**864.** *p*'*c* /*Pač*?/ m.: **B** N, *nwnc ZK* | *p*'*c* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 265 (36: 49) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** Father of *nwnc* (#830). — **D** Unclear; cf. ''*npc* (#20), '*ykp*'*c*/'*yk*'*pc* (#223), '*wp*'*cH* (#195), *cr*'*pc* (#382).

OIr. \**pāk-/\*pāč-* "to cook" (cf. *nynp* 'k) or \**paik-/\*paič-* "to split, screw"? Maybe to OIr. \**pati-* "chief" (cf. 'sty, but xcy, *pt-/pc-'krty/-kc* etc., *GMS*, §275)? Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 45.

**865.**  $p'k /P\bar{a}k/$  m.: **B** N(M), o  $p'k' (yrk \bullet \bullet)$ [:  $\bar{O}t.$ , 7453, 1, p. 141. — **P** A person in the fragment of a list? — **D** MP, NP  $p\bar{a}k$  "clear, pure", as the editors suggest; cf. also Pont. Ir.  $\Pi \alpha \gamma \alpha \zeta$  (ZGUSTA, 1955, §179; if reliable, cf. TOKHTASJEV, Fc. b, §3)?

**866.**  $p'm / P\bar{a}m?/$  m.: **B** N, (---- kk) |  $(pr \bullet 'x \bullet \gamma \bullet)$  | py (---- k) | p'm: UII, No. 315 (36: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 216. — **P** A (part of the name? of a) visitor to Shatial? — **D** Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 102; but SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 63) is sceptical of HUMB.'s (*SIF*, p. 204) equation with p'm "itch, mange", although such a word could be suitable as a nickname. Possibly borrowed from Pth.  $b\bar{a}m$  "light"?

**867.** (p'p' / $P\bar{a}p\bar{a}/$  m.: **B** C, '(t nx)rysq'n | [<math>p'p' qy wdy q](ty(?) xcy ptryr)k': Eugen, R13-14; p'p'] | ( $q\theta$ )wly(q': V15-16;  $xw p'p' q\theta wlyq'$ : V18; [ $p'p' q\theta wlyq'$ ]|pyrnm s': V22-23. — **P** Pāpā bar 'Aggai, a sinful patriarch in Seleucia, around 285. — **D** Syriac pp', p'p', the name seems to originate in *Kindersprache*, see p'p'kk (#868), bby (#272).)

**868.**  $p'p'kk / P\bar{a}pak/m.:$  **B1** N, p'p'kk | ZK kwš''n | BRY: UI1, No. 23 (17: 18); cf.*Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. —**P1**A visitor to Shatial, son of*kwš''n*(#598: 1). —**B2** $N, <math>(y)\beta'\gamma c | (p'p)['kk] (??) | (t - -): UI1, No. 264 (36: 48) cf.$ *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. —**P2** $Father (?) of <math>y\beta'\gamma c$  (#1502); the transliteration is unsure and maybe the three lines represent three different inscriptions. — **B3** N, (p')p'(kk): UI2, No. 578 (Oshibat, 13:5). — **P3** A visitor to Oshibat; rather speculative reading (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 20; *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 47). — **D** A

relation of this name with MP  $P\bar{a}bak$ ,  $P\bar{a}b$  (GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, No. 722 ff; cf. *Babba*, *Ba-ba-ka* in the Elamite rendering, MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.171), Bct.  $\Pi a\beta a\gamma o$ ,  $\Pi a\pi o$ ,  $Ba\beta a\iota o$ ,  $Ba\beta o$ , etc. is obvious. However, in view of its origin in *Kindersprache* (from  $p\bar{a}p$ ,  $b\bar{a}b$  "father", cf. p'p', #867, *bby*, #272) it is not clear whether this name is a borrowing (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 63) or an independent S composition. The patronym *kwš'*'n would probably lead to a Bactrian milieu (as SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 71). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 112b (= No. 23) has the same reading.

**869.** (*p'r'wr* /?/ m.: **B** B, *p'r'wr cytk*: *TSP*, 8, 45. — **P** A name of a supernatural being. — **D** Unclear, probably borrowed from Indian: maybe the demon *Patuśa*? Or *balūla* "strong"?)

**870.**  $p'r'\gamma z prnxwntk /P\bar{a}ra\gamma z Farnxunde/ m.:$ **B** $B, wy \delta zmnw p'r'\gamma(z) prn(x)wntk pw\deltayst \beta: Len., 70 (SI Kr IV/822). —$ **P**A Bodhisattva (not necessarily a name, maybe his epithets "excellent" and "glorious"). —**D**If a name, a translation of Skt. of Chinese name of a Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattvas Anuttaraśri, Candraśri, Pravaraśri, Viśistacandra or even Mañjuśri (cf. #673) can suit the S translation "excellent, glorious". I am grateful to Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS who noticed that the word p'r'yz belongs to this name.

**871.** p'r'ykk / $P\bar{a}r\bar{e}k$ ?/ m.: **B** N, p'r'ykk: UI1, No. 390 (39: 85); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 235. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear. To S p'r'yk "another" (?, semantics unclear); HUMB., SIF, No. 13, has  $p'r'\bullet kk$ . Less likely p'r'ykc.

**872.** *p'r'[ (?) /?/* m.?: **B** N, *p'r'[* (?): *UI2*, No. 577 (Oshibat, 13:5), "Rather faint and uncertain", as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 20, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 46. — **P** A visitor to Oshibat. — **D** Unclear, cf. *p'r'ykk* (#871).

**873.** p'rs / $P\bar{a}rs$ / m.: **B** N, ZY MN p'xwt'k n' $\beta$  p'rs  $krz\beta y$ 'rt: Mu $\gamma$ , E-6, 1 (SDGM, II, p. 149, cf. SÉSAS, p. 172; SDGM, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of  $P\bar{a}xut$  (a village on the Upper Zarafšān still known under the same name). — **D**  $P\bar{a}rs$  means "Persian" (cf. 'nc''tk xwn, "Turk Anjāte" in the line above, #96, #1442, twrk, #1265 and p'rs'k, #874). This reading is also prefered by SIMS-W., UI2, p. 63. Alternatively, Turkic bars "tiger", cf. 'yl p'rs trx'n, #233, etc.

290

BOGOL., SMIR. understand the phrase as  $p'ry\beta r ZY'rt[$ , but the *s* clearly has the word-final shape and there is no reason to consider it as a *y*; p'rs is given as a variant in the notes. LIV. reads pr's (without etymology).

**874.** *p'rs'k* /*Pārsak*/ m.: **B** N, *p'(rs)'k* | (*ZK*) *prn'(ys mr)'c*: *UI2*, No. 556 (Shatial III, 16); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 299 (under 145: 7). — **P** A visitor to Shatial site III, son (?) of *prn'ys* (#903: 3). — **D** "Persian", either nickname or *nisba*, cf. *p'rsyk* "Persian" in HENN., *So.*, 8, 3, *p'rs* #873.

Cf. also the name *Boxi* (鉢息, EMCh. *puât-siək*, see YOSH., *PNSChS*), applied to a person of Ustrushanian origin (*Cao*, 曹) in a Chinese document.

# *†p'ryβr > p'rs #873*

[ p'sw'k: **B** N, ] ' $\delta ry \beta r'y(tc) p'(s)w(')k$ : Mu $\gamma$ , Nov.1 V48; ' $(\delta)ry \beta r'y-tc$  p'sw'k: V50; ' $yw ZY n(ym'kw) [\beta]r'ytc p'sw'k$ : V52 (SDGM, III, p. 38). — **P**, **D** Unclear; if a PN, cf. psw'k (#937), but more likely a kind of commodity.

BOGOL., SMIR. cautiously suggest that  $\beta r'ytc p'sw'k$  is akin to 'ps $\beta'ryc$  "sheep shoulder blade", but do not exclude the possibility that p'sw'k is a PN. The repetition of this construction before names of persons suggests that it is some kind of goods, maybe a detail of w'rpn'k (armour, Bct.  $op\beta a\gamma\gamma o$ ), or a "fibula" (if to read prsw'k), being a noun from \*fra-sauk- "to pierce", S ' $\beta s'wc$ , cf. P. sozan "pine" (GMS, §316A), while  $\beta r'ytc$  can stand for  $\beta r'yc$  "shoulder" (as BOGOL., SMIR.; for spelling with tc for /c/ cf. rwtcyk "provisions",  $\beta wtc'k$ , #331); or "lamb", see s.v. 'pn'k, #23?

**875.** p'š /Paš/m.: **B** N, ZY (p'š) | (xwšw): Mu $\gamma$ , A-11, 3-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 185, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 220; *SDGM*, III, p. 54). — **P** A recipient of 6 drachmae. — **D** Reading unsure; LIV. did not transliterate it in *SDGM*, and gives p'š in *SÉSAS*, p. 220 (as BOGOL.-SMIR. in *SDGM*, III). From p'š, p' $\delta r$  "honour"? Alternatively, as Prof. LIVSHITS kindly suggested in his letter of 12.11.07, the name can be compared to IPth. fem. pšH in the Nisā ostraca.

**876.** p'š  $\beta$ yrtk /Paš-vyarte/ m.: **B** B, ZK p'š  $\beta$ yrtk  $pwtyst\beta$ : Vim., 196. — **P** Bodhisattva, an interlocutor of Vimalakīrti. — **D** "Guard (of what is) obtained", an inverted compound, or "having acquired honour" as given by MACK..

Two Chinese translations of the sūtra imply either Skt. *Guṇagupta* "Guard of virtue" or  $*Sr\overline{i}gupta$ , while from the Tibetan rendering we can reconstruct  $*Sr\overline{i}gandha$ , "happy-odour", see *BSTBL*, ii, p. 26, n. 196; p. 36, §2; p. 39 n. 62; cf. *t*'r  $\beta$ yrt (#1215).

