### †š''w > mv'rx''n #724

**1142.**  $\S'\beta nw\S k$  / $\S\bar{a}fn\bar{o}\S ak$ ?/ m.: **B** N,  $\S'\beta nw\S k$ : ostracon from Taman Peninsula, LIV. apud *HMS*, II, p. 247. — **P** A resident or visitor to Taman (opposite the Crimea; the westernmost S text found so far except for that on a piece of fabric in Belgium). — **D** The name is translated as "believing in immortality", although no details on  $*\S'\beta$ - "believe" are given (for  $-nw\S$ - cf.  $nw\S\beta'mH$ , #835 and similar names).

The writing is, however, ambiguous; one can read  $\delta yrnw\delta k$  "nice (and) immortal",  $\gamma r\beta nw\delta k$  "(he with) much ambrosia", etc. The writing is in any case surely Sogdian.

- 1143. š'δ 'ry'm'n /Šād Aryāmān/ m.: **B** N(M),  $J \mid mwrw'$  š'δ 'ry'm'n: BL, A 115. **P** An authority in the Bäzäklik Manichean cloister. **D** WMIr. šād "happy" (cf. PN š'δk in MN, 86, MWMIr. š'δ(-')w(h)rm(y)zt and the following names) and aryāmān "friend", cf. m'r 'ry'm'n pwxr (#683) etc.; particularly noteworthy is š'δ yyšw (#1145), as 'ry'm'n is most commonly an epithet of Jesus in Manicheism. Less likely, mwrw' š'δ 'ry'm'n represent a single name consisting of three elements (cf. mwrw', #709).
- **1144.**  $\S'\delta$   $\beta rw\gamma$  / $\S\bar{a}d$  Farrux/ m.: **B** N(M),  $\S'\delta$   $\beta rw\gamma$   $\S'x'n$  | k'xy z-xky: BL, B57-58. **P** A Manichean Electus, companion of m'ny wxmn. **D** WMIr.  $\S'd$  frwx "happy (and) glorious", cf.  $\S'\delta$  'ry'm'n (#1143), r'ymst  $\beta rw\gamma$  (#1007). For the title  $\S'x'n$  k'xy zhky see under r'ymst yz $\delta$  (#1009).
- 1145. š'δ yyšw /Šād yIšō/ m.: B N(M), š'δ yyšw: MIK III, 6918, III, 5 apud BeDuhn, 2001, No. 91, p. 244. P A name written on the figure of Electus on a wall painting. Dr. Colditz kindly informed me about the preacher š'd yyšw' in an unpublished MMP text and suggested that one and the same person could be intended. D WMIr. "Happy Jesus"; cf., most notably, š'δ 'ry'm'n (#1143) as 'ry'm'n is the most common epithet of the Manichean Jesus. The language of the inscription (MP? OTu.? S?) cannot be determined.

- **1146.**  $\S'\delta y \ x'twn \ /\S\bar{a}\delta\bar{\imath} \ Xatun/$  f.: **B** N(C),  $J\S'\delta y \ x'twn \ t'wn(t)$ : So 20223/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** Mixed (Middle) Persian and Turkic,  $\S'\delta y$  stands for MP  $\S\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}h$ ,  $\S\bar{a}\delta\bar{\imath}h$  (or already NP  $\S\bar{a}d/\delta\bar{\imath}$ ) "joy", xatun "lady" is Turkic.
- **1147. §**' $\gamma$  **wyspwxr-** / $\delta \bar{a}h$  **Wispuhr/** m.: **B** N(M), MN... **kšt**r |  $\beta$ nty **§**' $\gamma$  wyspwxry: BL, C2-3 (obl.). **P** The author of the Bäzäklik letter C, a Manichean of a certain rank. **D** Most likely, WMIr.  $\delta$ 'h wyspwhr "Shahprince" is intended (in BL the final /x/ and /h/ are often spelt with  $\gamma$ , cf. under r'ymst  $\beta$ rw $\gamma$ , #1007); alternatively, a transliteration  $\delta$ 'r wyspwxr / $\delta$ ahr Wispuhr?/ is also possible (YOSH., BL, p. 125).

## $\dot{\tau}$ š' $\gamma y$ (?) 'Lpww ...n > twwn $x'\gamma' n #1270$

1148. (š'kmwn, š'kymwn, š'kmn, š'ykmwn, pwwtš'kmn |Šākimun | m.: B1 B, mwck' βy'n βytm š'kmwn pwty: TSP, 5, 91; 'xw βy'nβytm š'kymwn | 'xw βy'nβytm š'kymwn pwty: VJ, 1512-13; 'myn š'kymwn: Dhy., 12; ZK š'kymwn pwty: Dhy., 362, 385; ZK š'kymwn tδδ''kt'w 'r'x'n smyk' smpwtt: Dhy., 358 (Skt. invocation: Śākyamuni tathāgato arahan samyaksambuddha); J(š)'ykmwn pwty pr''w: So 14815, 1 apud BRJS, p. 470 (probably misspelled š'kymwn, see following); Jš'kymwn wyspw pwδ'y: So 14815, 5—P1 The name of the historical Buddha, cf. k'wt'm (#527), pwty (#964) in the Buddhist texts. — B2 N(M), prw š'kmnw pwt'y: Magi, 31, p. 138; [š'k]mwn pwty: TiiD77(1) apud GMS, §32, n, but given as (š)['](k)[y]mwn pwty: So 14001a V, Ü apud MIr. Hss. I, No. 108, p. 92; M, pwwtš'kmn: M5264 R4 apud GMS, §38, n, cf. BOYCE, Catalogue, p. 107. — P2 The Historical Buddha in the Manichean compositions. — D From Skt. Śākyamuni ("Śākya the Sage").

For absence of w in the M form, see Henn., Magi, p. 141, n. 3. The loss of the internal syllable -ya- (cf. Pth.  $\S$ 'qmn, Bct.  $\Sigma \alpha(o) \kappa o \mu a v o$ ) can also be observed in mwtklyn (#714) and originates in Gdh.  $\S akamuni$ , as SIMS-W.,  $Indian\ Elements$ , p. 134; p. 137. The spelling  $\S$ 'kmnw in Magi, 31, can be explained as graphical accusative, vowel metathesis or merely a miswriting;  $\S$ ](') $ky\ kwtr'k$  in  $MPN\ III$ , V18 is " $\S akya$  tribe", i.e. "disciples of  $\S akya$  muni".)

**1149.** *š'kyz't'k* /*Šākizāte*/ m.: **B** B, *š'k(y-z')t'k*: *Len.*, 52, 16, corr.by SIMS-W., *Rev. Len.*, p. 235). — **P** A follower of the Buddha. — **D** A semi-

translation of Skt. Śākyaputrīya (BHS *idem*, Pāli Sākyaputtiya), where putrīya, adj. of putra, was merely translated as S z't'k "son".

