

β, b, f

268. β'n /*Vān*/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn β'n pr 'p'ncy-(wH): Muγ, A-5, 3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of drachmae, an irrigator (? , 'p'ncy'wH, as LIV., *SDGM*, II, Addenda p. 221). — **D** “Light, dawn, splendour” (both editions), probably as a short name based on some compound like 'rtyβ'n (#138) or β'nprn (#269, as suggested by R. SCHMITT in a letter of 22.05.2008).

However, in S we have the form β'm (cf. s.v. *m'xβ'mH*, #642), as opposed to OInd. *bhānū*, Av. *bānu*, Oss. *bon*, Elam. *Pa-nu-ka* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1271), etc. BOGOL., SMIR. suggest that it is a short name for β'nprn (#269); cf. *Bavaç*, a PN from Panticapeum (also *Step. Ir.*, No. 7); Bct. family-name *Bavrayavo*. The name *b'nwš* of a man from Nasaf in Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, KQ, I, 5) may also belong here.

†β'n'k > y'γy β'z'k #1450

269. β'nprn /*Vānfarn*/ m.: **B** N, rten β'nprn: Muγ, B-11, 9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 147, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 170; *SDGM*, III, p. 82). — **P** A person who was expected to go to the steward 'wtt (#204). — **D** “(He who has) light-glory”, see β'n (#268), cf. Oss. *Bonværon* “Morning star” (*SDGM*, III, p. 92; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 195, No. 3; cf. also *Step. Ir.*, No. 7).

270. (β'swmytr /*Vasumitr*/ m.: **B** B, nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn β'swmytr pwtystβ mx'stβ [prn]: *TSP*, 8, 6; [nm'cw βr'm] 'wyn β'swmytr (pw)δ[ystβ mx'stβ prn]: *SFBL*, 7, 12. — **P** A Bodhisattva in invocations. — **D** Regular S transcription of Skt. *Vasumitra* “Good Mitra”.)

271. (β'y s'nkwn- /*Bay Saγun*/ m.: **B** N(C), p'rty (?) nm'c šy' β't β'y s'nkwny šy': (?; obl.) So 12600/I, vertical line apud RECK, *Survey*, p. 195. — **P** A name in a reader's colophon to a Sogdian Christian text. — **D** Turkic, “rich general”.

WILKENS apud RECK notes a Sogdian, rather than Uyghur orthography of /bay/ (where one expects *p'y*; in Sogdian, it is also a more common spelling, but cf. *βyδk''* for *bilgā*, #370 and the references given there); Her *sngwn* is in fact *s'nkwny*, where the final *y* can

be an oblique ending. The first and the last words of the line are not clear (and left untransliterated by RECK, read from the photo at DTA).)

β'yšrβn > βr'yšmn #302

272. (*bby* /Bābay/ m.: **B** C, *tym m'mr' qy* | [*qty m't*] *nryst mry bby*: C2, *48, R24-25. — **P** Mār Bābay of Nisibis, the “Younger” (Syr. *z'wr'* = -*rystr*), a Syriac literatus of the early seventh century, author of the Homily. — **D** Syriac *bby* /Bābay/, hypocoristic to *bb* “father” (onomatopoetic or an element of child-language), cf. *p'p'kk*. GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 78a, assume an Iranian etymology and vocalize *Bābiy*.)

273. (*βcrp'n* /Vajrapān/ m.: **B** B, *rty 'wyn βcrp'n ZKw 'mtyc CWRH wynt*: *Padm.*, 22; *rtšy ZK βcrp'n mz'yx sytt δβrty*: *Padm.*, 52; *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn ctβ'r βcrp'n βy'yšty*: *TSP*, 8, 57; *rtyms rkš wn't rtms β[crp'n mz'yx syt]t δβ'rty*: *TSP*, 14, 2, as restored in *SC*, No. 239. — **P** *Vajrapāni*, the popular Bodhisattva. — **D** S transcription of Skt. *Vajrapāni*, lit. “(he with) thunderbolt (diamond) (in his) hand”.)

274. *βcs' /?/ f.?:* **B** N, *MRWY βcs' [x'ttyn]H?*: coin, *Sv. Kat.*, p. 359-361, No. 1482-1484; Table XL; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 248, p. 246, Abb. 3, 36. — **P** A name of a ruler on coins, 7th century? — **D** The reading of the coin remains completely hypothetical; cf. *MR' /.../x'tt(wnH)* on a similar type (*Sv. Kat.*, No. 485-487, BARATOVA, loc. cit.). AKHUNBABAIEV (apud BARATOVA, 1999, p. 249) sees *pywc* on the legend and suggests that here we have a place-name. Unclear.

βδrw > 'δkw #57

†βδy'c n/r > twwn x'y'n #1270

275. *βy'βy'rt, βy'βy'rt* /Vayāvyart/ m.: **B1** N, *βy'βy'rt*: *UII*, No. 8 (5: 31); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; *βy'βy'rt*: *UII*, No. 128 (31: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P1** A visitor to Shatīal. — **B2** N, *βy'(')βy'rt 'rwδ'ync synt'kk*: *UI2*, No. 555 (114:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 280; the three words do not form a straight line, but follow each other, written in the same, easily recognisable hand, so it is impossible to judge if it is a single inscription or not. Noteworthy is the fact that *βy'βy'rt* in No. 128 and *'rwδ'ync* in No. 112 occur in the same handwriting and in close proximity to each other; three inscriptions are given as separate ones in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 280. —

P2 A visitor to Shatial, companion (?) of *'rwδ'nc* (#141) and *synt'kk* (#1134: 2). — **B3** N, (*'np●●k*)(?) | *βγ'βγ'rt* | *ZK sr'wk* | *BRY: UII*, No. 127 (31: 98); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, brother of *'yntwtk'* (#249: 1, cf. SIMS-W., 1997-8, p. 526), son of *sr'wk* (#1091: 2). — **D** “Obtained (by, through, from the) god(s), Mithra”, as *bγybyrt* in *MN*, 87. SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 45) supposes that the internal *aleph* resulted from a sandhi; alternatively one can take it as an ablative formation, as *δβz'mwrt'y* “hunger-dead, starved), *SCpd.*, p. 140, b. This transliteration already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 76 (=127); No. 77a (= No. 128). BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9, understands the names containing *βγ-* in calendrical sense (month *βγk'nc*?).

There are several indications that in S *βγ-* designated the god *Mithra* par excellence, see SIMS-W., 1991b. This meaning of *βγ-* is possible in a number of theophic PN; compare in this respect *βγ'βγ'rt* with OChor. PNs *mytrβyrt*, *mytr'βyrtk*, LIV., 1984, p. 265.

276. βγ'βγ /*Vayāvy[art?]*/ m.: **B** N, *βγ'βγ*: *UII*, No. 95 (31: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Left unfinished. A reconstruction *βγ'βγ[rt]* (cf. #275) was proposed by SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. On the other hand, we observe a similar shortening in the Chinese transcription *Baobi* (薄鼻, EMCh. *bak-bji^h* or *bjit*, YOSH., *PNSChS*).

βγ'βγ'rt > *βγ''βγ'rt* #275

[*βγ'n 'nywn*: SUND. (*Briefe*, p. 301) thinks that *βγ'n 'nywn* in the MS address-line M7440 (cf. *Hels.*, p. 7) could be not only “göttergleich”, but also a PN. More recently found parallels (*BL*, A, 1, 132; B, 1, 76; cf. YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 365) clearly show that *βγ'n(w) 'nywn(w)* is an element of address to a superior in Manichean epistolary style.]

277. βγ'n BRY /*Vayān Zātak*/ m.: **B** N(A), *βγ'n BRY*: inscr. on a gem with the image of a procession on an elephant (1st – 2nd century CE) from the Kaška-darya valley, photo and description by ABDULLAEV, RAIMKULOV, 1994, ed. LIV., *Sānak*, p. 48; *Kesh*, p. 122, *SÉSAS*, p. 272; LIV., 2009, p. 247. — **P** Owner of the gem. — **D** Lit. “son of the gods”. It is not necessarily a PN, but possibly a title, equal to Indian *Devaputra* (as LIV., op. cit.; note that we have no other instances of PNs containing heterograms, cf., however, under *kβct*, #533; *prn βry*, #905?), less likely CS *bγ'nyps* “bridegroom” or MS *βγpšyy* “prince” (cf. also *βγ''ny BRY* “husband” in *AL*, see SIMS-W., *Greeting*, p. 181).

In his first edition of the gem, LIV. (apud ABDULLAEV, RAIMKULOV, 1994, p. 51) was reading $\beta\gamma'n\beta ry$ “fruit of gods” or $\beta\gamma'n\beta rz$ “elevated (by) god(s)”.

$\beta\gamma\beta nt k$ - > $\beta\gamma\gamma\beta nt k$ #287: 1

$\beta\gamma\beta w m y n$ $x'\gamma'n$ > $m\gamma' w m n$ $x'\gamma'n$ #663

$\beta\gamma c$ > $\beta x c$ #335: 2

278. ($b\gamma l z b w b$ / $B'\text{elz}\bar{a}v\bar{o}v$ / m.: **B** C, (q) t $x'ny$: $xyp\theta'wnty$ $\check{z}\gamma y.rd'rnt$ | $\beta\gamma l z(b)w\bar{b}$: C5, 10, I V 15 (*Nachl. I*, p. 252). — **P** Beelzebub, a Palestinian deity. — **D** Syr. $b'lzbwb$ / $B'\text{elz}\bar{a}b\bar{o}b$ /, from Old Hebrew.)