(p'štsvn, p'tsvn /Bāštsēn, Bātsēn?/m.: B B, nm'cvw Br'm 877. 'wyn p'stsyn pwtyst $\beta$  mx 'st $\beta$  prn: TSP, 8, 11; 'wyn p't[sy](n) p(wty)[st $\beta$ : Len., 39, 9 (restoration apud SIMS-W., Rev. Len., 233 = SC 312; SGHS, 10); šw  $p'(tsyn) pw(ty)st\beta'$ : Len., 38, 5 (= SC 312, SGHS-L, 16); ZK p'tsyn |  $pw\delta yst\beta$ : Len., 82 a 11-12 (= SC 312, SGHS-L, 96-97);  $wy[n] | [p't](syn) pw\delta yst\beta ZY$  $sr\beta \tilde{s}wr [s'](r)$ : Len., 82a, 13-14 (= SC, 312, SGHS-L, 98-99); 'wyn (p'tsy)n  $pw\delta yst\beta$  s'r: Len., 82a, 19 (= SC 312, SGHS-L, 104); 'xw p't(sv)n  $pw\delta yst\beta$ : Len., 82a, 22 (= SC 312, SGHS-L, 107); (tyw p't)syn pwtyst $\beta$ [']: Len., 82a, 24 (= SC 312, SGHS-L, 109, voc.); 'xw (p't)s[vn pw $\delta vst\beta$ ]: Len., 82a, 25 (= SC 312, SGHS-L, 110). — P A Bodhisattva in the invocation; interlocutor of Buddha in the SGHS. — P Bodhisattva Bhaisajvasena ("Army of medicine", not identified in TSP, but by SIMS-W., Rev. Len., p. 234); cf. the names of Bodhisattvas beginning with 'rwr'n- (gen. pl.) = bhaisajya- "medicine" (#145-147). For S representation of Skt. *j* through *t* see s.v. "*tny'tkwtyn*. A Prakritic intermediation can be assumed; cf. also the Chinese transcription Bishaduluosuo ( 俾 沙 闍 羅 所, EMCh. pjið/pji'-sai/sɛ:-tɔ-la-sið') for Bhaisajyarāja (SOOTHILL, HODOUS, 1937, p. 320). The form p'tsyn is probably a subsequent simplification of p'stsvn, SIMS-W., Rev. Len., p. 234, s.v. snk'swtr. cf.  $cw\delta vk'$  for Jvotiska, #369.)

*†p'tm's > wn'ntm'x* #1315: 2

**878.** *p'ts'xm*, *p'ts'm* /*Pātsāhm*/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtšy 'xy' n'm kwnt' rtšy* | *ms swyô 'yw p'ts'xm βwt*: *Giants*, H13-14, p. 70; *p't]s'[xm \*kwy*: *SFBL*, 17, 5, p. 63 (SIMS-W. reconstructs *p'ts'm* in the *SC*, No. 217; but such a form is to my knowledge unattested; cf. *s'xm*, #1068). — **P** Ahya, the younger brother of Ohya in Mani's *Book of Giants*. — **D** A Sogdian equivalent of the Semitic name, which is translated as *nrym'n* = *\*Narya-manah-* in the MP version. The name was designed to rhyme with *s'hm* (as HENN., *Giants*, p. 55), where *p't* may be compared to expressions like *xwt'wt ZY p't'xš'w'nt* "kings and princes" (*MKG*, 435); SKJÆRVØ, 1995, p. 199 n. 32, draws attention to MP *Pādhusrō*, the brother of *Zarōr*.

*p'tsyn* > *p'štsyn* #877

*p'wl's* > *pwlws* #957

292

**879.** (p'xw tnkrm /Baqu Täŋrim/ f.: **B** N(M), p'xw tnkrm: BL, C26. —**P**A princess in Turfan. —**D** $Turkic, for <math>t(\ddot{a})\eta rim$  "lady" see s.v. 'smyš tnkrym (#28); baqu is "hill, mountain", cf. under 'yl t'y, #237.)

### *p'y nry > nry #8*17

[*†p'yknδc* (as HARMATTA, 1994, p. 439) – read ''(γ)*tk* "has came" (*UI1*, No. 228).]

**880.**  $p'zn xwt'w /P\bar{a}z = xut\bar{a}w/m.: \mathbf{B}$  B, ZK  $p'zn [xwt'w pwtyst\beta]: Dhu., 8; ZK <math>p'zn | xwt'w pwtyst\beta: Dhu., 50-51; ZK p'zn xwt'w pwtyst\beta: Dhu., 221; k'w p'zn xwt'w pwtyst\beta: Dhu., 68; k'w p'zn xwt'w pwtst\beta: Dhu., 235; 'wyn p'zny xwt'w pwtyst\beta | ZK zn'kH: Dhu., 73-4 (obl.); ZKw p'zn xwt'w pwtst\betay: Dhu., 84; 'myn p'zn xwt'w pwtst\betay | mz'yx pr'ynpy zn'kH 'sty: Dhu., 85-6. —$ **P**Bodhisattva, an interlocutor in the Dhūta-sūtra. —**D**"Lord of the Mind", translation of*Cittarājā*.

*Dhu.*, 16 has *p'zn xwt'w* as a common term *cittarājā* "the mind, the will, the directing or controlling mind, the functioning mind as a whole, distinct from its qualities" (*BSTBL*, ii, 40, No. 9, citing SOOTHILL, HODOUS, 1937, 151a).

**881.**  $p\delta'r$  /?/ m.: **B** N,  $p\delta(r)$  (?): *UI1*, No. 303 (36: 87); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; cf. following and  $pr\delta'rc$  (if  $py\delta'rc$ , #894).

Hardly related to CS  $p\delta(\delta)$ 'r "to nourish, to sustain", which comes from OIr. \**pati-dāra-*: one does not expect the development of  $t\delta$  into  $\delta\delta$  at such an early date. Or from \**upa-dāra-*, \**apa-dāra-*?

**882.**  $p\delta' r \bullet e /?/m$ .: **B** N,  $p\delta' r \bullet e$ : *UI1*, No. 133C (Rock 31A:1 apud *UI1*, and 62:1 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 271). — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear. Cf.  $p\delta' r (\#881)$ ,  $\beta xtpy\delta' r (\#338)$ ,  $pr\delta' rc$  (if  $py\delta' rc$ , #894). One can also read  $w\delta' r \bullet \bullet$ , as SIMS-W., *UI1*, No. 133C.

If the latter reading is correct, cf. *Wi* $\delta \bar{a}r$ , a Medieval region near Samarkand (for etymology see *ILAST*, p. 138-9), or Bct. *Oi* $\lambda a \rho \gamma a vo$ , if this name of an estate is formed (by means of the suffix - $\gamma a vo$ ) from PN \**Oi* $\lambda a \rho$ -; cf. also Av.  $v \bar{i} \delta \bar{a}r$ - "to support", OP PN *Vidarna*, Chor. *w* $\delta ry$  "to lean on", see CHEUNG, *EDIV*, p. 57-59.

**883.**  $p\delta'ys'$  /Pa $\delta\bar{e}s'$ /m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn  $p\delta'y-s'$  | ' $\delta wy w'ry-'k$ : Mu $\gamma$ , Nov.1 R28-29 (SDGM, III, p. 37). — **P** The recipient of two lambskins (?,

*w'ry'k*). — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 96) compare it to  $p\delta'y\delta'$  "to show, to appear" (as a root noun?), cf. maybe *nr\deltays* (#812), *ršnδys* (#1018)?

**884.** ( $pk'\beta'm, pk''\beta'n$  /Bagavām?/ m.: **B** B, 'xw  $pk'\beta'm$  'skw'z: TSP, 5, 2; ZNH  $pk'\beta'm$ : TSP, 6, 37;  $pk''\beta'n$ : TSP, 7, 220 (Skt. invocation); (r)ty nwkr  $pk'\beta'm$ : Bhaiş., 7; 'myn  $pk'\beta'm$  'rwr'n mwck' ''pkyn'k | 'r\delta'yp' xwt'w m'yô''yty: Bhaiş., 9-10 (cf. 'rwr'n mwck' ''pkyn'k 'rô'yp'k xwt'w #146). — **P** An epithet of the Buddha Śakyamuni and other Buddhas; not a PN in the proper sense. — **D** Skt. bhagavant-, nom. Bhagavān, "the divine or adorable one".

S *m* for Skt. final *n* is explained through Chinese mediation, *Bojiafan* (薄迦梵, EMCh. *bak-kia-buam<sup>h</sup>*), see SIMS-W., *Indian elements*, p. 138; cf. YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 332 n. 7.)

**885.** ( *pk'ws* /*Bakus?*/ m.: **B** N(M), (*p*)*k'ws cps'r cw xwpw*: Ch/So 20230+SI K/21 4161, R, apud *MIr. Hss. 1, 332;*  $\beta$ *nty mrty pk'w(s)*[: Ch/So 20230+SI K/21 4161, V1, apud *MIr. Hss. 1, 332.* — **P** The author (?) of a letter sent to Čīnānjka $\theta$  (Turfan). — **D** SUND. apud *MIr. Hss. I* considers the name to be a S rendering of *Bacchus* (Syr. *bkws*, cf. *bkws*, #293).

Ch/So 20230 V1, according to *DTA* can be read as pk'w(r), and I explained it as Pacorus (an Iranian name possibly attested in S as well, cf. following,  $pwkr \ z'tk$ , #955,  $\bullet kwr$ , #1612) in LURJE, 2008 c, col. 773. At that time, however, I did not have access to an image of the recto side. Thanks to the kindness of Christiane RECK, I had the possibility to examine the photo and to realize that the last letter must be *s*. The first letter, however, is far from being a perfect S *p*, but looks more like *w*, so one can read it as *wy-'ws* (#1375). In this case, the names on R and V should be separated from one another. The name *Bacchus* was frequent enough among the Christians of Central Asia and China between Tang and Yuan times, see FRANKE, 1998, p. 317-318.)

**886.** *pkwr šw* /*Pakur-?*/ m.: **B** N(A), *p-k-w-r š-w*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 288, No. 1250. — **P** A ruler of Samarkand, 1<sup>st</sup>—3<sup>rd</sup> century? — **D** Pacorus + ?; cf. *pwkr z'tk* (#955).

**887.** (*pmbw* /*Pambō*/ m.: **B** C, *m't ywt(r qy n)'m'z pmbw* | [*ptry*]: C2, \*94 R12-13. — **P** Pambo, an Egyptian hermit (4<sup>th</sup> century). — **D** Syr. *pmbw*, *pnbw* /*Pambō*/.)