- **1150.**  $\S'n/\S\bar{a}n?/$  m.: **B** N,  $\S'(n)ZK$ : *UII*, No. 31 (20: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 142. **P** A visitor to Shatial. **D** Unclear; one can read alternatively as  $\S y(n)$ , cf.  $\S yn$  (#1188),  $\S'n'kk$  (#1151),  $\S n'yn$  (#1170). Related to S  $\S'nwx$  "excellent", where wx is a suffix to  $\S'n-?$
- **1151. š'n'kk** /Šānak?/ m.: **B1** N, (š'n)'kk (?) ZK sm'wr'kkH (?): UII, No. 189 (34: 75); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 189. **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of sm'wr'kkH (#1076). **B2** N, (š)'n'kk ZK | nnyβntk BRY: UI2, No. 505 (53: 11); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 260; read maybe ny'n'kk; HUMB., SIF, No. 86b, has x'n'kk, which is impossible in SIMS-W.'s view. **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son of nnyβntk (#787: 15). **D** See š'n (#1150), with the suffix -'kk. If ny'n'kk, from S nyn "bread" (cf. nynp'k, #775)?
- **1152. §** 'ns /?/ m.: **B** N, cwz 'kk | ZK wn 'ynk BRY | 'HRZY \$y | 'H(Y) \$ 'ns 'BY | wkw(r)  $\beta \gamma$ ': UII, No. 304 (36: 88); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 214. **P** A visitor to Shatial, brother (?) of cwz 'kk (#397: 1), son of wn 'ynk (#1317: 1). **D** Unclear.
  - SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 72) proposes (as an alternative) the reading  $\check{s}$  'ns 'BY as a single word, meaning "daughter-in-law's father" (if  $\check{s}$  'ns comes from  $*\check{s}ns(a-)$  with a metathesis of sibilants, parallel to the attested S  $\check{s}wn\check{s}H$  from OIr.  $*snu\check{s}\bar{a}$ -), however, he translates "sein Bruder Shans(?)" in Fbs. Sh..
- [ š'nš'y: Not a PN, pace HENN., Tales, p. 477 but MP šāhānšāh "king of kings", as SUND., 1983, cf. So 14638 I/r/18 apud MIr. Hss. 1, No. 198. This word also appears in the S text LM20: 1480/22(02) which was presented by Yutaka YOSHIDA at the Boris MARSHAK memorial conference in Petersburg in November 2008.
- **1153.** (*š'nty rwc* /Šāntiruč/ m.: **B** B, yw p'cy'm n'm š'nty | rwc zβ'ky: Vaj. 2, 8-9, (STii, p. 548). **P** The person, responsible for the extant version of S Vajracchedikā 2 (Berlin version)? A member of the Mahāyana "Falsename" sect. **D** An Indian name, Śāntiruci, lit. "light of tranquillity".

I understand the phrase as "I was told to write from the speech of that Santiruci, the false-namer" (cf. differently Benv.,  $\acute{E}t$ ., p. 136-7).

# † š'ny'βγ > †šcny'βγ after #1163

**1154.** *š'p'wr*, *š'pwr* /*Šābur*/ m.: **B1** N, *š'p'wr ZK* | *myr'yn BRY*: *UII*, No. 32 (20: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 142. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *myr'yn* (#730: 1). — **B2** N, *š'pwr*: *UI2*, No. 619 (Dadam Das, 23:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 96). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** From MP, Pth. or Bct. *Šā(h)bu(h)r*. It is noteworthy that *š'p'wr's* father, *myr'yn*, has a MP/Pth./Bct. name too.

Bct.  $P\alpha\beta\rho\rho\rho$  and Pth. (patronymical) <u>š</u>hypwhrn are attested at the same site in Shatial; cf. <u>š</u>'pwxrk'n "Shābuhragān", Mani's scripture in *BL*, B49. The name <u>Šāβūr</u> borrowed from WMIr. source can also be found in the Bukharan canal-name <u>Šāfūr-kām</u>, see LURJE, 2006, p. 410 ff.

- **1155.** (*š'r'ypwtr*, *š'rypwtr* /*Šāriputr*/ m.: **B** B, 'wyn *š'r'ypwtr*: Len., 93, 22; ZK *š'rypwt[r*: VB II, I, 19. **P** A disciple of the Buddha. **D** Skt. *Śāriputra* (lit. "son of Śāri (lit., a beast)"), as already understood by ROSENBERG, Deux fragments, p. 404.)
- **1156.** *š'w* /Šāw/ m.: **B** N, *š'w* ZK m'x'kk BRY: Muγ, Nov.3 V20 (SDGM, II, p. 22, cf. SÉSAS, p. 29; YAK., Marr., p. 311). **P** A witness in the marriage contract, son of m'x'kk (#640). **D** "Black", cf. the following names; maybe under #1222; the Turkic equivalent qara under #1236.
- 1157. š'w'ncH /Šāwānj/ f.: **B** B, š'w'ncH \delta st': TSP, 8, 180. **P** A lady in the colophon. **D** "Black" with the fem. suff. 'ncH.

Cf. Shawang (沙)连, EMCh. şaɨ/şɛ:-ʔwaŋ, IKEDA, 1965, p. 64) in the Chinese rendering? BOGOL., Otrazhenie, p. 13-14, explained this name as the month-name \*š'w'nc. However, there is no reason to reconstruct such a month-name since †n'wy š'w'nc m'γ-y-H "in the month n'wy š'w'nc" of Muγ B-17, R15 is to be read as n'wy š'w'nc mrγ-y-H "in the meadow of Nawēšāwānj" (see SIMS-W. apud GRENET, Huns, p. 184; Last Days, p. 158; LIV., SÉSAS, p. 128-9).

1158. š'wc /Šāwič/ m.: **B** N, ZY š'(w)c (Z)K prny-'n | BRY: Muγ, B-8, V2-3 (SDGM, II, p. 47, cf. SÉSAS, p. 52; SMIR., Ocherki, p. 108; GRENET, Pratiques, p. 314). — **P** A witness in the deed of half of a nā'ūs, son of prny'n (#912). — **D** "Black", with the hypocoristic suffix -c, cf. WEBER, ZSP, p. 194-5 n. 15; cf. already Elam Ši-ia-mi-iz-za for OIr. \*Svāviča

(TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 319; I was kindly reminded by Prof. SCHMITT about this name).

1159. š'wyrcyny /Šāwyarčēni?/ m.: **B** N, m'xprn | (ZK) βynt | š'wyrc(yny): UII, No. 169 (34: 55); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 186. — **P** A nisba (less likely, the grandfather's name) of m'xprn (#648). — **D** A nisba (at least, in its origin) to š'wyr(-c), "Montenegro, Black Mountain".

This place can be identified either with the tenth century  $S\bar{a}\gamma ar\check{y}$  near Ištīxan (with a Persian adoptation of the first part; this explanation is preferred by SIMS-W., UI2, p. 72), or with two towns named  $S\bar{a}w\gamma ar$  in Isfījāb (to the north of Čāč oasis, see BARTHOLD, 1957, p. 177, with n. 6). However, the function of the final -y here remains unclear (see UI2, p. 36 n. 10; p. 37 n. 13).

1160. š'wšprn /Šāwašfarn?, Sāwušfann?/ m.: **B** N, š'w-šprn: coin, VAJNBERG, 1977, No. 1030-1060. — **P** A name on the obverse of Chorasmian coins (mid-8th century). — **D** The reverse has MR'Y MLK' sy-'w-r-š-pr-n in the Old Chorasmian letters. This king is also attested as š'wšfn by BĒRŪNĪ (cf. HENN., Mittelir., p. 57) and Shao-shi-fen (稍施芬, EMCh. saiw / sɛ:w - sið/si-p / un) in the Tang annals under 751. The name ultimately goes back to Av. Siiāuuaršan-+\*farnah- "glory of Siyāwuš", but some pecularities remain partially unclear.