279. $\beta\gamma m'ncH$ / $Vaym\bar{a}n\check{j}$ / f.: **B** B, cnn $\beta\gamma m'ncH$ $\delta st'$: $\bar{O}t.$, No. 2921, 5, p. 54, cf. YOSH., *Misc.* Ⅲ, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc.* III, p. 240-241. — **P** A female person in the colophon. — **D** YOSH. (*Misc.* Ⅲ, n. 14) understands this name as “one with the soul of a deity” with the feminine marker $-H$ and $-c$ -, typical for personal names. One can also explain this name as “resembling deity”, where $m'ncH$ is fem. from $m'n'kw$ “like, similar”, cf. nny $m'ncH$ (#794), $xw\check{s}m'ncH$ (#1456).

280. $\beta\gamma nw'k$ / $Vay'f\bar{n}awe$ / m.: **B** N, $\beta\gamma nw'k$ pnc pnc kpc $H'MRH$: $Mu\gamma$, Б-9, 8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 32-33). — **P** A porter of the Framānḏār. — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. read $prnwnt$, a corruption of $prnxwnt$, but the photo shows a distinct initial β and final k . $\beta\gamma nw'k$ means “new god”, hence “new moon”, as M $\beta\gamma(y)nwy(y)$ (HENN., *Fasts*, p. 146, n).

$\beta\gamma r$ > βsr #317

281. $\beta\gamma ryw\beta nt k$ / $Vay'r\bar{e}wvande$ / m.: **B** N, $\beta\gamma ryw\beta nt k$ | ZK $nny'kk$ BRY : UII , No. 55 (30: 6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 153; $\beta\gamma ryw\beta nt k$ | ZK $nny'kk$ BRY : UII , No. 210 (34: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191; $\beta\gamma ryw\beta nt k$ | ZK $nny'kk$: $UI2$, No. 450 (47:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of $nny'kk$ (#786: 2). — **D** “Slave of the god $R\bar{e}w$ ”, reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 60.

A similar name, $Ba\gamma op\eta(io)\mu a\rho\eta\eta o$ appears in Bactrian documents (for $\mu a\rho\eta\eta o$ cf. s.v. $wx\check{s}mryk$, #1356). Cf. the names on ryw - (#1046 – 1054), $\beta\gamma ryw$ -, $\bullet r'ywc$ (#1632) maybe, $\check{s}p\check{c}ryw$ (#164?). The function of the divinity $R\bar{e}w$, OIr. $*raiva$ - “rich” is not clear. HUMB. (*SIF*, p. 203, who gives this reading for No. 113 [= No. 210], No. 36b [= No. 450]) equates him with the Moon in view of Av. $yaz\bar{a}i m\bar{a}n\check{h}am$...*bayem ra\bar{e}uuantam* (Yt, 7,5), SIMS-W. (1991b, p.

183) with Mithra in view of Av. *miθrō raēuuā* (Yt 10, 78) and Vedic *Mitrāsya revātaḥ*; R. SCHMITT (1993, p. 59, n. 9) adds parallels in Gr. records as *Πεομίθρης* (vel sim.), cf. also MP *Rēwmihr* (GIGNOUX, IPNB, II, 2, No. 812); BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 12, compared it to S *ryw'nt* (*'nrx*) “26th lunar mansion”. The author proposed to connect this theonym (which is recorded also in the toponymy of Sogdiana, see *ILAST*, p. 211) with the Sun, in view of Av. *huuara-xšaētahe aməšahe raēuuāhe* (Yt, 6, 0; 22, 24). One can also consider a possibility that *ryw* was Iranian name of Kubera, the Indian god of wealth, who is often depicted in S and Bct. art. For **baga-* + **raiva-* cf. the place-name *Bayrēwand* (vel sim.) in Western Iran (see J. RUSSELL, 1985, p. 452); Elam. PN *bakarima-š-da* from OIr. **baga-raivastā-* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 217), also *Irdarima* < **Ṛta-raiva-* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.599; cf. ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 86), which is very close to OChor. PN *'rt'ryw-*, LIV., 1984, p. 264, IPth. *rywyn* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 188). Here belongs also the name *Aliao* (阿了, EMCh. *ʔa-lew'*) in the Chinese rendering apud IKEDA, 1965, p. 67, possibly *Liaoyan* (了延 for */Rēwyān/* or */Ḍēwyān/*, see YOSH., 1989, p. 149).

282. *βγryw* /*Vay'rēwič*/ m.: **B** N, *βγryw-wc*: *Graff.*, No. 5. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** A hypocoristic to *βγrywβntk* (#281), (*β*)*γrywrx* (#491) or some similar name, cf. *ryw* (#1050).

βγrywrx > *γrywrx* #491

283. *βγšp'δ*, *βγšpyδ* /*Vay'spāδ?*/ m.: **B** N, *βγšp'δ*; *x'γ'n* || *βγšp'δ*: a countermark on drachmae of Peroz (SSNSS, p. 175; BARATOVA, LIV., 2002, p. 21-26; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 223; no images of this inscription published so far). — **P** A ruler in Northern Tokharestan, 6th – 7th century. — **D** I venture to understand the name as a dialect variant or misspelling of *βγ-sp'δ* “army (of) god(s)”, cf. *'ny'tsp''δ* (#100), etc. In the second article referred to above, LIV. gives another possible reading as *βγšpyδ*.

284. *βγw'rz*, *βγwrz* /*Vay'warz*/ m.: **B1** N, *ZY nnyprn ZK βγw'rz* | *BRY*: Muγ, B-8, V1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P1** Father of *nnyprn* (#798: 4). — **B2** N, *rtγ 'st βγw'rz k[w xwβw s'r]* (*'y*)w *'yz-H*: Muγ, B-1, L7; *ZY βγ(w)'rz 'y(w) 'zyH*: L8; (*r*)*[tm](s) 'st tym βγw'rz kw xw(β)[w] (s)'r 'yw(H) 'z-yH*: L9; (*r*)*t(y) 'st βγwrz 'y(w) 'xsy-nH 'z-y-H kw xwβw s'r*: L11 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P2** A porter of a water-skin (or a spear, *'zyH*), hardly the same person as *βγw'rz* from B-8 above. In the line L8 BOGOL., SMIR. read *kwš'nk* with a question mark, but I do not see any reason for this transliteration on the photo. — **D** *βγ-wrz*, lit. “God-miracle”, cf. *fryštwrz*, *by'mnwrz* in *MN*, 82, 100; *βγw'rz* is a *plene* writing.

285. $\beta\gamma wrty$ / $Vay^f w\acute{a}rti?$ / m.: B N(A), $\beta\text{-}\gamma\text{-}w\text{-}r\text{-}t\text{-}y$: coin, *NPIN*, p. 288, 1251; *ZEIMAL'*, 1983a, p. 270, 1983b, p. 251. — P A ruler of Samarkand, 1st – 4th century? — D *ZEIMAL'*’s reading is preferable to *ALRAM*’s *bgwdty* since the usage of *d* is very limited in S. One can understand it as “god” + “brave”, cf. *wrδ’n* (#1335). The final -y can reflect OIr. -i in **vrti-* (the coin is rather archaic) or be the light-stem ending.

$\beta\gamma wrz > \beta\gamma w'rz$ #284

286. $\beta\gamma y$ / $Vayi$ / m.: B N, *ZY* $xw \beta\gamma y pc\beta n(t)k \beta(y)n t nt$: *Legends*, 1 (Room 1/Sector XXII), 7, p. 164; $] (rty) xw \beta\gamma y (\bullet) yp\text{-}y'n (xwty) | [$: *ibid*, 11-12; $\beta\gamma y [\bullet \bullet \bullet] (k/n)$: *ibid*, in the black cartouche. — P The hero of the inscription and the wall-painting? — D *LIV*. (op. cit., p. 163, 164) thinks that here we do not have the common noun “god, lord”, but rather a PN. In this case, probably, a short form of a name containing the element $\beta\gamma(y)\text{-}$. The final -y could be a light stem nom. sg. ending.

287. $\beta\gamma y\beta nt k$, $\beta\gamma\beta nt k\text{-}$ / $Vayivandel$ / m.: B1 N, $\beta nt'kk$ ZK | $\beta y\beta nt ky$ BRY: *UI2*, No. 561 (Thor I, 28; obl.). — P1 Father of $\beta nt'kk$ (#294: 3). — B2 N, $\beta nt k \beta\gamma y\text{-}\beta nt k pr \beta\gamma y p\delta k H \gamma r[\beta] | nm'cyw pt\acute{s}kwy'm$: *Öt.*, No. 6347, R2-3, p. 107; cf. *YOSH.*, *Misc. III*, p. 241-2. — P2 The sender of a letter (noteworthy is that on the label on the verso side the sender is called $\delta\acute{s}\acute{c}y'pt$, #448). — D “Slave of god(s)”.