**888.** *pnbg* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), M(?)-R-'-Y *p*-n-b-g (?): coin, NPIN, p. 275, No. 1228, 1229. — **P** A ruler (?) who issued imitations of Euthydemus' coins in Buxārā (?), between 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE and 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. — **D** Unclear.

HENN. (*Mittelir.*, p. 26) transliterated *MLK' twhr* "ruler of Tochari", ZEIMAL (1983b, p. 253) read the first word as *MR'Y*, see now NAYMARK, 2008, p. 66 with n. 59. One can see also *MLK' x-w-\beta-('w)*, with an unusual spelling of S *xw\betaw* "ruler (< OIr. \**xva-bāva-*)?

**889.** (*pntyws pyl'tws* /*Pontiyos Pīlatos*/ m.: **B** N(C), [*pr*] | *pntyws pyl'tws myδt*: *Credo*, V9-10. — **P** Pontius Pilate. — **D** Syr. *pntyws pyltws* /*Pontīos Pilatos*/, from Latin, cf. MMP *pyltys*, *pyl'tys*.)

**890.** (*pr'pt* /*Prāpt*/ m.: **B** B, *pr'pt* | *pwtyst* $\beta$ : *TSP*, 5, 94-5. — **P** A Bodhisattva. — **D** Not recognized in *TSP*; probably a shortening of *Bodhisattva Mahāsthamaprāpta* "(The one who) reached a great place/power" (thus HENN., *STP*, p. 730) or *Bodhisattva Pratisamvitprāpta* "the one who reached a garment".)

### *†pr's* > *p'rs* #873

**891.** *pr'wt* /*Frōt*?/ m.: **B** N, *kw pr'wt*: *Afr. document*, 3, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 55-56; *Trois documents*, p. 197; cf. LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 342-345. — **P** A person in the deed of "Lion". — **D** Probably a shortening of name similar to '*prwtβntk*, *pr'wtβntk* (#119). GRENET (op. cit., p. 198) and LIV. (p. 345) tentatively take it as a toponym; cf. also *py'wt* (#972).

# *pr'wtβntk* > '*prwtβntk* #119: 2

**892.** (*pr'wxy* /?/ m.: **B** B, *ZK*  $\delta y \beta ty kp' y xwt'w 'krty | pr'wxy n'm: TSP, 2, 192-3. —$ **P** $A king (once, a leader of fishes); see <math>\beta yr'wr'y$  (#349) for further details. — **D** HENN. (*STP*, p. 717) proposed to understand it as a common noun, corruption of Skt. *purohita* "a family priest" (cf. now YOSH., 2009a, p. 311). In any case, it might be an Indian Buddhist name or common noun, maybe also *Proha*, "Wise"? In the place of *pr'wxy* the Chinese Avadāna has the Prime minister of *Virūdhaka*, the Brahmin called "Bad language". WMIr. *farraxw*, *farrux* (cf. *frwx'n*, #309; *prwx'n ''z'* $\delta$ , #925) would be a less likely interpretation.)

**893.** (*prβr'c* /*Pravārāj*/ m.: **B** B, ]*prβr'c pwty p*[*rn*]: *TSP*, 8, 1. — **P** A Buddha in an invocation, see *pyš'ckwr βyr'wr prβr'c pwty* (#989). — **D** Skt. *prabhārājā*, lit. "shining king"; BENV.'s reading *prβr'k* is corrected by SIMS-W., *SFBL*, p. 51-52; see further under *pyš'ckwr βyr'wr prβr'c pwty* (#989). Note Skt. intervocalic *bh* rendered with S  $\beta$  (a prakritism?). )

**894.** prô'rc /Parôārič, Fraôārič, Piôārič?/ m.: **B** N, ZNHZY pty'ô cn prô'rc xypô XX XX  $\delta$ rxm'k: HENN. apud FRYE, 1953, p. 233-4 (= p. 152-3); HENN., *Mittelir.*, p. 53; SSNSS, No. 19, p. 172 (VS, XLI, 71). — **P** An owner of a silver bowl. — **D** Unclear; possibly to OIr. \*para-/fra-dāra- with a hypocoristic (or adjectival) suffix. Cf. S prôr- "to endeavour"; Yazgh. perôar "to retain"; Oss. *lædæryn* "to understand, be conscious", OInd. pradhārana "concentrating" or finally Shughni parôīr "wall, fence" (ÉSIJa, II, p. 335 ff.). Cf. Pont. Ir.  $\Phi a \lambda \delta a \rho a v o \varsigma$  (TOKHTASJEV, Fc., p. 329).

During the autopsie of the bowl I noticed that the name can be read without problems as as  $py\delta'rc$ . If so, it could be a hypocoristic of a short name retrenched from  $\beta xtpy\delta r$  (#338) or alike, cf. also  $p\delta'r(-)$ , #881-882.

### *pryt'z* > *pršt'z* #918

**895.** prk' $\beta$ t'k, prk $\beta$ t'k,  $\dagger$ prk $\beta$ tk /Parkavdak, Frakavdak?/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn prk' $\beta$ t'k ct $\beta$ 'r: Mu $\gamma$ , A-5, 21 (SDGM, II, p. 181, cf. SÉSAS, p. 215; SDGM, III, p. 51); Z(Y) prk $\beta$ t'k ''(st) [..?] kw prm'n $\delta$ 'r s'r 'y-w 'z-yH: Mu $\gamma$ , B-1, L10 (SDGM, III, 44, wrongly prk $\beta$ tk). — **P** A recipient of dark-blue water-skins (or spears, 'zyH) for the framān $\delta$ ār; a recipient of 4 drachmae. — **D** Acc. to BOGOL., SMIR., p. 97, a nickname or a designation of profession, from prk'p- "to split". I am, however, unaware of this prefixed verb in Sogdian (unlike the simplex k' $\beta$ -/k $\beta$ t).

Cf, however, NP *parkāviš* "the pruning of trees" or Oss. *rægafæn kænyn* (from \* *fra-kāf-*) "to quarrel, to offend, to look for a fight", cf. *EDIV*, p. 234-5.

# *†prkr'k > prt'k* #921

**896.** prn /Farn/ m.: **B1** N, prn ZK | ](----k): UI1, No. 281 (36: 65); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 211; prn ZK c: UI2, No. 422 (40:15); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 243; maybe, prynkc (?); p(rn): UI2, No. 668 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 62:6, cf. Fbs. DD, p. 139). — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, Dadam Das. — **B2** N, p(rn) (?) wyry''(m)c: UI2, No. 631 (Dadam Das, 32:6, cf. Fbs. DD, p. 100). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das, son (?) of wyry''mc (#1380: 1); reading unsure. In view of UI1, No. 9, maybe to be reconstructed  $p(rn)\{c\}$  (#907: 1); or do the two words represent two different inscriptions? — **D** "Glory" (a short-name derived from some compound?). On the wide range of meanings of S /farn/ see PROVASI, 2003.

Cf. *Phana* in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Oshibat, the Chinese rendering *Fen* (忿, EMCh.  $p^{h}un^{h}$ , IKEDA, 1965, p. 63). This reading was introduced by HUMB., *SIF*, for No. 43b (=281) while in 31b (=422) apart from reading *prn ZK c*, he proposes *prznkc* as well.

**897.** prn''yt, prn'yt /Farnāyat/ m.: **B1** N(A), 'YKZYm pryšt | cntry s'r s'yr'k 'PZY prn''y[t]: AL2 (2), R31-32. — **P1** A trader in "Inner China", companion of s'yr'k (#1060). — **B2** N, ptryst ZK | prn''yt | BRY: UI2, No. 611 (Dadam Das, 22:1; cf. Fbs. DD, p. 94). — **P2** Father of ptryst (#947). — **B3** N, - - - - | prn'yt: UI1, No. 293 (36: 77); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 213. — **P3** Father (?) of a visitor to Shatial. — **B4** N, prn'yt: UI1, No. 314 (36: 98); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 216. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial; HUMB., SIF, has here  $p(c\bullet)$  'y $\bullet\bullet$ . — **D** "Fortune-has-come"; the same construction (of a Satzname type) appears in such names as pry''yt (#926), ''ytprn (#8), šyr''yt (#1189), Yānāyada "Boon-has-come", the name of a "Sogdian" (Sudana) in a Tumshuquese text (HENN., 1936a, p. 13, n. 4).

The name *yzd''md* "god-has-come" (*MN*, 189; 214) can be a MP calque of a S name of this type. Bct. PN  $\Phi \alpha \rho v \alpha \gamma \alpha \delta o$  is particularly close to the form under discussion and, in view of internal *-rn*- being preserved, can be considered a S borrowing.

**898.** prn'k, prn'kk /Farnak/ m.: B1 N, prn'(kk): UI1, No. 162 (34: 48); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 185. One can also read ps'(kk) (cf. #936-37); prn'k: UI2, No. 422 (40:14); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 243; the inscription is preceded by a sign which could be n/z or w, but is possibly not a letter at all (UI2, p. 13). — P1 A visitor to Shatial. — B2 N, 'prwt $\beta$ ntk | ZK prn'kk BRY: UI2, No. 614 (Dadam Das, 22:4; cf. Fbs. DD, p. 94). — P2 Father of 'prwt $\beta$ ntk (#119: 1). — D S prn "glory" with a hypocoristic suffix. Cf. the Chinese rendering Funa (拂那, EMCh. p'juət-nâ, YOSH., PNSChS).

**899.***prn'kc* /*Farnakič*?/ m.: **B** N, *rty prn'kc pr-'w 'skw-'z*: Muγ, Nov. 6, 14 (*SDGM*, II, 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 224; *SDGM*, III, p. 49); *ZKw prn'kc*: Muγ, A-4, V16 (*SDGM*, III, 60). — **P** A witness? — **D** S *prn* "glory" with two hypocoristic suffixes.

FREIMAN read *prn'\betar*, and LIV. takes it as *pr'ykk* "remainder" (both for Nov. 6). I cannot see *prn'kc* on the photo of the document A4.

*prn'kk > prn'k* #898

**900.** *prn'ncH* /*Farnānj*/ f.?: **B** N,  $\beta$ *yrn prn'ncH*: *Chilhujra*, 1, R2, p. 80; *pr prn'ncH* | *prm'nH*: V1-2. — **P** The recipient of brushwood. — **D** Fem. adjective from *prn* "glory".