The OChor. form *sy'wršprn* probably represents a historical spelling of Chor. *s'w* < \**syāva*- "black", while S inscription, Chinese record and surprisingly BĒRŪNĪ tend to the S outcome of this root, /*šāw*/. \**aršan*- (\**yšan*-) would result in /*aš*/ in Sogdian (*GMS*, §357) and in Chorasmian (cf. *xš* "to pull" < \**xrš*-), Cf. also HENN. apud FRYE, 1953, p. 232 (= p. 151); HENN., 1965a, p. 175-6 (= p. 654); LIV., *Khor. Kal.*, p. 166; VAJNBERG, 1997, p. 61; FRYE, 1949, p. 20-22. The name *Siyāwuš* is now attested in Manichean Parthian in the form *šyy'wš*, see MORANO, 2009a, p. 328, V11.

# /5'xy $\beta$ ' $\gamma$ c > 5'y, #1161; y $\beta$ ' $\gamma$ c #1502

**1161. §'y** /Šay?/ m.: **B** B, §('y): UII, No. 266 (36: 50) cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 209. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; cf. §ykk (#1186), §y''n (#1184).

HUMB., SIF, No. 45, took this inscription and No. 267  $(y\beta'yc)$  together and transliterated  $\dot{s}'xy\beta'yc$ , and HARMATTA, 1994, p. 439, interpreted it as "native of  $\dot{S}\bar{a}hv\bar{a}y$ ", the latter being  $\dot{S}\bar{a}hbax\dot{s}$  of the Islamic sources, near Bux $\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ .

## *š'ykmwn* > *š'kymwn* #1148

### *š'ymnkr* > *kš'ymnkr* #561

- **1162.**  $\S'ynH$  / $\S\bar{e}n$ ?/ f.: **B** N(A),  $MN \delta w < \gamma > \delta r(yH) \mid [\S](')ynH$ : AL3, Va 1-2;  $MN \delta w \gamma \delta r y H \S' y n H$ : AL3, R27. **P** Daughter of  $nny\delta(')t$  (#789) and mywn'yH (#741); author of the second part of AL3 (R27-35). **D** Unclear; maybe,  $\S' y z H$ ; cf. the names like  $\S y n$  (#1188),  $\S y '' n$  (#1184),  $\S n' y n$  (#1170),  $\S' n$  (#1150), etc. Could hardly come from S  $\S y n$  "bed".
- **1163.** ( šβ'y, šβ''y /Šivī/ m.: **B** B, 'xw šβ''y xwt'w: VJ, 9, 32-3, 217, 232, 1306-7; xw šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 7a-8a, 1504-5; 'kw šβ''y xwt'w: VJ, 28; ZKH 'BY' šβ'y xwt'w pt'ycs'r: VJ, 22a; cnn 'BY' | šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 70-71; 'xw šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 61b, 203, 397, 18c, 1d, 60d, 1231, 1375, 1502; xw 'BY šβ''y xwt'w: VJ, 353-4; 'wyn šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 411, 420, 63c, 47d, 611, 623, 667-8, 728, 1e-2e; ZKn šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 7c-8c, 938-9; šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 489; 'wyn šβ''y xwt'w: VJ, 553; 'wyn šβ'y xwβw: VJ, 565, 720; 'xw 'BY' šβ'y xwβw: VJ, 626; ZKn šβ''y xwt'w: VJ, 674-5; 'xw šβ'y xwt'w z'tk: VJ, 15e; 'xw 'BY' šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 1324-5; 'xw ny''k šβ''y xwt'w: VJ, 1311-12; ZKw ny''k šβ''y xwt'w s'r: VJ, 1316-17, 1361-2; 'xw ny''k šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 1330; ZKw šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 1335; ZK šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 1336-7; cnn šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 1344; cnn šβ'y xwt'w s'r: VJ, 1386, 1390-91; 'kw šβ'y xwt'w: VJ, 1415. **P** The king, father of the prince Suδāšn (swδ''šn #1111), incarnation of Śuddhodana (šnt'wδn, #1172). **D** Skt. Śivi (also Śibi) in the S transcription.)
- [ *šbwqly*: **B** C, C16, bis, apud HANSEN, 1968, p. 98. **P** A word that initiates two phrases in the unedited manuscript C16. Maybe a PN, pace HANSEN, loc. cit. **D** A Syriac phrase *šbwq ly* "allow me", "let me", as SIMS-W., *Syro-S*, p. 152, which is superior to any onomastic explanations. ]
- [ †šcny' $\beta\gamma$  /?/: **B** N, MR'Y' - $\delta \bullet \bullet \beta n$  pny ?: coin, Cat. Chach, No. 122-124, p. 144-147. **P** A coin from the Chach oasis,  $7^{th}$   $8^{th}$  century? **D** Unclear. LIV.'s reading šcny' $\beta\gamma$  pny was later corrected into š'nyh $\beta y$ , š'ny'  $\beta\gamma y$  by RTVELADZE (Chach, p. 70-71, 74-75 and apud Cat. Chach, 145). This reading was severely criticized by BABAYAROV, 2007, p. 73, 81, who proposed pny c'cynk  $\gamma w\beta w$ ; however, I do not see it on the images. The first word in the legend can easily stand for MR'Y "lord", while the following letters remain so far unclear. ]

- **1164.** *šδw* /*Šaδ*-/ m.?: **B** N, *kw šδw s'r 'ywH '[zyH]*: (acc.?) Muγ, Б-1, L5 (*SDGM*, III, 44). **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or spear, 'zyH). **D** Unclear.
  - BOGOL., SMIR., p. 99 compare it to  $\check{S}\bar{a}\delta$ , the title of Faryānian rulers according to the Muslim historians (from Turkic  $\check{s}ad$ ?), but the quantity of vowel is a difficulty. Cf. also S  $\check{s}\delta$ 'kw,  $\check{s}\delta$ 'y "neck";  $\check{s}y\delta$ w (#1185).
- **1165.** ( šklwn, šqlwn /Šaklōn/ m.: **B**: M, šqlwn 'tyy pysws: M7800, r9-10 apud SUND., *Mani & Enoch*, p. 45 = 702 (cf. WEBER, *Inchoativa*, p. 193, GMS, §1649); 'tyy pr | šklwnyy zβ'k: M 7800 r10-11; wnyy šklwn 'tyy | pyswsyy pyrnm(s')r: v8-9 (cf. WEBER, Inchoativa, p. 64); 'rty(y)[ IV  $\beta$ ](r)ywr pjwwg ww | šklwn xwr<u>t</u> $\delta$ 'r<u>t</u> '<u>t</u>yy IV | [ $\beta$ r](y)wr x' (p)ysws: M7800 v12-14, cf. GMS, §1415; oo šąlwn 'ty pysws'yy: SUND., Eva, R14; š)klwn 'ty pysws: M141 (+M6795) apud SUND., Pēsūs, p. 211; [w](ny)y šąlwnyy rytyy: BBB, EII, 15; 'rtyy | xww šqlwn: 18-19, p. 48; (cw) šklwn 'ty pysws: M141+6795, R14, MORANO, S Cosm. Ms.; cf. LN, n. 7, 3, p. 82; N(M), šklw](n) ZY pysws: So 14256, v3 apud SUND., Pēsūs, p. 211. — P The male abortion demon, begetter of the 1<sup>st</sup> human pair, cf. pysws (#988). — **D** A Semitic name, Syriac Ašagloun apud Th. B. Khonai; Pth. šalwn, Chin. [Shi-] Luvi (路場), Syr. 'šglwn; SCHWARTZ, 2006, derives this name from the Phoenician town 'Ašqəlōn; and consequently separates it from Sakla(s), the name of this figure in Egyptian Manichean texts, which is Aram. saklā "the ignorant one, the fool".)
- 1166. ( šlθ'yl /Šelaθ-Ēl/ m.: **B** C, cn š.lθ'yl '(žt) z[wrbbl]: C13, 33, V13 (*Nachl. III*, p. 211). **P** Salathiel, king of Judaeah, cf. zwrbbl, #1571. **D** Syr. šlt'yl /Šəla<u>t</u>i-'ēl/, from Old Hebrew. )
- 1167. (šly /Šäli/ m.: B N, šly pwt'k 'yny: SFBL, 20, 3. P An attribute of a book (pwt'k misspelt for pwst'k, cf. pwts'k, SFBL, 21, 1). D SIMS-W. (SFBL, p. 65) understands it as "Śīla-book" ("Book of moral conducts"), so hardly a PN. On the other hand, James HAMILTON (1984, p. 428, n. 4), compares it to the Buddhist Uyghur title šäli (from Chinese (a)sheli, 阿闍梨, ultimately from Skt. ācārya "teacher").)
- **1168. šm'r'kH pry'w 'zrw'** /Šmārā frayāw ∃zrwā/ m.: **B** B, ZK (š)m'r'k(H) pry'w '(z)[r]w': VB, E21; [ZK] šm'r'kH pr<γ>'w KZNH w'β:

