TSP*, 5 has in fact two initial alephs according to the facsimile and *SC*, No. 229. The final *-a* of a Skt. name is normally dropped in S transcription, but it is sometimes preserved as *aleph* in S (cf. *'wp 'k '*, #196, *c'wtyšk'*, #366, *k'wšyk'*, #526, *mx'k'š'yp'*, #717, *rwkδyšβr'*, #1032. YOSH. (*Sukhā.*, par. 5; cf. YOSH., 2009a, p. 319) notes that the form *''myt'* is a transcription of the Chinese rendering of the name, *Amituo* (阿弥陀, EMCh. ʔa-mjiə̆/mji-da), cf. Uygh. *Abita*. **)**

16. **(** *''mγ'* /*Amγa*/ m.: **B** N, *nyw t't'ry ms' | ''γty ''mγ' nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A9-10; *δβtykw ms tt'r-cykw | ''mγ'*: A14-15; *t't'rδyn k'lmyš ''mγ'-δ'*: A22 (Uygh. phrase in the S text). — **P** A fabric (*rγzy*) trader, who came from the Tatars, the Tatarian. — **D** Title rather than PN, Turkic *amγa*, *ïmγa*, meaning "treasurer, secretary" (ultimately from Chinese *yaya*, 押 衙 , EMCh. ʔaip/ʔɛːp-ŋai/ŋɛː); see *DTS*, p. 28-29, for various attestations of this title. **)**

''mwkp'š > *''m'wkp'š* #14

''myt' > *''m'yt'* #15

17. **(** *''n cwrt'n* /*Ān Ju'tan?*/ m.: **B** N, *'yw ''n cwrt'n n'm swlmy | nβ'nt*: *DTS*, A8-9. — **P** A fabric (*rγzy*) trader, native of *(Üč) Solmï* = *Ark*, mod. Qarashahr. — **D** The surname *''n* (安) designates "Native of Buxārā", see *''n kwtr'k* #18, while *cwrt'n* looks Chinese, maybe *Shudan* (述丹, EMCh.

zwit-tan, KG. *dź'i̯uĕt-tân*; acc. to LUO Changpei, **žur-tan* in the North-Western dialect of Tang time, *DTS*, p. 28).

A person with the same name, Shudan, was a prime-minister of the Longjia 龍家 clan, the rulers of Changle in the 9ᵗʰ-10ᵗʰ century, which seems to come from Yinqi – Qarashahr, too; see *DTS*, p. 28. This attractive equation of both persons is weakened by the fact that a prime-minister would hardly be called "a certain person named An Shudan from Solmï". **)**

18. **(** **''n kwttr'k** /*Ān kōtəre*/ m.: **B** B, *ZK* ''*n kwttr'k ctβ'r'tsr'n wp's'y*: *Intox.*, 35. — **P** A clan-name of upasaka *ctβ'r'tsr'n* (#385), cf. ''*n cwrtn* (#17). — **D** "Bukhariot", lit. "(one from) the *An* family", as HENN., *Date*, p. 603 n. 2; here the word *kwttr-* (< Skt. *gotra* "family", also *kwtr*, *kwt'r*, C *qwtr*, *qtwr*) with the suffix *-e* is used terminologically to designate the Chinese "surname", *xing* (姓, not *jia*, 家, see YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 366), and ''*n* stands for Chinese *An* (安, EMCh. ʕan) "Buxārā oasis". Cf. also *kšy'n'k kwtr'k* (#562), *x'n kwtr'y* (#1397), *cwy'kkH kwtr'ncH* (#395?).

The Sogdians who lived in China were provided with surnames indicating the "provinces of *Jaowu*" (*cm'wk*, see under #372) wherefrom they immigrated, the most famous of them are *An* (安, EMCh. ʕan, Buxārā, borrowed in S as ''*n*), *Cao* (曹, EMCh. *dzaw* Ustrūšana, cf., maybe, *cwy'kkH*, #395?), *He* (何, EMCh. *ɣa*, Kušāniyya), Kang (康, EMCh. *kʰaŋ*, Samarkand, S *x'n*, see #1397), *Mi* (米, EMCh. *mɛj'*, Māymurɣ), *Shi* (石, EMCh. *dziajk*, Čāč), *Shi* (史, EMCh. *ʂi'*, Kišš), cf. e.g. *HMS II*, p. 119 ff; YOSH., *PNSChS*; the same ''*n* may be present in the names ''*njyrkyy* and ''*nl'w* in *MN*, 113-114, see YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 366-367. The Bukhariot surname *An* appears also in Uyghur, see HAMILTON, 1986, p. 83 ff. **)**

19. **(** ''*n'nt,* ''*n't* /*Ānand*/ m.: **B** B, *ZK* ''*n'nt*: *TSP*, 2, 985; 6, 121; *SCE*, 183; 551; '*xw* ''*n'nt*: *TSP*, 6, 174; 183; *VJ*, 469; *SCE*, 7; *xw* ''*n'nt*: *VJ*, 1496; *ZY* ''*n'nt*: *TSP*, 21, iii, 16; '*wyn* ''*n'nt*: *VJ*, 1472; *k'w* ''*n'nt*: *TSP*, 6, 37; 6, 57; *Dhy.*, 156; 231; 244; *SCE*, 63; 188; 209; 417; 544; 553; '*kw* ''*n'nt…s'r*: *TSP*, 2, 941-3; 956-7; *kw* ''*n'nt* | *s'r*: *TSP*, 2, 1196-7; ''*n'nt'*: (voc.) *TSP*, 2, 949; 6, 61; 6, 65; 6, 69; 6, 74; 6, 144; 6, 165; *VJ*, 19; 4a; 17a; 69; 188; 270; 296; 331; 337; 403; 451; 52c; 37d; 542; 602; 659; 710; 766; 54e; 819; 1015; 1039; 1061; 1200; 1210; 1234; 1249; 1306; 1350; 1374; 1462; 1478; 1494; ''*n'nt*: *VJ*, 480; 808; *tγw* ''*n'nt VJ*, 1466; *ZKw* ''*n'nt'*: *VJ*, 1040; *ZK* ''*n't*: *TSP*, 6, 42 (copist's error); '*xw* | ''*n'nt'*: (voc.) *VJ*, 1140-41; ''*n'nt* ''*c'ry*: *TSP*, 21, III, 17, apud YOSH., *Bud. Lit.*, p. 114 n. 38; *ZK* ''*n'(nt)*: *MPN III*, R5; *xw* ''*n'nt*: *MPN III*, R10; *[ZKn]* | ''*n'nt šmny*: *MPN III*, R18; '*myn* ''*n'nty*: *MPN III*, V15 (obl.). — **P** Ānanda, the pupil of Buddha. — **D** Skt. *Ānanda*, lit. "Happiness" in the regular S transcription. **)**

20. ***''npc*** /?/ m.: **B** N, *''npc* (?): *UI2*, No. 549 (106:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 276. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Writing unsure; maybe *''rpc*, *y'npc*. The reading *y'npr(n)* also seems possible from the photo (*UI2*, p. 19, cf. #1496); cf. *p'c*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 39.

21. ***'p'δk*** /*Ābāδak?*/ m.: **B** N, *snk | cyrk' | ''p'δk | [x]wmn'* (?): *UI2*, No. 656 (Thalpan III, 83). — **P** A visitor to Thalpan, companion of *snk* (#1081: 7), *cyrk'* (#406), *xwmn'* (#1440). — **D** "Hardly *c'p'δk*, certainly not *'cp'δk*", SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 24. A loan from WMIr. *ābādag* "watched over, protected", as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 39.

Alternatively, SIMS-W. kindly reminded me of IPth. *'pp't*, OIr. **āp(V)-pāta-(ka-)* "protected by water", see BIVAR, 1972.

22. ***'p'nc*** /*Ābānič*/ m.: **B** N, *''p'nc*: *Panj.-2005*, p. 45, photo XXIV. — **P** A word inscribed on a potsherd. — **D** Either a month-name (*''p'nc*, *''b'nc*), or a PN based on the month-name. Cf. also *'p'nc'nk* (#112)?

†*''p'nk > ''pn'k* #23

23. ***'pn'k*** /*Āpene*/ m.: **B** N, *MN xy-pδ βntk | ''pn'k*: Μυγ, A-1, R2-3; *MN βntk ''pn'k*: A-1, R15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 142, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 163; III, p. 73); *rty ''pn'k prm'nH ''βr*: A-5, 16 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; III, p. 51); *ZY ''pn('k) | '(y)w βr'ytc-H*: Nov.1, V56-57 (*SDGM*, III, p. 38). — **P** A correspondent of steward *'wtt* (#204), who had sent some precious matters to the latter (in A-1); a messenger in A-5, a recipient of a shoulder-blade (? alternatively *βr'ytcH* could mean "lamb", lit. "sheared one", as IMP *'kbryt*, on which see HUYSE, *ŠKZ*, II, p. 111 ff.?) in Nov.1. Probably, one and the same person. — **D** "(Related to) water, Marinus"; cf. Pont. Ir. *Αβνακος*, *Αβναγος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §266-267, cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 1), cf. now *SÉSAS*, p. 163.

LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 143, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 161) reads this name as *''p'nk*, and links it to *''p'nc*, *''b'nc* "8th month of the Sogdian calendar" (cf. *''p'nc*), but in A-1 the fourth letter does not look like *aleph*, so I consider this reading inferior to *''pn'k* (BOGOL., SMIR., *SDGM*, III, p. 89), which is derived by the authors from *''p* "to shine". However, the suff. *n'k* is attached to substantives, and not to verbs (*GMS*, §1059), and here we probably witness a late S outcome of the adjective suffix *-'yn'k*, see *GMS*, §§1052 ff. As for A-5, LIV. preferred *šp'nk* "shepherd".

[*’’pškr’k*: **B** N, *MN ’’pškr’k | ’xwšy’rc*: Muγ, Nov. 6, 10-11 (*SDGM*, II, p. 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 224, III, p. 49). — **P** A supplier of 8 drachmae. — **D** Considered as PN in BOGOL., SMIR.’s edition, but more probably a profession: “irrigator”, as LIV.; his PN is *’xwš(t)y’rc* (#220).]

24.   *’’pwxy’n* /*Āpoxyān*/ m.: **B N, *’’pwxy-’n ZK ’rwtprnc BRY*: Muγ, B-4, V4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 63). — **P** A witness in the lease of three mills, son of *’rwtprnc* (#148: 2). — **D** “Boon of (the day) *Āpox* (Av. *āpō vaṇhuĭš*, the 10th day of the month)”, or “Boon (of the deity) *Āpox*”, see WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 200 No. 21; BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9.

25.   (*’’r ’yn’l* /*Er Ïnal*/ m.: **B N(M), *’’r ’yn’l s’r*: BL C18; *’’r’ ’yn’ly | βš’mt’*: BL C28-29 (obl.). — **P** A person who went from *š’γ wyspwxr* towards *xw’r z’δ’k*. — **D** Turkic, *’yn’l* is a title (cf. *’yl mnkw ’yn’l*, #232; *xwtlwγ ’yn’l ’ymyš ’lp twγryl tγ’y twtγ ’ylcy*, #1468; *swp’šy twγryl ’yn’l*, #1114; *’yšy ’lp synγwr ’yn’l ’ymyš*, #260; for the reading *ïnal* and not *inäl see ZIEME, 1977, p. 72-3), while *er* is “man”. **)**

†*’’ry’βδwkδyšβr > ’’ry’βr’wkδyšβr* #26

26.   (*’’ry’βr’wkδyšβr, ’’ry’βrwkδyšβr, ’’ry’βlwkδ’yšβr* /*Āryāvalōkiδēš-var*/ m.: **B B, *’w ’myt’ pwty ZY ’’ry’βr’wkδyšβr pwty-stβ ’t mx’stβ*: TSP, 5, 94; *] | ’’ry’βrwkδyšβr pwty-stβ mx’stβ ’skw’m’k wy[m’t*: TSP, 7, 6; *’’ry’βrwkδyšβr | pwty-stβ mx-’stβ*: TSP, 7, 104-5; *’’ry’βrwkδ(yš)βr | pwδy-stβ mx’stβ*: TSP, 7, 183-4; *’’ry’βrwkδyšβr | pwδy-stβ mx’s-tβ*: TSP, 7, 202-3; *nm’cyw βr’m ’wyn ’’ry’βr’wkδyšβr pwtystβ mx’stβ prn*: TSP, 8, 7; *cnn | δ’mδ’r’k βγ’n ’sk’tm ’’ry’βr’wkδyšβr pwtystβ mx’stβ prn*: TSP, 8, 70-71; *rty ywn’k pwstk ZK ’’ry’βrw[kδyšβr] mx’stβ ’’m’kp’š δry’zwr ZK*: TSP, 7, 1-2; *ZK | ’’ry’βrwkδyšβr pwδy-stβ mx’stβ*: TSP, 7, 194-195; *’ky myδ myδ | ZKn βγ’n ’sk’tm δ’mδ’r’k ’’ry’βrwkδyšβr pwtystβ mx’stβ | ZKw n’m w’β’t*: TSP, 8, 75; *’wyn ’’ry’βrwkδyšβr pwδy-stβ | mx’stβ*: TSP, 7, 190-191; *mwn’kw βγ-’n ’sk’tm δ’mδ’r’k ’’ry’βr’wk-δyšβr | pwtystβ mx’stβ*: TSP, 8, 61-62; *nm’w ’’r’yβr’wkδyšβr pwtystβ | mx’stβ*: TSP, 8, 161-2 (Skt. invocation); *cnn βγ’n ’sk’tm δ’mδ’r’k ’’ry-’βr-’wkδyšβr pwtystβ prn pyδ’r*: TSP, 8, 190; *cnn | βγ’n ’sk’tm δ’mδ’r’k ’’ry’βr’wkδyšβr pwδy-stβ mx’stβ | prn pyδ’r*: TSP, 8bis, 4-6; *ZKn βγ’n ’sk’tm δ’mδ’r’k | ’’ry’βr’wkδyš-βr pwδy-stβ mx’stβ ZKw n’m w’β’t*: TSP, 8bis, 9-10; *ZK ’’ry’βrwkδyšβr pwtyst[β]*: TSP, 14, 3; *[’’ry’β]rwkδyšβr pwtystβ mx’stβ*: TSP, 14, 18; *’’ry’βrwkδyšβr pwtystβ*: TSP, 15, 17;

[''ry']βrwkδyšβr pwtystβ: *TSP*, 15, 24; *ZKw RBk' z'ry | 'sy'yn'k ''ry'βrwkδyšβr*: *Padm.*, 24; *''[ry'βrwkδyšβr] | ckrβrt cynt''mny cšmy rwrH βyšykrn prykr'k*: *Padm.*, 31-32; *ZK ''ry'βrwkδyšβr pwtystβ*: *Padm.*, 34; *ZK ''ry'βrwkδyšβr*: *Padm.*, 64; *''ry'β](r)'wkδyš[βr*: *SFBL*, 8, 2; *δ'm]δ'r'k ''ry'βr'wk[δyšβr]*: *SFBL,* 9, 4; *'xw ''ry'βrwkδyšβr pwtystβ*: (not *†''ry'βδwkδyšβr* as BENV., cf. *Facsimile*; *SC* Pt. 226), *TSP*, 7, 19; *1LPw δsty ''ry'βlwkδ'yšβr nylknt n'm t'rny pty'mty*: *Nīla.*, 30 (sic!); *x' ''ry'βrwkδyšβr xwty šmnyH | kršny*: (fem. article!) *TSP*, 7, 162-3; *nm'w ''ry'βrwkδyšβr-'y pw-tystβ''y mx'stβ''y*: *TSP*, 8, 78 (Skt. dative); *nm'w ''ry'βr'wkδyšβr pwty-stβ''y mx'st-β''y*: *TSP*, 8, 83 (Skt. dative); *nm'w ''ry-'βrwkδyšβr-'y pwtystβ''y mx'stβ''y*: *TSP*, 8, 88 (Skt. dative); *nm'w ''ry'βrwkδyšβr''y pwtystβ''y | mx'stβ'y*: *TSP*, 8, 95-6 (Skt. dative); *nm'w ''ry-'βr'wkδyšβr''y pwδystβ'y mx'stβ'y*: *TSP*, 8bis, 12 (Skt. dative); *nm'w ''ry'βr'wkδy-šβr''y pwδystβ''y mx'stβ''y*: *TSP*, 8bis, 27 (Skt. dative); *nm'w ''ry-'βr'wkδyšβr''y pw[tystβ''y mx'stβ''y*: *TSP*, 8bis, 16; *''ry'βr'wkδyšβr-''y pwδystβ['y mx'stβ''y*: *TSP*, 8bis, 21 (Skt. dative). — **P** *Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara* (Noble *Avalokiteśvara,* lit. "visible lord", cf. *SWTF*, I, p. 291). — **D** S transcription of the Indian name.

> For the consistent rendering of Skt. *t* through *δ* cf. *k'wδ'm* (under #527), *tδ'ktswm* (#1224); it is a prakritism, as SIMS-W., *Indian Elements*, p. 137; cf. also MEISTERERNST, DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, 2009, p. 314 n. 4; however, YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 348, n. 26 doubts this explanation because his name is attested only in Tantric texts which do not possess any Middle Indian counterparts; cf. also *rwkδyšβr'* (#1032). See BOUCHER, 2008 (with literature) on the early history of the name of this Bodhisattva. **)**

27. (*''s'n cwr* /Esän čōr/ m.: **B** N(M), *]''s'n cwr ywγtym*: *Ōt.*, 2586A b4, p. 81. — **P** A person in a Manichean colophon, cf. YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85. — **D** Turkic, *''s'n* probably stands for Uygh. *esän* "healthy" (*DrTS*, p. 183; *EDT*, p. 248, or a loan, as in GABAIN, 1973, p. 74), followed by a usual title. Cf. the names with *cwr*; particularly ••*w cwr* (#1656); *Esänä* (voc.) in an Uyghur colophon (ZIEME, 1977, p. 78); Bashkir *Isen-čura* (*Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 265). **)**

28. (*''smyš tnkrym* /Asmïš Täŋrim/ f.: **B** N (M), *''smyš tnkrym*: *BL* C26. — **P** A princess in Turfan. A certain *Ašmïš-t(ä)ngrim* appears on an Uygh. stake-inscription from Xočo (MÜ., *Pfahlinschr*, p. 10-11, 10, cf. MORIYASU, 2004, p. 178 ff.), which can be dated to 1008 (MORIYASU, loc. cit.), thus synchronous to the Bäzäklik letters; however, this stake-inscription is clearly Buddhist in inspiration and not Manichean. — **D** Turkic, *t(ä)ŋrim* (lit. "my

God") usually occurs as a title of princesses in Uygh.; *asmïš* is past part. of
as, aš "to progress, favour, multiply" (*DTS*, p. 59, cf. *'yl ''smy*, #227).

For the feminine title *tängrim* see CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 524, ZIEME, 1977 p. 79 n. 33,
GABAIN, 1973, p. 74 (differently *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. LXXIII, LXXX); cf. *p'xw tnkrm*
(#879), *'yl s'pmyš tnkrm* (#236), *yymyš x'twn tnkrym* (#1539), *'wl'γw tnkrym* (#185) in the
same passage. **)**

29. (*''š'H* /*Āšā*/ f.: **B** B, *'w](p')s'ncH 'sty ''š'H | [n'mt]*: *Len.,* 51, 9-10,
apud YOSH*., Notes*, p. 517-18, accepted by SIMS-W. in *SC,* No. 324. — **P** A
Buddhist *upāsikā* (female lay follower) in the Sūtra. — **D** Skt. *Āśā* "hope,
wish, desire", transcribed into S.

The Chinese Sutra as given by YOSH., loc. cit. presents her name as *Xiu-she* 休捨, and in
the German translation "Erfüllung des Verlangens". Possibly *xiu* here means "blessing,
favour", and *she* 捨 is attested as the phonetic equivalent of Skt. *sa, śa*, so here we have a
semi-translation of an originally Indian name. An Uyghur Buddhist colophon mentions a
certain *Aša*; see ZIEME, 1977, p. 74, 80 (with a Turkic etymology "o Speise!"). **)**

30. (*''šyn's* /*Ašïnas*/ pl.: **B** N, *tr-'wkt '(')šy-n's kwtr'tt*: *Bug.,* I,1. — **P**
Ashina, the ruling clan of the First Turkish Empire (551-630 CE). — **D** The
Chinese rendering of the clan-name is *Ashina* (阿史那, EMCh. *ʔa-ṣi/ṣi-na^h*).
Further unclear.

It is also possibly attested in Arabic as *Ašnās*, the name of a high ranking Turkic *ghulām*
in ninth-century Samarra. The clan-name could well be Iranian in origin and go back to a
form similar to Khotanese *aṣṣaiṇa-* "dark blue" (in accord with *Kök-türk*), see
KLJASHTORNYJ, 1994. **)**

31. (*''t', mr''t'', mr't', mr'tt'* /(*Mǎr*) *Addā*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'yw ''t' 'βt'δ'n*:
MKG, 3.1, V6, 347, p. 36; *rtxw mr't'*: MKG, 3.1, V14, 355, p. 36; *ZK mr''tt'*:
MKG, 3.2, R2, 361, p.37; *ZKn | mr''tt'*: *MKG*, 3.2, R9-10, 368-369, p. 37;
ZK mr'tt': MKG, 3.2, R11, 370, p. 37; *rtxw | [mr''t](t)'*: *MKG*, 3.2, R24-25,
383-4, p. 38; *Z](Kn) mr''tt' pt'y-cy*: MKG, 3.3, RI12, 452, p. 42; *ZK mr'tt'*:
MKG, 3.3, IR13, 453, p. 42; *ZK mr'tt'*: MKG, 3.3, IV8, 468, p. 43 (cf. *Fasts*,
7, B, p. 155). — **P** The first Bishop of the West in the Manichean
community. — **D** Syr. *'Addā*/*'Adday*, Semitic name, hypocoristic to a name
beginning with *'Ad-*: Hebrew *'Adon* "Herr" or deity *Addu* (*Hadad*) see
TUBACH, 1997, p. 391-2; it is often preceded by honorific *mry* /*mār*/, lit. "my
lord".

Cf. WMIr. rendering *'d'*, Chinese *A-tuo* (阿馱, EMCh. *ʔa-da*). For the first *''/'* cf. *(')'δβγ*,
SIMS-W., *Indian Elements*, p. 139ff; a certain *Mar Adda-puhr* (rather than *fuxar*) *Aftadan*

in a Manichean Uygh. text from Dunhuang (HAMILTON, 1986, 7, 14) was named after him. **)**

32. ''t'nH /*Ātān?*/ f.: **B** B, *''t'nH | δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 185-6. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** Unclear. Cf. B *t'ny'kH* "honour, dignity"; is then *ā-* a prefix? In any case, cf. the Chinese rendering *Adang* (阿鐺, EMCh. *ʔa-taŋ*, IKEDA, 1965, p. 63).

33. (''tny'tkwtyn /*Ād'nyātakaudin*/ m.: **B** B, *'wy šmnty' 'wyny ''tny'tkwtyn (n'm)[*: *Len.*, 93, 15. — **P** A pupil of the Buddha. — **D** Skt. *Ājñātakauṇḍinya* (lit. "respected, descendant of *Kuṇḍina*"), as already in ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403; it is rendered as *Atyantikondini*, *Ätnyätkäntin* in OTu. (*AYS*, p. 202, HAMILTON, 1986, p. 214): cf. also *(●) 'ttyn*, #1589.

For *j* represented as *t* /*d'*?/ see *p'štsyn* (#877), *rwk'yntr r't* (#1031); esp. *prtnyH* for *prajña* in *STii*, 8,8; also *Nīla.*, 7, 31, p. 635 and *Ét.*, p. 20-21; *r''t* for *rāja* in the *Kyōdai* fragment, 6 (YOSH., 1994, p. 19, 23), SIMS-W., *Indian Elements*, p. 138; the absence of *n* in the penultimate syllable due to haplology? SUND. (*MPN III*, R16 with n. 29 p. 384) reconstructs *k'wtyn* in the lacuna, cf. Chinese *Jiaochenru* (憍陳如, EMCh. *kiaw-drin-ŋɨð*); I cannot explain *'wyny*: *lapsus calami*? Or read *'wyZY*? **)**

†''tp''k y'γš β'n'k > y'γ(y) β'z'k #1500

34. ''tr /*Ātar*/ m.: **B** N, *''t(r)*: *Paykend-2006*, No. 1. — **P** A name (?) on an ostracon, 5th century? — **D** Probably "Fire", S *''trH*, cf. *''trxwmn* (#35), *●ttwr* (#1655).

However, the transliteration is highly ambiguous (the first two letters could easily be *c*, the third is *t/s/m*, the last probably *k* or *r*) and the inscription is possibly incomplete at the beginning. Cf. MP PN *Ādur* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, No. 22).

35. ''trxwmn /*Ātarxuman*/ m.: **B** N, *''t(r)xwmn*: *Panj.-1998*, p. 46 ff., *SÉSAS*, p. 279-282. — **P** A name inscribed on the rim of a pithos excavated in Panjakent, in the layer of 740th – 770th (op. cit., p. 51). — **D** "(Created by the deities of) Fire and Good Thought", as LIV., op. cit.

Cf. *xwmn'* (#1440), *(')βrxwm'n* (#311), *''βtrxwmn pwn swpx* (#4), *m'ny wxmn* (#635) for the second part and *''tr* for the first; for *dvandva* name-type cf. *r'mtyš*. Cf. the composite name **R̥ta-hu-manah-* in Babilonian renderings (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 74, 92, 101).

36.   *''wxsrδ, 'wxsrδ* /*Awxsarθ?*/ m.: **B1 N(A), *nnyH-βntk* | *'wxsrδ*: SIMS-
W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 313, pl. 61. — **P1** The owner of a seal (or the
owner's father, see *nnyH-βntk*, #805), not later than 4th century. — **B2** N,
γwm'yt ZK | *''wxsrδ BRY* | *'xwr* (?): *UI2*, No. 446 (47:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p.
250. — **P2** Father of *γwm'yt* (#495: 1). HUMB. (*SIF*, No. 38b) has *nxsrδ*: cf.
also #216. — **D** "Co-ruler", "he who shares in rule", as explained by SIMS-
W., *UI2*, p. 39; cf. the names with *xsrδ* (#1419 – 1421; from OIr. **xšaθra-*)
"rule, power" (also LURJE, *Step. Ir.*, No. 38); *''w* (*'w* in archaic spelling) is
probably OIr. **hava(n)t-* "co-", see SIMS-W., 1998, p. 85 (*contra GMS*,
§351).

37.   *''xwrpt* /*Āxwarrpat*/ m.: **B N, *kšy'n'k xwβ ''xwrpt* | *βγy* || *prn*: coin,
SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1356-1359, p. 306-308; Table XXXIII; LXXVI; LIV.,
Kesh, p. 123; photo p. 121, LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 273 ff. — **P** A king of Kešš,
called *Hubiduo* (忽必多, EMCh. *xwət-pjit-ta*) by the Chinese, governed
between 722 and 738 (see NAYMARK, 2004). — **D** "Head of the stable", a
title in its origin (cf. *Marshal* in Europe).

