

INTRODUCTION

The subject-matter of this fascicle of the *IPNB* consists of personal names attested in sources written between the 1st and 9th centuries C.E. in the Bactrian variety of the Greek script: coins and countermarks, seals and sealings, manuscripts and inscriptions. All such names are included, whatever their linguistic origin, though those of Bactrian or at least Iranian origin are treated more fully. Names of gods, buddhas, bodhisattvas etc. are excluded, though an exception is made for the historical buddha Śākyamuni (no. 406). Patronymics, family names and place-names derived from personal names by means of suffixes such as *-avo*, *-γανο* or *-κανο* are also included. (On these suffixes see further below, pp. 11-12.) If the underlying personal name is not attested, these derivatives are mentioned under a reconstructed form, which is marked with an *asterisk. While patronymics are by definition derived from personal names, this does not necessarily apply to family names and place-names. In particular, some family names are certainly or probably derived from terms for rulers: *χαρανο*, *χαραγανο* etc. “of the family of the rulers” (see s.v. *χαραγο*, 515) and *χοηοοανο* “of the family of the lords” (s.v. **χοηο*, 537); cf. also *βρηδαγανυο* “of the family of the *bredag*” (s.v. *βρηδαγο*, 105). In case of doubt, I have preferred to include entries for such words rather than to risk excluding potentially relevant material.

Some names of which the first letters are missing are included at the end of the list (560-583), arranged in reverse-index order. Names which are substantially indecipherable because they are damaged or badly written, as well as words whose identification as personal names are quite uncertain, are in general omitted. However, “ghost-names” which have entered the secondary literature are referred to so far as possible in order to clarify their status. In particular, since the dictionary of DAVARY (1982) will be the first port of call for most of those seeking information on the vocabulary of the Bactrian texts known up to the time of its

publication, I have tried to refer to all words there described as personal names, as well as to the numerous names claimed by HARMATTA (1969) in his article in Kara-Tepe II, 82-125. Entries for words which I do not regard as personal names are placed in [square brackets].

The entries in the list of names are organized in the same way as other volumes of the *IPNB*, each numbered lemma being followed by three sections marked “**B**” (= German *Belege*, i.e. attestations), “**P**” (= German *Prosopographie*/English *prosopography*) and “**D**” (= German *Deutung*, i.e. etymology). In the case of personal names reconstructed on the basis of family names, estate-names etc. section “**P**” is omitted, since nothing can be said about the individual named beyond the fact that he was an ancestor of the family or the present or former owner of the estate.

The entries are given in Greek script and arranged in Greek alphabetical order (with the Bactrian letter β at the end), but an index in which the headwords are Romanized and arranged in Latin alphabetical order (as in DAVARY’s dictionary) is also included for the benefit of those who are not very familiar with the Greek alphabet. *CAPITALS* are used for the lemmata and *Belege* to distinguish forms which are written in the “monumental” form of the Bactrian script characteristic of the Kushan period. Where a capital Δ occurs in a word otherwise transliterated in lower-case Greek letters (only 127, 534) it indicates a special triangular form of *delta* which is occasionally employed in the Bactrian cursive script and which was perhaps intended to indicate [d] in contradistinction to the normal $\delta = [\text{ḍ}]$ (see BD2, 38-9). In the non-etymological parts of the discussion, names are generally given in a simplified transcription based on the Bactrian spelling (with some exceptions in the case of well-known or foreign names, e.g. Ardashir, Khingila, Kujula Kadphises, Qutlugh Tapaghliḡ Bilgä Säviḡ, Rahulabhadra). This simplified transcription, which uses no diacritics, is as far as possible automatic, e.g. $\alpha, \beta, \gamma > a, b, g$ (never \bar{a}, v, gh , etc.), similarly σ and $\zeta > s$ and z (never ts or zh). Nevertheless, a degree of interpretation could not be avoided. In particular, ι is transcribed as either *i* or *y*, according to context, likewise o as *u*, *w* or *zero*. Note that the transcription *o* always represents ω , but that *e* represents both η and the rare ε ; $\gamma\gamma$ is transcribed as *ng*; δ (or $\delta\delta, \Delta$) as

d; *v* as *h*. The superscript line generally indicates the omission of *v* and is therefore transcribed as *h* (for exceptions see 46, 128, 282, 283).

So far as possible, different bearers of the same name are distinguished (as **i**, **ii**, **iii** ...) and listed in an approximate chronological order. Sometimes this has the result that a later form of a name is listed before a more archaic spelling. In the case of persons known from the historical record, likely dates are given (even though some of these may be controversial). Dates are also given for persons named in dated documents, or in documents which can be dated fairly precisely on the basis of other names which occur in them. Bactrian era dates are converted on the basis of the hypothesis that this began in 223 C.E. (see DE BLOIS 2008).