YOSH. (*Misc. III*, p. 242) draws attention to the Chinese rendering of the same name: *Pohepantuo*, (波何畔陀 *EMCh.* *ba-ya-ban^h-da*, while a name of a person of Tashkent origin, Shennu, 神奴 “god’s slave”, could be a Chinese translation of it, see *YOSH.*, *PNSchS*), cf. fem. $\beta\gamma y \delta'y$ in *MN*, 134, Bct. *Bayoβavδayo*. Note the similarity of the father’s and the son’s names; this reading is given already by *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 137; for the case-ending, cf. $wx(w)\acute{s}\beta nt ky$ (#1364: 2; see *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 37).

288. $\beta\gamma y\delta\beta'r$ / $Vayithvār$ / m.: B1 N, $(\beta\gamma y)\delta(\beta')'r | \bullet yw'(r)[]$: *UII*, No. 82 (31: 53); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165. — P1 A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of $\bullet yw'r[]$ (#1674). — B2 N, $pysk$ ZK | $\beta\gamma y\delta\beta'r$ BRY: *UII*, No. 385 (39: 80); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — P2 Father of $pysk$ (#987: 8). — D “Gift of God(s); of Mithra?”; this reading already by *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 17k (= No. 384).

289. $\beta\gamma yprn\text{-}$ / $Vayifarn$ / m.: B N, $kw trx'n$ ZY $\beta\gamma y | prnw$: (graph. acc.) *Muy*, A-13, 2-3 (*SDGM*, I, p. 38; *SDGM*, II, p. 69-70, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 74; *SDGM*, III, p. 71-72; *Last Days*, p. 187, n. 33). — P A porter of the

Framānḏār, addressee of the letter A13 (cf. *trx'n*, #1243: 1). — **D** “Glory of god(s; of Mithra?)”, cf. *βyyfrn* in *MN*, 87 and WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 196, No. 4, a very common Iranian name, see SCHMITT, 2006, p. 166-168; one can add now Bct. *Βαγοφαρβο*.

FREJMAN, LIV. and BOGOL., SMIR. treat *βyy* and *pmw* separately, understanding it as “with the lord” (as FREJMAN, who reads *pr'w*), “the favourite lord” (BOGOL. and SMIR., who read *pryw*), “and, sir, then” (so LIV., who reads *pr'w*); HENN. (*Kalender*, p. 89) reads the second word as *pβ'w* and takes it as a PN (without etymology). In the latest approach, GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE join *βyy* in line 2 and *pmw* in line 3, so we have a typical name (this reading was proposed initially by HENN., *S God*, p. 249, n. 40). The possible interpretation of LIV. is weakened by the fact that the form of address “sir, you” is represented by vocative *βy'* or, after a conjunction marking a new clause, by its enclitic variant *-βy*, never by the nominative *βyy* in the Mt. Mugh documents. BOGOL. (1981, p. 107) reads *βyypryw*.

†βyypryw > βyyprn- #289

290. *βyyšty'n* /*Vayištān*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY βyy-šty-'n* | *pnc kpc H'MRH*: Muγ, B-9, 2-3; *rtms* 'βr *βyy-šty'n pnc kpc H'MRH*: B-9, 6 (*SDGM*, III, p. 32-33). — **P** A porter of the Framānḏār. — **D** “Boon of the gods”, as already BOGOL., SMIR., p. 92, and WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 201.

This is a unique case when the initial part of a compound PN stands in plural with the light-stem ending *-išt* (but cf. Khar. *Vaḡiti-vadhaḡä*, interpreted by SIMS-W. as S **vayišti-vandak*, *AL5* (2), p. 102, n. 3; one can also reconstruct it as **vayd-vandak* “slave of destiny”, see s.v. *βxt*, #336?). Cf. typologically similar MP names beginning with *Yazdān-* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II/2, No. 1057 ff.).

291. *βyy-(š)/t-?* /*Vayišt-?*/ m.?: **B** N(M), *MN βyy-(š)/t-?*: Ch/U 8123a r1 apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 414. — **P** Maybe a name in the colophon. Alternatively a honorific expression of the usual type *MN βyyšty prnβyrti* etc “(he who) received glory from gods”, OTu. *tängriḡä qut bulmiš*. — **D** If a name, it begins with *βyyšt*, plur. “gods”, as *βyyšty'n* (#290).

292. *βyy* /*Vayi-*/ m.?: **B** N(B?), *βyy●●●● (?) wyt'w <z'tk> (?) pwyprn*: *Ladakh*, 13. — **P** A visitor to Ladakh, son (?) of *wyt'w* (#1390), grandson (?) of *pwyprn* (#968). — **D** The legible part of the name (if it is a name) is “god”.

293. (*bkws* /*Bakōs*/ m.: **B** C, *mry* | *bkws*: *Liber Vitæ*, R0-1. — **P** Bacchus, a martyr (tortured to death in 303 CE), cf. *srgys* (#1097: 1), Sergius, his fellow-martyr. — **D** Syr. *bkws* /*Bakkōs*/ < Latin *Bacchus*. See also under *pk'ws*, #885.)

†*βncr/βnck/βnzk/βnrk* > *zyrtnk* #1576

βncw 'yrtkyn > *yncw 'yrtkyn* #1511

294. *βnt'kk* /*Vandak*/ m.: **B1** N, (*w'*)*k(rny)* (?) | *βnt'kk*: *UI2*, No. 444 (47:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 249. — **P1** Father (?) of *w'krny* (#1304). — **B2** N, *βnt'k(k)* *ZK* | *●c●'δw●* (?) : *UI2*, No. 529 (54:25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 267. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *●c●'δw●* (#1597). — **B3** N, *βnt'kk* *ZK* | *βyβntky* *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 561 (Thor I, 28). — **P3** A visitor to Thor, son of *βyβntk-* (#287: 1). — **B4** N, *snk* | *β(n)t'kk*: *UI2*, No. 605 (Dadam das, 16:3; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 88). — **P4** Father (?) of *snk* (#1081: 6). Probably, in view of No. 246, either this name should be corrected into *βxt'kk* (#337), or *vice versa*. — **D** *βntk* “slave” + hypocoristic on -'kk, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 46; this reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 137 (= No. 561). For the alleged reading *βnt'kk* in No. 261, 271 see s.v. *kwnt'kk* (#588: 1), *mzt'kk* (#749).

295. *βntk* /*Vande, Vandak?*/ m.: **B1** N, *βnt(k)* | *ZK* (*r*)*z(m'nc)*: *UII*, No. 288 (36: 72); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212; (*βn*)*tk* | - - -: *UII*, No. 328A (37: 3) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 222; *βntk* | *ZK* *rz(m'nc)* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 637 (Dadam Das, 38:3, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 106); *βntk* *ZK* | *rz m'nc* *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 654 (Thalpan, III, 64). — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, Dadam Das, Thalpan, son of *rz m'nc* (#1055: 1). — **B2** N, - - 'mn (?) *ZK* | *βntk* (?) : *UI2*, No. 659 (Thalpan III, without signature). — **P2** Father (?) of - - 'mn (#1584). — **B3** N, *βntk* | (*β*- - - -) *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 664 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P3** A visitor to Hunza-Haldeikish, son of *β*- - - - (#355: 1). — **B4** N, *βn(t?)k*: *Graff.*, No. 15 — **P4** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** To S *βntk* “slave”, probably a short-name from a compound; maybe, *βntk* + hypocoristic -'kk, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 46, as in *βnt'kk* (#294). Cf. Bct. *Βανδαγο*, MP *Bandag*, Babylonian rendering *Ban-dak-ku* (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 225); *Shi Pantuo* (石槃陀, EMCh. *b' uān d' ā*), the young companion of Xuan Zang during the first part of his travels (YOSH., *PNSchS*), *An Pantuo* (安盤陀) in IKEDA, 1965, p. 649.

†*βntkšyr* > *βntyšyr* #296

296. *βntyšyr* /*Vandešir?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY βnt(y)šyr-r* | *pnc kpc*: Muḡ, B-9, 1-2 (*SDGM*, III, 32-33). — **P** A porter of the Framāndār. — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. read *βntkšyr* “slave-good” (cf. other names ending in -šyr(*H*)); it is noteworthy that it is preceded in the text by alliterating *tymšyr*, #1280).

However, the fourth letter is definitely not *k*, but maybe *y*, thus giving the same name in a non-historical orthography. The meaning of the name (“(he who has) nice slaves”?; or a short name from *nnyβntk* (#787, or alike), to which *šyr* “good” was added, or a mechanical composition?) remains, however, unclear.

297. βny /?/ m.?: **B** N, βny: *UI2*, No. 478 (50:21); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear, cf. βnyys’ (#298).

298. βnyys’ /?/ m.?: **B** N, ’y - - ’n | (*k●●*)ywn | (βnyys’): *UII*, No. 180 (34: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P** Father(?) of *k●●ywn* (#621)? — **D** Unclear, cf. βny (#297).

299. βn- /?/ m.?: **B** N, ’ky(xc)y | (βn-)/: *UII*, inscr. under No. 363 (39: 58) in a different hand, cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** A visitor to Shatial(?); or father of ’kyxcy (#68)? — **D** Unclear. The previous line is explained by SIMS-W. as ’kyxcy “who is...”; but possibly a PN, maybe to be transliterated ’ky(ny’y).