> The name is probably not of S origin (one finds *''xwyrpt* in S, from **ā-xwarya- + *pati-*)
> but rather a borrowing from Pth. *'ḥwrpty* (*ŠKZ*; the same passage has not survived in MP;
> interestingly, we do not witness a form **āxwarbad, *āxwarbud*, vel sim. in MP or NP,
> only *āxwarsālār*), from **ā-xwar(a)na- + *pati-*; a place-name *Āxurbadīn* in the Buxārā
> oasis could be related somehow to this ruler (*ILAST*, p. 40); cf. also ISKHAKOV, 2008, p.
> 188.

**38.   (*''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'* /*Ay Täŋridä Qut Bulmïš Alp
Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N(M), *['yny ''y] tnkry[δ'] xwt* | *[pwlmyš] ('lp)w [pyl]k' βγy* |
['wyγwr x'γ'n] •• *wčty* •• *H* | *[pts'k] np'x•••δ•••••*: KB-H, Denkmalschild,
1-4, p. 14; *'yny ''y tnkryδ' xwtpwlmyš 'lp[w] pylk' βγy 'w[y]γwr x'γ'n* ••
wcty ••*H pts'k np'x[št?*: KB-H, 1-6, 1(1), p. 15; *MN (w)γyšty* <sic!> *prnβyrty
RBkw twrkc'ny 'βc'npδ'kw 'xšywny ''y tnkryδ' xwtpwlmyš ['lpw pylk' βγy
'wyγwr x'γ'n*: KB-H, 1-6, 2(1), p. 15; *]''lpw pylk' x'γ'n*: KB-H, 9, 10, p. 23;
KB-Y2, p. 217, 7b, 10/*41. — **P** The kaghan of the Uyghur Steppe Empire,
reigned 808-821, *Baoyi* (保義) in Chinese sources, who ordered the
Karabalgasun stele to be erected (see MORIYASU, 2004, p. 34; MACKERRAS,
1968, p. IX *et passim*; RYBATZKY, *Titles*, p. 242-243; 256). — **D** Turkic
honorific name, "(he who) obtains glory from Heaven and Moon, hero, wise
(kaghan)".

> Cf. the Chinese rendering *Ai De-he-li-lu Mo-mi-shi He Mi Pi-jia* (藹德曷里禄沒弭施合
> 密毘迦 vel sim.), MP *''y ṯngryyd' xwṯ bwlmyš 'lp bylg'' 'wyγwr xng''n* (*MN*, 9-12; p. 29);

MP in S script *'['y] (t)nkryδ' xwtpwlmyš ['](l)p [pylk''] 'wy-γwr x'n* (Hels., E, V3-5), Runic OTu. *[b]u teŋriken teŋride qut bulmiš al[p] bilge teŋri uyγur qa[γan]*; the final *-w* in *'lpw* may represent a lost Turkic final vowel (as BANG apud *KB-H*, p. 24-25) or be purely graphical (cf. *'lpw xwtlwγ pylk'*, #79; *tnkryδ' 'wlwk pwlmyš 'lpw xwtlwγ 'wlwγ pylk'* #1233; *'r•rk•r 'lpw ••cw pylk'* #151; *•••pw cwr?*, #1627; *δpw x'y'n twtwγ*, #58 on coins). Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly shared his opinion that *w* after the penultimate *p* was used to show that this letter was indeed *p* and not *w*, which looks very similar in the final position. **)**

''ysn'k > ''ysnyk #39

39. *''ysnyk* /*Āysnīk?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZK ''ysnyk (Z)[Y]*: Muγ, A-19, 2, X+1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 171, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 203; a fragment once in Abdulkhamid PULOTI's private collection, no photo available). — **P** Unclear; the fragment is too tiny for any decision. — **D** Unclear.

LIV. supposes that it is a PN or *nisba*. The suffix *-īk* would probably suggest the latter; I could not find any place-name similar to *Ēsn*, *Āyisn*, vel sim. in Sogdiana around it. If it is a PN, "the one coming", from *''ys* "to come" + suff. *-nyk* (*GMS*, §997), cf. *prn'y(w)s*, #903, *šyr''y(w)s*, #1190. Or *nyk* is already NP *nēk* "good", cf. s.v *sp'ncnyw*, #159? Now, LIV. reads *''ysn'k* and translates it as "newcomer, пришелец", maybe in the sense of a PN (*SÉSAS*, p. 203-4, n. 469, 470).

40. *''z'd dwxt* /*Āzād-duxt*/ f.: **B** M, *o ms ''z'd dwxt (x•••)[*: SUND., *Briefe*, I, 17, p. 305; *Briefe II*, p. 407-8. — **P** An Electa (a member of one of the rival Manichean communities). — **D** MP (or already NP?) "noble (or: free) daughter"; or "daughter of Āzād?"; cf. Kurdish tribe *Āzādduxtīya* (*INB*, p. 33, s.v. *Ἀρταδούκτα*), also *''z'd | β'm* in *MN*, 145-6, names in *δγwt* (under #423 – 424); for MP parallels, cf. ZIMMER, 1991, p. 118-119.

41. *''z'kk, ''zk* /*Āzak*/ m.: **B1** N, *''z-'kk δsty*: Muγ, Nov.2, R8 (*SDGM*, II, p. 104, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 111, *Last Days*, p. 163). — **P1** A messenger of *rywxšy'n* (#1048). — **B2** N, *''zk (?) scδ(n) (?)*: UI2, No. 472 (50:15); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *scδn* (#1070). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 120, has *•'n'k*. — **D** "Leading", from OIr. **āza-* + hypocoristic *-'kk* (*SDGM*, II, p. 106) or *-k* (its orthographic variant).

Cf. *Azakka* in the Elamite rendering (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 191), IPth. *'zk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 189), Greek *Αζου* (gen.) / Khar. *Ayasa*, on the Indo-Śaka coins of the first century CE (ALRAM, *IPNB*, IV, No. 987 ff; for other coincidences with the Indo-Śaka names see s.v. *wnwn, mw'k*), Pont. Ir. *Αζος, Αζιαγος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §45); cf. also SCHMITT, 2007, p. 386; LURJE, *Step. Ir.*, No. 2.

I see also *''z(k)* (or *''zy, ''zr, ''zt?*) in a rather archaic script on a gem depicting a bearded man in profile which is on display in the State Hermitage. However, LIV. reads it now as *γ'ny* (#480).

42. ''zt'k /*Āzatak*/ m.: **B** N, *kwš''n | (ZK) ''zt'k | ptšpr*: *UI1,* No. 69 (Inscr. No. 31:40a, acc. to *UI1,* and No. 31: 119 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 173). — **P** Father (?) of *kwš''n* (#598: 2), son (?) of *ptšpr* (#948: 2). — **D** A -*'k* hypocoristic to S *''zt* "noble"; for OIr. **Ā-zāta-* "noble" used as PN; see MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, No. 77.

43. ''ztγryw, ''ztyγryw /*Āzatəγrīw?*/ m.: **B** N, *'kw ''z-tγr-yw s'r*: Muγ, A-14, 8 (BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 117, cf. LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86; *Last Days*, p. 167); *(Z)[Y] MN | ''z-tγr'yw p-wstk*: 13-14; *ZK ''z-tγryw*: 28; *[MN x]wβw ''z-tyγryw ptšk-w'nH*: Muγ, A-15, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 164, cf. YOSH. apud *Last Days*, p. 189, n. 55; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 191). — **P**: An authority in Čāč around 722, mentioned in the same passage with Tudun (*tδwn*) and Kaghan (*x'γ'n*); author of the letter A-15. — **D** If we deal here with a name and not a title, it means "noble self", cf. *''zt'k* (#42), *γrywxrx*(?, #491), *kryw wxmn* (#556), and names beginning with *xwt-* "self"; cf. OChor. *'prtγrywk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 9; n. 99 p. 283.

> LIV. in *SDGM* and GRENET with DE LA VAISSIÈRE read *n'ztγryw*, from *nzt* "close" (with a superfluous *aleph*) and *γryw* "self", i.e. "assistant, deputy", even "second king of Čāč" (*Last Days*, p. 170; cf. also SIMS-W., 2008b, p. 65). V.A. LIVSHITS, in a letter and in telephone communications, kindly informed the author that now he prefers to see here a PN. The first letter of his name in A-15 is indeed much closer to *aleph* rather than to *n*/*z*; see now *SÉSAS* p. 91.

44. ''ztprn /*Āzatfarn*/ m.: **B** N, *''ztprn | ZK 'stkyn BRY*: *UI1*, No. 365 (39: 60); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'stkyn* (#172: 2). — **D** "(Having) Noble glory", reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 124b.

'b' 'šγy' > 'šγy' #179

45. ('brhm /*Avrāhām*/ m.: **B1** C, *qw 'brhm | m'x ptry s'*: C5, 1, V2-3 (*STi*, p. 31, *NBS*, p. 267); **dn 'b](r)hm 't |*: C5, 0 = 19c V2 (*Nachl. II*, p. 82; *SC*, No. 71 [where the text is reconstructed and located in the Bible]); *[nw]qr 'brhmy txmy 'yšt'*: C23, 20, R18 (*NBS*, p. 264; *STi*, p. 83; *Nachl. III*, p. 174, 176); *(x)w 'brhm wyny | (ptr)[y*: *Schüler*, IIR1-2. — **P1** The Biblical Abraham. — **B2** C, *('brhm m• 'b)[rh](m) | ('brhm m• 'b)[rh](m) | m(•)[] |*

(')[brhm ']̈(br)h[m]: C35, 27, r (*Nachl. III*, p. 195, n. 272). — **P2** A word written in decorative script, probably a scribal exercise. — **D** Syr. *'brhm* /*'Aḇrāhām*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

'βrxwm'n > βrxm'n #311: 1

46. (*'frym* /*Afrēm*/ m.: **B** C, *'t | pr mry 'frym mzyx | s'q xwšty nm'c | pyd'r'wnd̈*: *Liber Vitæ*, R6-9. — **P** Ephrem the Syrian (*c.* 306 – 373 CE). — **D** Syr. *'prym* /*'Ap͟rēm*/.

The CS spelling with *f* indicates the fricative articulation of Syr. "*Beḏeḵep͟aṯ*" phonemes after vowel (as Schwartz, *Liber Vitæ*, p. 160; SIMS-W., *Syro-S III*, p. 153); cf. *t'wyδ*, #454: 2; *yγqwb*, #1487; *'stpnws* #174. **)**

[*'βtm*: **B** N, *MN 'βtmy | šm'rky*: (obl.) Muγ, A-13, 4-5 (*SDGM*, I, p. 38; *SDGM*, II, p. 69-70, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 74; *SDGM*, III, p. 71-72). — **P** A word related to control of a bridge. — **D** This phrase can be read as "from *'βtm*-s account", or "from the seventh (day) account" or even "the first (day) account".

The reading as a day-number was proposed by HENN. (*Kalender*, p. 89) and followed by FREJMAN (*SDGM*, I), LIV. (*SDGM*, II; *SÉSAS*, p. 75) and GRENET, DE LA VAISSIÈRE (*Last days*, p. 187). The personal name was accepted (as a less likely reading) by LIV. and (as the only reading) by BOGOL., SMIR. (*SDGM*, III); however, their interpretation of the whole document, where the "bridge year-tax" becomes "His majesty's ambassador", seems unlikely. YOSH. (apud *Last days*, p. 187) understands *šm'r'ky* as a gerundive from *šm'r* "count", with the whole sense "counting beforehand". If *'βtm* is still to be considered as a name, it would apparently mean "Primus" or "Septimus", see under *prtmyw'c* (#922). **]**

47. *'βtm'xc* /*Avdmāxič*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn 'βtm'xc prδy-zp(y) | X*: Muγ, A-5, 22-23 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A gardener, a recipient of 10 drachmae. — **D** "Seven-month", probably a nickname (both LIV. and BOGOL., SMIR.; cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 15; somewhat differently by BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 12). For the reading *prδy-zpy* see YOSH. apud SIMS-W., 2003b, p. 214.

48. *'βtr'z* /*Avdrāz*/ m.: **B** N, *(kw)[?]('?)βtr'z [s'r?]*; B-7, R12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 166, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 196). — **P** A person in a letter of *'spt'k*. — **D** Probably, "Seven secrets", cf. *r'zn'w* (#1011);*'βtm'xc* (#47), Oss. *ævdīw* "(seven) gods" (*IÉSOJa*, I, p. 199-200, with literature).

49. *’βtrc* /*Ɉvdarič, Ɉfə́tarič*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ’yw* | *’βtrc*: Muγ, B9, V4-5; (*SDGM*, II, p. 160, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 187; *SDGM*, III, p. 55); *ZKn (’)[β]tr-c*: Muγ, A-5, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of a ruby, of drachmae. — **D** LIV. and BOGOL., SMIR. agree in deriving this name from S *’βtr*, OIr. **fratara-* "the better" (cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 15); cf. *’prtmy’n* (#118), *prtmyw’c* (#922), maybe *’βtm*. Further Bct. *Αζαδοφαρδαρο, Οηþοφαρδαρο*, the name *βrtr* in an Uygur colophon (HAMILTON, 1986, 1, 11') can also belong here. In A-5 LIV. was reading *’[•]ty-k* (and in a letter of 01.10.07 he kindly informed me that now he prefers the restoration *’[r]tyk*, "righteous one?"; see *SÉSAS*, p. 213).

50. *’bwrs’m* /*Abursām*/ m.: **B** M, *[’]bwrs’m*: M118, II/V/Hdl apud *MKG*, p. 149. — **P** Unclear. This name is applied to a correspondent of Mani, as well as to a "disciple" and "scribe" in Turfan; see SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 245, 262-3. — **D** Probably related to MP *abursām* "balsam", a widely attested WIr. name (add also Bct. PN *Οαραζοβοροσαμο*).

Cf. SUND., *MKG*, p. 148-149, where the identity of the name and common noun is questioned (in view of the consonance of Elam. PN *Hapirsa* for OIr. **hapr̥sa-*, MP *aburs* "juniper", but the final -*m* in this case remains unexplained); cf. also HUYSE, 1999, II, p. 137.

51. *’βy’mnβntk, ’βy’mββntk* /*Ɉvyāmanvande*/ m.: **B1** N(A), *ZK pγš ’βy’mnβntk*: *AL4*, R7.— **P1** A butcher (?, *(’)pγš(’)* in the Buddh. texts) in the Ancient Letter 4. The name is recognized as such by YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 239, n. 13; cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 40; *SC*, No. 368. — **B2** N, *k(wn)t’kk ZK* | *(’βy)’mnβntk* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 464 (50:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253; clearer on the rock than in the photo, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 15. — **P2** Father of *kwnt’kk* (#588: 2). — **B3** N, *mrty ZK* | *’βy’mnβ(ntk)*: *UI2*, No. 484 (50:27); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 256. — **P3** Father (?) of *mrty* (#689: 3), maybe identical with the father of *kwnt’kk*. — **B4** N, *βrzyr’k* | *’β(y)’mnβntk ZKy* | *m’ymrγc* | *BRYN*: *UI1*, No. 92 (31:63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial, brother of *βrzyr’k* (#315: 1), son of *m’ymrγc* (#657: 1). — **B5** N, *wn(x)rk ZK* | *’βy’mββntk* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 307 (36: 91); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215, a wrong spelling of *’βy’mnβntk*. — **P5** Father of *wnxrk* (#1331: 2). — **B6** N, *’β-y-’-m-nβ-n-(t)k*: an ink inscription on a vessel from Afrasiab, paleographically it can be dated to the 5th – 6th century; ISKHAKOV, 1988, was reading *[n?]’β(?) r/y’mnβn(t)k* (*r’mnβn(t)* in ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 122), corr. SIMS-W., 1989a, p. 18, cf. *UI2*, p. 40; SCHMITT, 1993, p. 60. — **P6** A person in Samarkand.

— **D** "Slave of *'ßy'mn(yw)*" (see following); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 65c (= No. 92), reads *'x● '●nßntk* and No. 10 (= No. 484) – *'ßy'm● BRY*

52. ***'ßy'mnyw*** /*Ǝvyāman(ēw)?*/ m.: **B** N, *'ßy'm(nyw)* (?): *UI1*, No. 308 (36: 92); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A short-name from **'ßy'mnywßntk* vel sim. The base *'ßy'mnyw* is probably a theonym, "Beneficient spirit", Av. **vahiiå mainiiuš*, comparative of the attested *vohu-mainiiu-* (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 40; 2000b, p. 9 ff.), where *ß* expresses **v* in an early West Iranian loanword. HUMB., 1994, p. 180-181, traces this *'ßy'mn* to OIr. **ab(i)yā-manyu-* "von furchtlosem Geist".

> The name is attested in the Turfan Chinese documents in the transcription *Fuyemen* (浮/符夜門, EMCh. *buw/buǎ-jiaʰ-mən*), see YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 239; *PNSChS*; *by'mnwrz* in *MN*, 100 ("miracle of *'ßy'mn*"; with MMP <b>, ــ instead of <ß>, ث) also belongs here and it is unlikely to have been derived from S *py'm* "to heal" (pace HENN. apud *GMS*, §306).

53. ***'ßy'mnyw'k*** /*Ǝvyāman(ēw)ak?*/ m.: **B1** N, *(')ßy'mnyw'k | nnyp(r)m'n*: *UI2*, No. 523 (53:29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *nnyprm'n* (#797). — **B2** N, *'(ßy)['mnyw'?](k) | ZK ●●●● BRY*: *UI1*, No. 213 (34: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 192, writing unsure. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic of *'ßy'mnyw* (#52).

54. ***'ßy'ryk*** /*Ǝvyārīk*/ m.: **B** N, *'ßy'ryk | nny'kk | ZK 'r'●* (?) | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 238 (35: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 202. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, companion of *nny'kk* (#786: 5, as SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 202), son of *'r'●* (#124). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 40) understands it as a hypocoristic name to S *'ßy'r, ßy'r'k* "evening", thus designating a child born in the evening (or as a nickname?).Another possible transliteration is *'ßy'rwk*.

55. ***'ßyzßr'n*** /*Ǝvižvarān*/ m.?: **B** N, *(')yzß(r'n)*: *UI1*, No. 275 (36: 59); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210-11. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** S *(')ßyzßr'n* "miserable", which could be understood either as a PN (nickname?) or as an epithet of another visitor. The reading is, however, unsure.

'ßy - - - - - k > 'ßy'mnyw'k #53: 2

56. ***'cp'δ'k*** /*Ačpāθak*/ m.: **B** N, *ZKn 'cp'δ'k*: Муγ, Б-12, 6; *ZKn | 'cp'δ'k*: Б-12, 6-7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 155, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 182; *SDGM*, III, p. 48); *rty ßyrw zw 'cp'δ'k*: Муγ, Б-4, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p.

65); *rty βy-rw MN 'cp'δ'k XIII III III kpc'kk XI 'rty γntm*: Б-2, 5 (*SDGM*, III, p. 30). — **P** A recipient of leather, wheat and some equipment, author of Б-4. — **D** Liv. and Bogol., Smir. agree in tracing this name (hardly a title) back to OIr. **hača-pāθaka-* "fellow-traveller" (semantics, however, remain unclear). Cf. also *cp'δtH*, a hapax in Б-4, 3 (plural?, cf. the discussion in *SDGM*, III, p. 65).

'δ'm > ''δ'm #6: 2

57. (*'δkw* /*Edgü*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY 'yw wšwy-n'k '-δkw*: Muγ, Б-4, 3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p. 65). — **P** A supplier of cotton (*wšwyn'k*, cf. s.v. *βwrkwt'k*). — **D** A difficult name, the possible transliterations are *sδkw*, *βδrw*, *yδrw*, *'δrw* etc. If *'δkw*, OTu. *eδgü* "nice" (cf. *'ysyk 'δkw twtwγ 'wyk'*, #256, *'wyz 'δgw*, #209)? If to be read *βδrw*, to Av. PN *Buδra-* "wachsam, aufmerksam" (Mayrhofer, *IPNB*, I/1, 88). Liv., *SÉSAS*, p. 218, n. 36, gives a variant interpretation as a Turkic name *Ильгу*.)

'dm > ''δ'm #6: 1

58. (*'δpw x'γ'n twtwx* /*Alp Xaqan Totoq?*/ m.: **B** N, *'δpw x'γ'n twtwx*: coin, Smir., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1445-1449, p. 341-342; Table XXXVII; LXXIX; cf. also *www.zeno.ru*, No. 5463. — **P** A Turkic ruler of Farghāna or Otrar (7th - 8th c.; final quarter of 7th century as Baratova, 1999, p. 234, 273, who points out that this type of coins is more usual in Otrar than in Farghāna). — **D** "Brave Kaghan – Military governor", for writing *'δpw* cf. *''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'* (#38): after #1268.

> However, one can read (on the coin from Zeno.ru) *'δpr*, *'δpc*, *'δpk*, *'δpw*. If *'δpc*, it has some phonological similarity to *Ebozhi* (遏波支, EMCh. *ʔat-pa-ʨiă/ʨi*), the name of the ruler of Kasan (627-656 CE). Liv. (apud Baratova, 1999, p. 234) proposes to read *twtmš 'δpw x'γ'n*.)

'δrw > 'δkw #57

59. *'drxwrmzd*, *'drxwrmzt*, *'dwrxwrmzt* /*Āδurxurmizd?*/ m.: **B** C, *']drxwr[mzd*: *C2*, 6R 11 (restoration by Hansen, doubted by Sims-W., cf. 6R, a, p. 35); *'(d)r(x*wr*)mzd*: *C2*, 6R 14; *'w 'drx(*wrmzt*)[*: *C2*, 7R 23; = *[= 'drx](w)r(m)zt*: *C2* 7R 24; *'w ''(d)r(x)[wrmzt*: *C2*, 7V 20; *'y]('d)r(x)[wrmzt*: *C2*, 7V, 21; *] | 'dwrxwrmzt d[wγt'*: *C2*, 26 R8. — **P** Father of *n'xyd* (#94: 2),

a Christian martyr. — **D** MP *Ādur-Ohrmazd* ("Fire (of) Ahuramazda", or "Fire (and) Ahuramazda", cf. GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, p. 38), *via* Syr. *'drhwrmyzd*, *'dwrhwrmyzd*.

On the details of S transcription see SIMS-W., C2, p. 68; for *x* in the place of MP (and Syriac) *h* see under *wxwr'n* (#1362).

60. **'dwrprzqrt, 'drprzqrt** /*Āδurfrazgerd?*/ m.: **B** C, *qw 'dwr(p)r)[zqrt mɣwy](')w'zy s'*.: *C2*, 12 V5; *qw ')dr(przqr)t (s')*: *C2*, 12 V6; *ptɣwš xw 'dwrprzqrt*: *C2*, 12 V7. — **P** A magus, oppressor of *n'xyd* (#94: 2). — **D** MP *Ādur-Frazgerd*, "Fire + ?". SIMS-W. (*C2*, p. 68, n. 2) compares the second part to NP *farāz kardan* "to close"; JUSTI (*INB*, p. 3a) – to *afrōz* "anzünden"; the quantity of the second (short) *a* makes comparison to MP *Ādurfrazgar* (*'twlplckly*, which GIGNOUX [*IPNB* II/2, p. 36] derives from **fračā-kara-* "to progress") preferable, and this etymology is accepted by GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 21a, for *'dwrprzgrd* in Syr. original. On the peculiarities of the S transcription see SIMS-W., loc. cit.

61. **'dwrsrwš** /*Āδursrōš*/ m.: **B** C, *mn' fry z'ty 'dwrsrwš*.: *C2*, 13 R26. — **P** A Persian nobleman, the proposed bridegroom of *n'xyd* (#94: 2). — **D** MP "(god of) Fire and Srōš", cf. MP *Srōš-Ādur* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, p. 160), *'dwrsrwšy* in Syriac (GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 29: with a hypocoristic).

'dwrxwrmzt > 'drxwrmzd #59

'ɣwšyk > xwš'kk #1454: 3

62. **'ɣwt** /?/ m.: **B** N, *pysk ZK | 'ɣwt (?) BRY: UI1*, No. 403 (No. 39: 98); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — **P** Father (*nisba*?, family-name?) of *pysk* (#987: 9). — **D** Unclear; the writing is very poor, only *wāw* is clear.

HUMB.'s reading (*SIF*, No. 122b) was *rxwt*(??), to which HARMATTA (1994, p. 439) added a very attractive interpretation as a *nisba* to Arachosia (OInd. *Sárasvatī-*, OP *Harauvati-*, NP *Ruxxad*, *Ruxxaǰ*, etc.; see SCHMITT, 2001), but *'ɣwt* is paleographically preferable.

63. **'knšk** /*Ɉkanišk*/ m.: **B** B, *'knšk 'stwp' βrɣ'r*: *TSP*, 8, 29. — **P** Kaniṣka, the Kushān king (as an eponym of *stūpa* and *vihāra*). — **D** Transcription of an Indian form *Kaniṣka* (cf. Bct. *Κανηþκο*, etc.). Numerous

attempts have been made to provide an etymology for this name, see SIMS-W., *Invaders*, p. 236 ff; TREMBLAY, 2001, p. 138 n. 234 among the latest.

> This name probably does not reflect a historical memory of the Sogdians, who could once have been subjects of Kanishka, but is borrowed from a foreign Buddhist source; for the initial prothetic *aleph* cf. HENN., *Magi*, p. 141, n. 4 (cf. also the following word *'st'wp* for *stūpa*).

64. *'kwc'yk, 'kwcyk* /Ǝkučīk/ m.: **B1** N, *'kwc'yk* | *ZK rzm'nc BRY*: *UI2*, No. 606 (Dadam Das, No. 16:3; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 92); *'kwcyk* | *ZK (r)zm'nc BRY*: *UI2*, No. 647 (Dadam Das, 50:3, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 130). — **P1** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *rzm'nc* (#1055: 2). — **B2** N, *'kwcyk*: *UI1*, No. 20 (17: 15), Addenda p. 26; cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Originally, a *nisba* to *Kučā* in Chinese Turkestan, as *'kwcyk* in *So.*, p. 8, 12.

> Another reading of No. 20 is *'kwc'k* (preferred by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 64b and initially, by SIMS-W.). It may be a parallel form of the same *nisba* (cf. *'strwšnyk/'strwšnk* in *SDGM*, II "Ustrūšanian"), or a variant spelling of *kwc'k(H)* "mouth" (as a nickname).