Our Bactrian sources range in date from the period of the Kushan empire (1st-3rd centuries C.E.) to early Islamic times (8th-9th centuries). During this long period, Bactria was often subjected to foreign domination and came under the influence of many other cultures. Not surprisingly, many foreign names are attested in these sources. The long symbiosis of Bactrian and Indian culture is reflected by a considerable number of names of Indian, especially Buddhist, origin, such as *Ānanda* (21), *Vāsudeva* (62), *Viṣṇu-dāsa* (90), *Deva-rāja* (130), *Jāti-smara* (142), *Jina-dāsa* (155), *Rāhula* (391) and *Rāhula-bhadra* (398). In a few cases, the Indian hypocoristic suffix *-ila-* is attested with non-Indian bases: *Eškingil* (138), *Mawil* (235), *Khingil* (520). From the late 7th century onwards, a number of Turkish names are found, chiefly amongst the ruling class, e.g. *Maṣatur Bukla* (232), *Sävüglig* (400), *Tegin* (457), *Qutluḡ Tapayliḡ Bilgä Sävüg* (542). Still later, in the 8th century, we find one name of Arabic origin (*Khamīr*, 514) and even one “prestige name” which ultimately derives from Latin (*Frūm Kēsar* “Caesar of Rome”, 507). The most numerous class of foreign names in our texts consists of Middle Persian names which no doubt entered the language during the period of Sasanian rule beginning in the 3rd century. While it is not always possible to distinguish these from Bactrian names (see for instance *BOPZO-MIOPO*, 98), many names can be clearly identified as Middle Persian, or at least Western Middle Iranian, on either linguistic or prosopographical/contextual grounds. Typical examples include *Burzād-wišnasp* (95), *Burz-ādur* (96), *Kirdīr-warahrān* (215), *Kirmōg* (216), *Mihrēn* (251),

Mihr-šābuhr (267), *Way-šābuhr* (298), *Warāz-bursām* (309), *Pābag* (361), *Sāsān* (422), *Sūrēn* (448) and *Šābuhr-ōhrmazd* (549), as well as the women's names *Duxt-anōš* (135) and [...]*sag-duxt* (582). A few names may be specifically Parthian in form, e.g. *Bayiž* (44), *Kafan* (207) and *Rāštēn* (392). The Parthian hypocoristic suffix *-iž* < **-iča-* (as in *Bayiž*) is perhaps added to a native Bactrian form in *Findfarriž* (496). Names which are likely to be Sogdian in origin include *Vay-farn* (56), *Zbart* (150), *Yānak* (173), *Yān* (174), *Kaš-farn* (208), *Miyār* (249), *Čēt* (436) and the feminine name *Zēran* (152). In some cases a Sogdian name seems to have been partially assimilated to Bactrian norms, e.g. *Kānag* (201), *Nōg-farn* (292), *Skag* (439), *Farn-āyad* (490).

The foreign names discussed so far are in general fairly easy to recognize, since the source-languages are comparatively well known. It is much more difficult to identify names which derive from the languages of the nomadic peoples who invaded Bactria from the north-east in successive waves, since these languages are effectively unknown. The names of the Kushan emperors present a number of unusual features, which may presumably be attributed to the language of the Kushan clan or of the Yuezhi/Tokharoi confederation to which it belonged. Foremost amongst these features is the hypocoristic suffix *-šk* or *-ēšk*, for which I have proposed a derivation from **-iča-k(k)a-* (SW 2002a, 236-40). This would imply that the language of the Kushans contained an Iranian, possibly Saka, element distinct from any of the attested Iranian languages. This suffix, which is found in *Kuzgašk* (217) as well as in the royal names *Kanishka* (203), *Huvishka* (354) and *Vasishka* (60), ceases to be used after the Kushan period. However, the base of the name *Kuzgašk*, which is probably cognate with that of *Kujula* (218) and which may be a noun meaning “request” related to Khot. *kūš-* “to seek” etc. (see SW 1998, 89), seems to survive in later Bactrian onomastics as *-guzg*, a fairly common second component of compound names (193, 226, 257, 310). Very few names can be clearly attributed to the languages of later invaders such as the Chionites, Kidarites or Hephthalites, the only identifiable examples being names which happen to be known from coins or historical sources as those of their leaders, e.g. *Alkhān* (17), *Gurambād* (119), *Javūkha* (139), *Kidara* (213), *Toramāna* (476) and *Khiṅgila* (520).

Turning to the native Bactrian names, which make up the bulk of the names attested, it seems appropriate to give a brief survey of the main name-types attested. Since only a few women's names are found in our sources (45, 135, 152, 305, 346, 385, 438, 582, and perhaps 19, 240, 291), the following remarks refer primarily to names borne by males.

