

## BACTRIAN PERSONAL NAMES

1. *αβα[* m.: **B** BD2, ja2f, 13\*. — **P** *Aba[...]*, addressee of a letter. — **D** Unclear.

2. *αβγασο, βαγασο* m.: **B** (i) *αβγ<sup>ο</sup>* SW 2005, Tt7f\*, 18; (ii) *βαγ<sup>ο</sup>* *ibid.*, an2. — **P** (i) *Abgas* (fl. 705 C.E.), son of Kanag [Gozgan] (201, ii), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract. Possibly the same person as (ii) *Bagas*, party to a contract (see SW 2005, 9). — **D** If the two spellings represent the same name, as seems likely (cf. *\*αβχαραγο* beside *βαχα-ραγο*, 77), a derivation from *\*baga-* “god” must be ruled out. Hypocoristic in *-σο* to *αβαγανο* “Afghan”, with loss of nasal before *-σ-?* Alternatively, one could consider a derivation from a Greek or Indian form of the Indo-Parthian royal name *Abdagases* (Gk. gen. *Αβδαγασου*, ALRAM no. 1142ff), cf. also Pth. *'bdgšy*, Greek *Αβλαγας* = *\*Αβδαγας* (ŠKZ), Khar. *Avagadaša* etc. < *\*Abda-gaša-* (HUYSE 1999, 172). The Khar. variant *Avakaša*, if it is genuine (cf. SALOMON 2005, 369 n. 19), would provide a parallel for the loss of the syllable *-da-*.

3. *αβδαβοκο* m.: **B** BD1, A6. — **P** *Abdabuk Pabugan* (fl. 332 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to a PN containing the component *αβδαβο*, cf. 185.

4. *αβο(ματακ)[ο]* m.: **B** Hc110. — **P** *Abmatak(?)*, owner of a seal with bilingual inscription (Brahmi gen. [...](*ta*)*kasyah(?)*). — **D** Perhaps Skt. PN *\*Abhimataka*, from *abhi-mata-* “longed for” (suggested by H. FALK).

This interpretation is of course dependent on the assumption that the Bactr. and Brahmi inscriptions both represent the same name and may be restored on a mutual basis.

5. \***αβονιανο** m. PN(?): **B** EN *αβονιανανο*(?) SW 2009b, **Nn19\***. — **D** Unclear. It is not certain that the EN *αβονιανανο*(?) is derived from a PN.

6. **αβσινο**, \***αβσιγο** m.: **B** (i) <sup>ο</sup>υο BD1, T22; (ii) <sup>ο</sup>υο *ibid.*, V5; cf. also the FN *αβσιγανο* BD2, **bb7\***, 9. — **P** (i) Absih (fl. 700 C.E.), an official of Kadagstan, witness to a contract. Possibly the same person as (ii) Absih (fl. 729 C.E.), son of Wahran (320, iii), whose estate is called Spandagan, party to a contract (see SW 1999, 250 n. 11). — **D** In view of the FN *αβσιγανο* (see above), *αβσινο* is presumably a late form for \**αβσιγο*. If this is a derivative of *αβο* “water”, it could be understood as “(man) from the water, waterman” (cf. BD2, 263b, on the function of the suffix *-σιγο*).

\***αβχαραγο**: see *βαχαραγο* (77)

7. **αγγαδοσπαλο** m.: **B** BD2, ed6f. — **P** Angad-spal (fl. 475 or 465 C.E.), named in a letter. — **D** Identical with the Sogd. PN *'nytsp'δ*, which has been interpreted as “he who assembles the army” (SW 1992, 34). The derivation from \**hangata-spāda-* and the interpretation of the second component as “army” (cf. *σπαλοβιδο* “army-chief, general” and many PNs containing (*α*)*σπαλο*) can hardly be doubted, but \**han-gata-* is multivalent and can equally well be understood as “fortunate, rich”, cf. Pth. *'ngd*, MP *hangad* (and perhaps Bactr. *αγγαδ(δι)γγο* “whose *daēnā* (?) is fortunate”, Rab18), or “whole, complete”, cf. Sogd. *'nyt'k*. Comparison with the formation of *ιαμβροσπαλο* (171), *μυροσπαλο* (261) and *τιροσπαλο* (470) suggests the possibility that *αγγαδο* might here be a divine epithet, so that *αγγαδοσπαλο* could alternatively be understood as “belonging to the army of the Fortunate (God)”. Cf. also s.v. *ιαζδ-αγγαδο* (164), the only other Bactr. PN containing *αγγαδο*.

8. **ΑΔΕΙΓΟ**(?) m. PN(?): **B** SKB27f. Unclear form, variously read as *αδηγο* (BENVENISTE 1961, 131), *ταδειγο* (or <sup>ο</sup>γα, <sup>ο</sup>πο, <sup>ο</sup>πα, GÖBL 1965, 12), *αδει* (HUMBACH 1966, 86; DAVARY 1982, 64, 149), *αδειπο..* (HUMBACH 1970, 48), *αδειγο* (GERSHEVITCH 1985, 72). — **P** Name of one of the masons who carved the inscription? — **D** If the

reading *αδειγο* should happen to be correct, one might perhaps compare the MP PN *Ādig* < \**ātika*- “duck”, *IPNB* II/2, no. 20.

†*αδηβο*: see *δδηβο* (129)

**9. *αδομανο*(?) m.:** **B** NumH 85-7. — **P** Aduman(?), a “Hunnish” ruler. — **D** Unclear. According to TREMBLAY 2001, 184, a compound containing \**manah*- “mind”.

Although the reading *αδομανο/δαομανο* seems fairly clear, it cannot be ruled out that *ο* may sometimes stand for *α/δ* or vice versa. Thus a reading \**οαομανο* “Wahman”, as implied by HUMBACH 1966, 57-8, is theoretically possible, though there is no real reason to expect a name of Iranian origin. Both *αδομανο* and *ζαβοχο* (139) bear the title *μοροσανο βαο*, possibly to be interpreted as a variant or corruption of \**μιροσανο* (\**μιροασσανο*?) *βαο* “king of the East”, cf. DAVARY 1982, 302. ALRAM (no. 1474-5 and 1476-7 respectively) lists both rulers under the heading “Mirosano”, i.e. \**μιροσανο*, assuming this to be the PN. HUMBACH 1998, 250, also takes this word to be a PN, but reads it as *μυροπανο*.

**10. *αδοριγο* m. PN(?):** **B** BD2, **co6**, 9. — **P** Adurig, person(?) mentioned in a letter. — **D** If this is indeed a PN (rather than a noun meaning “the rest”, cf. BD2, 188) it may represent a MP \**Ādurīg* (= Arm. *Atrik*, JUSTI 1895, 50), hypocoristic to a PN containing the DN *Ādur* “Fire” (cf. the next).

**11. \**αδοροφαρνιγο* or \**αδοροφαρνο* m.:** **B** patr./FN <sup>ο</sup>*νιγανο* BD2, **bh1**, 12f\*. — **D** MP *Ādur-farn* (*'twrpln*, *'twrplny*, read as *Ādur-farr* in *IPNB* II/2, no. 53) or hypocoristic \**Ādurfarnīg*? The unexpected preservation of *-rn-*, as opposed to standard MP (and Bactr.) *-r(r)-*, suggests that this PN may allude to the name of the fire *Ādur-farn-bay* (also attested as a PN, *IPNB* II/2, no. 54), whose characteristic spelling with *-n-* in Book Pahlavi as well as in Inscriptional MP and Pth. seems unlikely to be merely graphic. Cf. also 491, where \**φαρνο* may form part of a MP honorific title. Most of the other names containing \**φαρνο* (56, 208, 292, 490) are probably Sogdian, but a Sogd. origin of \**αδοροφαρνο* is not likely, both because of the formal difference between \**αδορο* and Sogd. *'tr* “fire” and because the latter is quite rare in Sogd. onomastics. Cf. also *φανζο* (487).

12. *αζαδοφαρδαρο* m.: B BD1, ab19f, 20f. — P Azad-fardar, a scribe, writer of a contract. — D Combination of the adjectives *αζαδο* “noble, free” (< \**ā-zāta-*, Av. *āzāta-*, MP *āzād* etc.) and *φαρδαρο* “more, better, best” (apparently < \**faru-tara-*, Sogd. *frtr*, *prtr*, comparative of \**faru-* “much”, Khot. *pharu*, which may have merged with \**fra-tara-*, Av. and OP *fratarā-*, see SW–TUCKER 2006, 591 n. 7). It is not clear whether the compound has a meaning (e.g. “noble (and) best”) or whether it is merely a mechanical combination of components taken from two other names: cf. *αζαδο* in 223(?), 438, 564, *φαρδαρο* in 39 and 333. While cognates of *αζαδο*, especially MP *āzād*, are common as name-components, the only parallels to the Bactr. names with *φαρδαρο* seem to be the Sogd. PN ’γtprtr, understood by SW 1992, 34, as “more welcome” (i.e. as a comparative to the PN šyr’γt “well-come; welcome” with inversion of the two components), and perhaps βrtr(?), HAMILTON 1986, 224b, an uncertain reading of a PN in a Tk. text, to which P. LURJE has kindly drawn my attention.

13. *αζγαρακο* m.: B BD2, jb5. — P Azgarak, officer (*φρομαλαρο*) of Ramin, sender of a letter. — D Hypocoristic in -κο to a PN containing an otherwise unattested name-component \**αζγαρο*. Cf. Av. PN *Ziγri-*, IPNB I/1, no. 420, Sogd. PN(?) ’zγr, IPNB II/8, no. 265? Alternatively, if ζ here stands for [ž], one could envisage a connection with Sogd. *jγ’r*, NP *žayār* “cry” (GERSHEVITCH 1975, 209 n. 13); cf. also Bactr. *οβγυρδο* (GERSHEVITCH 1967, 40 n. 19), which may represent the past stem of the associated verb (Sogd. *jγγr* “to call” < \**žagāraya-*). Yet another possibility, suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, is a derivation from the title \**azdā-kara-* “herald” (Aram. ’zdkr’, MP/Pth. ’zdygr etc.; cf. Bactr. *αζδο κιρ-* “to give notice”, BD2), with simplification of the cluster \*-zdg-. Connection with Sogd. *zγ’r* “dampness”, NP *žayār* “moist soil” (SW 1985, 60) seems improbable.

14. [*αζροβαδιγο*, *αζοροβαδιγο*: according to DAVARY 1982, 169-70, and ALRAM 1986, 338, this word on NumH 244 and 246 may be a PN, but it is more likely that the PN is the following word (*σανδανο*, 412, on NumH 244; *πανογολο*, 366, on NumH 246). In place of *αζ(ο)ροβαδιγο* one should probably read *αζ(ο)ροβδδιγο*, which, despite the objections of SCHMITT 2007, 361 n. 52, may be a derivative of the title \**hazahra-*

*pati*- “chiliarch” (cf. also *ναροβιδο* on NumH 245, interpreted by SW 1997b as an abbreviation for \**ναζαροβιδο* “id.”, and *ναζαροχτο*, 479), here with syncope as in *αζδηβδο* beside *αζδηβιδο* (BD2, 188-9)].

15. *ακανο* m.: **B** BD2, xj1. — **P** Akan, addressee of a note enclosed within a letter to Nawaz (282, iii). — **D** Unclear. Postvocalic [k] may indicate non-native origin. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 516, suggests that this name is related to *καναγο* (201), but does not explain the initial vowel.

16. *ΑΛΔΡΟ*(?) m.: **B** Sig 2 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/4; CALLIERI 1998, pl. 62, Cat. U 7.29). — **P** Aldsh(?), name or title of the owner of a seal. — **D** Unclear. Possibly a compound containing *-βο* “king” as in the DN *ιαμβο* (cf. 167). The derivation of *αλδ-* from \**aryatā*- “Arierschaft, Adel” (HUMBACH 1966, 70; 1969a, 34-5) is not compatible with what is now known of Bactr. phonology.

17. *αλχανο* m.: **B** (i) NumH 33 etc.; (ii) Sig 25 (BIVAR 1968, pl. XXVII/7; LERNER 1999, 276, fig. 9). — **P** (i) Alkhan, name or title of one or more “Hunnish” rulers (Brahmi *rājālakḥāna*, NumH 80 etc.). One or another of these may be the same as (ii) Alkhan, owner of a seal. — **D** Unclear. Many scholars (e.g. HUMBACH 1966, 28-31; 1969a, 35-6; GRENET 2002, 206 with n. 5) have regarded this word as the name of a people, at least in origin, and compared it with ethnic names such as Arm. *Alxon* and Skt. *Halahūṇa*-, of which the latter seems to have been influenced by the name of the Huns (Skt. *Hūna*-). The spelling *-χαν-* makes it unlikely that *αλχανο* actually contains the ethnic name “Hun” (Bactr. \**uono*, pl. *uonano*, see AMAN UR RAHMAN et al. 2006). TREMBLAY 2001, 184-5, regards *αλχανο* as a compound of (pre-)Tk. *xan* “ruler”, and lists various suggestions for the etymology of the prior component. However, the assumption that *αλχανο* should be divided *αλ-χανο* is by no means inevitable: in view of *αλχισο* (18), an analysis *αλχ-ανο*, perhaps with patr./FN suffix *-ανο*, may even be preferable.

The reading *αλχανο* is clear at least on the seal. On the coins the name often occurs in corrupt forms, some of which have been read *αλχονο*, *αλχαννο* etc., but it is likely that the supposed internal *ο* is a defective *α* (thus DAVARY 1982, 46, 154) and that the supposed *νν* is merely a variant form of the single *ν*; cf. the *W*-shape of *ν* on the seals of Vishnudasa (90) and Nanabaguk (279). If the apparent pl. *αλχανανο* (NumH 44 etc.) is not yet another corruption, it would imply the use of Alkhan as an ethnic name.

18. *αλχισο* m.: **B** Tang-i Safedak inscription, lines 2, 10. — **P** Alkhis (fl. 714 C.E.), son of Khuras (540), lord of Gazan, founder of the stupa at Tang-i Safedak. — **D** Unclear. Possibly a hypocoristic in *-σο* to the base of *αλχανο* (17), see LEE–SW 2003, 166.

19. *α(λ••)οβαγο* m. or f. PN(?): **B** Hc107. — **P** Al[...]shag, a ruler(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Unclear. If this word is a PN, it is not clear whether it should be that of a woman, as is suggested by the portrait on the seal, or of a man, in agreement with the accompanying Brahmi inscription *śrī(?)-pātthivva* for *\*śrī-pārthivaḥ* “king” (read by H. FALK).

20. [*αμβηρο*, *αμβιρο*: according to DAVARY 1982, 155, this word on NumH 273-280 may be a PN, but there is no real doubt that it represents the name of the city of *Ambēr* (modern Sar-i Pul), where these coins were presumably minted (see SW 2004, 1049-50)].

**AMTOPAMANO, AMIYPAMANO**: see *MIYPAMANO* (262)

21. *ANANΔO*, *ανανδο* m.: **B** (i) *A*<sup>o</sup> Inscription on the lid of a clay vessel from Kara-Tepe (Kara-Tepe VI, 143, fig. 60a; SEIPEL 1996, 269); (ii) *δουγζε α*<sup>o</sup> (beside Khar. gen. *bhikhusya(?) Jivanamdasya* and Brahmi gen. *bhikṣusya Jīvanandasya*, both read by H. FALK) Trilingual inscription on a clay pot from Kara-Tepe (State Oriental Museum, Moscow, 46136 KP 1619 Kr-IV, unpublished). — **P** (i) Ananda, probably a monk, owner of a vessel. Possibly the same person as (ii) Ananda, also known as Jivananda (Khar. *Jivanamda*, Brahmi *Jīvananda*), a monk (*bhikhu/bhikṣu*, hence emend *δουγζε* to *\*βιιγζε* [*bihiγže*]?), owner of a pot. — **D** Buddhist Skt. PN *Ānanda*, at least in the case of the second inscription short for *Jīvānanda*.

22. *\*αραμυγο* or *\*αραμο* m. PN(?): **B** patr./FN *ομυγανο* BD2, ce2, 11f\*, cf2, cg3\*, xa3. — **D** Cf. NP *ārām* < *\*ā-rāma-* “rest, peace”? For the use of this word as a PN see JUSTI 1895, 20a. Derivation from an ethnic adj. *\*αραμυγο* “Aramaean” (cf. Syr. *Ārāmāyā* etc.) is a conceivable alternative.

23. [\**αργανδδιγο* m. PN(?): **B** FN °*δδιγανο* BD1, ag16f\*. — **D** In theory the FN *αργανδδιγανο* could be derived from a PN, but it is more likely that the underlying \**αργανδδιγο* is an ethnic adj. referring to the river and district of the *Aryand-āb* or *Āb-i Aryand* in southern Afghanistan (as suggested to me by P. LURJE)].

24. *αρδοφαρο* or *αρδαφαρο* m.: **B** Coins in the British Museum (CRIBB 1985, 320-21; 1990, 154 with n. 4, 159 n. 11, 186). — **P** Ardashar or Ardashir, name of one or more Sasanian Kushan-shahs (Pahl. *'rthštry*, ALRAM no. 1406-7). — **D** MP *Arda(x)ša(h)r* (MP *'rthštr*, IPNB II/2, no. 126) < \**Ṛta-xšaθra-*. The variant *Arda(x)šī(h)r* (Pth. *'rdxšyhr*), later *Ardašīr*, which ultimately became the standard form of the name, is derived by SW *apud* BOYCE 1992, 7-8, from \**Ṛta-xšaiθra-*; cf. further HUYSE 1999, 12-13; 2006, 57. Differently SCHMITT, IPNB V/4, 22 (with references to earlier studies), who derives the form *Ardašīr* from a hypocoristic \**Ṛta-xš-ira-*.

CRIBB, loc. cit., argues that these coins belong to two Kushan-shahs bearing the same name. Apart from the ambiguous fourth letter, the reading is certain.

25. [†*αρτιγο[•]κμαρο*: DAVARY 1982, 114, 163, gives this reading of a seal (“Sig 72”) published by FUSSMAN 1972, 39-40, pl. 2/17, but the item is probably a forgery as FUSSMAN indicates].

26. *ασβαροβιδο* m. PN(?): **B** Sig 22 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/8). — **P** Asbar-bid, name or title of the owner of a seal. — **D** At least in origin a title meaning “chief of cavalry”, whether \**aspa-bāra-pati-*, with simplification of \**-sp-b-* to *-sb-* as in *ασβιδο* (27), or its Persian equivalent \**asa-bāra-pati-* as assumed by HENNING 1962. HUMBACH 1966, 73, regards this form as a PN, but HENNING’s view that it is “the seal-owner’s title rather than his name” is also possible.

27. *ασβιδο* m.: **B** (i) BD2, dd2, 11\*; (ii) BD1, F4, 9, 12, 15, 18f, v1. — **P** (i) Asbid (fl. 421 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. (ii) Asbid Nunukan (fl. 470 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** In origin a title \**aspa-pati-* “master of horse”, cf. MP *'sppt*, Pth. *'sppty*, MP PN *'spt'* (IPNB II/3, no. 41), with simplification of \**-sp-b-* to *-sb-* as in *ασβαρο* “horseman” (cf. 26 and SW 1999a, 196). Cf. also \**χαροβιδο* (517).

28. **ασπαλοβιδο** m.: **B** BD1, **B2**. — **P** Aspal-bid (fl. 359 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** In origin a title *\*spāda-pati-* “army-chief, general”, cf. Sogd. *sp’dpt*, MP *spāhbed*, NP *isbahbad* etc., and attested as such in the variant spelling *σπαλοβιδο* (SW 2000a, 5). Cf. also *σπαλβο*, *σπαλφο* (449).

Arabic *’l-’sbhbδ*, an adaptation of the Persian form, is also attested as a PN in documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 101.

29. **ασπαλομῦρο** m.: **B** BD1, **A6**. — **P** Aspal-mihr Yolikan (fl. 332 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Inverted variant of *μυροσπαλο* (261).

30. **ασπανδο** m.: **B** BD1, **D5\*** (cf. BD2, 35, ad loc.); cf. also the patr./FN and EN *ασπανδαγανο* *ibid.*, **L3**, *σπανδογανο* *ibid.*, **U2'**, *σπανδαγανο* *ibid.*, **V3**, 6, 14f, 17, *σαπανδαγανο* *ibid.*, **V15**, with its derivatives *σπανδαγανηλο* *ibid.*, **V15'**, *σπανδαγανιγο* *ibid.*, **V39'**. — **P** Aspand (fl. 417/8 C.E.), perhaps a tenant farmer. — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing the DN *\*Spanta-*, cf. the following names and *σπ(α)[νδ](ο)μαρηγο* (450).

31. **ασπανδολαδο** m.: **B** (i) Hc160, 194, Saeedi no. 16; (ii) Hc030, 031, 032, Saeedi no. 10, 11. — **P** (i) Aspand-lad Pabug[an], owner of a seal. Possibly the same person as (ii) Aspand-lad, owner of another seal. — **D** *\*Spanta-dāta-* “given/created by the Holy (Spirit)”, Av. PN *Spəntō-dāta-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 288, MP PN *Spand-dād*, *IPNB* II/3, no. 306, etc.

32. **ασπανδοφαρο** m.: **B** BD2, **xe1f**, 27f. — **P** Aspand-far, a ruler or nobleman, addressee of a letter. — **D** *\*Spanta-farnah-* “(possessing) the glory of the Holy (Spirit)”.

**ασπιου**: see *σπιου* (451)

33. **ασποιονο** m.: **B** BD2, **da16\*(?)**, **dd2**, 9f\*. — **P** Asp-yun (fl. 421 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — **D** May contain *ασπο* < *\*aspa-* “horse”, but otherwise unclear. The noun *ιονο*, possibly “apprentice” < *\*yūwan-* “young (man)” (BD2, 218b), does not seem to provide a plausible meaning for the second component.



*ασπριγγο*: see *σπριγγο* (452)

34. \**ασρωβο* m.: **B** FN °*βανο* BD1, *aj6f\**. — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing the DN \**Srauša-*. Cf. Greek PN *Σροῦσος* (SCHMITT 2002, 149).

\**ΑΣΤΙΛΟ*, \**ΑΣΤΙΛΟΓΟ*: see \**ΥΑΣΤΙΛΟ* (480)

35. [†*αταροβιδο*: supposed PN on Sig 11 (thus DAVARY 1982, 109, 167). Differently SW 2005a, 337-8: title *αγαροβιδο* (cf. PN *γαροβιδο*, 115?) or *ασαροβιδο*].

36. *ατιοσασο* or *οτιοσασο* m.: **B** BD1, *ac2*. — **P** Atiy-sas or Utiy-sas, son of Baz-punag (65), father of Yol (192), party to a contract. — **D** If the correct reading of the first component is *ατιο-*, one may perhaps compare the Khar. PN *Ati* (gen. *Atisa*) on a 2nd-cent. seal (GARBINI *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 297) and even the Scythian PN *Ἀτέας* (MAYRHOFER 2006, 19). For the second component, which also has possible Scythian connections, see the material referred to s.v. *σανσο* (425). This explanation implies that *ατιοσασο* is not a real compound but merely a juxtaposition of two PNs.

*αχβαγγο*: see *αχβο* (37)

37. *αχβο* m.: **B** (i) *adj.(?) αχβαγγο* SW 2005, *S6f*; (ii) *αχβ[ο](?)* *ibid.*, *Ss2*; (iii) *ibid.*, *Ss3*, 8. — **P** (i) Akhsh(?) (fl. 693 C.E.), a ruler or landowner. Possibly the same person as (ii) Akhsh(?) (fl. 698 C.E.), witness to a contract. (iii) Akhsh (fl. 698 C.E.), son of Y[amsh-bandag](?) (168, ii), market-trader of Amber, party to the same contract. — **D** Unclear. Cf. MP PN *Aš* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 152) or *Āxš* (JUSTI 1895, 12b)??

In SW 2005, the form *αχβαγγο* in *S6f* was interpreted as a PN Akhshang and the same name was tentatively restored in *Ss2*. Such a name could perhaps be understood as cognate with Sogd. *ʾxšnk-* “excellent, magnificent, beautiful”, NP *qašang* (on which see SW 1983, 47-8). However, it seems more likely that the attested PN *αχβο* should be restored in *Ss2* and that *αχβαγγο* in *S6f* should be interpreted as an *adj.* of the same type as *βαβαγγο* “of Bab” (see s.v. *βαβο*, 41).

38. *αβτοσοξδο* m. PN(?): **B** Silver cup in a private collection (SW 1994, 173). — **P** Asht-suzd, name or title of the owner of the cup. — **D** Unclear. Presumably a compound, whose first component may be the same as that of the title *αβτοσαλγο*. The latter presumably consists of a noun *\*αβτο* (for older *\*υαβτο*, as implied by the overlining of the initial letter) plus *\*σαλγο* < *\*wādaka-* “leader” (BD2, 200a). Unfortunately the meaning of *\*(υ)αβτο* is unknown, as is that of the second component *\*σοξδο*.

39. *αβφαρδαρο* m.: **B** BD2, ce4. — **P** Ash-fardar, a hostage. — **D** A compound containing *φαρδαρο* “more, better” (see s.v. *αζαδοφαρδαρο*, 12). Comparison with *σηβοφαρδαρο* (333) suggests that the preceding *αβ-* may represent the name of a god, perhaps “Fire” (earlier *αθβο*, so spelled in the Rabatak inscription and on Kushan coins). Hence: “best (through) Fire” or “best (gift) of Fire”?

40. *βαβαιο* m.: **B** (i) SW 2005, Tt7, 14, 17, 24; (ii) *ibid.*, Uu6. — **P** (i) Babay (fl. 705 C.E.), son of Kanag [Gozgan] (201, ii), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract. (ii) Babay (fl. 722 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** MP PN *Bābiy*, IPNB II/2, no. 176 (written *b’pydy*, which could equally well be read *Bābē*), derived from the next by means of a hypocoristic suffix *-ay*. Cf. also the frequent Syr. PN *bby*, variously vocalized as *Babay*, *Bābay*, *Bābi* etc. (PAYNE SMITH 1879, 443; JUSTI 1895, 54-5)?

41. *βαβο* m.: **B** (i) BD1, A9, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, **A** sealing (see *ibid.*, 14); (ii) BD2, cr1\*, 7; (iii) *ibid.*, xl5, 12; (iv) BD1, X4, 11, 23, Y5, adj. *βαβαγγο* *ibid.*, Y9, 20 (x2), 24. — **P** (i) Bab (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Bagfarn (56), party to a contract. (ii) Bab (fl. 380 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. (iii) Bab, an inhabitant of Marg. (iv) Bab (fl. 750-772 C.E.), son of Bek (79, iii), party to a contract. Also named as a taxpayer and landowner in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, where his name is spelt *b’b*, once *w’b*, see KHAN 2007, 115. — **D** MP PN *Bāb*, GIGNOUX, IPNB II/2, no. 169. In origin *\*bāba-* may be an informal word for “father, papa” (cf. *παπο*, 367, and *ταπο*, 463) as suggested by GIGNOUX, or merely a “reduplicative hypocoristic”, cf. the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σαυσο* (425). Cf. also *βαβαιο* (40).

**βαγασο**: see *αβγασο* (2)

**42. \*βαγασπο** m.: **B** FN °πανο BD1, aj7. — **D** Perhaps a mechanical combination of the common name-components \**baga-* “god” and \**aspa-* “horse”, Bactr. *βαγο* and *ασπο* (rather than a compound meaning, e.g., “horse of (the) God”). See also s.v. \**βαιασπο* (66).

**43. \*βαγατο** m.: **B** patr./FN °τανο B BD2, ci1, 16\*. — **D** Presumably a compound with *βαγο* “god”, but the second component is uncertain. If the name is of native origin, the obvious source for *-ατο* would be \*-*ašta-* (cf. Av. *ašta-* “messenger?”), though in view of *κισατο* < \**kas-išta-* “least, youngest” one could also consider \*-*išta-* (cf. Av. *išta-* “desired?”). If it is WIran., it could be an allegro-form of \**Baga-dāta-* (Bactr. *βαγολαδο*, 48), like Pth. *b’ty*, Coptic *Baat*, Arm. *Bat* (HENNING 1952, 511).

**44. ΒΑΓΙΖΟ** m.: **B** Silver cup in a private collection, unpublished (*βαγιζο χοβο* “property of Bagiz”). — **P** Bagiz, owner of the cup. — **D** Evidently a derivative of \**baga-* “god”, Bactr. *βαγο*, Pth. *bγ*, etc. The ending *-ιζο* may be a WIran. or dialectal variant of the hypocoristic suffix *-ισο* < \*-*iča-*. Here the component preceding the suffix could also be WIran.—apparently Pth. rather than MP—but this does not apply to the parallel case of *φινδοφαρριζ* (496), where the first component of the name is clearly Bactrian.

**45. βαγοαζιασο** f.: **B** BD1, T1, 20. — **P** Bag-aziyas (fl. 700 C.E.), “the great Turkish princess (*οισλογδο*), the queen (*χινζωιο*) of Qutlugh Tapaghligh Bilgä Säviüg (542), the princess of the Khalach, the lady (*φινζο*) of Kadagstan (see SW 2008, 98-9)”, party to a contract. — **D** Compound of *βαγο* “god” and an otherwise unattested \**αζιασο*, the f. form of the honorific adj. *αζιαδιγο*, with simplification of *-δ-σ-* to *-σ-* (cf. BD2, 189a). As suggested to me by I. YAKUBOVICH, *αζιαδιγο* may be a secondary past participle of *αζιμ-* “to be born”, with a semantic development similar to that of Russian *rodnoj* “related by birth” > “dear”.

46. **βαγοβανδαγο** m.: **B** (i) abbrev. °βᾱ̄ BD1, A7; (ii) °βανδαγο ibid., F5. — **P** (i) Bag-bandag (fl. 332 C.E.), a master craftsman (αβι-βταδο), witness to a contract. (ii) Bag-bandag, father of Zer (153, fl. 470 C.E.). — **D** \*Baga-bandaka- “slave of the God”, Sogd. βγβntk (SW 1999a, 196).

“Βαγοβανδαγγο” in *IPNB* VII/1B, no. 225, is of course a misprint.

47. **βαγοιηρανο** m. PN(?): **B** BD1, ak11. — **P** Bagwyeshan, person or family named in a list. — **D** At least in origin a patr./FN meaning “son/descendant of Bag-w(y)esh” (SW 2000a, 12). The underlying PN \*βαγοιηρο, a compound of βαγο “god” and the DN οηρο, \*οιηρο “W(y)esh” (see 330), may be attested in an earlier form on a sherd from Zar-tepe, see ZAV’JALOV 2008, 242-3 [partly misprinted!], fig. 67 on p. 141: [?β]αγοοηρο ογλοφο.

48. **βαγολαδο** m.: **B** BD1, C4. — **P** Bag-lad Mashukan (fl. 380 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** \*Baga-dāta- “given by the God(s)”, MP PN Bay-dād, Assyrian Bagdāti, *IPNB* II/2, no. 198, VII/1A, no. 33, etc. Cf. also s.v. \*βαγατο (43).

A related name is attested as *byddy* and *bydy* in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 160.

49. **βαγομαρηγο** m.: **B** (i) abbrev. βαγομαρη Hc162; (ii) BD1, P10'; (iii) ibid., ak15f. — **P** (i) Bag-mareg, owner of a seal. (ii) Bag-mareg, father of Fanz, Wind-marg and Pusk (487, 340, i, 382, all fl. 669 C.E.). (iii) Bag-mareg, named in a list. — **D** “Slave of the God”, a compound of βαγο “god” and μαρηγο “slave, servant”.

The Bactr. name is also attested as *Vaḡamareḡa* in the Khar. inscription on the Wardak vase (BAILEY 1957, 66 n. 42).

50. **βαγονογο(?)** m.: **B** Seal in the Rosen collection, New York (LERNER 1999, 276, fig. 8). — **P** Bag-nug(?), owner of a seal. — **D** If the reading is correct (see below), possibly a compound of βαγο “god” and νωγο “new”, cf. Manichaean Sogd. βγνwyy < \*Baga-nawaka- “New God”, i.e. “New Moon”. Other Bactr. PNs in which νωγο probably refers to the New Moon are 291-292.

This reading is based on a better photograph kindly provided by J. A. LERNER. Could also be read *βασονογο*, less likely *βαγονοτο* or *βασονοτο*.

**51. βαγοσανινδο** m.: **B** BD1, J3, v5. — **P** Bag-wanind Mashan (fl. 517 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** “Victorious through (the) God(s)”. Cf. the next.

**52. βαγοσανο(?)** m. PN(?): **B** Kara-Tepe inscription B3 (LIVŠIC in Kara-Tepe II, 79). — **P** Bag-wan(?), perhaps the name of a visitor to Kara-Tepe. — **D** Compound of *βαγο* “god” and *\*σανο* “victorious” (as in 303-304), synonymous with the preceding name?

The reading seems clear from the drawing (Kara-Tepe II, fig. 18a), but no photo seems to have been published. It is quite uncertain whether this is a PN or even a complete word. According to HARMATTA, Kara-Tepe II, 91-2, *βαγο* is probably a title and *σανο* a name (in which case cf. 303), while LIVŠIC in Kara-Tepe IV, 57, interprets *βαγοσανο* as a month-name.

**53. βαγοσαραζο** m.: **B** BD2, cc2f. — **P** Bag-waraz, sender of a letter. — **D** *\*Baga-warāza-* “boar of (the) God”. Bactr. *βαγο* and *σαραζο* are both common name-components. See further s.v. *\*οιηροσαραζο* (336).

*βαγοσγλαργο, βαγοσλαργο*: see *σγλαργο* (326)

*βαγοσηρο*: see *βαγοιηρανο* (47)

**54. βαγορημαρηγο, βαγορηιομαρηγο** m.: **B** °ρηιο° BD1, J8, 15, °ρη° ibid., J5, 21, 23, 28, 7', 12f, v2. — **P** Bag-re-mareg (fl. 517 C.E.), son of Bur (102, i), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Wyeshwarazan, party to a contract. Presumably a cousin of Wyem (335). — **D** “Slave of the Rich God”, synonymous with the Sogd. PN *βγrywβntk* (SW 1992, 46). Compound of *\*βαγορηο* “the Rich God” (i.e. Mithra? or the Moon? cf. SW 1992a, 183; or the Sun? cf. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 281) and *μαρηγο* “slave, servant”. For the loss of the final [w] of *\*ρηο* (= Sogd. *-ryw-* < *\*raiwāh*, nom. of *\*raiwant-* “rich”, cf. 394-4) before the following labial cf. the parallel cases of *ιαμροχοαδηβανδαγο* (172) and *χοηβανδο* (536).

55. \*βαγοτω[ m.: B patr./FN °τω[...ανο] BD2, xh2\*. — D Unidentifiable compound containing βαγο “god”.

56. βαγοφαρνο m.: B BD1, A8, 9, 10, 12. — P Bag-farn (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Zamod (144), father of Bab (41, i) and Piduk (372, i), party to a contract. — D “(Possessing) the glory of the God (Mithra?)”. As noted s.v. \*αδοροφαρνιγο (11), the form \*φαρνο (~ Bactr. φαρ(ρ)ο) suggests a foreign origin. In this case the source is probably the Sogd. PN βγγfm (WEBER 1972, 196).

57. βαγοωρομοξδο, βαγοωρομοξδο m.: B (i) °ωρομοξδο BD2, bh10; (ii) °ωρομοξδο ibid., ci1, 15\*. — P (i) Bag-ormuzd, an official or minor ruler. Possibly the same person as (ii) Bag-ohrmuzd Bagatan, a ruler, addressee of a letter. — D Compound of βαγο “god” and the DN ωρομοξδο (cf. 546), MP Bay-ōhrmazd, IPNB II/2, no. 199.

58. βαγο[ m.: B Hc023(?), BD1, ai4\*, BD2, bd6, xp2f. — P, D Various persons whose names begin with the component βαγο “god”.

59. βαζανοκο m.: B BD1, L7, 8, 15, 19, 23, 29, 20f. — P Bazanuk (fl. 602 C.E.), son of Peshtams (370), father of Zun-lad, Sag and Tut (160, i, 403, iv, 474, all fl. 602 C.E.), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Hunsekhan, party to a contract. — D Presumably a hypocoristic in -κο. The underlying \*βαζανο may have originated as a patronymic formation to βαζο (61).

**BAZΔHO:** see BAZOΔHO (62)

60. BAZHPKO m.: B ALRAM no. 1390ff. — P The Kushan ruler Vasishka (Brahmi *Vāsiṣka*, Khar. *Vajheṣka* etc.), who probably ruled ca. 245-260 C.E., successor of Kanishka II (203, ii) and father of Kanishka III (203, iii). Cf. also s.v. βαζοκοφανο (63). — D The derivation from an Iranian superlative \*wāzišta-ka- proposed by HENNING 1965, 84, and EILERS 1970, 116-17 (cf. also MORGENSTIERNE 1927, 107; BAILEY 1968), is hardly compatible with the initial β- of the Bactr. form (cf. HUMBACH 1966, 43); moreover, it “ignores the evident relationship between the names of Vasishka and his grandfather (?) Vasudeva” (SW

2002a, 237). Thus it is likely that the name consists of an element *βαζ-* taken from the name of Vasudeva (*βαζοδηο*, 62) plus hypocoristic suffix *-(η)βκο* as in *κανηβκο* (203), q.v.

61. *βαζο* m.: **B** SW 2005, S7, 9, 15, 18. — **P** Baz (fl. 693 C.E.), inhabitant of Litzg, party to a contract. — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing a component *βαζο*: probably *\*bāzu-* “arm” as in *βαζοοανινδο* (64), *βαζοποναγο* (65), rather than Skt. *vāsu-* as in *βαζοδηο* (62) and *βαζηβκο* (60). Cf. also *βαζανοκο* (59).

62. *BAZOΔHO*, *BAZΔHO* m.: **B** (i) *BAZOΔHO*, *BAZΔHO* ALRAM no. 1349ff, 1359ff; (ii) *BAZOΔHO* ALRAM no. 1400ff. — **P** Vasudeva (Brahmi *Vāsudeva*), name of two Kushan rulers, (i) Vasudeva I, who probably ruled ca. 190-230 C.E., successor of Huvishka (354), (ii) Vasudeva II, who probably ruled around the end of the 3rd cent. C.E. — **D** Skt. PN *Vāsudeva*. The ingenious suggestion of HUMBACH 1966, 42-3, that the Indian form may be a folk-etymological adaptation of a genuine Bactr. PN *βαζοδηο* < *\*Bāzu-tāwaya-* “strong-armed” is much less likely. Cf. also the Tumshuqese PN *Wāsudewa*.

63. [†*BAZOKOβANO*: name of a late Kushan ruler supposedly attested on coins (ALRAM no. 1396ff), regarded by GÖBL (1979, 120; 1984, 75 with n. 137) as identical with Vasishka (60). If correctly read, presumably a combination of *βαζο-* as in *βαζοδηο* (62) and *βαζηβκο* (60) plus the dynastic name *κοβανο* “Kushan”. In proposing this reading, GÖBL was no doubt influenced by the occurrence of a royal name *Vaskuṣāṇa* in a Brahmi inscription from Sanchi (thus read by N. G. MAJUMDAR *apud* MARSHALL-FOUCHER 1940, 386; THOMAS 1947, 297; LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1949, 313 with n. 43; BASHAM 1953, 97). However, some of the coins attributed by GÖBL to *βαζοκοβανο* clearly bear the name *βαζοδηο*, and the longer name found on some of the others is most likely to be a blundered variant of the same. The coins in question are attributed to Vasudeva II by ODDY-CRIBB 1995, 285].

64. *βαζοοανινδο* m.: **B** BD2, jh12, 13. — **P** Baz-wanind, named in a letter. — **D** “Victorious (by means of his) arm”, compound of *\*βαζο* < *\*bāzu-* “arm” (see 61) and *οανινδο* “victorious”.

65. **βαξοποναγο** m.: **B** BD1, **ac3**. — **P** Baz-punag, father of Atiy-sas (36). — **D** “(Providing) refuge (by means of his) arm”, compound of \*βαξο < \*bāzu- “arm” (see 61) and \*ποναγο < \*pati-nātha-ka- “refuge, protection”, cf. MP/NP *panāh* < \*pati-nātha- “id.” (SW 2000a, 10).

66. \***βαιασπο** m. PN(?): **B** patr./FN(?) °πανο BD2, **df3**. — **D** Uncertain, since *βαιασπανο* could equally well be a title equivalent to MP and Pth. *by’sp’n* “messenger” < \**dwiy-asp-āna-* (cf. BD2, 201a). If *βαιασπανο* is in fact a patr. or FN, the underlying PN \**βαιασπο* can perhaps be derived from \**dwiy-aspa-* “(having a) two-horse (chariot)”, cf. Arm. *despak* “chariot”. For the meaning of the name cf. the Av. PN *Bīaršan-* “mit zwei Hengsten (fahrend)”, *IPNB* I/1, no. 86. A MP equivalent of \**βαγασπο* (42), with MP *bay* “god” for Bactr. *βαγο*, seems less likely.

67. **βαιο** m.: **B** (i) SW 2009b, **Nn7**, 11, 13, 16, 20; (ii) Jaghatu inscription, line 1 (SW 2008b). — **P** (i) Bay (fl. 659 C.E.), son of Yoz (187, i), inhabitant of Lizg, whose house is called Nanan, party to a contract. (ii) Bay, son of Tayamsh (460), visitor(?) to Jaghatu. — **D** The spelling of the Bactr. name as *b’y* in an Arabic document from Afghanistan (KHAN 2007, 165) suggests a pronunciation [bāy], with long vowel. A short name derived from a compound such as the next? Or Tk. *bay* “rich”, as suggested to me by P. LURJE?

68. **βαιοριζμο** m.: **B** BD1, **U3**. — **P** Bay-rizm (fl. 712/3 C.E.), officer (*φρομαλαρο*) of Madr, witness to a contract. — **D** Presumably a compound, whose second component *ριζμο* presumably derives from \**raz-man-* “(line of) battle” (Av. *rasman-*, MP/NP *razm*, etc.). This term is attested as a name-component in many Iranian languages, see *IPNB* I/1, no. 208, II/2, no. 808-809, II/3, no. 291, and especially *IPNB* II/8, no. 1055 (with numerous references); for Bactrian cf. also *ριζμο* (396), *φρομαριζμο* (506) and the GN *ριζμο/ρηζμο* (BD2, 260a). The prior component, which may be the source of the short name *βαιο* (67), is etymologically obscure. Connection with \**βαιασπο* (66) seems unlikely.

69. **βανδαγο** m.: **B** BD2, **cr2**, 7f. — **P** Bandag (fl. 380 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — **D** Short name derived from a compound



ending with *βανδαγο* “slave”, MP PN *Bandag*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 184, Sogd. PN *βntk*, SW 1992, 46. Cf. the next.

**70. βανδο** m.: **B** (i) Sig 27 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/3); (ii) six impressions of another seal from Penjikent (LIVSHITZ 1970, 257 n. 4, cf. drawing in BELENICKIJ 1964, 65, fig. 5). — **P** (i-ii) Two persons named Band, owners of different seals. — **D** Possibly a short name derived from compounds such as *νανηβανδο* (280) and *χοηβανδο* (536), see SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 308. Hardly *\*bāwant-* “shining” as suggested by HUM-BACH 1966, 74.

**71. \*βανιγο** or **\*βανο** m. PN(?): **B** FN *βανιγανο* BD1, ah10. — **D** Cf. *\*bānu-* “ray”, occasionally attested as a component in PNs, in particular the widely-disseminated *\*Ṛta-bānu-* (El. *Ir-da-ba-nu-iš*, Greek *Ἄρτάβανος*, Aram./Pth. *ʾrtbnw*, MP *Ardawān* etc.), on which see SCHMITT 1980, 199-200? But it is possible that the FN *βανιγανο* is derived from the common noun *\*βανο* “queen” (BD2, 201b) rather than from a PN.