65. *'kwsrH, 'kwsr'w, 'kwsrwH, 'xsrw* /Ǝkusəra?, Ǝxusrō/ m.: **B1** N, *'kwsrH 'δw C* | *XX XX XX X III II srδ*: Kulan-say Ia, *SÉSAS*, p. 375 ff. with photo No. 109-110; *'kwsr(w)H 'δ(r)y C* | *XII srδy m'x(y)* | *(n)'wsrδ(y●●●nt) m'xw*: Terek-Say II-a, 1-2, *SÉSAS*, p. 387-388 with ill. 113; *'kwsr'w 'δry C nw't II II* | *mwš srδ 'wxšwmspc m'xw* (?): Kulan-say, I-б, 1-2, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with photo No. 111. — **P1** Yazdigerd, the last Sassanian king (632-651) in dating formulae, cf. *yzdygyrd* (#1543: 1); here *Chosroes* is a generic name of a Sassanian Shahinshah, as commonly in the post-Sassanian Middle Eastern tradition, see MORONY, 1986. — **B2** N(M), *ms xw 'xsr(w-'xš)yδ*: *Tales*, I, 31. — **P2** A king (*'xšyδ*), interlocutor of a spirit (*γntrw*). — **D** From *Chosroes*. The Sogdian form of the Talas inscriptions was explained to represent a "compromise" between MP, NP *Husrō*, *Xusraw* and Arabic *Kisrā*, supplemented by a prothetic *aleph*, as in LIV., *Terek-say*, p. 55; *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 144-145. More probably, however, Sogdian inscriptions follow the Syriac form *k(w)srw* (LURJE, *Khamir*, No. 6; cf. GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 235) with the prothetic vowel.

> In the Manichean parable, obviously MP *Xusrō*, as noted by HENN., *Tales*, p. 481, n. a, who, however, left the passage untranslated. The reason for his appearance in the M parable is unclear. Cf. Pth. *xwsrw*, disciple of Mani in the *Kirchengeschiche*.

'kwš'nyk > kwš'nykk #601

66. *'kwt'kk* /Ǝkutak/ m.: **B1** N, *'kwt'kk | ZK xz'nc | BRY*: *UI1*, No. 381 (39: 76); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *xz'nc* (#1484: 2). — **B2** N, *'kwt'kk ZK | xšyt'kk | BRY*: *UI2*, No. 639 (47:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 111). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *xšyt'kk* (#1427).— **D** To S *'kwt-* "dog", probably a nickname (see under *βwβ*, #321), cf. *βwrkwt'k* (#328).

Cf. further, Elam. *Išba* for OIr. **spā-* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 196), Turkic names containing *it-* "dog" (*Onom. Turc.* I p. 313 ff.). Another possible reading is *'rwt'kk*. In this case, cf. *'rwtprnδ'yH* (#149). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17g, has *mrwt'kk*.

67. *'kwzyr, kwzyr* /Ǝkōžir?/ m.: **B** N, *δ'βr ZK 'kwz-y-r ZKn 'xwš(mry)k pnc | p(w)st*: Muγ, A-4, R7-8; *cnn kwzyr*: R10; *rty ● δ'βr kwz-y-r*: R11; *rty δ'βr 'kwz-yr*: R13 (*SDGM*, III, p. 60). — **P** A supplier of skins to *wxšmryk* (#1356). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 55, 82) understands it as *kwz* "hunchback" + hypocoristic suffix *-yr* which appears also in the names *yw'rnyr* (#1527) and *βrzyr'k* (#315) on the Sogdian soil.

Cf. also the borrowed *krt'yr* (#552); *wzyr* (?, next to #1391). On the **-ira-* hypocoristica in Iranian see GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, p. 8, 215; SCHMITT, 1980, p. 67, 72.

68. *'kyxcy* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *'ky(xc)y | (βn-)[*: *UI1*, inscr. under No. 363 (39: 58) in the different hand, cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** A visitor to Shatial(?), son (?) of *βn-[* (#299)? — **D** Unclear. SIMS-W. reads *'ky xcy* as "who is…", but does not exclude that a PN could be intended; another possible transliteration is *'ky(ny')y*.

69. (*'l'n* /Alan?/ m.: **B** N, *[●]w[●●] 'l'n prn(y) p(y)δ'r*: LIV., *Sujab*, p. 128-133; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 359, 363. — **P** The person who received the pithos. — **D** Turkic, cf. PN *Alan* (*Onom. Turc.*, p. 44-45, attested since 13th century; the meaning is explained as either "worried, troubled" or originating in the ethnic name *Alani*), *Alanï* as LIV., op. cit., p. 130; possibly *[●]w[●●] 'l'n* represents a single compound name (while *prny pyδ'r* apparently means "for the glory/honour of"). **)**

70. (*'lksndr'* /Aleksandrā/ f.: **B** C, *'lksndr'[*: *GP*, 317. — **P** Queen Alexandra, the wife of *d'dÿn'* (#413). — **D** Syr. *'lksndr'* /'Alek̲sandrā/, from Gr. Ἀλεξάνδρα; cf. *nksyntr* (#777). **)**

71. (*'lp'tmyš snkwn* /*Alpadmïš, Alp Atmïš Saŋun?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'lp'tmyš snkwn*: *BL*, C11; *'lp'tmyš snkwny pryw*: *BL*, C15 (obl.). — **P** A "general" (Turk. *saŋun* < Chin.) in Turfan. — **D** The Turkic name beginning with *alp* "hero", and ending with the title *saŋun*; the internal component can be explained in two ways.

> Initially, I took it as an participle in *mïš* from the denominative verb **alp-ad-* "to become a hero". Cf. OTu. *qut-ad-* "to become glorious", and *xwt'δmyš* (#1457); possibly also under *δykptryš 'ltwn t'š 'lp r'δm'z trx'n smwr* (#464). However the denominal *alp-ad* seems to remain otherwise unattested. Since 12th century we meet the Turkic name *Alpamïš* (*Onom. Turc.*, with a different etymology). Dr. Dmitry Rukhliadev, however, kindly suggested a different explanation (e-mail of 09.05.09): to see here a finite phrase *alp atmïš* "hero shot (an arrow, etc.)", with the past tense of the root *at-* (cf. Uygh. PN *Alp Turmïš* "hero remained/survived", see *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 55); he inquired further several independent informants of Turkic languages who shared an opinion this word meant "(keen)-shooter" and that it was used as a PN. For Turkic PNs containing *saŋun* see Zieme, 2006, p. 117-118.)

72. (*'lp 'yrkyn-* /*Alp Irkin*/ m.: **B** N, *'lp 'yrkyny nβ'nt*: DTS A20 (obl.). — **P** A trader of fabric (*rγzy*). — **D** Turkic, "brave Irkin", where *irkin* is a high title (cf. *'rsl'n kwyl 'rkyn*, #132; *'rsln 'yrk'yn*, #134).)

73. (*'lp pwγr'* /*Alp Buγra*/ m.: **B** N, *'lp pwγr' xwβw nypys*: *Semirechie*, p. 84, II-г. (given as *'lp pwγr' xwβw 'yny nypyš* in *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 146). — **P** The "ruler", author of an inscription from Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "brave male camel" (*buγra* is a very popular name-element among the Karakhanides).)

74. (*'lp pylk'* /*Alp Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N, *MN βγyšγ prn-βyrty 'lp pylk' xwβw*: LIV., *Semirechie*, p. 82-83, г 2; *SÉSAS*, p. 354-5. — **P** A recipient of a pithos, the lord (*xwβw*), who "received glory from the gods" (*täŋridä qut bolmïš*, *βγyšγ* is a wrong spelling of *βγyšty*). — **D** "Wise hero", *alp* and *bilgä* are very common elements in Old Turkic onomastics; cf. *Alp Bilgä qaγan*, the Uyghur ruler.)

75. (*'lp synγwr 'yn'l 'tyš* /*Alp Sïŋur Ïnal Atïš?*/ f.?: **B** N, *'lp synγ-(w)r 'yn'l 'tyš*: Kulan-say IIIa, 12, as *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with photo No. 111. — **P** A visitor to Kulan-say; possibly the mother of *yrwγpylk' x'twn* (#1516, if *t'š 'lpsnkwn 't'y t'š tγ'y 'yrβrtn trx'n xwβw*, #1218, is a name of a single person, namely her father). — **D** Turkic, cf. *'yšγ 'lpsynγwr 'yn'l 'ymyš* (#260).

However, *m* in *'ymš* and *t* in *'tyš* are written distinctly and consequently the inscription refers to two different persons. Turkic *Atïš* (if not from NP *ātiš* "fire"?) is attested as a PN by Maḥmud Kāšγarī, see *DrTS*, *Onom. Turc.*; *synγwr* is only faintly visible on the photo (cf. under *'yšy 'lpsynγwr 'yn'l 'ymš*), *alp* and *ïnal* are well attested. **)**

76. (*'lptrx'n* /Alp Tarqan/ m.: **B1** N, *'yny pšt'y xwβw | kwl tk'yn 'lptrx'n*: Inscription I-a, 3-4 from Terek-say. The present transliteration is based on LIV., *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 144, now *SÉSAS*, p. 375 ff. with photo No. 109-110; somewhat different in *Terek-say*, p. 53, *Semirechie*, p. 84 and *Bug. L-K*, p. 83 n. 12. — **P1** One of the writers of the Terek-say inscription I-a (907-908 CE). Alternatively, *kwl tk'yn 'lptrx'n* is a name of a single person. — **B2** N, *('lp?) trx'n (x)wβw pt(w)x x'twn*: inscription IIa (=Iв), from Terek-say, 1, 4 LIV., *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 146; *Terek-say*, Iв, 1, 3, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112; *snkwn ••wk 'lp trx'n xwβw •• tym •• 'yl pylk' x'twn*: IIa, 9-10. — **P2** A visitor to Terek-say, possibly the same person as his namesake in the inscr. I-a; I see *'lp trx'n* written at the end of the line in Terek-say Iв. — **D** "Brave Tarqan", a Turkic name, attested since the 10th century (*Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 53). **)**

77. (*'lp twγryl* /Alp Toγrïl/ m.: **B** N, *('lp?) twγryl(?•••)*: Terek-say, Iв, 1, 3; *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "hero-hawk" (the same compound name is attested also in Uyghur, see *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 55), the reading is unsure, however. Cf. *xwtlwγ 'yn'l 'ymš 'lp twγryl tγ'y twtγ 'ylcy*, #1468. **)**

78. (*'lp twtwx 'wyk'* /Alp Totoq Ögä/ m.: **B** N(M), *tδy βyk(k)[yr'nw...] | 'lp twtwx 'wyk' ...| s'r*: BL, A122-124. — **P** An *auditor*, a civil authority in Bäzäklik (likely to have been living outside the cloister, *βyk kyr'nw*). — **D** Uygh., "brave" + "military governor" + "master" (originally, "deputy", see GABAIN, 1973, p. 71-72).

The same *Alp Totoq Ögä* is mentioned as "Lord of the town of Gaochang" (*Qočo balïq begi*) on an Uygh. stake-inscription No. 1, 18, dated 1008 CE (MORIYASU, 2003, p. 85, YOSH., 2002c, p. 234-235); a certain *Alp Totoq* appears in an Uygh. prayer-text which is preserved in Kyoto library, see MORIYASU, 2004, p. 228, 13. **)**

79. (*'lpw xwtlwγ pylk'* /Alp Qutluγ Bilgä/ m.: **B** N(M), *wn'kw 'lpw xwtlwγ pylk' x'γ'n ••••• xšty*: KB-H, 1-6, 13(1), p. 18. — **P** The kaghan of the Uyghur Empire, 779-789. — **D** Turkic *Alp Qutluγ Bilgä* (Chinese *He*

Guduolu Pijia 合骨咄綠毗伽, EMCh. *γəp/γap kwət-twət-luawk bji-kaɨ/kɛː*),
"hero, brave" + "glorious" + "wise", cf. RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 239.

On the spelling *'lpw* see under *'y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'* (#38); for *xšty* "(he)
follows" cf. *(xc)nt* "(sie) verhalten sich", SUND., *PB*, b103, p. 55, which is, however, a
doubtful reading, as pointed out to me by Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS. **)**

80. (*'lp ••••••* /Alp-?/ m.?: B N-C, *'yny (••')r (•••••')r | 'lp •••••• |
pr ( )wyspw ( )nm'cy šy' | qty wb't 'myn w'myn*: an inscription from Qočo,
code T II D 416A, now MIK III/365; the whole text is written in the Syriac
script, while the second line (*'lp ••••••*) is in the national Sogdian one; ed.
DTS, p. 38; SIMS-W., *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 58, D, 2. — **P** A Christian in Qočo
(Turfan oasis). — **D** Turkic, *alp* "hero, brave" + ? **)**

81. (*'ltwn* /Altun/ m.?: B N, *]'n•w('ltwn) | (•••)pwγr' xwßw*: Terek-
say, 1ᴮ, 2, 19-20, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A part of the name of a
visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic "Gold", which is well attested as a PN, too.**)**

82. (*'ltwncwr snkwn* /Altunčor Saŋun/ m.: B N, *'ltwncwr snkwn*:
inscription IIᴦ, from Terek-say, 6-7, LIV., *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 146. — **P** A visitor to
Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "General Golden *Čor*" (for the latter title see s.v.
cwr, #391). **)**

83. (*'ltwn trx'n* /Altun Tarxan/ m.: B N, *'ltwn trx'n xwßw*: Terek-Say,
1ᴮ, 1, 2, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A visitor to Terek-Say. — **D**
Turkic, "Golden Tarkhan". **)**

84. (*'ltwn yk'n* /Altun Yegän/ m.: B N(C), *'ltwn yk'ny x'ny*: *DTS*, F8
(obl.); *'ltwn yk'n x'ny-cyk*: *DTS*, F25. — **P**: A nephew (?) of the priest *srkys*
(#1097: 2). — **D** Turkic, *yegän* is "nephew (on the sister's side)", typical as
the last part of a name, see ZIEME 1978-9, p. 86l; p. 98 (cf. *qwt'δδmyšyg'n*,
#602); *Altun* "gold". **)**

85. (*'ly'* /Ēlīyā/ m.: B C, *'t ms mwš' 't 'ly'*: C2, *55 R20; *]('ly).'* .: C2,
*105 R*2; *['t fty](r)pryw '(ly)'* .: C2, *105 R*4; *.. 't swd 'l(y)' (p)[šys'*: C2,
*105 R*5; *cwt 'ly' bywny 'yš [tγw]*: C5, 2, R5 (*STi*, p. 57-58; cf. *SC*, No. 73);
[mwš'] | 't 'l(y)': C5, 18, V11 (*STi*, p. 15-16); *yw tw' 't yw m(w)[š](')y (')t
[y](w) '(l)[y'y]*: (obl.) C5, 18, V16 (*STi*, p. 15-16; *Nachl. II*, p. 78; *SC*, No.

89 – I follow the last restoration). — **P** The Prophet Elijah. — **D** Syr. *'ly'* / *'Ēlīyā'*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

86. (*'lyqym* /Elyākīm/ m.: **B** C, *cn 'lyqym 'žt [γzwr]*: *C13*, 33, V15. — **P** Eliakim, a forefather of Jesus. — **D** Syr. *'lyqym* / *'Elyāqim*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

87. (*'lymxn 'p's* /Alīmxān Abbās/ m.: **B** N, *[x](w)yšt'y 'lymxn 'p's C XX XX XX srδ βrz 'z-w't*: LIV., 2004a; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 365-7. — **P** The teacher (I read LIV.'s *[n](p)yšt'y* "wrote" as *[x](w)yšt'y*) who received a pithos. — **D** Already an Islamic name, Arabo-Turkic *'Alīm-xān 'Abbās* (or, *'Ālim-xān 'Abbās*); however, the absence of *aleph* in *xān* needs additional explanation (Turkic influence, as in *Khamir*, No. 8?). **)**

88. (*'lyšγ* /Elīšā'/ m.: **B** C, *wnt' | pr 'lyšγ bywny*: MIK III 52, 14-15 (*STii* p. 536). — **P** The Prophet Elisha. — **D** Syr. *'lyš'* / *'Elīšā'*/, from Old Hebrew. For articulation of *'ayn* see s.v. *šmγwn* (#1169). **)**

89. *'m* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *'m*: UI2, No. 517 (53:23); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Probably unfinished; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 46b, reads *'mw*.

'm'wky'n > cm'wky'n #372

90. (*'m'yšw* /Em ᵞIšō/ f.?: **B** N(M), *rty 'm'yšw w'nkw | pty-škwy*: So 10100e v11-12 apud SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 245 + corr. *Manich. Ir.*, p. 512; the transliteration given above is based on a photo available in *DTA*. — **P** A person in the Manichean *Kirchengeschichte*. — **D** SUND. prefers to see here „Mutter Jesu" (Aram. *'m yšw'*; cf. Mani's disciple *Ἀβιησοῦς* "Jesus (is my) Father" apud TUBACH, 1997, p. 384) rather than "Mit-Jesus" (Aram. *'m yšw'*) as a nickname. **)**

_'mw > mr'mw #682_

91. (*'mwn* /Amōn/ m.: **B** C, *qw [] | 'mwn dyxwy xš'wn d'r s'*: C2, *94 V24-25. — **P** Amon, the governor of Samaria. — **D** Syr. *'mwn* / *'Amon*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

92. **’my’rwc** /Ǝmyārōč?/ m.: **B** N, *γ’mk ZK ’my’(rwc) BRY*: *UI1*, No. 360 (39: 55); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** Father of *γ’mk* (#479). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 41) understands it as *(’)my’* "pleasant" + *rwc* "light, bright" (hardly, "day"), cf. *sp’δrwc* (#1086), names containing *my’* (#722 ff.). Cf. OChor. *’my’kr(’)nk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 19. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17b, has *’myš●●*.

93. **’myc - - -** /?/ m.?: **B** N, *’myc ●●●*(?) | *ZK c ●●●●k* (?) | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 263 (36: 47); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *c●●●●k* (#411). — **D** Unclear; many letters are illegible.

† ’myt’ > ’’m’yt’ #15

94. **’n’xt, n’xyd** /Anāxət, Nāhīd/ m., f.: **B1** N, *’yky’’nk* | *ZK ’n’(x)t*: *UI1*, No. 207 (34: 93); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P1** Father (?) of *’yky’’nk* (#226). — **B2** C, *y’ n’x(y)dy*: (obl.) *C2*, 12 V9; *y’n’ ycy n’xyd xwtyn*: *C2*, 12 V11; *x’ šyrqtc n’xyd*: *C2*, 12 V12. — **P2** Anahid, the Christian martyr in Persia. — **D** In the case of the *UI* inscription, a short name from a compound with *Anāhitā*, see *’n’xtβntk* (#95), *δrym’t* (#442; the line is complete); the same reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 97.

The form *’n’xt* seems probably to be genuine S. The CS form *n’xyd* as well as in the day-name *n’xyδ zmnH* "dies veneris" (not only in Manichaean contexts, Muγ A-12, VI, 6, *SDGM*, I, p. 48, so to be read, cf. *SC*, No. 264) is borrowed from WMIr. *Nāhīd*. However, in the developed Sogdian pantheon Anahita's place as the chief goddess was largely occupied by Nanaia (*nny*). Cf. also OChor. PN *n’hyt’[k]*, LIV., 1984, p. 265. For the name of martyr, cf. Syr. *nhyt, n’yd, ’nhyd* (only the latter form is given by GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 39) in the underlying text. For *x* in the place of *h* see s.v. *wxwr’n* (#1362).

95. **’n’xtβntk** /Anāxətvande/ m.: **B1** N, *’n’xtβntk* | *ZK pykk UI1*, No. 131 (31: 102); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 171; *(’n’x)tβntk* | *ZK (py)kk BRY*: *UI1*, No. 159 (34: 45); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *pykk’* | *ZK ’n’xtβntk* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 328 (37: 2) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 222; *pykk’* | *ZK (’n●)*: *UI1*, No. 340 (39: 35); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. Comparison with Nos. 131, 159, suggests a genealogical line *pykk* (#977: 3) – *’n’xtβntk* – *pykk* (#977: 1) or *’n’xtβntk* – *pykk* – *’n’xtβntk* (cf. SIMS-W., *Ir. Inscr. Shatial*, p. 530). This reading is already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 106a (= 328). — **B3** N, *k’n’(sn)k’ ZK* | *’n’xtβntk* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 343 (39:

38); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P3** Father of *k'n'snk'* (#517); reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 27. — **D** "Slave of Anāhitā, (star) Venus".

An ambassador of the Chinese to Tujue in 545, An Nuopantuo (安諾槃陀, EMCh. *nak-ban-da*), could have had the same name (as DE LA VAISSIÈRE, *HMS II*, p. 204-5), but maybe also *nβγγβntk* (#774).

96. *'nc''t'k* /Anǰātak/ m.: **B** N, *MN δrγ''wtk n'β ZK 'nc''t'k xwn ZY xrt'k*: Муγ, Б-6, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149 [where line 3], cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of *Δarγāwut* (present day Darγ on the Upper Zarafšān). — **D** "Relaxed one" (as a nickname)? BOGOL., SMIR. read *'nc'nt'k* and consider it as a common adjective for the PN *xwn* (#1442: 1). The word itself they trace back to *'nc'y*, *'nc'n* "rest". LIV. recognizes a PN here (without etymology). The former derivation, however, does not explain the *t*. My reading *'nc''t'k* implies a (regular) perfect participle of the same root *'nc''y* "to rest" (CS *'nc'ty*).

The person in question could have had a double name, *'nc''t'k xwn*, where *xwn* "Turk" is a nickname of *'nc''t'k*, cf. *p'rs krzβy'rt* (#873; #558: 2) in the same text. This *'nc''t'k xwn* should be kept distinct from two other *xwn*-s from different villages in the Mugh documents.

'nc'nt'k > 'nc''t'k #96

97. (*'n cγn 'δγγ (?)* /En Čïqan Alqaγ?/ m.: **B** N, *'n | cγn | 'δγγ*: HARMATTA, *Avar Objects*, p. 62-4. — **P** A name (?) in a very cursive Sogdian (?) inscription (?) on a silver strap from an Avar grave in Zamárdi, Hungary. — **D** According to HARMATTA, OTu. *en čïqan alqa-γ* "short + nephew + blessed". The inscription (if indeed an inscription?), alas, is too faint and laconic for any degree of surety in its explanation. **)**

98. (*'ndr'ws* /Andrēwas/ m.: **B** C, *'t | 'ndř'ws wyny: br't*: *C5*, 14, V14-15 (*STi*, p. 32-33). — **P** The Apostle Andreas. — **D** Syr. *'ndr'ws* /'Andre'was/, from Gr. Ἀνδρέας. **)**

99. *'nγtn'w* /A^{n}γatnaw?/ m.: **B** N, *'nγtn'w ZK | 'nγtsp''δ BRY*: *UI1*, No. 188 (34: 74); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'nγtsp''δ* (#100). — **D** *'nγt = 'nγt'k* "assembled, complete" (*UI2*, p. 41), while *n'w* may be "new", "new moon", or even "boat". The last meaning "assembled, ready boat", although looking unlikely *per se* (cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 58),

seems to fit with his father's name, *'nγtsp''δ* "(he who has an) assembled army". This reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 52b.

100. *'nγtsp''δ* /A*ⁿγatspāδ*/ m.: **B** N, *'nγtn'w ZK* | *'nγtsp''δ BRY*: *UI1*, No. 188 (34: 74); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P** Father of *'nγtn'w* (#99). — **D** "(He who has an) assembled army", note the parallelism between the father's and the son's names. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 52b has already given this reading. Cf. now Bct. *Αγγαδοσπαλο*.

101. *'nγtznx* /A*ⁿγat-?*/ m.: **B** N, *βxc* | *'nγtznx* (?): *UI1*, No. 389 (39: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P** Father (?) of *βxc* (#335: 1). — **D** *'nγt* "assembled" + ?

One can read *-xzn*, *-rxn* at the end. In the last case, the name would be "assembled courage" (S *rxn-* "to dare"). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 15, has *''γt●●●●* and LIV. (apud HUMB., op. cit., p. 225) corrects the initial part in *'nγt-*.

102. *'ngwdcyw'* /Angud-*žīwā?*/ m.: **B** C, *'ngwdcyw'*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 6. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Probably Parthian *Angud-žīwā* "quietus vivat!", "let him live having found rest!", as SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 57. Cf. OChor. PN *zyw'tk*, LIV., 1984, p. 272, 6; p. 285, n. 141, if it is a hypocoristic from /*žīwāt*/ "let him live".

103. (*'nkwrm'r* /Angulimāl/ m.: **B** B, *ZY 'nkwrm'r pwst'k*: *TSP*, 2, 648. — **P** The eponym of Añgulimāla-sūtra, interlocutor of Buddha in this Sūtra. — **D** Skt. *Añgulimāla*, lit. "garland of fingers", regular rendering in S. **)**

104. *'np●●k* /?/ m.: **B** N, (*'np●●k*)(?) | *βγ'βy'rt* | *ZK sr'wk* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 127 (31: 98); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170; "The top edge of the rock has broken away, leaving only the lower part of the first line (which may in any case belong to a different inscription)" (*UI1*, p. 18). — **P** A visitor to Shatial(?), companion of *βγ'βy'rt* (#275: 3), son of *sr'wk* (#1091: 3)? — **D** Unclear. Cf. OChor. *'nptk*, LIV., 1984, p. 264, *np''k*, #809?

105. *'nšy'tc* /Anšyatič?/ m.: **B** N, *rtcn* | *'nšy-'tc MN δrγ-H*: Муг, Б-15, 9-10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 150, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 174; *SDGM*, III, p. 79). — **P** A person in the village Δarγ (Upper Zarafshan), who sent something ("post", *pryt'* = Ar. *barīd*? Cf. *Khamir*, No. 17) to *'sp'δ'k* (#158: 2). — **D** Unclear.

BOGOL., SMIR. read it as *'nšy-ntc* and derive this name from **hama-šayant-* "settle-comrade", as the NP *hamnišīn*. The fifth letter, however, is hardly *n*. LIV. did not give an

etymology, but now (in a letter from 01.10.2007, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 175), he understands it as OIr. **ham-šyat-iča-* "co-joyous" (which, however, remains difficult in view of historical phonology of the form, cf. *'nc''t'k*). One can also read *'zšy'tc, rnšy'tc, rzšy'tc*. In the latter case, if *tc* stands for the suffix /č/ (cf. *rwtcyk* for *rwcyk* in *SDGM*, III, 74 and *SSeele*, 129, comm. p. 144, *βwtc'k*, #331) the name can mean "(the one who has) right (M *rz-*) memory (*'šy'H*)".

†'nšyntc > 'nšy'tc #105

'nt'wy > 'rt'wy #136

106. *'ntr•δy'n* /?-yān/ m.: **B** N, *rty 'ntr*(?)*•δy'n mrδ nxwy wγ'š(t)y-'kH*: Муγ, Б-19, x+6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 152, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 177; *SDGM*, III, p. 76). — **P** Unclear passage. — **D** Everything except *y'n* "boon" is unclear.