By far the largest class of names consists of compounds. Most common are determinative compounds, which include examples such as *αβ-φαρδαρο* “best (through) Fire” or “best (gift) of Fire” (39), *βαγοσαραζο* “boar of (the) God” (53), *σαχροβορδο* “received from the Oxus” (321), *οισβοροζινιου* “under the care of the prince” (350), *σαγγοχιρδο* “bought for a stone” (402), *σιζοβορο* “son of Sinz” (430) and the female name *συραζαδο* “noble in respect of (her) lineage” (438), as well as numerous names consisting of a divine name or epithet with the second component *λαδο* “given (by) ...”, *βανδαγο* or *μαρηγο* “slave, servant (of) ...”, *οανινδο* “victorious (through) ...”. Dvandvas are unknown, unless *αζαδοφαρδαρο* (12) is to be understood as “noble (and) best”. Combinations of two divine names can perhaps be interpreted as exocentric compounds, e.g. *σαχροιαμβο* “dedicated to the Oxus and Yamsh” (323, cf. OInd. *somendrā-* “Soma und Indra gehörig”, WACKERNAGEL 1905, 273).

Possessive and other exocentric compounds include *βαζοποναγο* “providing refuge by means of his arm” (65), *ιαμβοσπαλο* “belonging to the army of Yamsh” (171), *ιατοασπο* “by whom horses are sacrificed” (181), *λαδομοζδο* “by whom the reward is given” (228), *πορλαγγοζινο* “he who wears the skin of a leopard” (379), *σαδαιωλο* “having a hundred warriors” (405) and *νοζινο* “well-armed” (483). Compounds with *φαρο* “glory” as second component, e.g. *καμιρδοφαρο* “(he who possesses) the glory of the Chief (God)” (200), probably belong here too, though such forms could also be interpreted as determinatives. Governing compounds, in which either the first or second component has verbal force, e.g. *οαναφαρο* “winning glory” (300), *οινδοσαναγο* “obtaining pleasure” (342), *ιωγοφραλο* “promoting the One”(?) (186), *ιωλαβο* “protecting warriors” (188), are not very common.

Sometimes the order of components is inverted, as in *οαραξοοιηβο* (311) beside **οιηβοοαραζο* “boar of Wyesh” (336) or *ασπαλομιρο* (29) beside *μιροσπαλο* “belonging to the army of Mihr” (261). Some names seem to be formed by the mechanical combination of names or name-components, without regard to the meaning which results. Thus **βαγασπο* “god + horse” (42), *ιωλογοζγο* “warrior + request” (193), *σαμοσιτο* “Sām (PN) + spirit” (411). Since tripartite compounds are very rare, *οινδοφρομανοιαμφο* (343), apparently meaning “(dedicated to) Yamsh who obtains command”, is probably a mere juxtaposition of two names, the governing compound **οινδοφρομανο* “obtaining command” (possibly attested, see 345) and the “short name” *ιαμφο* “Yamsh” (167).

The compound names described so far were probably formed specifically as personal names. Other compounds commonly used as names are titles and occupational designations, e.g. *ναοαζο* “pilot, sailor” (282), *παρσαβαραβο* “Persian satrap” (368), *χοδαροβαγγο* “mill-keeper, miller” (531), together with a number of titles containing *-βιδο* “chief” as second element. The fact that such forms are compounds is incidental, since non-compound titles, including some of foreign origin, are also used as personal names, e.g. *βρηδαγο* (105), *σηρο* (428), *σωρο* (455), *υλιτοβηρο* (481) and *χαμιρο* (514). Other simple nouns and adjectives used as personal names include *ναβαγο* “hostage” (276), *οιμοσο* “dawn” (337), *σομωρο* “marten, sable” (444) and *φαροχονδο* “fortunate” (494).

Fundamentally different from these last are the “short names” derived from compound names by the omission of one part of the compound. Typical examples are *βαζο* “arm” (61), *βανδαγο* “slave” (69), *ΖΑΔΟ* “born” (141), *οινδο* “obtaining” (341), *ΦΡΑΜΑΝΟ* “command” (499), as well as many names consisting of the name of a divinity, e.g. *ιαμφο* “Yamsh” (167), *οηβο* “Wesh” (330). A possible example of the category of “zweistämmige Kosenamen” is *σπαλβο/σπαλφο* (449), which may be a shortened form of the name, originally title, *ασπαλοβιδο/σπαλοβιδο* “army-chief, general” (28). Regarding the class of “reduplicative hypocoristic names”, e.g. *τατο*, *τητο*, *τοτο* (463, 465, 474) see s.v. *σανσο* (425).