*VB*, G7. — **P** Viśeṣacintin Brāhmin, an interlocutor of *Devaputra Avaivar-tika* (*pw px'rš pw nm'n'k βγρyδr'k*, #959). — **D** "Zurwān, profit of thoughts".

Skt. Viśeṣacintin, lit. "outstanding thinker" was translated as si yi (思益) "profit of thoughts" by Kumārajīva and this expression was rendered into Sogdian (VB, p. 247-8, p. 259-260, n. 54). Sogdian Jzrwā, i.e. Zurwān, is the regular translation of Indian Brāhma, but here brāhmin (normally pr''mn in S) was mistranslated in this way, cf. zrw' xwt'w (#1562).

( šmywn, šmywn sng, šmywn sng /Šēm<sup>y</sup>ōn (Sang)/ m.: **B1** N(C), (šmy)wn: SFBL, 18, 1; C, 7 | šmywn sng: C2, 54 V16; gw š(m)/ywn \*sng \*s'/: C5, 9, R6 (STi, p. 53; Nachl. I, p. 244, SC, No. 84); Ja(w) šmywn sng [s': C5, 12, V8 (STi, p. 79; cf. SC, No. 86); šmywn (x)yd gt n'm 'wstyd'rt sng: C5, 14, V14: *šmyw(n) sng 't yyqwb* | 't ywhnn wny. br'(t): C5, 18, V4-5 (Nachl. II, p. 89); qšy | šmywn mwrt' žwnty kwn't: C22, 4, 2-3 (STii, p. 28); pnt xrt | šmywn sng: C22, 4, 4-5 (STii, p. 28); šmywn c'nw mwnw wyd'rt: C22, 4, 18 (STii, p. 29); qw (fwx'r šmyw)n || sng s'r: C22, 4, 22-23 (STii, p. 29, cf. SC, No. 101); wydny'm šmywn | sng wnm' wyd'rt: C22, 4, 28-29 (STii, p. 29); pr šmywn sng: C22, 4, 43 (STii, p. 30); xw) šmywn | sng: Schüler, III R8-9. — P1 The apostle Simon Peter (he figures as an oracle in a divination text SFBL, 18). — **B2** C, 't šmywn qt žyyrty. | bwt 'rsqny.: C5, 14, V17-18 (STi, p. 32-33). — **P2** The apostle Simon the Zealot ('rsqny, = Syr. tnn'). — **B3** C, fwx'r] 'dy šmywn: C2, \*64 R26; šmywn: C2, \*64 R27; ] | (š)[m](yw)n: C2, \*64 V25; ( )  $pr(\check{s}m)ywn(m)'x br't$ : C2, \*66 R6;  $\check{s}mywny[x]w'ry z'ty$ : (obl.) C2, \*68 V19; y'nt šmyw[ny xypθ xw'rt: C28 R3 apud M. SCHWARTZ, 1970, p. 392. — P3 Simon, the bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon (executed in 344 CE); C28 is a fragment of the same text, but the Ms. is different from that of C2 (SCHWARTZ apud SIMS-W., C2, p. 139 n. 15). — **B4** N(M?), 'tkw [pry]w ('x)-šnky p'šc'n  $\beta r't$  š(my)wn s'r MN  $\delta wr$  z'yH: Len., 111, V1-3 (as corrected by SIMS-W. in Rev. Len., p. 236, cf. SC, No. 358. — P4 An addresse in the scribal exercise in the form of a letter. — D Syr. šm'wn /Šem 'ōn/ (SIMS-W., SFBL, p. 64).

Syr. 'ayn was used to mark / $\gamma$ / in CS texts, and  $\check{s}m\gamma wn$  in the N script could follow CS orthographic conventions, but cf. MMP PN  $\check{s}ymgwn$  (for  $\check{s}ym\gamma wn$ ) MN, 83 (as SIMS-W, Rev. Len., p. 236; SUND. apud DMMPP, p.321) and (probably, Manichaean) letter-exercise; S snq/sng "Stone" translates Syriac k'p' / $k\bar{e}p\bar{a}$ / "id." = Gr.  $\Pi\acute{e}\tau\rho\sigma\varsigma$  (cf. ptrws, #945); cf. also symwn, #1131.)

- [šmrw: **B** N, šmrw δrxmH]: inscription on a potsherd from Panjakent, x+3, ed. Liv, SDGM, II, p. 183 n. 7, tr. ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 129. **D** Although ISKHAKOV's translation hints that šmrw is a PN, it seems more likely that the word is related to OIr. \*(š)mar- "to count". Cf. ptšmr- as a variant to ptšm'r- (AL2 (2), 45, Dhu., 161), Ygh. pušmara "number" (unpublished materials of B.A. Alborov).
- 1170.  $\S{n'yn}$  / $\S{an\bar{e}n?}$ / m.: **B** N,  $yw'rnkyn \mid ZK \S{n'yn}$  BRY: UII, No. 90 (31: 61); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 165. **P** Father of yw'rnkyn (#1526). **D** The final -'yn is a hypocoristic and/or patronymic suffix, and  $\S{n}$  may be compared to  $\S{n'yk}$ . SIF, No. 65a, has  $\S{n'yk}$ .
- **1171.** *šnc* /*Šanič*?/ m.?: **B** N, *šnc*: *Graff*., No. 17. **P** A graffito on a  $Bux\bar{a}rxud\bar{a}h$  drachm, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. **D** A hypocoristic to a name like  $\check{s}n'yn$ , (#1170),  $\check{s}'n$  (#1150)? One can also read ync (cf. OChor.  $yn\check{s}yk$ , LIV., 1984, p. 272, 4; p. 284, n. 127), zyc, etc.
- 1172. ( šnt'wôn /Šundōdan/ m.: **B** B, 'xw šnt'wôn MLK' xyô: VJ, 1505. **P** The king, father of the Gautama Buddha, whose incarnation is  $\delta\beta$ 'y (#1163) in the Vessantara Jātaka. **D** Skt. Śuddhodana "(the one who has) pure rise"; for nt in the place of Skt. d cf. mntr'yH for Mādrī (#677), and particularly OTu. Š(a)ntudan (TONGERLOO, 2005, p. 390).)
- 1173. šnwy /Šnōy?/ m.: **B** N, šnwy (or  $\gamma$ nwy, xnwy) | BRY | mwk'ny, inscr. on a bronze seal in the collection of the State Hermitage (Gl 13000), ed. LIV., 2009, p. 248 with. figs. 3 and 4. **P** The owner of a seal? (It is written in the cursive script of  $7^{th}$  century or later). **D** Extremely doubtful, the editor does not attempt to give an etymology. However, I see on this place S  $xyp\delta$  "self, own" with the minute  $\delta$  (due to its position on the rim of the seal), which is typical for the bronze seals (cf. #1455). Cf. also mwk'n-#703.
- **1174.** *špkwry* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *špkwry* (??): *UI2*, No. 615A (Dadam Das, 22:6; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. **D** Quite unsure; possibly not Sogdian writing, as noted by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 22.