**72. [\*βαραδδιγο** m. PN(?): **B** EN/FN *°δδικανο* BD1, V14, *°δδιγανο* *ibid.*, V14'. — **D** The two forms *°κανο* and *°γανο* can perhaps be analysed as *\*βαραδδιγο* plus *-γανο* and *-ανο* respectively. The underlying *\*βαραδδιγο* could be a variant of the adj. *βραδδιγο* “brotherly, belonging to brothers” (BD2, 204b), cf. the late spellings *βαραδο* for *βραδο* “brother” and *βαρηδαγανιο* beside *βρηδαγανιο* (see s.v. *βρηδαγο*, 105). Although a PN meaning “brotherly” is not unthinkable, it seems more likely that *βαραδδικανο/°γανο* is primarily an EN meaning “(estate) belonging to the brothers”. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 301, compares the Sogd. PN *βr't'nh*].

**73. βαραλβαγο** m.: **B** BD1, T22f (cf. BD2, 36, ad loc.). — **P** Barabag (fl. 700 C.E.), commander of the army (*σπαλοβιδο*) of Kadagstan (see SW 2008, 98-9), lord of the people of Warlugan. — **D** Presumably a compound, whose second component *\*αλβαγο* or *\*λβαγο* almost certainly contains *λβ* < *\*dw*, cf. *αλβαρο* “court” < *\*dwar-a-* (BD2, 189b). Hence *\*bara-dwāga-* “standard-bearer”?? This is to attribute the meaning of OInd. *dhvajá-* “flag, banner, standard” to the related noun *\*dwāga-*, attested by Pth. *'db'g*, Chor. *δβ'γ* “-fold” (mostly compounded with

numerals), cf. also Sogd.  $\omega\gamma\delta\beta'\gamma$  “explanation” < “unfolding”, which belongs to the root \**dwaĵ* “to flutter, fold and unfold” (Av.  $\text{°}\delta\beta\bar{o}.\check{z}a-$ ).

**74. βασοκο** m.: **B** SW–DE BLOIS 2006, Aa3. — **P** Basuk (fl. 357 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** Hypocoristic in  $-\kappa\omicron$  to an unidentified base.

**75. βατρο** m.: **B** BD2, za18. — **P** Batr Sinapidan, owner of an amulet. — **D** In view of his Indian patr./FN (432), Batr’s name seems likely to be the common Skt. PN *Bhadra*. The spelling with  $\tau$  is unexpected, but cf.  $\beta\omicron\tau\omicron$  beside  $\beta\omicron\delta\delta\omicron$ ,  $\beta\omicron\delta\omicron$ ,  $\beta\omicron\nu\delta\omicron$  “Buddha” (SW 1992, 27).

**76. βανο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, W5; (ii) *ibid.*, X6, X sealing B (see *ibid.*, 19). — **P** (i) Bah, father of Wurol and Hilitber (360, 481, ii, both fl. 712/3-747 C.E.). Possibly the grandfather of (ii) Bah (fl. 750 C.E.), treasurer of Kur(w)ad, witness to a contract. — **D** Unclear.

**77. βαχαραγο, \*αβχαραγο** m.: **B**  $\beta\alpha\chi^{\circ}$  BD1, ak20f; cf. also the patr./FN  $\alpha\beta\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron$  *ibid.*, L4, 16. — **P** Bakharag, named in a list. — **D** Unclear. The two variants may imply an underlying \* $\alpha\beta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\omicron$ , cf. the case of  $\beta\alpha\gamma\alpha\sigma\omicron$  beside  $\alpha\beta\gamma\alpha\sigma\omicron$  (2).

**78. \*βαβονο** m. PN(?): **B** FN(?)  $\text{°}\nu\alpha\nu\omicron$  BD1, T6, 9, attested as part of an EN  $\beta\alpha\beta\omicron\nu\alpha\nu\omicron$   $\rho\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron$ , perhaps “the canal of the Bashunan (family)”. — **D** Unclear. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 121, tentatively compares the Sogd. PN  $\text{'}\rho\check{s}'wn$ .

†**βηγαι**: see  $\beta\eta\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron$  (82)

**79. βηκο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, je1, 12; (ii) BD1, T2; (iii) *ibid.*, U5 (x2), 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 13', W10, X4, 5', Y3; (iv) *ibid.*, X24'. — **P** (i) Bek, father of Meyam (244, iii). Possibly the same person as (ii) Bek, father of Kamird-far (200, i, fl. 700-712/3 C.E.), grandfather of the next. (iii) Bek (fl. 712/3 C.E.), son of Kamird-far (200, i), father of Kamird-far (200, ii), Wahran (320, iv), Mir (253, ii) and Bab (41, iv), grandfather of the next, party to a contract. Also named as the father of Mir and Bab in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, where his name is spelt *bk* or *byk*,

once *b'k*, see KHAN 2007, 93. (iv) Bek (fl. 750 C.E., son of Kamird-far (200, ii). — **D** The same name may be reflected in the form *wyk*, given by Ṭabarī as the name of ruler of Kesh in 721/2 C.E. (POWERS 1989, 178), to which P. LURJE has kindly drawn my attention. Hypocoristic in *-κο* to an unidentified base? LURJE 2009, 49 with n. 1, suggests that *βηκο* may either be derived from the Tk. title *beg* or cognate with the Sogd. PN *pykk*, but both suggestions are problematic from a phonological point of view. A connection with Tk. *bek* “firm, solid, strong”, also attested as a name-component, would be easier in this respect.

**βηναβιδο**: see *βιανοβιδο* (87)

**80. \*βηρανο** m.: **B** patr./FN °*νανο* BD2, eb3. — **D** Unclear.

The alternative reading *βηρονανο*, though less likely according to BD2, 111 n. 164, would allow connection with a PN attested as *byrwny* in an Arabic document from Afghanistan (see KHAN 2007, 149, who interprets this name as “the outside one”, cf. NP *bīrūn*, MP *bērōn* “outside”).

**81. βηρδο** or **βηραο** m.: **B** SW 2005, Ss3. — **P** Berd or Beraw, father of [...]tis (581, fl. 698 C.E.), a native of Bokhara. — **D** As P. LURJE has suggested to me, *βηρδο* might be a short name from a compound containing the past stem of *\*abi-ar* “to find, obtain”, Bactr. *αβιρ-*, which is attested as *αβορδο* or *βορδο*, BD2, 184b, 186b (cf. also *οαχβοβορδο*, 321), perhaps also as *-αβιρδο* in the PN *βαραβιρδο* (552). If this etymology is correct, the vocalization of *βηρδο* suggests that it is non-Bactrian, perhaps Bokharan: cf. Sogd. *'βy'rt*, *'byrt* as the second component of compound names (SW 1992, 40).

**82. βησοτο** m.: **B** Unpublished coins in the Aman ur Rahman collection (see SW 2009, 119 with fig. 2); Km 71 and variants (see SW forthcoming (c)). — **P** Besut (fl. ca. 690 C.E.), a ruler, probably of some part of Gozgan or an adjacent region. Possibly (according to a suggestion by P. LURJE, for which see now *IPNB* II/8, no. 973) to be identified with Sogd. *pycwtt*, whose son *ck'yn cwr βyδk'* was king of Penjikent in the first decade of the 8th cent. C.E., perhaps also with Chinese *\*Bizhuo* 開 [=開]拙, prefect of Penjikent ca. 658 C.E. (cf. YOSHIDA 2003a, 60). This *\*Bizhuo* might be the grandson of another *Bizhuo* 開拙 who is

named in the *Sui shu* as the lord of the city of Penjikent and a descendant of the king of Samarkand (cf. YOSHIDA, *ibid.*, n. 48). — **D** Sogdian has no [ts] or initial [b], so *pycwtt* [pēčut] would be a natural transcription of *βησοτο* [bēsut], see SW 2009, 119 n. 2. Such a name would probably be of non-native origin, since OIran. initial \**b-* and postvocalic \**-p-* both result in Late Bactr. [v] (written <β> in the orthography of the Manichaean Bactr. fragment).

*βηγαι* and other readings cited by DAVARY 1982, 106, 176, are not consistent with the evidence of the new coin.

**83. βητο** m.: **B** BD1, N12. — **P** Bet, father of Tak (461, fl. 629 C.E.). — **D** Unclear. See further s.v. *χαιοβητο* (512).

**84. βιβροσηνο** m.: **B** BD1, ak25f\*. — **P** Bib-sen, named in a list. — **D** Skt. PN *Bhīma-sena*, Niya Pkt. *Biṃmaṣena* (BURROW 1940, 87), with denasalization of *m* before *s*?

**85. βιγαναραιο** m.: **B** Tochi inscription ITSB, line 4. — **P** Bigaharay (fl. 853 C.E.), son of Zenib (151), writer of the inscription. — **D** Middle Indian PN \**Viggha-rāya* for Skt. PN *Vighna-rāja*?

**86. βιζανο** m.: **B** Sig 40 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/9). — **P** Bizan, owner of a seal. — **D** The connection suggested by WHITEHEAD 1950, 231-2, with the Syr. PN *wyzn*, Arm. *Vizan*, and by DAVARY 1982, 177, with the NP PN *Bēžan*, implies that *βιζανο* represents a late form of the MP PN *Wēžan*, IPNB II/2, no. 995; cf. also JUSTI 1895, 367. Differently HUM-BACH 1966, 75, who suggests a connection with MP *abēzag* “pure”.

**87. βιανοβιδο, βηναβιδο** m.: **B** (i) *βηνα*<sup>o</sup> BD2, **da**13\*, **de**2\*, *βιανο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **da**1f\*, **db**1f\*, 8f\*, **dc**1, 10, **dd**1f, 9\*; (ii) *βιανο*<sup>o</sup> BD1, N10; cf. also the EN *βιανοβιδανο* *ibid.*, N11. — **P** (i) Bena-bid/Biyan-bid (fl. 421-422 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of several letters from the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii). (ii) Biyan-bid, father of Samsit (411, fl. 629 C.E.). — **D** In origin a title ending with *-βιδο* “chief, master” < \**-pati-*, but the first part of the compound is obscure and the relationship between the two variants is problematic. For *-α-* between the two parts of a compound cf. *πηραλαδο* beside *πηρολαδο* (369).

**βιλγανο:** see *χοτολο(γο) ταπαγλιιο βιλγανο σαβο(ο)νο* (542)

**88. βιπο m.:** B BD2, cm4. — P Bip, named in a letter. — D Unclear. Postvocalic [p] suggests non-native origin.

**89. βιβνο m.:** B Shatial 34:122 (SW *apud* FUSSMAN–KÖNIG 1997, 195). — P Vishnu, a visitor to Shatial. — D Skt. PN *Viṣṇu*, cf. the next.

Of the various readings suggested, *σρι βιβνο* “Śrī Viṣṇu” seems much the most likely.

**90. βιβνοδασο m.:** B Seal in the Rosen collection, New York (LERNER 1999, 276, fig. 6; SW 2005a, 342, fig. 2). — P Vishnudasa, a treasurer (*γαζνοβαρο*), owner of a seal. — D Skt. PN *Viṣṇu-dāsa* “slave of Vishnu” (SW 2005a, 336).

The letter *v* in both name and title has an unusual W-shape (cf. 17, 279).

**91. βοδδοζιρο, βοδδοζιορ, βοδδοζ(ι)[ο](ρ)ο m.:** B °ζ(ι)[ο](ρ)ο, °ζιορ, Indian(!) gen. °ζιροσσα Bilingual and trilingual inscriptions on three clay pots from Kara-Tepe (VERTOGRADOVA 1995, 107-110 with pl. 97-8, 105-6; LIVŠIĆ in Kara-Tepe VI, 179-184). — P Buddha-shri (Brahmi *Buddhaśira*, Khar. *Budhaśira*), a monk (*βυικρο/ bhikṣu*) and preacher (*dharmakathika*), owner of two pots, who also inscribed a third pot belonging to Buddhamitra (92). — D Buddhist Skt. PN *Buddha-śrī*. For *-ζιρο* < Skt. *śrī* cf. ζι(ριτ)[ι?]αμβ(ο) representing Skt. *Śrī-Campā* (Rabatak) and perhaps *Ιαγοζιρο* (580).

The reading *-ζ(ι)[ο](ρ)ο* is more likely than any suggested previously (*-ζ(β)[ι]ο*, *-ζ(ι)[ρ]ο*, *-ζ(η)[ρ]ο*, cf. SW 1994, 174-5 with n. 7). — The same name can perhaps be restored on a fragment of a fourth pot, see VERTOGRADOVA 1995, 106-7 with pl. 99: *βοδδ[ ]* or *βοδο[ ]*.

**92. βοδδομτρο m.:** B Inscription on a clay pot from Kara-Tepe (VERTOGRADOVA 1995, 108-9 with pl. 94-5). — P Buddha-mitra (Brahmi *Buddhamittra*), a monk (*bhikṣu*), owner of the pot. — D Buddhist Skt. PN *Buddha-mitra*.

The trilingual ownership inscription was written by Buddha-shri (91), who mistakenly put his own name instead of that of Buddhamitra in the Khar. version.

**93. βοδδομοζδο(?) m.:** **B** Inscription beside a painting at Kara-Tepe (STAVISKY 1980, 1988, etc.). — **P** Buddha-muzd, a visitor(?) to Kara-Tepe. — **D** Probably a hybrid Indian-Iranian name meaning “reward (bestowed by) the Buddha”, cf. \*μοζδο < \*mižda- “reward” as the second component of λαδομοζδο (228).

For this reading and interpretation see SW forthcoming (a). The inscription was read βοδδομαζδο by STAVISKY 1988, 1400, who stated elsewhere (1980, 91) that the inscription “may be discerned quite definitely”. The inscription was apparently destroyed in the attempt to remove the painting from Kara-Tepe, as I learned from the staff of the State Scientific Research Institute of Restoration in Moscow, and no usable photo seems to exist. The traces visible in STAVISKY’s drawing (Kara-Tepe VI, 63, fig. 20) are compatible with either βοδδομαζδο or βοδδομοζδο (as well as many other readings).

**βοδδ[ or βοδο[:** see s.v. βοδδοζιρο (91)

**94. βοζο m.:** **B** BD1, ag6. — **P** Buz Kawan, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** \*Buza- “goat” (Av. būza-, Sogd. bz-)? A derivation from the root \*bauj “to save” is equally possible, perhaps as a short name derived from a compound such as Av. Buja-srauuah- (or Būji-srauuah-), IPNB I/1, no. 89; cf. also βωζανο (108) and Joβοζανο (576). Cf. SCHMITT, IPNB VII/1A, no. 47, on the Assyrian PN Būzî, which is ambiguous in exactly the same way.

**βοκολανο:** see μαγατορο βοκολανο (232)

**95. βορζαδοοιβνοασπο m.:** **B** BD2, x11, 15\*. — **P** Burzad-wišnasp, an officer (φορομαλαρο), addressee of a letter. — **D** MP PN \*Burzād-wišnasp, the final component being an older form of Gušnasp, a common MP name and name-component (IPNB II/2, no. 408-418). The only question is whether \*Burzād-wišnasp contains the MP PN Burzād (IPNB II/2, no. 226a) as its first component, cf. the formation of Burzād-šābuhr, IPNB II/2, no. 227, or whether, as suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, it is a shortened form of \*Burz-ādur-wišnasp = Burz-ādur-gušnasp, IPNB II/2, no. 229; II/3, no. 65 (cf. the next).

**96. \*βορζαδορο m.:** **B** patr./FN °ροανο BD1, C3. — **D** MP PN Burz-ādur, IPNB II/2, no. 228; II/3, no. 64.

97. **βορζο(?)** m.: **B** Coin “E27” (GÖBL 1987, 215 with Taf. 31, Abb. 30). — **P** Burz(?), a ruler. — **D** If the unique specimen has been correctly read, presumably a short name derived from a compound containing Bactr. \*βορζο “high” (see s.v. βορζομιορο, 98) or its equivalent in another Middle Iranian language; cf. names in MP *Burz-* (and especially the short name *Burz*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 226), Pth. *brz-* (DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 189) and Sogd. *brz-* (SW 1992, 46). R. SCHMITT kindly draws my attention to the Arm. PN *Bowrz* (Moses of Chorene, II, 73).

98. **ΒΟΡΖΟΜΙΟΡΟ, ΒΟΡΖΟΜΙΥΡΟ, βορζομυρο, βορζομῖρο, βορζομυρο** m.: **B** (i) °*MIYPO* SKM21, 25, °*MIOPO* SKB24f; (ii) °*μυρο* Kara-Tepe inscription B1, line 2 (see LIVŠIC in Kara-Tepe IV, 56; the reading conforms to the drawing, Kara-Tepe II, fig. 19a, but no photo seems to have been published); (iii) °*μῖρο* BD2, **bg2, bh2, 14\***; (iv) °*μυρο* BD1, **J5**; (v) °*μυρο* BD1, **J7**; cf. also the FN/EN °*μυρανο* *ibid.*, **J6'**, °*μυρανο* *ibid.*, **L16, N13**. — **P** (i) Burz-mihr, son of Kuzgashk (217) and father of Mihraman (262), a native of (H)astilgan, builder of the well at Surkh Kotal. (ii) Burz-mir, a visitor to Kara-Tepe. (iii) Burz-mihr Khahran, an official or minor ruler, sender of two letters. (iv) Burz-mihr, father of Wyem (335, fl. 517 C.E.), whose estate is called Wyeshwarazan. (v) Burz-mihr, father of Waraz-shabur (314, **ii**, fl. 517 C.E.), whose estate is called Burzmihran. — **D** Compound containing a name-component derived from OIran. \**brzi-* “high” (cf. *IPNB* I/1 no. 83-84; I/2, no. 20) and the name of the god Mithra. In some of its later occurrences the name may well represent the MP PN *Burz-mihr*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 244, but this can hardly apply to the Kushan period. Cf. also the Pth. PN *brzmrk*, DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 189.

As shown by SW 1975, 95-7, the former interpretation of the words *βορζομυρο πουρο* “son of Burz-mihr (i)” in SKM25 as a PN *βορζομυροπουρο* “Burzmihir-puhr” is an unnecessary complication. — According to HARMATTA there are many further occurrences of the PN *βορζομυρο* in the Kara-Tepe inscriptions, see Kara-Tepe II, 90, 97, 98, 108 (lines 10 and 12), 119, but these cannot be verified.

†**ΒΟΡΖΟΜΙΥΡΟΠΟΥΡΟ**: see **ΒΟΡΖΟΜΙΟΡΟ** (98)

99. **βορζοσαγγο(?)** m.: **B** Sig 16 (CUNNINGHAM 1893, pl. XIII/11). — **P** Burz-sang(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Combination of the name-components \*βορζο “high” (cf. 96-98, 100) and σαγγο (cf. 401-402)? Thus

HUMBACH 1966, 73, who takes the meaning of the second component to be “stone” (older \*ασαγγο, pl. ασαγγε, SKM13), while DAVARY 1982, 180, offers the alternatives “community of monks” (Bactr. σαγγο < Skt. *samgha-*) or even “estuary” (Av. *sanaka-*, probably “source” with GER-SHEVITCH 1959, 254). Yet another possibility is to derive βορξοσαγγο from a GN \*βορξο “the heights”, thus “man from Burz”, cf. BD2, 261a, on the suffix -σαγγο “forming adjectives from words referring to persons or places”. The interpretation of ABAEV 1979a, 13 n. 1 (σαγγο = Oss. *sag* “stag”) is phonologically impossible.

CUNNINGHAM’s photo is better than that in BIVAR 1968, pl. I/9. The drawings in HERZFELD 1930, 16, fig. 4, and GHIRSHMAN 1948, 55, fig. 64, are based on CUNNINGHAM’s plate and have no independent value. The first five letters are clear. The last five may well be -σαγγο, but, since no photo shows the expected line joining these letters, alternative readings such as -γοιγο cannot be excluded.

**100. βορξοωρομοξδο** m.: **B** Hc004, 021, 022, 143, Saedi no. 3. — **P** Burz-ormuzd, *khar* of Malr/Madr, owner of two seals. — **D** As in the case of the similarly-formed name βορξομιυρο (98), it is impossible to determine whether this name represents a MP PN \*Burz-ōhrmazd or the equivalent Bactr. form.

**101. \*βορνικο** m.: **B** patr./FN βορνικανο BD1, C7', G4\*, H5\*, aj5f, BD2, ca4, ee7f\*, ef5\*, eg1, βορκανο BD1, C6, βονοκανο BD2, eh20f\*, βονακανο *ibid.*, jd1. (There is little doubt that all these spellings represent the same name: βορκανο in C6 and βορνικανο in C7' occur in two copies of the same passage, while lines 9-10 of eh, a letter addressed to ωρομοξδο βονοκανο, seem to relate directly to the contents of eg, a letter addressed to ωρομοξδο βορνικανο.) — **D** Unclear. The sequence -rn- (as opposed to standard Bactr. -r(r)-) suggests non-native or at least dialectal origin. A connection with the Pth. EN *brnkn*, *brynkn* (DIAKONOFF-LIVSHITS 2001, 189) does not seem likely.

**102. βορο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, J5; (ii) *ibid.*, m16. — **P** (i) Bur, father of Bag-re-mareg (54, fl. 517 C.E.). (ii) Bur (fl. before 610 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** Presumably identical with the Sogd. PN *βwr* (SW 1992, 47), proto-Oss. PN Βόρυς (ABAEV 1979, 284), which may be cognate with Oss. *bur/bor* “yellow”, MP/NP *bār* “reddish brown, bay (horse)” (also attested as a name-component, cf. IPNB II/2, no. 208-211), and



which is probably a short name derived from a compound such as the proto-Oss. PN *Βόρασπος* “having bay horses” (ABAEV, loc. cit.; JUSTI 1895, 70b). The etymology is problematic: the routine reconstruction *\*baura-* gives a form which is hard to reconcile with likely cognates, while the tempting derivation from OIran. *\*babru-* (= OInd. *babhrú-* “reddish brown”, *inter alia* as an epithet of horses) implies an irregular development in several languages (perhaps under the influence of *\*gaura-*, MP/NP *gōr* “wild ass”, cf. OInd. *gaurá-* “bos gaurus; whitish, yellowish, reddish?”). For discussion and literature see MAYRHOFER 1960, 146 n. 74; 1973, 144, no. 8.301 (on El. *Baurakka*); 1996, 210. Note also BARTHOLOMAE 1925, 5 (NP *bōr* etc. < *\*barwa-* = Latin *fulvos*).

Connection with *παζοβορο* (362) and *σιζοβορο* (430) is possible but unlikely.

**103. βο...οχοαρο** m.: **B** BD2, **xp28\***. — **P** Bu[...]khwar Khwasraw-[gan], a ruler or nobleman, addressee of a letter. — **D** Unclear.

**104. βραμαρξο** m.: **B** SW 2009b, **Nn9**, 16, 22, 23, 28, SW 2007, **O9f**, 11, 13, 15\*, 21, 8', 11'. — **P** Bramarz (fl. 659-662 C.E.), son of Laguk (225), whose house is called Lagukan, party to two contracts. — **D** Unclear. Connection with the NP PN *Farāmarz* (Shahnama etc.) seems possible.

**105. βρηδαγο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, **cm1**, 25; (ii) SW 2008a, **am22\***; (iii) BD1, **V9**, 22, 28, 35'. — **P** (i) Bredag Watanan, a nobleman or minor ruler. (ii) Bredag, title or name of a landowner. (iii) Bredag (fl. 729 C.E.), party to a contract. (The attestations listed above are only those where *βρηδαγο* is certainly or possibly used as a PN. In BD1, **T7**, 19, it is attested as a royal title; cf. also the derivatives *βρηδαγανο* “belonging or due to the *bredag*”, *ibid.*, **F17**, **T19'**, **U25**, **X27**, *βρηγανο*, *ibid.*, **V38**, **W31**; *βρηδαγανιο*, *βαρηδαγανιο* “belonging to the family of the *bredag*”, *ibid.*, **T15**, 16, 15'.) — **D** It is not clear whether *βρηδαγο* is primarily a PN or a title. A connection with the dynastic name of the *Āl-i Farīgūn*, the rulers of Guzgan during the Samanid period, has been suggested by SW 1999a, 198-9. Other speculative etymologies are mooted by TREMBLAY 2003, 125 n. 15; 2005, 426 n. 30.

**106. βρησομ[α]νο m.:** **B** Inscription on a clay pot from Dal'verzin Tepe (SW *apud* TANABE et al. 1999, 161-2). — **P** Bresman, maker of the pot. — **D** Perhaps, as suggested by SW, loc. cit., derived from the Buddhist Skt. DN *Vaiśramaṇa-* (earlier *Vaiśravaṇa-*), which is attested in Bactrian as *βησραμανο* (BD2, 202b). For the metathesis of *-r-* cf. Late Khot. *Vrrīsamam*, Sogd. *βr'yšmn* (see BAILEY 1942, 912; GRENET 1996, esp. 287 n. 50), as well as the parallel case of the Bactr. month-name *δρηματιγανο* < *δηματριγανο* (SW–DE BLOIS 1998, 152-3, 165b; 2006, 189). This explanation implies that *βρησομανο* is a short name derived from a compound such as the Sogd. PN *βr'yšmnβntk*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 303.

**107. βριωγο m.:** **B** BD2, ea2, 15. — **P** Briyog (fl. 461/2 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — **D** Unclear. Possibly contains a name-component *ιωγο* (cf. *ιωγοαβδαβο*, 185) or the MP hypocoristic suffix *-ōg* (cf. *κιρωγο*, 216).

**108. βωζανο m.:** **B** Kara-Tepe inscription B4 (LIVŠIĆ in Kara-Tepe II, 79, with pl. 17). — **P** Bozan, a visitor(?) to Kara-Tepe. — **D** It is not clear whether *βωζανο* is a complete name or, as suggested by DAVARY 1982, 180, the final part of a compound name (cf. also 576). In either case it may be derived from *\*baujana-* “salvation”, cf. Pth. PN *bwzny* (DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 189), Greek *Μιθροβουζάνης* (JUSTI 1895, 209), etc.

The name or name-component *βωζανο* is fairly clearly legible from the published photo. HARMATTA (in Kara-Tepe II, 92) reads the preceding letters as *Ιγαφο*, while HUMBACH 1984, 93, suggests *[ναμ]ωο βωζανο* “homage to the Saviour”!

**109. \*γαβαλιω or \*γαβαλο m. PN(?):** **B** EN °*λιανο* BD1, P6. — **D** Unclear. It is not certain that the EN *γαβαλιανο* is derived from a PN.

**110. γαζαρο m.:** **B** SW 2005, R4. — **P** Gazar (fl. 675 C.E.), son of Sawug (419), inhabitant of Gaz, party to a contract. — **D** Unclear. R. SCHMITT refers me to the Arm. PN *Gazrik* (*apud* Elišč and Łazar), itself equally unclear.

111. *γαμανιγο* m.: B SW 2005, R4. — P Gamanig (fl. 675 C.E.), son of Sawug (419), inhabitant of Gaz, party to a contract. — D Apotropaic name derived from *γαμαιο* “wrong, trouble” (BD2, 206a)? Cf. 113.

112. *γανωf* m. PN(?): B BD1, ai10. — P Gano[...], person or family named in a list. — D Unclear.

113. *γαιοανο* m.: B BD1, al8. — P Gawan, a scribe. — D If this name is identical with the common noun *γαιοανο* “fault, misdeed; need, obligation” (BD2, 206b), it presumably has an apotropaic function (cf. 111). But it seems more likely to derive from the common name-component *\*gau-* “cattle” (cf. 117, 559), with a suffix which may be either possessive (cf. MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, no. 160) or patronymic in origin.

114. [*γαριγο*: according to DAVARY 1982, 197, and ALRAM 1986, 340, this word on NumH 273-280 may be a PN, but it is more likely that *γαριγο βανο* is a title “king of Gar” or “king of the mountain-country”, see SW 2004, 1049, 1055].

115. *\*γαροβιδο* m. PN(?): B patr./FN °*δανο* BD1, Ii4\*. — D In origin a title ending with *-βιδο* “chief, master” < *\*-pati-*, perhaps a variant of *αγαροβιδο*, the title of Kirdir-warahran (215, i), with loss of initial *\*ā-* as in *ζα(δο)βοργανο* beside *αζα(δο)βοργανο* (BD2, 188a) etc.

Since the title *αγαροβιδο* is evidently that of an important minister of the king, in this case the Kushan-shah, it may be worth considering the possibility that it corresponds functionally to Pth. *nywdpty* “master of ceremonies”, lit. “invitation-master” (~ MP *'dnyk*, Greek *διπνοκλήτωρ* in the ŠKZ), see HUYSÉ 1999, 128-9. The first element could be compared with Av. *gar* “to welcome”, *ā-gar* “to praise”, *aibi-gairiia-* “(worthy) to be accepted” (antonym *paiti-riciia-* “(worthy) to be rejected”), *garō nmāna-* “house of welcome” (antonym *drūjō nmāna-*), cf. KELLENS 1974, 23-9, perhaps also with OP *a-g-r-i-y-* (~ Babylonian *pitqudu* “trustworthy”), if this may be interpreted as *ā-gariya-* “(worthy) to be accepted” (antonym *arika-* “disloyal”).

116. *γαρσογο* m.: B BD2, ci2, 18\*. — P Garsug, a *hostig*, addressee of one letter and sender of another. — D Cf. Sogd. PN *γrck'*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 488, probably from *\*gari-* “mountain” + hypocoristic suffixes *\*-iča-* and *\*-k(k)a-*. Since the suffix combination *-σο-γο* is not found elsewhere in

Bactrian, it seems likely that *γαρσογο* is in fact a slightly adapted form of the Sogd. name rather than its native Bactr. equivalent.

**117. ΓΗΘ ΛΙΑΓΟ** m.: **B** Dilberjin inscription, fragment 5, line 7 (LIVŠIĆ–KRUGLIKOVA 1979, 108: *μανο χοβε* [LIVŠIĆ *κοβε*<sup>ο</sup>] *ι γηο λιαγο* “me myself, Gew Liyag”). — **P** Gew Liyag, author(?) of the inscription. — **D** If the word-division and interpretation suggested above are correct, *γηο λιαγο* may be understood as a name consisting of two parts, the first of which may be compared with the well-attested Iranian PN \**Gāwya-* (NP *Gēw*, Pth. *gyw*, Sogd. *γyw*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 509, a derivative of \**gau-* “cattle”), the second with the name of the Śaka ruler *Liaka Kusulaka/Λιακο Κοζουλο* (see LIVŠIĆ–KRUGLIKOVA 1979, 103), which, as suggested to me by P. LURJE, may represent the genuine Bactr. form corresponding to the WIran. name *δηιαγο* (131).

**ΓΙΑΡΟ(?)**: see *ΠΙΑΡΟ* (371)

†*γοβοζικο*, †*γοβοζοκο*: see *τοβαζινι* (472)

*γογναγο*: see *γωγναγο* (121)

**118. γογνο** m.: **B** SW 2005, R5. — **P** Gugn, father of Kanag (201, iii, fl. 675 C.E.). — **D** Unclear. Cf. *γωγναγο*, *γογναγο* (121).

**119. γοραμβαδο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, **dg1\***; (ii) *ibid.*, **eb1f**. — **P** (i) Gurambad Kerawan, perhaps the son of Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii, fl. 421-422 C.E.), sender of a letter. Probably the same person as (ii) Gurambad Khwadewan, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. — **D** Identified by SW 1997a, 13, with *Grumbates*, the name of the Chionite leader at the siege of Amida (360 C.E.) as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus. Probably \**Wṛθragna-pāta-* “protected by *Wṛθragna*”, attested in ŠKZ in the forms Pth. *wrtgrnpt*, MP *wrt<r>gnpt*, Greek *Γοαρθανιπατ* (HUYSE 1999, 126). If so, the name is Iranian but, as is to be expected, non-Bactrian. For the initial *γο-* of the Bactr. and Greek spellings cf. also the Georgian forms *Guram*, *Guranduxt* etc. (JUSTI 1895, 121). For *-βαδο* < \**-pāta-* cf. also 547.

TREMBLAY 2001, 188, suggests *\*Grahma-pati-*, cf. Av. PN *Grēhma-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 162, but the formation PN + *\*-pati-* seems to be otherwise unattested. Note also that *\*-pati-* elsewhere results in *-βιδο*.

**120. γωβο[** m.: **B** BD1, **m8**. — **P** Gob[...] (fl. before 610 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** Unclear.

**121. γωγναγο, γογναγο, γωγνιγο** m.: **B** (i) *γωγναγο* SW 2005, **S9**, 15, 18, *γογναγο* *ibid.*, **S7**; (ii) *γωγνιγο* *ibid.*, **an2f**. — **P** (i) Gognag/Gugnag (fl. 693 C.E.), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract. Possibly the same person as (ii) Gognig, party to a contract (see SW 2005, 9). — **D** From *γογνο* (**118**) + hypocoristic(?) suffix *-γο*.

**122. γωρδο** or *γωραιο* m.: **B** SW 2005, **S7**, 9, 15, 19. — **P** Gord or Goraw (fl. 693 C.E.), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract. — **D** Unclear. If the correct reading is *γωρδο*, a derivation from MP *gurd* “hero”, also attested as a PN (JUSTI 1895, 121), may be worth considering, though the vocalization with *-ω-* is unexpected.

**123. δαβο** m.: **B** GKg019 (unpublished seal in the Aman ur Rahman collection). — **P** Dab, owner of a seal. — **D** Unclear. Initial *δ-* probably indicates a foreign name.

**124. δαθβομαρηγο** m.: **B** BD2, **ba4**, 6f, 9f, 10. — **P** Dathsh-mareg, a eunuch, probably a servant of the princess Dukht-anosh (**135**). — **D** “Slave of the Creator”, based on a day-name *\*δαθβο* < Av. *Daθušō* “(day) of the Creator”, see SW–DE BLOIS 1998, 151. The corresponding day-name may also be attested in Sogd. onomastics, see *IPNB* II/8, no. 448, 465.

**125. \*δαιηνο** m.: **B** FN °*νανο* BD1, **ag18**. — **D** Initial *δ-* probably indicates a foreign name. If the reading *δαιηνανο* is correct, the underlying PN *\*δαιηνο* [Dayēn] may perhaps represent the MP PN *Dēhēn*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 310 (perhaps, despite HUYSE 1999, 135 n. 224, to be read *Dehēn* and derived from *dahy*, *deh* “land, etc.”, cf. **131**). In any case, *\*δαιηνο* is likely to be a WIran. form, as are probably all other Bactr. names with the suffix *-ηνο* (**251**, **392**, **448**) or *-ινο* (**387**). The alternative reading *δδιηνανο* (thus BD1) would imply an underlying *\*δδιηνο*

[Dyēn], which could be explained as representing the MP PN *Dēn*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 311, with [dy] from [d] before a palatal vowel (cf. SW 1999a, 197). However, other features of the document **ag**, in particular spellings with *oo-* [wu-] for older *oi-* [wi-] or *oa-* [wa-] (355, 357, 358), suggest that it dates from a period considerably later than that in which [dy] from palatalized [d] is attested.

**126. \*δαμο** or **\*δαμογο** m.: **B** patr./FN *δαμογ[ανο]* (or abbrev. *δαμογ?*) Hc081. — **D** Perhaps formed from a MP PN containing the component *dām* “creature”, e.g. *Dām-ōhrmazd*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 300.

**127. Δαρото** m. PN: **B** Hc087. — **P** Darut, owner of a seal. — **D** Conceivably a late form of *\*λροτο* < *\*druwišta-*, MP *dryst*, NP *durust*, superlative of *λρογο/δδρογο*, Sogd. *drwk* < *\*druwa-ka-* “healthy”. Cf. the MP PN *Druwag*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 324, and patronymics *Druwān*, *Druwagān*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 323, II/3, no. 114. Regarding the letter here transliterated as Δ see above, p. 6.

**128. δασο, δασο** m.: **B** *δασο* BD2, **ea**2, *δασο* *ibid.*, **ea**15f, **ed**3, 15\*. — **P** Das (fl. 461/2-475 [or 465] C.E.), a minor official, addressee of two letters from the governor Meyam (244, i). — **D** The spelling *δασο* may stand for [dās] rather than the apparent [dahs], cf. *σασο* (425). Probably a short name derived from an Indian compound PN ending with *dāsa-* “slave” (cf. 90, 155).

**129. δδηβο** m.: **B** *δδηβο* BD1, **Q**9, 11, *δδηλο(!)* **Q**v1\*. — **P** Deva (fl. 671 C.E.), son of Yalgan (166), husband of Wiraz-finz (346), native of Tarmid, whose house is called Horigan, party to a contract. — **D** Skt. PN *Deva*, cf. the next.

It is not clear whether the variant *δδηλο* is a mere mistake or a hypocoristic form (though in the latter case one would expect a form equivalent to Skt. *Devila*). — *δδηβο* (previously interpreted as *αδηβο*, see DAVARY 1982, 149, HUMBACH 1998) is also attested on coins, e.g. NumH 244, 246, where it seems likely to be a title rather than a PN. The earlier spelling *δηβο* is attested in a Buddhist text in the sense “god” (BD2, 208b).

**130. δδηβοραζο** m.: **B** BD1, **P**3f, v5\*, **Q**7, v6. — **P** Devaraja (fl. 669-671 C.E.), senior overseer of the market (*οασαροβιδο χαιταχο*, see SW-

TUCKER 2006, 589-90, 594) of the *khars* of Rob, witness to two contracts. — **D** Skt. PN *Deva-rāja* (SW 2002a, 230).

Regarding *devarāja*- as a title of Toramana in a copper scroll inscription in the Schøyen collection see MELZER 2006, 258.

**δδηλο**: see **δδηβο** (129)

†**δδιηνανο**, †**δδιηνο**: see **δαιηνο** (125)

**131. δηαγο** m.: **B** BD2, **ea5**, 6. — **P** Deyag Peshladan (fl. 461/2), probably brother of Shabur Peshladan (**548**, **iv**) and perhaps son of Peshlad (**369**). — **D** Initial **δ**- probably indicates a foreign name. Its immediate source is probably a MP form, perhaps *\*Dehag* < *dahy*, *deh* “land, etc.” (cf. **125**) plus hypocoristic *-ag*, in which case it would be ultimately connected with the Sogd. PN **δxyw'k**, Greek (Median) *Δηϊόκης* etc. < *\*Dahyu-ka-*, as proposed by LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 459. Cf. also **γηο λιαγο** (**117**).

**132. δοδαγο** m. PN(?): **B** BD2, **jf18**. — **P** A person mentioned in a letter? Or a common noun “family, household”, loanword from MP *dūdāg*? Both possibilities are mentioned in BD2, 209b. — **D** Probably WIran., perhaps a PN identical to El. *Du-tuk-ka* < *\*Dūta-ka-* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 151, no. 8.398), cf. also the Sogd. PN **δwt'yk** (*IPNB* II/8, no. 453).

**133. δοζοριβο** or **οοζοριβο** m.: **B** Sig 73 (FUSSMAN 1972, pl. 2/22). — **P** Duzrish(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Unclear.

The name is fairly clear apart from the first letter, which might be *α/δ* or *ο*; an incomplete *ρ* is also possible, but there seems no justification for the tail which is added to it in the drawing by DAVARY 1982, 114, who reads *ροζοριβο* (on the basis of FUSSMAN’s plate). FUSSMAN himself, loc. cit., 43, reads *οοζοββο*, but his drawing (p. 48) rather suggests *δοζοριβο*.

**134. \*δοσακο** m.: **B** FN °**κανο** BD1, **ag11**. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to an unclear base.

**135. δοχτοανωβο** f.: **B** BD2, **ba1\***. — **P** Dukht-anosh, a princess (*δοχβολογδο*), perhaps the wife or daughter of the Kushan-shah

Warahran (315, ii), with whom she is associated as sender of a letter. — **D** MP f. PN *Duxt-anōš*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 326 (see SW 1997a, 12).

136. *δωγο* m.: **B** (i) BD2, da3, dc3, dd3; (ii) *ibid.*, ed4, 16\*. — **P** (i) Dog (fl. 421 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of several letters from the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii). Possibly the same person as (ii) Dog (fl. 475 or 465 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter from the governor Meyam (244, i). — **D** Unclear. LURJE's tentative comparison with the Sogd. PN *δwk'yn*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 450, is feasible if the Bactr. form derives from a WIran. cognate with initial [d].

137. [*EIIOMANO*]: this sequence in SKM24, interpreted as a PN by GERSHEVITCH 1985, 70-71, and LAZARD et al. 1984, 215, is almost certainly to be understood as *ειο* “this” + *μανο* “by me”, see HUMBACH 1970, 48, and 2003, 162-3].

138. *εβκιγγιλο* m.: **B** Seal in the Saeedi collection, London (CALLIERI 2002, 135, fig. 1b; SW 2002b). — **P** Eshkingil, lord of [Ga]rokan (for this restoration see BD2, 207, s.v. *γαρωκανο*), owner of a seal. — **D** SW 2002b, 144, argues that *εβκιγγιλο* can be understood as a variant of the name *Khiṅgila/χιγγιλο* (520), Sanskritized as \**Kṣiṅgila*, whence \**Škiṅgil* (by metathesis) and ultimately *Eškiṅgil* (with prothetic vowel before double consonant). For a different explanation of the first syllable see DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2007, 129, who, accepting TREMBLAY's comparison of the name *Khiṅgila* with the Xiongnu word for “sword” (see 520), interprets *εβκιγγιλο* as a compound “Companion (Tk. *eš*) of the sword”. However, it is not clear why such a compound should have been spelt with *-βκ-* rather than *-βχ-* (which is an acceptable sequence in Bactrian, as shown by *αλοβχαλο* “merciful”, SKM8f).

Even if it is accepted that the name Eshkingil is a variant of *Khiṅgila*, it is unclear whether the owner of this seal should be identified with (one of) the ruler(s) bearing that name known from coins, inscriptions and historical texts. For discussion of some of the chronological problems involved see CALLIERI 2002; SW 2002b; MELZER 2006, 258-60.

139. *ζαβοχο* m.: **B** NumH 96-107. — **P** Javukha, a “Hunnish” ruler (Brahmi *Javūkha*, *Jaūhkha*, son of *Sādavīkha*, see MELZER 2006, 261-2). — **D** Unclear, probably non-Iranian. Despite HUMBACH 1966, 27, the



phonetic similarity to the title *yabghu* (Bactr. *ιαβγο*, Tk. *yabyu*, Chinese *xihou* and, on the coins of Kujula, Pkt. *yavuga-/yaüa-*, Greek gen. *ζαοου*) seems too slight to justify a connection.

Regarding the interpretation of this word as a PN see note to *αδομανο* (9).

**140. ζαγο** m.: **B** Hg016. — **P** Zag, owner of a seal. — **D** Perhaps “crow”, NP *zāγ* (also attested as a PN, see JUSTI 1895, 378a), Sogd. *z’γ*. Probably not to be equated with the Sogd. name or name-component *z’k* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1550), for which one might expect \**ζαυαγο* in Bactrian.

**141. ΖΑΔΟ** m.: **B** Inscription on a funerary urn (LIVŠIC 1953 [not seen]; GRENET 1984, 102, 110 n. 37). — **P** Zad, a person whose remains were interred in an urn inscribed with his name. — **D** Short name derived from a compound ending with \**zāta-* “born”, as proposed by GIGNOUX *apud* GRENET 1984, 110 n. 37 (where previous interpretations are listed). Cf. also the Sogd. PN *z’tk*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1553.

**142. ζαδοσμαρο** m.: **B** BD2, jf12f. — **P** Zad-smar, addressee of a draft letter. — **D** Probably a Buddhist name derived from Skt. *jāti-smara-* “recollecting a previous existence”.

†**ζαζβο**: see *ζαζοβο* (143)

**143. ζαζοβο(?)** m.: **B** Sig 68 (BIVAR 1968, pl. IV/1). — **P** Zazb(?), owner of a seal. — **D** If the reading could be confirmed (see below), the comparison with Av. *zazuuah-* “victorious” (suggested by HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 85) would be worth considering.