BOGOL., SMIR. have *''ycy*(?) *rδy'n* here and interpret *rδy'n* as "coachman". Another possible transliteration would be *''ts-r-δy'n*. I venture to understand it as "boon of a horse-year", implying that *''t* is Turkic *at* "horse" in the place of S *'sp-*, cf. in this connection Uygh. *panč-ay* "five month" (Irano-Turkic) as a part of a PN, as ZIEME, 2006, p. 123.

107. (*'ntwn, 'ntwnys* /Antōn, Antōniyos/ m.: **B** C, *qw šyrqtw '](nt)wn s'*: *C2*, *39 R10; *'ntwnys ptr·y (r)[w'ny*: *C2*, *40 R5. — **P** St. Antonius. — **D** Syriac *'ntwn* /'Antōn/, *'ntwnys* /'Antōniyos/ from Latin. **)**

108. *'ntwH* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), *'-n-t-w-H*: ZEIMAL, 1983b, p. 245, cf. *NPIN*, p. 289-290, No. 1255. — **P** A ruler in Samarkand, 1-5ᵗʰ century CE? — **D** Unclear.

ZEIMAL was inclined to see here the name of Antioches (whose coins were copied by Samarkand kings, cf. *'nty' xws*, #111); ALRAM does not give a transliteration. Read *'ztwm* (cf. names on *''zt-*, #42– 44; *zrwm*, #1563)?

109. *'nwš-*/Ǝnōš-?/ m.?: **B** N(A), *'nwš•••*: inscription on a clay sealing found in the sector 5 of excavations of Yerkurgan (Ancient Nakhshab) in 1974, see ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 133, tracing of its legible part in ISAMIDDINOV, SULEJMANOV, 1984, p. 99, photo in SULEJMANOV, 2000, table 200, 2. — **P** The owner of a seal with a portrait in its center and weakly preserved surrounding legend in Sogdian (it is dated to the 4ᵗʰ – 6ᵗʰ century CE according to the stratigraphy of the find). — **D** If it is a name, it starts with OIr. **anauša-* "immortal", Sogdian *nwš-* (cf. #833 ff.), as ISKHAKOV, loc. cit.

However, I did not have access to ISKHAKOV's article "Согдология в Узбекистане и ее перспективы" in *Адабий Мерос*, 1983, 3 (27), p. 20-24", where it was reportedly published for the first time. I do not see the suggested reading on the photo.

110. *'nwtc* /*A^nwatič*/ m.: **B N, *MN (δ)p'x kw 'nwtc*: Муɣ, A-7, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 74, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 82; *SDGM*, III, p. 64); *MN 'βtm'wt'k 'nwtc ZY pryxwz'k*: Муɣ, Б-6, 1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of *Ǝftamāwut* (present day Falmovut on the Upper Zarafšān), the companion of *pryxwz'k* (#933), an addressee of a receipt. — **D** A hypocoristic or adjective from *'nwtH* "hope", cf. *βɣ'nwṯ MN*, 117; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 15.

S *'nwtH*, CS *'wt*, which is synonymous to Bct. *φρομιγγο* in the epistolary formulae, means more precisely "hope" (SIMS-W., 2006, p. 711) rather than "support" with LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 88-89).

111. (*'nty' xws-* /*Antiyāxōs*/ m.: **B C, *qw 'nty' xwsy ptqry | [st'ny s']*: (obl.) *Eugen* R2-3. — **P** Antiochus, whose temple in Nisibis (cf. SUND., *Eugen*, p. 326) was reconstructed into a church by Mār Jakob and Mār Milles (#729). — **D** Syriac forms given in *Thes. Syr.* are *'nṭywkws*, *'nṭykws*, *'nṭyks* /*'Anṭiyoḵos*/ (all transcribing Gr. *Ἀντίοχος*), from which the Sogdian one deviates with its internal *aleph* (note that the long *ā* which is often spelt with *aleph* was realized as /*o*/ in Western Syriac). **)**

112. *'p'nc'nk* /*Ǝpānjāne?*/ m.: **B N, *'p'nc'nk* (?): *UI1*, No. 398 (39: 93); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236; the letters *-c'n-* are quite unsure. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 41) relates it to S *pn'nc* "co-wife" + adjective suffix *'nk*, thus "the son of co-wife", for the loss of the initial *n* cf. *sp'ncnyw* (#159) etc. Maybe a wrong spelling of *''p'nc'nk* "related to the month *''p'nc*", cf. also *''p'nc* (#22)?

HUMB., *SIF*, No. 18, had *mp'nc 'rk*.

113. (*'pɣ* /*Abïɣ*/ m.: **B C, *'pɣ*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 7. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Turkic, lit. "hidden", also attested as PN, cf. SIMS-W., 1992b, p. 57 n. 73 with ref.; *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 3. **)**

114. *'pɣwškc* /*Ǝpɣōšakič*/ m.: **B N, *rty ''(st) 'pɣwš(k)c 'ywH 'z-y-H*: Муɣ, Б-1, L5 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a spear (or a water-skin, *'zyH*). — **D** According to BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 90), to **'p-ɣwš-'k* "earless" (cf.

’pδ’ty "illegal, lawless"), where *-č* is a suffix, probably as a nickname. Cf. Turkic *Qulaqsïz* "id." as PN (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 488).

115. ’pkwtrk’ /*Ǝpukutarak?*/ m.: **B** N, *xwn ZK* | *’pkwtrk’* (?): *UI1*, No. 362 (39: 57); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** Father (second name?) of *xwn*. — **D** Unclear; the writing is unsure, and one can also read *’prwtkk’*, cf. *’prwtβntk* (#189), *pr’wt* (#891). If *’pkwtrk’* is correct, it could come from *’pw kwtr’k* "without family", cf. *x’n kwtr’y* (#1397) etc. Could it be a nickname of *xwn*? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17c, has *’prwtrk●k*.

116. (**’plyn** /*Apellen*/ m.: **B** C, *q(w) (’)ply.n ptry s’*: C67, V5 apud *STSC-2*, p. 66. — **P** *Apellen, an Egyptian hermit. — **D** The name originates in a clerical confusion. The hero of the story, monk Helles, Ἕλλης, was confused with *Apollo* in the following anecdote into *’pylywn* in the Syriac version, wherefrom Armenian *Apełes*, *Pełeon*; see SCHWARTZ, *STSC-2*, p. 77.)

† ’pr’wn > ’pš’wn #121

117. ’prštk /*Ǝpəᵊšte?*/ m.: **B** N, *pysk* | *ZK ’prštk* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 475 (50:18); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P** Father of *pysk* (#987: 11). — **D** Etymology from S *(’)pršt* "escaped, fled" (PPP) is supported by the similarity of OTu. PN *Küräg* "runaway, fugitive" (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 41), cf. *pršt’’z* (#920), *kwr’k* (#590).

Hardly related to S *βr’št*, M *fršt* (**fra-rašta-*) "(the one) erected, led, settled" (also PPP). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 6, has *’pršyw●●*; SIMS-W. notes that the name is clearly visible on the rock.

118. ’prtmy’n /*Ǝfəᵊtamyān*/ m.: **B** B, *’prtmy-’n δst’*: *TSP*, 8, 183. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** "The first boon".

Cf. *βtrc* (#49), *prmyw’c* (#922), maybe *βtm* (#46 bis); further Chinese transcription *Fudanyan* (拂[?]虼延, *pʰut-təm/tam-jian*), HENN. apud PULLEYBLANK, 1952, p. 333 n. 1; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 200 No. 22; Tumšuq *Hvardamaya* < *’prtmy* (?), cf. YOSH., 1993a, p. 255; IPth. *prtm* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 191), *Par-ta-am-mu* in Babylonian rendering (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 437).

† ’prwn > ’pš’wn #121

119. ’prwtβntk, pr’wtβntk /*Ǝfrōtvande?*/ m.: **B1** N, *’prwtβntk* | *ZK prn’kk BRY*: *UI2*, No. 614 (Dadam Das, 22:4; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). — **P1** A visitor to

Shatial, son of *prn'kk*. — **B2** N, *βr'yšmnβntk δrymtβntk | pr'wtβntk*: Xian, 30-31. — **P2** Son of *wyrk'k* (#1381). His Chinese name was *Fu-lu-duo* (富卤多, EMCh. *puwʰ-lɔ'-ta*); note the parallelism between the three brothers' names. — **D** "Slave of *(')pr(')wt*".

> The initial *'prwt* may be identical with *pr'wt* (cf. also *py'wt*, #972) and can now be compared to Bct. names *Φρωδαγο*, *Φρωδασπο*, *Φρωδοκο* (*BD II*); etymologically, one can derive S *(ə)frōt* from OIr. **fra-varti-*, Av. *frauuaši-* with progressive assimilation of the second *r* (but cf. CS *frwrt*, N(M) *prwrty*, S*Seele*, p. 138-139; the problem, however, remains in the prothetic *aleph*, which is normally absent before /*fra-wᵒ*/)? The earlier explanations of *'prwt-* as a derivative of OIr. **upa-rautah-* "dwelling in the river" (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 41-42), or as OIr. **(apa)-rvat* "to command", OIr. **apa-*, **upa-* or **apara-rvata-* (Av. *uruuata-* "Gebot, commandment", as HUMB., 1994, p. 181), or a toponym "sur la rivière", as GRENET (*Trois Documents*, p. 198) do not agree with Bct. *Φ-*; maybe **fra-rvata-*? Cf. also IPth. *p(rwt)k*, which remains, however, an unsure reading (see SCHMITT, 1998, p. 193).

†'pstnrw'k, 'pstnwnk > 'pstnw'k #120

120. *'pstnw'k, 'pstn'w'k* /Ɣpstanawe?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY 'pstnw'k pnc kpc*: Муγ, Б-9, 2; *ZY 'pstnrw'k pnc kpc*: Б-9, 5 (*SDGM*, III, p. 32-33). — **P** A porter of the Framānδār *'wtt* (#204). — **D** Unclear. Cf. S *'pstnH* "delay"; or *'pst-* (*'pγt-*, *'pšt-*?), a kind of goods (sort of wine?) which is distributed in this document?

> BOGOL., SMIR. read the name as *'pstnrw'k* (although there is no trace of *r* in line 2) and explain it on p. 90 as a nickname "slowcoach", from *'pstnH* "delay" + pres. part *rw'k* "going" (which is absent in S). LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 120) transliterates *'pstnwnk* (without etymology).

121. *'pš'wn, 'pšwn* /Ɣfšūn?/ m.: **B** N, *'t x'xsrc xwβw 'pšwn*: Муγ, B-17, R1; *'t x'xsrc xwβ 'pšwn*: Муγ, B-17, R20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 116, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 128; SIMS-W. apud F. GRENET, *Huns*, p. 184); *'t x'xsrc xwβw 'pšwnw*: (graph. acc.) Муγ, B-18, 1; *'t x'x-src xwβw 'pšwnw*: (graph. acc.) B-18, 20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 123, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 132; *Last Days*, p. 159); *'t βγw xwβw RBcH 'nwtH MN wy-spn'cy 'nwty 'msy-'tr x'xsrcw xwβw 'pš'wn*: Муγ, B-16, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 126-7, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 137); *'t βγw xwβw RBcH 'nwtH MN wy-spn'(c)[y 'nwty 'msy'tr x'xsrcw] | xwβw 'pš'wn*: Муγ, B-14, a1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 129, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 142); *MN xypδ βntk rwstyk xwβ | 'p-š'wn*: Муγ, B-9, R2-3; *MN | βntk rwstyk xwβ 'pšwn*: Муγ, B-9, R14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 157, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 184); *'pšwn 'δw k('γδ?)'k*: Муγ, A-1, V6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 143 (without translation), cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 166; *SDGM*, III, p. 73); *ZY 'y-w tβt'k*

'pšwn xyρδ | spt'k: A-1, R11-12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 142, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 163; *SDGM*, III, 43); *MN xyρδ (βn)tk | rwstyk xwβ 'pš'wn*: Muγ(?) document located in Afrasiab Museum, R2-3 apud *Last Days*, p. 179-180. — **P** A prince of *Xāxsar* (lit. "head of a springs") on the Darγam canal, 2 farsakhs from Samarkand, and of *rwst-*, future *Rōstfaγn*, a subordinate of Δēwāštīč (#471; in the difficult text A-1, possibly some homographic commodity is intended). — **D** Unclear.

An earlier reading *'pr(')wn* was abandoned on epigraphic reasons by SIMS-W. in favour of *'pšwn*, *'pxwn* or *'pγwn*. The form *'pγwn*, as NP *ābgūn*, could mean "brilliant" (BOGOL., SMIR., *SDGM*, III, p. 74); *'pšwn* (cf. *βš'wn*) resembles OIr. **fšuyant-* "shepherd", cf. *βšy'ws* from nom. sg. **fšuyans* (HENN., 1965b, p. 44, No. 4, cf. *UI2*, p. 39); on the other hand, it sounds similar to the title *Afšīn* (as suggested by Dr. Khodadad REZAKHANI at the meeting of ISIS, London, August 2006). Cf. now Bct. family(?)-name *Βαροναυο*.

122. *'pš••-c* /?/ m.?: B N, *'pš••-c*: *Graff.*, No. 11. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, middle 8th century. — **D** Maybe *'wγ••-c*, *cpx••-c* etc. Probably, with hypocoristic suffix *-c*, other parts remain incomprehensible.

123. *'pwn'k* /?/ m.: B M, *o 'p(wn')k[*: *Ōt.*, 6191, V4, p. 198. — **P** A name (?) in the Manichean calendar fragment. — **D** Unclear; cf. *''pn'k* (#23)?

'r'γsrt, 'r'γtrt, 'r'ztkt > 'rxntrt #150

124. *'r'•* /?/ m.?: B N, *'βy'ryk | nny'kk | ZK 'r'•* (?) | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 238 (35: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 202. — **P** Father of *nny'kk* (#786: 5)? — **D** Unclear.

Cf. the names beginning with *r'm(-)*? For the prothetic *aleph* in this theonym cf. Chinese rendering *a-lan* (阿覽, EMCh. *ʔa-lam'*) and variant spellings of the place-name *(a)Rāmēθan* near Buxārā (*ILAST*, p. 115), also Bct. *Αραμιγαυο*.

'rδβ'n > 'rtyβ'n #138

125. *'rγ''sy••* /Arγ-?/ m.: B N, *'rγ''sy --* (?) | *ZK wk ----*: *UI1*, No. 38 (23: 9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 145. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *wk - - - -* (#1312). — **D** The final letter(s) are of unusual shape. The name probably begins with *'rγ* "value", cf. #126.

126. *'rγ'yn* /Arγēn/ m.: B N, *wxwšw'sk'n | ZK (')rγ'yn | BRY*: *UI1*, No. 7 (5: 30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; *wxwšw'sk''n | ZK 'rγ'yn BRY*: *UI1*, No. 364 (39: 59); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231; *wxwšw'sk''n | ZK 'rγ'yn BRY*: *UI1*, No. 391 (39:

86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P** Father of *wxwšw'sk'n* (#1366). — **D** The final
-*'yn* may be a hypocoristic (from OIr. *-*ina*-, *-*aina*-), while *'rγ* is probably
"value" (as *UI2*, p. 42, 45). HUMB., *SIF*, 78a (=No. 7), 124a (=364), No. 16a
(= No.391) has *xrγcyn*, (while the accepted reading *'rγ'yn* is introduced by
LIV. apud *SIF*, p. 228).

127. (*'rqdys* /*Arkaδīs*/ m.: **B** C, *cn ('r*qd*)[ys frwmyqty xwšywny]*: *C2*, 1R
14. — **P** Arcadius, the Eastern Roman Emperor (395-408). — **D** Syriac
'rqdys /*'Arqaḏiyos*, *'Arqaḏīs*/ from Gr. Ἀρκάδιος. **)**

†'rksyntr > nksyntr #777

128. *'rm'ts'c* /*Armat-sāč*/ m.: **B** N(A), *'rm't(s)['](c) (c)wcny δrw'k 'yncy*:
AL2 (2), R5. — **P** A Sogdian trader in Jiuquan, Gansu. — **D** HENN. (*Date*, p.
605, n. 1) compared this name to *'rs'c* (#131), *γwtms'c* (#501; also *yzts'c* in
the *UI* inscription, #1548) and Av. *daēno.sāč-* "der sich auf die Religion
versteht, darin unterrichtet ist"; alternatively to S *s'c* "to fit, be proper". The
first part of the name is not clear.

> Already REI., *HRII*, p. 44, derived *'rm't* from Av. deity *(spəntā) Ārmaiti* "(holy) thought",
> cf. *spnd'rmt rwc*, the fifth day of the S calendar. However, one would expect **'rm(y)tH*
> as its regular outcome in S. On the other hand, the name possesses a certain similarity to
> North Pontic Αρμαδης (ZGUSTA, 1955, §616; of Minor Asiatic origin according to
> TOKHTASJEV, 2007, No. 4, but I could not find the exact Anatolian parallels to this name),
> Elam. *Irmatiš*, (its derivation from *Ārmaiti- is also "lautlich schwierig", as MAYRHOFER,
> *OnP*, 8.635), Late Babylonian *Ar-ra-ba/ma-ti* (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 41), Aram.
> /*Aramatidāta*/, cf. also *Step. Ir.*, No. 3. Cf. also OChor. PN *'rm*, LIV., 1984, p. 264
> (and *'rm* written in archaic S script on a pottery fragment found in Afrasiab, see
> ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 121-22)?

129. (*'rn'ym, 'rny'm* /*Aranēm*/ m.: **B** B, *[oo 'rn'ym x](wt'w) XII ptr*:
Araṇemi, Pt. 2 V margin; *](o ywn'k) 'rny('m x)[wt'](w?)*: *Araṇemi*, Pt. 4, 4
(mistake?); *](●mw)['rn]('ym xwt'w)*: *Araṇemi*, Pt 4, 6; *['rn'y](m) xwt'(w)*:
Araṇemi, Pt 5, 3; *'rn'ym xwt'w X[*: *Araṇemi*, Pt. 10-11, headline; *['rn'y](m
xwt'w*: *Araṇemi*, 12, 2. — **P** A king in the Buddhist Jātaka. — **D** Indian
Araṇemi. This Jataka has come down to us in Turkic, Tocharian and
Tumshuqese versions as well (cf. SCHMIDT, 1988, p. 307-8; HAMILTON,
1986, text 1).

> One can restore *['r](n')ym*, the partially legible name of a "pious, acting in accord with
> *punya*" character in S fragment LM20: 1480/22(02) which was presented by Yutaka

YOSHIDA at the Boris MARSHAK memorial conference in Petersburg in November 2008. This text is surely not a Buddhist composition, but the popularity of the *Araṇemi*-Jātaka in Central Asia could possibly transgress the borders of the Buddhist community. **)**

130. *'rns●tk* /?/ m.: B N, *s's''n ZK* | *'(rns●)tk BRY*: **UI2**, No. 498 (53:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — **P** Father of *s's''n*. — **D** Unclear. Cf. *'rn-* "to move, urge"?; or "to mill" (as *xwtyyw'rn*, #1475)?

'rny'm > *'rn'ym* **#129**

131. *'rs'c* /*Arsāč?*/ m.: **B N(A), *'ḤRZY 'rs'c* | *kc'ny δrw'k 'yncyy*: **AL2 (2)**, R5-6. — **P** A Sogdian trader in Guzang (Gansu). — **D** For -*s'c*, see s.v. *'rm'ts'c* (#128). The first part is unclear; possibly a simplification of **'rt-s'c* "fitting to/knowing the truth"?

'rsqny: > *šmγwn* **#1169: 2**

'rsl'n > *twnk' 'rsl'n* **#1260**

132. (*'rsl'n kwyl 'rkyn* /*Arslan Kül Irkin*/ m.: **B N, *'rsl'n kwyl 'rkyn*: coin, LIV. apud NASTICH, 1989, p. 114-115, No. 219; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 236; KAMYSHEV, 2002, No. 45; *zeno.ru*, No. 5956; 25614. — **P** A ruler in the Chu valley, 9th - 10th century (?); possibly the same person as *'rsl'n pylk' x'γ'n* (#133), or as *'rsln 'yrk'yn* (#134). — **D** Turkic, "Lion-kül-irkin", cf. *kwl tkyn* (#579), *'lp 'yrkyn* (#72), etc.

> It is noteworthy that the title *kül irkin* was associated with the Qarluq tribe (*DrTS*, p. 212; cf. RÁSONYI, 1953, p. 336-7, on the meaning and further attestations of *Kül Irkin*) who resided in the Chu valley at that time, see under *kwp'k* (#589). Note the Uyghur orthography of *wy*, *l*. For *Arslan* as an Uyghur PN see GABAIN, 1973, p. 72; further *comparanda* in *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 73 ff. **)**

133. (*'rsl'n pylk'* /*Arslan Bilgä*/ m.: **B N, *βγy 'rsl'n pyl̠k' x'γ'n pny*: coin, LIV. apud NASTICH, 1989, p. 102; LIV., *Ак-Бешим*, p. 168; cf. BARATOVA, 1999, p. 236, KAMYSHEV, 2002, No. 46-48; *zeno.ru*, No. 1033, 1741-2, 3502, 5196 (note the decorative shape of *l* in the word *pyl̠k'*). — **P** A ruler in the Chu valley, 9th – 10th century. — **D** Turkic, "Wise Lion kaghan", cf. *'rsl'n kwyl 'rkyn* (#132). His namesake *Arslan bilgä täŋri ilig* was ruling in Turfan at the end of the 10th century, see MORIYASU, 2004, p. 222. **)**

134. (*'rsln 'yrk'yn* /Arslan Irkin/ m.: **B** N, *'rsln 'yrk-'-y-n xwβw pny ||
prn* (mirrored): coin, KAMYSHEV, 2002, No. 33-34; cf. *zeno.ru*, No. 5955,
20696. — **P** A ruler of the Türgeš circle (8th century), the majority of his
coins was found near Tarāz. — **D** LIV. apud KAMYSHEV reads *'yn'l tkyn*, but
now better specimens have came to light, where *'rsln 'yrk'yn* "lion irkin" (cf.
names with *'rsl'n*, #132 ff; *'lp 'yrkyn*, #72) is clearly visible; note the
irregular (and Sogdian rather than Uyghur) orthography of both elements. **)**

135. *'rspn* /Arspan/ m.: **B** N, *pr ('rs)p(n*?*)H prm'nH*: Муγ, A-9, Vbis, 2
(*SDGM*, II, p. 94, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 100; *Last Days*, p. 172); *pr (')rspn prm'nH*:
Муγ, Б-12, 5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 155, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 182; III, p. 48); *ZK 'rspn
ZKwy xypδ pwstk ny-py-s*: Муγ, Nov. 2, R10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 104, cf. *SÉSAS*,
p. 111; *Last days*, p. 163); *[rty] ''st ZK 'rspn 'ywH 'zyH*: Б-1, 4 (*SDGM*, III,
p. 44). — **P** A figure in the Муγ documents. — **D** Common noun "keeper,
steward", at least in origin, known from C *spncyrspn, spnc'rspn* "ὀικονόμος"
(Муγ *'spnc'rspn*, cf. *'spnc'rspn z'tk*), also *'pš(')rspn* "deputy-Arspan" in
Муγ Б-17, x+3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 176, III, 78; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 211).

In several cases it is not a PN but a title (Б-18, 1, *SDGM*, II, p. 153, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 179;
SDGM, III, p. 77, where *'rspn* is the head of Ɜzrāwaδk village with the name *'xwprn*
(#215); probably, it is also not a PN in Nov.2 and Б-1, where it is preceeded by the article
ZK, which is typical for common nouns but not for PNs in the Mt. Муγ documents), but in
others it could be a PN (as a professional nickname). The etymology of S *'rspn* is not
clear, maybe **hara-spana*- "he who takes care of profit", as *SDGM*, III, p. 110. Cf. towns
Arsubānīkaθ in Ustrušana and in Ispēčāp (LURJE, 2003, p. 193).

† *'rt > krzβy'rt* #559: 2

136. *'rt'wy* /Artawi?/ m.: **B** N(A), *'-r-t-'-w-y || γ-w-'-z-n*: coin, *NPIN*, p.
283-284, No. 1240, cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 20187. — **P** A ruler of Buxārā (?,
1st – 3rd century CE), who issued coins in the fashion of Hyrcodes. — **D**
HENN. (*Mittelir.*, p. 26; followed by ZEIMAL', 1983b, p. 252) read *'nt'wy*;
ALRAM's transliteration *'rt'wy* would suggest a name related to Av.
aṣauuan-, MP *ahlaw*, MWMIr. *'rd'w* "righteous".

However, it is difficult to explain the final *-y*. The same reading (by ZEIMAL) of another
coin-type meets with difficulties, see *NPIN*, p. 285, No. 1243, since no more than two
letters have survived.

137. *'rtmyw* /Artmēw/ m.: **B** N, *'wδ wm't 'rtmyw sp'nδt y'mk'*: Afrasiab
document, 1, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 55-56; *Trois documents*, p. 197; cf. LIV., *SÉSAS*,

p. 342-3. — **P** A witness in the deed of "Lion". — **D** Probably, "Tiger of Truth".

LIV. (op. cit., p. 55-56; 343) understands the name as "(one who has) righteous deed" and compares the second part of the name to Oss. *miwæ* "deed", OIn *mīvati* "moves". S *myw* "tiger", appears also in *n'wmyw* (#766), *prnmyw* (#909), *sr'myw* (#1090), *xsrδmyw* (#1420), *xwrmyw* (#1448), *myw* and cons. (#738 – 782), possibly *mw'k* (#701). "Tiger" is more likely here as we meet the person called "Lion" in the same text, see *šrγw* (#1176).

138. 'rtyβ'n, 'rδβ'n /Ɉrtevān, Ardevān/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'nyw ZY nny(δt) pntrw / nyst 'YKZ(Y) 'r(t)[yβ](')n 'ḤRZYm ptškw't 'r(t)[yβ]'n*: *AL1 (2)*, R4-5; *'ny[w] pntrw γ[wt]m nyst 'Y[K](ZY) 'rtyβ'n*: *AL3*, R13 (apud SIMS-W., *AL1 (2)*, p. 184); *['Ḥ]RZY 'rtyβ'n (m)[']δ [w'β]t*: *AL3*, R13. — **P1** A close relative of *nnyδt* (#789), who was living in *δrw'n* (Dunhuang). — **B2** N(M), *'M 'rδβ'n wyspδr'k*: *MKG*, 3.2 V4, 404, p. 39. — **P2** A prince (*wyspyδr'k*), companion of Mar Ammo (#683) in his Eastern Mission, probably a representative of the Aršakid house, as HENN., *Mir. Man.*, II, p. 361, *'rdw'n* in the Pth. *Kirchengescichte*. — **D** OIr. **arta/ṛta-bānu-* "(he who has) brilliance of truth", cf. IPth. *'rtbnw*, MP *'rtw'n*, etc. (GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, No. 125; SCHMITT, 2006, p. 81-83).