LIV. (op. cit., p. 87, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 295) transliterates the name as *prn'rch* "(he who) reached glory", from OIr. \**ar*- "to reach"; however, the final -*H* indicates that we have here a female name; paleographically, *prn'ncH* is no less possible while -*'nc* is a common fem. suffix, see e.g. *nwš'ncH* (#82); *GMS*, §1043 ff.; cf. *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 239 n. 51.

### prn'rcH > prn'ncH #900

**901.** prn'sp /Farnasp/ m.: **B** N(A), 'HRZYm pt(š)kw't prn'sp ZK[: L.M.II.ii. 09 = Or. 8212, R7; 'HRZYm prn'(s)p m'\delta wytw-\delta'rt: LM.II.ii.09 = Or\_8212\_(1823), apud SC, 370, R12. — **P** A person in a letter. — **D** "Gloryhorse", a common Iranian name ( $\Phi \alpha \rho v \dot{\alpha} \sigma \pi \eta \varsigma$  by Herodot, etc); this name from the unpublished letter in the ancient script is quoted by SIMS-W., UI2, p. 43, 63.

**902.** *prn'yk* /*Farnīk*?/ m.: **B** N(A), '*D*  $\beta\gamma w xwt'w pr(n)'yk$ : *AL*7, 1. — **P** The addressee of a letter. — **D** S *prn* "glory" with a suffix.

Reading follows that of SIMS-W., *Greeting*, p. 178; REI. had *prs'yk*; in *SC*, No. 368 an alternative reading *prs'yk* is given in a note. However, I would prefer a transliteration *prn''k* (interestingly, in this text *yodh* seems never to be attached to a following letter); see *prn'k*(k), #898.

**903.** prn'ys, prn'yws /Farnāyus/ m.: **B1** N, prn'ys | ZK sry $\delta(\beta')r$ : UI2, No. 521 (53:27); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 262; less likely, wrn'ys. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of sry $\delta\beta'r$  (#1100). — **B2** N, prn'ys | šyr''yw(s): UI2, No. 642 (Dadam Das, 48:42, cf. Fbs. DD, p. 119). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam-Das, son (?) of šyr''yws (#1190: 2). — **B3** N, p'(rs)'k | (ZK) prn'(ys mr)'c: UI2, No. 556 (Shatial III, 16); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 299 (under 145: 7). — **P3** Father (?) of p'rs'k (#874). — **B4** N, prn'y(s): UI2, No. 539A (103:2); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 273 maybe, prn'y(ws). — **P4** A visitor to Shatial. — **B5** N, prn'yws: UI2, No. 530 (54:26); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 267. — **P5** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** "Glory-to-come, coming glory", cf. prn''yt (#897), ''ytprn (#8), šyr''y(w)s (#1190) and SIMS-W., UI2, p. 39, for etymology.

**904.** prn  $\beta\gamma\gamma$  /Farnva $\gamma$ ?/ m.: **B1** N, prn  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ : coin, SMIR., Sv. Kat., No. 1374-1375, p. 314-315; Table XXXIV; LXXVI-LXXVII. — **P1** A ruler (?) in the Buxārā oasis, around 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century. — **B2** N, prn  $\beta\gamma\gamma$  (••): coin,

SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1434, p. 336-337; Table XXXVII; LXXVIII. — **P2** A ruler (?) in Farghāna (?), around 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century. — **B3** N, *prn* |  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ : coin, SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1472-1476, p. 348-352; Table XXXIX; cf. BARATOVA, 1999, p. 243. — **P3** A ruler (?) somewhere in Transoxiana. — **B4** N, *prn* |  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ : inscr. on a golden seal, photo BELENICKIJ, 1968, pl. 75; p. 244 (*prn* is written in reverse order), ed. LIV., *Sānak*, p. 48; cf. SIMS-W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 313. — **P4** The owner (?) of a golden seal with an elephant design (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century) in the Hermitage collection. — **D** S *prn* "glory" and  $\beta\gamma(\gamma)$  "god" Not necessarily a name in each and every case, since both elements often appear on Sogdian coin legends separately; moreover they are never written as a single word.

It is surely not a name in *prn*  $\beta\gamma y x'\gamma' n$  (*Cat. Chach*, No. 312-319), hardly in *prn* |  $\beta\gamma y$  |  $\delta'r/n'r$  (*Sv. Kat.*, No. 1480, p. 356-357; Table XXXIX; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 244; ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 195 reads *prn*  $\beta\gamma y$  *nny*). Does the name in the Chinese rendering *Fenbi* (忿鼻, EMCh.  $p^h un^h$ -*bji*<sup>th</sup>, IKEDA, 1965, p. 63) belong here too? IPth. and MP PN *prnbg*, OChor. *prn* $\beta\gamma' wk$  can be explained in various ways (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 191; LIV., 1984, p. 268, 24).

**905.** *prn*  $\beta ry$  /*Farn*  $\beta ar\bar{e}$ / m.: **B** N, *prn* |  $\beta r(y)$ : SIMS-W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 313-314, pl. 29. — **P** The owner of a seal, *c*. 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. — **D** "Bringing fortune": alternatively, read *prn*  $\beta rc$ , feminine of the same compound, or semi-ideographical *prn BRY* "son (of) glory", as SIMS-W., loc. Cit (for this reading cf.  $\beta y$  'n *BRY*, #277, on a seal of earlier date).

### 906. *prnβ*/*yrt* > ••• | *yrt* #1673

**907.** prnc /Farnič/ m.: **B1** N, prnc | ZK | wyry'mc: UII, No. 9 (5: 32); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 127. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of wyry'mc (#1380: 1); maybe the same person as  $p(rn)\{c\}$  in No. 631 (see s.v. prn #896: 2). — **B2** N, wn'ypt $\beta$ ntk | ZK prnc: UII, No. 34 (20: 4); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 142; wn'ypy $\beta$ ntk | ZK | prnc (?) BRY: UII, No. 94 (31: 65); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 166; wn'ypt $\beta$ ntk ZK prnc BRY: UII, No. 125 (31: 96); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 170. — **P2** Father of wn'ypt $\beta$ ntk (#1318). — **B3** N, p(rnc) (?) ZK | kw(n)t BRY: UII, No. 119 (31: 90); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 169 "The first words in each line are partly obscured by the (presumably later) inscriptions 31:86 (=No. 115 – PL) and 31:88 (=No. 117)", as SIMS-W., UII, p. 17.; prnc: UII, No. 120 (31: 91); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 169; prnc ZK kwnt BRY: UI2, No. 600 (Oshibat, 21:6, cf. Fbs. Oshibat, p. 85). — **P3** A visitor to Shatial and Oshibat, son of kwnt (#587: 3). Reading by HUMB., SIF, No. 70a (No. 120). — **B4** N, p(r)[nc ZK (?)] |

 $\delta rw'(sp)[\beta ntk: UI1, No. 258 (36: 42) cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 208 Reading in No. 258 is quite uncertain; prnc ZK | <math>\delta rw'sp\beta ntk$  | BRY: UI1, No. 366 (39: 61); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 231. — P4 A visitor to Shatial, son of  $\delta rw'sp\beta ntk$  (#438: 2); No. 336 read already by HUMB., SIF, under No. 124c. — B5 N,  $\delta xz'tk$  ZK prnc: UI1, No. 297 (36: 81); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 213. — P5 Father (?) of  $\delta xz'tk$  (#460). — B6 N, cn pr(?)nc | III C X: SSNSS, No. 24, p. 173; VS, XIV, 36. — P6 The owner of a silver bowl. — D Hypocoristic to prn "glory", as IPth. prnyš (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 186). Cf. the Chinese rendering Cao Bunazhe (不那遮, EMCh. pat-na'-txia, see RONG, 2009, p. 412).

**908.** prnmyón /Farnmē $\theta$ an/ m.: **B1** N, prnmyón nny'k: UII, No. 74 (31: 45); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 164. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of nny'k (#786: 3). — **B2** N, prnmy( $\delta$ n) | prnmyw: UII, No. 80 (31: 51); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 164. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of prnmyw (#909). Note the parallelism of the father's (prnmyw) and the son's names. — **D** Probably from a place-name, "Glory-settlement", cf. prn/'myóncH 'yncH "woman from Farnmē $\theta$ an" in Muy, A-5, 13 (SDGM, II, p. 181, cf. SÉSAS, p. 215; III, p. 51), later Farmētan in  $\Delta$ aryām district, cf. also smyónc (#1078); if a PN in a primary function, "repository of glory".

Cf. Elam. Zitramesana (as well as ZMP Cihrōmēhan, Dēnkart, 7, 8, 44) for OIr. \*čiθramaiθana- (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 64). Cf. in Chinese records Alanmi (阿濫證 or °密, EMCh. Pa-lam<sup>h</sup>-mjit/mit) applied both for the place-name Rāmēθan (ancient capital of the Buxārā oasis) and for a ruler of Āmul on the Oxus (CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 137 n. 1). See under pwx'r #969 for place-names in the function of PNs in S.

**909.** prnmyw /Farnmēw/ m.: **B** N, prnmy( $\delta n$ ) | prnmyw: UI1, No. 80 (31: 51); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 164. — **P** Father (?) of prnmy $\delta n$  (#908: 2). SIMS-W. remarks (UI1, p. 16) that the second part of the name was written twice, unsuccessfully upwards, prn(m)y( $\delta$ ) and successfully below. — **D** "Glory-tiger", cf. myw (#738); note the parallelism with his son's name prnmy $\delta n$  (#908).