#### $\check{s}r'k > cr'k #381$

**1175.** ( $\check{s}r'ykwty/\check{S}r\bar{\imath}kut\bar{\imath}$ ?/ m.: **B** B, ZY  $\check{s}r'ykwty$   $my\delta\beta y$ : Len., 93, 25. — **P** A minister ( $my\delta\beta$ ) in a Buddhist text. — **D** Probably, Skt.  $\acute{S}r\bar{\imath}k\bar{u}ta$  "happy summit" (a name of a Buddha and a Bodhisattva), cf.  $t'r\beta yrt$  (#1215). I owe this explanation to a kind suggestion of Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS.

For the final -y see under  $sw\beta rncwty$ , #1110. ROSENBERG, *Deux Fragments*, p. 469, compared this name to  $\dot{S}r\bar{t}gupta$ , an enemy of the Buddha. In this case, one has to reconstruct a semi-Prakrit form \* $\dot{S}r\bar{t}-gutta$  (cf. wpr'tt for Upagupta, #1332?); but I do not know if he is ever mentioned as a minister?)

**1176.** *šryw* /Šəryō/ m.: **B** N, 'zw ptšpry 'prtk wm'tym | (')WZY šrywy 'ḤRZYmy c'wny $\delta$  KSP šrywy sk'tr | L'  $\delta\beta$ rtw: Afr. document, 3-5, Dok. Sam., p. 55; Trois Inscriptions, p. 197; cf. SÉSAS, p. 342-5. — **P** A person in the deed. — **D** "Leo", as a PN (see GRENET, op. cit., p. 199).

Hardly *šryw* as "lion", object of sale (pace Liv., *Afr. document*; in *SÉSAS* the interpretation of Grenet is accepted), cf. *myw* for semantic. Elam. *Šarkudada*, *Šarkuniya* from the same root (Gersh., 1970b, p. 90); MP *Šīr* (better *Šēr*?), *Šīrnēw* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II/2, 878-9), NP. *Šēr-'Alī* etc. Cf. the names based on *myw* "tiger" (#738 ff.), those containing OTu. *arslan* (under #132 ff.).

- **1177.** *šrywswó's* /*Šəryōsōdās*/ m.: **B** B, 'yw xw $\beta$ w wm't šrywswó's ZY n'm: TSP, 2, 832. **P** A cannibal-king in the Buddhist story. **D** A semitranslation of the Skt. name *Simhasaudāsa* (lit. "lion" + patronym to *sudās* "worshipping gods well"), where *simha* is translated with S šryw "lion".
- 1178. šw'n'kk, 'šw'n'kk, šw'nkk /(∃)šwānak?/ m.: B1 N, šw'n('kk): UI2, No. 581 (Oshibat 17:7, cf. Fbs. Oshibat, p. 49). P1 A visitor to Oshibat. B2 N, m'xβntk ZK 'šw'n'kk: UII, No. 193 (34: 79); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 189. P2 Father (?) of m'xβntk (#643: 2). B3 N, šw'nkk | (c)ynwnytβnt: UII, No. 50 (27: 1); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 149. P3 A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of cynwnytβnt (#402). HUMB., SIF, No. 61, reads šw'ykk. D Maybe a present pariciple (GMS, §1039) of the verb šw- "to go" (for the prothetic aleph cf. 'šw for šw "him" in VJ; for the semanites cf. English last name Walker or Czech Procházka)? In No. 581 possibly incomplete at the beginning.

Yosh., 1997, p. 569, draws attention to the name *ṣvāṇaka* in Khotanese document SI P 103.52. Cf. also unexplained place-names containing *-šuwān* in the Buxārā Oasis: Daryīšuwān "long Šo", Kaf(šī)šuwān "Šo of shoes/of soap" (ILAST, p. 150 and addenda).

- **1179.** (*šwk'* /*Šōka*/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtxw šwk' MLKy*: *Magi*, 30, p. 138. **P** The Mauryan king *Aśoka*, calumniator of the Buddha's teaching according to the Manichean world-history. **D** Transcription of Indian *Aśoka*; for the initial *aleph* having been lost, see HENN., *Magi*, p. 141, n. 4; *MLKy* instead of *MLK'* seems to be a miswriting. )
- **1180.** ( šwr't /Šurāt?/ m.?: **B** B, ZY 'xw šwr't: Len., 93, 24. **P** A person in a list of listeners to the Buddha. **D** Unclear.

ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 469 compares the name with  $S\bar{a}lavat\bar{\imath}$  ( $S\bar{a}lavat\bar{\imath}$ ), the mother of the physician  $J\bar{\imath}vaka$ ; this equation meets a number of difficulties (quality of vowels, gender marking). Maybe  $Sur\bar{\imath}a$ , cf. ''tny'tkwtyn (#33) for the S t in place of Skt.  $Sur\bar{\imath}a$ ; however, this PN, to my knowledge, does not appear in a Buddhist context. Or a defective rendering of Skt.  $Sur\bar{\imath}a$  the king, uncle of the Buddha and father of  $\bar{\imath}a$  and Devadatta? Or the Buddha  $S\bar{\imath}a$  radatta?)

**1181.** *šwtt'kk* /*Šudak?*/ m.: **B** B, 'PZY šwtt'kk | δst': TSP, 8, 175-6. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** Unclear.

An internal tt is untypical and hints at the foreign origin of the word (cf. Provasi, 2005, p. 128 n. 204). Maybe Skt.  $C\bar{u}daka$ ? Hardly related to Elam. Sudda (= OP cuta-) for OInd. Sruta- (MAYRHOFER, CNP, 8.1568). The penultimate letter is ambiguous, one can transliterate it as r, v or t.