[*†bṣš* (*NPIN*, p. 279, No. 1233), read *kyšk MRY* “king of Keš” (*LIV.*, *Kesh*, p. 125).]

300. βr /?/ m.?: **B** N, βr: *UI2*, No. 551 (108:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 277. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Probably unfinished.

br nwn > nwn #829

301. βr’t’nH /*Vrātān?*/ f.: **B** N, *cnn βr’t’nH δst’*: *TSP*, 8, 174. — **P** A lady (?) in the colophon. — **D** Not clear. The final graphical -*H* is a feature of fem. nouns, while the suffix -’*n* is masc. (for fem., one expects -’*ncH*). Maybe “(the one rich in) brothers”, like *rnk’n* “coloured, rich in colours” (*GMS*, §1034), cf. Bct. family-name (?) *Βαραδδῖγανο*?

βr’wr’k > βyr’wr’y #349

302. (βr’yšmn, β’yšrβn /*Varešman, Vayšravan*/ m.: **B** B, *nm’cw βr’m ... βr’yšmn*: *TSP*, 8, 42; *rty kō* ’xw βr’yšmn x’y: *VJ*, 920; *rty L* | ’xw βr’yšmn xcy: *VJ*, 921-22; *kt’rw* ’xw βr’yšmn: *VJ*, 930; *ZY L* ’xw βr’yšmn: *VJ*, 935; ’wyn β’yšrβn mx’r’c: *TSP*, 8, 50. — **P** *Vaiśravaṇa*/ *Vaiśramaṇa*, the

Buddhist Indian deity, *Lokapāla* (the heavenly king) of the North, cf. *trytr'št* (#1245), *βyr'wt'kk* (under #349), *βyr'wp'kš* (#348). — **D** While *β'yšrβn* is a regular borrowing (Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*, patronym to *Viśravaṇa*, lit. “(he who has) great fame”), *βr'yšmn* is a popular loan from Indian *Vaiśramaṇa*, variant of *Vaiśravaṇa*, which is also evident in Chinese *Pishamen* (畏沙門, EMCh. *bji-šai/šɛ:-mən*), Japanese *Bishamonten*, also Bct. PN *βησομανο κίρδο* “(he) created by *Vaiśravaṇa*” (with the same metathesis) in an inscription from Dalverzin-tepe (SIMS-W. apud YOSH., *Xian*, p. 70) beside *Bησομανο* in a Buddhist text; YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 354 n. 37, considers this S form as a Bct. loan.)

303. *βr'yšmnβntk* /Vərešmanvandel/ m.: B N, *βr'yšmnβntk δrymtβntk* | *pr'wtβntk*: *Xian*, 30-31. — P Son of *wyrk'k*. — D “Slave of *βr'yšmn* (#302), Ind. *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Vaiśramaṇa*”.

The Chinese name of *βr'yšmnβntk* was *Pi-sha*, 毘沙, which is the usual transcription of the same Buddhist Indian deity (YOSH., *Xian*, p. 60); this name is the only reference to Buddhism in this Sogdian inscription, but it is very likely that *βr'yšmn* was popular within Sogdian syncretic religion (see GRENET, 1995-6 on his iconography in S art and related questions), as demonstrated by irregular borrowing, see *βr'yšmn* above. Note the parallelism between the brothers' names (*δrymtβntk*, #443: 2; *pr'wtβntk*, #119: 2).

304. (*brb'yšmyn* /Barba'šmīn/ m.: B C, *brb'yšmyn psqp.y wyc'wqy'*: C2, *68 V12; *myr'mnt brb'yšmyn nw qy psqp.y* | *m't*: C2, *68 V13-14; *nymty. b('b)rbyšmyn* | *psqp.y* C2, *68 V21-22; *p'cyny Jwnt' brb'yšmyn 't w'nw w'b*: C2, *68 V28; *j(brb'yšmy)n* | *t šy w'(n)w w'b*: C2, *69 R13-14; *qw brb'yšmyn s':* C2, *69 V14 — P Barbasymas, the bishop of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, executed in 346. — D Syr. *brb'šmyn*, *brb'lšmyn* /Barba'šmīn/, lit. “Son of Lord of the Heavens”, a name of pagan origin, see HARRAK, s.a., p. 2.)

305. (*br-θwlm̐y* /Bar Tolmay/ m.: B C, *br [θwlm̐y*: C2, *56 V8; *'t (b)r-θwlm̐y*: C5, 14, V16 (*STi*, p. 32-33). — P The Apostle Bartholomew. — D Syriac *brtwlm̐y* /Bar Tōlmay/.)

306. *βry'n'k-* /Frayāne/ m.: B N, *'jyw kw βry'n'kw*: (graph. acc.) Muγ, B-6, 1, X+6 (*SDGM*, III, p. 42; *SDGM*, II, p. 85, n. 37, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 92 n. 44 [without translation]). — P A recipient of armour (*w'rp̐n'k*, Bct. *opβαρ̐yo*). — D Faryānian, native of Farghana, cf. *βry'nk MLK'* “ruler of Faryāna” in the other Muγ texts, *βry'nk MR'Y* on coin legends (? , s.v. *cyš*). Judging from the context, here *βry'n'kw* probably represents a *nisba*, serving

as a PN, not “Faryānian king”. The family or patromimic name *Φαραγανο* in Bct. may belong here too.

307. *βrp’št’k* /*Frapāšte?*/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn *βrp’št’k ctβr*: Muγ, A-5, 21 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of 4 drachmae. — **D** No etymology proposed so far. Probably a nickname “Beaten”, a PPP of *βrp’š*, *frp’š*, *βr’p’š* M *frp’š* “to beat, to strike down, throw away”?

308. (*bršb’* /*Baršabbā*/ m.: **B** C, *pnθ* | *qty xwdw bršb’*: C14, 3, 21-22 (*STii*, p. 23); *cn šyrqty* | *xwdw bršb’*: C14, 3, 37-38 (*STii*, p. 24); *qw xwdw bršb’ šyrqty* | *psqwp* | *s’r*: C14, 3, 46-47 (*STii*, p. 25); [**xwdw*] *bršb’* | *ps[qwp]*: C14, 3, 73 (*STii*, p. 27). — **P** *Bar Šabbā*, a legendary or semi-legendary first bishop of Merv (4th-5th century?), the local saint of Central Asian Christianity; see now SIMS-W., 1989b. — **D** Syr. *mry br šb’* /*Mār Bar Šabbā*/ (C5, 17, V13-14 [*STi*, p. 22]; Turfan Syriac fragment TiiB9 No. 3, 1R 4-5 ff. [ed. H.J. POLOTSKY apud *STii*, p. 58-63]); *mry* is here translated as late or dialectal S *xwdw* (= *xwt’w*) “lord”.)

βrt’n > *x’ βrt’n* #1396

309. *frwx’n* /*Farroxān*/ m.: **B** M, *rym(ny)y f(rw)x’(n)* | *ywšt(yy)*[: SUND., *Briefe II*, II, 21, p. 414, 416 with n. 69. — **P** A member of a rival Manichean community (Mihrīya, *myhry’nd*, #746 or Miqlāšīya, *mkl’sykt*, #671), who is called “dirty” and “disturber”. — **D** WMLr., patronym to *Farrux*, *Farraxw* “fortunate”. The name is attested in MP (GIGNOUX, *IPNB II/2*, No. 354), cf. *prwx’n* | *’z’δ* (#925), maybe *pr’wxy* (#892). This reading was suggested by GERSH. (apud *Briefe*, p. 316).

310. (*βrxβ’r* /?/ m.: **B** B, | *xwt’w βrxβ’r*: *TSP*, 2, 1233-4. — **P** A king (?) of *Xumdān* (*Changan*, *Xi’an*); on the 19th day (see HENN., *STP*, p. 726) of the 3rd month (of his reign?) *TSP* 2 was translated into Sogdian. — **D** Not clear; maybe a Chinese name, but hardly the name of the Emperor. HENN. (*STP*, p. 726) proposed to emend *βrxβ’r* into *βrx’r* “monastery”, *xwt’w* being its name (“King’s monastery”; Monastery *hu-tao*, vel sim.?). The Chinese scholar WU Qiyu (吴其昱; *non vidi*; apud YOSH., *Bud. Lit.*, p. 102) suggests emending the word into *β’γβwr*, which he takes to be a variant

of *βypwr* “Chinese emperor”. YOSH. (loc. cit.) rightly rejects this proposal. In his view, the word *βryβ'r* is “extremely strange (余程異なる).”.)