The most common hypocoristic suffix is *-κο* < **-k(k)a-*. Like its Sogdian equivalent *-kk*, this suffix is seldom found with a compound name (perhaps *ναν(η)οβαγοκο*, 279) or a derived form (perhaps *βαζανοκο*, 59, if this is formed from a patronymic), but is often attached to monomorphemic names of all sorts, including foreign names (*ταγινικο*, 458) and reduplicative hypocoristics (*τητοκο*, 466), as well as to short names or name-components, e.g. *αβδαβοκο* (3), *ζοκο* (158), *ιατακο* (179), *μοζδακο* (269), *πιδοκο/πιδικο/πιδακο* (372), *ποσκο* (382), *χοΔηοκο* (534); cf. also the feminine name *ραλικο* (385). Much less common are the suffixes *-σο* < **-iča-* (cf. Parthian *-yš* [-ič], later [-iž], Sogdian *-c*, etc.), sometimes written *-ζο* after a nasal, e.g. *αλχισο* (18), *σαοησο* (417), *σινζο* (433), *σωρασο* (454), *φραμανσο* (500), and *-γο* < **-ka-*, e.g. *γωγναγο* (121), *σαοογο* (419), *σιυραγο* (437), *φρωδαγο* (508), *χαραγο* (515). The suffix combination *-σο-γο* is found only in *γαρσογο* (116), which one may suspect of being a slightly adapted form of the corresponding Sogdian name *γrck'*. Other hypocoristic suffixes which are probably or certainly limited to names of foreign origin include *-αιο* (40), *-ηνο/-ινο* (125, 251, 387, 392, 448), *-ωγο* (216). Cf. also pp. 7-8 above on Indian *-ila-*, Parthian *-iž*, Kushan *-(ē)šk* (this last perhaps etymologically equivalent to *-σο-γο*, Sogdian *-ck'*).

The suffixes *-ανο*, *-γανο* and *-κανο* are attached to personal names of all types to form patronymics, family names and place-names. In their turn, such forms can come to be used as personal names, as in *κομο-κανο* (222), *οαραζανο* (307), and many less certain cases.

The reconstruction of the personal name underlying a patronymic or equivalent form is not always straightforward. In the case of forms ending in *-γανο* and *-κανο* it is not always possible to be sure whether the *-γ-* or *-κ-* belongs to the stem or to the suffix. In the case of *-κανο* there is the additional theoretical possibility that the *-κ-* results from secondary contact of a *-γ-* belonging to the stem and a *-γ-* belonging to the suffix. (I do not know of any example where this is demonstrably the correct analysis, but a likely instance is provided by *βαραδδικανο* beside *βαραδδιγανο*, which can plausibly be interpreted as **βαραδδιγο* + *-γανο* and + *-ανο* respectively.) The forms *βορκανο* (hapax!) beside *βορνικανο* etc., *ιωγανο* (hapax!) beside *ιωβιγανο* and especially *βρηγανο*

beside *βρηδαγανο* indicate an occasional loss of the syllable preceding *-γανο* or *-κανο*. Consequently, it is worth considering the possibility that, for instance, the family name *χαροβιγανο/χαρβιγανο* may derive from a personal name (or title) **χαροβιδο*.

The number of attested patronymic (etc.) forms ending in *-ιγανο* (*αβσιγανο, αδοροφαρνιγανο, αραμιγανο, αργανδδιγανο, βανιγανο, βαραδδιγανο, ιωβιγανο, υωριγανο, χαροβιγανο*) is surprisingly large compared to the number of attested personal names in *-ιγο* or *-ιιο*. This suggests that, at least in some cases, the suffix may be *-ιγανο* rather than *-γανο* or *-ανο*. There is at least one clear example of a patronymic formation in *-ιανο*, namely *ορωλοιανο* (beside *ορωλανο* etc.). As a late form, *ορωλοιανο* could stand for **ορωλιγανο* and thus be another example of the suffix *-ιγανο*. Other forms ending in *-ιανο* (*γαβαλιανο, ορβιανο*) are ambiguous.

I am happy to have this opportunity to offer my grateful thanks to Pavel LURJE, Velizar SADOVSKI and Rüdiger SCHMITT for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this book; to Harry FALK for answering my queries on Indological matters; to Joe CRIBB, Elizabeth ERRINGTON and St John SIMPSON for helping me to locate coins and seals in the British Museum; to Michael ALRAM and Klaus VONDROVEC for details of unpublished coins from the Vienna database; to Vladimir LIVŠIC, the late Boris MARŠAK, Tigran MKRTYČEV and Ėdvard RTVELADZE for helping me to gain access to the Bactrian materials in Moscow, St Petersburg and Tashkent; and to Frantz GRENET and Julie RAEWSKY, through whose kindness I finally obtained a copy of BELENICKIJ 1964.

Finally, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council, whose funding for a research project on “The chronology of the Bactrian documents from northern Afghanistan” (2004-2008) made it possible for me to devote my time to the prosopographical aspects of the Bactrian personal names.