## *šwsyyw'rn* > *xwtyyw'rn* #1475

- 1182.  $\check{sxmyz't}$  / $\check{S}ahm\bar{z}\bar{z}d$ / m.: **B** N(M), ZKn  $\check{sxmyz'ty}$  (cnn  $\delta$ )m(wmH w) $\delta$ (wH?): Giants, H9 p. 70 (with n. 1, followed in SC, No. 137); Dr. COLDITZ kindly informed me that the same name can be reconsructed in one unpublished fragment. **P** The head of the Giants, father of s'hm (#1068) and m'h'wy (#641), husband of  $\delta$ mwmH (#427). **D** In the Greek version of the legend of the Giants, we have  $\Sigma \varepsilon \mu \alpha \zeta \tilde{\alpha} \varsigma$ , (HENN., Giants, p. 54) in Semitic his name appears as  $\check{S}em\bar{t}hazah$  ( $\check{s}myhzh$ ,  $\check{s}mhyz$ ', MILIK, 1976, p. 299; cf. SUND., 1984, p. 495 = p. 619); MP  $\check{s}hmyz$ 'd. MP z'd and S z't "son" probably affected the rendering of the final part of this name; see SKJÆRVØ, 1995, p. 199.
- 1183. šxry'r z'δ'k /Šahryār-zādag/ m.: **B** N(M), MN...βnty šxry'r z-'δ'kw 'βt'δ'nw: (graph. acc.), BL, A29; [šxry'r z'δ'kw 'βt'δ'n ?]: BL, A134. **P** The author of the Bäzäklik letter A, a Manichean bishop ('βt'δ'n). **D** MP, "Son of Šahryār" or "Son of the Ruler"; cf. Pth.

compound *šhrd'rz'dg* apud *DMMPP*, 317-18 and a PN *šhry'r pwhr* in MMP text accompaining the meal scene (BEDUHN, 2001, MIK III 4979, V4, p. 227).

- **1184.**  $\S y$  "n / $\S ay \bar{a}n$ ?,  $\S \bar{e}^{\bar{v}} \bar{a}n$ ?/ m.: **B** N,  $\S y$  "n ZK  $x\S yt$  BRY: UI2, No. 411 (40:3); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 242. **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of  $x\S yt$  (#1424: 2). **B2**  $\uparrow \S y$  "n > (--y')" (#1669). **D** Unclear; the name may be connected with  $\S y$  (#1161),  $\S ykk$  (#1186, see SIMS-W., UI2, p. 72). This reading was introduced by HUMB. (SIF, No. 125a).
- **1185.** *šyδw* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *ZKn šyδw mrtxmkt III C* | *kpc δβ'nkw δβry'*: Muγ, A-2, 5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 137, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 152; *SDGM*, III, p. 67). **P** An adjective relating to the people in *∃ski Razr*; probably, not a personal name. **D** Unclear.

BOGOL., SMIR. understand it as a name of a person to whom this people belonged and compare it to  $\check{S}\bar{\imath}z$ , a title of the Faryānian king in Muslim histories. FREJMAN (*SDGM*, I, p. 74) traced this word back to OIr. \* $\check{s}aya\theta a$ - "location, residence" and LIV. understands it as "hungry" (< \* $\check{s}uda$ -). Cf. also  $\check{s}\delta w$  (#1164).

- **1186.** *šykk* /*Šēk?*/ m.: **B** N, *šyk(k)*: *UI2*, No. 613 (Dadam Das, 22:3; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. **D** Unclear, cf. *šy''n* (#1184), *šyn* (#1188), *š'y* (#1161); the less likely reading is *nnyk(k)*, as SIMS-W. in *Fbs. DD*, p. 94 (cf. *nnykk'*, #792).
- [  $\S ykttH$ : **B** N(M),  $\S ykttH p(r')ykH$ : So 14030 Side 1, 5 apud SUND., Zrth., p. 474 (= 866). **P,D** Hardly a PN, as proposed as an alternative in note 94, p. 482 (= 874); more probably "sand-witch", as in the translation.
- **1187.** ( šyky /Šikī/ m.: **B** B, nm'w] | šyky pwty wxwšw: Len., 93, 12-13. **P** A name of a Buddha in an invocation. **D** Skt. Śikhin-, nom. Śikhī (lit. "having a tuft or lock of hair on the top of the head"), as already given F. ROSENBERG, Deux fragments, p. 403; cf. rtnšyky(n) (#1024), for its final -y cf. βyp'š (#347).)
- **1188.** *šyn* /?/ m.: **B** N, *šyn* (?) | *sp(')nc* (?): *UII*, No. 216 (34: 102); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 192. **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *sp'nc* (#1088). **D** Unclear. One can read *s'n*, *sw's* (*UII*, loc. cit.); reading *š'n* (#1150) seems to be possible as well. Cf. also Toch. B *Śiñcake*?

[ šyr-''γzcH /Širāγazč/ f.: **B** N(M), cnn xypδ wyn-nm'n šyr-''γzcH kštrH | 'rk'ncH x't'wnH ptškw'nH: Len., 44, 6-7 (= SC, No. 322). — **P,D** This long passage is translated as "humble message from his own, sorrowfully looking, well-wishing, miserable queen of Argi (Qarašahr)". Ragoza took šyr-''γzcH as the proper name of the queen, but SIMS-W. shows (Rev. Len., p. 236) that the word-order excludes this interpretation; šyr-''γzcH is merely the feminine of šyr''γzy "friend", lit. "well-wisher" (which is attested in BL, A26).]

**1189.**  $\S yr'' \gamma t / \S ir - \bar{a} \gamma at / \text{ m.: } \mathbf{B} \text{ N}, (\S) yr'' \gamma t \text{ wntc: } Afr. \text{ document, } 2, Dok. Sam., p. 55-56; Trois documents, p. 197; <math>S E S A S$ , p. 342-4. —  $\mathbf{P}$  A witness in the deed of "Lion". —  $\mathbf{D}$  "(He who) came nicely", or "(the) nice (one) came", cf.  $prn'' \gamma t$  (#897),  $\S yr'' \gamma ws$  (#1190).

This name, most probably, underlies the Chinese transcriptions *Shiahe* (失阿喝, EMCh. *eit-2a-xat*), the ruler of Kesh in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, and *Sheahu* (設阿忽, EMCh. *eiat-2a-xwat*), the ruler of Cao (Ustrushana and the northern part of Samarkand oasis) in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century.

# †šyr''yk'> šyr''ys #1190: 3

1190. šyr'yws, šyr''yws, šyr''ys /Širāyus/ m.: B1 N, šy(r'yw?s): UII, No. 225 (34: 111) and UI2, Addenda, p. 26; cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 193. — P1 A visitor to Shatial. — B2 N, prn'ys | šyr''yw(s): UI2, No. 642 (Dadam Das, 48:42, cf. Fbs. DD, p. 119). — P2 Father (?) of prn'ys (#903: 2); the two names are separated from each other, but the handwriting and similarity of the names suggest that we have a single inscription. — B3 N,  $\beta$ yrtw MN šy-r''y(s) | MN k'wy-prnc: Muy, Nov. 6, 3-4 (SDGM, II, p. 186, cf. SÉSAS, p. 223; SDGM, III, p. 49). — P3 A supplier of grain. — D A Satzname, "The welcome one, coming well", for ''y(w)s from NSg \*ā-yans (base \*ā-yant- "coming" as ' $\beta$ šy'ws < \* $\beta$ šuyans-) see UI2, p. 39, cf. šyr''yt (#1189), prn'yws (#903).

For the variant *šyr''ys*, cf. the pair *prn'ys/prn'yws*. Initially, LIV. had *šy-r''yk'* with variants *šy-rn'yk'*, *šy-rn'ywn*, *šy-rn'ypn*, BOGOL., SMIR. give a paleographically impossible *šyr'ky* with a question mark. The correct reading of the name from Mt. Mugh by SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 72, cf. now *SÉSAS*, p. 224.