311. *βrxm'n*, *βrxwm'n*, *'βrxwm'n* /(*ʔ*)varxumān/ m.: **B1** N, *βrxwm'n* | *MLK'*: coin, Sv. Kat., No. 102-167, p. 112-125; Table VI-VIII; LXIII-LXIV; *'βrxwm'n MLK'*: coin, Sv. Kat., No. 101, p. 112; Table VI; LXIII; *'Y-KZ-Y 'βrxwm'ny 'wnš'w MLK' ny[w] 'mn(t) | 'ys:* (obl.?) Afr., 1-2, p. 59-60; (*wβyw*) *'βrxw(m'ny 'wnš-'w) MLK' ('prs):* (obl.?) Afr., 14; (*'βrxwm'n*): Afr., inscr. G, p. 71. — **P1** A king of Samarkand, Chinese *Fuhuman* (拂呼縵, EMCh. *p^hut-xə-man^h*); cf. FRYE, 1949, p. 32-33, where reading *-r-* in the first syllable is presupposed), reigned in 650-660th. — **B2** N, *pt'yc ZKn xwy-št wxwšwk'n | ZKn βrxm'n BRY:* Muγ, Nov.3 V18-19; *pt'y-c ZKn xwyšt wxwšwk'n ZKn | βrxm'n BRY:* Nov.4 V11-12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22, , cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 30; YAK., Marr., p. 310-311). — **P2** Father of *wxwšwk'n* (#1369), an authority in the “Foundation Hall” in Samarkand, where the marriage contract was written. It seems likely that this *βrxm'n* is the same person as *βrxwm'n*, the king of Samarkand (GRENET apud YAK., Marr., p. 323). — **D** Acc. to LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 39, and independently BOGOL. apud SMIR., 1963, p. 28 n. 73, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 315 n. 3, from OIr. **bara + hu-manah-*, “(the one who) brings good thoughts”, a *Dārayavahuš*-type compound.

Cf. *xwmn'* (#1440), *'trxwmn* (#35), *'βtrxwm'n pwn swpx* (#4), further IPth. *Barkamak* “bringing a wish” and other examples collected by CERETI, 2003, p. 307; less likely, from **fragaw-manah-*, where the first element is equal to Khot. *hagav* “to wish”, as LIV., 1973, p. 27 n. 5. Cf. also *'wnš'w* (#194, a family-name of Varkhuman?).

†βry'n'k > βryn'k #312

312. *βryn'k* /Friyane?/ m.: **B** N, *rt(š)w ZKn βry-n'k (n?)š(k)wtw:* Muγ, Б-5, 2 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35). — **P** A recipient (?) of millet. — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. read *βry'n'k*, comparing it to Av. patronym *Friiāna-*. I cannot see an *aleph* after the *yodh*, however, even though the S name can be related to Av. *friiāna-*: cf. variation of *-k'n* and *-kn* in the patronyms (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 53). Alternatively, an adjective, cf. M *βryny* “bearing”, or **-aka* noun from **βryn-*, cf. prefixed *'βryn-* “to praise”? Cf. *pry'n'k* (#927).

313. *βrz'kk*, *βrzk* /Və'zak/ m.: **B1** N(A), *'D βy(w) | xwt'(w) | βr(z')kkw | nn(yδβ)'r(w) | k'n'(kkw):* AL2 (2), V1-5 (acc.); *'D βyw xwt'w βrz'kkw nnyδβ'rw k'n'kk:* AL2 (2), R1 (acc., spelt *βr'kkw*); *xwt'y βrz'kk:* AL2 (2),

R41; *βrz'kky*: AL2 (2), R44; R47 (obl.). — **P1** The addressee of the Ancient Letter II, a merchant in Samarkand, son (?) of *nn̄yδβ'r* (#791: 1), of the family *k'n'kk* (#516: 1). — **B2** N, *xwn ZK* | *βrz'kk BRY*: UII, No. 380 (39: 75); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233; *xwn ZK* | *βrz'kk*: UI2, No. 451 (47:14); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250; *x(wn ZK)* | *βrz'kk* | *BRY*: UII, No. 528 (53: 34); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 263; (*xwn ZK*) *βrz'kk*: UI2, No. 535 (55:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 269. — **P2** Father of *xwn* (#1442: 7). — **B3** N, *nn̄yβ(nt)k* | (*ZK*) (?) *β(rz)k*: UII, No. 167A (No. 34: 53A in UII and 34:172 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 201). — **P3** Father (?) of *nn̄yβntk* (#787: 6). — **D** Either from **barz-* “to extend” or (better) from S *βrz'k* “long” (originally “high”; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 194 n. 14, translates the name “der Hohe”?), cf. *'sk'tc* (#155), *βwrz* (#330); Elamite *Bir-za-ak-ka*₄ (TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 151). The reading *βrz'kk* has already been proposed by HUMB., *SIF*, for No. 17f (=No. 380), and No. 36a (=No. 451).

314. βrz n'x'n /*Və'z nāxan*/ m.: **B** B, *pwty prβ'yrtk βrz n'x'n dynδ'ry wp'rs pwstk*: TSP, 5, 1; *'yw βrz n'x'n βykδyn'k pr'mn*: TSP, 5, 11; *'xw* | *βrz n'x'n dynδ'r*: TSP, 5, 67-68. — **P** *Dīrghanakha*, a heretic Brahmin (translated as *dynδ'r*), interlocutor of the Buddha. — **D** Translation of the name *Dīrghanakha* “(he who has) long nails”.

315. βrzyr'k, βzyrk /*Və'zīrak*/ m.: **B1** N, *βrz(yr)'k ZK* | *m'(ymr)yc BRY*: UII, No. 86 (31: 57); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165; *βrzyr'k* | *'β(y)'mnβntk ZKy* | *m'ymr'yc* | *BRYN*: UII, No. 92 (31: 63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166; *βrzyr'k* | *m'ymr(yc)*: UII, No. 184 (34: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, brother of *'βy'mnβntk* (#51: 4), son of *m'ymr'yc* (#657: 1). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 59a, has *β●●●'k* and *β●●r''* (65c). — **B2** N, *snks(yt) ZK* | *βzyrk BRY*: UII, No. 387 (39: 82); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P2** Father of *snksyt* (#1085: 1). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 19, has *βztrk* and LIV. (apud op. cit., p. 226) proposes *βzykk*. — **D** A rare hypocoristic in *-yr-'k* (cf. *'kwzyr*, #67; *yw'rnyr*, #1527) from *βrz-* (either to the root **barz-* “to extend” or to S *βrz'k* “long”), see UI2, p. 46; cf. *βwrz* (#330), *βrz'kk* (#313).

316. βr- /?/ m.?: **B** N, (*βr*)[●●●●●] | *ZK* | *wn'y(pt)[βntk]*: UII, No. 49 (26: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 149. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *wn'yptβntk* (#1318). — **D** Incomplete.

317. βsr /*Vəsar?*/ m.: **B** N, *rty δ'βr cy-my-δ δrxm βsr*: Muγ, A-5, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A supplier of

drachmae? — **D** Unclear, several possibilities. BOGOL., SMIR., p. 52 suppose that this word can be read as *βxr* “part” (a hapax based on MP, Pth., NP *bahr*?), or as a PN. Various transliterations are proposed: *βyr*, *cyr*, *csr*; *βsr* (the form favored by LIV., loc. cit.) as a PN, maybe from **abi-sara-*, **fra-sara-* or borrowed from MP *abesar*, NP *afsar* “crown”, from **upa-sara-*. Maybe *cxr* “wheel”? If *βxr*, cf. Bct. *Βαχαπαγο*, *Αβχαπαγαβο*.

318. βś'wn /Fəšūn?/ m.: **B** N(B?), βś'wn: *Ladakh*, 7. — **P** A visitor to Ladakh. — **D** Reading and interpretation unclear.

An earlier proposal to read *yś'w* “Jesus”, as already MÜ., 1925, is not supported by modern photographs. The name resembles *'pś'wn* from Mt. Mugh (#121). Other possible readings are *yś'w'* (cf. Skt. *yaśo*, nom. of *yaśas* “beauty, glory”), *βynw'* (hardly *βynwy* “new moon” (cf. #280), as SIMS-W., *Ladakh*, p. 152, n.3), etc.

319. (βtδl'• /Vatδal?/ ? : **B** N, J •• 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. No similar words in LIV.'s edition (*Sev. K-L*). — **D** Maybe a Turkic ethnic or personal name? Hardly the Hephthalites are intended?)

320. βtwprn /Fətuɸarn/ m.: **B** N, MN xypδ C RYPW my-k | βntk βtwprn p-tšk-w'nH: Muγ, A-14, 2-3; MN (x)ypδ C RYPW my-k βntk βtwprn | ptšk-w'nH: Muγ, A-14, 33-34 (*SDGM*, II, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86; *Last Days*, p. 167; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 111-118). — **P** *Δēwāštīc*'s agent in *Faryāna* and *Čāč*. — **D** LIV. compared it to OIr. **frata-farnah-* “eminent glory”, and this derivation was supported by WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 196.

The internal *w* was interpreted by GERSH. (apud *SDGM*, II, p. 81, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 90) as labialization of the vowel before *f*. However, this change is obscure, and is not documented in S so far. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 204, n. 44, compares the internal *w* in *βtwprn* to the PN *stwy'n* (MN, 99) “grace of hundred”, but in the latter name *-w* is a regular S reflex of OIr. *-am* in **satam* (cf. *GMS*, §349-350), CS *stw*, cf. *stwck* (under #1103). This consideration, however, enables us, from one side, to reconstruct an etymon **fratam-farna(h)-*, a late Old Iranian “allegro form” of **fratama-farnah-* “primary glory”. Alternatively, cf. Av. PN *Fratūra* (MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, 30), where the second *r* could have been lost due to *r* in **farnah-*. The third letter of his name in line 33 is not a well-shaped *w*, maybe *y* or *β*, BOGOL., SMIR. read *βtprn*, but in the line 3 the reading is beyond doubt.