**910.** prnxwnt /Farnxund/ m.: **B1** N(A), prnxwnt ZY | 'xšny $\beta$ nt: AL1 (2), R5-6; 'HRZY prnxwnt m' $\delta$  | m' $\delta$  w' $\beta$ t: R6-7; [k] $\delta$ ZYm pyt $\delta$ 'r | 'k(')w prnxwnt: AL3, R8-9; 'HRZY prnxwnt m' $\delta$  w' $\beta$ t: AL3, R10; prn(x)wnty | [: (obl.) AL3, R 13-14; ](pr)n(x)w(nt) (')pr'št: AL3, R33; prw prnxwnt | p'(r)H: AL3, 35. — **P1** A person in  $\delta$ rw'n (Dunhuang), who had some unidentified position ('xšny $\beta$ nt) in relation to nny $\delta$ t (#789) and mywn'yH (#741). — **B2** N(A), (p)yšt MN (x)[y](p) $\delta$   $\beta$ ntk prnxwnt: AL6, R2. — **P2** A trader. The possibility that this *prnxwnt* is the same person as that of *AL1* and *AL3* (#910: 1), which was expressed by DE LA VAISSIÈRE (HMS, II, 55-6) is dismissed by SIMS-W. (AL1, p. 186), on the basis of the fact that Farnxund "runs away" in AL3, R33. — B3 N, MN šyr |  $\beta xc ZY$  'stnps'r'k cnn prnxw | nt BRYN: Muy, B-8, R7-9 (SDGM, II, p. 47, cf. SÉSAS, p. 52; SMIR., Ocherki, p. 108; GERSH., Frog-plain, p. 196; GRENET, Pratiques, p. 314; cf. SIMS-W., UI2, p. 36, for BRYN). — P3 Father of  $syr\beta xc$  (#1193) and 'stnpsr'k (#173). — **B4** N, (p)[rn]xwnt xw[] | ZK  $\gamma$ '[tk]: UI2, No. 428 (40:20); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 244; HUMB. (SIF, No. 34b) and SIMS-W. transliterate the name as *[]xwnt*; the latter (*UI2*, p.13) tells us that the name may be complete or that one or two initial letters may have been deleted by a crack in the rock. However, I see the "head" of a pe (less likely, waw or beth) to the right of the crack, just above (z) of ZK in the following line. — P4 A visitor to Shatial, who possessed the title  $\gamma'tk$  (see under '' $\delta'k$ , #5). His inscription follows that of rywprn (#1052; inscr. 427, written in the same hand), also a *y'tk.* — **D** "Glorious", as BS *prnxwnt(')k*, MS *frnxwndyy*.

For a common noun with -k corresponding to a PN without suffix see UI2, p. 37, cf. wn'nt (#1314) and *cytβntk* (#408) for an opposite derivation; *prnxwnty* is hardly *Qutluy* (the Uyghur kaghan) in *DTS*, G9, pace HENN., *BBB*, p. 91, n. A11. For \**farnaxvant*- used often as a name among Iranians, see SCHMITT, 2006, p. 203-204; 1998, p. 179; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 195 n. 18.

**911.** prnxwntk /Farnxunde/ m.: **B1** N, prnxwntk  $Z(K) | \delta't(')[yk]$ : UI1, No. 211 (34: 97); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 191. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of  $\delta't'yk$  (#419: 1). — **B2** N, pr(n)xw(nt)k '  $Z(K)t \bullet trw(\delta)$  (?) | - - - -: UI2, No. 661 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P2** A visitor to Hunza-Haldeikish, son (?) of  $t \bullet trw\delta$  (#1299). — **D** "Glorious"; cf. also p'r'yz prnxwntk (#870).

#### $fprnwnt > \beta \gamma nw'k \#280$

**912.** prny'n /Farnyān/ m.: **B1** N, ZY š'(w)c (Z)K prny-'n | BRY: Muγ, B-8, V2-3 (SDGM, II, p. 47, cf. SÉSAS, p. %"; SMIR., Ocherki, p. 108; GRENET, Pratiques, p. 314). — **P1** Father of š'wc (#1158). — **B2** N(M), ky L' pyr't prny'(n) | s'r |  $p\delta$ s': Ch/So 20000, verso 2-4, ed. HENN., Tales, J, p. 482 (=186), corr. YOSH., First Fruits, p. 84. — **P2** A person in a Manichean colophon. — **D** "Boon of Glory", cf. y'nprn (#1496), WEBER, ZSP, p. 201, No. 30; cf. also wrzy'n (#1345).

**913.** prnyn /Farnēn/ m.: **B** N,  $(s)nk \mid my\delta k(n) \mid prnyn: UI2$ , No. 518 (53:24); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 262. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, companion of  $my\delta kn$  and snk (#726: 2; #1081: 3; or father of snk, grandfather of  $my\delta kn$ ). — **D** "Glory" with a suffix, whether hypocoristic, (pro)patronymic or adjectival (as "standard" S - 'yn 'k, see GMS, §1052 ff.). Less likely, prnyk, which can be explained as an adjective in -yk , as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 17, see prn'yk (#902).

**914.** *prnyn'kk* /*Farnēnak*/ m.: **B** N, *prnyn'(kk)*: *UI1*, No. 183 (34: 69); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** S *-yn'k* is a hypocoristic, (pro)patronymic or adjectival suffix, attached to *prn*. The final *-kk* is uncertain; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 50a, has *przyn*.

**915.** prnywst /Farnyust/ m.: **B** N, p(r)nywst: UI1, No. 146 (34: 32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 183. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** The second part of this name, *-ywst*, is compared with Khot. PPP *justa-* < \**yusta-* from the root *juv-* "to fight" < \**yudya-* (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 64), cf. *ywð*'*xšytk* (#1529), '*spywð* (#169), *ywðk*'n (#1530). Th general meaning of this name can be "he who fought with glory". HUMB., SIF, No. 55, has *wrz*'*w*[. One can suppose that traces of the final letter coincide with a Brāhmī inscription (SIMS-W., UI1, No. 146).

**916.**  $prn \bullet$ ,  $prn[/Farn-?/m.: B1 N, pr(n \bullet) f: UII$ , No. 399 (39: 94); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — P1 A visitor to Shatial. — B2 N(M), '*yny pwstk* '*z-w* prn[- *ywytym*]: Ch/So 2053, V1, ed. YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 84. — P2 A person in a Manichean colophon. — D "Glory" + ?

### *prs'yk > prn'yk* #902

**917.** (*prsn'ycy, prsn'ycw* /*Prasənēji*?/ m.: **B** B, *xw prsn'ycy xwt'w*: *Pj.*, *STii*, 9, 7-8; '*kw prsn'ycy xwt'w*: *Pj.*, 11; p(rs)n'y-cw *MLK'*: So 18240, II, 7 apud YOSH., *Bodh.*, p. 338. — **P** The king of Kośala, interlocutor of the Buddha. — **D** From Skt. *Prasenajit* "one who defeats a head of an army"; however, the Sogdian rendering does not seem regular.

One can think of a Prakritic mediation (cf. Pāli *Pasenadi*), or of a Chinese one: *Beixianni* (卑先匿, EMCh. *pjið/pji-scn-nrik*), *Bosini* (波斯匿, *pa-sið/si-nrik*), *Boluoxinateduo* (鉢 邏犀那特多, *pat-la<sup>h</sup>-sɛj-na<sup>h</sup>-dək-ta*); *Bocisi* (波刺斯, *pa-ts<sup>h</sup>ið<sup>h</sup>/ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>/ts<sup>h</sup>iajk*), Tocharian A *Prasenaji*, B *Prasenacī*, OTu. (in Brāhmī) *Pra-se-na-ji*.)

**918.** ( *prsp'k* /*Bars-bäg?*/ m.: **B** N(C), *prsp'k nsty m't*: *DTS*, G14, a variant reading for *p'šp'k* "fasting" is proposed in the commentary, p. 73. — **P** An authority in Ganzhou? — **D** If a name (and not the common noun *p'šp'k*), OTu. *Bars-bäg* "Panther-*bäg*", as DTS, p. 73 (both *bars* and *bäg* are well attested in the documents from Gansu of the same time). )

**919.** *prsyh* /*Parsīh*, *Parsihā?*/ m.: **B** C, unpublished, C3, apud HANSEN, 1968, p. 98-99; SUND., *Brs. Kg.*, p. 97-98. — **P** Brother of *byrw*, who was sent by *Hajjaj* /*hcyc*/ to rule over the foreign town '*rgn* (*Arrajān*, as SUND., op. cit.); unidentified. — **D** Unclear. Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly pointed to me out that this character appears in a Syriac version of the "Life of John of Dailam" in the form *Prsgy*' (BROCK, 1981-2, p. 170).

**920.** pršť z /Paraštāz?/ m.: **B** N, ZY MN pršť z  $\gamma r\beta$  nm'cyw: Mu $\gamma$ , E-7, 7 (SDGM, II, p. 172, cf. SÉSAS, p. 207; SDGM, III, p. 84). — **P** A companion of the prince of Martuškat? — **D** Unclear. BOGOL., SMIR. understand this phrase as "from (those, who) worked", an -'z imperfect of pršť y "to fulfil". However, in this case the syntax seems untypical for Sogdian. GERSH. (Advice, p. 88 n. 32) reads pryt'z and explains it as "rid (= free) of greed". LIV. supposes that pršť z (pryť z, p'šť z) is a PN. The final element of such a name could derive from  $*\bar{a}z$ - "to lead, move" as S nw'z "sailor", Khot.  $h\bar{n}n\bar{a}ysa$ - "general" (BOGOL., SMIR., SDGM, III, p. 85), cf. 'z'kk (#41). Then the first element would be pršt, a PPP "escaped, fled", hence "(the one who) leads runaways", cf. 'prštk (#117; UI2, p. 41), kwr'k (#590)?

**921.** *prt'k* /*Fratak*?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn* | (*p*)*r*(*t*?) '*k pnc*: Muγ, A-11, 6-7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 185, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 220; *SDGM*, III, p. 54). — **P** The recipient of 5 drachmae. — **D** Unclear; BOGOL., SMIR. read [*pr*]*kr*'*k*, also as a PN. No etymology is given. In *SÉSAS*, p. 222, LIV. derives it from \**Frătaka*-, as Elam. *pir-ra-ud-da-ik-ka*, see TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 182. On the photo I can see *zrt*'*k*, for *zyrt*'*k* "yellow" (?, cf. *zyrt*, #1575), or *nyt*'*k*, *nrt*'*k*?