1191. šyr'k, šyr'kk /Širak/ m.: **B** N, [rty]  $(\delta)$ [' $\beta$ r?] ( $\delta$ yr)'k X II(I) |  $(\delta rxmy)$  pr ' $\delta$ w y'w: Muy, A-11, 1-2 (SDGM, II, p. 185, cf. SESAS, p. 220; SDGM, III, p. 54); (r)ty ''(st)  $\delta$ yr'kk 'y-wH 'z-yH:  $\delta$ -1, Left 6; rtms ''s(t) MN 'xsyn(t) (')z-(y)t  $\delta$ yr'kk 'yw: Left 9 (SDGM, III, p. 44). — **P** A purchaser of

two cows, recipient of a water-skin (or a spear, 'zyH). — **D** A hypocoristic based on S  $\check{s}yr$  "good".

The very worn condition of A11 makes reading extremely unsure. LIV. transliterates the name as (m?) 'ktk, without etymology;  $[\S yr]$ 'k is BOGOL., SMIR.'s reading; in E1 the writing is clear. Cf.  $Eip\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\varsigma$ , a king of Sacae according to Polyaen, VII, 12 (apud ZGUSTA, 1955, §214; cf. Step. Ir., No. 32), IPth.  $\S yr(k)$  (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 185).

### 75yr'ky > 5yr''yws #1190: 3

**1192.** *šyr'pδnk* /*Širəpδang*/ m.: **B** N, *n'p'ns'k* | *ZK šyr'pδnk B(R)[Y]* | *nr(cy*••)[: *UII*, No. 14 (8: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 131. — **P** Father of *n'p'ns'k* (#759). — **D** Probably "(he with) nice palace"?

SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 72) proposes to see in the second part S  $\dot{p}\delta$   $\dot{n}k$ ,  $p\delta$   $\dot{n}k$  "calamity, misfortune". He thinks that S  $\dot{p}\delta$   $\dot{n}k$  could originally have had a neutral sense such as "outcome, occurrence" (however, its WMIr. cognate pdngyn has negative associations as well; cf. SCE, II, 40, No. 402); an alternative etymology to \* $\theta ang$ - "pull, strain" (CHEUNG, 2007, p. 391-2; SD, No. 6756) does not lead to any positive meaning eather. I prefer to compare the second part to OIr. \* $\bar{a}pad\bar{a}na$ -, NP  $ayw\bar{a}n$ , IPth. 'pdnk(y) "palace" (cf. JANDA, 2009 for etymology, sttcry (#1104) for semantics and S  $\dot{s}ykn$  < WMIr.  $\dot{s}\bar{a}hig\bar{a}n$  "palace" for the loss of aleph before n), which is, however, otherwise not attested in S.

## $\breve{s}yr'yws$ , $\dagger \breve{s}yr' \bullet \bullet w > \breve{s}yr''yws #1190$

1193. šyr $\beta$ xc /Širvaxč/ m.: **B** N, MN šyr |  $\beta$ xc ZY 'stnpsr'k cnn prnxw | nt BRYN: Mu $\gamma$ , B-8, R7-9; šyr- $\beta\gamma(c)$  Z[Y 's](tn)[p]sr-'[k]: R20 (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 'stnps'r'k (#173), son of prnxwnt (#910: 3), seller of a half of the  $n\bar{a}$ ' $\bar{u}$ s. — **D** Probably "(he who has a) nice fortune", where  $\beta$ xc (#335) comes from OIr. \*baxti-, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 47.

LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 52 (cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 66) interpreted it as "good, friendly to the god (Mitra?)". In this case, however, one would expect an inverse order, \* $\beta\gamma\gamma\delta yr$ -, see  $\delta'p't\delta yr(H)$  (#417),  $nny\delta yrH$  (#801),  $m'x\delta yrH$  (#649). GERSH., Frog-plain, p. 206, understands it as a hypocoristic of \* $\delta yr$ - $\delta xt$  "(the one who has) good destiny", with a simplification of  $t\delta'$  into  $t\delta'$ .

**1194.** *šyrc* /*Širič*/ m.: **B1-2** N, *cytβntk* | *ZK šyrc*: *UII*, No. 36 (23: 7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 145; *cytβntk* | *ZK šyrc BR{Y}*: *UII*, No. 40 (24: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 146; *šyrc ZK* | *šyrc BRY*: *UII*, No. 41 (24: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 146; *(cy)t(βnt)k* (?) | *ZK (šyrc?)* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 156 (34: 42); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P1-2** 

Father of  $cyt\beta ntk$  (#408: 2; in No. 36 and 40); father and son with one and the same name (cf. t'w, #1220: 1-2 kwnt, #587: 1-2);  $cyt\beta ntk$  was probably a brother or a son of syrc the Junior, since No. 40 and 41 are located on the same rock in the immediate neighbourhood. — **B3** N, syrc  $Z(K)[] | m('ymr\gamma)[c]$  (?): UI2, No. 416 (40:8); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 243. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of  $m'ymr\gamma c$  (#657: 4); reading by HUMB., SIF, No. 25. — **D** A -c hypocoristic to syr "well"; cf. Toch. sirecca (TREMBLAY, 2005, p. 439).

### $†švr\delta wk > †tk'$ after #1224

- 1195. *šyrkwyc* /*Širkawič*/ m.: **B** (*š*)*yrk*(*w*)*y-cw pr* '*šyw*: (graph. acc.) Muγ, Б-15, 3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 150, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 173; *SDGM*, III, p. 78-9). **P** A person sent by '*sp* '*δk* (#158: 2) to the steward '*wtt* (#204). **D** "Nice hero", "Friendly to king", as LIV., loc. cit. from \**kavi*-, see *k* '*w* (#524). The text is extremely pale, BOGOL., SMIR. leave this passage untransliterated.
- 1196. šyrprm'n /Širframān/ m.: **B** N, šyrprm'n: UI2, No. 618 (Dadam Das, 23:1; cf. Fbs. DD, p. 96); šyrprm['n]: UI2, No. 628 (Dadam Das, 31:2, cf. Fbs. DD, p. 100). **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. **D** "Good command", cf. nnyprm'n, wxwprm'n (#797; #1361; the latter is grosso modo synonymous to this name).
- **1197.** *šyrpn* /*Širfann?*/ m.: **B** N, *šyrpn sps'y*: inser. on a rim excavated in Yakalig in the Chu valley and preserved in the Dzhambul museum; edition and drawing (by S.G. KLJASHTORNYJ) in LIV.,  $S\bar{a}nak$ , p. 51, 52, cf.  $S\dot{E}SAS$ , p. 332, 355. **P** A Manichean bishop of the  $8^{th}$   $9^{th}$  century in Chu valley. **D** LIV. (loc. cit.) explains the name as a late S form of /*Šir-farn*/ (see *šyrprn*, #1198), with rn > nn, as in Ygh. and CS (*GMS*, §356; cf. PROVASI, 2003, p. 306), also maybe in PN *wxwšpnn* (#1365).

Furthermore, this development is possibly attested in the name bwrfnh (in the Ar. rendering, see TAFAZZOLI, KQI, p. 6, applied to a man from Samarkand), if  $V\bar{o}r$ -fa(r)ne-/, cf. under  $\beta wr$  (#327). Another possible reading is snkwn for Turkic sanun, sanun "general" (< Chinese jiangjun, K=I=I), which is common among the personal names of Turks, see s ' $\gamma$ 'wn, #1059, 'Ip'tmys' snkwn, #71, etc. I was delighted to find out that the same reading was proposed by Yutaka YOSHIDA in an unpublished handout of a lecture held in Paris. However, I cannot agree with his transliteration of the second word of the inscription.