321. βwβ /Vūf?/ m.: **B** N, βwβ: *UII*, No. 171 (34: 57); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Probably “Owl”, as MP, NP *būf* (*CPD*, p. 20).

Irregularities in its phonetic development (NP *buh*, *gūf*, *būm*, Khot. *byūta*- Bal. *guy*, Gr. *βύας*, *βύζα*, Lat. *būbō*, Arm. *bou*, Georgian *buvi* (DKS, p. 309), Yazgh. *bū*, (ÉSLJa, II, p. 186), Pont. Ir. *Boḡi* (?), ZGUSTA, 1955, §622), Ygh. *bumb*, *bəm* (JaT, p. 234), etc.) would suggest that it is an onomatopoetic lexeme. For this type of name-giving, namely the names or nicknames after small and “non-heroic” animals, cf. *mwš*’ “mouse” (#711), *sm’wr’kkH* (#1076) “sable”, *psw* “sheep” (#936), *xrtr’k* “mule” (#1415), *’kwt’kk* “dog” (#66), *k’s* “pig” (#519), *krps’k* “lizard” (#550?), *cwyt* “owl” (#387), *cwz’kk* “chicken” (#397), *cytcyt* (#409?), *xrδwm* “donkey-tail” (under #1096?); for the similar practice among Turkic peoples see RÁSONYI, 1962, p. 236, among Iranian names of Persepolis see GERSH., *Amber*, p. 173, in MP – ZIMMER, 1991, p. 121-122, and among Muslim peoples see SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 20-21, 120-122; cf. *βw●* (#334).

322. *βwc* /Bōč/ m.: **B** N, *βwc*: *UI2*, No. 576 (Thor I, 215). — **P** A visitor to Thor. — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 46, from the root *βwc/bwxt* “to save”, cf. *βwxs’k* (#333), *βwtc’k* (#331?).

βwcyn > *tynk βwcyn* #1284

βwδk’n > *ywδk’n* #1530

323. *βwδr●● t* /Vōδ-?/ m.: **B** N, *xwn ZK* | (*βwδr●● t*) (?): *UI2*, No. 607 (Dadam Das, 20:25; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 92). — **P** Father(?) of *xwn* (#1442: 8). — **D** Reading unsure. To *βwδ* “flavour, sensitivity”? Cf. *bwδn* | *x’ṭwn* in *MN*, 150-151, Elam. *Bauda* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 222), and under *ywδk’n* (#1530). Does *wδk’n* in Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 11) belong here, too?

324. (*βwkw* /Bügü/ m.: **B** N, *βwkw* | *x’γ’n*: coin, *Cat. Chach*, 2,7,3, p. 97-99. — **P** A ruler in Chach oasis, probably *Bügü* of the Western Turkic Kaghanate (692-716). — **D** The reading accepted here follows the suggestion by M. ISKHAKOV, apud KAMOLIDDIN, BABAYAR, 2007, p. 20; BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 14. However, many points remain unsolved.

This inscription on a coin from Chach oasis (7th century), known in very few specimens all in imperfect state of preservation, does not have a clear reading. *δ’ykwrtw/δ’yβwrtw* [M]R’Y was proposed by LIV. on the basis of SMIRNOVA’s drawing. RTVELADZE later preferred to read *xnk ●● nw xwβ ●●* or *xnzδnn* (RTVELADZE, *Chach*, p. 63). BABAYAROV attempted to read *cpγw x’γ’n pny* in several publications (e.g., BABAYAROV, KUBATIN, 2005, p. 99; BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 12-13, No. 11-12), but in the *Cat. Chach*, p. 98 limits himself to the single word *x’γ’n*, while RTVELADZE (loc. cit.) gives *twrn*, “Turān”. I agree with the reading *x’γ’n*, and the word above it (in No. 73, at least) could be *βwkw*, i.e. *Bügü xaqan* (692-716, cf. RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 222 ff; *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 166,

cf. s.v. *pwkw*), as it was proposed by M. ISKHAKOV; prosopographically less likely *βwrw* for OTu. *bōrū* “Wolf”, as LURJE apud op. cit. Cf. under *tw**n* *cp̄yw* *x’γ’n* (#1259); for S *β* for OTu. */b/* cf. *βyδk’* (under #370) for *bilgā*.)

βwmyn x’γ’n > mγ’wmn’ #663

325. βwnw */ʔ/* m.: **B** N, *βwn(w)*: *UII*, No. 132 (31: 103); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 171. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear. Cf. S *βwnH*, *βwn’kH* (fem.) “hole”? Or MP *bun* “base, formation, bottom”, semantically, cf. MP PN *Bun-anōš* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, No. 224), NP PN (*Šn.*) *Bundād*. The final -*w*, however, remains unexplained. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 70b, has *βynt*.

326. βwr */Vōr/* m.: **B**1 N, *βwr* *ZK* | ●●w(●●●skk) (?) | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 218 (34: 104); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 192. — **P**1 A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of ●●w●●●skk (#1663). — **B**2 N, *βwr*: *UI2*, No. 451a (47:15); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 251; *βwr*: *UI2*, No. 670 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 62:7, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 140). — **P**2 A visitor to Shatial, Dadam Das. — **B**3 N, *βwr* | *δ(wr)k*: *UI2*, No. 672 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 65:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 143). — **P**3 A visitor to Dadam Das, son (?) of *δwrk* (#453: 5). — **D** “Brown”, a short name, see the following lemmata (#327 – 329); cf. Bct. *Bopo*.

Further, cf. Chor. *βwr*, Ygh. *vur*, Oss. *būr* MP/NP *bōr* etc. “brown”. This type of name-giving (*Safed*, *Aqbay*, *Siyahkul*, etc.) was rather frequent in pre-modern Central Asia, cf. also Samarkandian with the name *bwrfinh* (in Arabic rendering, see TAFAZZOLI, *KQ* I, p. 6), if */Vōr-fa(r)n-e/*, cf. *šyrpn* (#1197).

327. βwr’kk, βwrk */Vōrak/* m.: **B**1 N, *βwr’kk* | *ZK wxwc*: *UII*, No. 78 (31: 49); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164. — **P**1 A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *wxwc* (#1359). — **B**2 N, (*β*)*wr’kk* *ZK m’xβnt(k)*: *UI2*, No. 648 (Dadam Das, 50:5, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 130). — **P**2 A visitor to Dadam Das, son (?) of *m’xβntk* (#643: 5). — **B**3 N, *βw(r)k* (?): *UI2*, No. 668 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 62:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 139). However, “it is not clear in what order these letters are to be read, since initial *β* seems to be continued in one direction by the letters *wrk* (or *wnk*?) and in another by a solitary *r*, which joins the lower stroke of the *β*. Perhaps the letters of the name have been fancifully combined into a monogram?...”, SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 25. — **P**3 A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** S **βwr* “brown” + hypocoristic -*’kk*. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 66c, already gives the same reading. Cf. Pont. Ir. PN *Βώρακος*, Elam. *Baurakka*.

The name An Fule (安拂勒, EMCh. *phut-lək*) of a resident of Kucha of the Bukhariot origin (RONG, 2009, p. 409), probably belongs here too.

328. *βwrkwt'k* /Vōrkute/ m.: B N, ZY ZKn | *βwr-kwt'k*: Muγ, A-5, 19 (SDGM, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; SDGM, III, p. 51). — P A recipient of 5 drachmae. — D A nickname “brown dog”, for the first part see *βwr* + *'kwt*-“dog”.

Cf. Chor. *rknβwryk* “hyena”, as BOGOL., SMIR., p. 92 (but differently apud BENZING, 1983, p. 558); Kirghiz *Moinoq* “dog with white hair on its neck” as a PN (RÁSONYI, 1953, p. 328). The hypocoristic suffix *-k*, however, is rarely attached to a compound name. See *'kwt'kk* (#66). Cf. ZMP *Bōr-gāw* “(Owning) reddish cow(s)” (CERETI, 2003, p. 304). Less likely, from Turkic *bürkit* “eagle”.

329. *βwrsr'k*, *βwrsr'kk* /Vōrsarak?/ m.: B N, rty ('st) *βwrsr'k* [ʾδ]ry 'xsyn 'z-yH kw xw(β)w s'r: Muγ, B-1, L10; ZY 'βt wyz-βcH 'sk'tryk *βwrsr'kk* 'st: L14 (SDGM, III, p. 44). — P A recipient of three dark-blue water-skins (or spears, 'zyH), of seven wyzβcH (cf. Bct. *οββιγγο* “?”; maybe, “banner-pole”, **wi-drafsa-či*?, cf. *wyδrfš'n*, or “decoration”, as BOGOL., 1981, p. 108), native of *Īskātar*. — D Probably “Brown-headed”, “the one with brown hair” (cf. *δywsr*, #475; *myrsr*, #733); BOGOL., SMIR. read *kwrsr'k* without etymology (“blind-headed”, “young head”?) in L10 and an almost impossible *γwnsr'kk* in L14. The first letter is most probably *beth* in both cases.