Sig 68 was first published by BIVAR 1961, with an illegible photo and the reading (p. 322) *voζορο* (or *-το?*). Only *ζαζο-* is clear on the plate in BIVAR 1968. The reading of the last letters as *-βο* (HUMBACH 1969, 71, who compares the Niya Pkt. title *cojhbo* etc.; DAVARY 1982, 114) is based on BIVAR’s plate and has no independent value. — According to HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 83, 85, a similar name *ζαζβο* is attested in the Kara-Tepe inscription B1, line 3, but the drawing (*ibid.*, fig. 19a) rather supports LIVŠIC (*ibid.*, 77) in reading a form ending in *-ιβο*.

**144. ζαμωδο** m.: **B** BD1, A8. — **P** Zamod, father of Bag-farn (56, fl. 332 C.E.). — **D** Perhaps a Saka name, cf. that of the Śaka *kṣatrapa* ruler *Ysamotika/Ysāmotika* (LÜDERS 1913, 413, 427).

I abandon without regret my former suggestion (BD1, 191b) that  $\zeta\alpha\mu\omega\delta\omicron$  may be an abbreviation for  $*\zeta\alpha\mu\omega\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\zeta\delta\omicron$ . HARMATTA 1994, 413, offers an unlikely derivation of *Ysamotika* from  $*zama-pati-ka$ - “landlord”.

**$\zeta\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron$** : see  $\zeta\nu\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron$  (156)

**145.  $\zeta\alpha\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$ (?) m.** PN: **B** Kara-Tepe inscription B8. — **P** Zawmard(?), a visitor to Kara-Tepe. — **D** If correctly read (see below), perhaps a compound of  $\zeta\alpha\omicron$  “life” (BD2, 211b) and  $\mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$  “man” (cf.  $\omicron\eta\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$ , 332, and MP PNs with *mard* as second component, *IPNB* II/2, 208).

Read  $\mu\alpha\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$  and interpreted as a PN by HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 102, while LIVŠIĆ, *ibid.*, 79, reads  $(\mu)\alpha\omicron \nu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$  as two words (not  $\mu\alpha\omicron \mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$  as stated by DAVARY 1982, 301). From the original in the State Scientific Research Institute of Restoration, Moscow, I read  $\bullet\bullet\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$ , possibly  $\zeta\alpha\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$ , followed by a clear  $\mu\alpha\rho\omicron$  “[came(?)] hither”, which tends to confirm that the preceding word is a PN.

**146.  $\zeta\alpha\rho\delta\omicron$  m.:** **B** BD1, **W5**, 26. — **P** Zard (fl. 747 C.E.), son of Wurol (360), elder of Gandar (cf. BD2, 37, ad **W6**), whose house is called Wurolan, party to a contract. — **D** Probably from  $*zarita$ - “yellow”, well-attested as a PN (Av. *Zairita*-, *IPNB* I/1, no. 413, Sogd. *zyrt*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1575, NP *Zard*). Derivation from  $*zarta$ - “old”, Av. *zarēta*- etc., is also possible.

**147.  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\omega\lambda\omicron$ ,  $\zeta\alpha\rho\iota\omega\lambda\omicron$  m.:** **B** (i)  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron$  BD1, **V8'**,  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron$  *ibid.*, **V9**; (ii)  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron$  *ibid.*, **V8**, 22, 35', miswritten  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\omega\gamma\omicron$ (!) *ibid.*, **V27f.** — **P** (i) Zar-yol, father of the next. (ii) Zar-yol (fl. 729 C.E.), son of Zar-yol (i), party to a contract. — **D**  $*Hazahra-yauda$ - “having a thousand (or: thousands of) warriors” (SW 1999a, 197) or, as suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, “fighting (against) thousands”. The loss of the initial syllable is unexpected in Bactrian (cf.  $(\nu)\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron$  “thousand”, BD2, 271b), which suggests the possibility that this form may not merely be etymologically identical with the Sogd. PN  $z'ryw\delta$  (MÜLLER 1913, 10, line 53), but may actually represent the Sogd. form. Cf. also  $\sigma\alpha\delta\alpha\iota\omega\lambda\omicron$  (405).

**148.  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron\sigma\eta\rho\omicron$  m.:** **B** (i) BD1, **F3**,  $\nu 2^*$ ; (ii) BD2, **ed3**, 14f\*. — **P** (i) Zar-wer Wibriyan (fl. 470 C.E.), witness to a contract. Possibly the same person as (ii) Zar-wer (fl. 475 or 465 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of

a letter from the governor Meyam (244, i), in which case he may be the son of Wibriy (334) and have inherited the position of his father, who appears amongst the addressees of similar letters from the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii). — **D** Probably equivalent to the Av. PN *Zairi-vairi-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 414, *MP Zarēr*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 1079, II/3, no. 380, a name which stems from the OIran. heroic tradition. Cf. also *σηρο* (329).

According to SW 1999a, 196, the fact that Zar-wer (i) is the first witness to document **F** indicates his high status and may even suggest that he is the *καδαγοβιδο* “governor” at whose court the document was signed. However, it now seems likely that the *καδαγοβιδο* at this time was Meyam (244, i). Possibly Zar-wer (i) acts here as Meyam’s representative, which would be consistent with identifying him with Zar-wer (ii).

**149. ζαχφαιο** m. PN(?): **B** Inscription on a clay vessel from Kara-Tepe (Kara-Tepe II, fig. 9a). — **P** Zakhfay, owner of the vessel? — **D** Unclear.

The interpretation of *ζαχφαιο* as a PN was tentatively suggested by W. B. HENNING in 1964 in a letter, see LIVŠIČ in Kara-Tepe II, 76. If the proposed word-division is correct, one may perhaps reconstruct *ε[ιδο ... χο]βο ζαχφαιο βαν[αρο ...]* “[his vessel(?) belongs] to Z., [the ... of the] *vih[āra]*”.

**150. ZBAPTO** m.: **B** Inscription on a silver cup in a private collection, unpublished (*ζβαρτο χοβο ηαλγη* “property of Zbart ...”). — **P** Zbart, owner of the cup. — **D** Perhaps from Sogd. *zprt* “holy”, with [zb] in place of the typical Sogd. cluster [zp]?

The reading above is the most likely, but the possibility that the fourth letter is *β* or the fifth *ι* cannot be ruled out entirely.

**151. ζηνιβο** m.: **B** Tochi inscription ITSB, line 4. — **P** Zenib, father of Bigaharay (85, fl. 853 C.E.). — **D** \**Zaini(γa)-pā-* “he who protects what is entrusted (to him)”, cf. *βανοζινυιο* “royal infant”, lit. “in the queen’s charge” (BD2, 201b), and other compounds ending in *-ζινυιο*, *-ζινυιο* or *-ζινι* (239, 264, 350, 472)? For \**-pā-* see s.v. *ιωλαβο* (188).

DAVARY 1982, 71, 298, and HUMBACH 1994, 143, 149, interpret the sequence *ζ° πορο* “son of Z.” as a single word, a PN *ζηνιβοπορο*.

**152. ζηρανο** f.: **B** BD1, X10. — **P** Zeran (fl. 747 C.E.), a slave jointly owned by the brothers Kamird-far (200, ii), Wahran (320, iv) and Mir

(253, ii). Also named as *zrn* in an Arabic document published by KHAN 2007, 152-4, which records her emancipation in 755 C.E. after bearing a daughter (ʿUmm ʿAbd Allāh) and three sons (ʿUmar, Muslim and Naṣr) to her master Saʿīd (evidently the name taken by one of the three brothers on his conversion to Islam, perhaps Kamird-far, according to DE BLOIS *apud* KHAN 2007, 60, who suggests that *saʿīd* “fortunate” may translate the name-component *-far* “fortune”). — **D** Sogd. *zyrn* “gold” as a f. PN?

153. **ξηρο** m.: **B** BD1, F4f, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 16. — **P** Zer (fl. 470 C.E.), a slave, son of Bag-bandag (46), subject of a manumission contract. — **D** From \**ǰīra-* “intelligent”, cf. MP PN *Zīrak*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 1085? Or \**zāriya-* “pitiful”, Sogd. *zʿry*, Pth. *zʿryhʿ*?

154. **ζυο** m.: **B** BD2, cr4. — **P** Ziy Mirbandagan (fl. 380 C.E.), an official. — **D** Unclear. Cf. perhaps the MP PN *Zīk* or *Ziyak*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 1086, HUYSE 1999, 128, 156-7.

155. \***ζιναδασο** m.: **B** EN °*δασαγανο* BD1, L6f. — **D** Skt. PN *Jina-dāsa* “slave of the victorious one”. In this context “the victorious one” is probably to be understood as the Buddha, cf. *ζιναλακο* “Jinalaka” in the Tang-i Safedak inscription, apparently as a designation of the stupa (LEE-SW 2003, 169-70).

Since the doubling of *δ* even before *α* is a peculiarity of document L (see BD2, 38 n. 3), it is equally possible to read *ζινδδασαγανο* (without affecting the etymological interpretation).

156. **ζινδοκο, ζανδοκο** m.: **B** (i) *ζιν*° BD1, Ii5, 5\*, *ζαν*° *ibid.*, Iv1\*; (ii) *ζιν*° BD2, x15, *ζαν*° *ibid.*, x111f\*. — **P** (i) Zinduk/Zanduk (fl. 483 C.E.), father of Ram-gul (389), party to two contracts. (ii) Zinduk/Zanduk, an inhabitant of Marg. — **D** Perhaps \**Zantu-ka-*, El. PN *Zandukka* etc. (MAYRHOFER 1973, 253, no. 8.1827), hypocoristic to a compound name containing \**zantu-* “clan” (e.g. Av. *Ātərəzantū-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 74). Or cf. NP *žanda*, Sogd. *zyntʿk* “fierce”? If the Sogd. PN *zwntyc(?)* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1569) is hypocoristic to *žwnty* “alive” < \**ǰīwant-aka-*, as suggested by LURJE, it can hardly be connected with *ζινδοκο/ζανδοκο*, contrast the phonological development of Bactr. *ζοοινδογο* “alive”.

**157. ζνιτομανο m.:** **B** Inscription on a fragment of a clay vessel from Kohna Masjid (SW 1994, 175 with fig. 5, where wrongly read ζωιτο<sup>ο</sup> with DAVARY 1982, 300). — **P** Znit-man, owner of the vessel. — **D** \*ŽnaHišta-manah- “whose mind is most knowing”, cf. Av. žnōišta-?

The reading ζωιτομανο must be excluded, despite the attractive etymology which it would make possible (\*zawišta-manah- “most swift-witted”, cf. Av. zəuištiia- “swiftest” and OInd. jāviṣṭham + mānaḥ, see SW 1994, 175), since it has become clear that ω is never joined to a following letter.

**158. ζοκο m.:** **B** BD1, ag19. — **P** Zuk, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Probably hypocoristic to \*jīwa- “living”, Av. jūua-. An ancient and widely-attested name, the Iranian equivalent of Skt. *Jīvaka*: Babylonian *Zi-ma-ka-*, Aram. *zywk*, El. *Zimakka* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 255, no. 8.1849; ZADOK, *IPNB* VII/1B, no. 642), perhaps also proto-Oss. *Ζεύακος* (according to ABAEV 1979, 310-11; differently JUSTI 1895, 385b). Cf. also ζοοανινδο (162)? As noted in *IPNB* II/8, no. 1567, connection with Sogd. *zwk* “healthy” < \**druwa-ka-* (Bactr. *λρογο*) is quite unlikely.

ζολαδο, ζοναδο: see ζονολαδο (160)

**159. ζονοβανδαγο m.:** **B** BD2, ja3\*, 7f\*, 15\*. — **P** Zun-bandag, an official. — **D** “Slave of (the god) Zun”, cf. the next.

**160. ζονολαδο, ζολαδο, ζοναδο m.:** **B** (i) ζονολ<sup>ο</sup> BD1, L8, 19, 23, 30; (ii) ζολ<sup>ο</sup> SW 2007, O4, 6'; (iii) ζονολ<sup>ο</sup> BD1, P3, Q5 (cf. BD2, 36, ad P4f, Q5f); (iv) ζοναδο NumH 271; (v) ζολ<sup>ο</sup> NumH 273-281 etc., Km 28, 40 (see SW forthcoming (c)); (vi) ζολ<sup>ο</sup> SW 2005, Tt8, 18; (vii) ζολ<sup>ο</sup> BD2, jf1; (viii) ζολ<sup>ο</sup> BD2, jf12; (ix) ζολ<sup>ο</sup> BD2, jf13; (x) SW 2005, ζολ<sup>ο</sup> Uu12, 17, 20f. — **P** (i) Zun-lad (fl. 602 C.E.), son of Bazanuk (59), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Hunsekhan, party to a contract. (ii) Zulad (fl. 662 C.E.), *khar* of Pidud/Pyud, witness to a contract. Possibly the same person as (iii) Zun-lad Shaburan (fl. 669-671 C.E.), “the *tapaghliḥ iltābir* of the *qaghan* prosperous in glory, *khar* of Rob”, witness to two contracts. (iv) Zunad (Pahlavi *zwn'd(?)*), a ruler. Possibly the same as (v) Zulad Gozgan, king of Gar, who issued coins from Amber, and apparently ruled at least 685-703/4 C.E. Possibly the

grandfather of (vi) Zulad Gozgan (fl. 705 C.E.), son of Kanag (201, ii), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract (see SW forthcoming (c)). (vii) Zulad, addressee of a draft letter. Probably the same person as (viii) Zulad, addressee of another draft letter written on the same parchment. (ix) Zulad, writer of the two draft letters just mentioned. (x) Zulad (fl. 722 C.E.), son of Piy (375, ii), inhabitant of Lizag, party to a contract. — **D** The name ζονολαδο “given by Zun” evidently refers to the divinity *Zun* or *Žun* mentioned in Arabic and Chinese sources as the god of Zabulistan, whose king bore the title (or name?) \**Žundād*; see SW 1997a, 19-20, and references given there. According to SCHAEDEER 1941, 269, and HUMBACH 2002, 417-18, the name of this god may be derived from \**Zrūn*-, cf. Av. *Zruuan*-, in which case ζονολαδο and \**Žundād* may be compared with the MP PN *Zurwān-dād*, IPNB II/2, no. 1091. The fact that a different development is seen in ζοριγο, earlier ζορριγι “time” < \**zrunaka*- (BD2, 213a) is not necessarily an objection, as the latter may have escaped the change of \**zr* to \**z* as a result of an early metathesis to \**zurnaka*- (SKJÆRVØ 2006, 314). Whatever the etymology of ζονο-, it seems certain that ζολαδο is a mere variant of ζονολαδο, with loss of *n* before the second element of the compound (cf. perhaps ζοοανινδο, 162); HUMBACH 2002, 418, abandons his former interpretation (1966, 66) of ζολαδο as a title “der Erhabene” < \**uz-dāta*- “aufgesetzt”.

The names in the Arabic documents from Afghanistan published by KHAN 2007 include both *zl'd*, corresponding to Bactrian ζολαδο, and the Persianized forms *zwnd'd*, *znd'd* (see *ibid.*, 16, and cf. *πηροδαδο* beside *πηρολαδο*, 369). The style of naming—Malik (“king”) b. *Žundād*, *Žulād Jūzjān* b. *al-Jūzjān*, *Kānah* (= *καναγο*) b. *Žundād* (*ibid.*, 138, line 4; 155, line 8; 163-4, lines 20-21)—suggests that all these persons, who appear in documents dated between 765 and 777 C.E., belonged to the family of the earlier rulers of Gozgan and maintained certain royal pretensions. See also s.v. *καναγο* (201).

Ad (iv): The reading ζοναδο suggested by GÖBL can now be confirmed on the basis of new specimens to be published by K. VONDROVEC. The Pahlavi inscription on the obverse of the same coins can perhaps be read *zwn'd*. The form ζοναδο (i.e. *Žunād*?) may be a simplification of \**ζονδαδο* (= *zwnd'd* above), with dissimilatory loss of the first *d*, cf. *πιοδδιγο* beside *πιδοοδδιγο* “(inhabitant) of Pidud/Pyud”, BD2, 255b.

161. ζονοο(?) m.: **B** Seal set in a ring from the great stupa of Manikiala, now in the British Museum (ZWALF 1996, II, 348). — **P** Name of the seal-owner. — **D** Whatever the correct reading, ζονοο being more likely than ζονον or ζονοω, this form is most likely an abbrev. spelling of a compound name containing the DN *Zun* as its first component (SW

*apud* ZWALF 1996, I, 350-51). A possible reconstruction would be \*ζονοο<ανινδο> “victorious through Zun” of which the attested ζο-οανινδο (162) is perhaps a variant.

**162. ζοοανινδο** m.: **B** (i) SW–DE BLOIS 2006, Aa3f; (ii) BD1, B3. — **P** (i) Zu-wanind Kharagan (fl. 357 C.E.), supplier of two gold dinars. Probably the same person as (ii) Zu-wanind (fl. 359 C.E.), a store-keeper (?), supplier of grain etc. — **D** Compound name ending with οανινδο “victorious” (cf. 302). The first component may be \*ζο- < \*jīwa- “living” (cf. ζοκο, 158) or the DN *Zun*, with reduction of ζονο- to ζο- as in ζο-λαδο beside ζονολαδο (160). The latter etymology may be favoured by ζονοο (161), q.v.

†ζωιτομανο: see ζνιτομανο (157)

**163. ηρναγγο** m. PN(?): **B** SW 2008a, am17\*. — **P** Ernang, name of a person or estate. — **D** Unclear.

**164. ιαξδαγγαδο** m.: **B** Hc120. — **P** Yazd-angad, owner of a seal. — **D** “Fortunate (through) the god(s)”? Or “(dedicated to) the Fortunate God”, referring to a divine being who may also be alluded to in the name αγγαδοσπαλο (7)? In the latter case, cf. βαγορημαρηγο (54), where \*βαγορηο “the Rich God” would provide a close parallel both for the formation and for the meaning of the compound.

ιαξδογιρδο: see ιειξδογιρδο (182)

**165. ιακανο** m.: **B** SW 2005, Uu6. — **P** Yakan (fl. 722 C.E.), a *tudun*, witness to a contract. — **D** Unclear. Originally a patronymic to ιανακο (173), with dissimilatory loss of the first *n*?

**166. ιαλογανο** m.: **B** BD1, Q9\*. — **P** Yalgan, father of Deva (129, fl. 671 C.E.). — **D** In origin perhaps a patronymic in -ανο or -γανο, but the underlying name is unclear.

**167. ιαμβο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, C11; (ii) BD2, xr1\*(?); (iii) BD2, xi3\*; (iv) BD2, jc2; (v) BD1, I6\*, Ii17\*; (vi) BD1, ag4; cf. also the patr./FN

*ιαμβανο* *ibid.*, **Ii4**. — **P** (i) Yamsh, abbreviation or mistake for the name of Yamsh-spal (171, **ii**, fl. 380 C.E.). (ii) [Yam]sh(?), a “Persian satrap”. (A quite uncertain restoration.) (iii) Yamsh(?), sender of a letter. (iv) Yamsh Homikan, *hostig* of Rizm, sender of a letter. (v) Yamsh(?) (fl. 483 C.E.), party to two contracts. (Only the beginning of the name is preserved, so a compound name such as Yamsh-lad could equally well be restored.) (vi) Yamsh Ormuzdan(?), producer of wine at Golg. (Doubtful: *ιαμβοωρομοζδανο* could equally well be interpreted as a single word, a FN Yamshormuzdan derived from a PN \**ιαμβοωρομοζδο* = Yamsh-ormuzd.) — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing the DN Yamsh (\**Yama- xšāwan-* “Yama the king”, see GRENET 1984a, 254-5, and SW 1999a, 196-7), cf. the following names.

The only certain attestation of the name Yamsh is (iv). If the name Yamsh is correctly read or restored in (ii)-(v), it cannot be excluded that two or more of these refer to the same person.

**168. ιαμβοβανδαγο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, A22, 24f, 29; (ii) *ι[αμβοβανδαγο]ο(?)* SW 2005, Ss3. — **P** (i) Yamsh-bandag (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Ninduk Okhshbadagan (287), party to a contract. (ii) Y[amsh-bandag](?), father of Akhsh (37, **iii**, fl. 698 C.E.). — **D** “Slave of Yamsh”.

The restoration in Ss3 is of course extremely hypothetical, but “a name of this length seems to be required” (SW 2005, 25b).

**169. ιαμβολαδο** m.: **B** BD1, F5. — **P** Yamsh-lad, former owner of the slave Zer (153, fl. 470 C.E.). — **D** “Given by Yamsh” (SW 1999a, 196-7).

The Bactr. name is also attested as *ymšl'd* in an Arabic document from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 164.

**170. ιαμβροανινδο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, aa7\*; (ii) BD2, xn5, 8, 9f. — **P** (i) Ya[msh-wani]nd(?), witness to a contract. (ii) Yamsh-wanind, a prisoner. — **D** “Victorious through Yamsh”.

**171. ιαμβροσπαλο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, C6; (i) or (ii) BD2, ca4, 11, 12f, adj. °*ληλο* BD1, C9; (ii) *ibid.*, C6, 11, 13, 16, 12', abbrev. *ιαμβρο* *ibid.*, C11. — **P** (i) Yamsh-spal [Burnikan], father of the next. (ii) Yamsh-spal Burnikan/Burkan (fl. 380 C.E.), an official, party to a contract. — **D**



“Belonging to the army of Yamsh”. Regarding similar compounds with \*σπαλο “army” see s.v. *αγγαδοσπαλο* (7).

172. *ιαμβροχοαδηβανδαγο, ιαμβροχοσηβανδαγο, ιαμβροχδηβανδαγο* m.: **B** (i) °χοαδη° BD2, cb2\*, °χοση° *ibid.*, ca2f.; (ii) °χδη° Hc014, 015, 016, 018, 019, 020, 024, 074, 114, 129, 136, 140, 164, Saeedi no. 6 (fourteen impressions of the same seal). — **P** (i) Yamsh-khwadew-bandag Pabagan, an official, sender of two letters. Probably the same person as (ii) Yamsh-khwadew-bandag, owner of a seal. — **D** “Slave of Yamsh the lord” (cf. *φριμοιαμβροχοση*, 504). For the loss of the final [w] of *χοαδη* before the following labial cf. *βαγορημαρηγο* (54) and *χοηβανδο* (536).

\**ιαμβρορομοξδο*(?): see *ιαμβρο* (167, vi)

173. *ιανακο* m.: **B** SW forthcoming (b), jj18. — **P** Yanak, person(?) named in a letter. — **D** Sogd. PN *y'n'kk*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1491, hypocoristic to the next. For a possible derivative see 165.

174. *ιανο* m.: **B** SW 2005, Uu10. — **P** Yan Gozagan (fl. 722 C.E.), king of Gar. — **D** Sogd. PN *y'n*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1490, a short name derived from a compound containing \**yāna*- “boon, favour” (SW 2004, 1056 with n. 28, where “y'n” is a misprint for *y'n*). Such names are common in Sogdian (SW 1992, 81), but the only example which has so far been noticed in Bactr. is the doubtful *μυρι(α)[ν]ο* (252).

175. *ιασαρο* m.: **B** BD1, ag10. — **P** Yawar, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Perhaps, as suggested by LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1525, identical with the Sogd. PN *yw'm*, which probably derives from \**yawa-arna*- “corn-grinder, mill” (SW 1992, 82).

176. [*ιασκαδαμυγο*: supposed PN in the Kara-Tepe inscription B11 (see HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 115). Differently SW–TUCKER 2006, 591: *ι-ασκαδομυγο βαγο* “the supreme god”].

177. *ιασκολο* m.: **B** BD1, P4, 9f, v1\*. — **P** Yaskul (fl. 669 C.E.), son of Kaw (204), inhabitant of Khwastu, party to a contract. — **D** Unclear.

Connection with \*κολο (220) is quite uncertain, though in view of the name of his brother Yazdgird (182) a derivation from \*ιαζδο + \*κολο (with simplification and assimilation of -ζ(δ)-κ- to -σκ-) may be worth considering.

**178. \*ιαστονικο** m.: **B** patr./FN °κανο BD1, A5. — **D** Unclear. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1520, suggests a distant comparison with a doubtful Sogd. PN *yst'tm*.

In view of the case of *βαραδδικανο* beside *βαραδδιγανο* (see s.v. \*βαραδδιγο, 72), it is possible that the underlying PN is \*ιαστονιγο rather than \*ιαστονικο.

**179. ιατακο** m.: **B** BD1, J2, v3\*. — **P** Yatak Sibukan (fl. 517 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Hypocoristic to the next.

**180. ιατο** m.: **B** BD1, A22, 25, 29. — **P** Yat (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Ninduk Okhshbadagan (287), party to a contract. — **D** Probably a short name derived from a compound such as the next.

**181. ιατοασπο** m.: **B** BD1, aj10f. — **P** Yat-asp, named in a list. — **D** \*Yašta- + \*aspa- “by whom horses are sacrificed” (TREMBLAY 2009, 350).

**182. ιειζδογιρδο, ιαζδογιρδο** m.: **B** ιειζ° BD1, P4, 22', ιαζ° ibid., P10. — **P** Yazdgird (fl. 669 C.E.), son of Kaw (204), inhabitant of Khwastu, party to a contract. — **D** MP PN *Yazdgird*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 1047, II/3, no. 376.

**183. ιητο** or **ιηστο** m.: **B** BD1, ag9. — **P** Yet or Yest, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Unclear. Theoretically, *ιητο* could be equivalent to OInd. *yéṣṭha-* “swiftest”, but such a form is not unambiguously attested in Iranian (despite JUSTI 1895, 149-50, the Av. PN *Yōišta-* is probably identical with the adj. *yōišta-* “youngest”, see MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, no. 407).

**ισκατο/ισκαχο**: see *σκατο/σκαχο* (440)

**184. ιωβιγο** m.: **B** SW 2007, O7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 7', 10', 17'; cf. also the EN *ιωβιγανο* ibid., O7, *ιωγανο* ibid., O6'. — **P** Yobig (fl. 662 C.E.),

inhabitant of Astof, whose house is called Yobigan/Yogan, party to a contract. — **D** Unclear. Possibly to the root of MP/Pth. *ywb-* “to suffer”, NP *yōba* “desire, longing” (cf. JUSTI 1895, 149b, on a doubtful MP *Yōba*, supposedly the name of a daughter of Shapur II).

**185. ιωγοαβδαβο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, aa6; (ii) BD2, xo10. — **P** (i) Yog-abdab, witness to a contract. Possibly the same person as (ii) Yog-abdab, named in a letter. — **D** Presumably a compound, whose latter component (also attested in *αβδαβοκο*, 3) may be compared with NP *āftāb* “sun” (generally explained as *āb* “lustre” < \**ā-bā-* plus *tāb* “heat” < \**tāpa-*, HORN 1893, 9, EILERS 1987, 46, though the Pth. EN *'ptp*, DIAKO-NOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 185, might rather suggest a reconstruction with \*-*p-* in the first syllable). A name-component *ιωγο* is also attested in *ιωγοφραλο* (186), perhaps also in the unclear names *βριιωγο* (107) and *χλ ιιωγο* (544), but it is not obvious whether it is the common Bactr. word *ιωγο* “one”. The Av. PNs *Aēuuō.gafīia-* and *Aēuuō.sarəd-*, IPNB I/1, no. 2-3, are unclear. If Sig 9 is correctly read as *σαχβο ιιωγο βαγο* “Wakhsh the one god” (see 475), *ιωγοαβδαβο* can perhaps be understood as “effulgence of the One (God)” and *ιωγοφραλο* as “promoting the One (God)”; cf. perhaps MP *Sē-buxt*, IPNB II/2, no. 833, if this name means “saved by the Trinity”, and *υριλαδο* (484). A possible alternative would be to interpret *ιωγο* as cognate with Sogd. *ywk* “teaching” < \**yauka-*, which would also yield religious names: “effulgence of the (true) doctrine”, “promoting the (true) doctrine”.

**186. ιωγοφραλο** m.: **B** Bilingual inscription on a statue base in the Faisal Afridi collection, unpublished (*ιωγοφραλο ι ταγμαοληργο* “Yog-fral the commander of a detachment”). — **P** Yog-fral (Brahmi gen. *Yoga-hra(?)lasya*, read by H. FALK), commander of a detachment (cf. Pth. *tgmdr*), presumably the owner or donor of the statue. — **D** Compound name, whose latter component is probably \**frāda-* “promoting” (SW 2009a, 279 n. 7, cf. also *φαραλο*, 489). Regarding the first component, and the possible meaning of the name as a whole, see 185.

**187. ιωξο** m.: **B** (i) SW 2009b, Nn11, 6' (first occurrence); (ii) *ibid.*, Nn8, 12, 21. — **P** (i) Yoz, father of Bay (67, i, fl. 659 C.E.), whose house is called Nanan. Probably an uncle or cousin of (ii) Yoz (fl. 659

C.E.), son of Khwas (528), inhabitant of Lizzg, whose house is called Nanan, party to a contract. (See SW 2009b, 196-7. The alternative supposition that the document mentions only one Yoz, the son of Khwas and father of Bay, as assumed by SW 2005, 23a, and HITCH 2009, 33-4, is hard to reconcile with the precedence given to Bay.) — **D** Probably a short name derived from a compound such as *χοαρμιοιωζο* (527). Or cf. MP *γδζ* “cheetah”? The Sogd. PN *γwz-’ncw(?)*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1536, seems too doubtful for a comparison to be useful.

188. \**ιωλαβο* m.: **B** patr./FN °*βανο* BD1, J2, v4. — **D** \**Yauda-pā-* “protecting warriors”? For \**yauda-* see s.v. *ιωλο* (192); for the formation cf. *βανραβο* “satrap” < \**xšāθra-pā-*, perhaps also *ζηνιβο* (151), *σπαλβο* (449), \**χαροβο* (see s.v. \**χαροβιδο*, 517) and *βΟΔΒΑ* (557).

189. *ιωλανο* m. PN(?): **B** BD1, ak5\*. — **P** Yolán, person or family named in a list. — **D** At least in origin a patronymic formation from *ιωλο* (192, q.v. for another possible attestation of *ιωλα[νο]* as a patr./FN), see SW 2000a, 10a.

190. *ΙΩΛΕΣΑΓΩΓΟ* m. PN(?): **B** obl. °*ΠΙ* Surkh Kotal, “Inscription pariétale” (BENVENISTE 1961, 147-150). — **P** Yolessagog, uncertain word, possibly the name of the writer of the inscription as suggested by BENVENISTE, loc. cit. — **D** If *ιωλεσαγωγο* is indeed a PN, and assuming that the initial *ι-* is not the article/ezafe (as suggested by SW 1975, 95 n. 1, where the name is read as *ωλεσαγωγι* “Ölesayōg”), it is most likely a compound of *ιωλο* (cf. under 192), though the interpretation as “Battle-axe” (thus SW 1998, 88 n. 4, comparing Av. *čakuš-* etc.; cf. also the Sogd. PN *ck’wš’k*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 369) is very hypothetical.

191. \**ιωλικο*, \**ιωλοκο* m.: **B** patr./FN °*ικανο* BD1, A7, °*οκανο* BD2, x18. — **D** Hypocoristic to the next.

192. *ιωλο* m.: **B** BD1, ac5. — **P** Yol, son of Atiy-sas (36), named as security for a loan. — **D** \**Yauda-* “warrior”, El. PN *Ya-u-da* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 251, no. 8.1800), proto-Oss. *Ἰωδας* (WEBER 1966, 90-91), a short name derived from the frequent compound names containing this element (cf. 147, 188, 190, 193-196, 390, 405, as well as the hypocoristic

*ιωλικο*, **191**, and the patronymic *ιωλανο*, **189**), see SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 309.

For another possible attestation of this name see *ιωλοορλανο* (**195**), which could be interpreted as PN *ιωλο* plus patr./FN *ορλανο*. The name Yol may also be indirectly attested by *ιωλανο* (**189**), if this is a FN rather than a PN, and by an unpublished inscription on a fragment of a jar from Yalangush-tepe in the Institute of Fine Arts, Tashkent, kindly shown to me by Ė. RTVELADZE, which can perhaps be restored as [...](γ)ο *ιωλα[νο]*, i.e. a PN ending in -g followed by the patr./FN *Yola[n]*.

**193. ιωλογοξγο** m.: **B** BD1, **aa7f\***. — **P** Yol-[gu]zg, father of Ladguzg (**226**). — **D** Combination of the name-components \**ιωλο* “warrior” (cf. **192** etc.) and -γοξγο, perhaps “request” (see s.v. *κοξγαβκο*, **217**).

**194. ιωλοιηβανο** m.: **B** BD1, **ak12f\***. — **P** Yolwyeshan, person or family named in a list. — **D** In origin a patr./FN meaning “son/descendant of Yol-wyesh” (SW 2000a, 12). The underlying PN \**ιωλοιηβο* is a compound of \**ιωλο* (cf. the preceding and following names) and the DN \**οιηβο* (for which see s.v. *οιηβο*, **330**).

**195. ΙΩΛΟΟΡΛΑΝΟ** m.: **B** Seal in the British Museum (CALLIERI 1998, pl. 58, Cat. U 7.4). — **P** Yol-orlan(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Ambiguous. Perhaps a compound name consisting of \**ιωλο* “warrior” and the DN *ορλαγνο* < \**Wṛθragna-*, attested on the Kushan coins, cf. the formation of *ιωλο-ωνυρομοξδο* (**196**) and \**ιωλο-μιρο* (attested via the Khar. PN *Yola-mira*, KONOW 1929, 175), with reduction of -gn- to -n- as in the equivalent MP name *Warahrān* (cf. **315**). It is also possible that the inscription consists of two words, e.g. PN *ιωλο* (cf. **192**) and patr./FN *ορλανο*, see SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 309, for discussion of these and other possibilities. However, *ορλανο* here certainly cannot be equated with the patr. *ορλανο* in U6', see s.v. *ορωλο* (**360**).

**196. ιωλωνυρομοξδο** m.: **B** BD2, **ci19f**. — **P** Yol-ohrmuzd, addressee of a letter. — **D** Combination of the name-components \**ιωλο* “warrior” (cf. **192** etc.) and *ωνυρομοξδο* (**546**).

**197. καβαδο, κασοαδο, κοσαδο, κοαδο** m.: **B** (i) *καβαδο* ALRAM no. 1408-10; (ii) *κασοαδο* BD1, Q14, 15, 18, SW 2005, R18, 19, *κοσαδο* *ibid.*, S26, Tt23, *κοσαδ-* *ibid.*, Tt24, *κοαδο* *ibid.*, S26\*, Uu29, adj.

κoαδαγο BD1, M3. — **P** (i) Kavād, a Sasanian Kushan-shah. (ii) Kavād I, Sasanian emperor (ruled 484, 488-96, 498-531 C.E., Pahl. *kw't*, *kw'ty*, ALRAM no. 891ff), whose drachms are referred to in later Bactrian documents as a standard of value. — **D** MP *Kawād* and *Kavād*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 493; cf. HUMBACH 1966, 50.

198. [\*καγαρο m. PN(?): **B** FN °ρανο BD1, ag13, ai8\*. — **D** In theory the FN *καγαρανο* could be derived from a PN, but it is more likely to be connected with the Pashtun tribal name *Kākar* as suggested to me by P. LURJE.]

**ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ**: see *KOZOYΛO ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ* (218) and *ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ* (352)

199. *καλοοιαρδαγο*, *κολοοαρδαγο* m.: **B** (i) *καλοοιαρδαγο* BD2, cq2, abbrev. *καλ* *ibid.*, cq15; (ii) *κολοοαρδαγο* *ibid.*, cj1. — **P** (i) Kalu-ardag, sender of a letter. Probably the same person as (ii) Kulu-ardag, addressee of a letter. — **D** Unclear. If both forms represent the same compound name, as is likely, the two spellings of the first component must be read as *kalu(w)-* (*καλοοι-*, see BD2, 40, on the writing *-οι* for final [w] or [u]) and *kulu(w)-* (*κολοο-*) respectively, the latter probably showing *u*-umlaut as in *μολο* [mul] “wine” < \**madu-*. In that case both forms should derive from \**kadu-* or \**kalu-* (cf. BD2, 242a, s.v. *οαρνο*, for the preservation of the *-u-* of the stem in pre-vocalic position), thus allowing connection with the name-components *κολο-* (discussed below s.v. \**κολο*, 220) and perhaps *-γολο* (see s.v. *οαχρογολο*, 322). For \**kalu-* it is tempting to compare another word with unexpected *-l-*, Pth. *kl'n*, which seems to mean both “great” (= NP *kalān*) and “pure” (= Sogd. *kr'n*; cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, 205, with references to previous literature) and which could be related to \**kalu-* (< \**klHu-*?) in the same way as MP/Pth. *gr'n*, Sogd. *γr'n* “heavy” to Av. *gouru-*, OInd. *gurú-* “id.” (cf. GERSHEVITCH 1985, 244, though his reconstruction \**grāuna-* is hardly plausible). The second component is also problematic. It looks like a past participle, but neither \**ārta-ka-* “ground” (cf. *αρδο*, *αρδιγο* “flour”, BD2, 193b) nor \**arta-ka-* “ploughed” (cf. *ναρδδιγανο* “fallow”, BD2, 238b) seems a likely name-component. Derivation from

\**R̥ta-*, Av. *Aṣa-*, would be more plausible in this respect but would leave the final *-γo* unexplained.

**200. *καμρδοφαρο, καμδοφαρο* m.:** **B** (i) *καμρδο*<sup>ο</sup> BD1, T2, 5, 8, 13, 17, 4', *καμρ(δ)ο*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, T17', *καμδο*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, U5; (ii) *καμδο*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, U5, 20f, *καμρδο*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, X4, 10, 11, 23, 24'. — **P** (i) Kamird-far/Kamid-far (fl. 700-712/3 C.E.), a priest of the god Kamird, son of Bek (79, ii), father of Bek (79, iii), grandfather of the next. (ii) Kamird-far/Kamid-far (fl. 750 C.E.), son of Bek (79, iii), father of Bek (79, iv) and Khamir (514). Regarding the possibility that this Kamird-far converted to Islam and took the Arabic name Sa'īd see s.v. *ζηρανο* (152). — **D** \**Kamr̥dafarnah-* “(possessing) the glory of the Chief (God)”, cf. *καμρδο*, lit. “head, chief”, as the name or epithet of a god in BD1, document T. Cf. perhaps the name *Kamalu*, recorded by al-Bērūnī as that of a late 9th-cent. Hindu Shahi ruler of Ohind (SW 1997a, 23 n. 49).

**201. *καναγο* m.:** **B** (i) SW 2009b, Nn8, adj. *καναγογωζογανηλο* *ibid.*, Nn10f; (ii) SW 2005, Tt8; (iii) *ibid.*, R5, 8, 14, 19. — **P** (i) Kanag Gozgan (fl. 659 C.E.), a ruler or landowner. Possibly the father of Zulad Gozgan (160, v) and grandfather of the next. (ii) Kanag, father of Babay, Abgas and Zulad Gozgan (40, 2, 160, vi, all fl. 705 C.E.) (see SW forthcoming (c)). (iii) Kanag (fl. 675 C.E.), son of Gugn (118), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract. — **D** Sogd. PN *k'n'kk, k'nk*, IPNB II/8, no. 516 (SW 2004, 1056 with n. 28).

Cf. also s.v. *ακανο* (15). — An Arabic document of 765 C.E. published by KHAN 2007, 162-5, includes among the witnesses Kānah b. Žundād (spelt *k'nh bn znd'd*), who probably belonged to the same family as (i-ii) above. See further s.v. *ζονολαδο* (160).

**202. \**κανδορο* m.:** **B** patr. *ορανο* SW 2005, Tt9\*. — **D** Unclear. In theory one could envisage a MP hypocoristic in *-ur* (cf. IPNB II/2, no. 741?) from a name-component *kand* (cf. *Kandag*, *ibid.*, no. 489?), but such a construction is too artificial to be plausible.

**203. *KANHPKO, -κανηρκο* m.:** **B** (i) *οKO* SKA1, SKB1f, SKM1, obl. *οKI* ALRAM no. 1304ff, SKA2, SKB3 (misspelt *KANHPHPKI*), SKM1f, obl. *οKE* Rab1, 7\*, 14, 15\*, 18, 22\*; (ii-iii) *οKO* ALRAM no. 1375ff, *μανακανηρκο* “great Kanishka” Sig 6 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/8, see

SW-TUCKER 2006, 587-9). — **P** Kanishka (Greek gen. *Κανηβκου*, ALRAM no. 1303, 1309, Khar. *Kaniška* etc.), name of three Kushan rulers, (i) Kanishka I, who probably ruled 127 to ca. 150 C.E., son of Vima II Kadphises (352) and father of Huvishka (354), (ii) Kanishka II, who probably ruled ca. 230-245 C.E., successor of Vasudeva I (62, i), (iii) Kanishka III, who probably ruled late 3rd cent. C.E., son of Vasishka (60). — **D** On the hypocoristic suffix *-(η)βκο*, attested in the Kushan royal names *κανηβκο*, *οσηβκο* (354) and *βαζηβκο* (60), as well as in *κοζγαβκο* (217), see SW 2002a, 237-9. Explanations of the three royal names as containing a superlative suffix *-išta-ka-* or *\*-iška-* (HENNING 1965, 82-4; BAILEY 1968; EILERS 1970; BURROW 1983, 157-9) can hardly be applied to *κοζγαβκο* or to the Khar. nom. *Sadaškano*, the name of a son of Kujula Kadphises in the inscription of Senavarma (HINÜBER 2003, 29-30), which may be in origin a patr. derived from another name in *-βκο*. However, the comparison with OInd. *kaniṣṭhā-* “smallest, youngest” is possible in so far as the root element *καν(η)-* is concerned.

The translation “*Kaniška-* ‘The Brilliant’” (MORGENSTIERNE 1927, 107) is unexplained.

**204. καιο** m.: **B** BD1, P8; cf. also the patr./FN *καιοανο* *ibid.*, ag6f. — **P** Kaw, father of Yaskul and Yazdgird (177, 182, both fl. 669 C.E.). — **D** \**Kawi-* “prince, giant, hero”, Av. PN *Kauii-* (*IPNB* I/1, no. 210), Sogd. PNs *kw'*, *kw'y* (SW 1992, 54; *IPNB* II/8, no. 570, 573).

HARMATTA 1994, 403, mentions a Bactr. PN *kw* “in Aramaic transcription”, which he compares with Av. *Kauii-*, but he gives no reference and I have not been able to trace his source.

**καιοαδο**: see *καβαδο* (197)

**205. καρασο** m.: **B** BD1, ah2, 7. — **P** Karas, named in a list. — **D** Unclear, perhaps a hypocoristic in *-σο*. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 546, tentatively compares a doubtful Sogd. PN *kr'yusk*.

**206. \*καιο** m.: **B** patr./FN *οσαιο* BD2, cd3. — **D** \**Kāsa-* “pig”? Thus LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 519, comparing the Sogd. PN *k's*.



**207. *καφανο* m.:** **B** BD2, **ea3**, 16f. — **P** Kafan (fl. 461/2 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — **D** \**Kaf-wan-a-* “old”, cf. Pth. *qfwn?* If so, probably a foreign (Pth.?) name, since the native Bactr. form is *καβογγο* < \**kap-un-aka-* (BD 2, 219b).

**208. *καβοφαρνο* m.:** **B** Sig 69 (BIVAR 1968, pl. IV/6). — **P** Kashfarn, owner of a seal. — **D** As noted s.v. \**αδοροφαρνιγο* (11), the form \**φαρνο* (~ Bactr. *φαρ(ρ)ο*) “glory” indicates a foreign, possibly Sogd., origin. If \**φαρνο* here represents Sogd. *frn*, the preceding component could perhaps be interpreted as the name of the Sogd. city of Kesh, cf. Sogd. PN *kš’yknδc* (IPNB II/8, no. 560), thus: “(Possessing) the glory of Kesh”. For the deification of a city (or its river?) which this would seem to imply we have a possible parallel in *πιδωδοβανδο* (373).