In the case of *'rδβ'n* in the Manichean Church History, the name is clearly Parthian, cf. SUND., 1986b, p. 278-9; 287-289 (= p. 314-315; 323-325). Phonetically, the name in *AL* can be either inherited in S or be borrowed from Pth. or Chor., where names with **arta-* are very common (for the latter, cf. [LIV.], *Kalaly-gyr*, p. 191). However, the medial *y* may be interpreted as a reflex of gen.-dat. case-ending; as a light-stem ending (in this case, from **ṛta-*); or, finally, as a footprint of a borrowed lexeme (see GERSH., *SCpd.*, p. 139). The second consonant of the name was probably pronounced /t/ in S of the 4th century, but as /d/ (not /δ/!) in the WMIr. of that time. This foreign /d/ could be written down as *t, tt*, or *δ* in S, and this last possibility was used in rendering *'rδβ'n* (more or less contemporary of *'rtyβ'n*) by the Manichean Sogdians.

'[r]tyk > 'βtrc #49

139. 'rtyxwβntk /Artixuvande/ m.: **B** N(A), *'n(y) mrty 'rtyxw-βntk n'm*: *AL2 (2)*, R35. — **P** A Sogdian trader in China. — **D** "Slave of *Ašiš-vaṇuhi*", as HENN., *Date*, p. 607, n. 5 (also apud *GMS*, §237; §949; cf. also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194, n. 14; BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9).

For *'rtyxw* of *AL* corresponding to the later S *'rtwx, 'rtxw* cf. *AL š'tyxw* for later S *š'twx*.

140. *’rw’●●c●●* /*Ǝru-?*/ m.?: **B** N, *nw’k* (?) *ZK* | (*’rw’* ●● *c●●*) (?): *UI1*,
No. 409 (39: 104); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P** Father (?) of *nw’k* (#821). — **D**
Very faintly inscribed. Maybe to *’rw* "brave?"; Humb., *SIF*, No. 13, has
’rm●●c

141. *’rwδ’ync, ’rwδync, rwδ’ync* /*Ǝruθenǰ?*/ m.: **B1** N, *’rwδ’ync*: *UI1*,
No. 112 (31: 83); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168; *’rwδync*: *UI2*, No. 603 (Oshibat, 79:1,
cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 129). — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, Oshibat. — **B2** N,
βγ’(’)βy’rt ’rwδ’ync synt’kk: *UI2*, No. 555 (114:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 280
(under No. 115: 5). Sims-W. notes that these 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, whether it is a single inscription or not. It
is noteworthy that *βγ’’βy’rt* in No. 128 (#275: 1) and *’rwδync* in No. 112
(#140: 1) occur in the same handwriting and in close proximity to each
other. — **P2** A visitor to Oshibat, companion (?) of *βγ’’βy’rt* (#275: 2) and
synt’kk (#1134: 2). — **B3** N, *’rwδ’ync* | *cytβntk*: *UI1*, No. 260 (36: 44) cf.
Fbs. Sh., p. 208. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *cytβntk* (#408). One
can think that *’rwδ’ync* in B1,P1, B2,P2 and B3,P3 is a single person. — **B4**
N, *(s)wrβ’* | *ZK rwδ’yn(c)*: *UI1*, No. 62 (30: 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154. — **P4**
Father (or *nisba*) of *swrβ’* (#1116). — **D** There are several possibilities for
explaining this name. Sims-W. (*UI2*, p. 42) proposes to see here a compound
of (*’*)*rw-*, OIr. **arva-*, **arvant-* "swift, brave" and *δ’ync*, OIr. **θang-* "to
draw, pull out" (in the field of onomastic, cf. Elam. *Tanzakka* for **Θanǰa-ka-*,
Mayrhofer, *OnP*, 8. 1611; Tavernier, 2007, p. 329).

> Acc. to Harmatta, 1994, p. 439, this is a *nisba* to a virtual **rwδyncH δyz’* "Copper-fort",
> the Sogdian equivalent of the NP (*Šn.*) *Diz-i Rōyīn*, an epithet of Paykand near Buxārā.
> Possibly it may be a hypocoristic of a name containing *rwδyn’k* "made of brass", cf.
> *Rōyīntan* "brass-body", an epithet of Rustam. However, in this case the prothetic *aleph* in
> front of *r* in Sogdian (before 9th century) would be exceptional. Maybe, to Av. *uruuaθa-*
> "Freund", as in PN *Ašauruuaθa-*? R. Schmitt (in a letter of 22.05.2008) kindly suggested
> that the second part of the name could be *δynH* "religion, church", OIr. **dayanā-*.
> *’rwδ’ync* in No. 112 has already been transliterated by Humb., *SIF*, No. 73, while Liv.
> (apud *ibid*, p. 226), gives *’rwδys(k)*. Cf. also *xrsδy-* (#1411).

142. *’rwk●* /*Ǝru-?*/ m.: **B** N, *’rwk●*: *UI1*, No. 186 (34: 72); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p.
188. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** The final letter could be *β*, *r* or
unfinished *k* (As Sims-W., *UI1*). In the last case the name seems to be a
hypocoristic of a name beginning with *’rw-*, Av. *aruuant-* "swift, brave" (as
Sims-W., *UI2*, p. 42).

143. *’rwmyw* /Ɛrumēw/ m.: B1 N, *sk’kk | ZK | ’rwmy(w) | BRY: UI1*, No. 357 (39: 52); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P1** Father of *sk’kk* (#1071). — **B2** N, *’rwmyw: UI2*, No. 511 (53:17); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** "Brave tiger", a *karmadhāraya* compound, cf. *myw* etc. (#137), *’rwprmyn* (#144), *mywprmyn* (#742).

144. *’rwprmyn* /Ɛruframēn?/ m.: B N, *’rwp(rm)yn* (?) | *(n)rk: UI1*, No. 282 (36: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *nrk* (#813: 2). — **D** Acc. to SIMS-W., *’rw-* is OIr. **arva(nt-)* "brave" (unattested in S except for PNs *’rwk●*, *’rwmyw*, *’rwδ’ync* (?), *’rw’●●c●●* (#140 – 143), cf. also *Ἀρυανδης* in Hellenistic Bactria, GRENET, 1983, p. 373) while *prmyn* is related to S *prmynwkH*, OIr. **fra-manyu-*, Pth. *frmnywg* "hope", cf. *mywprmyn*; OChor. PN *prmnwk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 15; p. 284 n. 118. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 282, has *]’r ZK tβyk* (or *tβyr?)*, and SIMS-W. notes that the reading is speculative.

145. *’rwr’n ’sk’tm* /Ɛrwarān əskātam/ m.: B B, *ZY ’rwr’n ’sk’tm pwtystβ: TSP*, 5, 96. — **P** Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyasamudgata. — **D** Skt. *Bhaiṣajya-samudgata* literally means "Risen up medicine". In the Chinese translation, the name is given as *Yaoshang* 藥上 "superior of medicine" which is rendered in S as "highest of medicine (plants)".

146. *’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k xwt’w* /Ɛrwarān mōčak āpkēne ərδēfe xutāw/ m.: B B, *’wyn ’βcnpδy (x)wyštr ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’y | ’rδ’yp’k xwt’w m’yδ’’γt’k: TSP*, 6, 2-3; *ZKw | ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k xwt’w pwty: TSP*, 6, 10-11; *’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn ’rδ’yp’y xwt’w pwty: TSP*, 6, 15-16; *’wyn ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’y | xwt’w pwty: TSP*, 6, 27-28; *’wyn ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’y ’rδ’yp’y xwt’w | m’yδ’’γtk: TSP*, 6, 31-2; *’wyn ’βc’npδy xwyštr ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’y | xwt’w m’yδ’’γtk: TSP*, 6, 38-9; *’wyn ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’y myδ’γtk: TSP*, 6, 51; *’myn ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k xwβ myδ’γtk: TSP*, 6, 58; *’myn ’βc’npδy xwyštr ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k | m’yδ’γtk: TSP*, 6, 72-3; *’wyn ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’ypy | xwt’w m’yδ’’γtk: TSP*, 6, 74-5; *’wyn ’βc’npδy xwyštr | ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k xwt’w m’yδ’’γtk: TSP*, 6, 102-103; *ZKn ’rwr’n | mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k xwt’w m’yδ’’γt’k: TSP*, 6, 122-3; *ZKn ’βc’npδ xwyštr ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k | xwt’w m’yδ’’γt’k: TSP*, 6, 132-3; *’myn ’rwr’n mwck’ ’’pkyn’k ’rδ’yp’k xwt’w m’yδ’γtk: TSP*, 6, 118; *ZY ’βt’ ’rwr’n mwck’ pwty ptkr’y | wn’y: TSP*, 6, 135-6; *’wyn ’βc’npδy xwyštr

'rwr'n mwck' ''pkyn 'rδ'ypy | xwt'w pwty: TSP, 6, 152-3; *'myn pk'β'm
'rwr'n mwck' ''pkyn'k | 'rδ'yp' xwt'w m'yδ''γty*: Bhaiṣ., 9-10 (cf. *pk'β'm*,
#884); *'rwr'n mwc]k' ''pkyn'y 'rδ'ypy x(w)[*: So 10402 apud KUDARA,
SUND., Bhaiṣ., p. 355 (cf. HANSEN, 1968, p. 88: *rwr'n mwck ● ●●●●*). — **P**
Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaiḍūryaprabhā Tathāgata, epithet of the Buddha of
Healing. — **D** Literal translation of Skt. name: "Teacher of medicine, light
of jewel, thus-come one/Buddha", where *xwt'w* (once, *xwβ*) "King" was
added, as usual in the Central Asian renderings of *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍurya-
prabharāja*, but not in the corresponding Chinese translation of Xuanzang
(see a long discussion by KUDARA, SUND., Bhaiṣ., p. 355-6); see *pyš'ckwr
βyr'wr prβr'c pwty* (#989) for the S transcription of his name.

147. *'rwr'n xwt'w* /Ǝrwarān xutāw/ m.: **B** B, ZY *'rwr'n xwt'w pwtystβ*:
TSP, 5, 96 (not *ɫxwt'y* as transliterated by BENV., TSP, see facsimile; SC Pt.
224). — **P** Bodhisattva *Bhaiṣajyarāja*, the brother of *Bhaiṣajyasamudgata*
(*'rwr'n 'sk'tm*, #146). — **D** Literal translation of *Bhaiṣajyarāja*, "King of
medicine", Chinese Yaowang (藥王) "id.".

148. *'rwtprnc* /Arutfarnič/ m.: **B1** B, *'PZY 'rwtprnc δst'*: TSP, 8, 175. —
P1 A person in the colophon. — **B2** N, *''pwxy'n ZK 'rwtprnc BRY*: Muγ, B-
4, V4 (SDGM, II, p. 57, cf. SÉSAS, p. 63). — **P2** Father of *''pwxy'n*
(#24). — **D** A hypocoristic to a name based on *'rwtprn-*, e.g. **'rwtprnβntk*,
see *'rwtprnδ'yH* (#149).

149. *'rwtprnδ'yH* /Arutfarnδāy/ f.: **B** B, *ny'kH m'tH 'rwtprnδ'yH δst'*
TSP, 8, 172. — **P** Grandmother of *cwr'kk* (#392). — **D** "Slave-maid of *'rwt*-
glory". For *δ'yH* "maidservant" in S PNs (female synonym to *βntk*) see
rštδ'yH (#1020), *m'xδ'yH* (#647), *nny δ'yH* (#790), *pwtyδ'yH* (#966), as
well as *βγy δ'y* in MN, 134; *'rwt* may be related to Av. *auruuant-* "schnell,
tapfer, Held", as by HENN., STP, p. 737 (cf. *'rwprmyn*, #144); as a whole
'rwtprn could be an otherwise unattested S divinity.

Less likely, the initial part of the name could be related to Av. *hauruuatāt*, MP *Hurdād*
etc., as BENV., TSP, p. 218; WEBER, ZSP, p. 195, No. 2; BOGOL., Otrazhenie, p. 9 "he who
born in the month *Harwatat*" (however, the third month in S is *nysn'nc*; and the sixth day
is *'rt't rwc*); SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 42) thinks of a **Wrata-farnah-* "royal glory" (the
hypocoristic in -c suggests that *'rwtprn* was a fixed compound); TREMBLAY (2005, p. 426,
n. 30) connects this name with the Bct. PN Ρηδοφαρο and Av. *uruuata-* "order", so the
meaning would be "he who commands with glory".

150. *'rxntrt* /?/ m.: **B N, *'wšy'n – 'r-xnt-r-t* (???): inscr. on the base of a goblet, F. GRENET, 2006; cf. LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 349. — **P** A name inscribed on the base of a goblet, 2ⁿᵈ - 1ˢᵗ century BCE. — **D** Unclear in reading and etymology.

> GRENET (p. 225-226) analyses possibilities such as *'rxntrt* "justice of arhants" (suggested by YOSH.), *'r'ytrt* or *'r'ysrt* "qui a trouvé refuge en Asha" (X. TREMBLAY), and *'r'ztkt* "à la chambre (pleine) d'argent" (GRENET himself). Maybe, initial *'rγ* "value" (cf. Bct. *Αργανδδιγανο*)?

'ry'm'n pwxr > mr 'ry'm'n pwxr #683

151. (*'r•rk•r 'lpw ••cw pylk'* /? Alp Ïnanču (?) Bilgä/ m.: **B** N(M), *s'rβ'γty 'r•rk•r 'lpw ••cw pylk' ypγw n••••δ t••(w)•(n)y n'm δ'βr*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 20(1). — **P** A yabghu (high officer) at the court of *''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk' x'γ'n* (#38), who is honored with an illegible name *n••••δ t••(w)•(n)y* (#863). — **D** *'lpw* "hero" (cf. s.v. *''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'*, #38) and *pylk'* "wise" are legible, *••cw* can stand for *yn'ncw* (cf. *'wγwz 'yl 'wk'sy 'lpw yn'ncw*, #188). **)**

152. *'sβ'r, sβ'r* /(Ǝ)svār/ m.: **B Bu, *xwβ 'sβ'r*; *MR'Y sβ'r*: coins, *SSNSS*, p. 169-170; cf. NAYMARK, 1995, p. 31, 41. — **P** A ruler of Buxārā in the fourth-fifth century CE; most probably, his name continued to be written on the coins long after his death, cf. LIV., *Kesh*, p. 124, n. 1. — **D** A borrowing from MP *svār*, *asvār* "rider", as LIV.-LUKONIN, loc. cit., cf. IPth. *'sb'ry*, etc.

> SMIR., 1970, p. 56 (cf. FRYE, 1989) reads the inscription as *γwβ 'šδ'δ*, a derivative of **r̥štāt-* "truth".

153. (*'sγ* /Asïγ/ m.: **B** C, *'(s)γ*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 4. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Turkic, lit. "gain", cf. *Asïγ Bulmïš* (SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 57, n. 74). **)**

154. *'sk'n* /Ǝskān/ m.: **B N, *'sk'n ZK | xw(t)yyw'rn* (?) - - -: *UI1*, No. 344 (39: 39); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *xwtyyw'rn* (#1475). — **D** Maybe *'sp'n*. For *'sk'n* "design, sign" cf. *wxwšw'sk'n* (#1366), if, *'sp'n* cf. *'sp'nk* (#161). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 344, has *'sk'•z*. Cf. also IPth. PN *skn* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 179)

155. 'sk'tc, sk'tc /Ɉskắč/ m.: **B1** B, *cnn 'sk'tc δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 176. — **P1** A person in the colophon. — **B2** N, *rty 'wδ m't sk'tc ZK šy-šc BRY*: Muγ Nov.3 V19, Nov.4 V12-13 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22-23, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28-29; YAK., *Marr.*, p. 311-313). — **P2** A witness in the marriage contract, son of *šyšc* (#1204). — **D** "High, superior", S *'sk-*, OIr. ***uskāt*; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 15; Bct. PN *Ισκατο, Ισκαχο*. SIMS-W. suggests that it is a hypocoristic to *'sk'tm* (cf. *'rwr'n 'sk'tm*, #145) or *'sk'tr* (cf. a place name *'sk'trH* in Mt. Mugh documents, modern *Iskodar* to the east of Panjakent).

'sk'tc k'n'k trx'n > k'n'k trx'n 'sk'tc #515

†'skδk > 'šknt #180

156. 'sm'nc, 'smnc /Ɉsmắnič/ m.: **B1** N, *m'xc ZY 'xšwmβntk | ZNH 'sm'nc BRYN*: Muγ, B-8, R6-7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GERSH., *Frog-plain*, p. 196; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314; SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 36, for *BRYN*). — **P1** Father of *m'xc* (#645: 1) and *'xšwmβntk* (#212). — **B2** N, *]rty [']s[m]nc*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 14, 2, p. 138. — **P2** A name in a document inscribed on a bone fragment. — **D** From *'sm'n(H)*, *sm'n* "sky", or *sm'n rwc* "27th day of the month" (cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 15; BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9), where *-c* is either hypocoristic or (less likely) an adjectival suffix. The pair *'sm'nc – m'xc* can be seen as example of the similarity of the fathers and the sons names in respect of semantics. For the absence of the second *aleph* in *'smnc* cf. *smn* as a S day-name given by BĒRŪNĪ and Av. *asman-* in oblique cases.

157. 'sp''δprn /Ɉspāδfarn/ m.: **B** N, *'sp''δprn*: *UI2*, No. 424 (40:16; fairly clearly visible in situ, as remarked by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** "(He who has) glory of the army", see #158.

158. 'sp'δkk, 'sp'δ'k, 'sp'δk, 'spδ'k, 'sp'δk' /Ɉspāδak/ m.: **B1** N, *'sp'δk' ZK | wxwšwβntk BRY*: *UI2*, No. 572 (Thor I, 143); *(')sp'δ(k)'*: *UI2*, No. 573 (Thor I, 143). — **P1** A visitor to Thor, son of *wxwšwβntk* (#1364: 6). — **B2** N, *MN xypδ βntk 'sp'δkk*: Muγ, Б-13, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 144, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 166; *SDGM*, III, p. 80); *MN [xyp]δ βntk ('s)pδ'(k)k*: Muγ, Б-11, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 147, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 170; *SDGM*, III, p. 81); *MN xypδ βnt'k | 'sp'δk*: Muγ, Б-15, 1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 150, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 173; *SDGM*, III, p. 78-9); *(''st)*

'sp'δ'k 'δwy xw'ck: Б-1, R24 (*SDGM*, III, p. 45). — **P2** A correspondent of the steward *'wtt* (#204) in the higher part of the Zarafšān valley, supplier of *iltäbir* (*ryttpyr*). — **D** "Warrior", as Pont. Ir. Σπαδακος, Σπαδάγας (ZGUSTA, 1955, §218). Cf. *twk'sp'δ'k* (#1254), *'nγtsp''δ* (#100), *sp'δrwc* (#1086), *sp'δxrš* (#1087), cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14. The form *'spδ'kk* without an internal *aleph* in Б-11 is probably a misspelling.

Regarding B1, this reading was first given by HUMB., *SIF*, for No. 130 (= No. 572), while in No. 131 (= No. 573) he transliterates *nnyp'n*.

159. *'sp'ncny, sp'ncnyw, sp'ncny, sp'cny* /(Ǝ)spānǰnē̆ʷ?/ m.: **B1** N, *pry''(γ)t ZK 'sp'ncny BRY*: *UI1*, No. 402 (39: 97); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — **P1** Father of *pry''γt* (#926). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 22, has *'sp●●*. — **B2** N, *sp'ncnyw | ZK xwt'wnm'k*: *UI1*, No. 5(5: 28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *xwt'wnm'k* (#1461: 3). — **B3** N, *γy(●y●●) | ZK sp'ncny*: *UI2*, No. 591 (Oshibat, 18:109, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 65); the inscription is complete at the end. — **P3** Father (?) of *γy●y●●* (#510). — **B4** N, *sp'cn(y)*: *UI2*, No. 443 (47:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 249; the last letter is very faint and uncertain. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** "Good at inn", cf. *sp'nc* (#1088); *tymšyr* (#1280) for semantics.

The loss of the first *n* in *sp'cny(w)* is due to dissimilation, while the loss of *-w* in *sp'ncny*, *'sp'ncny* and *sp'cny* is parallel to *nm'cyw/nm'c*. Cf. *kyncny* (#613), *nyw'β's* (#854), *nyw'kk* (#856), *nywc* (#859), *γγtnyw-* (#1506) for *ny(w)*, OIr. **naiba-*, probably borrowed from Western Iranian, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 69-70; cf. also *''ysnyk* (#39)?

160. *'sp'nδ't, 'spnδ't, 'spnδt, sp'nδt* /Ǝspandat/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'(D βγw) | (x)wt'w | s'rtp'w | 'sp'nδ('t)w*: *AL5 (2)* V1-4 (graph. acc.); *'D βγw (xw)t'w 'sp'nδ't*: *AL5 (2)*, R1; *'spnδ't ZYm 'βyrtw δ'rt*: *AL5 (2)* R25. — **P1** The addressee of *AL5*, the *sabao*, "chief caravaneer". — **B2** N, *(')spnδt | (ZK p- - -)*: *UI1*, No. 395 (39: 90); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *p - - -* (#996: 2). — **B3** N, *'wδ wm't 'rtmyw sp'nδt y'mk'*: *Afr. document*, 1, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 55-56; *Trois documents*, p. 197; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 342-3. — **P3** A witness in a deed of "Lion". — **D** To Av. *Spəntō.δāta-* "given (by) the beneficent (spirit)" as already by REI., *HRII*, p. 45, cf. MS *'spnd*, NS(M) *'sp'nty* "sacred" (RECK, 2009a, p. 393, 2); IPth. *spndtk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 182), MP *spnd't* and extensive comparanda by SCHMITT, 2006, p. 195-197.

For the simplification of *nt-δ > nd* cf. *'xwrmzt't* (#217), also Arabic *yᵃzd'd* from Sogdian (less likely Persian, as the person originated in Sogdiana) **yazata-* + *dāta-* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 10); for the short vowel in the last syllable – *GMS*, §122, cf. also *nnyδt* (#789).

161. 'sp'nk /*Aspāne?*/ m.: **B** N, *rty np'xšt ZKn 'sp'nk | δγwγwn*: Muγ, A-9, Vbis 1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 94, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 100; *Last Days*, p. 172). — **P** The scribe of A-9. — **D** Acc. to LIV. (*SDGM*, II, 104, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 109), probably from *'sp* "horse" and hardly from OIr. **spantaka-*. The suffix -*'n'k* designates adjectives from nouns, thus "horse-like"? Or read *'spz'k* "horse-child, foal", cf. *xwnz'k* "Turk-child" in *MN*, 115 (cf. *UI2*, 80), *xwnyz'tk* (#1445); cf. also s.v. *'sk'n* (#154). His nickname or father's name is *δγwγwn* (#472).

162. 'sp'[/*Asp-?*/ m.: **B** N, *'sp(')[*: *UI1*, No. 356 (39: 51); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** "Horse" + ?

163. 'spcwβγnc /*Əspčewvaγnič?*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyδβ''r | ZK 'spcwβγnc*: *UI1*, No. 17 (13: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 134; *nnyδβ'(r) ZK | 'spcwβγ(n)c*: *UI2*, No. 585 (Oshibat, 17:34, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 52). — **P** Father (?) or *nisba* (?) of *nnyδβ'(')r* (#791: 2). — **D** S *βγn* "temple", while *'spcw* is unclear, possibly related to *'spcyw* (#164, *UI2*, p. 43). Maybe "Native of *'spcw*-temple"; see also *wysrn* (#1384). Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 168 (= No. 17).

164. 'spcyw /*Əspčew?*/ m.: **B** N, *'sp(cyw)*: *UI1*, No. 241 (36: 25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206; The end of the inscription is very faint and uncertain. — **P** A visitor to Shatial — **D** Unclear, cf. *'spcwβγnc* (#163). *'sp* "horse" in the beginning?

165. 'spγ'm, spγ'm /*(Ə)spγām*/ m.: **B1** N, *'spγ'm ZK | n'wcyrδ BRY*: *UI1*, No. 359 (39: 54); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *n'wcyrδ* (#765: 3); reading already by HUMB., *SIF*. No. 17a. — **B2** N, *wxwšwβntk ZK spγ'm UI1*, No. 150 (34: 36); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P2** Father (?) of *wxwšwβntk* (#1364: 5). — **D** If *spγ'm*, obviously without an initial *aleph*, is correctly restored in No. 150, then it is hardly "(one, who has a) horse-step", but probably related to OIr. **spig-* "to put forth" (see *'spyxsk*, #170) + OIr. **ama-* "force", see *m'w* (#638; as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 43).

['spγwδ: **B** N, *XI 'spγwδ ptsnδ*: Muγ Б3, 1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 66). — **P,D** The editors (p. 91) interpret it as a nickname "horse-dung", but syntactically *'spγwδ* can hardly stand for the owner of *ptsnδ*. I prefer LIV.'s interpretation (*SDGM*, II, p. 154-5, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 181) of *'spγwδ pts'δ* (so transliterated) as

"horse-armour, доспех конский", where *'spγwδ* is "horse-cloth", and *pts'δ* "armour". **]**

[*'spnc'rspn z'tk* /Ᾱspanǰ-arspan Zāte/ m.: **B** N, *rty ''st ZK 'spnc-'rspn z'tk 'δwy 'zyH*: Муг, Б-1, 4 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44; cf. *SDGM*, II, p. 177). — **P** The recipient of a water-skin (or, "spear", *'zyH*). — **D** "Son of ὀικονόμος", see s.v. *'rspn* (#135), either as a common noun or a kind of nickname. The first possibility is more probable, since ὀικονομος himself, *'spnc-'rspn*, is mentioned in line 1 of the same document, and since in the language of the Mt. Муг documents PNs are rarely preceeded by the article *ZK*.]

'spnδ't, 'spnδt > 'sp'nδ't #160: 2, 3

†'spnγwr > 'spzγwr #171: 2

166. *'sprmγwc* /Ᾱsparmēwič/ m.: **B** N, *ZY [''st 's]prmγw-c | [?] 'γwH 'zyH*: Муг, Б-1, L6-7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or, "spear", *'zyH*). — **D** "Tiger-shield", cf. under *sprynk* (#1089) on S *(')spr* "shield", *myw(-)* (#738 ff.), *-c* is a hypocoristic or adjective suffix, as in *mywc*.

I cannot see the initial *'s* on the photograph, but in many cases the reproduction of Б-1 appears to be less informative than the original, which was used by BOGOL., SMIR., who read *[']sprsγwc* (without etymology).

†'sprsγwc > 'sprmγwc #166

167. *'spr●●●●* /Ᾱspar-/ m.: **B** N, *'sp(r- - - -)*: UI1, No. 319 (36: 103) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 216. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** * *'spr* = "shield" + ?, or *'sp* "horse" + ?