**922.** *prtmyw*'*c* /*Fətamiwāč*/ m.: **B1** N, *prtmyw*('*c*): *UI1*, No. 145 (34: 31); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 183. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *snk ZK prtmyw*'*c BRY*: *UI1*, No. 384 (39: 79); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P2** Father of *snk* (#1081: 5); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17i – *idem*. — **D** "First (*prtmy*) sent", cf. *βxtw*'*c* (#339), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 64; '*βtm* (after #46?), '*prtmy*'*n* (#118), IPth. *prtm* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 191).

**923.** prtnc /Partanič?/ m.: **B** N, ZY | 'ywH prtnc: B-9, V5-6 (SDGM, II, p. 160, cf. SÉSAS, p. 187; III, p. 55). — **P** The recipient of a ruby. — **D** A nisba from p'rtn, the fief of ryw'xšy'n (#1048), as BOGOL., SMIR., SDGM, III, p. 97. Its equation with the later  $P\bar{a}rd\bar{a}n$ ,  $B\bar{a}rd\bar{a}ng$  on Magian river to the east of Panjakent (SDGM, II, p. 105) is difficult in view of the quantity of two vowels. The writing is relatively clear, but maybe prt'c, hardly prtrc.

**924.** *prtr'k* /*Fratarak*?/ m.: **B** N, (*ZY ms prtr)'k* '(*y*)*wH* '*z*-*yH*: Muγ, Б-1, L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a water-skin (or spear, '*zyH*). — **D** The text is damaged, reading unsure. BOGOL., SMIR. read *γwnsrk*, but *p* and *t* are clearly visible. This name, if my reading is correct, would be a hypocoristic to *prtr* "better", cf. title *frataraka* in Achaemenid administration and Hellenistic Fārs, OChor. PNs *prtrk*, *prtrynk*, LIV., 1984, p. 264? An alternative reading is *pnt*''k from *pnt* "close", "relative".

**925.** prwx'n "z' $\delta$  /Farruxān Āzād?/ m.: **B** N(M), (p)[rw](x'n 'z-') $\delta$ : \*MIK III 6251, 1 apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. \*435. — **P** A name(?) in an unclear context. — **D** The transliteration apud GULÁCSI, 2001, is  $\gamma(w \dots -n)\delta/y$ , in *MIr. Hss. 1* RECK proposes (xw...z-') $\delta$  and mentions that SUND. reads prwx'n ''z' $\delta$ . This would be a WMIr. name "Noble son of Farraxw", cf. frwx'n (#309).

**926.** pry" $\gamma t$  /Friā $\gamma at$ / m.: **B** N, pry" $(\gamma)t$  ZK 'sp'ncny BRY: UI1, No. 402 (39: 97); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 236. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of 'sp'ncny (#159: 1). — **D** "Nice (did you) come", cf. šyr" $\gamma t$  (#1189), prn" $\gamma t$  (#897). HUMB., SIF, No. 22, 122a, has pry"st, corrected by LIV. (*ibid*, p. 227); SIMS-W. points out that pry"xt is also theoretically possible.

**927.** *pry'n'k* /*Friyāne?*/ m.: **B** N, *nyw(')kk* [*ZK* (?)] | *pry'n'k*: *UI1*, No. 259 (36: 43) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208. — **P** Father (?) of *nyw'kk* (#856: 2)? Or his clan-name? — **D** A (pro)-patronymic or family-name, at least in its origin. Cf. *βryn'k* (#312) and Av. family-name *Friiāna*-, Pont. Ir. *Φλιανος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §242), Elam. *Pirrēna*, *Pirriyana* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 219).

pryywnk > pryxwz'k #933

*†pryk > †tk*' after #1224

**928.** pryn'm'k /Frināmak/ m.: **B** N, rty '' $\beta$ r MN 'sk'tryH pry-n'm'k ZY 'spzy-wr ZY xwn ZY zwc 10+3 (k)[pc y?]w: Mu $\gamma$ , 5-14, 1 (SDGM, III, p. 35). — **P** A supplier of barley. — **D** "(He who has a) lovely name"; cf. fryn'm in the History of Samarkand (who is, however, a man of Balkh descent, TAFAZZOLI, KQ II, p. 5), cf. IPth. šyrnm (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 180); an identical PN in Turkish, Adıgüzel is mentioned by SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 44.

**929.** *prys'r'k* /*Frisarak*/ m.: **B** N, *pry(s')r'k*: *UI1*, No. 252 (36: 36) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** "(He with a) nice head, nice commander(?)", cf. *šyrs'r* (#1199).

**930.** pry swôr /Frisō $\delta ar$ ?/ m.: **B** N, 'sknt || xw $\beta$  | pry sw $\delta r$  (???): coin, SMIR., Sv. Kat., No. 1450-51; xwß pry swôr (???): No. 1452-1471; p. 343-349: Table LXXIX, cf. www.zeno.ru, No. 20066; 18769; http://www.sogdcoins. narod.ru/sogdiana/s coins. html, SS6. - P A ruler in Naxšab, early 8<sup>th</sup> century, or, more likely, an epithet of *Al-Iškand* (see '*šknt*, #180). — **D** The writing is mirrored; one can also see *prn* "glory" in the first part. sw $\delta r$  (sw $\delta k$ ?, sw $\delta v$ ?) can be compared to sw $\delta r$ , sw $\delta k$  from the UI inscriptions (#1112 – 13). LIV. (apud BARATOVA, 1999, p. 256) reads  $\beta\gamma\gamma$ xw $\beta$ .

**931.** *pryt*' /*Frīt*?/ m.: **B** N, *pryt*': *UI1*, No. 247 (36: 31); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** As SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 65), to OIr. \**frīta*-"beloved". One can read *prytk* as well; the function of the final *aleph* in this name remains unclear. Cf. *Pi-ri-ta-a* in Babylonian rendering (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 451).

**932.** pryxwt'w /Frixutāw/ m.: **B1** N(A), [pyšt] | (MN) xyp $\delta$  | ( $\beta$ )ntk | [p](ry)[xwt'w]: AL5 (2), V1-4; M[N pryxwt'w] xyp $\delta$ y |  $\beta$ ntk: AL5 (2), R2-3; pyšt MN xyp $\delta$   $\beta$ (n)tk pryxwt'<w>: AL5 (2), R31. — **P1** The sender of the Ancient Letter 5, a merchant in Guzang. —**B2** N, pry(x)w(t)['w: UI1, No. 219 (34: 105); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 192. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. —**D** "Nice king" (if karmadhāraya compound) or "friendly (to) a king" (if inverted bahuvrīhi); cf. Bct.  $\Phi \rho \epsilon_i \chi o a \delta \eta o$  (HENN., Surkh-Kotal, p. 84; SIMS-W., Seals and Sealings, p. 310), xwt'w $\beta$ ntk (#1458), xwt'wn'mk (#1461).

**933.** *pryxwz'k* /*Frixōže*/ m.: **B** N, *MN 'βtm'wt'k 'nwtc ZY pryxwz'k*: Muγ, Б-6, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 149, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 172; *SDGM*, III, p. 83). — **P** A representative of *Aftamāwut* (present day Falmovut on the Upper Zarafšān), the companion of *'nwtc* (#110). — **D** Probably, *pryxwz'k* "nicely wished", as LIV. (loc. cit., n. 12).

BOGOL., SMIR. read this name as *pryywnk*, without *aleph* and understand it as OIr. \**friyah*vant-, but this derivation is weakend by an unexpected loss of t in the S form. If *pryywn'k*, it can be a derivation from *pry*- "nice" and *ywn'k* "hair"; cf. renderings of the Islamic time: '*fryywn* (a man from Samarkand, see TAFAZZOLI, KQ, I, p. 5),  $\bar{A}l$  Farīyūn, the rulers of Gōzgān in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and the pre-Islamic tyrant \*Farīyūn in the Oxus Basin according to Nāşir-i Khusrō (see  $H-'\bar{A}$ , comm., p. 173 ff, differently SIMS-W., 1998b, p. 198-9).

**934.** pry  $\bullet \delta \bullet \bullet H$  /Fri-?/ f.?: **B** N, sn'xr'mH | ZKH pry  $\bullet \delta \bullet \bullet H$  |  $\gamma$ 'tH: UII, No. 18 (17: 13); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 137. — **P** A (pro-)metronym (as indicated by final -H, see UI2, p. 31, 1.1.5) or patronym (with feminine marker H), second name, etc. of sn'xr'mH (#1080). — **D** A virtually obvious reconstruction of pry(H)  $\delta('y)H$  (vel sim.) is weakened by the fact that the fourth letter is separated from pry. Read pry  $(w)\delta(w)H$  "nice wife", as Pyšn'm'k, p. 240? HUMB., SIF, No. 64a, has pry $\bullet \delta \bullet \bullet h$ .

**935.**  $pr \bullet x \bullet \gamma \bullet /?/$  m.?: **B** N, (---- kk) |  $(pr \bullet x \bullet \gamma \bullet)$  | py (---- k) | p'm: *UI1*, No. 315 (36: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 216. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? Or father of ---- kk (#1611: 3)?— **D** Unintelligible; the inscription is deliberately obliterated.

#### pstwn > pštwn #938

**936.** *psw* /*pas(u)*?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY psw* (*p*)*nc kpc H*'*MRH*: Muγ, Б-9, 3; *p(sw) pnc* (*k*)*pc H*'*MRH*: Б-9, 8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 33); (*rt*)*y ps-w ZY ty-mšy-r ZY*  $\beta$ *y-rprn IIII IIII kpc ZY 'yw k(p)c'kk*: Muγ, Б-14, 2 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35); *ZY ''st* [*Z*](*K*) *p(s)w kw* (*prm'n*) $\delta$ '*r s'r* ('*y*)*w 'y-z-H*: Muγ, Б-1, L7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A porter of the *framān* $\delta a$ *r*, a supplier of some products. — **D** Probably, S *psw* "sheep", as a nickname.

BOGOL., SMIR.'s reading *pyr* ("belief") in E-9, 3 and E-14, 2 is unacceptable, since the last letter is clearly *w*. Another variant proposed by the same authors, *pyw*, makes no sense (however, Prof. SIMS-W. suggests to link it to Av. *pīuuah*- "fat"). For *psw* as a PN, cf. Pont. Ir.  $\Phi o \sigma \alpha \kappa o \zeta$  ZGUSTA, 1955, §248, Bct. PN  $\Pi o \sigma \kappa o$  and parallels given s.v.  $\beta w \beta$  (#321). LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 187, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 225), proposes *pr'w't* in E-9, 8, see *py'wt* (#972). The second passage in E-9 seems to be corrupted, possibly what I read *p(sw)* is actually *pnc*.