- 1198. šyrprn /Širfarn/ m.: **B** N, nny $\beta$ ntk | ZK šyrprn | xrnm'rn: UII, No. 268 (36: 52) cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 209; nny $\beta$ ntk ZK | šy(r)p(rn) | BRY: UII, No. 374 (39: 69); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 232. **P** Father of nny $\beta$ ntk (#787: 11). **D** "(He who has) good glory", as Elam. širaparna (GERSH., Amber, p. 230); this reading is given by HUMB., SIF, in No. 48 (=No. 268); while he read šw in No. 9f (= No. 374). Cf. the Chinese rendering Shifen (失念, EMCh. cit- $p^hun^h$ , see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64; WEBER, ZSP, p. 199, No. 17)?
- 1199.  $"syrs'r' | Sirs "a" | ZK pr(m)" | n\delta" r ZK n "syrs'r" | '\delta wy 'z-yH$ : Muy, B-1, L8 (SDGM, III, p. 44). **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or a spear, 'zyH). **D** "(Having a) nice head", acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., p. 99, or "leading well", cf. prys'r'k (#929), 'stnps'r'k (#173),  $\delta ywsr$  (#475), etc.
- **1200.**  $\S yrw' / \S irw \bar{a}? /$  m.: **B** N,  $\S yrw'$ : UI2, No. 543 (105:9); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 275. **P** A visitor to Shatial. **D** "Well (in) trade", if w' is akin to OIr. \* $vah\bar{a}$  "trade", which survived in S w'crn "bazaar", and with a metathesis in xw'kkr "merchant" < \* $vah\bar{a}ka-kara$  as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 73. Prof. SCHMITT kindly adviced me to see here a retranchment of a name similar to  $\S yrw'\beta k$  (#1201).
- **1201.** *šyrw'βk* /*Širwāve?*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyβntk*  $ZK \mid (\delta)rym(t\beta n)tk$  (BRY) ( $\check{s}$ ) $y(rw'\beta)k$  (?): UI2, No. 615 (Dadam Das, 22:5; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). **P** A family-name, nickname, grandfather's name (?) of *nnyβntk* (#787: 16); the reading is ambiguous. **D** Probably "well speaking", to S  $w'\beta$  "to speak", as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 73 (cf.  $xwz\beta''k$ ); less likely, it could come from S w'f "to weave".
- **1202. Syrwxwm'r** /Sir<sup>w</sup>uxumār?/ m.: **B** N, (Syrwxwm')[r] (?) | (pysk) (?): UI2, No. 548 (106:2); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 276. **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of pysk (#987: 13). **D** Acc. to SIMS-W., UI2, p. 73, "good consolation", where -wxwm'r is the later xwm'r; coming back from \*vahu-man $\theta$ ra- (GMS, §208), cf. wxw(-) (#1357 ff.), mn $\delta$ ryny (#675), xwmyr cwr (#1441). However, the transliteration of the name remains unsure.

Through the kindness of SIMS-W. I learned about Bct PN  $\Sigma i \rho o \chi o \mu a \rho o$  on an as yet unpublished seal. Bactrian sigma, however, normally does not correspond to S  $\delta$  (except for Indian loans).

- **1203.** *šyrwz'n* /*Širwazān*/ m.: **B** N,  $rw\delta'k$  | *šyrwz'(n)* | *BRY nny*: *UII*, No. 311 (36: 95); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. **P** Father of  $rw\delta'k$  (#1030: 1). **D** "Flying well", from S wz "to fly", cf.  $\beta rwz'n'k$  "bird". Or "winning well", if we read the name as *šyrwn'n*, to S wn "to win" (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 73) HUMB., *SIF*, No. 110, has *šyrw*.
- **1204.** šyšc /Šēšič/ m.: **B** N, rty 'wô m't sk'tc ZK šy-šc BRY: Muγ, Nov.3 V19; rty 'wô m't sk'tc ZK šy-šc | BRY: Nov.4 V12-13 (SDGM, II, p. 22, cf. SÉSAS, p. 30; YAK., Marr., p. 311). **P** Father of sk'tc (#155: 2). **D** YAK., Marr., comm. to Nov.3 V19 traces this name back to OIr. \*sraišt-iča-, from \*sraišta- "best", and suggests that it is a hypocoristic of a compound like šyšpyr, which he interprets as "the best faith" (see #1205).

The existence of S *šy'tr*, an irregular comparative of *šyr* (< \**srīra*-), would suggest an untypical superlative as well. Less likely, to the 7<sup>th</sup> lunar mansion *xmsryš*, *xmšryš*, as BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 11.

- 1205. šyšpyr /Šēšpēr/ m.: B N, šy-špyr MLK': coin, Sv. Kat., No. 48-77, p. 103-108, Table III-V; LXII. P A king of Sogd, mentioned in 642 CE in the Tangshu (CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 146) under the name Shasebi (沙瑟毕, EMCh. sai/sɛ:-sit-\*pjit). He put on his coins tamghas of both Kesh and Samarkand, but these coins are more typical for the Samarkand oasis (cf. NAYMARK, 2004, p. 218). D LIV. (Kesh, p. 122) understands it as "propagating faith", from S šyš-, passive of š'š-"to be scattered, dispersed" (cf. also LIV., KR IV/879, p. 7, line 15L: šyš'ymn); YAK., Marr., comm. to Nov3 V19 derives it from \*šyšt-pyr, \*sraišta-parya- "best faith" (better, \*payra-, see CHEUNG, EDIV, p. 290-291); the second explanation could be supported by the Chinese form which reflects t (not necessarily r) between š and p. His namesake (spelt ššbyr in Arabic, TAFAZZOLI, KQ I, p. 10) was Qutayba's convert; cf. also zwkpyr (#1568).
- **1206.** *šytywnk* /Šēt-γone?/ m.: **B** N, rwδ'kk | ZK mnδry(ny) | šytywn(k) np'yš(n): UII, No. 283 (36: 67); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 212. **P** Grandfather of rwδ'kk (#1030: 2), father (?) of mnδryny (#675). **D** Maybe šytywn(c). The last part of the name SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 73) understands as "coloured, -like", cf. δγwtywncH (#423), zrywnc "yellow" in MN, 151; maybe nxwnk (#848); šyt is unclear. HUMB., SIF, No. 87b, has š'txw'k (to S š'twx "happy"?).

**1207.** ( *šytyl-* /Šētēl/ m.: **B** M, wny 'δ'my šytylyy δyyn: (obl.), Giants, K19. — **P** Seth, the firstborn son of Adam and Eve, a prophet according to Manichean beliefs, see SKJÆRVØ, 1995, p. 192; SMAGINA, 1998, p. 452. — **D** Sogdian rendering of Semitic šyt-yl, Sēθēl in the Kephalaia, Mandean šytyl, but MMP (s)yt (RECK, 2004, 952); the form is explained as the Biblical Šēt with (')yl attached to it, see SMAGINA, loc. cit.)

†*šywnc* > *myw* '*k* #739: 1

**1208.** šy • /?/ m.: **B** N, š(y •): UI2, No. 508 (53: 14); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 260. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear; cf. šyn, sykk (#1188, #1186).