The second letter is clearly *α* with DAVARY 1982, 114, 209, rather than *ο* with HUMBACH 1969, 71-2 (where it is suggested that *κοβο-* is “likely to be the tribal name from which *Κοβανο* is derived”).

***κηδδιρο, †κηδαιρο***: see *κιδαρο* (213)

**209. [†*κηπορνο***: a sequence of illegible letters in the “unfinished inscription” of Surkh Kotal is read thus by HUMBACH 1966, 100-101, and interpreted as a PN (“Fehler für *κηπορνο* < \**kānyā-puθra-* ‘Kavi-sohn’”; similarly HUYSE 2009, 105 with n. 138), but there is no real basis for either the reading or the interpretation].

**210. *κηραο* m.:** **B** (i) BD2, **cr1**; (ii) *ibid.*, **da1\***, **db1\***, **dc1**, **dd1**, **de1\***; (iii) BD1, **D2**, **D3f\*(?)**; (iv) SW 2008a, **am36**; (v) BD2, **ed12**; cf. also the patr./FN *κηραοανο* *ibid.*, **dg1\***. — **P** (i) Keraw Ormuzdan (fl. 380 C.E.), a governor (*καδαγοβιδο*), sender of a letter. Perhaps the father or grandfather of, but probably not the same person as, (ii) Keraw O(h)r-muzdan (fl. 421-422 C.E.), who also bears the title governor (*καδαγοβιδο*), sender of several letters. The latter may well be the same person as (iii) Keraw (fl. 417/8 C.E.), a landowner. (iv) Keraw, a landowner, possibly to be identified with Keraw (i), (ii) or (iii). (v) Keraw (fl. 475 or 465 C.E.), an official who “authorizes” a letter for the governor (*καδαγοβιδο*) Meyam (244, i). — **D** Unclear. Probably to be read [kērāw], as indicated by the preservation of internal -o- in the patr. form *κηραοανο*,

and therefore unlikely to be connected with *κηρανο* (211) as suggested in BD2, 222a. A reading *κηρδο* [kērd] is less likely, though not impossible if this is an old \*-u-stem (cf. the city-name *οαρνο* < \**Warnu-* with its derivatives *οαρνοσαγγο*, *οαρνοσιγο*, BD2, 242a).

**211. κηρανο τογγανο {τογγανο} σπαρανο** m.: **B** BD1, Y1 (cf. BD2, 37, ad loc.). — **P** Kera Tonga {Tonga} Spara (fl. 771/2 C.E.), “governor (*καδοβοβιδο*) of the renowned *qaghan* prosperous in glory, king of the Kadgan people (see SW 2008, 98-9)”, also entitled (BD1, Y11) “the lord *ser*”. — **D** It is not clear whether all these words belong to the name of the governor (in which case the repetition of *τογγανο* is presumably due to dittography) or whether Kera Tonga is the name of the governor and Tonga Spara that of the *qaghan* (as assumed in BD1, 144). In either case *τογγανο* no doubt represents Tk. *τογα* “hero”, while *σπαρανο* may be compared with a component attested in Tk. PNs and spelled *šp’r’* or *’šp’r’* in Manichaean script (MÜLLER 1913, 14, line 119; GULÁCSI 2001, 234, line 16). The most problematic element is *κηρανο*, which has no obvious Tk. or Iranian connections. As pointed out s.v., it is unlikely to be a variant of *κηραο* (210).

**κησαρο**: see *φρομο κησαρο* (507)

**212. \*κησονο** m.: **B** FN °*νανο* BD1, V16. — **D** Unclear. A connection with the doubtful Sogd. PN *kyncny* (*kycny?* *kyšny?*) (SW 1992, 15, no. 454; *IPNB* II/8, no. 613) cannot be ruled out.

**213. κιδαρο(?)**, **κιδιρο**, **κηδδιρο** m.: **B** (i) *κιδαρο(?)* ALRAM no. 1466, *κιδιρο* Sig 11 (see SW 2005a, 336-9, no. 3, with fig. 3 on p. 342); (ii) *κηδδιρο* Sig 19 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/5, see SW 2005a, 338-9). — **P** (i) Kidar/Kidir, name or title of one or more “Kidarite” Kushan-shahs (Brahmi *Kidara* or *Kidāra*, Sogd. *kyδr*, see GRENET 2002, 207 with n. 7; LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 610). (ii) Kedir, a chiliarch (*hazāruxt*), owner of a seal. — **D** “Etymology ... unclear, but maybe Iranian” (LURJE, loc. cit.).

The coin-legend is conventionally read as “κιδαρο”, but no more than κιοοοο (with an indeterminate number of *omicra*) can be seen on even the most legible specimens. DAVARY 1982, 91, 210-11, prefers to interpret this as \*κιδορο. The attribution of the coins in question to Kidara is challenged by GRENET 2002, 206-7, who interprets the legend as “Kay Wahram” (= Pahl. *kdy wllh’ n*, ALRAM no. 1461-2, cf. 315, i-ii).

The chiliarch *κηδδιρο* (ii) seems to bear an honorific title, for which see *φαρν(ο)-[•••]σταχο* (491). Regarding the former reading of his name as *κηδαιρο* and the explanation of this form by HENNING 1965, 81, as an adjectival derivative of the name *Kidāra* (“*kēdārisch*”) see SW 2005a, 338-9.

**214. κιλμανο** m.: **B** BD2, ja1. — **P** Kilman, king of the Kadagan people and governor (*καδαγοβιδο*) on behalf of the *yabghu* of Hephthal, sender of a letter. — **D** Unclear.

**215. κηρδιροσαυρανο, κηρδιροσααρανο, κηρδιροσααρανο** m.: **B** (i) °*σαυρανο* Sig 11 (see SW 2005a, 336-9, no. 3, with fig. 3 on p. 342; LERNER 1999, 276, fig. 7); (ii) °*σαυρανο* on two impressions of different but similar seals (Hc080, Khalili no. 144), °*σααρανο* on several impressions of another seal (Hc199 [= dd sealing], Khalili no. 145, 146 and perhaps dc sealing), see SW 2005a, 339, Nos. 4, 5a-c, with fig. 4-7 on pp. 343-4, and BD2, 23-4; (iii) °*σααρανο* *ibid.*, c12, cm1f\*; (iv) °*σααρανο* *ibid.*, ck2; (v) °*σααρανο* *ibid.*, ee2\*, abbrev. °*σααρα(ανο)* *ibid.*, ee18\*. — **P** (i) Kirdir-warahran, “the noble *αγαροβιδο* (see 115) of the late Kidir Kushan-shah”, owner of a seal. Possibly the same person as (ii) Kirdir-wara(h)ran, a governor (*καδαγοβιδο*), owner of several seals, presumably a predecessor in office of the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii, fl. 421-422 C.E.), who uses one of these seals on his letters. (iii) Kirdir-warahran “glorious through Ohrmuzd (546, x)”, *khar* of Rob, sender of two letters. Probably the same person as (iv) Kirdir-warahran “true to Paroz (377, iv)”, a *hasht-walg*, sender of a letter. Possibly the same person as (v) Kirdir-warahran Tetukan, *hostig* of Astiyakhirs, addressee of a letter. — **D** Compound of the well-known MP names *Kirdīr* (IPNB II/2, no. 497) and *Warahrān* (= *Vahrām*, *ibid.*, no. 926; cf. also Bactr. *σαυρανο*, 315, and *σαυρανο*, 320).

**216. \*κιρμωγο** m.: **B** FN °*γανο* BD1, ag13f. — **D** MP *Kirmōg*, explained by GIGNOUX, IPNB II/2, no. 502, as a hypocoristic in *-ōg* from MP *kirm* “worm, dragon”.

**κοαδο**: see *καβαδο* (197)

†**ΚΟΔΗΡΑΟ**: see *ΧΟΔΗΡΑΟ* (535)

**217. ΚΟΖΓΑΨΚΟ** m.: **B** obl. °KI SKB25, SKM21f. — **P** Kuzgashk, father of Burz-mihr (98, i). — **D** Hypocoristic in *-βκo*, see s.v. *κανηβκo* (203). According to SW 1998, 89, the underlying nominal element *κοζγα-* is also attested as *-γοζγο* in *ιωλογοζγο* (193), *λαδογοζγο* (226), *μρογοζγο* (257) and *οαραζογοζγο* (310) and may derive from *\*kuzu-kā-* “request”, cf. Chor. *kwzy-* “to request”, Khot. *kūs-* “to seek”. This interpretation is particularly favoured by the PN *λαδογοζγο* “(by whom) a request has been granted”, since compounds with *λαδο-* “given” as first component are formed with a semantically restricted range of second components: cf. the divine epithets *λαδοαγαλγο*, *λαδοιανο* “by whom favours are granted” (BD2, 225b) and the PN *λαδομοζδο* “by whom rewards are granted” (228). Cf. also *κοζουλο* (218).

†*κοζολο*: see *ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ* (218)

**218. ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ** m.: **B** Rab12. — **P** The Kushan ruler Kujula Kadphises (Greek *Κοζολα Καδαφεις*, gen. *Κοζουλο Καδφιζου*, Khar. gen. *Kuyula Kadaphasa* etc., ALRAM no. 1271ff, HUMBACH 1966, 39), founder of the dynasty, who probably ruled mid to late 1st cent. C.E., father of Vima I Taktu (353). — **D** The first part of the name may be a hypocoristic in *\*-la-* or *\*-ula-* to a nominal derivative of the root *\*kuz* “to request”, see SW 1998, 89; cf. also s.v. *κοζγαβκo* (217). Khar. *Kusulua*, *Kusulaka* (see 117, 372) evidently represents the same name with an additional hypocoristic suffix. The second part, also found in *οσημο καδφισο* (352), has given rise to much etymological speculation, often involving insuperable phonological problems (BAILEY 1950, 396-7; EILERS 1970, 119-20; cf. also HENNING 1958, 26, who compares the doubtful Sogd. PN *kβct*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 533). Adapting the suggestion of HUMBACH 1966, 40-41 (*\*kata-fšuyaka-* “lord of the house”), one could conceive of a derivation from *\*kata-fšuyant-* “id.” (cf. *καδγο* “house” < *\*kata-ka-* and *\*φινδο* “lord” < *\*fšuyant-* in the PN *φινδοφαρριζ*, 496), the final *-(ι)σο* representing either the nom. ending (*\*fšuyans*, Av. *fšuiiqs*) or the hypocoristic suffix *\*-iča-* (thus SW 2002a, 237).

Regarding the Chinese form *Qiujiuque* 丘就卻, which appears to represent the name of Kujula Kadphises, see SW 1998, 89-90. — HUMBACH 1966, 115, reads *κοζο(λο)* in one of the Tochi valley inscriptions (ITAB, line 8) and interprets it as a variant of this PN, but only the letter ζ is clear on the stone.

219. *κολζανο* m.: **B** SW 2009b, Nn4. — **P** Kulzan (fl. 659 C.E.), leader of the people of Lizg, witness to a contract. — **D** Unclear. Connection with \**κολο* (220) is quite uncertain.

220. \**κολο* or \**κολαγο* m.: **B** patr./FN *κολαγανο* BD1, A5. — **D** Probably identical with *κολο-* as the first component of *κολοσα[ρα]ζο* (221). TREMBLAY 2003, 124 with n. 14, translates *κολαγανο* as “noble” on the basis of a connection with OInd. *kulá-* “family” and compares the name of the Scythian chieftain *Κολάξαις* as well as the Bactr. names in *-γολο* (see further s.v. *σαχρογολο*, 322). However, if the PN *κολοσαρδαγο* also belongs here, the variant *καλοσιαρδαγο* would seem to imply that *κολο-* as the first component of compound names and probably *-γολο* as a second component derive ultimately from \**kadu-* or \**kalu-* (see discussion s.v. *καλοσιαρδαγο*, 199).

Whether *ιασκολο* (177) and/or *κολζανο* (219) are also compounds and, if so, whether they belong to this group of names is quite uncertain.

221. *κολοσα[ρα]ζο* m.: **B** BD2, jg1f\*. — **P** Kul-wa[ra]z, c[ommander of the] a[rmy](?) ((σ)[παλο]β[ιδ]ο) of Garokan, sender of a letter. — **D** If rightly restored, a combination of the name-components *κολο-* (see \**κολο*, 220) and *σαραζο* (see *σοραζο*, 356).

*κολοσαρδαγο*: see *καλοσιαρδαγο* (199)

222. *κομοκανο* m.: **B** BD2, xb1f. — **P** Kumukan Pandukan, sender of a letter, perhaps an official of Sart Shaburan (421, ii), whose seal is employed to seal the letter. — **D** In origin presumably a patr./FN derived from an unattested \**κομοκο* (or \**κομο*, \**κομογο*), conceivably a hypocoristic based on a name such as MP *Kumār* or *Kumārag* (IPNB II/2, no. 506a, 507), though this is no more than a distant possibility.

*κοσαδο*: see *καβαδο* (197)

223. *κορμοζαδο*(?) m.: **B** ALRAM no. 1486. — **P** Kurm-zad(?), a ruler, probably of some part of Gozgan or an adjacent region (see SW 2009, 117). — **D** Written *κορμο|ζοοο*. If the last three letters are intended to represent *-αδο*, as seems likely, there can be no objection to read-

ing either of the preceding *omicra* as *α*, allowing interpretations such as *καρμο-ζαδο* or *κορμ-αζαδο*. Compound name, whose second component is probably *ζαδο* “born” or *αζαδο* “noble, free”. According to DAVARY 1982, 214, the first component may mean “shooting star” (Av. *stārō kərəmā*).

†**κωξο**: see *νανηοβαγοκο* (279)

†**κοβοφαρνο**: see *καβοφαρνο* (208)

**224. λαγο** m.: **B** BD1, **ab**22\*. — **P** Lag, witness to a contract. — **D** Cf. Sogd. PN *δkk'* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 425)? Connection with Oss. *læg* “man” and its Caucasian cognates (see BIELMEIER 1977, 180-85) is not impossible. Cf. next.

**225. λαγοκο** m.: **B** SW 2009b, **Nn**10, SW 2007, **O**10', SW 2005, **R**6; cf. also the EN *λαγοκανο* SW 2009b, **Nn**10. — **P** Laguk, father of Bramarz (104, fl. 659-662 C.E.) and Moyan (275, ii, fl. 659-675 C.E.). — **D** Hypocoristic to the preceding name.

**226. λαδογοξγο** m.: **B** BD1, **aa**7, 20\*, 27\*. — **P** Lad-guzg, son of Yol-guzg (193), inhabitant of Frumuha-marg, a borough of Kandban/Rob, party to a contract. — **D** Compound of *λαδο* “given” and *-γοξγο* “request”(?), see under *κοξγαβκο* (217).

**227. \*λαδοκο** m.: **B** GN °*κανο* BD2, **dc**4, 7f\*. — **D** Hypocoristic to a name containing *λαδο* “given”.

**228. λαδομοξδο** m.: **B** BD1, **aa**37f\*. — **P** Lad-muzd, witness to a contract. — **D** Compound of *λαδο* “given” and *\*μοξδο* < *\*mižda-* “reward”, cf. *βοδδομοξδο* (93). For discussion of compounds beginning with *λαδο-* see also under *κοξγαβκο* (217).

**229. λασομυρο** m.: **B** BD2, **xk**2, 7. — **P** Las-mir, named in a letter. — **D** Compound name, whose second component is presumably the DN *μυρο*. LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 445, s.v. *δs*, seems to suggest that the first

component may be *λασο* “ten”, but it is not obvious that the resulting compound would be meaningful.

†*λασορηο*: see *σασορηο* (424)

**230.** *λανο*(?) m. PN(?): **B** Inscription of Hunza-Haldeikish (SW 1992, 25, 28, no. 665). — **P** Lah(?), a visitor to Hunza-Haldeikish(?). — **D** Quite uncertain. If it is correctly read, and if it is a PN, one may compare Khar. *Lahasa* (BIVAR 1961, 319), gen. of a PN *Laha*, and the Sogd. PN *δx* (SW 1992, 51; *IPNB* II/8, no. 456).

*ΛΙΙΑΓΟ*: see *ΓΗΘ ΛΙΙΑΓΟ* (117)

**231.** [\**λογορο* m. PN(?): **B** FN °*ρανο* BD1, V9. — **D** In theory the FN *λογορανο* could be derived from a PN, but it is more likely to be connected with the name of the district of *Lōgar* south of Kabul as suggested to me by P. LURJE.]

**232.** *μαγατορο βοκολανο* m.: **B** SW 2005, S8. — **P** Maghatur Bukla (fl. 693 C.E.), a ruler or landowner, possibly to be identified with *Puluo* 僕羅 (Late Middle Chinese *phəwk-la*), younger brother of the Turkish *yabghu* of Tokharistan, who lived at the Chinese court from 705 to at least 718 C.E. (see YOSHIDA 2003, 158b, and SW 2004, 1057-8). — **D** Both parts of the name are presumably Turkish. As pointed out by YOSHIDA, loc. cit., *μαγατορο* is a variant of *Bayatur*, a Tk. name-component which is attested with initial *m-* in the Chinese transcription *Moheduo* 莫賀咄, while *βοκολανο* is probably the same name as *Puluo*, whether or not the two persons are to be identified.

†*μαζδακο*, †*μαζδο*: see *μοζδακο* (269) and *μοζδο* (272)

†*μαλολαρο*: see *χατοχαφο* (519)

**233.** *μαλονοτο* m.: **B** Sig 37 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/7). — **P** Malnut, owner of a seal. — **D** Unclear.

The seal was first published by BIVAR on the basis of a “plaster impression in the Kabul Museum, from a seal apparently missing” (BIVAR 1955, 209), but the seal itself has

since turned up in a private collection in London. The original seal is naturally clearer than BIVAR's photo of the impression. The fourth letter is almost certainly an incomplete *o*, hardly *ι*. The reading *-οτ-* rather than *-αγ-* also seems to be assured, as there is a clear separation between the two letters. Readings such as *μολινογο* (GÖBL 1967, I, 243-4), *μαλοναγο* (DAVARY 1982, 112, 223), and even the tempting *μανονογο* ("New Moon"? cf. HUMBACH 1967a, 53; LIVŠIĆ in Kara-Tepe II, 65) must therefore be discounted.

**234. μαμαρηγο m.:** B BD2, xq2\*. — P Ma-m[ar]e[g ...]an, sender of a letter. — D "Slave of the Moon (god)", a compound of *μα-* = *μα(ν)ο* "moon" and *μαρηγο* "slave, servant".

**235. μαιλο m.:** B BD1, ag5. — P Mawil, producer of wine at Golg. — D Probably an Indian formation with hypocoristic *-ila-* (SW 2002a, 230). The preceding element may perhaps be compared with the name of the Śaka chieftain Maues (Greek gen. *Μαυου*, Khar. gen. *Moasa* etc., KONOW 1929, xxix), on which see HUMBACH 1966, 27 n. 1, and LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 701. Cf. also *μωιανο* (275).

† *μαομαρδο*: see *ζαομαρδο* (145)

**236. [ΜΑΡΓΑΚΟΥ:** this PN on Sig 56 (FRYE 1962, fig. 56) is probably the gen. of a Greek form *\*Μαργακος* or *\*Μαργακης* rather than a Bactr. name as assumed by GÖBL 1967, I, 252 (cf. HUMBACH 1966, 75). However, the Greek form is no doubt an adaptation of an Iranian name, perhaps a hypocoristic in *-κο* derived from a name such as *οινδ-μαργο* (340)].

**237. \*μαρηγο m.:** B FN °γανο BD1, ag9f. — D Short name derived from a compound containing *μαρηγο* "slave, servant". The Bactr. name may also be attested as *Marega* in the Khar. documents from Niya, see MARICQ 1958, 367.

**238. \*μαρωγο m. PN(?):** B GN °γανο BD1, P2, 3f\*, Q2, 4. — D Uncertain. A hypocoristic in *-ωγο* (cf. *κιρωγο*, 216)? Or a compound of *μα-* = *μα(ν)ο* "moon" (cf. *μαμαρηγο*, 234) and *\*rauka-* "light" (cf. ABAEV 1979, 299, and perhaps the Pth. PN *rwk*, DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 202)? However, a noun corresponding formally to OInd. *loká-* is not securely attested in Iranian.



**μανακανηρκο**: see *KANHĒPKO* (203, ii-iii)

**239.** [**μανοξιניγο**: supposed PN or patr. in Uruzgan inscription no. 1 (see HENNING 1965, 86 with n. 60; DAVARY 1982, 69, 229). However, *μανοξιניγο* seems to be part of a phrase *μιυρο δ[ο] μανο ξιניγο* “under the care of the sun and moon”, parallel to *μιυροξιניγο* (264) in inscription no. 2, and is unlikely to be a PN].

†**μανονογο**: see *μαλονοτο* (233)

**240.** **μανοφαρο**(?) f.(?): **B** Hc146. — **P** Mah-far(?), owner of a seal (perhaps a woman, to judge from the portrait). — **D** “(Possessing) the glory of the Moon (god)”, a compound of *μα(ν)ο* “moon” and *φαρο* “glory”. Cf. the Sogd. m. PN *m’xfrn* (WEBER 1972, 197, *IPNB* II/8, no. 648).

**241.** \***μαρο** m.: **B** patr./FN °*βανο* BD1, J3, v5. — **D** Unclear. Cf. the next.

**242.** \***μαροκο** m.: **B** patr./FN °*κανο* **B** BD1, C4. — **D** Hypocoristic to the preceding name.

**243.** **μηγοασπο** m. PN(?): **B** BD2, bh8. — **P** Meg-asp, name or title of a horseman. — **D** Presumably a compound containing *ασπο* “horse”. The first component is perhaps \**maiga-* “cloud” (Pth. *myg*, Sogd. *myγ*, NP *mēγ*, etc.), cf. Av. *maēγα-* as one of the four stallions who draw the chariot of Ardvīsūr (Yasht 5.120).

**244.** **μηαμο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, ea1, ed1; (ii) impressions of two different but similar seals (Hc011, 012); (iii) BD2, je1, 12; (iv) *ibid.*, xs1; (v) SW 2005, Uu11, 17, 20, 30; (vi) BD1, V6, 34, 33’f. — **P** (i) Meyam (fl. 461/2 to 475 [or 465] C.E.), king of the Kadagan people and governor (*καδαγοβιδο*) on behalf of Peroz (377, v), sender of two letters. Possibly to be identified with a ruler whose name is written in Brahmi as *Mehama* (on NumH 71 etc., and in an inscription tentatively dated to 492/3 C.E., see MELZER 2006, 262, 263–4, and SW 2008, 99); cf. also the abbrev.(?) Bactr. spelling *μηο* (246). Possibly also the same person as (ii) Meyam,

owner of two seals. (iii) Meyam, son of Bek (79, i), addressee of a letter. (iv) Meyam, named in a letter. (v) Meyam (fl. 722 C.E.), son of Piy (375, ii), inhabitant of Lizag, party to a contract. (vi) Meyam (fl. 729 C.E.), son of Wahran (320, iii), whose estate is called Spandagan, party to a contract. — **D** Whether or not Meyam (i) is actually the same person as the ruler whose name is written in Brahmi as *Mehama*, the name *μηιαμο* is almost certainly a variant of *μηναμο* (247), q.v. for etymological discussion. In the Arabic documents from Afghanistan published by KHAN 2007 the name is attested both as *mym* (documents 31, 32) and as *mhm* (document 23), though the two spellings do not necessarily refer to the same person (see *ibid.*, 160).

It seems likely that “Meham al-Bāmiyānī” in the Arabic document 23 (770 C.E.) is a member of the same family as “Mīr b. Bēk al-Bāmiyānī”, i.e. Mir (253, ii), son of Bek (79, iii). If he is a grandson of Meyam (iii), and thus a great-grandson of Bek (79, i), as suggested to me by F. DE BLOIS, and if Bek (i) may be identified with Bek (ii) as proposed above, Mehama al-Bāmiyānī would be a second cousin of Mīr b. Bēk. KHAN 2007, 21, proposes to identify Mehama al-Bāmiyānī with Meyam (vi), fl. 729 C.E., further identifying the latter’s father Wahran (320, iii) with Mīr’s brother Wahran (320, iv, fl. 747-50 C.E.), but this reconstruction is extremely unlikely from a chronological point of view.

**245. μηλμοκο m.:** **B** BD1, ag7. — **P** Melmuk, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** No doubt a hypocoristic in *-κο*, but the etymology of the underlying *\*μηλμο* is unclear. Rather than *\*madmiya-* (cf. Av. *mad(ə)miia-* “middling”), which would hardly explain the vowel *-η-*, it may be better to think of a dialect variant of *μηιαμο* (244), *μηναμο* (247) < *\*maiθman-* “guest”, cf. in particular Pashto *mēlma*, which has regular *l* < *\*θ* (see further s.v. *ταλμοζηνο*, 462, and note *λμ* also in *Ιλμαζαδο*, 564).

**246. μηο m.:** **B** NumH 62-3 (see also ALRAM 2000, 145, pl. 5/97). — **P** Name of a ruler. — **D** Probably (with GÖBL 1967, I, 74), an abbrev. spelling of the name attested in Brahmi on the typologically very similar coins NumH 71 etc., for which *Mehama* now seems the most likely reading (see 244, i). For the etymology of this name see under *μηναμο* (247). A connection with the Sogd. PN *myw* (IPNB II/8, no. 738) is much less likely.

**247. μην(αμ)[ο] m.:** **B** Hc095. — **P** Mehama(?), owner of a seal. — **D** This appears to be the oldest form of a name which is more commonly

spelled *μηιαμο* (244) as a result of the loss of intervocalic *-h-* and insertion of *-y-* to fill the resulting hiatus. Perhaps from *\*maiθmā*, nom. sg. of *\*maiθman-* “guest”, NP *mihmān* (also attested as a PN, see JUSTI 1895, 204a), Yazghulami *meθmen*, Pashto *mēlma* etc. Cf. also *μηο* (246) and perhaps *μηλμοκο* (245).

*μi*: see *μiρανο* (253) and *φριουιαμφοχοηο* (504)

248. [†*μiζαδο*: supposed PN on Sig 11 (thus DAVARY 1982, 109, 233, partly following HUMBACH 1969, 72-4). Differently SW 2005a, 337-8: *ι-αζαδο* “the noble”].

249. *μιαρο* m.: B SW 2005, S5, 9, 13, 30\*. — P Miyar (fl. 693 C.E.), son of Farn-agad (490), from Bunsuglig, party to a contract. — D Probably connected with the Sogd. PN *my'rx'n* (IPNB II/8, no. 724). Possibly Miyar's name is in fact Sogdian, as may also be the case with those of his father Farn-agad and of his brother Potan (384). I owe to P. LURJE the suggestion that the GN *Bunsuglig* (*βονοσογολιγο*) may specifically refer to a Sogdian (*\*σογολιγο*, cf. 441) settlement (*βονο* “land, landed property”).

250. *ΜΙΠΡΟΖΑΔΟ* m.: B obl.(?) °ΔΑ Ayrtaṃ inscription, line 6 (TURGUNOV et al. 1981, 41). — P Mihir-zad, writer of the inscription. — D *\*Miθra-zāta-* “begotten by Mithra”, MP/NP PN *Mihrzād* (NYBERG 1974, 133a, JUSTI 1895, 206b).

†*μiροσανο*: see *αδομανο* (9)

*ΜΙΟΡΑΜΑΝΟ*: see *ΜΙΥΡΑΜΑΝΟ* (262)

†*μiροδαδο*: see *μiροδαδο* (258)

*μiρανο*(?): see *μiρηνο* (251) and *μiρο* (253)

251. *μiρηνο* m.: B Bilingual inscription from Kara-Tepe (STAVISKIY 1984, fig. 21b). — P Miren (Pahl. *mtlyn*), a visitor to Kara-Tepe. — D

MP PN *Mihrēn* (IPNB II/2, no. 642), also transcribed into Sogdian as *myr'yn* (IPNB II/8, no. 730).

In Kara-Tepe IV, 170, STAVISKIJ cites his own reading of the Bactrian as “Mirano”, i.e. *μῖρανο*, and LUKONIN’s reading of the MP as “Mihran”, i.e. *ml'n*. Relying on the inadequate photograph *ibid.*, pl. 10, HUMBACH 1984, 94, read the MP version as Parthian.

**252. μῖρι(α)[ν]ο(?) m.:** **B** Kara-Tepe inscription B1, line 1 (Kara-Tepe II, fig. 19a). — **P** Mir-yan(?), a visitor to Kara-Tepe. — **D** If correctly read and restored, perhaps \**Miθra-yāna*- “favour of Mithra”, cf. Sogd. PN *mšyy'n* (IPNB II/8, no. 699).

Uncertain. The drawing (Kara-Tepe II, fig. 19a) shows *μῖρια[•]ο* or *μῖριο[•]ο*, but no photo seems to have been published. LIVŠIČ (Kara-Tepe IV, 55) restored *μῖρι(α)[δ]ο*, but *μῖρι(α)[ν]ο* is perhaps more likely. HARMATTA (Kara-Tepe II, 83f) reads *τιριδαδο*, a name which he also restores in another Kara-Tepe inscription (*ibid.*, 108, line 8; cf. also IPNB VII/1B, no. 524), but the reading cannot be verified in either place.

**μῖρκανο:** see *μῖροκο* (259)

**253. μῖρο m.:** **B** (i) *μῖρο[ο]?* Kara-Tepe inscription B10 (LIVŠIČ in Kara-Tepe II, 80); (ii) BD1, W10, 16', 24', X4, 10, 12, 17, 24, Y3, 6 (x2), 8, 11, 17, 23, adj. *μῖραγγο* Y17, 18 (x2), 19; cf. also the FN *μῖρανο* *ibid.*, ag14\*. — **P** (i) Mir(?) (fl. 257 C.E.), a visitor to Kara-Tepe. (ii) Mir (fl. 747-771/2 C.E.), son of Bek (79, iii), inhabitant of Asp, party to three contracts. Also named as a taxpayer and landowner, and as the father of a son Qār-wāl or al-Qār-wāl (fl. 771-774/5 C.E., cf. the title *καροσαλο* “leader of the people”) and of a daughter Ḥamra (fl. 765-766 C.E., reading uncertain), in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, where his name is spelt *myr*, once *byr*, see KHAN 2007, 20, 93, and he is sometimes given the *nisba* “al-Bāmiyānī”, i.e. “native of Bamiyan”. — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing the DN \**Miθra*-, cf. the following names.

In Kara-Tepe inscription B10, *μῖρο[ο]* may be only the beginning of a longer name (*μῖρο[α]νο* according to HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 104, who finds the same name in two other Kara-Tepe inscriptions, see *ibid.*, 94, 95). Since no photos seem to have been published, these readings cannot be checked. On *μῖ* as an abbrev. spelling of a patr./FN, possibly *μῖρανο*, see 504.

**254. *μροβαμο* m.:** **B** (i) BD2, **bh9**; (ii)  $^{\circ}\beta(\alpha)[\mu\omicron]$  BD2, **da6\*(?)**. — **P** (i) Mir-bam, named in a letter. (ii) Mir-ba[m](?) (fl. 421 C.E.), named in another letter. (Doubtful: could equally well be restored Mir-ba[ndag], see the next entry, in particular Mir-bandag (iii)-(iv), who could be the same person.) — **D** Compound of  $\mu(v)\rho\omicron$  “Mithra” and  $*b\bar{a}ma-$  “light, ray, dawn”, cf. Sogd. f. PNs *m'xβ'mh*, *nwšβ'mh*, *nwy-β'mh*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 642, 835, 841. Cf. also *μυροβαμανο* (263).

**255. *μροβανδαγο*, *μ̄ροβανδαγο* m.:** **B** (i)  $\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}^{\circ}$  BD1, **C9**; (ii)  $\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}^{\circ}$  BD2, **cc11f**; (iii)  $\mu\rho\bar{\omicron}^{\circ}$  *ibid.*, **de12f\***; (iv)  $\mu\rho\bar{\omicron}^{\circ}$  *ibid.*, **ea13**; cf. also the patr./FN *μροβανδαγανο* *ibid.*, **cr4**. — **P** (i) Mihr-bandag (fl. 380 C.E. or earlier), inhabitant of Istakhirs, owner of a vineyard. (ii) Mihr-bandag, a messenger(?). (iii) Mir-bandag (fl. 422 C.E.), an official who “authorizes” a letter for the governor (*καδαγοβιδο*) Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii). Possibly the same person as (iv) Mir-bandag (fl. 461/2 C.E.), inhabitant of Murwand, who carries out the same function on behalf of the governor Meyam (244, i). (For another possible reference to this(?) Mir-bandag see the preceding entry.) — **D** “Slave of Mithra”, cf. the Arm. PN *Mihrevandak*, HÜBSCHMANN 1897, 52.

**256. [†*μροβωζηδο*]:** supposed PN in a Kara-Tepe inscription (see HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 119), but no photograph is available from which the reading could be verified].

**257. *μρογοξγο*, *μ̄ρογοξγο* m.:** **B**  $\mu\rho\bar{\omicron}^{\circ}$  BD2, **bc5\***,  $\mu\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}^{\circ}$  *ibid.*, **bc8f\***, 17, 19\*. — **P** Mi(h)r-guzg, named in a letter. — **D** Compound of  $\mu\rho\bar{\omicron}$  “Mithra” and  $-\gamma\omicron\xi\gamma\omicron$  “request”(?), see under *κοζγαρκο* (217).

**258. [†*μροδαδο*, †*μιοροδαδο*, †*μρολαδο*]:** a PN  $\mu(\omicron)\rho\omicron\delta\alpha\delta\omicron$  is read by HARMATTA in several Kara-Tepe inscriptions (see Kara-Tepe II, 89, 93, 108, line 12), none of which can be verified, and a variant *μρολαδο* in inscription B1, line 4 (*ibid.*, 83, 88-9), in place of which LIVŠIĆ at first read  $-\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\alpha(\delta)\iota-$  (*ibid.*, 77, without word-division or interpretation), later  $\mu\rho\omicron\pi\alpha(v)\omicron$  (Kara-Tepe IV, 56; misquoted in *IPNB* VII/1B, no. 363). No photo is available, but to judge from the published drawing of this inscription (*ibid.*, fig. 19a), it may be possible to read  $\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\delta\omicron$  [ $\alpha$ ]σο  $\mu\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\pi\omicron(v)[\alpha\delta\omicron]$  “so whatever merit may arise hereafter”, a variant of a

well-known phrase (see SW *apud* KARASHIMA 2008, 89). DAVARY 1982, 76, 233, reads *μοροσοδ(ο)* on the basis of the same drawing and interprets this as a PN].

**259.** \**μυροκο* m.: B FN *μρκανο* BD1, ag16\*. — D Hypocoristic to *μυρο* (253).

**260.** *μρομαρηγο* m.: B BD2, bb2f\*, bc2\*, bd2f. — P Mihr-mareg, an officer (*φρομαλαρο*), sender of three letters to Khwadew-wanind (524). — D “Slave of Mithra”, a compound of *μ(υ)ρο* “Mithra” and *μαρηγο* “slave, servant”. H. FALK kindly draws my attention to the fact that the Bactr. name is also attested as *Miramaréga* in a Khar. inscription published by FACCENNA 1988, 447-8 (where the last *akṣara* is read as *g(r)a* or *mi(ḥ)*).

†*μυροπανο*: see *μυροδαδο* (258)

**261.** *μροσπαλο* m.: B BD2, cr2\*. — P Mir-spal (fl. 380 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — D “Belonging to the army of Mi(h)r”. Regarding similar compounds with \**σπαλο* “army” see s.v. *αγγαδοσπαλο* (7). Cf. also the inverted variant *ασπαλομυρο* (29).

*μυροβαβορο*: see *μυροβαβορο* (267)

**262.** *MIYPAMANO*, *MIOPAMANO* m.: B *MIYPAMANO* SKM24f; *AMIYPAMANO* SKM25, *AMIOPAMANO* SKA27. — P Mihraman, son of Burz-mihr (98, i), writer of the inscriptions SKA and SKM. — D Evidently a compound containing the DN “Mithra”, but the second component is unclear. HENNING 1960, 48, transcribed the name as Mihrāmān, perhaps implying an interpretation of the second component as equivalent to Sogd. ’m’n “power, authority” (cf. SW 1994, n. 8 on pp. 177-8, and see MACKENZIE 1976, II, 74, where Chor. *b-’m’n* “hopeless, despairing” is also cited). HUMBACH 1966, 98-9, gives a tentative derivation from \**miθr-āmāna-* and translates “sonnengleich” (but does not regard the word as a PN). GERSHEVITCH 1985, 70 n. 11 (improving on his earlier formulation, *ibid.*, 55), suggests “a haplology of \**Miθra-rāman-* ‘finding peace in Mithra’”.

263. *μυροβαμνο* m. PN(?): **B** BD1, af4, ak13f. — **P** Mihrbaman, person or family named in two lists. It is not clear whether both attestations refer to the same person or family. — **D** At least in origin a patr./FN derived from \**μυροβαμο*, a variant of the PN *μυροβαμο* (254).

\**μυρογολο*: see *σαχβογολο* (322)

†*μυροζαδο*: see *σιυραζαδο* (438)

264. [*μυροξινιγο*: supposed PN or patr. in Uruzgan inscription no. 2 (see HENNING 1965, 86 with n. 60; DAVARY 1982, 69, 232). Apart from the final -o, the reading is fairly clear, as is the meaning “under the care of the sun” (cf. *οισβοροξινιιο*, 350), but the word or phrase is unlikely to be a PN, see discussion s.v. *μαυοξινιγο* (239)].

265. [†*μ[υρο]μαιχο* m.: **B** Eight seal-impressions from Džiga-tepe (NIKITIN 1994). — **P** Mihr-meh(?) (Pahl. *mtrymsy*), name of a satrap of Balkh, owner of a seal with bilingual inscription. — **D** One expects a Bactr. transcription of the MP name found on the same seal, but nothing can be seen on the published photos and the form *μ[υρο]μαιχο* or *μ[ρο]μαιχο* reconstructed by NIKITIN is quite implausible].

†*μυροπανο*: see *αδομανο* (9)

266. *ΜΙΥΡΟΣΑΝΟ* m.: **B** GKg001 (unpublished seal in the Aman ur Rahman collection). — **P** Mihr-san, owner of a seal. — **D** Evidently a compound containing the DN “Mithra”. The second component is probably to be identified with the attested noun *σανο* “pleasure” < \**čanah-* (BD2, 262b), cf. the El. PN *Mitrizina* < \**Miθra-čanah-* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 207, no. 8.1174, TAVERNIER 2007, 249, no. 4.2.1107), to which R. SCHMITT kindly draws my attention. Cf. also Av. *Xšaθrō.čīnah-*, OP *Aspa-canah-* (IPNB I/1, no. 396, I/2, no. 15), as well as *οινδοσαναγο* (342) and *σανο* (415). The alternative of equating the name with the noun *μ(ι)ροασανο*, later *μυροσανο* “east” < \**miθr-āsāna-* “sunrise” (BD2, 233b; cf. also s.v. *αδομανο*, 9), is problematic, since the loss of the -ā- of the second syllable is not attested until much later than the likely date of this seal. In theory one could reconstruct a variant with

\**sāna-* beside \**ā-sāna-*, cf. Sogd. *xw(y)rsn* “sunrise”, but it seems unlikely that two such forms would have been in use simultaneously in Bactrian.

**267. *μυροβαβορο, μροβαβορο* m.:** **B** (i) *μυρο*<sup>ο</sup> BD2, xl2f; (ii) *μυρο*<sup>ο</sup> BD1, J2, v4. — **P** (i) Mihr-shabur, *khar* of Rob, sender of a letter. (ii) Mir-shabur Yolaban (fl. 517 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** MP PN *Mihr-šābuhr* (IPNB II/2, no. 656, II/3, no. 243, JUSTI 1895, 206a).

**268. *μοζδαβανδαγο* m.:** **B** (i) BD2, cp4f, 24f, 27; (ii) *ibid.*, cj5\*. — **P** (i) Muzda-bandag, named in a letter. Probably not the same person as (ii) Muzda-bandag, nephew of Wan (303, i). — **D** “Slave of Mazda”, a compound formed from the DN \**Mazdā-* and *βανδαγο* “servant, slave”.

**269. *μοζδακο* m.:** **B** Sig 30 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/3). — **P** Muzdak, owner of a seal. — **D** \**Mazdaka-*, hypocoristic to a PN containing the DN \**Mazdā-*. An ancient and widely-attested name, cf. Neo-Assyrian *Mašdaku*, IPNB VII/1A, no. 91, Sogd. *mzt'kk*, IPNB II/8, no. 749, etc.

The former reading *μαζδακο* (HUMBACH 1966, 74; GÖBL 1967, I, 240; DAVARY 1982, 112, 229; SW 1992, 28) was corrected by *SW apud* CALLIERI 1998, 308.

**270. *μοζδαμαρηγο* m.:** **B** (i) BD2, ca1, 19f; (ii) BD1, af2, aj2f. — **P** (i) Muzda-mareg, an official, addressee of a letter. (ii) Muzda-mareg, named in two lists. It is not clear whether both these attestations refer to the same person. — **D** “Slave of Mazda”, a compound formed from the DN \**Mazdā-* and *μαρηγο* “slave, servant”.

**271. *μοζδαοανινδο* m.:** **B** BD1, A22. — **P** Muzda-wanind, father of Ninduk Okhshbadagan (287, fl. 332 C.E.). — **D** “Victorious through Mazda”.

**272. *μοζδο* m.:** **B** (i) Shatial 34:120 (SW *apud* FUSSMAN-KÖNIG 1997, 194, correcting the reading *μαζδο* given in SW 1992, 28, no. 234); (ii) BD1, E3'; (iii) BD2, ee4, BD1, G2\*, 6, H3; (iv) *ibid.*, ee11f; (v) *ibid.*, K4, 16\*; (vi) *ibid.*, L5; (vii) *ibid.*, L5, 10, 28. — For another possible attestation see *μοζδο* (566). — **P** (i) Muzd, a visitor to Shatial. (ii) Muzd (fl. 466 C.E.), a supplier of grain. Probably the same person as (iii)



Muzd Kharagan (fl. 472 C.E.), keeper of the granary, sender of a letter and party to two contracts. (iv) Muzd, inhabitant of Abasakhan, named in a letter. (v) Muzd Pazburan (fl. 579 C.E.), party to a contract. (vi) Muzd, father of Waraz-wyesh (311, fl. 602 C.E.), grandfather of the next. (vii) Muzd (fl. 602 C.E.), son of Waraz-wyesh (311), inhabitant of Warnu, whose estate is called Zinadasagan, party to a contract. — **D** Probably, with SW 2000a, 8, a short name derived from a compound containing the DN \**Mazdā-*, though the alternative of a derivation from \**mižda-* “reward” cannot be ruled out, cf. *βοδδομοζδο* (93) and *λαδομοζδο* (228). Cf. also MP PN *Mazd* (or *Mizd?*), *IPNB* II/2, no. 600.

**273. MOZΔO(OA)[NO] m.:** **B** GKc589 (unpublished sealing in the Aman ur Rahman collection). — **P** Muzduwan, owner of a seal. — **D** Presumably a short name based on a compound containing the DN *μοζδοοανο*. The latter probably derives from \**Miždwan-* “the Gracious One” as suggested by SW 1997; cf. also GNOLI 2009, 146, 149 (with references to earlier suggestions, to which one may add HUMBACH 1966, 45).

†*μοροσανο*: see *αδομανο* (9)

†*μοροσοδο*: see *μιροδαδο* (258)

**274. μосо m.:** **B** BD1, M2, 6. — **P** Mus (fl. 610 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** Unclear.

**275. μωιανο m.:** **B** (i) BD1, M4, 5; (ii) SW 2009b, Nn10, SW 2005, R6, 8, 14, 19f. — **P** (i) Moyan (fl. 610 C.E.), party(?) to a contract. (ii) Moyan (fl. 659-675 C.E.), son of Laguk (225), brother of Bramarz (104), inhabitant of Lizg, whose house is called Lagukan, party to two contracts. — **D** In origin perhaps a patr. formation from a name cognate with that of the Śaka chieftain Maues (see above s.v. *μαοιλο*, 235).