168. *'spt'kk* /Asp-tak?/ m.: **B** N, *MN 'spt'kk*: Муг, B-7, R1; *[MN] 's(pt)'(kk)* : V2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 166, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 196). — **P** The author of letter B-7. — **D** LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 168, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 198, derives this name from * *aspa-taka-* "(the one, who has) swift horses" (or rather "(he who) races horses"?), as Pont. Ir. *Ταξακις < *taka-sāka*. Alternatively, we can derive it from S *'spt'k* "complete" (as Arabic PN *Kamāl*). Rüdiger SCHMITT (in a letter of 22.05.2008) kindly suggests to compare this name to OIr. * *Spitaka-* (SCHMITT, 2006, p. 191-193; cf. OChor. PN *spyt'k*, LIV., 1984, p. 265).

169. *'spywδ* /*Asp-yōδ?*/ m.: **B** N, *wynt('••)* | *ZK 'spyw[δ?]* | *BRY m'x(c)* | *ZK γ'tk*: *UI2*, No. 662 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P** Father of *wynt'••* (#1379). — **D** "Fighting with a horse".

> Cf. the names containing *'sp* (#161 ff.), *γ(')wδ* (under *ywδ'xšytk*, #1529); and already Av. compound *aspāiiaoδa* "zu Ross (oder um Rosse?) kämpfend", as remarked by HUMB., 1994, p. 181.

170. *'spyxsk* /*Ƒspixsak*/ m.: **B** N, *'spyxsk* | *γ'tk*: *UI1*, No. 173 (34: 59); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, possessing the high title *γ'tk* (see *''δ'k* , #5, for details). — **D** SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 43, sees here a noun based on the present stem **'spyxs-*, akin to Khot. *haspäs-* (<**fra-spixsa-*) "to strive", *haspīj-* "to urge", MMP *'spyz-*, *'spyxt-* "to strout, to shine", from OIr. **spig-s-* with the suffix *-k* (cf. also CHEUNG, 2007, p. 350). This reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 53.

171. *'spzywr* /*Aspzēwar*/ m.: **B1** N, *rty ''βr MN 'sk'tryH pry-n'm'k ZY 'spzy-wr ZY xwn ZY zwc 10+3 (k)[pc y?]w*: Муγ, Б-14, 1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35). — **P1** A supplier of barley (?). — **B2** N(M), | *'spzywr* |: Ch/So 15530 v/iii/5 apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 230 — **P2** A name or a common lexeme in a list of largely unclear Sogdian (?) words. RECK (loc. cit.) reads *'spnywr*. — **D** "Horse-ornament" (as a nickname?), cf. *xwtzywrH* (#1477).

'st'psr'k > 'stnpsr'k #173

172. *'stkyn* /*Astkēn*/ m.: **B1** N, *'stk(yn)* | *ZK n'(ws)[*: *UI1*, No. 155 (34: 41); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *n'ws[* (#767). — **B2** N, *''ztprn* | *ZK 'stkyn BRY*: *UI1*, No. 365 (39: 60); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P2** Father of *''ztprn* (#44). — **B3** N, *'stkyn*: *UI2*, No. 541 (105:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, maybe identical with #172: 1. — **D** "Bony", as S *'stkyn'y*, or *'stk* "bone" + hypocoristic in *-'yn*, or adjective with suffix *-kyn* from *'st(k)*, cf. M *nm'nkyn* (*GMS*, §1061). This reading was introduced by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 124b (= No. 365).

† *'stnk > zpγw kr crδnk* #1561

173. *'stnpsr'k* /*Ƒstambsarak?*/ m.: **B** N, *MN šyr* | *βxc ZY 'stnpsr'k cnn prnxwnt BRYN*: Муγ, B-8, R7-9; *šyr-βγ(c) Z[Y 's](tn)[p]sr-'[k]*: R20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 152; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GERSH., *Frog-*

plain, p. 196; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314; SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 36, for *BRYN*). — **P** Brother of *šyrßxc* (#1193), son of *prnxwnt* (#910: 3), a seller of half of a *nā'ūs*. — **D** According to WEBER, 1975, p. 94-95, this name should be divided up into *'stnp+sr'k* "(he who has an) obstinate head" (S *'st'np*, M *stmb*), thus "pig-headed, Trotzkopf" (cf. MP PN *Păhn-sar* "Breitkopf", GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, No. 733; ZIMMER, 1991, p. 149). LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 52, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 156 (followed by all the other editors) transliterates it *'st'psr'k* and interprets this name as "having hundred crowns".

174. (*'stpnws* /Ǝstefanōs/ m.: **B** C, *'(s*t)[*pnws*: *C2*, 12 V21. — **P** St. Stephen. — **D** Syr. *'stpnws* /'Esṭep̄anos/ from Gr. Στέφανος; note that here the Syriac postvocalic *p* is not replaced with *f*, as in *'frym* (#46). **)**

175. *'stwδ pwxr* /Istūδ Puhr/ m.: **B N(M), *'s(tw)δ pwxr*: MIK III, 6918, II, 1, apud BeDUHN, 2001, No. 91, p. 244; cf. *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 436. — **P** A name written on the figure of Electus on a wall painting. — **D** WMIr. "praised Son", cf. SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 258. The name is more probably MP rather than Pth., where the past participle *'st'w'd* is more common than "historical" *'stwd*. The language of the inscription (MP?, OTu.? S?) is, however, not identifiable.

176. *'stwδ rwšn* /Istūδ Rōšn/ m.: **B N(M), *'stwδ rwšn*: MIK III, 6918, III, 1, apud BeDUHN, 2001, No. 91, p. 244. — **P** A name written on the figure of Electus on a wall painting. — **D** WMIr. (probably MP, see previous) "Praised Light", cf. *'stwδ pwxr* (#175), *rwšn pwxr* (#1036) etc. The language of the inscription (MP?, OTu.? S?) cannot be determined.

177. *'s•[* /?/ m.?: **B N, *wky* (?) | *ZK* (?) | *'s•[*: UI2, No. 492 (52:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 258. — **P** Father (?) of *wky* (#1311). — **D** ?

178. (*'šßr'?*/Išbara?/ m.: **B** N, *'š-ßr' twrk [x](')γ'n pny*: coin, RTVELADZE, Chach, p. 66-67; BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 16 (not in the *Cat. Chach*!). — **P** A ruler known from a single coin found in the Chach oasis. — **D** Possibly, an Old Turkic name/title *Išbara*? It is commonly acknowledged that the OTu. title *išbara* originates in OInd. *īšvara* "lord".

RTVELADZE (loc. cit.) reconstructed the legend as *twrk[š] c'cnynk MRYW*, "Türgeš, ruler of Chach", while M. ISKHAKOV (apud BABAYAROV, loc. cit.) has *'sk prn twrk [x](')γ'n pny*, while *'šßr'* (?) *twrk [x](')γ'n pny* is proposed by BABAYAROV himself. If the latter reading is correct, here we have a coin of the ruler of the Western Turks *Shaboluo Kehan* (沙鉢略

可汗 651-656 = *Ashina Helu*). However, the bad condition of the legend on this unique coin leaves this reading under serious doubt. Cf. *trδw x'γ'n* (#1239), *twn cpγw x'γ'n* (#1259) on the coins from Chach: see under *ck'yn cwr βyδk''* for OTu. /*b*/ rendered with S<*β*> in early records. **)**

'šδ'δ > 'sβ'r #152

179. (*'šγy'* /*Ēša*ʸ*yā*/ m.: **B1** C, <*w*>*γd'rt 'šγy' ptry*: *C2*, *40 V13; *cn 'b' 'šγy'*: *C2*, *91 V10. — **P1** Abbā Isaiah, the Syriac Christian writer. — **B2** C, *qt wγd'rt 'šγy' bywnṇ*: *C5*, 2, R11 (*STi*, p. 57-58). — **P2** Prophet Isaiah. **D** — Syr. *'š'y'* /*'Ēša'yā'*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

† *'škδk > 'šknt* #180

180. *'šknt* /*Ǝškand*/ m.: **B** N, *'šknt* || *xwβ* | *pry swδr* (?): coin SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1450-51; p. 343-344; Table LXXIX, cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 20066. — **P** *Al-Iškand/Sijinti*, the ruler of Nakhshab, mentioned between 739 and 752. — **D** Meaning unclear, cf. MP *škand* "break down (enemy)", as JUSTI, *INB*, p. 142?

> Many various (and often fantastic) interpretations of this legend were proposed by O.I. SMIRNOVA (critical review by KOCHNEV, 1999, p. 46); the latter author supports one of them, namely *'šknδk* (cf. *Ocherki*, p. 180, 281), which in his opinion would correspond to Arabic *al-Iškand*, Chinese *Sijinti* (斯謹提 EMCh. *siδ/si-kɨn'-dɛj*), the above mentioned ruler of Nasaf. On the specimens which I was able to examine from photos, however (especially the well preserved one *zeno.ru*, No. 20066), one would rather prefer to transliterate the name as *'šknt* or *'sknt*, which would correspond phonetically to the very same ruler. LIV. and M. ISKHAKOV (ISKHAKOV, 1991, p. 271apud BARATOVA, 1999, p. 256, cf. ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 195) see here *'št't* (cf. #182), which is rather close to our reading.

181. (*'škr'ywt'* /*Iškariyōtā*/ m.: **B** N(M), *xw 'škr'y-wt' wm't*: *Magi*, 34, p. 138. — **P** Judas Iscariot; cf. *s'tt'nH* (#1067). — **D** Transcription of Sem. *'yšqrywt*, with Syr. article -*ā* /*'Išqaryōṭā*/, WMIr. *'škrywt'ẖ* CS *skrywt'yq* (under *yhwd'*, #1538: 2), cf. *yhwd'* (#1538: 2). **)**

'št'm > 'št't #182: 3

182. *'št't, 'št't•* /*Ǝštāt*/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'-š-t-'-t-•* || Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου: coin, *NPIN*, p. 286, No. 1247-49; ZEIMAL', 1983a, p. 270; ZEIMAL', 1983b, p. 250-251. — **P1** A ruler of Samarkand (1st-3rd century CE?), who issued silver coins in the fashion of Antiochus. ZEIMAL' (op. cit., cf. ISKHAKOV,

2008, p. 98) preferred the reading *’št’m*, ALRAM has *’št’tr* and *m(’)t’tw* (#700). — **B2** N(A), *’št’t*: inscr. on a seal, ed. LIV., *Sānak*, p. 48; image by PUGACHENKOVA, 1957, p. 143, 159/13. — **P2** The owner of a seal, 3rd – 4th century. — **B3** N, *’št’t*: UI2, No. 634 (Dadam Das, 32:10, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 101); maybe incomplete, or *’št’y*, *’št’t(s)*, *’št’y(s)*[, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 23. — **P3** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **B4, P4** *†’št’t > ’šknt* (#180). — **D** To S *’št’t*, Av. theonym *Arštāt-*, the name of the 26th day in the Sogdian calendar (cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 15; BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9). Cf. also *’šδ’δ* under *k’w*, #524.

’št’tr > ’št’t #182: 2

183. *’št’tc* /*Ǝštāč*/ m.: **B** N, *pr’yšw ’št’tc* | *δsty-H*: Muγ, Б-11, 6-7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 147, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 170; *SDGM*, III, p. 81). — **P** The deliverer of 63 sheep from *Ǝzrāwaδk* to steward *’wtt* (#204). — **D** An adjective or hypocoristic to *’št’t* (#182).

184. *’štyx’nc* /*Ǝštīxanič?*/ m.: **B** N, *δxyw’(k)* | *’štyx’nc*: UI2, No. 592 (Oshibat, 18:130, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68). — **P** Father (or a *nisba*?) of *δxyw’k* (#459: 2). — **D** Nisba, at least in origin, *-č* is a suffix, while the base is *Ištīxan* (see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 44), definitely related to the township of *Ištīxǎn* (Chinese *Sedihen* 瑟底痕) to the W of Samarkand (see, e.g., BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 95-96; CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 322).

Cf. a certain *Al-Ištīxan* in the army of Türgeš Kaghan (ṬAB., II, 1598 = XXV, p. 135) and *Dil Ištīxanǰ*, a non-Arab horseman in the Muslim army, 138 AH (ṬAB., III, 122 = XXVIII, p. 50). The place-name itself probably means "eight sources". Cf. under *xtwx’nc* (#1430).

’šw’nkk > šw’n’kk #1178

†’w’βH > twn cpγw #1259

[*’wδwn twtwx-* /*Udun Totoq*/ m.: **B** N, *’wδwn* | *twtwxy nβ’nt*: DTS, A11-12 (obl.). — **P** A fabric (*rγzy*) trader. — **D** Probably not a PN but a title, meaning "Totoq (governor) of Udun (*Yutien*, Khotan)", as *DTS*, p. 29.]

185. (*’wγl’γw tnkrym* /*Oγlaγu Täŋrim*/ f.: **B** N(M), *’wγl’γw* | *tnkrym*: BL, C26-27. — **P** A princess in Turfan. — **D** Turkic, *oγlaγu* is "gently nurtured, delicate, rich", on *tnkrym* "princess" see s.v. *’’smyš tnkrym* (#28).)

186. ’wγrk /Uγurək?/ m.: **B** N, *’wγrk | MLK’*: coin SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, 359-473, p. 158-190; Table XIII-XVII; LXIX-LXX (including imitations). — **P** A king of Samarkand, 710-738 CE, who supported the Arabs. — **D** Unclear.

The coin-inscription would suppose the reading *’-w-γ/x/r/-n/z-r/k-k*; the accepted reading is *’wγrk* (as early as FREJMAN, *SDGM*, I, p. 61-62 [reprint of the article of 1938]; also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14); with the etymology from OIr. **ugra-ka-* "powerful, mighty" (cf. Elam. *Uk-rak-ka*, MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1704); TREMBLAY, 2001, p. 186 n. 309, compared it to CS *γwry* "proud, exalted"; hardly to **gaura-*, MP *gōr* "onager". SMIR., however, proposed to read *’wr’kk* (cf. now YOSH., *PNSChS*). Maybe, *’wγ’rk*? The question lies, however, in the two *Nebenüberlieferungen* of this name: Arabic *Ūrak* (غورك ; to the well known references add *Kitāb al-Qand*, see TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 7) and Chinese *Wuleqie* (烏勒伽, EMCh. ʕɔ-lək-gia): the second would exclude a velar fricative in the name (unless we saw here a broken character-sequence from **Wu-qie-le*), and the first insists on it (unless we emend the name into *’Ūrak*, عورك , with the initial *’ayn*, which would also be an unconventional transcription). Yet, we can hardly assume that the Arabic and Chinese sources represent two different names of one and the same person.

187. (’wgrs /Ewaγrīs/ m.: **B** C, *’wgrs ptry xypθ p’cγny*: C2, *94 R28. — **P** Evagrius Ponticus, (345-399 CE), the author of i.a. *Antirrheticos*, which was translated into Sogdian. — **D** Syr. *’wgr(y)s* /’Ewaḡrīs/ from Gr. Εὐάγριος. **)**

188. (’wγwz ’yl ’wk’sy ’lpw yn’ncw pγ’trx’n /Oγuz El Ögäsi Alp İnanču Baγa Tarqan/ m.: **B** N(M), *γ(●●r)δwn (’w)γwz (’yl) ’wk’sy (’lp(w) yn’n)cw p(γ’)trx’n t(●●●●*: *KB-Y1*, p. 118; cf. *KB-H*, 1-6, 3(1). — **P** A dignitary in the Uyghur Empire, one of the founders of the monument of Karabalgasun. — **D** Turkic. Initial *’wγwz* is here the *Oγuz* tribal confederation, cf. *γγl’xr* in the following names on the stelle (#1503 – 04); for *el ögäsi* "head (deputy?) of the people", cf. *Hofstaat*, p. 210-212; *’lpw* for *alp* "hero", cf. under *’’y tnkryδ’ xwt pwlmyš ’lpw pylk’* (#38); *İnanču* as a name is attested in the Runic OTu.; it is a nominal derivative from *ïnan* "to believe, faith, trust" (*Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 319); cf. *’yncw pylk’ tyr’k* (#247), maybe *’r●rk●r ’lpw ●●cw pylk’* (#151); the combination of two titles *baγa-tarqan* is attested in OTu. texts. **)**

189. (’wgyn /Ewγēn/ m.: **B** C, *(qw) zprt [’](d)y m(ry) ’wgy(n ptry s’*: *Eugen*, R8; *(f)[wx’]r (my)θy mry ’(w)gyn*: R11; *](fwx’r)[zp](rt ’dy mry ’)wgyn*: R18; *[zpr](t) ’dy (m)ry (’)wgyn*: R23; *(q)[w z](p)rt ’(dy m)ry [’wgy](n) s(’*: R26; *’fryty(?)) ptry (’w)gyn*: R28; *] | ’wgyny*: V5-6 (obl.; one can reconstruct *[cn mry] | ’wgyny*); *(f)wx’r (zp)[rt ’dy mry ’wgyn]*: V10. —

P Mar Awgin (St. Eugen), the founder of Syrian cenobitic monasticism, died *c.* 379 CE. — **D** Syriac *'wgyn* /*'Ewḡēn*, *Awḡin*/, from Gr. *Εὐγένης*. **)**

190. (*'wk'prmyš* /*Ögäb(i)rmiš*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'wk'prmyš y'mcwr wn'ntm'x t't'γw[r]* | *s'r*: *PB*, c8-9, p. 34; cf. YOSH., *Coloph.*, p. 128. — **P** A person in a colophon (cf. YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85). — **D** "(He) given (by) *ögä* (a title)", as P. ZIEME apud SUND., *PB*, p. 34, n. 149. **)**

191. *'wkkwrt cm'wk* /*Ukkŭt-camūk*/ m.: **B** N, *'wk-k-w-r-t cm-'wk* | *MLK-'*: coin SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 657-732; p. 217-227; Table XXI-XXIII; LXXII. — **P** A king of Samarkand; according to the numismatic data, his coins were issued in the first half of the 7th century, while archeological contexts date them to the 7th – early 8th century (SMIR., op. cit., p. 45). Palaeography (a rather lapidary writing) would place them between *šyšpyr* (#1205) and *'wγrkk* (#186). — **D** Unclear, there are several possibilities for reading the name; no reliable etymology, either.

LIV.'s reading is *'wrk wrt rm'wk* (for which compare *wrtrmwš*, *'rθmwx*, kings of Khorezm, VAJNBERG, 1977, p. 81?; cf. also ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 185), SMIR. hesitates between *'wkk wrt cm'wk*, *rm'wk* or *'m'wk* (the latter reading seems to me rather unlikely). YOSH. (2004c, p. 408-409; *Zhaowu*, p. 50-52) agrees with the transliteration *'wkkwrtcm'wk* in view of *Wuquzhaomu* (於屈昭穆, EMCh. *ʔɔ-kʰut-tɕiaw-muwk*), a name of the governor of Chach in 658, which seems to be a Chinese transcription of the same name. Moreover, he emends the names of the king of Samarkand who sent his embassies to China in 627 and 631, which are given as *Quzhuzhi (*屈朮支), *Qumuyou* (屈木友) or *Wubenzhi* (屋本支) in different Chinese sources into **Wuquzhimu* (屋屈支木, EMCh. *ʔɔwk-kʰut-tɕiă/tɕi-məwk*), which corresponds to *'wkkwrt cm'wk*. For *cm'wk* cf. *cm'wky'n* (#372); *'wkkwrt* remains unexplained. Non-Iranian? Cf. however CS *kwrθy* "shirt"; or *wkwr* "family" (the last possibility cautiously mentioned by YOSH., *Zhaowu*, p. 51)?

192. (*'wkwtmyš* /*Ögütmiš*/ m.: **B** N(M), *'wkwtmyš[*: *Ōt.*, No. 6403, b1, p. 110. — **P** A name (?) in a Manichean text. However, side *a* of the fragment contains a MS text, while *b2* has WMIr. in Sogdian letters; so the S context of this name is by no means sure. — **D** Turkic, Uygh. *ögütmiš* "praiseworthy, provoking the praise" (as PN?). **)**

† 'wL/δš > twwn x'γ'n **#1270**

193. (*'wmyštkyn-* /*Umiš-tegin*/ m.: **B** N(C), *'yny 'wmyštkyny mncky* | *(pwst)[y]*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, B1-2, p. 57-58 (obl.). — **P** The owner of a Nestorian prayer-book (if writings on the recto and verso of the fragment are

interrelated). — **D** Turkic, *tegin* is "prince", while the initial *'wmyš* is uncertain, maybe, the past participle of *um-* "to hope, to expect"? *mncky* (or *m'cry*?) remains unclear, part of the PN? Name of the book? **)**

194. *'wnš'w* /ʷUnš-?/ m.: **B** N, *'Y-KZ-Y 'βrxwm'ny 'wnš'w MLK' ny[w] 'mn(t) | 'ys*: *Afr.*, 1-2, p. 59-61; *(wβyw) 'βrxw(m'ny 'wnš-'w) MLK' ('prs)*: *Afr.*, 14. — **P** A family-name (?) of *βrxwm'n* (#311: 1). — **D** Cf. *m'stc 'wnš* (#637), the name of Varkhuman's successor on the throne of Samarkand; if we admit that the final *-w* is a graphical feature of the Afr. inscription (LIV., *Afr.*, p. 61), the base seems to be *'wnš(')-*. LIV. (p. 62, n. 1) compares it to *wen-na-sha* (溫那沙, EMCh. ʔwən-naʼ-ṣai/ṣɛː) an "older" name of Sogdiana according to Weishu and some other texts; and to *wen* 溫 as a clan-name of Samarkand kings in Chinese histories (cf. also LIV., 1973; differently YOSH., 2004a, p. 130).

195. (*'wp'cH* /?/ f.: **B** N, *δ'yH cwy'kkH kwtr'ncH 'wyH twrkstny z'tcwH 'wp'cH | ty n'm*: *ΔP*, R5-6; *δ'yH 'wp'cH*: *ΔP*, R7; *δ'yH | 'wp'cH*: *ΔP*, R14; *δ'yH 'wp'cH*: *ΔP*, R17; *'PZY 'wp'cH | pts'ynty*: *ΔP*, R22-23. — **P** The slave-girl, of *cwy'kkH* family (#395), native of Turkestan, who was purchased from *wxwšwβyrt* (#1355: 3) by the monk *y'nsy'n* (#1497). — **D** Unclear. Sounds similar to the non-Indian, "Tocharian" names of Niya documents *V̇apika*, *V̇ugaca*, *Apisae* (BURROW, 1935, p. 670, 672). Cf. also *p'c* (#864)? **)**

196. (*'wp'k* /Upaka/ m.: **B** B, *]wy''βr 'wp'k'*: *Len.*, 40, 3; *'wp'k(') m'δ w'β*: Len., 40, 10. — **P** Upaka (*Maṇḍikāputta*, see YOSH., 2009a, p. 308), addressee of the Buddha's teaching. — **D** Skt *Upaka* (BHS, Pāli id.), a hypocoristic to a name beginning with *upa-*. See under *''m'yt'* (#15) on the final *aleph*. **)**

***'wrkwp'r cr''cw mγ'' t'tp'r x'γ'n >mγ'' t'tp'r x'γ'n* #664**

***'wrk wrt rm'wk > 'wkkwrt cm'wk* #191**

***'wr'kk > 'wγrk* #186**

197. (*'wrpyrβ' k'š'yp'* /Urbilva Kāśēpa/ m.: **B** B, *ZKw pncw | šmnt' mx'k'š'yp' ZY 'wrpyrβ' k'š'yp' ZY n't'y k'š'yp' ZY | k'y'' k'š'yp'*: Len., 93, 18-20. — **P** A disciple of the Buddha. — **D** Skt. *Uruvilvā Kāśyapa*, lit.

"descendant of *Kaśyapa* from Uruvilvā (a locality of the Buddha's meditations)"; see F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403. Cf. under *k'š'yp* (#523).

For S *p* rendering Skt. /*v*/ cf. *srp(')šwr* (#1093), YAK., YOSH., *SGHS*, p. 251. However, the Skt. dictionaries also give the form *Urubilvā* (also *Urbilvā*, *SWTF*, I, 418); in this case S *p* is expected; cf. also Toch. B *Urbilvakāśyape*, A *Ūrbilwā*; the metathesis of *r* and *l* is found in Uyghur *'wlpyrβ' k'šyp* (HAMILTON, 1986, 2, 16).)

198. (*'wry* /*Urï*/ m.: **B** C, *'wry*.: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 7. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Turkic "boy, young", cf. *wry trx'n* (#1343) and SIMS-W., 1992b, p. 45-46, n. 13.)

199. (*'wstθys* /*Ewstaθīs*/ m.: **B** C, *'t pr(y.s) 'wstθys*: *C2*, *87 R1; *qw (f)wx'r 'wstθ(ys) s'*: *C2*, *87 R9; *qw 'wstθys s'.*: *C2*, *87 R14. — **P** St. Eustathius, the martyr (1st – 2nd century CE), cf. *pylyqydws* (#980). — **D** Syr. *'wsttys* /*'Ewsṭaṭiyos*, *'Ewsṭaṭīs*/, from Gr. Εὐστάθιος.)

†'wstnk > zpγw kr crδnk #1561

†'wšcy'n > 'wxcy'n #206

[*'wšH* : **B** N, *ZKwy wrδ'kkty 'wšH*: Muγ, A-5, 13 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** Probably, a kind of goods under distribution. — **D** Acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., "(a woman called) *'wšh* from *wrδ'kkt*", where *'wšh* comes from **'ušah*- "dawn". The contexts suggests rather reading with LIV. *wrδ'kkty rwγn* "oil from Warδakkat", or "Rosy (/*warδe-kǝ'te*/?) oil" instead.]

200. *'wšy'n* /*Ušyān*/ m.: **B** N, *'wšy'n – 'r-xnt-r-t*: GRENET, 2006; cf. LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 349. — **P** A name inscribed on the base of a goblet, 2nd-1st century BCE. Cf. also *'rxntrt* (#150) — **D** "Boon of dawn(-deity)", as GRENET, op. cit., p. 225.

A widely attested name of Sogdian people in the Chinese documents, *Shuyan* (数延 EMCh. *ṣuǎ^h-jian*) can either be a metathetic variant of this name or a shortening of **wxwšwy'n* (as supposed by YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 333, n. 9).

201. (*'wt'* /?/ m.: **B** N, *šmny y'nsy'(n)* | *'xw 'wt' BRY c'n kwtr*: *ΔP*, R3-4. — **P** Father of *y'nsy'n* (#1497). — **D** A Chinese bisyllabic name, not identified.)