330. *βwrz* /Vurz/ m.: B N, *zyp'k ky* ZY ZK *pyšn'm'k* | *nβwδ'k* ZKw *βwrz* BRY: Muγ, Nov.4, V5-6 (SDGM, II, p. 22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 30; YAK., Marr., p. 313). — P Father of the pledge *zyp'k* (#1574). — D LIV., SDGM, II, p. 44 compares it to S *βrz*, *βrz'kk* “long, high”. The S word, to my knowledge, is never written with the middle *w* (except, maybe, in the place-name *βwrzw(')δk-*, Muγ, B-15, 1, 9 [SDGM, II, 162]), so we may assume a borrowing from Pth. *bwrz* “high, lofty” or Bct. *βορζο*, MP *burz* often as a PN, see GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, No. 226-252 (also ZIMMER, 1991, p. 128; CERETI, 2003, p. 307, 306-7 considers *Burz* to be a theonym) Now LIV. accepts that this name is a borrowing, see *SÉSAS*, p. 48.

331. *βwtc'k* /Vōčak?/ m.: B N, ZY ZKn | *βwtc'k*: Muγ, A-5, 9-10; [ZY ZKn] | *βwtc'k*: A-5, 16-17 (SDGM, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; SDGM, III, p. 51); ZY 'yw *βwtc'k*: Muγ, B-2, 3-4 (SDGM, III, p. 41). — P The recipient of a cut of cotton (*wšwyn'k*, cf. *DTS*, p. 56-57) and a shirt (*kwrd'k*), of

armour (*w'rpn'k*, Bct. *opβαγγο*). — **D** Unclear. LIV. vocalizes *Fūtčak*, akin to NP *pūd*, *fūd*, Ar. *fūta* “belt”. Acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., p. 92-93, it is a *plene* writing of *βwc'k* “saviour”, cf. *rwtyck* “provisions” (lit. “daily (diet)”), *'nšy'tc* (#105).

bwtyy > pwt- #964

332. βwx /*Vux?*/ m.: **B** N, *βwx*: *UII*, No. 153 (34: 39); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** Cf. *βw●●●●*, *βw-* (#334). SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 47, interprets it as short for *βwx's'k* (#333). However, as far as we know, S short-names are rarely derived from morphologically incomplete units; possibly, an unfinished inscription?

333. βwx's'k /*Vuxsak*/ m.: **B1** N, *βwx's'k* | *ZK wnxrk B(RY) '(γ)tk*: *UII*, No. 228 (34: 114); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 194. — **P1** A visitor of Shatīal, son of *wnxrk* (#1331: 1). — **B2** N, *βwx(s) ['k]*: *UII*, No. 333 (39: 28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 227. — **P2** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** A hypocoristic in *-k* to S *βwx's* “to be saved”, cf. maybe IPth. *bwḥs* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 193).

Cf. also *βwtc'k* (#331); *Fute/de* (伏特, 伏德, EMCh. *buwk-dək/tək*, IKEDA, 1965, p. 67) in the Chinese rendering, which seems to originate in the PPP *βwxt'k* “saved” (as IPth. *bwḥtk*, see SCHMITT, 1998, p. 185; Babylonian *Bu-uh-t[a-(a)]*, ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 232); cf. also under *rwxs* (#1038). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 228 already gives the same reading.

334. βw●●●●, βw- /? m.?: **B** N, *βw- | - - - - k*: *UII*, No. 223 (34: 109); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193; *βw●●●● ●●●●kk*: *UII*, No. 81 (31: 52); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *●●●●k(k)* (#1611: 2). — **D** Unclear, cf. *βwβ* (#321), *βwx* (#332). Or *kw●●●●*?

335. βxc /*Vaxč*/ m.: **B1** N, *βxc* | *'nytnx (?)*: *UII*, No. 389 (39: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P1** A visitor to Shatīal, son (?) of *'nytnx* (#101). — **B2** N, *tmy'c tr-x'n βxc*: *SSNSS*, No. 21, p. 172 (*VS*, XXX, 58). — **P2** The possessor of a silver bowl, with a Turkic name/title *tmy'c trx'n* (#1228: 1). — **D** More probably, from OIr. **baxti-* (= OInd. *bhakti-*) with palatalization of *t*, rather than S *βxt* “fortune”+ suff. *-č*, cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 47, see also s.v. *šyrβxc* (#1193).

HUMB., *SIF*, No. 15, has *wxc*; LIV.-LUKONIN have *βγč* and etymologize it as “related to a god (Mithra?)”; cf. OChor. PN *βγγš*, LIV., 1984, p. 264. However, the script of *UI* distinguishes between *x* and *γ*, so this reading is unlikely at least for #335: 1.

336. βxt /*Vayd*, *Vaxt*/ m.: B N, βxt : UII, No. 335 (39: 30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 227. — P A visitor to Shatīal. — D S βxt , βyt “fortune, destiny”. Another possible reading is βxc (#335). A certain βxt appears in the “History of Samarkand”, but he originated from Marw (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 5); cf. maybe also Khar. *Vagiti-vadhaḡä*, if **vayd-vandak* “slave of destiny”?, differently SIMS-W., see s.v. $\beta y\gamma\delta ty'n$ (#290).

337. $\beta xt'kk$ /*Vaydak*, *Vaxtak*/ m.: B N, snk' ZK | $\beta xt'kk$ BRY: UII, No. 246 (36: 30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206. — P Father of snk' (#1081: 6). — D A hypocoristic to S βxt “fortune, destiny”. Probably, in view of UI2, No. 605, either this name should be corrected to $\beta nt'kk$ (#294: 4), or *vice versa*; SIMS-W. (*Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206) notes that the second letter indeed looks more like *n* on the photos, but he saw a *x* (with a second upright stroke) while making an autopsy.

338. $\beta xtpy\delta'r$ /*Vaydpiḡār*, *Vaxtpiḡār*/ m.: B N, ZY $\beta xtpy\delta'r$ | X $\delta[r]xmy$: Muγ, A-11, 5-6 (SDGM, II, p. 185, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 220; SDGM, III, p. 54). — P A recipient of 10 drachmae. — D LIV. translates “(the one who appeared) by means of destiny” (maybe, a name of a foundling?, cf. *krzβy'rt*, #558). Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS (per litteras) proposes to understand it as $\beta xt-py(t)\delta'r$ “support of destiny”. BOGOL., SMIR. read “for gift”. However, S βxt does not have such a meaning in S, being “(positive) destiny, fortune”. Cf. also under $pr\delta'rc$ (#894, if $py\delta'rc$).

339. $\beta xtw'c$ /*Vaxtwāč*, *Vaydwāč*/ m.: B B, $\beta xtw'c$ $\delta st'$: TSP, 8, 178. — P A person in the colophon. — D BENV. (*TSP*, p. 218) saw in the first part βxt “destiny” or βy “god”, but did not interpret the last part of the name; HENN. (*STP*, p. 737) understands it as “gift (lit. emission, from the root $w'c$ “to send”) of fortune”, cf. ZMP *Baxt-āfrīd* (CERETI, 2003, p. 305), IPth. *bḡtdtk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 189).

340. $\beta xtwrz$ /*Vaxtwarz*, *Vaydwarz*/ m.: B N, $wrk'n$ ZK $\beta xtwrz$ || BRY Muγ, B-8 R23-V1 (SDGM, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108, GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — P Father of $wrk'n$ (#1339). — D “(The one who has) miraculous (/warž/) destiny (βxt)” or “active (wrz -) in his destiny”, both proposed by LIV.

341. *βxtywc* /*Vaxtyōč*, *Vaydyōč*/ m.: **B** N, (*βxty*)*wc* (?) *k*(^o)*n*: *UI2*, No. 588 (Oshibat, 17:37, cf. *Fsb Oshibat*, p. 52; the condition of the inscription is weak). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat, son (?) of *k*'*n* (#514: 1). — **D** “Teaching destiny”, cf. *nnywc* (#803). Maybe here *βxt* is some deity?

†βy'rtprnk > *zyrt* #1575

342. (*βyδk''* /*Bilgä*/ m.: **B** N, *pncy MRY' βyδk'' xwβ*: coin SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 997-1355; p. 256-305; Table XXVIII-XXXII; LXXIV-LXXV; p. 47. — **P** A ruler of *Panč* (Panjakent), on the eve of the 8th century. See *ck'yn cwr βyδk''* (#370). — **D** A short form of *ck'yn cwr βyδk''*, OTu. *bilgä* “wise” (cf. *pylk'*, #979). SMIR. (op. cit., p. 47) read the name as *βyδk'n* or *βyδy'n* (the numismatists still call him *Bidyan*), correct reading by LIV., *Alphabet*, p. 257, n. 5; *Praviteli Pancha*, 1979, p. 57-58.)

†βyδk'n, *†βyδy'n* > *βyδk''* #342

†byl' > *kyδr* #610

343. (*βympx'r* /*Vimbaxāl*?/ m.: **B** B, *βympx'r [n'm]*: *SGHS*, 3b, r4. — **P** *Vimalaprabhāsa* (“pure splendour”), the name of 60,000 Buddhas. — **D** The name renders probably not the Skt. original, but a Prakritic (and not Gāndhārī) **Vima(la)pahāla* (*SghS*, p. 252-3, cf. YAK., 2003, p. 477).)