Moyan (ii) may be the unnamed brother of Bramarz son of Laguk who is referred to in document O (662 C.E.), see SW 2009b, 197b.

**276. ναβαγο m.:** **B** (i) BD2, da3\*, db3\*, dc2, dd3; (ii) *ibid.*, df1, dg1, 5. — **P** (i) Nabag (fl. 421 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of several

letters from the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii). Probably the same person as (ii) Nabag Pur[...], an official concerned with the supply of salt etc., addressee of two letters including one from Gurambad Kerawan (119, i). — **D** Probably the same as the common noun *ναβαγο*, *νιβαγο* “pledge, hostage” < \**ni-pā-ka-* (BD2, 236a). Cf. also the Sogd. PN *np’k*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 809, if this is the correct reading.

277. *ναβ•••βιδο* m.: **B** BD1, a19f\*. — **P** Nab[...]-bid(?), commander of a fortress. — **D** In origin a title ending with *-βιδο* “chief, master” < \**-pati-*.

*ναδο*: see *νοδο* (288)

278. *νακίνο* m.: **B** BD2, jh2f\*. — **P** Nakin, the leader (*σαρολαρο*) of Ulishagan, sender of a letter. — **D** Unclear.

279. *ναν(η)οβαγοκο* or *νανοβαγοκο(?)* m.: **B** Sig 65 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/1). — **P** Nanebaguk or Nanbaguk(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Apparently a hypocoristic in *-κο* to a compound ending in *βαγο* “god”, cf. SW 1992, 35 with n. 7, on Sogd. *’by’mnyw’k* and other instances of hypocoristic suffixes attached to compound DNs “whose components have become fused” (cf. also s.v. *φινδοφαρριζ*, 496). If either of the suggested readings is correct (see below), the first component of the compound will be the name of the goddess Nana or Nanai, cf. the next two names.

My reading is based on BIVAR’s photo, since the seal itself has been lost since at least 1985. The first part of the word, which is read *κωζο* by DAVARY 1982, 113, 213, and regarded by him as a separate PN, begins with two W-shaped *ν*-s (cf. 17, 90) separated by an *α* or *ο*. The following letter does indeed look like a *ζ*, but can perhaps be interpreted as the lower part of a cursive *η*; alternatively, one may consider the possibility that it is a mere blunder on the part of the engraver.

280. *νανηβανδο* m.: **B** BD1, M2, 7. — **P** Nane-band (fl. 610 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** “Slave of Nanai”. Although one would expect \**νανηβανδαγο*, cf. Sogd. *nnyβntk* and many other names in *-βανδαγο/-βntk* (perhaps including *ν[αν]οβανδαγο*, see 295), it does not seem likely that *-βανδο* (twice!) can be a mere graphic variant of *-βανδαγο*. Regarding a possible Sogd. PN *nnyβnt* see *IPNB* II/8, no. 804. Cf. also *βανδο* (70), *πιδωδοβανδο* (373) and *χοηβανδο* (536).

281. \**vano* m.: **B** EN *vanavo* SW 2009b, **Nn9**, 12f, 22, 7'. — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing the name of the goddess Nana or Nanai (cf. Sogd. PN *nny*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 783). A “reduplicative hypocoristic”, cf. the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σασο* (425), is also possible.

*vanoβαγοκο*: see *van(η)οβαγοκο* (279)

*v[av]οβανδαγο*: see *v[av]οβανδαγο* (295)

282. *vaoαζο*, *vaoαζο* m.: **B** (i)  $v^\circ$  BD2, **cb3\***, **cc1**, 20\*, **cd1**, 15\*, **ce1**, 8, **cf1**, 15, **cg1**, **ch2\***, **ci4**, 7 (x2), 11f,  $\bar{v}^\circ$  *ibid.*, **cg16**; (ii)  $v^\circ$  *ibid.*, **cp1**, 37; (iii)  $v^\circ$  *ibid.*, **cj1**, **ck1**, **cl3**, **cm3**; (iv)  $v^\circ$  *ibid.*, **cn2\***; (v)  $v^\circ$  *ibid.*, **co2**, **co** sealing\*(?). — **P** (i) Nawaz Kha(h)ruga(n)/Khar(ag)an, a nobleman, sender or addressee of several letters. Possibly the same person as (ii) Nawaz, commander of a fortress, addressee of a letter, but apparently distinct from (iii) Nawaz, another nobleman, addressee of two letters. (iv)-(v) Persons named Nawaz, senders of two letters, who are not clearly identifiable either with one another or with any of (i)-(iii). — **D** \**Nāw-āza-* “pilot, sailor”, cf. Av. *nauuāza-*, Pth. *n'w'z*, Sogd. *nw'z*, etc. According to JUSTI 1895, 218b, and ABAEV 1979, 296, the proto-Oss. PN *Nάβαζος* also belongs here.

283. \**varo*(?) or \**varogo*(?) m.: **B** EN *varoōavo* BD1, **V16**. — **D** The spelling implies \**Nāruwān*, in origin a patr. formation from a PN \**Nār*, older \**Nāru-*, or perhaps \**Nārug* < \**Nāruka-*. Connected with Av. *Narauua-* “descendant of \**Naru-*”, *IPNB* I/1, no. 230 (cf. also MAYRHOFER 1973, 212, no. 8.1250)?

284. *varoto* m.: **B** BD1, **ag14**. — **P** Narut, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Unclear.

285. *vato* m.: **B** (i) BD2, **ca1**, 18; (ii) *ibid.*, **xd6\***; cf. also *vatoγavo* *ibid.*, **xi9\***, which may be a patr./FN. — **P** (i) Nat, an official, addressee of a letter. (ii) Nat Kharagan, named in a letter, perhaps the father of the *khar*(?) Wirwareg(?) Natugan(?) (348). — **D** Possibly the genuine Bactr.

outcome of *\*našta-* “spoiled”, attested elsewhere in the non-Bactr. form *ναρτο* (BD2, 239a).

**286. νατο••νδο** m.: **B** BD1, ak8f. — **P** Nat[...]nd, named in a list. — **D** Compound of *νατο* (285)?

**287. νινδοκο** m.: **B** BD1, A9, 22, 23, 24, 29. — **P** Ninduk Okhshbadagan (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Muzda-wanind (271), father of Yamshbandagan (168, i), Pap (367, i) and Yat (180), party to a contract. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to a PN containing an otherwise unattested name-component *\*νινδο*.

**288. νοδο** or **ναδο** m.: **B** Hc079. — **P** Nud(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Cf. MP PN *Nōd*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 691?

**289. NOKONZOKO** m.: **B** °*ZOKO* Rab16, SKA9, SKB10f, SKM6f, obl. °*ZIKI* SKB26, SKM22f. — **P** Nukunzuk, a high official who bears the title *αρτοσα[λγο]* in the Rabatak inscription (see SW 1998, 86) and the title *καραλραγγο* “margrave” in the Surkh Kotal inscription. — **D** Possibly a hypocoristic in *-κο*, but otherwise unclear, since the etymological suggestions listed by DAVARY 1982, 239, are unconvincing. The internal *-κ-* suggests non-Bactrian origin, but not necessarily Indian as suggested by SW 1975, 98 n. 11.

HUMBACH 2003, 161-2, interprets *νοκονζοκο* as an appellative “minister”.

**290. \*νονοκο** m.: **B** patr./FN °*κανο* BD1, F4, 10'. — **D** Probably a “reduplicative hypocoristic” *\*νονο*, cf. the Sogd. PN *nwn*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 828, and the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σαυσο* (425), plus hypocoristic suffix *-κο* as in the case of *τητοκο* (466) beside *τητο* (465).

**291. νωγοσανινδο** f.(?): **B** BD1, A11. — **P** Nog-sanind (fl. 332 C.E.), wife(?) of Far-wesh (493) and mother(?) of Ralik (385), party to a contract. — **D** Compound of *νωγο* “new (moon)” and *\*σανινδο* “rising”, present participle of *\*san* “to rise” (Sogd. *sn-* etc.).

The context suggests that Far-wesh and Nog-sanind are the parents of Ralik. Of the two, Nog-sanind seems more likely to be a f. name; cf. the Sogd. f. PNs with first component *m'x* “moon” or *nwy* “new (moon)” (*IPNB* II/8, no. 642, 647, 649, 841).

**292. \*νωγοφαρνο** m.: **B** EN °*νανο* BD1, **W9**, 12. — **D** Probably “(possessing) the glory of the new (moon)”. As noted s.v. \**αδοροφαρνιγο* (11), the form \**φαρνο* (~ Bactr. *φαρ(ρ)ο*) suggests a foreign origin. In this case the source is probably the Sogd. PN *nwyfrn* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 843; WEBER 1972, 199), with assimilation (cf. 490) of Sogd. *nwy* < \**nawaka*- “new” to its Bactr. equivalent *νωγο*.

**293. νωσπιλο** m.: **B** SW 2005, **Uu14**; cf. also the FN *νωσπιλανο* *ibid.*, **Uu17**, 25. — **P** Nospil (fl. before 722 C.E.), inhabitant of Samingan. — **D** Perhaps a compound with *νω-* for *νωγο* “new (moon)”, cf. the various spellings of the month-name *βιδδιγο-νωγο-σαρλο*, *βιδδι-νω-σαρλο* etc. (BD2, 203a), and unclear second component.

**294. [†νωβοποαρο**: supposed PN on Sig 11 (thus DAVARY 1982, 109, 239-40, partly following HUMBACH 1969, 72-4). Differently SW 2005a, 337-8: *νωβοχοαρο* “deceased, the late”].

**295. ν[ ]οβανδαγο** m.: **B** BD2, **cr2f**. — **P** N[...]bandag (fl. 380 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — **D** “Slave of N[...]”, perhaps to be restored as *ν[αν]οβανδαγο* “slave of Nana” (cf. 279-281).

**296. [†οαηβοπουρο**: supposed PN on Sig 6 (thus DAVARY 1982, 108, 302). Differently SW–TUCKER 2006, 588: a form of the Indian title *devaputra-* (*διβοποτρο?* *δηβοπουρο?*)].

**297. οαιοφαρο(?)** m.: **B** Hc082. — **P** Way-far(?), owner of a seal. — **D** The reading is uncertain. If it is correct, perhaps a MP PN \**Way-farr* “(possessing) the glory of Vayu” (cf. the next).

Cannot be read *οαναφαρο* as in 300.

**298. οαιοραβορο** m.: **B** BD2, **c11**, 12\*. — **P** Way-shabur Shaburan, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. — **D** MP PN *Way-šābuhr*, as one may read the name written *wyđšhpwhly* or *wyđšhpwhly* and listed as *Vēh-šābuhr* in *IPNB* II/2, no. 990, II/3, no. 356. Rather than \**waidya-* “wise” (with GIGNOUX) the frequent first component *wyđ-* may be a variant form of the DN *w’d-*, *w’y-*, i.e. *Way* (see *IPNB* II/2, no. 962-4, especially

*wydgwšnsp'*, no. 981, beside *w'dgwšnsp'*, no. 963, and *wydbndky* “Slave of Way”, no. 972). Cf. also *οαιοφαρο* (297).

**299. οανακο** m.: **B** (i) *οανα—κο(?)* on a seal known only from an impression in the R. N. Frye collection (BIVAR 1968, pl. XXVII/8; see also DAVARY 1982, 112, whose suggestion that this seal is the same as Sig 29 cannot be correct); (ii) *οανα(κ)[ο]* Hg004; (iii) SW 2009b, Nn8, 12, 21. — **P** (i-ii) Two persons named Wanak, owners of different seals. (iii) Wanak (fl. 659 C.E.), son of Khwas (528), inhabitant of Lizg, whose house is called Nanan, party to a contract. — **D** Hypocoristic to *οανο* (303).

**300. οαναφαρο** m.: **B** BD2, ch12f\*. — **P** Wanafar, a prince (*οισβοργο*). — **D** \**Wana-farnah-* “winning glory”, see SCHMITT 2006, 174, who points out that this PN is attested in Greek as *Ὀναφέρωνης* and in Brahmi as *Vanaspara/Vanašpara*, the name of a Kushan *kṣatrapa*.

**301. οανηχανο** m. PN(?): **B** BD1, ag9. — **P** Wanekhan, person or family named in a list of producers of wine at Golg. — **D** Perhaps a compound of \**οανη-* (a derivative of *οανο*, 303?) and *χανο*. The latter is attested in the sense “house”, perhaps also as part of the GNs *σηδχανο* and *νονοσηχανο* (BD2, 263b, 273a), and may be compared with Sogd. *x'n* (“house” or “spring, source”?) as a component in both GNs and PNs (SW 1992, 78).

The comparison with Sogd. (< MP) *wnx'n* “Tuesday” implied by LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1329, does not account for *-η-*.

**302. \*οανινδο** m.: **B** GN *οδανο* SW 2005, S2. — **D** “Victor” < \**wanant-a-*, cf. Sogd. PN *wn'nt* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1314). The form *οανινδο* is also attested as a name-component (51, 64, 162, 170, 271, 325, 524, 553), as a noun or adj. “victor, victorious” (Surkh Kotal), and as the name of a goddess (on coins of Huvishka, in this case presumably representing a f. form \**Wanant-ī-*).

**303. οανο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, cj2\*; (ii) *ibid.*, xj2. — For another possible attestation see s.v. *βαγσοανο* (52). — **P** (i) Wan, an official, uncle of Muzda-bandag (268, ii), sender of a letter to Kulu-ardag (199, ii) and

Nawaz (282, iii). Probably the same person as (ii) Wan, sender of a note enclosed within another letter to the same Nawaz. — **D** A short name derived from the root \*wan “to win”, but the exact formation is unclear. According to HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 91-2, *oavo* may derive from \*wana- “conquering” as the first element of a governing compound like Av. *vanō.vīspa-* “all-conquering”; cf. *oavapapo* (300) and the Sogd. names in *wn-* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1319-20), which appear to be compounds of this sort. On the other hand, the exact correspondence between *oavoσao* (304) and Sogd. *wnws’w* suggests that *oavo* should be compared with the Sogd. name-component *wnw/wnwn* (*ibid.*, no. 1324-8, cf. also hypocoristic *wn’wk*, *ibid.*, no. 1316), which seems to derive from a formation with suffix \*-wan-.

**304. oavoσao** m.: **B** Shatial 47:16 (SW 1992, 14, 28, no. 452). — **P** Wanu-saw or Wan-saw, a visitor to Shatial, perhaps the same person who is named as *wnws’w* in a Sogd. inscription at the same site. — **D** Whether or not both forms refer to the same individual, the name is no doubt etymologically identical with the Sogd. PN *wnws’w*, which probably means “victorious strength” (see SW 1992, 75; *IPNB* II/8, no. 1328). Both components are probably attested in Bactrian as PNs, cf. *oavo* (303) and \*σaoo (418).

†*oaoμano*: see *adoμano* (9)

**305. oapayo** f.: **B** BD1, **T6**, 11, 18. — **P** Warag (fl. 700 C.E.), a slave, subject of a deed of gift. — **D** Etymologically ambiguous. Connection with the m. noun \*warn-aka- “lamb”, NP *barra* (cf. HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 84), or with the Babylonian m. PN *U-rak* (*IPNB* VII/1B, no. 600), or with the MP m. PN *Wārag* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 938), is possible but not compelling.

According to HARMATTA a m. PN *oapayo* is attested once or twice in the Kara-Tepe inscriptions, see Kara-Tepe II, 83f, 116, but his readings cannot be verified. The first occurrence is tentatively read *opoyo* by LIVŠIČ, *ibid.*, 77-8, but neither reading agrees perfectly with the published drawing (*ibid.*, fig. 19a).

**306. [†oap(α)ζadi**: uncertain word in the Kara-Tepe inscription B1, line 2, read thus and interpreted as a PN by LIVŠIČ in Kara-Tepe IV, 56.

The drawing (Kara-Tepe II, fig. 19a) suggests a word beginning *οαρζ(ο/α)-* or perhaps *οαρ[α]ζ(ο/α)-*, but no photo seems to have been published. HARMATTA (ibid., 83-5) reads *οαραζαγανο*, a name which he also finds in another Kara-Tepe inscription (ibid., 109, line 19), and DAVARY 1982, 76, 243, reads *οαρ(ι)ζαδι*, but none of these readings can be verified].

**307. οαραζανο** m.: **B** BD2, je2. — **P** Warazan, father of Tir-spal (470). — **D** In origin a patr. formation from a PN \*οαραζο (= οοραζο, 356); cf. also the GN \*οαραζαγανο attested through the ethnic adj. or noun *οαραζαγανιγο* “(man) belonging to (the place or family) Warazagan” (BD2, 241b).

The Bactr. name is also attested as *wr'z'n* and *wrz'n* in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 93. Regarding a claimed PN *οαραζαγανο* see the preceding entry.

**308. ο[αρα]ζοαραυρανο** m.: **B** BD1, ak9f\*. — **P** Waraz-warahran, named in a list. — **D** If correctly restored (see SW 2000a, 12a), a MP PN \**Warāz-warahrān* containing the components *warāz* “boar” (= οοραζο, 356) and *οαραυρανο* (315).

**309. οαραζοβοροσαμο** m.: **B** BD2, dd8. — **P** Waraz-bursam (fl. 421 C.E.), a record-keeper (*σιρολαρο*) who “authorizes” a letter for the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (210, ii). — **D** MP PN \**Warāz-bursām*, a combination of *warāz* “boar” (= οοραζο, 356) and the PN *Abursām* (of disputed etymology, but perhaps identical with MP *abursām* “balsam”, with LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 50; differently GIGNOUX, who reads *Ābursām*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 14, cf. HUYSE 1999, 137, for further discussion).

**310. οαραζογοζγο, οαραζογοζαγο** m.: **B** °ζγο BD1, aa35f\*, °ζαγο ibid., aa36\*. — **P** Waraz-guz(a)g, a scribe, writer of a contract. — **D** Compound of \*οοραζο = \*οοραζο “boar” (356) and -γοζγο “request” (?), for which see s.v. *ΚΟΖΓΑΡΚΟ* (217).

**311. οαραζοοιηβο** m.: **B** BD1, L5, 5f, 9f, 28, 29', v1\*. — **P** Waraz-wyesh (fl. 602 C.E.), son of Muzd (272, vi), father of Muzd (272, vii),



inhabitant of Warnu, whose estate is called Zinadasagan, party to a contract. — **D** Inversion of \**οιηβοοαραζο* (336), q.v.

312. *οαραξοπιρωζο* m.: **B** Hc092. — **P** Waraz-piroz, owner of a seal. — **D** MP PN \**Warāz-pērōz*, cf. Arm. *Varazp'erož* (HÜBSCHMANN 1897, 82). Cf. also 570.

313. *οαραξοορομοξδο* m.: **B** BD1, A6. — **P** Waraz-ohrmuzd Khwasrawgan (fl. 332 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** MP PN *Warāz-ōhrmazd* (IPNB II/2, no. 942).

314. *οαραξοβαβορο* m.: **B** (i) BD1, J6; (ii) *ibid.*, J7, 16, 19. — **P** (i) Waraz-shabur, father of Rishtak (397, fl. 517 C.E.). Probably an uncle or cousin of (ii) Waraz-shabur (fl. 517 C.E.), son of Burz-mihr (98, v), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Burzmihran, party to a contract. (See SW 2009b, 197b. The alternative supposition that the document mentions only one Waraz-shabur, the son of Burz-mihr and father of Rishtak, would be hard to reconcile with the precedence given to Rishtak.) — **D** MP PN \**Warāz-šābuhr*, attested via Arm. *Varazšapowh* (JUSTI 1895, 350; HÜBSCHMANN 1897, 81).

*οαρανο*: see *οαυρανο* (320)

315. *οαραυρανο*, *οαραρανο*, *οαραρανο* m.: **B** (i) *οαραυρανο* (and corrupted forms) ALRAM no. 1446ff; (ii) *οαραρανο* BD2, **ba1\***; (iii) *οαραυρανο* Sig 10 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/4); (iv) *οαραρανο* BD2, **ec2**; (v) *οαραρανο*- *ibid.*, **xm2f**; (vi) *οαραρανο* *ibid.*, **xm3**; (vii) *οαραρανο* *ibid.*, **xm1**; (viii) *οαραρανο* *ibid.*, **xf8\***; (ix) *οαραυρανο* Sig 14 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/5), see also SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 311; (x) *οαραρανο* Hc081; (xi) *οαραρανο* Sig 28 (the drawing by P. HAMELIN in GHIRSHMAN 1948, 58, fig. 66, which seems to be the only available basis for reading this inscription, shows “οορορονο” in clear but unjoined letters), Hc026(?), 070, Saeedi no. 7. — **P** (i) Warahran, name of several Sasanian (and “Kidarite”?) Kushan-shahs (Pahl. *wlhl'n*, ALRAM no. 1458ff), one of whom may be identified with (ii) Warahran “the great Kushan-shah”, perhaps the husband or father of the princess Dukht-anosh (135), with whom he is associated as sender of a letter. (iii) Warahran, a satrap,

owner of a seal. (iv) Wararan Springan, sender of a letter. (v) Warahran, a ruler (probably Bahram V, Sasanian emperor, who ruled 420-438 C.E., Pahl. *wlhl'n*, ALRAM no. 861ff), alluded to in the expression *οαραρανο-ραμοβαρο* “the land is at peace through Warahran”, used as honorific title of the next. (vi) Warahran “the land is at peace through Warahran”, councillor for the elderly, sender of a letter. (vii) Warahran the *sham-wast*, “ward of Tir-ushtad (471)”, a nobleman, addressee of the same letter. (viii) Warahran, named in a letter. (ix) Warahran Suwabsahan(?), owner of a seal. (x) Wararan Damug[an](?), owner of a seal. (xi) Several persons named Wararan, owners of various seals. — **D** MP PN *Warahrān* (IPNB II/2, no. 926, II/3, no. 341) < \**Wṛθragna-*, Av. *Vəṛəθrayna-*. Cf. also the variant form *οαυρανο*, *οαρανο* (320). The Bactrian equivalent *ορλαγνο* occurs as a DN on Kushan coins, and perhaps as the second component of a PN in *ιωλοορλανο* (195).

It is not clear how many distinct persons named Wara(h)ran are attested by these various sources. GÖBL 1967, I, 229, suggests that the satrap Warahran (iii) might be the same as one or other of the Kushan-shahs of this name (i), but other identifications are equally possible. A MP letter found amongst the Bactr. documents of the Khalili collection (to be published by D. WEBER) names two people called Wahram (*w'hl'm*, *wlhl'm*), one being the sender, but there is no way to determine whether either is to be identified with a person mentioned in the Bactr. sources.

According to HARMATTA a variant *οαραναρανο*, sometimes referring to one of the Kushan-shahs of this name (i), occurs many times in the Kara-Tepe inscriptions, see Kara-Tepe II, 94-5, 100, 102, 108 (lines 6, 7, 9 and 13), 109 (line 16), 116, 119, but these readings cannot be verified.

Regarding the proposed interpretation of the coin-legend “*κιοοοο*” as a Bactr. form of the name of “Kay Wahram” (Pahl. *kdy wlhl'n*) see s.v. *κιδαρο* (213).

**316. οαρδογο** m.: **B** BD2, **xb6**. — **P** Wardug, named in a letter. — **D** Cf. perhaps Pth./MP *wrd*, *wrdg* “captive, slave” < \**warta-*, \**warta-ka-*? Or, as suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, to be compared with the Arm. PN *Vardowk* (JUSTI 1895, 353b s.v. “Wardūk”)? Derivation from the well-attested name-component \**warda-* “rose”, as proposed by LURJE, IPNB II/8, no. 1336, is also possible, but only if this is a foreign name, since \*-*rd-* gives Bactr. *-ρλ-* (reverting to *-ρδ-* towards the end of the 7th cent., considerably later than the likely date of **xb6**).

**317. οαρξογανο(?)** m.: **B** Three impressions of a seal from Džiga-tepe (LIVŠIĆ *apud* KRUGLIKOVA 1984, 144, 151). — **P** Warzgan(?), a

eunuch(?), owner of a seal. — **D** If correctly read (see below), presumably a patr./FN in origin. The underlying \**οαρζο* (or \**οαρζογο*) is probably a derivative of \**warz* “to work”, cf. names such as Assyrian *Uarzan* (*IPNB* VII/1A, no. 152) and name-components such as Av. *varasma-* “act” (*IPNB* I/1, no. 356-7), Sogd. *wrz* “miracle” (SW 1992, 76).

LIVŠIĆ’s reading *οαρζογανο βαβιστανο* (misprinted in different ways on both the pages cited above) is plausible, but cannot be checked on the basis of the inadequate photos so far published (KRUGLIKOVA 1984, 143, nos. 11-13).

*οαρ(ι)ζαδι*: see *οαρ(α)ζαδι* (306)

318. [†*ΟΑΡΝΗΣΑΙ* or †*ΟΑΡΜΗΣΑΙ* m.: **B** Sig 66 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/5). — **P** Name or title of the owner of a seal? — **D** Unclear. Read thus by HUMBACH 1969, 65, but only *Ιοαρμησα•* is really warranted, since it is not clear that the inscription is complete at either end. The seal itself has been lost since at least 1985, but I was able to examine an old impression in sealing-wax (IM 73) in the British Museum’s Department of Coins and Medals].

319. \**οατανο* m.: **B** patr./FN °*νανο* BD2, cm1, 25f\*. — **D** Perhaps in origin a patr. formed from a name-component \**οατο*, see s.v. *οηλο-οατανο* (328).

320. *οαυρανο, οαυρνο, οαρανο* m.: **B** (i) *οαρανο* BD2, xr12f\*; (ii) *οαρανο* BD1, U2'; (iii) *οαυρανο* *ibid.*, V6; (iv) *οαυρανο* *ibid.*, W10, 19, 16', 24', X4, 10, 16, 12', 24', *οαυρνο* *ibid.*, X12, 24. — **P** (i) Waran, addressee of a letter. (ii) Waran Spandugan (fl. 712/3 C.E.), witness to a contract. Probably the same person as (iii) Wahran, father of Absih, Sor, Wakhsh-burd and Meyam (6, 455, 321, 244, vi, all fl. 729 C.E.), whose estate is called Spandagan (see SW 1999, 250 n. 11). (iv) Wahran (fl. 747-50 C.E.), son of Bek (79, iii), inhabitant of Asp, party to two contracts. — **D** Variant of *οαυρανο, οαραρανο, οαπαρανο* (315), q.v.

Regarding the identification of (iii) and (iv) proposed by KHAN 2007, 21, see the note to 244.

321. *οαχβοβορδο* m.: **B** BD1, V6, 34, 33'. — **P** Wakhsh-burd (fl. 729 C.E.), son of Wahran (320, iii), whose estate is called Spandagan, party

to a contract. — **D** \**Waxšu-abi-ṛta-* “received from the Oxus”, cf. Sogd. PN *wxš’by’rt*, *wxwšwbyrt* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1355). On the DN *οαχβο* “Oxus”, perhaps referring also to river gods in general, see HUMBACH 2002, 417; on *βορδο* see s.v. *βηρδο* (81).

**322. οαχβογολο** m.: **B** BD2, ch1, 23\*. — **P** Wakhsh-gul, a ruler or nobleman, addressee of a letter. — **D** Compound consisting of the DN *οαχβο* (see s.v. *οαχβοβορδο*, 321) and a second component *-γολο* which is also attested in *πανογολο* (366), *ραμογολο* (389), *σηνογολο* (427) and *φρμιογολο* (503); cf. also \**μυρογολο*, the presumed Bactr. form of the name of the “Hunnish” ruler *Mihiragula/Mihirakula* (HUMBACH 1966, 59, where the variant *-kula* is tentatively ascribed to Sanskritization; cf. DAVARY 1982, 267, for further names of this type from Indian sources). Khot. names such as *Śirguli*, *Samgūlai* (BAILEY 1952, 427; 1961, 190-91) may also belong here. TREMBLAY 2003, 124 n. 14, plausibly interprets *-γολο*, *-gula* etc. as being cognate with the patr./FN *κολαγανο* (see s.v. *κολο*, 220), with regular voicing of \**-k-* in internal position. His further comparison with OInd. *kulá-* “family” and the name of the Scythian chieftain *Κολάξαις* is more problematic, since the name-component *κολο-* seems likely to derive from \**kadu-* or \**kalu-* (see discussion s.v. *καλοσιαρδαγο*, 199).

Note that TREMBLAY, loc. cit., also takes the Khot. PN *Ysarkula* to be cognate with OInd. *kulá-* (in this following BAILEY 1953, 39). TREMBLAY’s etymology of *-γολο* cited above is presumably intended to supersede the derivation from \**gada-* “club” which he had previously mooted (TREMBLAY 2001, 184). The interpretation of *-γολο* as \**gauda-* “covering, obscuring” (HUMBACH 1966, 59) does not suit the wide range of names in which this component can now be recognized. The hypothesis of HANSEN 1940, 160-62, according to which *-gula* in *Mihiragula* and similar names is a Saka word for “king”, reflected later in such typical Afghan names as *Mahmad Gul*, can hardly be taken seriously.

**323. οαχβοιαμβο** m.: **B** BD1, L14, 17. — **P** Wakhsh-yamsh (fl. 602 C.E. or earlier), a landowner. — **D** Combination of the DNs *οαχβο* (see s.v. *οαχβοβορδο*, 321) and *ιαμβο* (167). The intended meaning may be “dedicated to the Oxus (and) Yamsh”, cf. *τιροαδο* (468) and *τιροβταδο* (471).

**324. *οαχβομαρηγο, οαχβμαρηγο, οαχβμαρηγο*** m.: **B** *οαχβο*<sup>ο</sup> BD1, U4, 19, 6', 26', *οαχβ*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, U4', *οαχβ*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, U20'. — **P** Wakhsh-mareg/Ukhsh-mareg Ur(o)l(y)an (fl. 712/3 C.E.), co-owner of a vineyard with his nephews(?) Urol and Hilitber (360, 481, ii, both fl. 712/3-747 C.E.), the sons of Bah (76, i), party to a contract. — **D** “Slave (*μαρηγο*) of the Oxus (*οαχβο*)”, cf. Sogd. PN *wxšmryk* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1356), a name which may be borrowed from Bactrian.

**325. *οαχβοσανινδο*** m.: **B** BD1, aa6f. — **P** Wakhsh-wanind, witness to a contract. — **D** “Victorious through the Oxus”.

**326. *ογλαργο, ολαργο*** (or *βαγοογλαργο, βαγοολαργο*?) m. PN(?): **B** <sup>ο</sup>γλ<sup>ο</sup> Hc009, <sup>ο</sup>λ<sup>ο</sup> Hc158 (published in AMAN UR RAHMAN et al. 2006 under its former number 128); cf. also Hc008, where this part of the inscription is missing. — **P** Uglarg/Ularg (or Bag-uglarg/Bag-ularg), name(?) of a ruler who bears the titles “king of the Huns, great Kushan-shah, *afshin* of Samarkand”, owner of at least two seals. — **D** It is not clear whether U(g)larg is (part of) a PN or an epithet qualifying the following word “Huns”, nor whether the preceding *βαγο* is a title or (part of) a PN. For discussion of some of the possibilities see AMAN UR RAHMAN et al. 2006, 126a, 128b (but see below, s.v. *\*οιλαργο*, 338), and DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2007, 129 n. 10.

**327. [*οηβορογο*]**: this word, which occurs in BD1, T7, and was interpreted in the edition as a PN, seems more likely to be a variant of the title *οισβορογο* “prince”. However, a Bactrian name *\*οηβορο* is implied by the PN *wybw*r in an Arabic document from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 165].

**328. *οηλοοατανο*** m.: **B** BD2, c14f, cm4\*. — **P** Welwatan, named in two letters. — **D** Perhaps in origin a patr. in *-ανο*. The underlying PN *\*οηλοοατο* looks like a governing compound with first component *\*οηλο* < *\*wādaya-* “leading”, cf. the present stem *οηλ-* “to lead” (BD2, 245b) and the formation of OP *Dārāya-vau-* (*IPNB* I/2, no. 26). The second component *\*οατο* (for which cf. *\*οατανο*, 319) has no obvious etymology, but *ποροοατο* “fared”(?) < *\*pari-wašta-* (SW 1985a, 116) suggests that it could represent *\*wašta-*, past stem of *\*waz* “to drive”.

†**σημο**: see *ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ* (352)

**329. σηρο** m.: B SW 2008a, **am**5+6A, 7, 10, 12\*, 13, 14+15, 20, 23\*, 24\*, 28\*, 30+37 [these two fragments, treated separately in the edition, can in fact be joined], 31, 38A\*. — P Wer, a servant. — D Probably a short name extracted from a compound. The numerous etymological possibilities include \**wari-* “breastplate” (cf. *ζαροσηρο*, 148), \**wariya-* “desirable” (cf. El. PN *Marriyadadda*, Aram. PN *wryzt*, etc., MAYRHOFER 1973, 192, no. 8.990), \**wīra-* “man” (cf. Av. PN *Vīrāspa-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 370, and especially MP PN *Wīr*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 1004).

†**[ση]σαγοδοχτο**: see *]σαγοδοχτο* (582)

**330. σηρο** m.: B Hc051. — P Wesh, owner of a seal. — D Short name derived from a compound containing the DN *σηρο* “Wesh”, which is common in Bactr. PNs (see 331-333, 493, 583; also in the later form \**οιηρο* “Wyesh”, see 47, 194, 311, 336), as well as being well-attested on Kushan coins. Although many attempts have been made, most recently by GNOLI 2009, 146-9, to find an Indian etymology for the DN *σηρο*, HUMBACH 1975, 402-8, gives good reasons to believe that it derives from \**Wayuš* (= Av. *Vaiiuš*, nom. of *Vaiiu-*), cf. in particular its Sogd. counterparts *wyš°* (in onomastic usage, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1385, 1388(?) and 1389) and *wyšprkr*, the latter corresponding to Av. *Vaiiuš* (*yō*) *uparō.-kairiīō* “Vayu whose activity is above”.

**331. σηρολαδο** m.: B BD1, **ab**11, 20, 22\*. — P Wesh-lad, party to a contract. — D “Given by Wesh”, Sogd. *wyšd’ t* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1385).

**332. σηρομαρδο** m.: B BD2, **c**14, 7. — P Wesh-mard, inhabitant of Zwin, named in a letter. — D A compound of the DN *σηρο* and the noun *μαρδο* “man” (for which see s.v. *ζαομαρδο*, 145).

**333. σηροφαρδαρο** m.: B BD2, **cp**7, 20. — P Wesh-fardar, a messenger. — D A compound of the DN *σηρο* and the adj. *φαρδαρο* “more, better, best” (see s.v. *αζαδοφαρδαρο*, 12), the meaning of the whole being perhaps “best (through) Wesh” or “best (gift) of Wesh” (cf. *αρφαρδαρο*, 39).

**334. οιβριμο** m.: **B** BD2, **da**14f\*, **db**2\*, 10\*, **dc**2, 11\*, **dd**3, **de**2f\*(?); cf. also the patr./FN *οιβριανο* BD1, **F**3. — **P** Wibriy (fl. 421-422 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of several letters from the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (**210**, **ii**). — **D** Unclear. Possibly connected with MP PN *wyply* (read as *Vīfar* in *IPNB* II/2, no. 997, as *Wifr* in HUYSE 1999, 142-3). Cf. \*ορβιμο (**359**), which may be a later variant of the same name.

**335. οιημο** m.: **B** BD1, **J**4f (*οιη{μ}μο*), 7, 15, 21, 22, 28, v1. — **P** Wyem (fl. 517 C.E.), son of Burz-mihr (**98**, **iv**), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Wyeshwarazan, party to a contract. Presumably a cousin of Bag-re-mareg (**54**). — **D** A later variant of *οσημο* (**353**), q.v.

**336. \*οιηβοοαραζο** m.: **B** EN °ζανο BD1, **J**6. — **D** “Boar of Wyesh”, a compound of the DN \*οιηβο = *οηβο* (**330**) and \*οαραζο = \*οοραζο “boar” (**356**). Cf. *οαραζοοιηβο* (**311**), which consists of the same components in the opposite order, as well as the similarly-formed *βαγοοαραζο* (**53**), MP *Mihr-warāz* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 661), etc.

**337. οιοσο** m.: **B** SW 2005, **Uu**5, v4. — **P** Wiyus (fl. 722 C.E.), the foreman of Wulakh, witness to a contract. — **D** \*Wiy-usa- “dawn”, Sogd. PN *wy’ws* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1375).

**338. \*οιλαργο** or \*οιλαρο m. PN(?): **B** EN(?) *οιλαργανο* BD1, **N**8. — **D** If the EN *οιλαργανο* is in origin a patr. formation in *-γανο* or *-ανο*, the underlying PN may be connected with Av. *vī-dāraīia-* “to support” as suggested by LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 882. My former suggestion (AMAN UR RAHMAN et al. 2006, 126 with n. 2) that \*οιλαργο may be connected with a GN(?) *ολαργο* seems less likely now that the latter is known to be a variant of *ογλαργο* (**326**).

**339. [†οιμαρο**: supposed PN in a Kara-Tepe inscription (see HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 118), but no photograph is available from which the reading could be verified].

†οιμο: see *ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΛΦΙΣΟ* (**352**)

**340. οινδμαργο, οινδομ[αργο](?)** m.: **B** (i) *οινδμαργο* BD1, P5, 14'; (ii) *οινδομ[αργο](?)* on several impressions of the same seal (Hc027, 028, 029, 116). — **P** (i) Wind-marg (fl. 669 C.E.), son of Bag-mareg (49, ii), whose house is called Gabaliyan, party to a contract. (ii) Wind-m[arg](?), owner of a seal. — **D** Evidently a compound containing *οινδο-* (cf. the following names), but it is not clear whether or not the second component is the attested noun *μαργο* “meadow” (BD2, 231a). Cf. also 236.

**341. οινδο** m.: **B** BD2, xh3\*, 4. — **P** Wind, named in a letter. — **D** Short name derived from a compound in *οινδο-*, cf. the preceding and following names.

**342. οινδοσαναγο** m.: **B** BD2, cr2\*, 8\*. — **P** Wind-sanag (fl. 380 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of a letter. — **D** Evidently a compound containing *οινδο-* like the preceding and following names. If the second component derives from *σανο* “pleasure” (see s.v. *μυροσανο*, 266), perhaps a governing compound meaning “obtaining pleasure” (cf. in particular *οινδοφρομανοιαμφο*, 343).

\**οινδοφρομανο*: see *οινδοφρομανοιαμφο* (343) and *οινδο[ ]νο* (345)

**343. οινδοφρομανοιαμφο, οινδοφρομαιαμφο** m.: **B** (i) <sup>ο</sup>*φρομα*<sup>ο</sup> BD2, xn2; (ii) <sup>ο</sup>*φρομανο*<sup>ο</sup> BD1, ak16ff. — **P** (i) Wind-fruma-yamsh, sender of a letter. (ii) Wind-fruman-yamsh, named in a list. — **D** All three components of this name are well-attested in Bactr. onomastics. Rather than a tripartite compound meaning “(dedicated to) Yamsh who obtains command”, *οινδοφρομανοιαμφο* is probably a mechanical juxtaposition of the short name *ιαμφο* “Yamsh” (167) with a governing compound \**οινδοφρομανο* “obtaining command”. The latter is a typical PN, which is possibly attested (see 345) and which is formed like *οινδοσαναγο* “obtaining pleasure” (342) or OP *Vinda-farnah-* “obtaining glory”, Pth. *wyndprnk* (IPNB I/2, no. 57, SCHMITT 1998, 184).

**344. οινδοωρομοζδο** m.: **B** BD1, A5 (cf. BD2, 35, ad loc.). — **P** Wind-ohrmuzd Kulagan (fl. 332 C.E.), chief of the borough of (A)steb,



witness to a contract. — **D** Combination of *οινδο* (cf. the preceding and following names) and the DN *ωυρομοζδο* (see 546). The MP PN *Windād-ōhrmazd* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 1001) is a comparable formation with the past participle of the same verb as prior component.

**345. οινδο[ ]νο** m.: **B** BD2, xi1f\*, 15f\*. — **P** Wind-[...]n, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. — **D** Compound in *οινδο-*. Perhaps to be restored as *οινδο[φρομα]νο*, a name whose existence seems to be implied by *οινδοφρομανοιαμφο* (343).

**346. οираζοφινζο** f.: **B** BD1, Q11, v2\*. — **P** Wiraz-finz (fl. 671 C.E.), wife of Deva (129), party to a contract. — **D** Compound of a m. PN \*οираζο (Av. PN *Virāza-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 371, MP PN *Wirāz*, cf. *IPNB* II/2, no. 1005) and *φινζο* “lady”, for which see s.v. *φινζολαδο* (497).

**347. οιριβτομφο** m.: **B** BD1, a118\*. — **P** Wirishtmish(?), a ruler or nobleman. — **D** Unclear.

**348. οιροαρηγο** m. PN(?): **B** BD2, xi9\*. — **P** Wirwareg(?) Natugan(?), a *khar*(?), named in a letter. If this reading and interpretation are correct, perhaps the son of Nat Kharagan (285, ii). — **D** Possibly a compound with \**wīra-* “man” as first component. If *-οαρηγο* is correctly read, which is quite uncertain, this could perhaps represent \**wariya-ka-* “desirable” (for both \**wīra-* and \**wariya-* see s.v. *οηρο*, 329).

**349. οισβοργομαρηγο** m.: **B** BD1, Q12. — **P** Wisburg-mareg (fl. 671 C.E.), son of Hin-sar (482), party to a contract. — **D** “Slave of the prince”, a compound of *οισβοργο* “prince” < \**wisah puθra-ka-* (BD2, 247a) and *μαρηγο* “slave, servant”. Cf. the next.

**350. οισβοροζινιιο** m.: **B** BD1, W2f. — **P** Wisbur-ziniy Samsitan (fl. 747 C.E.), officer (*φρομαλαρο*) of the (family or estate) Shaburan, witness to a contract. — **D** “Under the care of the prince”, a compound of \**οισβορο* “prince” < \**wisah puθra-* (cf. the preceding name) and \**ζινιιο*, older *ζινιγο* < \**zainiya-ka-* “(in) trust”, a parallel formation to *βανοζινιιο* “royal infant”, lit. “in the queen’s charge”, for which see s.v.

ξηνιβο (151). Cf. also *μανοξιניγο* (239), *μιυροξιניγο* (264) and *τοβαξιני* (472).

*ολαργο*: see *ογλαργο* (326)

351. \**ολιβαγο* or \**ολιβο* m. PN(?): B GN *ολιβαγανο* BD2, jh3, 5, 6; cf. also the derivative *ολιβαγαναγγο* “belonging to Ulishagan”, *ibid.*, jh1, 14. — D Unclear.

*οοζοριβο*: see *δοζοριβο* (133)

352. *ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟ* m.: B obl. °ΣΕ Rab13. — P The Kushan ruler Vima II Kadphises (Greek nom. *Οοημο Καδφισης*, Khar. gen. *Ūvima Kalpiśasa*, *Uvima Kavthisasa* etc., ALRAM no. 1286ff, GLASS 2000, 98, 132, FALK 2009, 111), who probably ruled early 2nd cent. C.E., son of Vima I Taktu (353) and father of Kanishka I (203, i). — D The name combines elements from the names of the ruler’s father and grandfather, *οοημο τακτοο* (353) and *κοζουλο καδφισο* (218) respectively.

According to GÖBL *apud* HUMBACH 1960, 57-9, Vima Kadphises is also named as *οημο* on the reverse of a coin of Huvishka, but the form in question is generally read as *οημο* and understood as the name of a goddess, see (e.g.) SW-CRIBB 1996, 84. — HUMBACH 1966, 104, and DAVARY 1982, 69, 247, read *οιμο* in the Jaghatu inscription, line 4, but the photo rather shows *δινο*. In any case, there is no reason to interpret this as a PN or even as a complete word.