**937.** *psw'k* /*Pəsuwak*?/ m.: **B** N, (*p*)-*sw'k*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 2, p. 135-136. — **P** A name inscribed on a rib. — **D** The editors read *wsw'r* and propose a *Wurzeletymologie* from OIr. \**vasa(t)-vāra-* "wishing richness". I would rather see a hypocoristic to *psw* "sheep" (#936), cf. also *p'sw'k* (after #874); #898: 1 (if *ps'kk*).

**938.** *pštwn* /*Paštawan?*/ m.: **B** N(C), *xw xwšt'ry pštwn*: LIV., *Jaruqtegin*, p. 370; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 353-4; '*yny xwyck xwšt'ry pštwn*: *Semirechie*, p. 82, 6; a similar inscription is reported to be attested on a fragment excavated at Krasnaja Rechka in the Chu valley, now in the Tashkent University Museum, see LIV., *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 138 with n. 132. — **P** The "master" (*xwšt'ry* for *xwyštr*?), who made the pithos for *yrwytkyn* (#1517); the master of another pithos. — **D** Unclear, but probably Sogdian; a less likely reading is *pstwn* (as LIV., loc. cit.). Maybe a "laconic" spelling of S '*pšt'w'nH* "advice"? Or from *pršt* "to escape" + *wn* "winner", cf. '*prštk* (#117), *pršt'z* (#920), *rzmwnwn* (#1056). If one reads *pstwn*, the first part might be related to OIr. \**upasta*-"assistance", S '*pstk'r'k* "helper".

**939.** *pt'wr* /*Pətōr*/ m.: **B** N, *npxšty ZNH*  $\delta$  '*ypwsty* '*wxw'n ZKn pt'wr BRY* | *pr pt'wr*  $\delta p$  '*yrptw* ''*p'rs*:  $\Delta P$ , 21-22; *cyn'nckn* $\delta$  '*y*  $\delta p$  '*yrptw pt'wr zn'x*:  $\Delta P$ , R24. — **P** Father of '*wxw'n* (#207); the "head scribe" in Turfan (probably, though by no means necessarily, one and the same person). — **D** Cf. S *ptwr* "effect, retribution, reward, etc.", but semantics remain unclear.

**940.** pty'z /Patyāz?/ m.: **B** N, ZY 'ywH 'z-yH pty'z ''st: Muy, E-1, L6 (SDGM, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a water-skin (or spear, 'zyH). — **D** The writing is comparatively clear,  $pt-y/x/\dot{s}-n/'/r-z$ , and the name sounds Iranian, but no etymology has been proposed. Cf. S pcy'z-, from \*pati-gāz-"to accept, to receive", with a different development of preverb and consequently a somewhat different meaning (cf. GMS, §673)? BOGOL., SMIR. give a variant reading ptynz, without etymology.

### *ptynz* > *pty'z* #940

**941.** (*ptm'pr'yš* /*Padmaprēš?*/ m.: **B** B, *k'w ptm'pr'yš pr''mn \delta\betarw: Len., 93, 37.* — **P** A Brahmin in Śravasti, a convert of the Buddha. — **D** In the Skt. version of the text, the Brahmin's name is *Śuka, Subha* in Pāli. In the S text we probably have a transcription of another Skt. name, *Padmapreşa* (lit.

"urging on lotus"), with ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 465. YOSH., 2009a, p. 303 notes that this name has no counterparts in other extant versions of the *Śuka-sūtra*.)

**942.** (*ptrp'r* /*Badrapāl*/ m.: **B** B, *ZY ptrp'r pwtystβ*: *TSP*, 5, 96. — **P** A name of Bodhisattva. — **D** From Skt. *Bhadrapāla*, "blessed protector", a regular rendering, as Uygh. *Patar palī* (HAMILTON, 1986, 2, 26). )

**943.** *ptrwôn* /*Patrōan*?/ m.: **B** N, *nnyxs*'*y ZK ptrwo*(*n*): *UI1*, No. 393 (39: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P** A *nisba* (or clan-name, nickname) of *nnyxs*'*y* (#806). The location of the two inscriptions next to each other and similarities in the handwriting of Nos. 392 and 393 suggest that *nnyxs*'*y* in both cases is one and the same person,  $nny\delta\beta$ 'r (#791: 3) being patronym and *ptrwôn* his clan-name, *nisba* or a nickname. — **D** Maybe *ptrwôk*. SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 65) connects it with MS *ptrwô*- "to grow", cf. *ptryst* (#947), *ptrwôH* (#944). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 11, has *ptrwô*'.

**944.** *ptrw* $\delta H$  /*Pətr* $\bar{o}\delta$ ?/ f.: **B** N, *pt(r)w* $\delta H$ : *Panj.-2001*, 4, p. 86, corr. *Rahmat-name*,  $\delta$  18. — **P** A name (?) inscribed on a potsherd. — **D** Probably a feminine counterpart of *ptrw* $\delta n$ , see above. Initially, B.I. MARSHAK and myself were reading *ptw* $\delta H$  from \**pati-wadu-*, and LIV. (orally) suggested *ptyw* $\delta H$  from \**yaud-* "to fight".

**945.** (*ptrws* /*Petros*/ m.: **B** N(C), pt(r)w(s) | <Syr.> ptr' gbryl: inscr. on a vessel from Jambul, see KLEIN, 2000, p. 105-106 (quoting indirectly a letter of SUND.), photo p. 365. — **P** A Christian inhabitant of Tarāz, 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century according to the stratigraphic data (?). — **D**  $\Pi \epsilon \tau \rho \sigma c$ .

The Syriac part of the inscription contains two names: "Peter Gabriel" (the relation between them remains unclear), as already BORISOV, 1948, who also cautiously suggested the reading *ptr* for Sogdian (in his view, Uyghur) line on p. 106. The first line, according to SUND., "...sich um den Namen Petrös in sogdischer Schreibweise handelt" (so phrased by KLEIN, 2000, p. 106). It is interesting that Sogdian demonstrates the name with the Gr. nominative ending as  $\Pi \acute{e}\tau \rho o \varsigma$ , while the Syriac counterpart has the final  $-\bar{a}$  (Aramaic definitive state): *Petrā* (both *ptr'* and *ptrws* are attested in Syriac and *ptrws* is typical for the later Semirechie inscriptions, see BORISOV, p. 107), cf. also *ywx'nys* and *ywhnn* (#1534: 2). Cf. *šmywn*, *šmywn snq* (#1169: 1) for this name in Semitic and S translation.)

**946.** *ptrxš* /*Pətraxš*/ m.: **B** N, *ptrxš*: *UI1*, No. 379 (39: 74); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; maybe from OIr. \**pati-raxša*-

308

"protector", Khot. *pārṣṣa* "antidote", cf. S '*r*'xs "to rely upon" (CHEUNG, 2007, p. 196); also the town-name *Varaxša* near Buxārā, if from \**abi-/fra-raxša-ka-* (*ILAST*, p. 38). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 14, has *pr*'xš.

**947.** *ptryst* /*Patrest*/ m.: **B** N, *ptryst* ZK | *prn*'' $\gamma t$  | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 611 (Dadam Das, 22:1; cf. Fbs. DD, p. 94). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *prn*'' $\gamma t$  (#897: 2). — **D** Acc. to SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 65, a shortened PPP \**ptrystk* "grown", cf. *ptrw* $\delta n$ . Or from the attested S PPP *ptryst('k)* "mixed" (e.g., in the meaning "[one of] mixed [blood]", cf. *wmxsk*, #1313, *wysrn*, #1384)?

948. ptšpr /Pačpar/ m.: B1 N, ptšpr: UII, No. 4 (5: 16); cf. Fbs. Sh. p. 125;  $pt(\tilde{s}pr)$ : UII, No. 71 (31: 42); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 163;  $(pt)\tilde{s}pr \mid (\bullet kcm'v)$ : UII, No. 72 (31: 43); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 163; ](p)t(špr) (?): UII, No. 251 (36: 35) cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 207 (quite uncertain). — P1 A visitor to Shatial, son of •*kcm*'y (#1610?). — **B2** N, *kwš*''n | (*ZK*) ''zt'k | *ptšpr*: UI1, No. 69 (Inscr. No. 31:40a, acc. to UII, and No. 31: 119 in Fbs. Sh., p. 173). - P2 Grandfather (?; or *nisba*, nickname?) of kwš ''n (#598: 2). — **B3** N, sw'r $\delta n$  | ZK ptšpr | BRY: UII, No. 137 (33: 8); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 176. — P3 Father of *sw'r* $\delta n$  (#1108); reading already by HUMB., SIF, No. 56b. — **B4** N, *ptšpr* |  $p(y)sk \mid (\bullet xsn')k$  (?) (BR)Y (?): UII, No. 227 (34: 113); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 193. - P4 A visitor to Shatial, companion of *pysk* (#987: 7), son of  $\bullet xsn'k$ (#1665; as translated by SIMS-W. in Fbs. Sh., p. 193); reading already by HUMB., SIF, No. 47b. — **B5** N, 'zw ptšpry 'prtk wm'tvm | (')WZY šrywy: (obl.) Afr. document, 3-4, Dok. Sam., p. 55; Trois Inscriptions, p. 197. - P5 A person in the deed of "Lion". — D Related to S verb *ptšpr*, *pcpr* "to fix, settle, alight", as well as a noun of unclear meaning and adj. "firm" (So., p. 16, 11b; p. 18), as UI2, p. 65.