202. (*'wtcw''n* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *] •• s(m)wtr z-npw ZY 'wδ rw[t? …](t)r'y ZY βtδl'• (pr) '(wtcw''n) ••(c)tδ'rt (ZY) γ•[*: *Sev.*, 2. — **P** An unclear word in the Sevrey inscription. Nothing similar in Lɪᴠ.'s edition (*Sev. K-L*). — **D** Maybe a Turkic ethnic or personal name? **)**

203. (*'wtmĭš tykyn* /*Utmĭš Tegin*/ m.: **B** N(M), *mδy m's βγ'y xyrδ'wnty z-'(t)[ytw ZY δwγtrt] | 'wtmĭš tykyn sry*: *BL*, A125-126. — **P** A "(spiritual) son" of the "Teacher" *šxry'r z'δ'k* (#1183). — **D** Uygh., "victorious prince". **)**

204. (*'wtt* /*Ot*/ m.: **B** N, *MN prm'nδ'r 'wtt*: Муг, B-3, 4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 71, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 76; *SDGM*, III, p. 62); *'yδ ''wzn'k 'wtt | xyrδ*: Муг, A-10, 10-11 (*SDGM*, II, p. 73, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 81; *SDGM*, III, p. 57); *'t prm'nδ'r | 'wttw*: Муг, A-18, R1-2 (graph. acc.); *'t prm'nδ'r 'wtt*: Муг A-18, R10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 132, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 148; *SDGM*, III, p. 69); *'t prn'nδ'r | 'wttw*: Муг, A-2, 2-3 (graph. acc.); *'t prm'nδ'r | 'wtt*: A-2, 9-10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 137, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 152; *SDGM*, III, p. 67); *'t prm'nδ'r 'wttw*: Муг, A-3, 2, 8 (graph. acc., *SDGM*, II, p. 138, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 157); *'t prm'nδ'r | 'wtt*: Муг, A-16, 2-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 139, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 154; *SDGM*, III, p. 70); *'t βγw xwβw prm'nδ'r 'wtt*: Муг, A-6, 1; 11 (*SDGM*, II, p. 141, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 159-160; *SDGM*, III, p. 74); *'t βγw xwβw prm'nδ'r | 'wttw*: Муг, A-1, R1-2 (graph. acc.); *'t βγw xwβw prm'nδ'r | 'wtt*: A-1, R14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 142, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 161, 163; *SDGM*, III, p. 73); *'t βγw xwβw RBcH 'nwtH prm'nδ'r 'wtt*: Муг, Б-13, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 144, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 166; *SDGM*, III, p. 80); *'t βγw xwβw RBcH 'nwtH prm'nδ'r 'wtt*: Муг, Б-11, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 147, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 170; *SDGM*, III, p. 81); *'t βγw xwβw (R)BcH 'nw[t]H prm'nδ'r 'wttw*: Муг, Б-15, 1 (graph. acc.; *SDGM*, II, p. 150, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 173; *SDGM*, III, p. 78-9); *'t βγw xwβw RBcH 'nwtH prm'nδ'r 'wtt* Муг, Б-18, 1 (*SDGM*, II, 153-154, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 179; *SDGM*, III, p. 77); *MN prm'nδ'r 'wtt*: Муг, Б-4, 1 (*SDGM*, II, 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p. 65); *rty δ'βrw ZKn 'wtt*: Муг, Nov.1, R25 (*SDGM*, III, p. 38); *MN prm'nδ'r | 'wtt*: A-8, 7-8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 62). — **P** A functionary (*prm'nδ'r*) at Δēwāštīč's court. The equation of *prm'nδ'r 'wtt* with *'wttkyn/zyδnH*, (#205; #1572) proposed by Bᴏɢᴏʟ., Sᴍɪʀ. (see *SDGM*, II, p. 219), is possible, but unlikely; see Yᴀᴋ., *Marr.*, p. 316. — **D** A Turkish name, from *ot* "fire" or *öt* "thought" (Lɪᴠ., *SDGM*, II, p. 133), *öd* "time" (cf. *Ödüš Täŋrim* apud Zɪᴇᴍᴇ, 1977, p. 83), or rather *ut-* "to overcome, win" (cf. Rásᴏɴʏɪ and Bᴀsᴋɪ on Runic PN *Ut-saŋun*, *Onom. Turc.* II, p. 824); Lɪᴠ. (in a letter of 12.11.07)

proposes to see here a derivative of OIr. *vat-* "understand, learn, believe", as Av. -*uuat*-, CS *'wt* "hope", Khot. *haut*-, cf. now *SÉSAS*, p. 149.

> FREIMAN's interpretation of *prm'nδ'r 'wtt* as "steward of provinces" (*'wtt* being gen. pl. of *'wt('k)*), was rejected by HENN., *Kalender*, p. 89, n. 1, on syntactic grounds. According to the documents, *prm'nδ'r* /*framāndār*/ (the word itself seems to be equal to OP *framātar*, IPth. *prmtr*, MP *framādār*, Arm. *hramatar*, Bct. φρο/αμαλαρο, but re-etymologized as *framān-dār* "order holder"), was responsible for natural resources (translated "steward of provisions, управляющий хозяйством" by LIV., "administrative chief, административный начальник" by BOGOL., SMIR.), see a summary of his activities in *SDGM*, II, p. 133-6, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 149-150. It is tempting to suppose that a fief of *prm'nδ'r* was located on the banks of the River Magian to the East of Panjakant, where the present-day village of *Filmondor* is located (LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 136). **)**

205. (***'wttkyn*** /*Ot-tegin*/ m.: **B** N, *'wttkyn ky ZY ZK pyšn'm'k zyδnH*: Муγ, Nov.3, R3; *ZNH 'wttkyn*: Nov.3, R8; *'mw'wttkyn*: Nov.3, R13; *'wttkyn*: Nov.3 R16; R23; V15; V label, 1; Nov.4 V2; *'wtt | kyn*: Nov. 3, V9-10; *ZK wy-r' 'wttkyn*: Nov.3 R19; *'M 'wttkyn pr'yw*: Nov.3, V3; *MN 'wttkyn*: Nov.3 V6, Nov. 4 R2; *pr 'wttkyn prm'nH*: Nov. 4, V15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21-22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28-29; YAK., *Marr.*, p. 310-311); *(ZKn ')wttkyn '(y)wH 'z(y)H*: Муγ, Б-1, L3; *rty ''st 'wt[tkyn]*: Муγ, Б-1, L4 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The husband of *cttH*/*δγwδγwncH* (#386, #423), whose nickname (?) was *zyδnH* (#1572); he may have been, though not necessarily, the same person as *'wtt* (#204); a recipient of a spear (or water-skin, *'zyH*). — **D** A Turkic name, *ot-tegin* "fire-prince", maybe connected to Mong. *ot-čigin*, "(title of) youngest son", see the discussion by YAK., *Marr.*, p. 315-316; however, all the Turkic etymologies proposed for *'wtt* (#204) can be valid here too. LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 219) is very skeptical about *'wt[tkyn]* in Б-1. **)**

206. *'wxcy'n* /*Uxučyān?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZK 'wx-cy'n*: Муγ, Б-12, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 155, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 182; *SDGM*, III, p. 48). — **P** A person from *Əzrāwaδk* — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. read it as *'wšcy'n* (and even *'wšcyn* on p. 91) and give an impossible etymology from OIr. *v̥šyan-*; LIV. does not identify the first element, while *y'n* is naturally "boon". WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 200-201 rightly derives *'wxc* from *xwc* "nice, pleasant"; for the change *xw/(')wx* see *GMS*, §417.

'wxsrδ > ''wxsrδ #36: 1

'wxšmryk > wxšmryk #1355

207. 'wxw'n /ʷUxwān?/ m.: **B** N, *npxšty ZNH δ'ypwsty 'wxw'n ZKn pt'wr BRY | pr pt'wr δp'yrptw ''prs*: *ΔP*, 21. — **P** The scribe of the sale-contract of *'wp'c* (#195; composed in Gaochang, 639 CE), son of *pt'wr* (#939). — **D** A reflex of OIr. **vahu-* "good" with suffix *-'n*? Cf. *wxw* (#1357); *wrδ'n* (#1335). Alternatively, it could be a derivative of Av. *Vīuuaŋᵛhaṇt-* (MAYRHOFER, *IPNb*, I/1, 381), cf. the Av. patronym *Vīuuaŋᵛhana-*. Or to S *wxw'n* "to call, name"?

208. ('wxy' /Ōhyā/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtš[y *'yw 'wx]y' n['m] | kwnt' oo kyZY 'xw s(wyδy)w s'(xm) | kw'y 'z[γy](r)ty*: *Giants*, H10-12, p. 70 — **P** 'Ohyâ, the Giant in Mani's book. — **D** The text explicitly says "Ohya who is called *s'xm* (#1068) in Sogdian", cf. *'xy'* (#221), *p'ts'xm* (#878); from Aram. *'why'*, /'Ōhyā/, Latin transcription *Ogia*, see MILIK, 1976, p. 299-300. **)**

[**'wyγwr x'γ'n** /Uyγur xāγān/ m.: **B** N(M), *βγ'y 'wyγw[r x'γ'n]*: *BL*, A97; ●●●(*'wyγwr x'*)[*γ'n*] ●●●●: *Sev. K-L*, 1; *'kw 'w(y)[γwr x'γ'](n)*: *Sev. K-L*, 3. — **P** Obviously a title and not a PN; note that YOSH. does not give anything similar to *'wyγwr x'γ'n* in his re-edition of *Sev.* on either occurrence. — **D** "Kaghan of the Uyghurs", not a PN in the proper sense; for another appearance of *'wyγwr x'γ'n* see s.v. *''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'* (#38).]

209. ('wyz 'δgw /Öz Eδgü/ f.: **B** M, *[●●●● 'w]yz 'δgw m'ṭm*: M51, R12, ed. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, *Hymns LS*, 1164, p. 110-111. — **P** "My mother *'wyz 'δgw*", written in red ink at the end of Pth. cantillated hymn. Peter ZIEME (apud *Hymns LS*, n. 373, p. 195) compared this name to *'wyz 'δgw* in a list of names in MIK III 4979 ii 5 (ed. BE DUHN apud GULÁCSI, 2001, p. 226), and so reconstructed the initial two letters. — **D** Turkic, *eδgü* (or *edgü*) "sweet", *öz* "essence, life, entrails, best", see *'δkw* (#6), *tmyr 'wyz* (#1230).

> The translation of *m'ṭm* as "my mother" was suggested by SIMS-W. apud *Hymns LS*, n. 373, p. 195-6. A similar usage of enclitic pronouns to denote possession of nouns is typical for Ygh. (and New Iranian languages in general, under Turkic influence) and is found in several late S texts, namely So 18196 and *Len.*, 73+77, ed. YOSH., 2001, p. 111-114, and probably *DTS*, G4-5 (*rwxšny'k(m) βr't'm*, as YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 371). **)**

210. ('hrwn /Ahrōn/ m.: **B** C, *wny br't 'hrwn dynd'r*: MIK III 52, R2 (*STii*, p. 34); *sng s'r wny.nt mwš' bywny | 't 'hrwny*: (obl.) MIK III 52, R3-4 (*STii*, p. 34). — **P** The Biblical Aaron. — **D** Syr. *'hrwn* /'Ahrōn/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

’xsrw > ’kwsrH #65: 2

211. ’xšwc’k /*Ǝxušučak?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ’xšwc’k ’y-wH ’y-zH*: Муγ, Б-1,
L3 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a spear (or a water-skin, *’zyH*). —
D No etymology proposed. In the first part one can recognize *’xwšw*, *wxwšw*
etc. "Oxus" (see under *wxwšβntk*, #1364), while *-c’k* is a hypocoristic, cf.
tšc’kk (#1248), *γyc’kk* (#504).

212. ’xšwmβntk /*Ǝxšumvande*/ m.: **B** N, *m’xc ZY ’xšwmβntk | ZNH
’sm’nc BRYN*: Муγ, B-8, R6-7; *m’xc ZY | ’xšwmβntk*: R13-14; *m’xc ZY
’xšwmβntk*: R16-17 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; *SMIR.*, Ocherki, p.
108; GERSH., *Frog-plain*, p. 196; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314; SIMS-W., *UI2*,
p. 36 for BRYN). — **P** Brother of *m’xc* (#645: 1), son of *’sm’nc* (#156: 1),
one of the purchasers of half of a *nā’ūs*. — **D** "Slave of the divinity *xšwm*",
cf. *xwšm’ncH* (#1456), *’xšwmyc* "12th month of the year", cf. also WEBER,
ZSP, p. 194 n. 14.

> GERSH., Frog-plain, p. 206 understood the name as "cattle-owner's slave", assuming that
> *’xšwm* here is related to Av. *fšūmant-*, Oss. *fysym*. This etymology (note that there is
> otherwise only one other example of OIr. *fš* > S *xš*, *GMS*, §314, 3) can be valid for the
> calendar deity *xšwm*, and only indirectly for its derivates. Cf. also Bct *Ƥoμoγoβανδαγo*.
> SIMS-W. in the forthcoming fascicle of *IPNB* gives a convincing interpretation of *xšwm* as
> a lunar deity.

’xšwmryk > wxšmryk #1356

213. ’xšywnc /*Ǝxšewanič*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ’yw ’xšywnc*: Муγ, Б-4, 3 (*SDGM*,
II, p. 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p. 65). — **P** The supplier of a
helmet. — **D** A hypocoristic on *-c* from *’xš’ywn’k* "king" (rather than from
’xš’ywn "lamentation", cf. *z’tc* as against *z’tk*, under *nytc* #853), cf. WEBER,
ZSP, p. 194 n. 15.

214. (*’hw’-, ḥw’* /*(Ǝ)hawā*/ f.: **B1** C, *[ḥw](’) m’t* (?): Schüler, IIIV4 with
n. 36. — **P1** The Biblical Eve; one can reconstruct here *[hby](l)* "Abel" as
well, see SUND., *Schüler*, n. 36. — **B2** M, *’ty ’hw’yy δstβry | nyy’s*: SUND.,
Eva, R9-10 (obl.). — **P2** Eve in Manichean myth. On her role in the
mythology see SUND., *Eva*, passim; VAN LINDT, 1992, p. 185-189. — **D** Syr.
ḥw’ /*Ḥawā*/, from Old Hebrew; cf. Pth. *’hw’y*, *’ḥw’y*. **)**

215. ’xwprn, xwprn /(Æ)xufarn/ m.: **B** N, *MN xypδ β(ntk) ’z-r’wδkc ’rspn ’xwp(rn)*: Муγ, Б-18, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 153-154, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 179; *SDGM*, III, p. 77); *ZKn xwprn ZY xwtc’nk*: Муγ, А-3, 4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 138, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 154). — **P** An *arspan* (procurement official?, hardly a PN here, see *’rspn*, #135) at *Æzrāwaδk* (a village in the upper part of the Zarafšān valley); a recipient of grain (maybe, a different person). — **D** From **hu-farnah-* "Good Glory"; as Pont. Ir. *Χοφαρνος*, cf. MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1040; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 197, No. 8; also under *xwzβ’kk*, #1480.

216. ’xwr /Æxur[mazdāt?]/ m.: **B** N, *γwm’yt ZK | ’’wxsrδ BRY | ’xwr* (?): *UI2*, No. 446 (47:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250. — **P** If all the three lines of the text belong together, a characterization (by a title, a family-name, *nisba* or as the grandfather of *γwm’yt* (#495: 1); if not, a separate visitor to Shatial. — **D** Probably unfinished *’xwrmzt’t* (#217), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 14. HUMB. (*SIF*, No. 38b) reads *nx●●*.

217. ’xwrmzt’t, ’xwrmztδ’t /Æxurmazdāt/ m.: **B1** N, *’xwrmzt’t*: *UI1*, No. 309 (36: 93); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215; *’xwrmztδ’t*: *UI1*, No. 47 (26: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *’xwrmzt’t | ZK | y’nprn | BRY*: *UI2*, No. 635 (Dadam Das, No. 37:9, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 104). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *y’nprn* (#1496: 2). — **D** "Given by Ahura-Mazdā", maybe not in the sense of the supreme Zoroastrian deity, but as the name of the first day of the month, *xwrmzt(’) rwc*.

> For simplification of /zd-δ/ see *UI2*, p. 44; also *GMS*, §284, §457; cf. *’sp’nδ’t* (#160), *δrw’sβntk* (#438). Reading *’xwrmzt’m* is less likely, but the first four letters seem to be added to initial *mzt’t* later, in a smaller writing. Cf. IPth. (*’hw)rmzdt* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 180). YOSH., 2009a, p. 328-9, thinks that the name (?) *A-hu-mi* in the Chinese colophon on the rev. of the S *Dhyāna*-text, renders a S name containing *Axurmazd*. Cf. *y’xywrmzt* (#1501), *wrmzt* (#1340), *nyw ’whrmyzd* (#858) for Manichean usages.

218. ’xwrmztkk /Æxurmazdak/ m.: **B** N(A), *ḤRZYn (’c ’x)[wrmztkk ’](c)w np’yns’<w>*: *AL5 (2)*, R5; *YKZYm ’xwrmztkk γyδrp ’krtw δ’rt*: *AL5 (2)*, 30. — **P** A Sogdian merchant; offender (?) against *pryxwt’w* (#932: 1; cf. SIMS-W., *AL5 (2)*, p. 95, note to R5). — **D** A hypocoristic to a name containing *’xwrmzt* "Ahura-Mazda" cf. also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14. Cf. IPth. PN *’hwrmzdk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 185).

> The transliteration in line 5 is a mere guess, as admitted by the editor (loc. cit.); BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9, proposes to understand the name as "(he who is) born on the first day of the month (*xwrmzt’rwc*)".

†'xwšβ'rc > 'xwš(t)y'rc #220

'xwšmryk > wxšmryk #1356

†'xwšp'k > 'xwšwn'm'k #219

'xwšk > xwš'kk #1454: 3

'xwšprn > wxwšwprn #1370: 1

219. *'xwšwn'm'k* /*Uxušunāme*/? m.: **B** N, *'xwšwn(')[*: Muγ, A-4, V16 (*SDGM*, III, p. 60). — **P** A person mentioned in a document concerning skins. — **D** The name can mean "(he who has) name/fame (of) the Oxus", cf. *pryn'm'k* (#931), *xwt'wn'mk* (#1461), *δywn'm('k)* (#1477 − 78) and *wxwšβntk* (#1364) for the first element.

> *Xᵘšn'm* and *Xwšn'm* in the "History of Samarkand" (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 10) can belong here too (persons with such names originated in Central Asia and not in Iran), several persons named *Xušnām* are quoted by JUSTI, *INb*, p. 181a. However, they did not come from Oxian lands, and a Persian etymology of their names as *xʷaš-nām* "good name" seems preferable. BOGOL., SMIR. read *'xwšp'k* but the photo does not support it.

220. *'xwšty'rc*, *'xwšy'rc* /*Ǝxōšyārič?*/ m.: **B** N, *MN ''pškr'k | 'xw-šy'rc*: Muγ, Nov. 6, 10-11; *MN wy-δpt | 'xwšty'rc*: 16-17 (*SDGM*, II, p. 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 224; *SDGM*, III, p. 49). — **P** A supplier of 8 drachmae (two times), "irrigator" (*'pškr'k*) and "canal-master" (*wyδpt*). — **D** This name is attested in the Arabic history of Samarkand, where a Zoroastrian scholar, an opponent of Qutayba in Buxārā, is called *xᵘšty'r* (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11); its etymology, however, is unclear.

> A difficulty lies in the internal *t*, once omitted and once inserted. The first form LIV. understood as "happy in a battle", from S *wyš* + *y'r*, nothing is said about the form with *t*. BOGOL., SMIR. separate the two names and transliterate the first as *'xwšβ'rc*, which is translated by them as "merry", (as S *šyrβryy*, *šyrβr'n*), and the second as *'xwštr'kč*, from the comparative *'xwš-tr* + *'k*. If we assume that it is one and the same name (a supposition generally based on the similarity of professions, the person in question was an "irrigator" in the 12th year of Δēwāštīč's reign and in the 13ᵗʰ year achieved the rank of "canal-master"), and the form *'xwšy'rc* is genuine, it may be borrowed from NP *Hōšyār* "sober, awake" (from **auša-dāra-*, MP *ōšyār*), which serves as a PN in *Šn.* and elsewhere; for semantics cf. Gr. *Γρηγόριος*. For the unetymological *t* cf. NP pairs *bāliš/bālišt*, *dās/dāst*, etc.

221. (*'xy'* /*Ahya*/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtšy 'xy' n'm kwnt' rtšy | ms swγδ'yw p'ts'xm βwt*: Giants, H13-14, p. 70. — **P**: Ahya, the younger brother of Ohya. — **D** The text explicitly states "Ahya, and in Sogdian it is *p'ts'xm*" (#878). In Aramaic, however, he is called *hhyh*, *Hahyah*, and *'ḥyh*, *Aḥiyah* see MILIK, 1976, p. 312-313, 320, 333-334.)

222. (*'y'y 'lyl'n tk'yn 'lptrx'n* /*Ayï? Alïlan? Tegin Alp-Tarxan*/ f.?: **B** N, *x-twn 'y'y '(l)yl'n tk'yn 'lptrx'n xwβw | δγt'*: Kulan-say, IIIa, 10-11, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with photo No. 111. — **P** A visitor to Kulan-say. Maybe *'y'y 'lyl'n* was a lady's name and *tk'yn 'lptrx'n* that of her father, and in this case *xwt'δmyš xtwn* was her mother. — **D** *Tegin* "prince", *alp* "hero", *tarxan* – a title in Turkic. Initial *'y'y* (cf. *Ayï*, *''yy* in an Uyghur colophon, HAMILTON, 1986, 1.11', p. 18, of which Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS reminded me), and *'lyl'n* remain so far unclear. The first word can be transliterated as *'yš* for OTu. *eš* "companion", maybe *x'y*, cf. *x'y yγl'xr* (#1400), *'lyl'n* (or *'lwl'n* hardly *'ltl'n*) is written in a clear hand, but remains unexplained so far, cf. *'yl wl'n* (#241).)

†'y'yw 'lpsynγwr > *'yšy 'lpsynγwr 'yn'l 'ymš* #260

223. *'yk'pc*, *'ykp'c* /?/ m.: **B** N, *pysk (ZK) | 'y(k')p(c) (?) BRY | (w)s- - -*: UI2, No. 473 (50:16); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254; *pysk ZK | '(y)kp'c BRY*: UI1, No. 12 (7:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 131. — **P** Father of *pysk* (#987: 17). — **D** The meaning is unclear; one can transliterate *'(y)kw'c* in No. 12 as well. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 44 divides it into *'yk*/*'yk'* and *p(')c*. However, neither of the elements is known, cf. *'yky''nk*, *'ykkδ'k* (#226, 224). The final *-p'c* seems to appear in the names *''npc* (#20), *p'c* (#864), *'wp'cH* (#201), *cr'pc* (#382). One can theoretically trace *p(')c* back to **pati-* "chief" (cf. *βxc* #335); however S *-pt* from **pati-* is attested in several words; cf., e.g., *''xwrpt*, #37 or to **pak-*/*pac-* "to cook" (cf. *nγnp'k*, #775)?HUMB., *SIF*, No. 3 (= No. 473) has *'yr●●*.

224. *'ykkδ'k* /?/ m.: **B** N, *'y-kkδ'k ZK n'nyc BRY*: Muγ, B4, V5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 63). — **P** A witness in the deed of lease of three mills, son of *n'nyc* (#757: 2). — **D** Unclear. One can read *cy-kkδ'k*, *'yk-kδrk*, *'ykpδ'k* etc. (LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 63). The same first element, *'yk*, appears in some other PN: *'ykp'c* (#223), *'yky''nk* (#226). If *'y-kkδyk*, to OTu. *iglig* "ill" (thus LIV., in a letter of 12.11.07; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 70).

'ykp'c > *'yk'pc* #223

225. (**'ykr'šn** /*Ēkrāžan?*/ m.: **B** B, *'ykr'šn (n'm)*: *SGHS*, 3a, v4. — **P** Name of a king in the Sūtra. However, in the original he is unnamed. — **D** Skt. *Ekarājā*, lit. "Sole king" (which is attested, however, in a different Buddhist text, not in *SGHS*).

"This spelling seems to reflect the false Sanskritization of the underlying **'ykr'zn* (with the Prakritic development of **-j- > ž*). Without restoring (*n'm*), one can take *'ykr'šn* as a common noun 'monarch', an equivalent of 'king' in the Skt. version. If one has to accept the restoration (*n'm*), which is probably the case, one can envision the following scenario. The author(s) of the Sogdian version wanted to provide the otherwise anonymous righteous king with a name that would be both worthy of a ruler and Indian-looking. Consequently one picked **'ykr'zn* 'monarch', which still sounded like a foreign word in Sogdian, and made it into a proper name. The verification of this scenario will require more attestations of **'ykr'zn/'ykr'šn* in Sogdian, but in any case it seems more likely than assuming a different Sanskrit or Prakrit version of the SghS where the king was endowed with a personal name." (YAK., YOSH., *SghS*, p. 253). Note that Skt. *rājā* (when not translated) is transcribed in S as *r'c*, rarely *r'z* or *r't* (*rwk'yntr r't*, #1031).)

226. **'yky''nk** /?/ m.: **B** N, *'yky''nk | ZK 'n'(x)t*: *UI1*, No. 207 (34: 93); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *'n'xt* (#94: 1). — **D** Unclear; *-y''nk* seems to be a *nisba* suffix (*GMS*, §1040; *UI2*, p. 44; cf. *kšy'n'k*, under #562), while *'yk-* may be a place-name, maybe *Äk-taγ* in the Tonyukuk inscription or *Āqtau* near Samarkand (SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 44); cf. also Bct. PN *Ιακανο*.

227. (**'yl ''smy** /*El Asmïš?*/ m.: **B** N(C), *'yl ''smy s'r*: *DTS*, F16. — **P** Host of *srkys* (#1097: 2) on some occasion. — **D** Turk. *el asmïš*, *el ašmïš* "promoted, favored by the State".

Names with both the elements *el* and *asmïš* are well attested among the Turks, *El Ašmïš* is a PN in *Pfahlinschr*, p. 23, 14. (On *el* as a typical element in the noble Uyghur onomasticon, see GABAIN, 1973, p. 73 and material collected by RÁSONYI, 1953, p. 333-336); cf. also *''smyš tnkrym* (#28); the loss of the final *-š* could be explained as a result of simplification before the following sibilant in *s'r* (*DTS*, p. 59).)

228. (**'yl 'k'** /*El ägä?*/ m.: **B** N, *'y]l 'k' || x'γ'n*: coin, ISKHAKOV, 1991, p. 270 (ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 195) apud BARATOVA, 1999, p. 238; cf. SMIR.,. *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1440-1444. — **P** A ruler (?) in Farghana, 7th – 8th century? — **D** Unclear.

SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, p. 59, read the inscription as *'lγ'*, which she understood as *Alqa*, a sub-tribe of Yaγma according to Maḥmūd Kāšγarī. ISKHAKOV's reading implies the title *Il äkä*,

but its meaning is not transmitted by Baratova (from OTu. *el igä(si)* "owner of state"?). The image of coin No. 1441 in *Sv. Kat.* shows it as *'-γ-'*, *'-γ-c* in a rather archaic spelling. **)**

229. (*'yl 'wk'sy 'lpw xwtlwγ[* /El Ögäsi Alp Qutluγ/ m.: **B** N(M), *ZY s't pwrnβγty xwyštr 'yl 'wk'sy 'lpw xwtlwγ ●●●●● n'm δ'βr*: KB-H, 1-6, 16(1), p. 19. — **P** A name presented (by Kaghan?) to an Uyghur dignitary (or rather Manichean authority?). — **D** A lofty compound, *'yl 'wk'sy* "leader of the nation" (cf. *'wγwz 'yl 'wk'sy 'lpw yn'ncw pγ'trx'n*, #188) + "Hero" (see *''y tnkryδ' xwt pwlmyš 'lpw pylk'*, #38) + "Glorious" + other lofty epithet(s) which have not survived. **)**

230. (*'yl 'ytmyš* /El Etmiš/ m.: **B** N(C), *'yl 'ytmyš ''γ't*: DTS, F9. — **P** A trader of cotton fabric (*wšyny*). — **D** Turkic, well attested *El Etmiš* "(the one who) regulated, built the state", as *DTS*, p. 56, cf. Zieme, 1978-9, p. 84. **)**

231. (*'yl klwk* /El Külüg/ m.: **B** N(C), *(-k/p) 'yl klwk pr nm'c šy(')*: So 20133/II margin, 2 apud Reck, *Survey*, p. 195 (re-checked from the photo at *DTA*). — **P** A person named in the reader's colophon on the margin of a CS text. — **D** Turkic, "famous (of the) state", cf. *kwlwk* (#583). Jens Wilkens (apud Reck, loc. cit.) notes that the orthography of the name is irregular for Uyghur: one would expect *kwylwk* or *kwwlwk*. **)**

232. (*'yl mnkw 'yn'l* /El Meŋü İnal/ m.: **B** N(M), *'rxyšy 'yl mnkw 'yn'ly δsty'*: BL, C13 (obl.); *'yl | mnkw 'yn'l*: BL, C18. — **P** A caravan-leader, who transported the letter. — **D** Turkic, *ïnal* is a high title (cf. *swp'šy twγryl 'yn'l*, #1114; *''r 'yn'l*, #25), while *El Meŋü (*Beŋü)* is "eternal (of the) state", cf. Clauson, *EDT*, p. 350-351, both elements are common in OTu. PNs (*Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 252-3; II, p. 540). **)**

233. (*'yl p'rs trx'n* /El Bars Tarxan/ m.: **B** N, *'yl p'rs trx'n mn' xypδ šyrxwχy xw*: DTS, F21. — **P** An addressee of a letter, most probably the same person as *'yl p'rs xwtlwγ 'lp trx'n* (#234). — **D** "Tarkhan the Tiger of the State", as already Rei., *HRII*, p. 59; cf. *El Bars* in an Uyghur letter (apud Zieme, 1978-9, p. 85; *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 253), for "tiger of the state" in S see *xsrδmyw* (#1420); *Šēr-i Kišwar* in the History of Naršaxī is the Persian translation of *El Arslan*. **)**

234. (*'yl p'rs xwtlwγ 'lp trx'n* /El Bars Qutluγ Alp Tarxan/ m.: **B** N, *kw mn' | xypδ δṛẓcykw šyrxwχy ''δ'šm 'yl | p'rs xwtlwγ 'lp trx'n prns'r*: DTS,

E1-3. — **P** An addressee of a letter, the *tarxan* (a high Turkic title), probably the same person as *'yl p'rs trx'n* (#233). — **D** Turkic, "Tarkhan the hero, glorious, tiger of the state" (as already REI., *HRII*, 59). **)**

235. (*'yl pylk'* /El Bilgä/ f., m.: **B1** N, *snkwn* ••*wk 'lp trx'n xwβw* •• *tym* •• *'yl pylk' x'twn*: Terek-say, IIa, 9-10, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 146; *δwγt' 'yl (p)ylk' x'twn*: Kulan-say IIIa, 7, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 148, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff., ill. 111. — **P1** A "lady" (*x'twn*), who visited Terek- and Kulan-say. — **B2** N, *(x'twn'•••* *'yl pylk' xwβw)*: Terek-say, Iв, 1, 3, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P2** A visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "nation + wise"; the complete namesake, *El bilgä qatun*, was the mother of Kül-tegin and Bilgä-qaγan (Kül-Tegin inscription, b11). In the Kulan-say inscription, however, *p* is defective and looks more like *w*, *x'twn* is also far from being perfect. **)**

236. (*'yl s'pmyš tnkrm* /El Sepmiš Täŋrim/ f.: **B** N(M), *'yl s'pmyš tnkrm*: BL, C26. — **P** A princess in Turfan. — **D** For *t(ä)ŋrim* "princess" see under *''smyš tnkrym* (#28), *el sepmiš* is probably "(the one who) equipped the state", although the reading *sapmïš* is also possible (cf. a long discussion in CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 784 on homographic and largely synonymous *sap-* and *sep-*). **)**

237. (*'yl t'γ* /El taγ/ m.: **B** N(C?;M?), *'yl t'γ msyδr*: Semirechie, p. 83, д; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 355. — **P** A presbyter (*msyδr*), either Christian or Manichean, in the inscription on a pithos. — **D** Turkic, "nation" + "mountain", *taγ* as PN is attested in the "Legend of Oghuz Khan" and later (*Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 697), cf. also *δykptryš 'ltwn t'γ 'lp r'δm'z trx'n smwr* (#464); *x'y yγl'xr* (#1400); *'yn'l t'š tk'yn δswpšy* (#245), *p'xw tnkrm* (#879) for the semantics. **)**

238. (*'yl t'k trtš tyrk wrwn cwr* /El Täk? Tarduš Tiräg Orun čor/ m.: **B** N, *'yl t'k | trtš tyr(k?) | wrwn cwr*: Terek-say, I-b, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 145. — **P** Visitor(s?) to Terek Say. — **D** Turkic, "people + ? + Tardush tribe (?) + support + throne + Čor", cf. *cwr* (#401); for *trtš* cf. *trδ'wš* (#1238); *t'k* remains unclear. **)**

239. (*'yl tl••• twl•••* /El+?/ m.?, f.?: **B** N, *('yl tl•••) | (twl•••)*: Terek-say, Iв, 3, 41-42, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** Visitor(s?) of Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "Nation" +? **)**

240. (*'yl tyrkwk 'lp βrγwc'n 'lp trx'n* /El Tirgük Alp-Burγučan Alp-Tarqan/ m.: **B** N, *'ty 'yl ty(r)kwk | '(l)p (β)rγwc'n 'lpt(r)x(')n | (x)wβw* ...: Kulan-say, IIIa, 4-5, *Semirechie*, p. 84; *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 147; *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A name in the list of donors inscribed on the rock. — **D** Turkic, "Support (cf. *tyrkwyk*, #1290) of the nation, hero-*Burγučan*, hero-tarkhan".

> An almost identical name *'rsl'n 'yl tyrkwk ['lp] pwrqwč'n 'lp [tr]q'n p'k* is mentioned in a Manichean Uyghur colophon and applied to the ruler of Arghu-Talas (LE COQ, 1911, 27, 9; cf. also KLJASHTORNYJ, 2000, p. 378; ÖZERTURAL, 2008, p. 72 et passim; MORIYASU, 2003, p. 93-96, who believes that one and the same person is mentioned in two texts). *'(l)p-rγwc'n 'lpt'γ* is another way of transliterating the middle and the final parts of the name as one can see it on the photo. **)**

241. (*'yl wl'n* /El Ulan?/ f.: **B** N, *'yl wl'n* (?) | *(x'twn)*: Terek-say, IВ, 1, 10-11, *SÉSAS*, p. 384 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A lady, visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "nation + young man", *oγlan* could have developed into *ulan* around the date of the inscription (early 11th century; this form appears at the end of the 11th century in onomastics, see *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 816). It is strange that such a name has been applied to a lady (*x'twn*); maybe she was called after her offspring? Cf. also *'y'y 'lyl'n tk'yn 'lptrx'n*, #222. **)**

242. (*'yl ●●● 'yn'l ●w●●● tk'yn* /El ? Ïnal ? Tegin/ m.: **B** N, *x'twn ('yl ●●●) | 'yn'l 'w(●●●) tk'yn*: Terek-say, IВ, 2, 32-33, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "state" + ? + Ïnal + ? + "prince". **)**

243. (*'yl ●●●γw●●●k●n* /El ?/ f.: **B** N, *xwβw ('yl) | (●●●)γw●●●k●n | x'twn*: Terek-say, IВ, 1, 16-18, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A lady, visitor to Terek-say (or several persons?). — **D** Turkic, "state" +? **)**

244. (*'yn'δ trx'n* /Ïnal Tarqan/ m.: **B** N, *('kw? 'y)[n'](δ t)[r](x'n s'r)*: *Sev. K-L*, 2. — **P** A dignitary mentioned in the Sevrey inscription? — **D** No similar letter-sequence in YOSH.'s re-edition of the inscriptions. If we rely upon the initial reading of LIV., the name (?) consists of two Turkic titles *ïnal* (cf. *''r 'yn'l*, #25) and *tarqan*. **)**

245. (*'yn'l t'š tk'yn δswpšy* /Ïnal Taš Tegin ?-Sü-baši?/ m.: **B** N, *wm'(t') '(y)n'l (t'š) tk('y)n δswp(š/x)y*: Terek-say, IIa, 11, *SÉSAS*, p. 387-8 with ill. 113. — **P** Visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "Ïnal" + "stone" (cf. *'yt'y t'š*, #261; *t'š 'lpsnkwn 't'y t'š tγ'y 'yrβrtn trx'n*, #1217 and *'yl t'γ*, #237 for semantics) +

"prince". In the last word I dare to reconstruct *sü-bašï* "army leader", cf. *swp'šy twγryl 'yn'l* (#1114), although the function of δ remains unclear. **)**

† *'yn'l tkyn > 'rsln 'yrk'yn* **#134**

246. (*'yn'l ●m●w 'yl 'pγγ' 'yl ptwγ' 'yn'l twγ'n tk'yn* /Ïnal ? El Abïq-? El Batuq-? Ïnal Toγan Tegin/ m.?: **B** N, *(●●●nt) 'yn'l | (●m●w) 'yl 'p(γγ') | ('yl ptwγ') 'yn'l twγ'n | (tk'yn? xwβw●●●)*: Terek-say, IIa, 3-6, *SÉSAS*, p. 387-8 with ill. 113. — **P** Visitor to Terek-say, probably several different persons named after one another. — **D** Turkic, "*Ïnal*" + ? + "state" + "hidden (cf. *'pγ*, #113)" + "state" + "bright color, dye (cf. *ptwx*, #951)" + "*Ïnal*" + "falcon (cf. *twγ'n'r*, #1251?)" + "prince". **)**

† *'yn'y 'lwlyn > 'y'y 'lyl'n tk'yn 'lptrx'n* **#222**

247. (*'yncw pylk' tyr'k* /Inčü Bilgä Tiräk/ m.: **B** N(M), *pry- | rw'nw <'yncw pylk' tyr'k> xwβw*: *BL*, C11 (the name is written above the line). — **P** A "ruler" in Turfan. — **D** Turkic, *inčü* "clan-property, vassal" (?), cf. CLAUSON, *EDT*, 173, or *yenčü* "pearl", cf. *yncw 'yrtkyn*, #1511, *bilgä* "wise" (cf. *ck'yn cwr βyδk''*, #370) and *tiräk* "support", also a high title (CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 543; cf. *xwtrwγ tyr'k*, #1473; *'yl t'k trtš tyrk wrwn cwr*, #238). Ïnanču Bilgä Tiräk (*'yn'ncw b(y)lg(') ty(r)'k*) is mentioned in the MMP "Hofstaat"-fragment (MIK III 36, ii, 14 apud BeDUHN, 2001, No. 42, p. 234) . **)**

248. (*'yncw[* /Enčü-?/ f.: **B** B, *]cnn | 'ny-'k m'tH 'yncw[●H] δst'*: *Ōt.*, No. 2921, 3-4, p. 54, cf. YOSH., *Misc.* 三, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 240-241. — **P** A "grandmother" (*'ny'k m'tH*, suggested by SIMS-W. apud YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 241; or "great grandmother", lit. "mother of grandfather"?) in the colophon. — **D** To Turkic *(y)enčü* "pearl" (as YOSH., op. cit., p. 240); or to Uygh. *inčü* "clan-property, vassal" or finally to S *'yncH* "woman", since the name is applied to the "grandmother", cf. the names containing *δγwt-* (#423 – 424). **)**

[*'yncH*: **B** N, *ZKwy pr'mγδncyH 'y-ncy-(H)*: Muγ, A-5, 13 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51-2. — **P** A recipient of a gift? — **D** LIV. reads "woman from Framēθan (later *Farmētan* on Darγam canal near Samarkand)"; BOGOL., SMIR. prefer "(woman called) *'yncH* from *Farnmēθan*", where *'yncH* is a PN. The first explanation is easier. **]**

249. *'yntwk, 'yntwk'* /Indūk/ m.: B1 N, *'yntwk'* | *ZK sr'wk* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 126 (31: 97); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170; *'yntwk* | *ZK sr'wk* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 557 (Khanbari II). — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, Khanbari, brother of *βγ'βy'rt* (#277: 3; cf. SIMS-W., 1997-8, p. 526) , son of *sr'wk* (#1091: 2). — **B2** N, *'yntwk'* | *ZK pysk*: *UI1*, No. 141 (33: 12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of *pysk* (#987: 4). — **D** As explained by LIV. apud HUMB., *SIF*, p. 226, "Indian".

Cf. *'ynt'wkδyβr'c* "Indian Devarāja" in *Len.*, 59,2 as opposed to *'yntk(')w* in the majority of S texts. *'yntwk* is a more archaic form; see *GMS*, §423; SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 45. Cf. *Hindukka* (and variants) as a PN already seen in Elamite tablets (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8. 513); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 69, initially had *'yztwk'*. In the Chinese rendering, we observe an Ustrushanian (Cao, 曹) person called *Yintujianing* (引吐迦寧, EMCh. *jen-t'uo-ka-nieng*), i.e. **'yntwk'n'k* see YOSH., *PNSChS*.

'yntwmyc > n''ntyH #750

250. (*'yny pxt'y* /?/ m.: B N, *'yny pxt'y xwβw* | *kwl tk'yn 'lp trx'n*: Terek-say, I-a; transliteration is based on *Terek-say*, p. 53, *Semirechie*, p. 84 and *Bug. L-K*, p. 83 n. 12, but cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 374-375. — **P** One of the writers of the Terek-say inscription I-a, 907-908 CE. — **D** Unclear. The transliteration given above is based on LIV.'s translation of 2005. A Turkic name? *ini* "younger brother" + "?". In *SÉSAS* LIV. reads *'yny pšt'y*, "this inscription" where *pšt'y* is explained as a late form of *pxštk* "letter, report". **)**

251. *'ypsr, 'yps'r* /Ēpsar?/ m.: B N, *'ypsr*: *UI1*, No. 203 (34: 89); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 190; *'ypsr* | *ZK* | ●●● *[*: *UI2*, No. 595 (Oshibat, 18:133, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68); *'y(p)s'(r)*: *UI2*, No. 537 (56:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 270. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, Oshibat (or several namesakes). — **D** Acc. to SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 45, this name corresponds to the official title (?) *ZKy 'yps'r* "authorities, leaders?" in *AL3*, 8, 12, from OIr. **api-săra(h)-*. One can transliterate in No. 203 *'yptr* as well.

252. *'yr'k, 'yrk-* /Iräk?/ m.: B1 N, *ZY* | *'y-wH 'yr'k*: Muγ, B9, V5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 160, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 187; *SDGM*, III, p. 55). — **P1** A recipient of a ruby. — **B2** N(M), *o p'k '(yrk●●)[*: *Ōt.*, 7453, 1, p. 141. — **P2** A person in a fragment of a list? — **D** LIV. vocalizes /Erak/ and adds "hardly to **arya-*". BOGOL., SMIR. read *zyr'k* and compare it to *Zērak* in *Šn*. The first letter is, however, *aleph* and hardly *z*. Cf. first of all *yrk'y* (#1513) = Turkic *Irkäj* in the Muγ documents. The same person? Alternatively, cf. Oss., Pont. Ir. *Ir*,

*’Ιρ (*Ϝιρ?) < *vīra-* (as *Step. Ir.*, No. 6, with literature) and the development of the initial **vi > y* in a number of S words (*GMS*, §220). Cf. also Toch. A PN *Ēlāk*?

’yrkyn > ’lp ’yrkyn #72

253. *’yrty* /?/ m.: **B** N, *’t βγw xwβw RBcH ’nwtH krwtcw xwβw ’y(rt??)y* Муγ, Б-16, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 174, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 208, *SDGM*, III, p. 85). — **P** The prince of *Kurut*, to the East of Panjakant. — **D** Unclear; the third and the fourth letters are hardly legible. I wonder if it is not *’yrk’y*, see *yrk’y* (#1513), *Irgäy*.

’yry > w(•)n’’ ’yry mγ[’] #1393

254. *’yss* /?/ m.?: **B** N(A), *’-y-s-s || MR’Y*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 277, No. 1230, cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 1141, 20987, 20988, 25694, 34949. — **P** A ruler who issued imitations of Seleucid coins, 1st century BCE – 4th CE (?), Southern Sogd. — **D** Unclear. ZEIMAL's reading *’ywδw yn* (1983b, p. 252) can hardly be maintained, the transliteration *’yss* was proposed by ALRAM. However, he understood the verso text as PN *mb’y*, but *MR’Y* "ruler" is obvious. Maybe, *’yst*, *’yxs*, *’cst*, etc. É.V. RTVELADZE, 2002, p. 37, table I, 12, calls him *Abtat* (*Абтат*, cf. *www.zeno.ru*, No. 34949).

255. (*’yshq-* /*Īsxāk*/ m.: **B** C, *’y]shqy pcrw*: Schüler, IIR3 (obl.). — **P** Isaac, the patriarch in the Bible. — **D** Syr. *’yshq* /*Īshāq*/, from Old Hebrew. **)**

256. (*’ysyk ’δkw twtwγ ’wyk’* /*Isig Eδgü Totoq Ögä*/ m.: **B** N(M), *’ysyk ’δkw twtwγ ’wyk’ s’r*: BL, C28. — **P** An official in Turfan. Cf. *El Ögäsi Isig Ädgü Totoq Ögä El Qaya*, who is mentioned in MÜ., *Pfahlinsch*, p. 10-11, 15; the identity of both persons (cf. *’’smyš tnkrym*, #28) is possible; however, note that the stake-inscription is obviously Buddhist, and the Bäzäklik letters are Manichean in inspiration. — **D** Turkic; *ögä* is "counsellor, deputy (as GABAIN, 1973, p. 71-72)", *totoq* "military governor" (both are titles rather than parts of a PN), cf. *’lp twtwx ’wyk’*(#78); *ädgü* "good" (CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 81, cf. *δkw*, #57), *isig* "hot" (op. cit., p. 246). **)**

† ’yšβr …δwr ywLk > twn cpγw x’γ’n #1259

257. *’yšn’x’nk* /?/ m.: **B** N(M?), *βr’t ’yšn’x’nk (●)[*: *Ōt.*, 7457, 6, p. 142. — **P** Name of a brother? The context is unclear; maybe not in S language. — **D** Unclear. "(The one with) female nails" (cf. S *’yškty, n’x’n*; Cf. OChor. *’yš’kδstk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 13: "*’yš’k*-handed")? Or "native of *’yšn’x(’n)*" (cf. *’štyx’nc*, #183; *xtwx’nc*, #1430, *wyšx’n*, #1388?)

258. *’yšw, ’yšwγ > yšwγ* #1522: 1-2

***’yšwγ mšyx’ > yšwγmšyḥ’* #1523**

259. *’yšwy’n, yyšw’y’n* / *Išōyān*/ m.: **B1** N(M), *xwy-štr xypδ’w’nt xcy ’yšwy’n*: Ch/So 14730, r, apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 212; *](n) wxšy-prn ’yšwy’[n*: Ch/U 6225 R apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 360. — **P1** The owner of the scroll?; perhaps the same man is named also in another colophon. — **B2** M, *](g) yyšw’y’n s’ngwn yzd*: M406 10 apud SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 270, cf. BOYCE, *Catalogue*, p. 27. — **P2** A person in a list (maybe the same person). — **D** "Boon of Jesus", cf. *yyšw’y’n* in *MN*, 96 (cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 203, No. 39, possibly the same person); one can understand *yyšw* here in the meaning "the Moon", cf. *m’xy’n* (#653).

SUND., op. cit., p. 263 notes that *yyšw* (unlike other mythological figures of Manichean faith), is often found as a name-element not only of the Manichean *electi*, but of *auditori* as well. Cf. also *s’ngwn yzd* (#1062); *š’δ yyšw* (#1145), *mry yyšw’-’ry’m’n mhystg* in *MN*, 212-13. We can add the Chinese rendering *Yousuoyan* (祐所延, EMCh. *jiəu-siwo-iän*, YOSH., *PNSChS*).

260. (***’yšy ’lp synγwr ’yn’l ’ymyš*** /*Iši Alp Siŋqur Ïnal ᵞEmiš?*/ f.?: **B** N, *’yšy | ’lps(yn)γw(r) ’yn’l ’ymyš*: Kulan-say, III-a, 7-8, *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 147; *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with photo No. 111. — **P** A visitor (?) to Kulan-say. — **D** It remains so far unclear, which of these elements constitute one or another lofty Turkic name. *iši* "lady" (cf. *m’nxwty ’yšy xwt*, #633); *alp* "hero", *ïnal* is a title, *’ymyš* stands for *yemiš* "fruit" (cf. *yymyš x’twn tnkrym*, #1539; *xwtlwγ ’yn’l ’ymyš ’lp twγryl tγ’y twtγ ’ylcy*, #1468, see also under *’’r ’yn’l*, #25), while *s[yn]γwr* (so in *SÉSAS*, although I cannot see it on the photo) "falcon", is a form intermediate between Uyghur *šïŋqur* and common Turkic *soŋqur* (cf. also *Qutluγ-siŋγur, Alp-šiŋqur* among Uyghurs, *Onom. Turc.*, I, 55; II, 511; II, 667 ff., *Siŋγur* in several compounds in documents from Dunhuang, HAMILTON, 1986, p. 204).

In *SÉSAS*, p. 378, the reading *'y('y)w | 'lps(yn)γwr 'yn'l 'ymyš* is preferred, but the photo does not support *'y'yw* (which, moreover, remains unexplained). Cf. *'lp synγwr 'yn'l 'tyš* (hardly the same name: the form of *m* in *'ymyš* is clear and distinct from the clear *t* in *'tyš*). **)**

261. (*'yt'y t'š* /?-taš?/f.?: **B** N, *kw'nz x'twn '(y)t'y t(')š xšyβt δβrty*: Kulan-say IIIa, 15, *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** A lady, visitor to Kulan-say, a donor of milk? — **D** Unclear; possibly not a name at all, as it is not accompanied by any known title. Cf. *t'š 'lpsnkwn 't'y t'š tγ'y 'yrβrtn trx'n* (#1217). Maybe, read *''t'y βš*? **)**

† 'ywδw yn > 'yss #254

262. *'yw šm'ryy* /Ēw-Šmārē/ a.: **B** M, *i kpyyš 'yw | šm'r'yy*: *Tales*, C9-10, p. 471 (*sic*, *kpyyš* for *kpyy*, *šm'r'yy* for *šm'ryy*); *'ty xwnyy 'yw | šm'ryy kpyy*: *Tales*, C13-14, p. 471. — **P** A fish in a M fable (the one who escaped the fisherman, cf. *C šm'ryy*, #1579, *z'r šm'rynyy*, #1552). — **D** "One-thought", Skt. *Ekabuddhi* "id." (but it is a frog and not a fish in the *Pañcatantra* version, see HENN., *Tales*, p. 471).

263. *'y●●'n* /?/ m.: **B** N, *'y●●'n | (k●●)ywn | (βnyγs')*: *UI1*, No. 180 (34: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *k●●ywn* (#621). — **D** Unclear. The first line may not belong to the same inscription; a *tamgha* (the same one as the Samarkand *tamgha* on coins!) is placed between the second and the third lines of this inscription.

264. *'zβntkk* /Ǝžvandak?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY 'z-βntk(k ')yw 'z-γrw*: Муг, Б-1, L1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 43). — **P**: A recipient of chain-mail. — **D** Unclear. BOGOL., SMIR. read *'zβntt* and translate it as "friend". I am unaware of existence of such a word in S. The final part of the name is evidently, *βntk* "slave" (double *-kk* probably indicates the pronunciation of this consonant in a hypocoristic formation, cf. *βnt'kk*, #294), but the initial one, which is clearly written *'z* (not *'n*, while *n* always joins the next letter in this document), remains unclear, it is probably a theonym. Maybe, a reflex of OIr. **aži-* "serpent"? Cf. *'zw*. Alternatively, Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested to compare this name to M *zβnd* "quarrel" (as a nickname?; cf. *cytβntk*, #408).

† 'zβntt > 'zβntkk #264

265. *’zγr* /*Ǣzγar*/ m.: **B N, *’zγr*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 6, p. 136. — **P** A name inscribed on a potsherd. — **D** The editors compare it to S *’zγr*, Chor. *zγrᵛk* etc. "chain-mail" and take it as a nickname, cf. *ck’wš’k* (#369), *tš’kk* (#1246). Alternatively, one can compare it to Av. PN *Ziγri-* (MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, 420); Bct. *Αζγαρακο* seems to belong here too.

’zr’wšc > zrwšc #1566

266. *’zt’yk* /*Azdīk?*/ m.: **B1 N, *’zt’y(k) | ZK | xs(yn’)kk | BRY*: *UI1*, No. 165 (34: 51); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186; *xs(y)n’k(k) | ZK | ’zt’yk*: *UI1*, No. 166 (34: 52); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, possibly named after his grandfather. The two inscriptions can indicate a genealogical line *’zt’yk – xsyn’kk – ’zt’yk* or *xsyn’kk – ’zt’yk – xsyn’kk* (cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 65-66 and #1422). Possibly, however, No. 166 is written from below to above, as HUMB., 1994, p. 180. — **B2** N, *ywδk’n ZK | ’zt’(y)kw BRY*: *UI1*, No. 324 (36: 108) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 217. — **P2** Father of *ywδk’n* (#1530: 2); maybe the same person as the previous one. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 324, has *’zt’’k*. — **D** To S *’zt* "known", less likely to be *’nt* "blind", or *’ztyw* "exiled", all proposed by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 45.

[*’zw*: **B N, *’z-w*: *UI1*, No. 98 (31: 69); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Probably not a PN, but the pronoun "I" (so translated in *Fbs. Sh.*). Cf., however, Av. PN *Uzauua-* (MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I, 338) and Bct. *Ωζο*.]

†’[•]tyk > ’βtrc #49

267. *’•••* /?/ m.?: **B C, *’•[•]•[*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 4. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Unclear.

†’••• ’wk’ ’wtwr pγ’trx’n > γγl’xr ’wk’ ’wtwr pγ’trx’n #1503