353. *ΟΟΗΜΟ ΤΑΚΤΟΟ* m.: B Dasht-i Nawur inscription, line 3\* (SW-CRIBB 1996, 95-6), Rab13. — P The Kushan ruler Vima I Taktu (Greek gen. *Οοημο Τακτοου*, BOPEARACHCHI 2008, 24, Khar. *Vema Takho* etc., FALK 2009), who probably ruled late 1st cent. C.E., son of Kujula Kadphises (218) and father of Vima II Kadphises (352). — D The first part of this name is also attested in *οοημο καδφισο* (352); cf. also the later variant *οιημο* (335). The comparison with MP *bīm* “fear” and the Skt. PN *Bhīma* (EILERS 1970, 120) is impossible from a phonological point of view. The suggestion of HUMBACH 1966, 40, that *οοημο* derives from \**waima-* “rock” (less likely \**hu-waima-*) may be supported, as pointed out by SW 1998, 90, by the depiction of a rocky mountain-top on coins of Vima Kadphises. See also s.v. *οοηρκο* (354). The second

part of the name seems likely to be non-Iranian, but may perhaps be related to the Sogd. PN *tkwt*, see SW 2002a, 237; *IPNB* II/8, no. 1226. On its varying forms, especially in the Indian sources, see FALK 2009.

Regarding the Chinese form *Yan Gaozhen* 閼膏珍, which appears to represent the name of Vima I, see SW 1998, 89-90, and FALK 2009, 113-14.

**354. ΟΟΗΡΚΟ, ΟΥΟΗΡΚΟ** m.: **B** ΟΟΗΡΚΟ, obl. °KE, °KI, ΟΥΟΗΡΚΙ ALRAM no. 1323ff. — **P** The Kushan ruler Huvishka (Brahmi and Khar. *Huviṣka* etc.), who probably ruled ca. 150-190 C.E., son of Kanishka I (203, i). — **D** Hypocoristic in -(η)βκο, see s.v. κανηβκο (203), possibly formed from the name of Huvishka's grandfather οσημο (καδφισο) (352), see SW 1998, 90. Regarding Av. *huuōišta-* “eldest”, with which οσηβκο has frequently been compared (HENNING 1965, 84; BAILEY 1968; EILERS 1970, 115-16), see SW-TUCKER 2006. If Bactr. *χουαχο* is the comparative corresponding to *huuōišta-*, as argued there, one would expect initial χ- in the superlative too. Hardly “\**hauṣiska-* ‘The Wise’” with MORGENSTIERNE 1927, 107.

According to TURGUNOV et al. 1981, 43, and HARMATTA 1986, 132-3, the name of Huvishka is also attested in the Ayrtam inscription, line 1, but the proposed reading is incompatible with the traces visible on the stone.

**355. οοληζοβαγγο** m.: **B** BD1, ag2. — **P** Wulez-bang, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Probably belongs to a group of words containing -βαγγο < \**-pāna-ka-* “protector, keeper”, cf. *ορβαγγο* “armour”(?) < \**wara-pāna-ka-*, Arm. *varapanak* (BD2, 248b), the title(?) *ροποροβαγγο* (BD2, 285a) and the PN *χοδαροβαγγο* (531). Like this last, *οοληζοβαγγο* is probably a title or occupational designation in origin, but the meaning and etymology (\**wi-daiza-*?) of \**οοληζο* are unknown.

**356. οοραζο** m.: **B** BD2, jd2. — **P** Wuraz, sender of a letter. — **D** \**Warāza-* “boar”, well attested as a PN by Av. *Varāza-*, MP *Warāz*, etc. (*IPNB* I/1, no. 355, II/2, no. 940, II/3, no. 346; JUSTI 1895, 348-9). The Bactr. name is also attested in Arabic as *wrz*, see KHAN 2007, 93; cf. also Bactr. *οαραζανο* = Arabic *wr(‘)z’n* (307). As a Bactr. or MP name-component, *οαραζο/οοραζο* is also attested in 53, 221(?), 306(?), 308-314, 336, 492, 505, 570-571.

**357. \*οορσιγγο** m.: **B** FN °γανο BD1, ag7f. — **D** \*Warsaina-ka- “hairy”? PNs possibly derived from \*warsa- “hair” (Av. *varəsa-*) include El. *Maršakka* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 193, no. 8.996), MP *Warsin* (IPNB II/2, no. 956) and Sogd. *wrsw* (IPNB II/8, no. 1342).

**οορωλο**: see *ορωλο* (360)

**358. οουιρζοκο** m.: **B** BD1, ag3. — **P** Wuhirzük, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Probably hypocoristic to a name-component \*οουιρζο < \*wi-hrza-, OInd. *vi-srja-* “discharge, shoot, etc.”, cf. Bactr. *uirz-* “to leave, set free, etc.”.

**359. \*ορβιο** m.: **B** FN °ιιανο SW 2005, Tt9\*. — **D** Perhaps a later variant of *οιβριο* (334), see AMAN UR RAHMAN et al. 2006, 126a: *Urbiy* < \*Wurbiy < \*Wubriy < *Wibriy*. If the FN *ορβιιανο* is not connected with *οιβριο*, the underlying PN could be reconstructed in various other ways, e.g. as \*ορβιγο or \*ορβο (cf. *ορωλοιιανο* s.v. *ορωλο*, 360).

†**ορδογο**: see *οαραγο* (305)

**ΟΡΛΑΝΟ, ορλανο**: see *ΙΩΛΟΟΡΛΑΝΟ* (195) and *ορωλο* (360)

**360. ορωλο, ορλο, οορωλο** m.: **B** *ορωλο* BD1, U4, 19, 6', *ορλο* *ibid.*, U4', *οορωλο* *ibid.*, W5, 6, 26; cf. also the patr./FN/EN *ορωλιανο* *ibid.*, U4, 19, 26', *ορωλοιιανο* *ibid.*, U4', *ορλιανο* *ibid.*, U6', *οορωλιανο* *ibid.*, W6. — **P** Urol/Url/Wurol (fl. 712/3-747 C.E.), whose house is called Wurolan, son of Bah (76, i), father of Zard (146), perhaps nephew of Wakhsh-mareg Urolan (324, fl. 712/3), party to two contracts. (The FN/EN (W)urolan implies the existence of an earlier \*(W)urol, who may be the father of Wakhsh-mareg and Bah and thus the grandfather of the (W)urol who is party to these contracts.) — **D** Cf. the “typically Parthian name” (HENNING 1952a, 178 n. 2) best known in the form Orodes (Greek Ὀρόδης, Latin *Orodes*), Aram./Pth. *wrwd*, which can hardly be separated from the name attested in ŠKZ as Pth. *wrwd*, Greek Οὐόρωδ, MP *wyrwd* (this last being interpreted by GIGNOUX, IPNB II/2, no. 1008, as a hypocoristic in -ōy). In AMAN UR RAHMAN et al. 2006, 126 with n. 3, following a tentative suggestion by HUYSE 1999, 176-7, the

name is explained as *\*wīra-rauda-* “of manly appearance”, cf. Av. *vīrō-raoδa-* “in human form”.

The sequence *ωλοορλανο* (195) may contain a patr./FN *ορλανο*, but this cannot be equated with *ορλανο* in U6', which clearly results from an extremely recent loss of *-ω-*.

**οτιοσασο**: see *ατιοσασο* (36)

**ουρομοζδο**: see *ωυρομοζδο* (546)

**361. παβαγο** m.: B SW 2005, Uu9; cf. also the patr./FN *παβαγανο* BD2, ca3, cb2, *παβογανο* BD1, A6, *παβο(γ)[ανο]* Saeedi no. 16. — P Pabag, father of Khay and Khatul (511, ii, 518, ii, both fl. 722 C.E.). — D MP PN *Pābag*, IPNB II/2, no. 723, hypocoristic to *Pāb*, cf. *παπο* (367). The name is also attested in Sogdian, see IPNB II/8, no. 868, especially *p'p'kk ZK kwš'n BRY* “Papak the son of Kushan”, whose patronym suggests a Bactr. background.

**362. \*παζοβορο** m.: B patr./FN *ορανο* BD1, K5. — D Probably a compound with *-βορο* as a sandhi form of *πορο* “son”. Connection with *βορο* (102) is much less likely. Various derivations of the prior component are theoretically possible, e.g. *παζο* “breast, face” (cf. the Av. PN *Pāzinah-*, IPNB I/1, no. 252?) or *πανζο* “five” (cf. MP *panj* as a component of PNs, IPNB II/2, no. 751-3?), but the most likely is a PN *\*πανζο*, to be understood as a hypocoristic formation from *\*πανο* (cf. 365-5). Both the formation of the name and the simplification of the consonant cluster are paralleled by *σιζοβορο* (430), if this is correctly interpreted as “son of Sinz (i.e. *σινζο*, 433)”.

**363. \*παιοκο** m.: B FN *οκανο* BD1, ag15\*. — D Probably a hypocoristic in *-κο*. Cf. Av. *pāiiu-* “protector”, Neo-Assyrian PN *Paiukku* etc. < *\*Pāyu-ka-*, IPNB VII/1A, no. 100, perhaps also Sogd. PN *pykk*, Brahmi *Pekako*, IPNB II/8, no. 977 (where an alternative connection with *\*payah-* “milk” is suggested, cf. 375).

**364. \*πανδοκο** m.: B patr./FN *οκανο* BD1, I4\*, BD2, xb2. — D Cf. MP PN *Pandag* (IPNB II/2, no. 748), hypocoristic to *Pand* (ibid., no.

747), interpreted by GIGNOUX as a short name derived from MP *pand* “counsel” < \**pantā-*.

**365. \*πανικο** m.: **B** FN °κανο BD2, cp10, 11. — **D** The FN *πανικανο* could derive from a PN \**πανικο*, \**πανο* or even \**πανιγο* (cf. *βαραδδικανο* s.v. *βαραδδιγο*, 72). Any of these would imply a name-component *πανο*, perhaps from \**-pāna-* “protecting” (as a short name, with or without hypocoristic suffix). Cf. MP *pān-* and *-bān* in names such as *Ādurbān*, *Pāndād*, *Xūgbān* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 36, 749, 1021). Cf. also the next.

**366. πανογολο** m.: **B** NumH 245-6 etc. (see HUMBACH 1998, where the former reading *σανογολο* is corrected). — **P** Pan-gul (Pahl. *pngwl*), a “Turk Shahi” ruler. — **D** Compound consisting of two components of uncertain meaning. For *πανο-* one can only compare *πανικο* (365) and a possible \**πανζο* (see s.v. \**παζοβορο*, 362); regarding a supposed PN *μυροπανο* (HUMBACH 1998, 250) see s.v. *αδομανο* (9). For *-γολο* see s.v. *σαχρογολο* (322).

Regarding Pan-gul’s title(?) *αζ(ο)ροβδδιγο* see 14. — HUMBACH 1998, 250, suggests that the name may mean “a horse of a glassy or silvery white colour” in some unspecified language from which Skt. has borrowed the word *pañgula-* in this sense.

**367. παπο** m.: **B** (i) BD1, A22, 25, 29; (ii) *ibid.*, ak7\*; (iii) SW 2005, R4, 8, 13, 17. — **P** (i) Pap (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Ninduk Okhshbadagan (287), party to a contract. (ii) Pap, named in a list. (iii) Pap (fl. 675 C.E.), son of Sawug (419), inhabitant of Gaz, party to a contract. — **D** \**Pāpa-*, MP *Pāb*, GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, no. 722. In origin perhaps an informal word for “father, papa” (cf. *βαβο*, 41, and *τατο*, 463) as suggested by GIGNOUX, or merely a “reduplicative hypocoristic”, cf. the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σανσο* (425). Cf. also *παβαγο* (361).

**368. παρσαβαραβο** m. PN(?): **B** BD1, ag5f. — **P** Parsa-sharab, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** The same form occurs elsewhere as a title “Persian satrap” (probably from *παρσαγγο* “Persian” plus *βαραβο* “satrap”, with loss of *-y(g)-* before *-š-*, as proposed in BD2, 253a), but here it is perhaps used as a PN as suggested by TREMBLAY 2003, 122.

**παρωζο:** see *πιρωζο* (377)

**369. *πηρολαδο, πηραλαδο, πηροδαδο* m.:** B °ολαδο BD2, **da2**, 14\*, **db2\***, 9\*, **dc2**, °αλαδο *ibid.*, **dc10f**, °οδαδο *ibid.*, **dd2**, 10f\*; cf. also the patr./FN *πηρολαδανο* *ibid.*, **ea4**, 5, **eb1**, 18f\*, *πορολαδανο* *ibid.*, **ec1**, 20f. — P Pesh(a)-lad/Pesh-dad (fl. 421 C.E.), a minor official, addressee of several letters from the governor Keraw Ohrmuzdan (**210**, **ii**), perhaps father of Deyag Peshladan (**131**) and Shabur Peshladan (**548**, **iv**). — D Apparently an adaptation of *Pēšdād*, the MP translation of Av. *Paradāta-* (*IPNB* I/1, no. 245), a name belonging to the heroic tradition. For the alternation between the genuine Bactr. form with *-λαδο* and the borrowed form with *-δαδο* one may compare *ζονολαδο* (**160**) and its variants \**Žundād*, *zw(n)d'd*, etc. The variant with compound vowel *-α-* is more difficult to explain, though it has a close parallel in *βηναβιδο* beside *βιανοβιδο* (**87**).

**370. *πηρταμο, πηρτασμο* m.:** B °μοσο BD1, **L7**, °σμο *ibid.*, **L5'**. — P Peshtams/Peshtasm, father of Bazanuk (**59**, fl. 602 C.E.). — D If °σμο is a metathesized variant of °μοσο (rather than vice versa), the name may be a hypocoristic in *-σο*, but it cannot be analysed further. Connection with Av. PN *Paēšatah-* (*IPNB* I/1, no. 238) does not seem likely, while a superlative \**πηρταμο* “foremost” (to MP *pēš* in *πηρολαδο*, **369**) would be a quite artificial construct.

**371. *ΠΙΑΡΟ* or *ΓΙΑΡΟ(?)* m.:** B Rab16\* (see SW 2008c, 65b; not read in SW–CRIBB 1996 or SW 1998). — P Pyash(?), a high official who bears the title *καραλαργο* “margrave”. — D Unclear.

**372. *πιδοκο, πιδικο, πιδακο(?)* m.:** B (i) °ο° BD1, **A9**, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19; (ii) °ο° BD2, **cp2**, °α°(?) **cp** sealing\* (see *ibid.*, 22); (iii) °ι° *ibid.*, **xn1**, 13, 16. — P (i) Piduk (fl. 332 C.E.), son of Bag-farn (**56**), party to a contract. (ii) Piduk/Pidak(?), a scribe, sender of a letter. (iii) Pidik, a “Persian satrap”, addressee of a letter. — D \**Pati-ka-*, probably hypocoristic to \**pati-* “chief, leader”, Bactr. *-βιδο*, which is common as a component of PNs derived from titles. Cf. Khar. *Patika*, a name with clear Kushan associations: the Śaka ruler Kusulua Patika has a first name related to that of Kujula Kadphises (**218**), while Liaka Kusulaka, the father of

Patika (probably the same Patika, see SALOMON 2005, 372), also shares a name with *γηο λυαγο* (117). \**Pati-ka-* is also attested in the WIran. world, cf. El. PN *Battikka* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 142, no. 8.281). The name of Mani's father, MP/Pth. *ptyg*, Greek *Παπτικιος*, etc., may also belong here, if its unexpected *-t(t)-* is an archaism or due to expressive gemination (differently *IPNB* II/8, no. 949).

**373. *πιδοδοβανδο*(?) m.:** B Hc072, Saeedi no. 9. — P *Pidod-band*(?), owner of a seal. — D Difficult. If the second component is \**βανδο* “slave, servant” (see s.v. *νανηβανδο*, 280), one would expect the first part of the compound to be the name or epithet of a god. However, the only known Bactr. form which it resembles is the GN \**πιδοοδο*, which is indirectly attested by the adj. *πιδοοδ(δ)ιγο* “(inhabitant) of Pidud” (BD2, 255b). Regarding the possibility that a city (or its river?) might have been deified see s.v. *καροφαρνο* (208).

**374. *πιαροιαμφο* m.:** B BD1, ak18f\*. — P *Piyar-yamsh*, named in a list. — D Compound containing the name of the god Yamsh (167), with unclear prior component.

The initial letter is unclear (*π?* *τ?* *δ?*), but cannot be read *μ-* or *σ-* (despite *μιαρο*, 249, *σιαρο*, 431). A Bactr. cognate of Sogd. *ʾpyʾrh* “(last) night” might be expected to show *β-* (or *αβ-*) rather than *π-*.

**375. *πιου* m.:** B (i) BD1, K3, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16; (ii) SW 2005, Uu12. — P (i) *Piy* (fl. 579 C.E.), headman of Sursah, party to a contract. (ii) *Piy*, father of Meyam and Zulad (244, v, 160, x, both fl. 722 C.E.). — D Unclear. Probably a short name, perhaps derived from a compound or derivative of \**pīwah-* “fat” (cf. *IPNB* I/1, no. 155) or \**payah-* “milk” (cf. 363 and *IPNB* I/1, no. 239).

**376. *πιλ[* m.:** B SW 2008a, am9B\*. — P *Pil[...]* Kharagan, *khar* [of Rob(?)]. — D Unclear.

**377. *πιρωξο, πιορωξο, παρωξο* m.:** B (i) *πι<sup>ο</sup>, πι<sup>ο</sup>* ALRAM no. 1429ff; (ii) *πι<sup>ο</sup>* Hc073; (iii) (*π*)*ιρω[ξο ...]*..... Khalili no. 133; (iv) *πα<sup>ο</sup>* BD2, ck2; (v) *πι<sup>ο</sup>* *ibid.*, ea1, ed2\*, also on a unique gold coin in the Aman ur Rahman collection (SW 2008, 95, fig. 2); (vi) *πα<sup>ο</sup>* BD2, je5,



9f; (vii)  $\pi\iota^\circ$  BD1, **ai4\***(?); cf. also the EN *\pi\rho\omega\zeta\omicron\beta\alpha\rho\nu\omicron* *ibid.*, **W13** (“Piroz’s peak”, cf. Av. *barəšnu-*?) and the likely patr./FN *\pi\rho\omega\zeta[\alpha\nu]\omicron*, **Hc048**. — **P** (i) Piroz (Pahl. *pylwcy*, Brahmi *Piroso*, *Piluca*, ALRAM no. 1436-7, 1441-2), name of one or more Sasanian Kushan-shahs. (ii) Piroz, councillor (*\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\rho\zeta\omicron\beta\iota\delta\omicron*) of Balkh, owner of a seal. (iii) Piro[z] or Piro[z-...], owner of another seal. (iv) Paroz, alluded to in the expression *\pi\alpha\rho\omega\zeta\omicron\rho\alpha\rho\tau\omicron* “true to Paroz”, used as honorific title of Kirdir-warahrān (**215**, **iv**), see **SW 2005a**, 340-41. Probably the same as (v) Piroz, i.e. Peroz, Sasanian emperor (ruled 457(?)-484 C.E., Pahl. *pylwcy*, ALRAM no. 876ff). (vi) Paroz, son of Sag (**403**, **v**), named in a letter. (vii) [Pir]oz(?), named in a list. — **D** MP PN *Pērōz*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 759; II/3, no. 270. Cf. also *\omega\zeta\omicron* (**545**).

\**\pi\rho\omega\zeta\omicron\omicron\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta\omicron*: see *\text{I}\zeta\omicron\omicron\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta\omicron* (**570**)

\**\pi\omicron\rho\alpha\sigma\pi\omicron*: see *\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron* (**380**)

**378. \pi\omicron\rho\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron** m.: **B** BD2, **xp10**; cf. also the FN *\pi\omicron\rho\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron* BD2, **dc3**. — **P** Purlang, abbreviation or mistake for the name of Purlang-zin (**379**). — **D** “Leopard” (or “panther”), see the next.

The form in **xp** may be a mere mistake, but the existence of this name is proved by the FN *\pi\omicron\rho\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron*.

**379. \pi\omicron\rho\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron\zeta\iota\nu\omicron** m.: **B** BD2, **xp6**, 8, 9, 10, 18, 23, 24, abbrev. *\pi\omicron\rho\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron(\zeta\iota\nu\omicron)* *ibid.*, **xp10** (cf. **378**). — **P** Purlang-zin, a ruler or nobleman. — **D** “He who wears a garment made of the skin of a leopard (or panther)” < \**pṛdankV-* “leopard/panther” (Sogd. *pwrδnk’*, NP *palang*) + \**izaina-* “(garment) made of leather” (Av. *īzaēna-* “made of leather”, NP *zēn* “saddle”, BAILEY 1979, 32). Cf. the *zēn-i palang* of Rustam in the *Shahnama*, which was certainly understood as a saddle made of leopard skin but which probably originally referred to a garment, cf. *pwrδnk’ crm nγwδnn* “leopard-skin garment” in the Sogd. Rustam fragment (**SW 1976**, 55, lines 26-7).

**380. \pi\omicron\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron, \pi\omicron\rho[\alpha\sigma]\pi\omicron(?)** m.: **B** *\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron* BD1, **U2**, *\pi\omicron(\rho)-[\alpha\sigma]\pi\omicron(?)* *ibid.*, **U1f\***. — **P** Puruk/Pur[-as]p(?) Samsitan (fl. 712/3 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Since both forms refer to the same person, it

is likely, as suggested in BD1, 220a, that  $\pi\omicron(\rho)[\bullet\bullet]\pi\omicron$  is a compound PN and that  $\pi\omicron\rho\kappa\omicron$  (cf. El. PN *Barukka*, MAYRHOFER 1973, 141, no. 8.264) is a hypocoristic derived from its first component. For examples of the use of a compound PN and a hypocoristic to refer to one and the same person see SCHMITT *apud* MAYRHOFER 1973, 283-4 with n. 71. The reconstruction  $*\pi\omicron\rho\alpha\sigma\pi\omicron$  (from  $*Paruw-aspa-$ , cf. Av. *pouru.aspa-* “having many horses”) is of course quite hypothetical.

**381.  $\pi\omicron\sigma\iota$**  [ ] m.: B BD1, ah9. — P Pusi[...], named in a list. — D Perhaps a derivative of  $\pi\omicron\sigma\omicron$  “sheep”, cf. the next and the Sogd. PN *psw* (IPNB II/8, no. 936).

**382.  $\pi\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron$**  m.: B BD1, P10'. — P Pusk (fl. 669 C.E.), son of Bagmareg (49, ii), whose house is called Gabaliyan, party to a contract. — D Hypocoristic in  $-\kappa\omicron$  to a name containing  $\pi\omicron\sigma\omicron$  “sheep”, cf. PNs such as El. *Ba-šū-ka<sub>4</sub>* <  $*Pasu-ka-$  (TAVERNIER 2007, 268, no. 4.2.1250), proto-Oss.  $\Phi\acute{o}\sigma\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (ABAEV 1979, 298) and perhaps Sogd. *psw'k* (IPNB II/8, no. 937, very uncertain).

**383.  $\pi\omicron\sigma\eta\iota\omicron$**  m.: B BD1, af3; cf. also the FN  $\pi\omicron\sigma\eta\iota\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron$  *ibid.*, aj4. — P Pushey, named in a list. — D Unclear.

**384.  $\pi\omega\tau\alpha\nu\omicron$**  m.: B SW 2005, S4, 8f, 13, misspelt  $\pi\omega\tau\alpha\rho\omicron$  (under the influence of  $\mu\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ ) *ibid.*, S29. — P Potan (fl. 693 C.E.), son of Farnagad (490), from Bunsuglig, party to a contract. — D Unclear. Since the whole family seem to be Sogdian (see s.v.  $\mu\iota\alpha\rho\omicron$ , 249), it may be worth considering a derivation from Sogd. *pwt-* “Buddha”, either a patr. formation in  $-\bar{a}n$  or possibly a simplification of the well-attested Sogd. PN *pwt-y'n* “favour of the Buddha” (IPNB II/8, no. 966).

**385.  $\rho\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron$**  f.: B BD1, A11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26 (x2), 30, 31. — P Ralik (fl. 332 C.E.), probably the daughter of Far-wesh (493) and Nogsanind (291), wife of Bab (41, i) and Piduk (372, i), party to a contract. — D Probably a hypocoristic in  $-\kappa\omicron$ , perhaps from a derivative of the root  $*r\bar{a}d$  “to succeed, care for” (Av. *rād*, OInd. *rādh*).

**386. ραμανοζαδο(?) m.:** B Kara-Tepe inscription B2, line 2. — P Raman-zad(?), a visitor to Kara-Tepe. — D If correctly read (see below), a compound meaning “begotten by (the god) Raman” (cf. HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 91) or perhaps “born on (the day) Raman” (Av. *Rāmanō*, Sogd. *r'mn/r'm*, name of the 21st day of the month). For the co-existence of *ραμανο-* with the more common *ραμο* (see 388), cf. Sogd. *r'm'nβf*, perhaps to be restored *r'm'nβ[ntk]* (IPNB II/8, no. 1000), beside *r'm* and its derivatives and compounds (ibid., no. 990 etc.).

Very uncertain. No photo seems to have been published. The reading above is that of HARMATTA, loc. cit., approved by LIVŠIĆ in Kara-Tepe IV, 56, though the drawing (Kara-Tepe II, fig. 18v) seems to show *-oosi-* rather than *-av-*.

**387. ραμνο m. PN(?):** B BD2, jf18. — P Ramin, person or place named in a draft letter. — D Although *ραμνο* is attested elsewhere as a GN (see BD2, 259b, s.vv. *ραμιναγγο*, *ραμνο*), here it is at least equally likely to be a PN, cf. the well-attested WIran. PN *\*Rām-(a)ina-* (Pth. *rmyn*, DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 202a; MP *Rāmēn*, IPNB II/3, no. 281; cf. also El. f. PN *Ramena*, MAYRHOFER 1973, 223, no. 8.1400), a hypocoristic formation from the DN *\*Rāman-* (cf. the next). In view of the ambiguity of Bactr. *-ι-*, it is impossible to decide whether the present form derives from a form in *\*-ina-* (for which see SCHMITT 1998, 188) or *\*-aina-*. In either case, it is likely to be a WIran. form (cf. above on *\*δαιηνο*, 125).

**388. ραμο m.:** B BD2, cq1, 14; cf. also the patr./FN(?) *ραμανο* BD1, Ii10. — P Ram, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. — D Short name (= MP *Rām*, IPNB II/3, no. 280; Sogd. PN *r'm*, IPNB II/8, no. 998) derived from a compound containing the DN *\*Rāman-*, cf. 387 and the following names.

**389. ραμογολο m.:** B BD1, Iv2\*, Ii5. — P Ram-gul (fl. 483 C.E.), son of Zinduk/Zanduk (156, i), party to two contracts. — D Compound consisting of the DN *ραμο* (cf. 388) and a second component *-γολο* of uncertain meaning (see s.v. *σαχρογολο*, 322).

**390. ραμοιωλο m.:** B BD2, co1, 11f\*; cf. also patr./FN *ραμοιωλανο* ibid., ee1f\*, *ραμοιωλ(αν)ο* ibid., ee17\*. — P Ram-yol, a nobleman,

addressee of a letter. — **D** Compound consisting of the DN *ραμο* (cf. 388) plus \**yauda-* “warrior” (cf. *ωλο*, 192).

**391. ραυολο** m.: **B** SW 2005, **Uu**4, v5. — **P** Rahul (fl. 722 C.E.), leader of the people of Lizag, witness to a contract. — **D** Skt. PN *Rāhula* (see SW 2002a, 230).

**392. ραρτηνο** m.: **B** BD2, **ch**10\*. — **P** Rashten, named in a letter. — **D** Pth. PN *r'styn* (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, 293b), hypocoristic in \*-*aina-* to Pth. *r'st* “right”, cf. also MP PN *Rāstēn* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 797) < MP *r'st* “id.”. As pointed out s.v. \**δαηνο* (125), all Bactr. names with this suffix are probably WIran. forms. Connection with *ριβτακο* (397), as implied in *IPNB* II/8, no. 1019, is unlikely.

**393. ρηδοφαρο** m.: **B** BD1, **a**19. — **P** Red-far, member of the fortress guard. — **D** Compound containing *φαρο* < \**farnah-* “glory”. Rather than \**ρηδο* “face” (conceivably attested as *ριδο* in **jj**16, 17, SW forthcoming (b)), the prior component may be \**ρηδο* “seed” (OInd. *rétas-*, perhaps ultimately cognate with Bactr. *ρηδγε* “attendants”, Rab21, MP *rēdag* “young man, page”), giving a name approximately synonymous with OIran. \**Čiθra-farnah-*, on which see SCHMITT 2006, 123, 165. The interpretation suggested by TREMBLAY 2005, 426 n. 30 (“who commands with glory”, cf. Sogd. \**rwtprn* in the PNs *rwtprnc* and *rwtprn-δ'yh*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 148-9) is morphologically unacceptable.

**394. \*ρηο** or \***ρηογο** m.: **B** GN *ρηογανο* BD1, **C**2', *ρηγανο* *ibid.*, **C**2; cf. also the derivative *ρηογανζιγο* “(inhabitant) of Rewgan”, *ibid.*, **C**5. — **D** \**Raiwāh*, nom. of \**raiwant-* “rich”, possibly alluding to “the Rich God”, see s.v. *βαγορημαρηγο* (54), with or without hypocoristic suffix -*γο*. Cf. \**ryw* “rich” in Sogd. PNs (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1046-54).

**395. ΡΗΟΑΝΔΟ** m.: **B** Seal in the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter (MIDDLETON 1998, 101-2). — **P** Rewand, owner of a seal. — **D** \**Raiwant-a-* “wealthy, rich”, see s.vv. *βαγορημαρηγο* (54) and \**ρηο* (394); cf. also the Indian DN *Revanta-* (see SCHMIDT 1977, 149; SW 1992a, 183 n. 41) and perhaps the Toch. A PN *Re<sub>u</sub>wānt* (K. T. SCHMIDT *apud* TREMBLAY 2005, 430 n. 47).

396. **ριζμο** m.: B BD1, ab22\*. — P Rizm-[...], witness to a contract. — D Compound or derivative of \*ριζμο “(line of) battle” (see 68).

397. **ριρτακο** m.: B BD1, J6, 12, 14, 16, 19. — P Rishtak (fl. 517 C.E.), son of Waraz-shabur (314, i), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Burzmihran, party to a contract. Presumably a cousin of Waraz-shabur (314, ii). — D Hypocoristic in -κο to a name containing the DN ριρτο < \*Ršti- “Justice” (on which see GRENET 1984a, 258-61, 262) or, as suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, the well-attested name-component \*ršti- “spear”, cf. Av. PN *Tižiiaršti-* (IPNB I/1, no. 30), El. PN *Iš-ti-bara* < \*Ršti-bara- (MAYRHOFER 1973, 171, no. 8.683) etc.

† **ροζοριβο**: see *δοζοριβο* (133)

398. **ρνολοβαδρο** m.: B BD2, ji1, 15\*. — P Rahulabhadra, a Buddhist teacher, addressee of a letter. — D Buddhist Skt. PN *Rāhula-bhadra*.

399. **ρωσανοχηξο** m.: B BD2, xo5\*. — P Rosan-khez, sender of a letter. — D Possibly “(born at) the rising of the lights”, compound of \*ρωσανο, pl. of ρωσο < \*raučah-, Av. *raočah-* “(pl.) light; day” (attested in Bactrian only in the second meaning) and \*χηξο “rising” (cf. χηξ- “to arise, occur” and γαροαβχηξο “mountain slope”, BD2, 206b).

400. **σαβολινο** m.: B BD1, X2 (cf. BD2, 37, ad loc.). — P Säviüglig (fl. 750 C.E.), the lord of the Wargunan people, commander of the army (*σπαλοβιδο*) of Kadagstan (see SW 2008, 98-9), witness to a contract. — D Tk. *säviüglig* “lovely, dear”. For the related form *σαβο(ο)νο* see 542.

**σαβο(ο)νο**: see *χοτολο(γο) ταπαγλινο βιλγανο σαβο(ο)νο* (542)

401. **σαγγο** m.: B Sig 45 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/9). — P Sang, owner of a seal. — D “Stone” (see 99), like the Sogd. PN *snk, snk'* (IPNB II/8, no. 1081). Thus already HUMBACH 1966, 75, while DAVARY 1982, 265, seems to prefer an unlikely derivation from *σαγγο* (= Skt. *saṃgha-*) “community of monks”. The comparison of *σαγγο* with Oss. *sag* “stag” (ABAEV 1979a, 13 n. 1) is phonologically impossible. Cf. also the next.

**402. σαγγοχιρδο** m.: **B** BD2, **cg4\***, 11f\*. — **P** Sang-khird, named in a letter. — **D** “Bought (*χιρδο*) for a stone (*\*σαγγο*, cf. **401**)”, alluding to a custom whereby the child is given away and then bought back for a trivial price. See LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1418, with references to this and other names containing OIran. *\*xrīta-* “bought”.

**403. σαγο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, **bb6**, 8, 10; (ii) *ibid.*, **cb5(?)**; (iii) *ibid.*, **dd4**; (iv) BD1, **L8**, 20, 23, 30, 18\*; (v) BD2, **je5**; (vi) BD1, **X** sealing A (see *ibid.*, 19). — **P** (i) Sag, an official. (ii) Sag(?), named in a letter. (Uncertain: it is not sure that *σαγο* here is a PN or even that it is a complete word.) (iii) Sag, father of Shabur (**548**, **iii**, fl. 421 C.E.). (iv) Sag (fl. 602 C.E.), son of Bazanuk (**59**), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Hunsekhan, party to a contract. (v) Sag, father of Paroz (**377**, **vi**). (vi) Sag, father of Stiy(?) (**453**, fl. 750 C.E. or earlier). — **D** Perhaps “stag”, cf. Oss. *sag* < *\*sāka-*, a common element in proto-Oss. PNs (ABAEV 1979, 300-301), less likely the ethnic name “Saka” (cf. perhaps the MP PN *Sagbus* “Saka-son”, *IPNB* II/2, no. 821, though this is explained differently by HUYSE 1999, 148b).

**404. σαγολοχο** m.: **B** Sig 21 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/6). — **P** Saglukh, a *wuzurg-framādār*, owner of a seal. — **D** Possibly a compound or derivative of *σαγο* (**403**), but *-λοχο* is unexplained. The interpretation of ABAEV 1979a, 13 n. 1, who compares Oss. *sagdux* “having the strength of a stag”, is phonologically impossible, since *-dux* does not derive from an OIran. form with *\*d* (~ Bactr. *λ*) but is a sandhi-form of *tyx/tuxæ*.

†**σαγορκο**, †**σαγορκο**: see *σασορηο* (**424**)

**405. σαδαιωλο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, **xa2f**; (ii) *ibid.*, **eb2f**; (iii) BD1, **F5**. — **P** (i) Sadayol Aramigan, sender of a letter. (ii) Sadayol Beranan, sender of a letter. Perhaps the same person as (iii) Sadayol, former owner of the slave Zer (**153**, fl. 470 C.E.). — **D** *\*Satā-yauda-* “having a hundred (or: hundreds of) warriors” or, as suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, “fighting (against) hundreds”. An archaic formation with compound vowel *-ā-* as a result of the original initial laryngeal of the root *\*yaud* < *\*H<sub>2</sub>eu<sub>h</sub>* (SW 1999a, 197, cf. also MAYRHOFER, *IPNB* I/1, no. 32). Cf. *ζαροιωλο* (**147**).

**406. ΣΑΚΑΜΑΝΟ**, [σα]καμονο, σακομανο, σαοκομανο m.: **B** ΣΑΚΑΜΑΝΟ ALRAM no. 1314-15 (cf. GÖBL 1984, pl. 78, no. 785-7; CRIBB 1985a), [σα]καμονο in the colophon to a *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscript, lines 6-7 (see SW *apud* KARASHIMA 2008, 89), σακομανο BD2, **za6**, σαοκομανο *ibid.*, **zb10\***. — **P** Sakyamuni, epithet used as PN of the historical Buddha Gautama. — **D** Buddhist Skt. *Śākya-muni* “sage of the Śākyas”, cf. Gandhari *Śakamuni*, Pth. *ś'qm̄n*, Sogd. *š'km̄n*, etc. (see HUMBACH 1966, 48; *IPNB* II/8, no. 1148).

The variant spelling *σαο-* is perhaps intended to indicate the long vowel, see SW 2000, 277.

**407. σαλακο** m.: **B** SW 2005, **Uu7**. — **P** Salak (fl. 722 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Presumably a hypocoristic in *-κο*, perhaps formed to a base extracted from *σαλαρο* “leader” (see BD2, 263a s.v. *σαρλαρο*), cf. the NP PN *Sālār* (JUSTI 1895, 280).

*σαλαυανο, σαλουανο*: see *σολουανο* (443)

**408. σαμβο** m.: **B** BD1, **L4**, v5. — **P** Samb Abkharagan (fl. 602 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Unclear. Possibly connected with the Sogd. PN *cnp'k* as suggested by LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 374. Alternatively, if the initial *σ-* derives from OIran. *\*s-* rather than *\*č-*, cf. perhaps the MP PN *Samb-rām* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 825) and other Iranian(?) names beginning with *Samb-* (JUSTI 1895, 281b; *IPNB* VII/1A, no. 116).

**409. σαμο** m.: **B** BD2, **xk1**. — **P** Sam, satrap of Kurwad, sender of a letter. — **D** Probably to be identified with the MP PN *Sām* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 823), NP *Sām*, whether as a borrowing or as a Bactr. cognate (cf. also the Sogd. PN *s'm*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1061, and Av. FN *Sāma-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 280). Cf. the following names.

The Bactr. name is also attested as *s'm* in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 146.

**410. σαμοβοραγο** m.: **B** BD1, **ah4**. — **P** Sam-burag, named in a list. — **D** “Son of *σαμο* (409)”, cf. the formation of *παζοβορο* (362), *σιζοβορο* (430) and *βαβορο* (548). For *-βοραγο* < *\*puθra-ka-* beside *-βορο*

< \**puθra-* cf. *οισβοργο*, *σηβορογο* “prince” beside \**οισβορο*, \**σηβορο* (see 327, 349-350). Cf. also 563.

**411. *σαμοσιτο*** m.: **B** BD1, N10, 21, 23, v1; cf. also the patr./FN *σαμοσιτανο*, *ibid.*, **U2**, **W3**. — **P** Samsit (fl. 629 C.E.), son of Biyan-bid (87, ii), inhabitant of Mahon, whose estate is called Biyanbidan, party to a contract. — **D** Apparently a combination of the PNs *σαμο* (409) and *σιτο* (436).

**412. *σανδανο*** m.: **B** NumH 244 (see HUMBACH 1998, 249). — **P** Sandan, a “Turk Shahi” ruler. Possibly to be identified with a ruler whose name is written in Pahl. script as *cnd'n* on Km 43, 49 (read thus by HUMBACH 1966, 67, and GAUBE 1973, 113, 115, but not connected by them with *σανδανο*). MA 2006 identifies *σανδανο* with *Zhantan* 旃檀 (Late Middle Chinese *tʃian-than*, characters also used as transcription of Skt. *candana-*), named in 762 C.E. as younger brother of the king of Jibin, which may well be correct as regards the name but hardly as regards the individual. — **D** Probably from Skt. *candana-* “sandalwood” (also used as a PN), with DAVARY 1982, 266; cf. also the Sogd. PN *cntn* (LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 376).

Regarding Sandan’s title(?) *αζ(ο)ροβδδιγο* see under 14. — BAILEY 1979, 98-9 (who misquotes both the Bactr. and the Brahmi legends of NumH 244), compares a Khot. hapax legomenon *candarnaa-*, supposedly “military captain”, but this word may rather mean “drummer” with BAILEY 1967, 80-81, and EMMERICK 1968, 397.

**413. \**σανδαρο*** m. PN(?): **B** GN *ορανο* BD1, N4. — **D** Skt. PN *Candra-* Cf. the spelling *σανδαροβανο* for the name of the Buddha *Candra-bhānu* (BD2, 262b).

**414. *σανδο*** m.: **B** BD1, V9, 22, 28, 35'. — **P** Sand (fl. 729 C.E.), party to a contract. — **D** Unclear. Hardly from \**sanda-* “will”, which gives Bactr. *σινδο* (Rabatak).

**415. *σανο*** m.: **B** Hc071, 152. — **P** San, a general(?) (*σπαλοβιδο*), owner of a seal. — **D** Probably a short name derived from a compound such as *μυροσανο* (266) or *σανοβαρο* (416).



**416. σανοβαρο** m.: **B** Hc141, Saeedi no. 8. — **P** San-bar, commander of a fortress (λιζοβιδο), owner of a seal. — **D** Presumably identical with the name of the Indo-Parthian ruler Sanabares (Greek Σαναβαρης, gen. Σαναβαρου, Pth. *s'nbr̥y*, ALRAM no. 1191-6); cf. also the spelling Σαναβ on coins of Heraios, which may be an abbrev. form of the same name (ALRAM 1986, 294). Evidently a compound, but etymologically difficult. Since the first element apparently contains a long vowel it cannot be σανο “pleasure” < \*čānah- (cf. μυροσανο, 266; οινδοσαναγο, 342). JUSTI 1895, 282a, identifies it with NP *sān* “Kriegsrüstung”, in which case the compound would mean approximately “bearing arms, equipped for combat”, while HENNING 1958, 41 with n. 1, prefers \**sāna-* “enemy” (Sogd. *s'n*, Oss. *son*), giving a compound meaning “leading away the enemy” (in which case one might compare the formation and meaning of the MP PN *Hēn-bar*, see below on *υνοσαρο*, 482) or even “riding the enemy” (for which HENNING compares Yasht 19.29: *yaṭ barata ahr̥am mañīium*).

†**σανογολο**: see **πανογολο** (366)

**417. σασησο** m. PN(?): **B** Inscription on a clay vessel from Dal'-verzin-tepe, unpublished (known to me from a photo kindly provided by È. RTVELADZE). — **P** Sawes, owner or maker of the vessel. — **D** Hypocoristic in -σο to *σηο* (442)? Or hypocoristic in -ησο to \**σαοο* (418)? But there are no other forms in Bactrian to justify the assumption of a suffix -ησο < \*-aiča-.

**σαοκομανο**: see **ΣΑΚΑΜΑΝΟ** (406)

**418. \*σαοο** m.: **B** patr./FN *σαοανο* BD1, W14. — **D** \**Sawah-*, most likely a short name derived from a compound of \**sawah-* “strength”, cf. the Av. PN *Sauuah-* (see *IPNB* I/1, no. 276, where the theoretical possibility of a derivation from an adj. \**sawah-* “strong” is also considered) and the Sogd. PN *sw'* (II/8, no. 1106). Cf. also *σανοσαο* (304), *σασησο* (417), *σαοογο* (419), *σηο* (442), *σοοαδαδο* (445), \**σοοοαβοσανο* (446) and *σοοοσιο* (447).

419. *σαοογο* m.: **B** SW 2005, R4f. — **P** Sawug, father of Pap, Gamanig and Gazar (367, ii, 111, 110, all fl. 675 C.E.). — **D** Hypocoristic in *-γο* to \**σαοο* (418).

*σαπανδαγανο* etc.: see *ασπανδο* (30)

420. \**σαργοβανο* m. PN(?): **B** GN(?) °*νανο* BD2, jg8, 10. — **D** Perhaps a compound containing MP *gušn* “male, stallion”, a common name-component.