344. (*βymyrkr'yt*, *βymrkyrt* /*Vimelkrūt*/ m.: **B** B, 'xw *βymyrkr'yt*: *Vim.*, 10; *k'w βymyrkr'yt*: *Vim.*, 60; xw *βymyrkr'yt*: *Vim.*, 65; ZK *βymyrkr'yt*: *Vim.*, 187; [*βy*](*m*)*rkyrt 'št'yk' C pn(c)[(...)* *pttr*: So 10343, margin, apud SUND., 1977, p. 634, cf. HANSEN, 1968, p. 86. — **P** The interlocutor of *Mañjuśrī* in *Vim.* — **D** Skt. *Vimalakīrti* (“Pure speech”), the vocalism of the form in *Vim.* probably represents a Chinese form *Weimoge* (維魔訶, EMCh. *jwi-ma-k^hjit*), more than the Skt. original, but its consonantism is preserved.)

345. *βynt* /*Vend?*/ m.: **B1** N, *βynt* | ZK *δxc* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 53 (29: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 152. — **P1** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *δxc* (#458: 1). — **B2** N, *m'xprn* | (ZK) *βynt* | *š'wyr(c)yny*: *UII*, No. 169 (34: 55); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P2** Father (?) of *m'xprn* (#648: 2). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 47) connects it with *βynt* “to bind” (the semantics remain unclear; a magical name?). Maybe a West Iranian loan from *vind-* “to obtain”? Cf. MP PN

Vindād, *Vindār* etc. (GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II/2, No. 998 ff.), *IPth. wyndprnk* (*Nisā*, p. 206, gloss), *NP (Šn., WOLFF, 1935, s.v.) Bindōy* etc. For *UII*, No. 132, cf. *βwnw* (#325).

346. (*βyp'š* /*Vipaš*/ m.: **B** B, *nm'w βyp'š pwty pn[cw]*: *Len.*, 93, 12. — **P** A Buddha in an invocation. — **D** Skt. *Vipaśyin* (lit. “distinguishing one”), see F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403. For the final *-yin* (nom. *-yī*) lost cf. *šyky*, #1187.)

347. (*βyr'wcn* /*Vērōčan*/ m.: **B** B, *ZNH βyr'wcn pwty*: So 14915, 2 apud *BRJS*, p. 470. — **P** A name of a Buddha. — **D** Sanskrit *Vairocana* (lit. patronymic to *virocana* “shining”), cf. *cntrβrwcwn* (#377), *swryβrwcwn* (#1118).)

348. (*βyr'wp'kš*, *βyrwpkš* /*Virūpākš*/ m.: **B** B, *'wyn βyr'wp'kš mx'r'c*: *TSP*, 8, 51; [*ZKn βyrw*](*r*)'k *ZY ZKn βyrwpkš*: *Urumqi*, 80TBI: 562, 1. — **P** *Mahārāja Virūpākṣa*, the heavenly king of the West, see *trytr'št* (#1245), *β'yšrβn* (under #302), *βyrwt'kk* (under #349). — **D** Transcription of Skt. *Virūpākṣa*, lit. “(with) deformed eyes”.)

349. (*βyr'wr'y*, *βyrwr'y*, *βyrwr'k*, *βyrwt'kk*, *βr'wr'k* /*Virūray*, *Virūdak*/ m.: **B** B, *xwt'w 'krty βyrwr'y n'm*: *TSP*, 2, 191; *ZK βyr'wr'y xwt'w*: *TSP*, 2, 198; [*ZKn βyrw*](*r*)'k *ZY ZKn βyrwpkš*: *Urumqi*, 80TBI: 562, 1; *'wyn βyrwt'kk mx'r'c*: *TSP*, 8, 50; *ZK βr'wr'k wyšpyš'k*: *MPN III*, V14. — **P** A king (once a leader of fishes), who plundered the town of Kapilavastu in an Avadana-text, referred to in *TSP*, 2, 178-206; in the *Urumqi* fragment and *TSP*, 8, the guardian of the South in Buddhist cosmology. — **D** from Skt. *Virūḍhaka*, as Chin. *Pi-liu-li* 毘瑠璃, EMCh. *bji-luw-liš/li* (as well as some other transcriptions), Khot. *vārūlei*, *vīrrulai*, (apud *GMS*, §363), lit. “Growing, grain that has begun to sprout”.

The Skt. retroflexes are often represented by *r* in S, cf. HANSEN, 1935-7, p. 579; *GMS*, §363, where *βyrwr'y* is directly quoted, cf. BAILEY, 1943, p. 230, cf. *cwrypnt'kk* (#394), also *s'm'r* for *samādhi* (non-retroflex *dh!*). S *y* in place of Skt. *k* allows several explanations. Firstly, the name could have been borrowed from a Prakrit, where an intervocalic *k* was realized as *y*. Secondly, the national S script possessed highly ambiguous means to represent a final */-k/* (cf. *GMS*, §975 ff; *UI2*, p. 38). In the course of copying, a scribe could have misread **βyr'wr'k* as */Virūre/*, and thus spelt it with final *-y*, which is also commonly used for old **aka-* stems in the BS orthography. In view of the Chinese and Khotanese forms cited above, the first explanation seems preferable (and the

form *βyrwr'k* in the Urumqi fragment can also be understood as an attempt to spell *Virūray*). *βyrwt'kk* is a different (and more regular) S rendering of the same name.)

350. *βyrprn* /Vyarfarn/ m.: B N, *ZY βyrprn pnc kpc* (H'MRH): Muγ, B-9, 3; *βy-rprn pnc kpc* H'MRH: 7 (SDGM, III, p. 32-33); (rt)y ps-w *ZY ty-mšy-r ZY βy-rprn IIII IIII kpc ZY 'yw k(p)c 'kk*: Muγ, B-14, 2 (SDGM, III, p. 35). — P A porter of the framānḏār, supplier of some products. — D “(He who) obtains the glory” (as BOGOL., SMIR., p. 93, WEBER, ZSP, p. 196, No. 6), or probably imperative “obtain the glory!”, as was kindly suggested by Desmond DURKIN-MEISTERERNST. OP *Vinda-farnah-* (as noted by BOGOL., SMIR.) is typologically analogous.

351. *byrw* /?/ : B C, context unknown, C3 = TiiB 40, unpublished, cited by SUND., *Brs. Kg.*, p. 98. — P Brother of *prsyh*, an officer under *Hajjaj*'s command? (cf. *ħcyc*). — D Unclear. WMr. *Wīrōy*, *Bīrōy* (the latter name is attested in Syr. as *byrwy* and denotes a Persian monk of the 6th century; see GIGNOUX, JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 112)?

βyrwr'k, βyrwt'kk > *βyr'wr'y* #349

βyrwpkš > *βyr'wp'kš* #348

352. *βysH* /Vēs/ f.: B N, *βysH: Panj.-1978*, No. 4, p. 136. — P A name inscribed on a wooden stick. — D As this name is clearly feminine (as the final *-H* shows us), I would cautiously propose to trace it back to WIr, NP *Wēs*, a female hero of the well known novel, *Wēs-u Rāmīn*, which is ultimately a product of Parthian creativity, cf. *Rahmat-name*, p. 219. Now we know the S continuation of OIr. **waisa-* “servant”, namely *wys*, as YOSH., 2002c, p. 234. Cf., however, other female names on *-(')ysH*: *r(')nysH* (#1017, *c't'ysH* (#363).

The editors derive this name from OIr. **baisā-*, from the root *bai-s*, MMP *bēs*, *frabēs* “to fear”, which is not attested in S. Cf. *bys* for Bessos in Aramaic documents from Afghanistan (SHAKED, 2003, p. 1518 ff.).

353. (*βyšβ'pw* /Višvabū/ m.: B B, *nm'w βyšβ'pw pwty 'βt'*: Len., 93, 13. — P A Buddha in an invocation. — D Skt. *Viśvabhū* (lit. “being in everything/everywhere”); cf. F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403.)

bytg'cy cgšyy rwšn > *cgšyy rwšn* #368

354. $\beta\bullet(\delta)\bullet\bullet z?$ /?/ m.?: **B** N, *pny c'cy(n)k xw-β[w]* $\beta\bullet(\delta)\bullet\bullet z?$: coin, *Cat. Chach*, No. 151-153, p. 167. — **P** A ruler in the Chach oasis, 7th – 8th century? — **D** Unclear; the editors refrain from reading the name. The first letter could be *r* or *k* as well, the last could be *γ* or *H*, middle *δ* is also far from being properly written. Other coins of this group have the names *cnwrnk* (#378?) and *zyrt* (#1575?).

355. $(\beta\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet)$, βl /?/ m: **B1** N, *βntk* | $(\beta\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet)$ *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 664 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P1** Father of *βntk* (#295: 3). — **B2** N, *y(rs)l* | $(\beta)l$: *UI2*, No. 489 (51:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 257. — **P2** Father (?) of *yrsl* (#1514). — **D** Unclear; maybe, in the first case, read *rz m'nc* (#1055: 1)?