421. *σαρτο* m.: **B** (i) BD2, xc2; (ii) on three(?) impressions of a single seal (**xb** sealing\*, **xc** sealing\*(?), see BD2, 28, and Hc105); (iii) BD2, jb1, 14\*; cf. also the patr./FN *σαρτανο* on three seal-impressions (Hc017, 099, 112). — **P** (i) Sart Khahran, a prince (*οισβ[οργο]*), sender of the letter **xc**. Probably the same person as (ii) Sart Shaburan, owner of a seal employed to seal several letters, including **xb** and probably **xc**. Possibly the father of Khude-band Sartan, *khar* of Rob (536, i) and the grandfather of (iii) Sart Khudebandan “the glorious *yabghu* of Hephthal, the *khar* of Rob, the scribe of the Hephthalite lord(s), the judge of Tukharistan (and) Gharchistan”, addressee of a letter. — **D** Unclear. Possibly \**sārai-štā-* “standing at the head”, cf. the El. PN *Šarišda* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 230, no. 8.1500), Sogd. *s’rst* “magnificent, noble, beautiful” < \**sāra-stā-*; see GERSHEVITCH 1969, 230-31, whose explanation needs only a slight modification to account for the Bactr. form. A connection with Skt. *sārtha-*, Pth. *s’rt*, Sogd. *s’rth* “caravan”, Tk. *sart* “merchant”, perhaps as a shortening of the title “caravan-leader” (cf. Skt. *sārthavāha-*, Pth. *srtw’*, Sogd. *s’rtp’w*), also seems possible.

Alternatively to what is proposed above under **P**, (iii) could be the same person as (i-ii). The use of several “surnames” for the same man can be explained as follows: Khahran is an epithet indicating that he belongs to the royal family of the *khars* of Rob; Shaburan is his FN (cf. 160, iii; 506, ii-iv; 548, vi-vii); and Khudebandan is his patronymic. In this case, Khude-band Sartan, *khar* of Rob (536, i), could be the son rather than the father of Sart Khudebandan.

422. *σασανο* m.: **B** BD1, Ii6. — **P** Sasan, father of Ohrmuzd (546, xiv, fl. 483 C.E.). — **D** MP *Sāsān* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 827; cf. also *IPNB* II/8, no. 1065), in origin probably a patr. formation from the PN \**Sāsa-* (cf. 425), as suggested by SCHWARTZ 1998, 253. Cf. also the next.

**423. σασανομ••γο** (or **σασο**<sup>ο?</sup>) m.: **B** Hc013, 075, 139. — **P** Sasan-m[...]<sub>g</sub> (or Sas-num[...]<sub>g</sub>?), a *kanarang*, owner of a seal. — **D** Compound containing as its first component either the PN *σασανο* (422) or the underlying \**σασο* (= *σανσο*, 425).

**424. σασορηο** m.: **B** Sig 7 (CUNNINGHAM 1893, pl. X/2, a clearer photo than that in BIVAR 1968, pl. III/8). — **P** Sas-rew, a high official bearing the title *αρτοσαλγο* (cf. 38), owner of a seal. — **D** Combination of the names or name-components \**σασο* (= *σανσο*, 425) and \**ρηο* (394).

DAVARY 1982, 108, 216, offers the alternative reading *λασορηο* (following HUMBACH 1966, 71), but the initial *σ-* is sure (see SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 308). Cannot be read *σαγορκο* or *σαγορκο* with LIVŠIC in Kara-Tepe II, 64 (cf. also ABAEV 1979a, 13 n. 1).

†*σαυανο*: see \**σοσοαβοσανο* (446)

**425. σανσο** m.: **B** BD2, xk4, 5. — **P** Sas, named in a letter. — **D** Since *υσ* [hs] is an almost impossible sequence of consonants, it seems likely that *αν* here indicates [ā]; cf. the case of *δασο* (128), which probably stands for [dās] rather than the apparent [dahs]. If *σανσο* is to be read as [sās] it may be identified with the name of the Indo-Parthian ruler Sases (Gk. gen. *Σασου*, ALRAM no. 1208), as well as with the Sogd. PN *s's* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1064) and the Scythian PN *Σάσας* (JUSTI 1895, 291a). According to SCHWARTZ 1998, 253, \**Sāsa-* is in origin a “reduplicative hypocoristic name like Italian *Sasa* < *Salvatore* ...”, an explanation which may also apply to some or all of the names *βαβο* (41), \**νανο* (281), \**νονο* (implied by \**νονοκο*, 290), *παπο* (367), \**σισο* (see s.v. *σισανο*, 435), *τατο* (463), *τητο* (465), *τοτο* (474). Cf. also *ατιοσασο* (36), *σασανο* (422) and *σασορηο* (424).

**426. σηγο** m.: **B** Three impressions of two different but similar seals (Hc102, Saeedi no. 5, Khalili no. 139). — **P** Seg, an officer (*φρομαλαρο*), owner of two seals. — **D** Perhaps etymologically identical with Sogd. *syγ* “fine”, which occurs as a name-component in the f. PN *δ'p't-syγ[h]* (HENNING 1946, 737 n. 1; *IPNB* II/8, no. 416).

**427. σηνογολο** m.: **B** Inscription on a silver dish in a private collection, unpublished. — **P** Sen-gul (fl. 265 C.E.), son of Friy-gul (**503**), owner and subsequently donor of the dish. — **D** Compound consisting of two components of uncertain meaning. The first may perhaps be identified with the well-attested name \**Siyaina-* “eagle” (for which see s.v. *σινζο*, **433**), less likely with *σινα-* < Skt. *senā-* “army” in *σιναπιδο* (**432**). For *-γολο* see s.v. *σαχβογολο* (**322**).

**428. σηρο** m.: **B** SW 2005, S3, 6, 11 (cf. BD2, 36, ad loc.). — **P** Ser (fl. 693 C.E.), a Turk bearing the title “*tudun* of Gaz”, witness to a contract. — **D** Probably a title in origin, and apparently so used both on coins (ALRAM no. 1482, see also LEE–SW 2003, 171-3) and in documents (BD1, W10, Y11). I owe to F. DE BLOIS the suggestion that *σηρο* [sēr] may be a Turkicized form of the local royal title *šēr*, attested in Arabic sources as *šyr* and *š’r* and mainly used for the rulers of Bamiyan and Gharchistan, which is itself a dialectal variant of *χανρο*, *χαρο* < \**xšāθriya-*, the title of the rulers of Rob.

An equation with MP/NP *čēr* “triumphant, brave” and the Sogd. PN *cyr* (HUMBACH 1966, 62; IPNB II/8, no. 403) seems less likely. HUMBACH 2002, 416, contemplates a connection with Greek *σήρ* “Chinese; silkworm”.

**429. \*σιβοκο** m.: **B** patr./FN °*κανο* BD1, J2, v3, L3. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to an unidentified base. Cf. perhaps the NP PN *Sēbak* from *sēb* “apple” (JUSTI 1895, 293a)? LURJE, IPNB II/8, no. 1135, tentatively compares the Sogd. f. PN *sypwnh*.

**430. σιζοβορο** m.: **B** BD2, co5, 7. — **P** Siz-bur, named in a letter. — **D** Probably “son of Sinz (i.e. *σινζο*, **433**)”, with simplification of the consonant cluster, cf. *παζοβορο* (**362**). Connection with *βορο* (**102**) is much less likely.

A connection with the so far unexplained name of the Tk. ruler who died ca. 576 C.E. and who is referred to as *Σιλζίβουλος* by Menander Protector and as *Sinjibū* by Ṭabarī (see BOSWORTH 1999, 153 n. 394) may also be worth considering.

**431. σιαρο** m.: **B** *σιαρ{o}ο* BD2, cd2f. — **P** Siyar Kasan, sender of a letter. — **D** Unclear.

**432.** \*σιναπιδο m. PN(?): **B** patr./FN °δανο BD2, **za18**. — **D** Skt. PN *Senā-pati*, with partial assimilation of Skt. *pati*- “chief, leader” to its Bactr. equivalent -βιδο? Cf. also **427**.

**433.** σινζο m.: **B** BD1, **W14**. — **P** Sinz Sawan (fl. 747 C.E. or earlier), a landowner. — **D** Perhaps to be identified with the Pth. PN *synš* [sēnič] (DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 204), a hypocoristic in \*-iča- to the PN \**Siyaina*- “eagle”, Av. *Saēna*- (IPNB I/1, no. 273-4), MP *Sēn* (IPNB II/2, no. 838), El. *Ši-ya-a-na* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 234, no. 8.1560), etc. For the phonological development (\*-iča- > -ζο after a nasal) cf. \*πανζο (s.v. \*παζοβορο, **362**) and φανζο (**487**). Cf. also σηνογολο (**427**) and σιζοβορο (**430**).

**434.** σιροχομαρο m.: **B** Hc047. — **P** Sir-khumar, owner of a seal. — **D** Probably “(he who brings) consolation to his family”, a compound of \*σιρο, older \*σινρο < \*čithra- “seed, lineage” (cf. **437-7**) and \*χομαρο “consolation” (cf. **539**).

**435.** σισανο m.: **B** BD1, **L3**, v4\*. — **P** Sisan Sibukan (fl. 602 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** Perhaps a patr. formation to \*σισο, a “reduplicative hypocoristic” like the similarly-formed names listed s.v. σαυσο (**425**). Less likely equivalent to MP/Pth./Sogd. *sysyn*, *sysn* “Sisinnius”, the name of the successor of the prophet Mani, derived by SCHWARTZ 1998, 255, from a Mesopotamian word for “the fruited branch of a date-palm” (Akkadian *sissinnu*, Syr. *sysn*’).

**436.** σιτο m.: **B** SW 2005, **R3**, **S3**, 11. — **P** Sit (fl. 675-93 C.E.), treasurer of Gaz, witness to two contracts. — **D** Probably “spirit”, a variant spelling of -σητο in the DN ραμοσητο “the spirit Ram” (BD2, 259b), whose -τ- indicates a borrowing, probably from Sogdian, cf. the Sogd. PNs *cytβntk*, *cytcyt*(?), and especially *r’mcytk* (IPNB II/8, no. 408, 409, 1003). Cf. also σαμοσιτο (**411**).

The Sogd. names *cytβntk* and *cytcyt* are judged differently by LURJE, but he does not take into account the fact that “words which normally appear in Sogdian with a \*k-suffix commonly lack this extension when they are used as names or name-components” (SW 1992, 37). His tentative comparison of σιτο with the Sogd. f. PN *ctth* (IPNB II/8, no. 386) is not compelling.

**437. σιπραγο** m.: **B** Dadam Das 48:45 (SW 1992, 23, 28, no. 643). — **P** Sihrag, a visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** \*Čiθra-ka-, hypocoristic to the common name-component \*čiθra- (cf. σιροχομαρο, **434**, and σιπραζαδο, **438**). The name is well attested from an early date, cf. El. Zí-ut-rák-qa and Zí-iš-šá-qa, Pth. šhrk, and the patr. formation \*Čiθrakāna- in Neo-Assyrian Ší-ti-ir-ka-a-nu ~ Aram. š[t]rkn (MAYRHOFER 1973, 256, no. 8.1873; SW 1992, 28; SCHMITT, *IPNB* VII/1A, no. 124). SCHMITT 2008, 205, draws attention to the contrasting phonological development of the homonymous appellative \*čiθra-ka- > Bactr. σιπραγο “evidence, proof (of receipt)”.

**438. σιπραζαδο** f.: **B** Sig 26 (LERNER 1999, 276, fig. 10; SW 2005a, 342, fig. 1). — **P** Sihr-azad, owner of a seal. — **D** \*Čiθr-āzātā- “noble in respect of (her) lineage”, Arabic PN Šahrāzād (SW 2005a, 335). See also JUSTI 1895, 163a, who refers to the Av. expression raēuuat čīθrēm āzātā- “noble in respect of (her) rich lineage” (Yasht 5.64).

HUMBACH 1966, 74, and DAVARY 1982, 111, 232, read *μυπροζαδο* on the basis of inadequate photos.

**439. σκαγο** m.: **B** Km 27 etc. (see SW forthcoming (c)); adj. σκαγο-γωζογαναγγο SW 2005, R18. — **P** Skag Gozgan, a ruler of some part of Gozgan, who apparently ruled at least 675-95 C.E. — **D** Sogd. PN sk'kk, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1071 (SW 2004, 1056 with n. 28).

**440. σκατο/σκαχο** or **ισκατο/ισκαχο** m.: **B** °το BD1, C6', °χο *ibid.*, C5. — **P** Skakh (Iskakh?) or Skat (Iskat?), father of Shahr-wanind (**553**, fl. 380 C.E.). — **D** Since both forms refer to the same person, one spelling or the other is probably erroneous, but it is not clear which. It is also unclear whether the initial ι is the article or a prothetic ι-, which seems to be attested in this document in ισπαχτο “service” (BD1, C12', beside ασπαχτο, *ibid.*, C11) and perhaps in ισταχιρσιγο “native of Astakhirs” (*ibid.*, C9, 10f, cf. BD2, 197b). LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 155, compares the Sogd. PN 'sk'tc (with irregular correspondence of Bactr. τ ~ Sogd. t, for which see s.v. σιτο, **436**).

**441. \*σογδοκο** or **\*σογδογο** m. PN(?): **B** FN °κανο BD1, ag2f. — **D** Cf. Sogd. \*swγδ- “Sogdiana” (attested via adjectival derivatives). The

FN may derive from a PN meaning “Sogdian”, e.g. \*σογδογο (= Sogd. adj. *swγδ’k*) or a hypocoristic \*σογδοκο, or it may be formed directly from an ethnic adj. and refer to a family of Sogd. origin. In Bactrian one might expect \*σογλ-, with [γλ] < \*gd, and such a form may be attested in the GN βονοσογολιγο (see s.v. *μιαρο*, 249), but [γλ] probably reverted to [γδ] in late Bactrian (cf. Manichaean Bactr. *myγdyg* “fruit”, M1224, R2) just as [vl] reverted to [vd] (cf. *αβδδινο* “custom” beside earlier *αβλιγγο* “manner”, BD2, 182b) and [rl] to [rd]. A direct borrowing from Sogdian, where neither FNs in *-kān* nor PNs meaning “Sogdian” are attested, seems less likely.

**442. σοηο** m.: **B** Shatial 54:31 (SW 1992, 18, 28, no. 534). — **P** Swe, father of Shabur (548, viii). — **D** Perhaps connected with \*σαοο (418) and other forms derived from the root of \*sawah- “strength”, but the formation is unclear. From a comparative \*sawyah- “stronger”? Cf. also *σαοησο* (417), which may be a hypocoristic derived from *σοηο*.

**443. σολουανο** (or *σολα*<sup>ο</sup>, *σαλο*<sup>ο</sup>, *σαλα*<sup>ο</sup>) m. PN(?): **B** BD1, **C** sealing A\* (see *ibid.*, 14). — **P** Sulhan (Sulahan? Sal(a)han?) (fl. 380 C.E. or earlier), former(?) owner of a seal used by Shahr-wanind (553), son of Skakh (Iskakh?) or Skat (Iskat?) (440). — **D** Perhaps a patr. in origin, but otherwise obscure.

In theory it is possible that *σολουανο* is Shahr-wanind’s FN, but we have no other example of a seal bearing a FN and no PN. — If the correct reading is *σαλ-*, it is conceivable that the same name or even the same person may be mentioned in **aa**14, cf. BD2, 37, ad loc.

**444. σομωρο** m.: **B** BD1, **ah**8\*. — **P** Sumor, named in a list. — **D** Probably “marten, sable”, cf. MP/NP *samōr* “id.”, Sogd. PN *sm’wr’kkh* (IPNB II/8, no. 1076).

**445. σοσαδαδο(?)** m.: **B** Hodar 48:2 (SW *apud* BANDINI-KÖNIG 1999, 284). — **P** Suwa-dad(?), a visitor to Hodar. — **D** Perhaps a compound PN containing a component connected with \*σαοο (418) etc. Since the reading is quite uncertain it is hardly worth speculating further.

**446.** \*σοσοαβoσoσo m. PN(?): **B** patr./FN(?) °υανo Sig 14 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/5). — **D** Presumably a compound PN, which could be analysed either as \*σοo-οαβo-σoσo (as proposed by SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 311) or as \*σοσοo-αβoσoσo. In either case the first component may be connected with \*σαoo (418) etc., but the remainder of the name is quite obscure.

The supposed PN σoσoσo *apud* DAVARY 1982, 269, is part of this word.

**447.** σοσοσo m.: **B** BD2, j17\*. — **P** Swusiy or Suwsiy(?), sender of a letter. — **D** Unclear. Perhaps yet another name connected with \*σαoo (418) etc. The suffix -σoσo is attested as a late variant of -σoγo < \*-čiya-ka-, see BD2, 263b.

**448.** σορoγo m.: **B** BD1, N9, v4. — **P** Suren (fl. 629 C.E.), officer (φραμαλαρο) of the *khars* of Rob, witness to a contract. — **D** MP PN and FN *Sūrēn* (IPNB II/2, no. 853; HUYSE 1999, 135b). A typical WIran. name, cf. s.v. \*δαιογo (125).

**449.** σπαλβo, σπαλφο m.: **B** °βo BD2, ea16, ed4\*, 15, °φο *ibid.*, ea2f. — **P** Spalb/Spalf (fl. 461/2-475 [or 465] C.E.), a minor official, addressee of two letters from the governor Meyam (244, i). — **D** Perhaps a shortened form of σπαλοβido “army-chief, general”, attested as a PN in the spelling ασπαλοβido (28). A possible alternative is \*spāda-pā- “protecting the army”, cf. similar formations listed s.v. ωλαβo (188).

σπανδαγoσo etc.: see ασπανδο (30)

**450.** σπ(α)[νδ](o)μαρoγo m.: **B** Hc052. — **P** Sp[and]-mareg(?), owner of a seal. — **D** “Slave of the Holy (Spirit)”, a compound of the DN \*Spanta- (cf. s.v. ασπανδο, 30) and μαρoγo “slave, servant”.

σπαρoσo: see κηρoσo τογγoσo {τογγoσo} σπαρoσo (211)

**451.** σπoσo, ασπoσo m.: **B** (i) σ° BD2, cr6\*(?); (ii) ασ° BD1, E2'; (iii) σ° BD2, j11\*, adj. σπoσoσo *ibid.*, j18. — **P** (i) S[pi]y(?) (fl. 380 C.E.), a scribe who “authorizes” a letter for the governor Keraw Ormuzdan (210, i). (ii) Aspiy (fl. 466 C.E.), inhabitant of Kandban, party to a



contract. (iii) Spiy, named in a letter. — **D** Perhaps \**asp-iyā-*, either as an adj. “horsey” (thus SW 2000a, 7b, cf. MP PN *Asp-gōn* “horse-like”, *IPNB* II/2, no. 143) or as a MP hypocoristic in *-iy* to the name-component *asp* “horse”.

**452. σπριγγο, ασπριγγο m.:** **B** (i)  $\alpha\sigma^\circ$  BD2, ef1; (ii)  $\alpha\sigma^\circ$  *ibid.*, xi2\*; (iii)  $\sigma^\circ$  *ibid.*, jf19; (iv)  $\sigma^\circ$  Hc033; (v)  $\alpha\sigma^\circ$  SW 2005, Tt9; cf. also the patr./FN *σπριγγανο* BD2, ec2. — **P** (i) Aspring, addressee of a letter. (ii) Aspring, a nobleman, addressee of another letter. (iii) Spring, named in a draft letter. (iv) Spring, judge of Arzind(?), owner of a seal. (v) Aspring Kanduran Urbijan (fl. 705 C.E.), lord of Lizg, party to a contract. — **D** Cf. perhaps the Sogd. PN *sprynk* (derived from \**spara-* “shield” by SW 1992, 70, and LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1089) and/or the MP PN *'splngy* (read *Asp-rang* by GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, no. 147; similarly JUSTI 1895, 46b), but both are etymologically unclear.

† **ΣΤΑΔΙΛΑΡΩ:** see *ΤΙΛΑΡΩ* (467)

**453. στιο m.:** **B** BD1, **X** sealing A\* (see *ibid.*, 19). — **P** Stiy(?) (fl. 750 C.E. or earlier), son of Sag (403, vi), former(?) owner of a seal used by Kamird-far (200, ii) and Bab (41, iv), the sons of Bek (79, iii). — **D** Unclear. Derivation from \**Stiwāh* (= Av. \**Stiuuā*, nom. sg. of the PN *Stiuuant-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 301), seems worth considering. Possibly connected with the GN *ασταχιρσο*, \**αστιαχιρσο*, \**ισταχιρσο* (these variants being implied by the adj. *αστιαχιρσιγο*, *ισταχιρσιγο* “native of Astakhirs”, BD2, 197b), which may mean “the purchased property (\**αχιρσο* = *χιρσο*, cf. (*α*)*χιρσοβωστιγο*, BD2, 199a) of \*Astiy”.

**454. σωρασο m.:** **B** BD1, D5\* (cf. BD2, 35, ad loc.). — **P** Soras (fl. 417/8 C.E.), perhaps a tenant farmer. — **D** Perhaps a hypocoristic in *-σο* to the next.

**455. σωρο m.:** **B** (i) SW 2005, R10; (ii) BD1, V3; (iii) *ibid.*, V5, 34, 33'. — **P** (i) Sor (fl. 675 C.E.), leader of the people of Walakh, witness to a contract. (ii) Sor (fl. 729 C.E.), lord of Spandagan, satrap of Rizm, witness to a contract. Possibly the grandfather or uncle of (iii) Sor (fl. 729 C.E.), son of Wahran (320, iii), whose estate is called Spandagan,

party to the same contract. — **D** Probably equivalent to Sogd. *cwr*, Tk. *čor*, which is used both as a title (of unknown meaning) and as a name-component (cf. SW–HAMILTON 1990, 75; *IPNB* II/8, no. 391). Cf. also *σωρασο* (454).

**456. \*σωουκο** m. PN(?): **B** FN °κανο BD2, cp9f; cf. also the derivative *σωουκαυιγο* “belonging to the Sohukan family” *ibid.*, cp5, 5f, 17. — **D** Probably a hypocoristic in -κο, but otherwise obscure.

**457. ταυινο, τιγυνο** m.: **B** NumH 206-7, 240; cf. also the FN *ταυιν-ανο* BD1, ai3\*. — **P** Tegin “king of the East”, a “Turk Shahi” ruler (Brahmi *Tigina*, Pahl. *tkyn' hwl's'n MLK'*, NumH 208, Chinese *Wusan teqin sa* 烏散特勒 [=勤]灑, for the correction to the reading of the fourth character see CHAVANNES 1903, 132 n. 3), who ruled at least 703-738 C.E. (see SW 2009, 123), father of Frum Kesar (507). — **D** Tegin “prince”, a Tk. and “pre-Tk.” title, see SW 2002a, 234-5. Cf. the next.

HUMBACH 1966, 111, also reads *το(γυ)νο* in one of the Tochi valley inscriptions (ITSB, line 1), but the reading is quite hypothetical and a PN does not suit the context.

**458. ταυινοκο** m.: **B** BD1, ag10f. — **P** Taginuk, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** Hypocoristic in -κο to the preceding name, see SW 2002a, 234-5.

†**ΤΑΔΕΙΓΟ**: see *ΑΔΕΙΓΟ* (8)

**459. ταιαγο** m.: **B** BD1, F5. — **P** Tayag, native of Pidud, former owner of the slave Zer (153, fl. 470 C.E.). — **D** Unclear. Possibly a hypocoristic in -γο to a base *ται-* (cf. *ταιαμφο*, 460, and perhaps *Ἰταιο*, 572), but \**tāyu-* “thief” is hardly a plausible name-component.

**460. ταιαμφο** m.: **B** Jaghatu inscription, line 2 (SW 2008b). — **P** Tayamsh, father of Bay (67, ii). — **D** Compound containing the DN Yamsh (see 167), preceded by an element which can perhaps be identified with the base of *ταιαγο* (459).

**461. τακο** m.: **B** BD1, N12, 25, 30. — **P** Tak (fl. 629 C.E.), son of Bet (83), inhabitant of Madr, whose estate is called Burzmiran, party to a

contract. — **D** Unclear. Possibly OIran. \*Taka- (El. *Dakka*, MAYRHOFER 1973, 147, no. 8.339) plus hypocoristic \*-ka-?

**ΤΑΚΤΟΟ**: see *ΟΟΗΜΟ ΤΑΚΤΟΟ* (353)

**462. ταλμοζηνο** m.: **B** BD1, F3, v3\*. — **P** Talm-zen (fl. 470 C.E.), overseer of the market (of Lan?), witness to a contract. — **D** Evidently a compound, whose second component is most likely \*ζηνο “weapon” (cf. *βοζινο*, 483, and the title *ζηνοβιδο* “chief armourer” cited under 568), though “(saddle or garment) made of leather” (cf. *πορλαγγοζινο*, 379) or even “(in) trust” (cf. *οισβοροζινιο*, 350) are also possible. Since \**tādma-*, \**tāθma-* etc. do not suggest any likely cognates, it is worth considering whether *ταλμο-* could be a local replacement of MP *tahm* < \**taxma-* (OP \**tahma-*) “brave” on the analogy of cases such as *μηλμοκο* (245) beside *μηναμο* (247), where dialectal(?) *lm* appears to stand beside regular *hm* < \**θm*. MP \**Tahm-zēn* “Brave-weapon” is an unattested but plausible name. Cf. also *λμαζαδο* (564).

**ταπαγλιω**: see *χοτολο(γο) ταπαγλιω βιλγανο σαβο(ο)υο* (542)

**463. τατο** m.: **B** BD2, xe3f\*. — **P** Tat, sender of a letter. — **D** \**Tāta-*, in origin perhaps an informal word for “father, dad” (cf. *βαβο*, 41, and *παπο*, 367), with ZADOK, *IPNB* VII/1B, no. 517-23, or merely a “reduplicative hypocoristic”, cf. the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σανσο* (425). Cf. also LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1219, who compares PNs such as Sogd. *t'tc*, Chor. *t'tk* and Toch. B *Tati*, but comes to no definite conclusion about their etymology. Differently TREMBLAY 2009, 350, who proposes a derivation from \**tašta-*.

**464. [†τηνοπορο**: the last word of the Tochi inscription ITSB as read by HUMBACH 1970, 47, and 1994, 143, 149. HUMBACH interprets this sequence as a PN derived from a patr., but it is more likely that the final *πορο* “son” (line 5) belongs to a real patr. phrase (cf. s.v. *ζηνιβο*, 151) and that the end of line 4, now largely broken away and illegible, originally contained two PNs. HUMBACH supports his interpretation by referring to a supposed *Tīnupuru* or *Tīnaputra* at the end of the associated Skt.

inscription, but H. FALK (personal communication) sees here *Khattanapure*, the locative of a city-name].

**465. τητο** m.: **B** BD1, K2f, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15. — **P** Tet (fl. 579 C.E.), headman of Shaburan, party to a contract. — **D** Probably a “reduplicative hypocoristic”, cf. the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σαυσο* (425). The same name may be attested as *Tita*, gen. *Titasa*, in a Khar. inscription from Miran (BOYER 1911, 415). Cf. also *τητοκο* (466).

**466. τητοκο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, bh1, 12; (ii) *ibid.*, cn1; (iii) *ibid.*, xc1, 17; (iv) BD1, af1; cf. also the patr./FN *τητοκανο* BD2, ee3. — **P** (i) Tetuk Adurfarnigan, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. Possibly the same person as (ii) Tetuk, a nobleman, addressee of another letter. (iii) Tetuk, addressee of a letter. (iv) Tetuk, apparently an inhabitant of Astakhirs, named in a list, possibly the father or a more distant ancestor of Kirdirwarahran Tetukan, *hostig* of Astiyakhirs (215, v). — **D** Formed from the preceding name by means of the hypocoristic suffix *-κο* (cf. the formation of *\*νονοκο*, 290). The same name may be attested as *ttk* on several Aram. tallies from Late Achaemenian Bactria to be published by J. NAVEH and S. SHAKED, though this is uncertain in view of the lack of vocalization. The Sogd. PN *tytyk*, however, is probably Tk. *tetig* “quick-witted” (with LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1296).

**τιγίνο**: see *ταγίνο* (457)

**467. [†ΤΙΛΑΡΩ** m. PN(?): **B** SKB27. — **P** Name of one of the masons who carved the inscription? — **D** Illegible form, read as *τιλαρω* by GÖBL 1965, 11 (rejected by GERSHEVITCH 1985, 72), as *(σταδ)ι-λαρω* by HUMBACH 1966, 86].

†**τιριδαδο**: see *μυρι(α)[v]ο* (252)

**468. τιροαδο** m.: **B** Sig 33 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/7). — **P** Tir-wad, owner of a seal. — **D** Compound combining the DN *Tīr* (*τειρο*) and *Wād* “Wind” (*οαδο*), both of which are attested on Kushan coins, see DAVARY 1982, 285, and SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 311. The intended meaning may be “dedicated to Tir (and) Wad”, cf. *οαχβοιαμφο* (323)

and *τιροβταδο* (471). Names referring to Tir (cf. also 469-471 below) are rare in Sogd. (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1289) but common in Chor. (*ibid.*), Pth. (DIAKONOFF-LIVSHITS 2001, 204-5) and MP (*IPNB* II/2, no. 896-907, II/3, no. 328-331).

Less likely “der das Leben von Tir besitzt” as suggested by HUMBACH 1966, 74.

**469.** \**τιρομαρηγο* m.: B FN °*γανο* BD1, ag11f, ai2\*. — D “Slave of Tir”, a compound of the DN \**τιρο* (cf. 468) and *μαρηγο* “slave, servant”.

**470.** *τιροσπαλο* m.: B BD2, je2. — P Tir-spal, son of Warazan (307), sender of a letter. — D “Belonging to the army of Tir”. See s.v. *τιροαδο* (468) for the DN \**τιρο* and s.v. *αγγαδοσπαλο* (7) regarding similar compounds with \**σπαλο* “army”.

**471.** *τιροβταδο* m.: B BD2, xm1, 9\*. — P Tir-ushtad, guardian of the nobleman Warahran (315, vii). — D I am grateful to R. SCHMITT for the suggestion that the second component of this name may be the MP DN *Aštād*, Bactr. *αρταδο* (attested as a day-name, SW-DE BLOIS 1998, 151b), in which case the name is of the same type as *σαχβοιαμφο* (323), *τιροαδο* (468) or MP *Mihr-aštād* (*IPNB* II/3, no. 229) and may perhaps be understood as “dedicated to Tir and Ashtad”.

**472.** *τοβαζινι* (and *τοβοζινι*?) m.: B NumH 32 etc.; cf. also the FN *τοβαζηνανο* BD1, ag12. — P Tuba-zini, a “Hunnish” ruler. — D Compound name containing *-ζινι*, a variant of *-ζινιγο*, *-ζινιμο* “(in) trust” (cf. 350 etc.) as its second component. The prior component is perhaps the name of the Tk. tribe of the *Tupa* (Chinese *Dubo* 都播 or 都波, Early Middle Chinese \**tɔpat* or \**tɔpa*, possibly attested in Manichaean script as *twp*’, MÜLLER 1913, 32), nowadays the *Tuva* (HAMILTON 1962, 27 with n. 18 on p. 54). Such a name might have been given to a prince who spent some time as a hostage “under the protection of the Tupa”. Cf. also *IPNB* II/8, no. 1261.

Often read *γοβοζικο* or *γοβοζοκο*, but initial τ- is more probable than γ- and there is no justification for the reading with -κ-. HUMBACH 1966, 54, reads *ταβοζινι*. On most specimens the fourth letter appears to be *ο* and the end of the name is corrupt or reduced

to -ν, but a coin in the Jean-Pierre Righetti collection (no. 36) has (τ)οβαξινη | βα(υ)ο, with -αξ- joined (or at least in contact) and a clear final -νι.

**τογγαυο:** see κηραυο τογγαυο {τογγαυο} σπαραυο (211)

**473. τοδακο m.:** **B** Inscription on a silver-gilt plate, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection, New York (SW 1994, 176-7). — **P** Tudak, owner of the plate. — **D** Cf. Sogd. PN *twδ'kk*, for which SW 1992, 74, and LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1249, consider connection with Sogd. *twδ'k* “heap” or with a GN *twδ*. Another possibility is that *τοδακο* is a hypocoristic in -κο to *τοτο* (474), with regular voicing of the postvocalic plosive as in the case of *παβαγο* (361) beside *παπο* (367).

**474. τοτο m.:** **B** BD1, L8, 20, 24, 30. — **P** Tut (fl. 602 C.E.), son of Bazanuk (59), inhabitant of Malr, whose estate is called Hunsekhan, party to a contract. — **D** Probably a “reduplicative hypocoristic”, cf. the similarly-formed names listed s.v. *σαυσο* (425). Cf. also *τοδακο* (473).

**τριλαδο:** see *υριλαδο* (484)

**475. [†τωγο or †υωγο:** however this sequence on Sig 9 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/2) is to be read, it is hardly a PN with DAVARY 1982, 286, but rather a part of an epithet of the river-god Wakhsh. The first letter is enigmatic, as pointed out by HUMBACH 1969, 70. GRENET 1983, 381, reads *σαχβο ι λωγο βαγο*, which might mean “Wakhsh the lord of the world (Skt. *loka-*)” (though this is not GRENET’s intention). An alternative might be *σαχβο ι ωγο βαγο* “Wakhsh the one god”, cf. 175].

**476. τωρομανο m.:** **B** BD1, L3, v3. — **P** Torman Aspandagan (fl. 602 C.E.), witness to a contract. — **D** No doubt identical with the name of the Hephthalite ruler Toramana (attested as *Toramāna* in Brahmi script on coins, e.g. NumH 119, 133, and in literary sources), cf. SW 2002a, 233. TREMBLAY 2001, 184, proposes a derivation from *\*Tarwa-manah-*, but there is no real reason to expect a name of Iranian origin.

A supposed Sogd. equivalent †*twrm'n* is more likely to be read *ywrn'n* or *rwrn'n* (see SW 1992, 15, no. 460; cf. also *IPNB* II/8, no. 1533).

**477. τωσο** (or **τωσοβωζο?**) m.: **B** BD2, ja4f. — **P** Tos(?), named in a letter. — **D** NP PN *Tōs, Tūs, Tūs* (JUSTI 1895, 322)? Connection with the Sogd. PN *γ'wtws* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 482) seems less likely. Cf. also the next. If *-βωζο* forms part of the name (rather than being a word for “tax”, the explanation preferred in BD2, 205b), this may be a derivative of the root *\*bauj* “to save”, cf. perhaps *βοζο* (94), *βωζανο* (108) and *Joβοζανο* (576).

**478. τωσοκο** m.: **B** (i) BD2, jc1, 18; (ii) *ibid.*, xb1, 10. — **P** (i) Tosuk of Marg, addressee of a letter. Possibly the same person as (ii) Tosuk, addressee of another letter. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to the preceding name. Cf. also *Tūsik*, which is recorded by Ṭabarī as the name of the ruler of Pāryāb/Fāryāb, modern Dowlatabad between Andkhoy and Maimana, in 90 A.H. = 708/9 C.E. (HINDS 1990, 154).

**479. ναζαροχτο** m. PN(?): **B** Sig 36 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/2). — **P** Hazarukht, name or title of the owner of a seal. — **D** At least in origin a title and clearly attested as such on Sig 19 (for which see 213, ii; 491). As noted by HENNING 1965, 81, the form has its nearest equivalent in Arm. *hazarawuxt*, a (vulgar?) variant of MP *hazāruft* < *\*hazahra-pati* “chiliarch” (cf. 14); see further SCHMITT 2007, 361.

**480. \*ΥΑΣΤΙΛΟ, \*ΑΣΤΙΛΟ** or **\*ΥΑΣΤΙΛΟΓΟ, \*ΑΣΤΙΛΟΓΟ** m. PN(?): **B** ethnic adj. *ΥΑΣΤΙΛΟΓΑΝΖΕΙΓΟ* SKB25f, obl. *ΑΣΤΙΛΟΓΑΝΣΕΙΓΙ* SKM22. — **D** The attested form, formerly regarded as a PN, was recognized by HENNING 1965, 79-80, as an ethnic adj. “(native) of (H)astilgan” and is nowadays understood as qualifying the name of Burzmihr (98, i). The underlying GN *\*(v)αστιλογανο* may well be an EN derived from a PN *\*(v)αστιλο* or *\*(v)αστιλογο*, although such a name has no obvious etymology. Differently HUMBACH 2003, 164, who interprets *\*(v)αστιλογανο* as “*hast-ī logān* ‘settlement of the Log or Logān people’”.

**481. υλιτοβηρο** m.: **B** (i) SW 2005, Tt4, 13; (ii) BD1, U4f, 19, 6', W5, 26. — **P** (i) Hilitber (fl. 705 C.E.), name or title of the “leader of the people of Lizg”. (ii) Hilitber (fl. 712/3-747 C.E.), whose house is called Wurolan, son of Bah (76, i), perhaps nephew of Wakhsh-mareg Urolan

(324, fl. 712/3). — **D** In origin a title (Tk. *iltäbir*, Arabic *rutbīl* etc., see BD2, 272b, and SW 2002a, 235) and used as such also in Bactrian (e.g. BD1, N6f, P4f\*, Q5f). The Arabic form *'l-rtbyl* is also attested as a PN in documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 17-18, 164.

**482. υνοσαρο** m.: **B** BD1, Q13. — **P** Hin-sar, father of Khudew-mareg and Wisburg-mareg (532, 349, both fl. 671 C.E.). — **D** It is tempting to interpret this name as synonymous with the Pth. PN *spdsrk* (cf. SCHMITT 1998, 182), hence “head (*σαρο*, cf. also Av. PN *Auruuasāra-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 56) of an army (Av. *haēnā-*, OP *hainā-*, OInd. *senā-*)”, despite the fact that OIran. *\*hainā-*, having been specialized in the sense “*enemy army*”, is scarcely attested in Iranian onomastics (see SCHMITT 2006, 242 with n. 71; cf. also the MP PN *Hēn-bar*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 435, which can perhaps be understood as “leading away the enemy army” in accordance with one possible interpretation of the Indo-Parthian name Sanabares, see s.v. *σανοβαρο*, 416).

**483. υοζινο** m.: **B** Sig 24 (VON DER OSTEN 1934, pl. XXXV/625; BIVAR 1968, pl. IV/2-3). — **P** Huzin, owner of a seal. — **D** *\*Hu-zaina-* “well-armed” (= Av. *huzaēna-*), cf. also the PN *Ozines* in Curtius Rufus, see BIVAR 1955, 208; HUMBACH 1966, 74.

**484. υριλαδο** (less likely *τριλαδο*) m.: **B** Inscription on a bronze statuette in a private collection, unpublished (*v<sup>o</sup> αβο ζονο βαγο λαδο* “H. has given (this) to the god Zun”). — **P** Hri-lad (Tri-lad?), donor of the statuette. — **D** Perhaps “given by the Three (cf. *υαρηιο* < *\*θrāyah*, BD2, 272a)”, a name synonymous with MP *Sē-dād* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 834). Which divinities(?) are referred to in this and similar names is a matter of debate, see GIGNOUX, *ibid.*, s.v. *Sē-buxt* (no. 833).

**485. \*υωμικο** (or *\*υωμο* or *\*υωμιγο*) m.: **B** patr./FN *ο κανο* BD2, jc2. — **D** Probably a derivative (with or without hypocoristic suffix) of the DN *\*Hauma-*, cf. PNs such as MP *Hōm* (*IPNB* II/2, no. 437, II/3, no. 159), El. *U-ma-ka* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 245, no. 8.1715), Sogd. *xwmδ't* (*IPNB* II/8, no. 1438).



**486. \*νωριγο** m.: **B** EN °γανο BD1, Q10. — **D** Probably attested as 'l-hwryk in an Arabic document from Afghanistan (read 'l-hwrbk in KHAN 2007, 143), where the use of the article suggests that the word was originally a title (cf. 'l-'šbhbδ s.v. ασπαλοβιδο, 28, al-Qārwal s.v. μιρο, 253, and 'l-rtbyl s.v. υλιτοβηρο, 481). The similarity with the patr. attested in ŠKZ in the forms Pth. hwrkn, MP hwlk'n, Greek Ωριγαν (HUYSE 1999, 126) is probably coincidental.

**487. φανζο** m.: **B** BD1, P5, 9, 14', 24'. — **P** Fanz (fl. 669 C.E.), son of Bag-mareg (49, ii), whose house is called Gabaliyan, party to a contract. — **D** Connection with the NP PN Fanj or Funj (Shahnama) seems unlikely. Possibly a hypocoristic in \*-iča- (> -ζο after a nasal, cf. σινζο, 433), but it is difficult to find a plausible etymology for an underlying \*φανο < \*f(š)ān-. It may therefore be worth considering the possibility that \*φανο derives from \*φαρνο as a non-native variant of φαρo “glory” < \*farnah- (see s.v. \*αδοροφαρνιγο, 11), with simplification of \*-rn- to -n- as in βονοκανο/βονακανο beside βορνικανο (101) or Late Sogd. fn < frn. In that case φανζο would represent the well-attested PN \*Farniča-, El. Parnizza (MAYRHOFER 1973, 214, no. 8.1285), Aram. prnyš, Pth. prnyš (SCHMITT 1998, 186), Sogd. prnc (IPNB II/8, no. 907).

**488. \*φαραγο** or \*φαρο m.: **B** patr./FN φαραγανο BD2, bg1. — **D** Probably a short name consisting of the common name-component φαρo “glory”, with or without hypocoristic -γο. Differently LURJE, IPNB II/8, no. 306, who compares the patr./FN φαραγανο with the Sogd. PN βργ'n'k and interprets both as “native of Farghana”.

**489. φαραλο** m. PN(?): **B** BD1, ag sealing\* (see *ibid.*, 21). — **P** Faral, owner of a seal? — **D** \*Frāda-? Perhaps (with SW 2009a, 279 n. 7, 285) identical with the OP PN Frāda- (IPNB I/2, no. 30), cf. also ιωγοφραλο (186), Pth. PNs such as prdk < \*Frādaka- (DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 199) and the Av. PN Frādaṭ.x<sup>v</sup> arənah- “promoting x<sup>v</sup> arənah-”.

**490. φαρνοαγαδο** m.: **B** SW 2005, S5. — **P** Farn-agad, father of Potan and Miyar (384, 249, both fl. 693 C.E.). — **D** As noted s.v. \*αδοροφαρνιγο (11), the form \*φαρνο (~ Bactr. φαρ(ρ)ο) suggests a foreign origin. In this case the source is probably the Sogd. PN prn''γt

“(to whom)(?) glory (has) come” (SW 1992, 63; *IPNB* II/8, no. 897), with assimilation (cf. 292) of Sogd. ’γt < \*ā-gata- “having come, came” to its Bactr. equivalent *αγαδο*.

**491.** [*φαρν(ο)[•••]σταχο*: this form on Sig 19 (BIVAR 1968, pl. II/5, most recently discussed by SW 2005a, 339) was regarded as a Pth. PN by HENNING 1965, 81, but seems most likely to be an honorific title, the name of the seal-owner being Kedir (213, ii). As noted s.v. \*αδορο-*φαρνιγο* (11), the form \**φαρνο* (~ Bactr. *φαρ(ρ)ο*) indicates a foreign origin, in this case probably MP. The last part of the compound could be MP *wistāx* “confident, bold”, although, as pointed out by HUMBACH 1966, 73, HENNING’s restoration *φαρνο[οι]σταχο* does not seem to be sufficient to fill the lacuna in the middle of the word. DAVARY 1982, 110, 186, and TREMBLAY 2003, 126, read *φαρνοαγαχο*, ignoring the lacuna altogether].

**492.** *φαροσαραζο* m.: **B** BD1, C4. — **P** Far-waraz (fl. 380 C.E.), inhabitant of Malrug, witness to a contract. — **D** Combination of *φαρο* “glory” and \**οαραζο* “boar” (see s.v. *οοραζο*, 356).

**493.** *φαροσηβο* m.: **B** BD1, A11. — **P** Far-wesh (fl. 332 C.E.), father(?) of Ralik (385), party to a contract. — **D** Combination of *φαρο* “glory” and the DN *σηβο*.

**494.** *φαροχονδο* m.: **B** Hc010. — **P** Farkhund, owner of a seal. — **D** “Fortunate” < \**farnah-want-a-*, a secondary thematic form which is common as a PN (Sogd. *prnxwnt*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 910, Pth. *prnhwnt*, DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 199) beside the older \**farnah-want-*, nom. sg. \**farnah-wāh* (e.g. Pth. PN *prnhw*, obl.(?) *prnhwty*, *ibid.*, MP PN *Farrox*, *IPNB* II/2, no. 352, II/3, no. 121).

**495.** [*φιγαγγο*: there is no basis for the suggestion of DAVARY 1982, 188, that this word in the Dilberjin inscription, fragment 5, line 12, may be a PN].

**496.** *ΦΙΝΔΟΦΑΡΡΙΖ(?)* m.: **B** Sig 67 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/6). Written *ΦΙΝΑΟΦΟΡΡΙΖ*, emended by HUMBACH 1969, 65-6, on the

assumption that some letters have been inaccurately transposed from cursive script. — **P** Findfarriz(?), owner of a seal. — **D** HUMBACH, loc. cit., identified the components \*φινδο “lord” < \*fšuyant-, Chor. *fynd* “husband” (see also s.v. κοζουλο καθφισο, 218, and cf. the attested φινζο “lady” < \*fšuyant-ī-čī-, Bactr. loanword in NP *finj*) and φαρρο “glory, majesty”. If -ιζ may be regarded as a WIran. (Pth.?) hypocoristic suffix, cf. s.v. βαγιζο (44), the formation of the name would be similar to that of Pth. *wyprnyš* (SCHMITT 1998, 186) and Sogd. *k’wyprnc* (SW 1992, 35 with n. 7); cf. also s.v. ναν(η)οβαγοκο (279).

**497. φινζολαδο** m.: **B** (i) SW 2005, R6f, 9, 14, 20; (ii) *ibid.*, Ss3\*(?). — **P** (i) Finz-lad (fl. 675 C.E.), inhabitant of Khag, party to a contract. (ii) Fin[z-lad](?) (fl. 698 C.E.), market-trader of Amber, party to a contract. — **D** “Given by the Lady”. The title φινζο “lady, mistress” < \*fšuyant-ī-čī- (BD2, 274b, cf. also οираζοφινζο, 346) presumably refers here to an unnamed goddess.

**φορομο κησαρο**: see φορομο κησαρο (507)

†**φρακαδο**: see φραλαδο (498)

**498. φρα(λαδ)ο(?)** m. PN(?): **B** Kara-Tepe inscription B11. — **P** Fralad(?), person(?) mentioned in an inscription at Kara-Tepe. — **D** If this word is indeed a PN, which is quite uncertain, it may represent the Bactr. equivalent of well-known the PN \**Fra-dāta-*, Babylonian *Ip-ra-da-a-ta/tú*, Greek *Φραδάτης*, Pth. *prdt*, cf. SCHMITT 1998, 179. HARMATTA, in Kara-Tepe II, 114, gives the same etymology, but reads *φραναδο* and assumes that this is a WIran. name.

Read from the original in the Hermitage, see SW forthcoming (d). Hardly legible from the published photos (Kara-Tepe II, pl. 10-11). LIVŠIĆ (*ibid.*, 80) reads *φρα(κ)αδο* or *φρα(ν)αδο*.

**499. ΦPAMANO** m.: **B** Sig 70 (BIVAR 1968, pl. XXVII/1), see also HUMBACH 1969, 72; 1976, 65. — **P** Framan (Khar. gen. *Vhramaṇasa*), owner of a seal with bilingual inscription. — **D** Short name consisting of the name-component \*φραμανο, a variant spelling of the attested *φρομανο* “command” < \**framānā-*, cf. Sogd. *prm’n* as a name-component

(SW 1992, 63). Cf. also *οινδοφρομανοιαμβο* (343), *φραμανσο* (500), and perhaps *φρομαοαραζο* (505) and *φρομαριζμο* (506).

**500. φραμανσο** m.: **B** Hc050, 069. — **P** Framans, owner of a seal. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-σο* to the preceding name.

*φραμαριζμο*: see *φρομαριζμο* (506)

†*φραναδο*, †*φραναδο*: see *φραλαδο* (498)

**501. ΦΡΕΙΧΟΑΔΗΘ** m.: **B** Sig 3 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/2). — **P** Frey-khwadew, owner of a seal. — **D** “Friend of the lord”, etymologically identical with the Sogd. PN *pryχwt’w* (IPNB II/8, no. 932) and synonymous with MP *Xwadāy-dōst* (IPNB II/2, no. 1026). The variant with *\*-ka-*suffix, *φρειχοαδηγο*, is attested as an appellative with the same meaning (rather than as a patr. with HENNING 1965, 84 n. 50), see SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 310.

**502. φριακο** m.: **B** BD2, jf17. — **P** Friyak, named in a draft letter. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to *φριο* < *\*friya-* “dear, friend” (also *φρει-*, see the preceding and following names), which is well-attested as a name and name-component from OIran. onwards, cf. Av. *Friia-* (IPNB I/1, no. 146), MP *Friy* (IPNB II/2, no. 380), *Friyag* (IPNB II/3, no. 142), etc.

**503. φριογολο** m.: **B** Inscription on a silver dish in a private collection, unpublished. — **P** Friy-gul, father of Sen-gul (427, fl. 265 C.E.). — **D** Compound consisting of *φριο* “dear” (see s.v. *φριακο*, 502) and a second component *-γολο* of uncertain meaning (see s.v. *σαχρογολο*, 322).

**504. φριοιαμβροχοηο** m.: **B** Sig 34 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/1). — **P** Friy-yamsh-khwadew Mi<...>, owner of a seal. — **D** “Friend of Yamsh the lord”, cf. *ιαμβροχοαδηβανδαγο* (172) and *φρειχοαδηο* (501).

The whole inscription runs as follows: *φριο ιαμβρο χοηο μι*. The interpretation adopted here is based on the idea that *μι* may be an abbreviation for a patr./FN such as Mihran. Previously I translated “dear (to?) Yamsh (is?) my lord” (SW 1994, 177 with n. 10, and *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 311-12), but there is no good evidence for a first person sg. enclitic pronoun *\*-μι* and no parallel for such a usage.

**505. φρομαοραζο** m.: **B** BD2, xd2. — **P** Fruma-waraz, *khar* of Rob, sender of a letter. — **D** Compound with an ambiguous first component, for which see the next, and \*οαραζο “boar” (= οοραζο, 356) as its second component.

**506. φρομαριζμο, φραμαριζμο** m.: **B** (i) φρο° Hc077; (ii) φρο° BD2, xr2\*; (iii) φρο° BD1, L8f\*; (iv) φρα° *ibid.*, N5 (cf. BD2, 35, ad loc.). — **P** (i) Fruma-rizm, owner of a seal. (ii) Fruma-rizm Shaburan, sender of a letter. Possibly an ancestor of (iii) Fruma-rizm Shaburan (fl. 602 C.E.), named in a document as a ruler or landowner of Malr. This last is almost certainly the same person as (iv) Frama-rizm Shaburan (fl. 629 C.E.), “the *tapaghliḡh iltābir* of the *qaghan* prosperous in glory, *khar* of Rob, lord of Parpaz”, witness to a contract. — **D** Compound with \*ριζμο “(line of) battle” (see 68) as its second component. The first component may be just a variant of φρομανο/\*φραμανο “command” as in the case of οινδο-φρομα-ιαμβο beside οινδο-φρομανο-ιαμβο (343), in which case the name as a whole is probably to be understood as a mechanical combination of two well-established name-components. Alternatively, φρομαριζμο may be a governing compound, in which \*φρομα- has the force of a form of the verb φρομι- “to command”, hence “commanding the battle-line” (cf. the formation of the Sogd. PN *wnrzmk* “conquering the battle-line”, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1320). Either of these explanations may also be applied to the preceding name.

**507. φρομο κησαρο, φορομο κησαρο**, also abbrev. φρομο κησο m.: **B** NumH 247-251 etc. — **P** Frum/Furum Kesar, a “Turk Shahi” ruler (Chinese *Fulin jisuo* 佛赫爾娑 [=娑], see HARMATTA 1969, 411-12), who ruled ca. 738/9-745 C.E., son and successor of Tegin (457). See HUMBACH 1966, 20-23; 1983; 1987; 1989; HARMATTA 1996, 382; SW 2009, 123-7. — **D** The name means “Caesar of Rome” (cf. Pth./Sogd. *frwm* beside MP *hrwm*), as was first recognized by HUMBACH 1966, 21-2, who also noted the survival of the name in Tibetan *Phrom Gesar*, the name of an 8th-cent. ruler and epic hero.

**508. φρωδαγο** m.: **B** BD1, aa18\*. — **P** Frodag, father of Froduk (510). — **D** Hypocoristic in -γο to the following or a similar compound name.

The Bactr. name may also be attested as *frwdy* and *frdy*, i.e. *Frōdā*(?), in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 146.

**509. φρωδασπο** m.: **B** BD1, **ah3\***. — **P** *Frod-asp*, named in a list. — **D** Only the second component *ασπο* “horse” is certain. “Understanding horses”, cf. Pth. *frwd-* “to understand, know”? If one may assume the survival of *\*-t* as *-d-* in compound junction (as in MP/NP *Zardušt*), an etymon such as *\*Frawat-aspā-* (cf. MAYRHOFER’s interpretation of Av. *Frauuā-* as a short name based on *\*Frauuāspa-*, *IPNB* I/1, no. 131) or *\*Frauθat-aspā-* (cf. Av. *frauθat̄.aspā-* “having snorting horses”, Yt. 5.130) could also be considered. A connection with the Sogd. PN *’prwt-βnīk* (as suggested in *IPNB* II/8, no. 119) is unlikely on both formal and semantic grounds. Cf. also *φρωδαγο* (508) and *φρωδοκο* (510).

**510. φρωδοκο** m.: **B** BD1, **aa18\***, **29\***, **30f\***, **ab7f**, **13f**. — **P** *Froduk*, son of *Frodag* (508), party to two contracts. — **D** Hypocoristic in *-κο* to the preceding or a similar compound name.

**511. χαιο** m.: **B** (i) SW 2009b, **Nn8**, 11, 13, 21; (ii) SW 2005, **Uu8**, 15, 19. — **P** (i) *Khay* (fl. 659 C.E.), son of *Khwas* (528), inhabitant of *Lizg*, whose house is called *Nanan*, party to a contract. (ii) *Khay* (fl. 722 C.E.), son of *Pabag* (361), inhabitant of *Lizg*, party to a contract. — **D** Probably *\*xšaya-*, a short name based on a compound such as OP PN *Xšayāršan-* < *\*Xšaya-ršan-* “ruling heroes”, *IPNB* I/2, no. 66; cf. also the Scythian PNs in *-ξαις* and Sogd. PN *nnyxs’y* (SW 1992, 61; *IPNB* II/8, no. 806). In theory *χαιο* could attest a name-component *\*xāya-* cognate with Oss. *xai* “part, share”, cf. OIran. PN *\*Rtaxāya-* (El. *Ir-da-ka-ya*, Greek *Ἰρταχάιης*, Aram. *’rthīy*) as interpreted by GERSHEVITCH 1962, 91; 1969, 192, 215; but this may rather be a “zweistämmiger Kosename” *\*Rta-x-aya-* (SCHMITT 1972; MAYRHOFER 1973, 163, no. 8.581). See further s.v. *χαιοβητο* (512).

**512. χαιοβητο** m.: **B** SW 2005, **Tt14**. — **P** *Khay-bet* (fl. 705 C.E.), a ruler or official. — **D** Perhaps a mechanical combination of the two names *χαιο* (511) and *βητο* (83).

**513. χαλασο** m.: **B** BD1, **P9**, 12'. — **P** *Khalas* (fl. 669 C.E.), a slave-boy, subject of a purchase contract. — **D** The Bactr. form is also attested

as an ethnic name (BD1, T2, 21) and no doubt derives from the name of the Khalach people, Tk. *Xalač*, see SW 2002a, 234-5.

**514. χαμρο** m.: B BD1, X24'. — P Khamir (fl. 750 C.E.), son of Kamird-far (200, ii). — D The Arabic title *amīr*, for which a Central Asian pronunciation *xamīr* is also attested by Sogd. *xmyr* (used both as a title and as a PN, see IPNB II/8, no. 1407), Chor. *xmyr* and Tk. *xamīr*. See SW 2002a, 236, and LURJE 2009, passim, especially 48-50.

**515. χαραγο** m.: B BD1, aj1. — P Kharag, named in a list. — D Hypocoristic in *-γο* to either *χαρο* “ruler” or *χαρο* “donkey” (BD2, 277b), for both of which see the following names. The apparent derivative *χαραγανο*, *χαρογανο*, *χαυρογανο*, *χαρανο* (BD1-2, passim) is used like a patr. or FN. However, in all or most cases this is certainly to be interpreted not as “son/descendant of Kharag” but as “member of the family of the *khars*”, i.e. as a derivative of *χαρο* “ruler” rather than of *χαραγο*. Similar cases are *βρηδαγανο*, *βρηδαγανιου* (105) and *χοηοοανο* (537).

**516. ΧΑΡΟΒΑΛΛΑΓΟ** m.: B Sig 4 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/1). — P Kharbalag, name or title of the owner of a seal. — D Perhaps a compound of *χαρο* “ruler” < \**xšāθriya-* and *παλο* “family” < \**pada-*, Sogd. *pδ-* (BD2, 277b, 251a), with expected voicing of \**-p-* in internal position and \**-ka-* as a *bahuvrīhi*-suffix, thus in origin a title meaning “belonging to the ruling family; prince” (SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 310). An alternative, suggested to me by R. SCHMITT, would be \**xara-pad-aka-* “donkey-footed”, cf. the Av. PN *Spō.pad-* “dog-footed” (or *Aspō.pad-* “horse-footed”?), IPNB I/1, no. 294.

**517. \*χαροβιδο(?), \*χαρβιδο(?)** m.: B FN *χαροβιγανο* BD1, V17, *χαρβιγανο* *ibid.*, V17'. — D Since this document attests *βρηγανο* < *βρηδαγανο* (105), it is quite possible that *χαρ(ο)βιγανο* is a simplification of \**χαρ(ο)βιδογανο*. In that case the underlying PN may be \**χαρ(ο)βιδο*, in origin a title meaning “master of donkeys” (cf. *ασβιδο*, 27). But it is equally possible that the PN should be reconstructed as \**χαροβιγο* or \**χαροβο* (“he who protects the ruler” or “he who protects

the kingdom”, a local variant of *βαυραβο* “satrap”, see s.v. *\*ιωλαβο*, 188?).

**518. χατολο** m.: **B** (i) Inscription on a silver bowl in the Hermitage, Inv. S. 250, unpublished (*χατο(λ)ο χοδδηοο σ'(?) ι' η'* “Lord Khatul. [Weight?] 218(?)”); (ii) SW 2005, Uu9, 15f, 19. — **P** (i) Khatul, a nobleman, owner of a bowl. (ii) Khatul (fl. 722 C.E.), son of Pabag (361), inhabitant of Lizg, party to a contract. — **D** Unclear.

**519.** [†*χατοχαφο* m. PN(?): **B** Sig 47 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/6). — **P** Name of the seal-owner? — **D** Thus read by DAVARY 1982, 113, 290. HENNING 1965, 80-81, tentatively suggested *μαλολαρο*, while HUM-BACH 1969, 71, preferred *χοτοχαφο* or *χοτολαρο*. None of the proposed readings is convincing. The inscription is very poorly engraved and its authenticity seems doubtful].

**520. χιγγιλο** m.: **B** (i) Inscription on a silver bowl in the Datong City Museum (SW-TUCKER 2006, 589); (ii) NumH 61. — **P** (i) Khingila, owner of the bowl. Possibly the same person as (ii) Khingila (Brahmi *Khingila*, NumH 81 etc., see also MELZER 2006, 258-60), a “Hunnish” ruler. — **D** As pointed out by SW 2002b, 144, the apparent hypocoristic suffix *-ila* suggests an Indian or at least Indianized name. However, as O. VON HINÜBER has kindly informed me, the supposed Indian *\*khiṅga-* “strong” referred to there is very weakly attested (*khiṅgā* “stout, able-bodied” is not Pali but Panjabi). A different approach was proposed by TREMBLAY 2001, 183-4 (followed by DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2007, 129), comparing the name with Xiongnu *kenglu* 控路 “sword”, Sogd. *xnyr*, etc. Cf. also *ερκιγγιλο* (138).

The reading *χιγγιλο* on NumH 61, suggested by HUMBACH (1966, 57) but later abandoned by him (1967a, 43), seems quite secure.

**521. [XIPΓOMANO:** this sequence in SKM21, interpreted as a PN by BENVENISTE 1961, 139, GERSHEVITCH 1985, 70, LAZARD et al. 1984, 213-14, and SW 1994, 177 n. 8, is almost certainly to be understood as *χιργο* (meaning unknown) + *μανο* “by me”, see HUMBACH 1970, 48, and 2003, 162-4].



†*χοαδδησπαδο*: see *χοαδοησπαδο* (526)

522. *χοαδηοβανδαγο* m.: B BD2, **bg**8, 11\*. — P Khwadew-bandag, a satrap (of Rizm?). — D “Slave of the Lord”, Sogd. *xwt’wβntk* (IPNB II/8, no. 1458).

523. *χοαδηολαδο* m.: B BD1, A5. — P Khwadew-lad Yastunikan (fl. 332 C.E.), witness to a contract. — D “Given by the Lord”.

524. *χοαδηοανινδο* m.: B BD2, **ba**1f\*, 22\*, **bb**1\*, 13f\*, **bc**1, 26f, **bd**1, **bf**14f\*, **bg**5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14\*, 18\*, 19, abbrev. *χοηοοανινδο* *ibid.*, **be**21\*. — P Khwadew-wanind, commander of a fortress, sender or addressee of several letters. (It is probable but not absolutely certain that the same person is referred to in all these letters.) — D “Victorious through the Lord”.

525. *χοαδηου* f m.: B BD2, **xo**2. — P Khwadew-h[...], a nobleman, addressee of a letter. — D Compound of *χοαδηο* “lord” and an unidentifiable second component.

526. *χοαδοησπαδο*(?) m.: B BD1, **a**110\*. — P Khwade(w)-spad, a soldier(?). — D The text of the edition gives *χοαδδησπαδο*, with -δδ- marked as doubtful. Since there are no sure examples of double -δδ- in this document, I now prefer the suggestion in the footnote (BD1, 163 n. 161) to read the first part of the compound as *χοαδοη-* and to interpret this as a mistake for *χοαδηο* “lord”. The following component is even more problematic, since neither *\*σπαδο* “cast down” < *\*spāta-* (attested in the compound *σπαδοζαγγο* “on bended knee”, BD2, 265a) nor *ασπαδο* “\*founded, built” < *\*(ā?)-spāta-* (SW-CRIBB 1996, 87-8) seems to offer a suitable meaning, while *\*σπαδο* “army” as a dialectal variant of *\*σπαλο* would be unparalleled.

527. *χοαρμιοιωζο* m.: B BD1, **af**3. — P Khwarm-yoz, named in a list. — D Presumably a compound. The first component is obscure, but the second may perhaps be compared with that of Pth. *rzmywz* “pugnacious”, cf. the MP honorific name *\*Razmyōzān* (attested via Arm. *Řazmiozan*, see HÜBSCHMANN 1897, 69). Cf. also *ιωζο* (187).

**528. *χοασο* m.:** B SW 2009b, Nn8, 12, 21. (For another possible attestation see s.v. *χορασο*, 540). — P Khwas, father of Khay, Yoz and Wanak (511, i, 187, ii, 299, iii, all fl. 659 C.E.). — D Cf. the Pth. PN *hwsk*, of unknown etymology, perhaps to be read *Xwasak* or *Xwāsak* (SCHMITT 1998, 173)? See also LURJE, *IPNB* II/8, no. 1450, who suggests *inter alia* a connection with the Sogd. PNs *xwsw* and *xwswc*.

**529. *χοασραο* m.:** B (i) BD2, xp6, 13, 21; (ii) *ibid.*, cb1, 11; cf. also the patr./FN *χοασραογανο*, BD1, A6, BD2, xp28f\*. — P (i) Khwasraw, an official. (ii) Khwasraw Khahran, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. — D The name can hardly be dissociated from the Sasanian royal name MP *hwslwb* (and other spellings), read by GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, no. 465, II/3, no. 166, as *Husrav* (i.e. *Husraw*) and derived by him from *\*husrawah-* “of good renown”, nor from that of the Av. hero *Haosrauuah-* (*IPNB* I/1, no. 167). The spelling in Bactrian suggests a reinterpretation of the first element of the name as *\*hwa-* > *\*xwa-* “self” in place of *\*hu-*, perhaps as a result of the development of the initial *\*hu-* to *xu-* (cf. Greek *Χοσρόης*, Arm. *Xosrov*, NP *Xusraw*, Syr. *kwsrw*, Arabic *Kisrā*, Sogd. *'kwsrh* etc., *IPNB* VII/1A, no. 168; LURJE 2009, 34-5; *IPNB* II/8, no. 65), which gave a sequence which would have been uncommon in early Bactrian. Cf. also *χοσαροο* (541).

**530. *\*χοβανο*, *\*χοβανικο* or *\*χοβανιγο* m.:** B FN *ονικανο* BD1, ag8. — D The appellative *χοβανο* < *\*fšu-pāna-* “shepherd” (BD2, 279b), with or without a hypocoristic suffix.

**531. *χοδαροβαγγο* m.:** B BD1, ag15f\*, ai9\*. — P Khudar-bang, producer of wine at Golg. — D “Mill-keeper, miller” < *\*hwatah-arna-* “mechanical mill”, lit. “self-grinder” (cf. Sogd. *xwt'rnk*, Yagnobi *xutánna* “id.”) + *-βαγγο* < *\*-pāna-ka-* “keeper” (cf. 355). Similarly-formed names are Pth. *hwtrn* (DIAKONOFF–LIVSHITS 2001, 192b) and Sogd. *xwtyy'rn* (see SW 1992, 80-81, and *IPNB* II/8, no. 1475). Cf. also *ιαοαρο* (175).

**532. *χοδδηοομαρηγο* m.:** B BD1, Q12, 15f, 19. — P Khudew-mareg (fl. 671 C.E.), son of Hin-sar (482), party to a contract. — D “Slave of

the Lord”, synonymous with *χοαδηοβανδαγο* (522) and *χοηβανδο* (536).

**533.** *χοδδη[* m.: **B** BD1, ai5\*. — **P** Khude[w-...], named in a list. — **D** Unidentifiable compound or derivative of *χοδδηοο* “lord” (see 537).

**534.** *χοΔηοκο* m.: **B** Hc043. — **P** Khudewuk, owner of a seal. — **D** Hypocoristic in -κο to the name-component *χοδδηοο* “lord” (see 537). Regarding the letter here transliterated as Δ see above, p. 6.

**535.** [†*ΧΟΔΗΡΑΟ* or †*ΚΟΔΗΡΑΟ*: name or title of a late Kushan ruler supposedly attested on coins (ALRAM no. 1388-9). The reading *χοδηραιο* goes back to GÖBL 1979. If it is correct, one might envisage a combination of *χοαδηο* “lord” and *ραιο* “king” as proposed by MAYRHOFER *apud* GÖBL 1979, 121 n. 9, though the reduction of *χοαδηο* to *χοδη-* as early as the late Kushan period would be extremely surprising. However the word is to be read, it must be admitted that several letters are badly formed. CRIBB 1990, 155 n. 7, plausibly argues that the form is a blundered attempt at *κανηρκο* (203)].

**536.** *χοηβανδο* m.: **B** (i) Hc017, 099, 112 (three impressions of the same(?) seal); (ii) BD2, xq8; (iii) BD1, ag3f; cf. also the patr./FN *χοηβανδανο* BD2, jb1\*, 14. — **P** (i) Khude-band Sartan, *khar* of Rob, owner of a seal, probably the father or son of Sart Khudebandan, *khar* of Rob (421, iii). (ii) Khude-band, named in a letter. (iii) Khude-band, producer of wine at Golg. — **D** “Slave of the Lord”, synonymous with Sogd. *xwt'wβntk* (SW 1992, 80) and with *χοδδηοομαρηγο* (532). The first component is *χοδδηοο* [xudēw] “lord”, abbrev. spelling *χοηο* (see the next). For the loss of the final [w] before the following labial cf. *βαγορημαρηγο* (54) and *ιαμφοχοαδηβανδαγο* (172). For the second component see s.v. *νανηβανδο* (280).

**537.** [\**χοηο*: this spelling is the standard abbreviation for *χοαδηο* [xwadēw], later *χοδδηοο* etc. [xudēw] “lord”, a common name-component (cf. 172, 501, 504, 522-525, 526(?), 532-536). The fact that the derivative *χοηοοανο* [xwadēwān] is used like a patr./FN in BD2, eb2, suggests the possible existence of a PN \**χοηο* (short name derived from a

compound containing this component), but it is at least equally likely that *χοηοοανο* is an epithet derived from the common noun “lord”, in which case Gurambad Khwadewan “G. of the family of the lords” (119, ii), the person referred to in **eb**, may be the same as Gurambad Kerawan “G. son of Keraw” (119, i). Cf. the cases of *βρηδαγανο*, *βρηδαγανιου* (105) and *χαρανο* etc. (515). However, a Bactr. name Khudew is attested indirectly by the PN *xδw* in Arabic documents from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 165 (where less likely etymological suggestions are mentioned); cf. also the hypocoristic forms *xδywwyh* (ibid., 160) and *xδywj* = \*χοδδηοαγο (ibid., 165) as well as Bactr. *χοΔηοκο* (534)].

**538. χολχανο** m.: **B** BD1, N8, v3. — **P** Khulkhan (fl. 629 C.E.), “the *inal tarkhan*, lord of Wilargan”, witness to a contract. — **D** Unclear, perhaps Turkish.

**539. χομαργο(?)** m.: **B** Hg015. — **P** Khumarg(?), owner of a seal. — **D** Although the fourth letter does not appear to be joined to the right, it seems likely that *χομαργο* (rather than *χομοργο*) was intended. If so, the name may be understood as a hypocoristic in *-γο* to \*χομαρο < \*wahu-manθra- “consolation” (Sogd. *xwm’r*), which is attested as a name-component in *σιροχομαρο* (434). Cf. also *IPNB* II/8, no. 1202, 1441.

**540. χορασο** m.: **B** Tang-i Safedak inscription, line 2. — **P** Khuras, father of Alkhis (18, fl. 714 C.E.). — **D** Unclear, perhaps a hypocoristic in *-σο*.

A reading *χοασο* (cf. 528) is possible but less likely, see LEE–SW 2003, 166.

**541. χοσαροο** m.: **B** BD1, P5<sup>1</sup>, v4\*, Q6. — **P** Khusaru (fl. 669 C.E.), a *tarkhan*, witness to a contract and father of another (unnamed) *tarkhan*. — **D** Perhaps a variant spelling of *χοασραο* (529).

†*χοτολαρο*: see *χατοχαφο* (519)

**542. χοτολογο/χοτολο ταπαγλιω βιλγανο σαβονο/σαβοονο** m.: **B** BD1, T1f, 20f (°λο), 1f (°οοονο), 20<sup>1\*</sup>. — **P** Qutlugh Tapaghliigh Bilgä Sävüg (fl. 700 C.E.), husband of Bag-aziyas (45), a Turkish ruler. — **D** Tk. *qutluγ* “fortunate” + *tapayliγ* “revered” (cf. also *ταποαγλιγο υλι-*

τοβηρο, BD2, 269a) + *bilgä* “wise” + *sävüg* “beloved” (cf. σαβολινο, 400).

On the forms *ταπαλιγ* and *sävüg* see ERDAL 2004, 92-3. Ibid., 93 n. 166, *Bilgä Säviüg* is mistakenly cited as the name of the queen rather than that of her husband.

†**χοτοχαφο**: see **χατοχαφο (519)**

**543. χωλο** m.: **B** BD2, **ce2\***, 11\*, **cf2**, **cg2\***. — **P** Khol Aramigan, sender of several letters to Nawaz Kha(h)r(ug)an (**282, i**). — **D** Short name derived from a compound containing \**χωλο* < \**xauda-* “hat” (cf. OP *tigra-xauda-* “wearing a pointed hat”)? Or cf. the proto-Oss. PNs *Χωδόνακος* and *Χωδέκιος* (for which ABAEV 1979, 309, proposes a connection with Oss. *xudyn/xodun* “to laugh”)?

**544. χ[ ]ιωγο** m.: **B** BD1, **ak5f**. — **P** Kh[...]yog, named in a list. — **D** Unclear. Possibly contains a name-component *ιωγο* (cf. *ιωγοαβαβο*, 185) or *-ōg* as a hypocoristic suffix (cf. *κιρωγο*, 216).

**545. ωζο** m.: **B** BD1, **Y26**. — **P** Oz (fl. 771/2 C.E.), treasurer of Kurwad. — **D** Perhaps a short name derived from a compound containing *ωζο* “force, compulsion” < \**aujah-* (though probably not from *πιρωζο* < \**pariy-aujah-*, 377, which had presumably ceased to be analysable long before the time when this name is attested).

**ΩΛΕΣΑΓΩΓΙ**: see **ΙΩΛΕΣΑΓΩΓΟ (190)**

**546. ωυρομοζδο, ωορμοζδο, ουρομοζδο, ωρομοζδο, ωρομοζδο** m.: **B** (i-ii) *ωυρο*<sup>o</sup>, *ωορ*<sup>o</sup>, *ουρο*<sup>o</sup> ALRAM no. 1411-18; (iii) *ωυρο*<sup>o</sup> BD2, **xp11f\***, 13, 14f\*, 15, 18f\*, 20, 22, 24; (iv) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> Kara-Tepe inscription B1, line 1 (see LIVŠIĆ in Kara-Tepe IV, 55; the reading conforms to the drawing, Kara-Tepe II, fig. 19a, but no photo seems to have been published); (v) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD2, **bb5**, 7f, 12; (vi) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **bg1\***, 22\*; (vii) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD1, **C3**; (viii) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD2, **xa1**; (ix) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **xr3\***; (x) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **cl1f**, **cm1**; (xi) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **ee1**, 16\*; (xii) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **ee7\***, 10\*, **ef4f\***, 17f, **eg1**, **eh19f\***, *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD1, **G3f\***, 8, **H4**, 10; (xiii) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD2, **eg2**; (xiv) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD1, **I1f\***, **Ii6\***; (xv) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **Ii4**; (xvi) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> BD2, **xk1**, 3\*(?), 13\*; (xvii) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **xh2\***; (xviii) *ωρο*<sup>o</sup> *ibid.*, **xf2\***; (xix)

*ωυρο*<sup>ο</sup> *ibid.*, **xq1**, 14f\*; (**xx**) *ωρο*<sup>ο</sup> SW 2008a, **am1A\***, 1B, 2A\*, 4\*, 34+35A, abbrev. *ωρο(μοξδο)* *ibid.*, **am32+33**; (**xxi**) *ωρο*<sup>ο</sup> BD1, **aj10\***; (**xxii**) *ωρο*<sup>ο</sup> Sig 15 (BIVAR 1968, pl. XXVII/5; not quite clear in the photo, but the drawing in HORN–STEINDORFF 1891, pl. VI, no. 1620, is unambiguous); (**xxiii**) abbrev. *ωυ(?)* Hc089; cf. also the patr./FN *ωρο-μοξδανο* BD1, **ag4f**, BD2, **cr1**, **da1\***, **db1\***, **dc1**, *ωρομοξδανο* *ibid.*, **dd1**. — For yet another possible attestation see *μοζδο* (566). — **P (i-ii)** Ohrmuzd, name of two(?) Sasanian Kushan-shahs (Pahl. *'whrmzdy*, ALRAM no. 1419-28), one of whom also styles himself “Kushan Shahan-shah”. One of the two is possibly to be identified with (iii) Ohrmuzd, apparently a ruler (unless the god himself is meant here). (iv) Ormuzd, a visitor to Kara-Tepe. (v) Ohrmuzd, a weaver of damask. (vi) Ohrmuzd Faragan, a ruler or nobleman, addressee of a letter. (vii) Ohrmuzd Burzaduran (fl. 380 C.E.), witness to a contract. (viii) Ohrmuzd of Pustan, a nobleman, addressee of a letter. (ix) Ormuzd, named in a letter. (x) Ohrmuzd, a ruler—probably Hormizd III, who disputed the Sasanian throne with his brother Peroz (377, v) during the years 457-459 C.E.—alluded to in the expression *ωρομοξδοφαραχο* “glorious through Ohrmuzd”, used as honorific title of Kirdir-warahran (215, iii), see SW 2005a, 340-41. (xi) Ormuzd Ramyolan, a ruler or official, addressee of a letter. (xii) O(h)rmuzd Burnikan/Bunukan (fl. 472 C.E.), an official concerned with the supply of grain etc., party to two contracts and addressee of two letters. (xiii) Ormuzd Khahran, a chief scribe, sender of one of the same letters. (xiv) Ohrmuzd (fl. 483 C.E.), son of Sasan (422), inhabitant of Malr, party to two contracts. (xv) Ormuzd Garbidan (fl. 483 C.E.), witness to one of the same contracts. (xvi) Ormuzd of Marg, addressee of a letter. (xvii) Ormuzd Bag-to[...], sender of a letter. (xviii) Orm[uzd], sender of a letter. (xix) Ohrmuzd, addressee of a letter. (xx) Ormuzd, a servant. (xxi) Ohrmuzd, named in a list. (xxii) Ormuzd, owner of a seal. (xxiii) Ohrmuzd(?), owner of another seal. — **D MP PN** *Ōhrmazd* (IPNB II/2, no. 702, II/3, no. 258), see SW–CRIBB 1996, 85, with which the native Bactr. form *αορομοξδο* (attested in the Rabatak inscription as a DN) may have fallen together. For compounds containing *ωυρομοξδο* (in various spellings), see 57, 100, 167, vi(?), 196, 344, 549.

According to HARMATTA a variant *ωρομαξδο* or *ωρμαξδο*, sometimes referring to one of the Kushan-shahs of this name (i-ii), occurs several times in the Kara-Tepe in-

scriptions, see Kara-Tepe II, 83f (= *ωρομοζδο*, **iv**), 89, 111, but the readings of these last two passages cannot be verified.

**547.** \**ωχβοβαδο* or \**ωχβοβαδογο* m.: **B** FN/EN °*δογανο* BD1, A9f, 23. — **D** A compound with *-βαδο* < \**-pāta-* or synonymous *-βαδογο* < \**-pāta-ka-* “protected”, perhaps “protected by the Oxus”. Though there may be exceptions (e.g. \**Gasta-pāta-* “protected from evil”, postulated by MAYRHOFER 1973, 134, no. 8.177), names with second component \**-pāta-* or \**-pāta-ka-* usually contain the name of a divinity as first component. It therefore seems possible that *ωχβο-* is a variant of *οαχβο*, *οχβ-* “Oxus” (see 321-325), perhaps a foreign form like *γοραμ-* “Wṛθragna” in *γοραμβαδο* (119), the only other PN in \**-pāta-* which has so far been noticed in Bactrian.

**548.** *βαβορο* m.: **B** (i) ALRAM no. 1445 (see BRUNNER 1974, pl. XXIV/10, for a legible photo); (ii) BD2, **bd7**; (iii) *ibid.*, **dd4**, 12\*; (iv) *ibid.*, **ea4**, 7, 8, 11, 18, **eb1**, 18, **ec1**, 20; (v) *ibid.*, **x18**; (vi) Hc025; (vii) BD1, **J7**; (viii) Shatial 54:31 (SW 1992, 18, 28, no. 534); (ix) Hc005, 123, 138; cf. also the patr./FN/EN *βαβορανο* in documents (*ibid.*, **J7**, **K3**, **L9**, **N5**, **P4**, **Q5**, **W3**, BD2, **c11**, 12f\*, **xr2f\***) and on seal-impressions (**xb** sealing\*, see *ibid.*, 28; Hc025, 105). — **P** (i) Shabur II, Sasanian emperor (ruled 309-379 C.E., Pahl. *šhpwhry*, ALRAM no. 768ff). (ii) Shabur, named in a letter. (iii) Shabur (fl. 421 C.E.), son of Sag (403, iii). (iv) Shabur Peshladan/Pushladan (fl. 461/2 C.E.), a nobleman, addressee of two letters, probably brother of Deyag Peshladan (131) and perhaps son of Pesh-lad (369). (v) Shabur Yolkan, an official. (vi) Shabur Shaburan, owner of a seal. Probably the same person as (vii) Shabur Shaburan (fl. 517 C.E.), a ruler or landowner of Malr, perhaps a member of the royal family of Rob (see 421, note). (viii) Shabur, son of Swe (442), a visitor to Shatial. (ix) Several persons named Shabur, owners of various seals. — **D** MP PN *Šābuhr* (IPNB II/2, no. 858, II/3, no. 313), also attested (as a WIran. or Bactr. name) in Sogd. *š’p’wr*, *š’pwr* (IPNB II/8, no. 1154) and Arabic *šbwr* (in a document from Afghanistan, see KHAN 2007, 160).

**549.** *βαβοροωρομοζδο* m.: **B** BD2, **ed4f\***. — **P** Shabur-ormuzd (fl. 475 or 465 C.E.), named in a letter. — **D** MP PN \**Šābuhr-ōhrmazd*, a combination of the names *Šābuhr* (548) and *Ōhrmazd* (546).

**550. βανηο** m.: **B** Sig 23 (BIVAR 1968, pl. III/4). — **P** Shane (Brahmi *ṣāne* or *ṣāni*), owner of a seal with bilingual inscription (on the reading of which see SW and O. VON HINÜBER *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 311). — **D** Unclear. Possibly connected with the Sogd. PNs *š'n*, *š'n'kk* (IPNB II/8, no. 1150-51).

**551. βαροροσπα[** m.: **B** BD1, aa14\*. — **P** Shahr-spa[...], a landowner. — **D** Perhaps to be restored as *βαροροσπα[λο]* “Shahr-spa[I]”, a combination of the name-components *\*xšaθra-* “dominion, empire” (see below) and *\*σπαλο* “army” (see s.v. *αγγαδοσπαλο*, 7). As an appellative, Bactr. *βαρορο* (Rabatak), later *βαυρο*, *βαρο* (BD1-2), has come to mean “city”, but in PNs it probably retains its older sense as in the Av. PN *Xšaθrō.čīnah-* “desiring dominion” (IPNB I/1, no. 396) etc., cf. the following names.

**552. βαραβιρδο** m. PN(?): **B** Kara-Tepe inscription B6 (LIVŠIC in Kara-Tepe II, 79). — **P** Shar-abird, a visitor to Kara-Tepe? — **D** If the reading is correct (see below), perhaps “he who has obtained dominion”, a compound of *\*xšaθra-* “dominion” (see 551) and *\*abi-rta-* “found, obtained” (see 81), cf. LIVŠIC, loc. cit.

Unlike HARMATTA’s reading *βαροβιρδο* (Kara-Tepe II, 98-9, with a remarkable etymology < *\*xšara-brta-* “seed-born”), the reading given here conforms to the drawing (ibid., fig. 18b), but no photo seems to have been published and there is no context to indicate that this is a PN.

**553. βαροσανινδο, βαροσανινδο** m.: **B**  $\overline{\text{βαρο}}^\circ$  BD1, C5, 6, 20, *βαρο*<sup>°</sup> ibid., C7', 16'\*, abbrev. *βαροσανι(νδο)* ibid., C15. — **P** Shahr-wanind (fl. 380 C.E.), inhabitant of Rewgan, son of Skakh (Iskakh?) or Skat (Iskat?) (440), party to a contract. — **D** Combination of the name-components *\*xšaθra-* “dominion” (see 551) and *\*wanant-a-* “victor, victorious” (see 302).

**554. ΒΑΦΑΡΟ** m.: **B**  $^\circ PO$  Rab7, 16, obl.  $^\circ PE$  Rab15. — **P** Sha-far, a high official who bears the title *καραλραγγο* “margrave”. — **D** As noted by FALK 2007, 147-53, the Bactr. name is also attested as *Ṣāphara* in a 4th(?)-cent. Brahmi inscription from Abbottabad (now in the Museum of Chandigarh, see FALK *apud* SW 2008c, 62b). The name probably means



“(possessing) the glory of the king”, a compound of *βαο* “king” (< \**xšāwan-*) and *φαρο* “glory”. If so, the name shows a simplification of *-rr-* to *-r-*, the older form *φαρρο* being attested in the Rabatak inscription (probably as part of a compound *οφαρρο* < \**hu-farnah-* “(possessing) good glory, glorious”, see SW 2008c, 64a). As the name of a divinity, both *φαρρο* and *φαρο* (for the latter see GÖBL 1984, Taf. 16 and 24) are attested on the coinage of Huvishka. FALK’s idea, based on a suggestion by Philip HUYSE, that *βαφαρο/Šāphara* might be a shortened form of a name such as Khar. *Daṣavhara* (KONOW 1929, 165) is unnecessarily complicated.

**555.** [†*βιραγο*: supposed PN in the Kara-Tepe inscription B11 (see HARMATTA in Kara-Tepe II, 115). After examining the original in the Hermitage I prefer to read *βι(ρ)[ο]γαμαγ(ο)*, cf. Pth. *šyrg’mg* “well-wisher”, or possibly *βι[ζ]γαμαγ(ο)* “id.”; see SW forthcoming (d)].

**556.** *βκορο* m.: B Hc078. — P Shkur, owner of a seal. — D Unclear.

**557.** *βΟΔΒΑ* m.: B °BA Ayrtam, lines 2\*, 4\*, obl.(?) °BAA Ayrtam, line 6\*. — Read *βοδία*, *βοδίαα* by TURGUNOV et al. 1981, passim, and *βοδιλα* by HARMATTA 1986, 133f, but on the stone the β is clear at least in line 4. — P Shudba, name or title of a high official. — D Possibly a compound in \*-*pā-*, see s.v. *ιωλαβο* (188). If so, the first component can perhaps be identified with *βοδο* < \**čyuta-* “outgoings, expenditure” (BD2, df7\*), giving a title for an official with financial responsibilities.

**558.** *βομογοβανδαγο* m.: B BD2, cj9. — P Shumug-bandag, named in a letter. — D “Slave of Shumug”, a name which is strikingly similar to the Sogd. PN *’xšwmβntk*, *IPNB* II/8, no. 212. Both words evidently contain the name of a divinity, who is also alluded to in the Sogd. month-name *’xšwmyc/xšwmyc* but otherwise unknown. Bactr. *βομογο-* seems to be identical with a word for “moon” which is widespread in the modern languages of northern Afghanistan, Munji *yumagā*, Yidgha *imoγο*, Sanglechī *wulmēk*, Ishkashmī *lōmik*, Wakhi *žəmak*, all of which can most simply be derived from a f. adj. \**uxšma-kā-* “growing, crescent” (rather than \**uxš-māh-kā-* with MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 190), while Sogd. \**’xšwm-* may represent \**uxšmā-*, without the \*-*k-* suffix. The further ques-

tion of a possible connection with the various Pashto dialect words for “moon” (*spoğməy*, *oğməy*, *wağməy* etc., cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003, 75) and the synonymous WIran. word represented by *'dyšmy* in the Pahlavi Psalter, Kurdish *hīw*, Zazaki *āšma*, Harzani *öšma*, Keringani *ūšmā*, etc. (BENVENISTE 1936, 231; HENNING 1955, 174) raises problems which do not need to be discussed in this context.

**559. 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀** m.: **B** Sig 5 (BIVAR 1968, pl. I/3). — **P** Shu-gaw, name or title of the owner of a seal. — **D** Perhaps a compound with second component *\*gau-* “cattle” or *\*kawi-* “giant, hero” as suggested by SW *apud* CALLIERI 1998, 310. HUMBACH 1966, 70, suggests “*\*šuva-gava-* < *\*šuvat-gu-*”, by which he presumably means *\*čyuwa(t)-gaw-a-* “driving cattle”. LIVŠIC in Kara-Tepe II, 59, proposes *\*fšu-gaw-* “needing cattle”, which is unlikely from the point of view of both phonology and word-formation.