**949.** *ptty, ptyy* /*Patte?*/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtxw ptty mwz-''k'*: *MKG*, 3.1 V5, 346, p. 36; *rtxw ptty* | [*mwz'k'*]: *MKG*, 3.1. V11-12, p. 36; M, *sysn ptyy frwrty(y)*: M915 V21 apud HALOUN, HENN., 1952, p. 206. — **P** The first "teacher" of the Manichean community, addressee of Mani's letter (with Sissinius, *sysn #*1136); probably identical with a presbyter sent to India, but the identity of this person as Mani's father, also *Pattecius*, is a subject of discussion; see SCHAEDER, 1934, p. 69-70; COLDITZ, 1995, p. 41-42; SUND., 1987, p. 69,79 (= p. 385, 395); KHOSROEV, 2007, p. 216-217. — **D** Probably Iranian, *\*pati-takya-* "flowing one" (the name recalling baptismal practices

of the Elchasaites?), rather than Semitic *puttāqā* "Gastwirt, Herbergsvater" from Gr. πανδοκεῖον, see GIGNOUX, 1975, p. 141-2 and literature given there. In WMIr. *ptyg*, Chinese *Badi* (拔帝, 跋帝, EMCh. *pha:t/phuat-tiaj*').

As for the loss of the final -g in the S form (which, however, falls within the Chinese rendering, see HALOUN, HENN., 1952, p. 206, n. 10), Desmond DURKIN-MEISTERERNST kindly drew this author's attention to WMIr. texts transcribed in S script:  $kyr\beta'$  for qyrbg,  $t\beta tw'\delta y$  for tftw'dyg,  $xr\delta y$  for hrdyg. Cf. ftk in MN, 110, as a PN in Turfan.

**950.** *ptw, pt-* /*Bāt*/ m.: **B** N(M), *kw* βγ*w pt(w)*[*s*'*r*]: Š*nš*., 80 (= *Len.*, 83a, 3); '*kw* βγ*w ptw s*'*r*: 83 (= *Len.*, 83a, 6); βγ*w ptw*: *Len.*, 17, 6; SIMS-W., *Rev. Len.*, p. 239 (all acc. of the light stem?). — **P** An Iranian dignitary, Mani's convert. — **D** Slavish transliteration of Aram. *bt* for Ir. /*Bāt*/ (see SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 282), which is, in turn, a *Schnellsprechform* from *Bagdād*, see HENN., 1952a, p. 511 (= p. 397); SUND., *Manich. Ir.*, p. 291, 304, 336, 340, 355; *Pn. Man.*, p. 245-6 (= 486-7).

## *ptwδH > ptrwδH* #944

**951.** (*ptwx* /*Batuq*/ f.: **B** N, '*lp trx*'n *xwβw ptwx x'twn* | (*xwβw*): inscr. IIa (= IB), from Terek-say, 1, 4-5, *Mcm. Kup2.*, p. 146; *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A "lady", who visited Terek-say. — **D** Turkic; the name *Baduq*, *Batuq* is attested in late Uyghur documents (RADLOFF, 1928); in *Onom. Turc.* it is explained as "moor-land, marsh"; cf. also OTu. *boδuy* "bright color, dye" (CLAUSON, *EDT*, p. 302)? )

### *ptyy > ptty #*949

**952.** (pw'y /?/ m.: **B** N(B?), 'yn'k pwts'k pw'y xyp\delta: SFBL, 21, 1, cf. YOSH., Coloph., p. 127-128. — **P** The owner of a book (?, pwts'k for pwst'k, cf. pwt'k, SFBL, 20, 3). — **D** Unclear. SIMS-W. (SFBL, p. 66) suggests that it is probably a Chinese name, reading pwty is less likely (loc. cit., n. b).)

**953.** (*pwyr'* /*Boyra*/ m.: **B** N, ]' $n \bullet w('ltwn) \mid (\bullet \bullet) pwyr' xw\beta w$ : Tereksay, IB, 2, 19-20, SÉSAS, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** (Part of?) the name of a visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic *boyra*, "male camel". )

**954.** (*pwyr' swyn twnkw 'lptrx'n* /Boyra Soyan? Toŋo? Alp Tarxan/ m.: **B** N, *pwyr' swyn twn(kw) 'lptrx'n* | *xwβw*: Inscr. Kulan-say, IIIa, line 3-4 (?),

#### 310

LIV., *Ist. Kyrg.*, p. 147; now also *SÉSAS*, p. 377 ff. with image No. 111. — **P** The person named first in the inscription recording visitors to Kulan-say. — **D** Turkic (and not completely clear) long name.

*Boyra* is "male camel" (cf. '*lp pwyr*', #73) + *soyan* (a name attested in late Uyghur documents, RADLOFF, 1928, which is explained as "flayer (of skin)" in *Onom. Turc.*, II, p. 665; LIV. vocalizes *sawin*, cf. names with *sävin* "sich freuen", ZIEME, 1977, p. 81; 1978-9, p. 99, RASONYI, 1953, p. 325, however, one would expect a spelling \**s*'*βyn*; cf. *xwsyn*, #1452, also under *δykptryš* '*ltwn t'γ* '*lp r'δm'z trx'n*, #464) +? (irregular writing of *toya* "hero"?) + "Hero" + *Tarkhan*. In *SÉSAS*, LIV. reads the beginning as *pwyr'-stn* "land of Boghra" and explains (p. 381) it as the denomination of the western branch of Karakhanide khanate, where *Boyra* is characteristic element of rulers' names and titles. In this case, however, the shape of *t* would be unusual. Cf. also '*lptrx'n*, #76. )

**955.** *pwkr z'tk* /*Pōkr Zāte?*/ m.: **B** N, '*Y*-*KZY* '*zw* | *ZK cy*-'*nkw δp*'*y*-*rptw pwkr z*-'*tk*: *Afr*. 2-3, p. 59-61, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 317. — **P** The "chief scribe", ambassador of the Čayāniyān king *twr'ntš*- (#1263) to the court of the Sogdian king *βrxwm'n* (#311, mid 7<sup>th</sup> century). — **D** "Son of *pwkr*", cf. *xwnyz'tk* (#1445), *δxz'tk* (#460). The initial *pwkr* can be linked with the Parthian name *Pacorus* (inscr. *pkwr*, see SCHMITT, 1998, p. 171), MP *Pakur* (*IPNB*, II, 2, 741; II, 3, 267), cf. also *pkwr šw* (#886), *pk'ws* (#885), ••*kwr* (#1612)?

The regressive metathesis of w through k is typical in late S (as C swq- < skw- "to exist") and could have existed in some dialects in Varkhuman's time as well.

**956.** (*pwkw*/*Bögü*/ m.: **B** N(M), *cn'kw pwkw x'γ'n tnp'r pr'γt*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 13(1), p. 18. — **P** Bögü-kaghan (Chinese Mouyu, 牟羽), also called Täŋriqaγan, the Uyghur Emperor, 759-779 who accepted Manicheism as the official faith. — **D** Turkic, lit. "wise", cf. RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 237-8.)

**957.** (*pwlws, p'wl's* /*Pawlos, Polas*/ m.: **B1** C,  $w\gamma$ ](d)'rt (*pw*)*lws*.: C2, \*48 R1; *npwlwsy*: (obl.) C2, \*48 R9; *ms p(wlw)s '[t tymθ'ws]*: C2, \*56 R29; *c'n)w (pw)lws pty'mbry: Eugen,* R30. — **P1** The Apostle Paul. — **B2** N(M), (*xw) p'wl'(s) ZKwy*: So 18433, side 1, col. 2, 3 apud SUND., *Zrth.*, p. 465 (= p. 857), cf. *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 286. — **P2** The Apostle Paul in an unidentified Manichean homily for Yimki (?). — **D** Syr. *pwlws /Paulos*/ from Latin. In the Manichean text, "Ungewöhnliche Schreibung des Namens Paulus (sonst in man. Schrift [in MP – PL] *p'wlys, pwlys*)", as SUND., loc. cit. )

pwn > ''\beta trxwm'n pwn swpx #4; s'ytt pwn ''\beta tr''zyz #1069

**958.** (*pwny'rkš'yt* /*Punyarakšit*/ m.: **B** B, (*p*)*wny'rkš'yt δstwβ'ry xcy*: SZ, R21; '*xw 'kwcyk myrz'tk [pwny]'rkš'yt šmny*: So., III, 23-24, p. 62. — **P** A Sogdian Buddhist *literatus*, who participated in preparing the Sogdian version of the "Sutra über die Zeit" (as translator, editor, re-arranger?); a Kuchean monk, translator of an unidentified Sutra (So., III; cf. SUND.-KUDARA, SZ, p. 348) into Sogdian, whose second name was *myrz'tk* (#734); probably one and the same person, see SUND.-KUDARA, SZ, p. 344, n. 34-35 and especially p. 347. — **D** Skt. *Puŋyarakşita* "Protected by merits", with *-rakşita* "protected", which is typical for Kuchean Buddhist teachers: *Buddharakşita, Sarvarakşita, Aśokarakşita*; also *Prajñārakşita*, a translator of *Maitrismit* in Turkic, as HENN., So., p. 60.)

**959.** *pw px'rš pw nm'n'k βγpyδr'k* /*Pu Pəxārš Pu Nəmāne Vaγpiše*/ m.: **B** B, *ZK pw px'rš pw nm'n'k βγpyδr'k*: *VB*, E10; (')[*kw ZKw pw px'rš pw nm'n'k βγpy*]( $\delta$ )[*r'*](*k*): *VB*, E 21-22. — **P** *Devaputra Avaivartika*, an interlocutor of Viśeşacintin Brāhmin (*šm'r'kH pry'w 'zrw'*, #1168). — **D** Lit. "prince without retreat, without repentance", translation of the foreign term.

Skt. avaivartika "without-retreat" was translated into Chinese as bu tui zhuan tian ti (不退 轉天子), "no-retreat-return-god's-son" in this Sutra and Chinese zhuan was taken as "repertance" in the ethical sense (VB, p. 259, n. 43). The Buddhist technical term avaivartika is translated as pw 'zw'rt "without return" in Sukhā., R4, R6. The inclusion of the article in the second, almost destroyed occurrence of the name is maybe superfluous, since the preposition 'kw is rarely used with the article.

**960.** (*pwr'wš* /*Puruš* / m.: **B** B, *nm'w pwr'wš pwty ctβ'r*: *Len.*, 93, 12. — **P** The fourth Buddha in an invocation. — **D** The Buddha *Puruşa* (lit. "man"), as already identified by F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403.)

**961.** (*pwry'n* /?/ m.: **B** B, *nm'cyw*  $\beta r'm'$  *wyn pwry'n pwtyst* $\beta$  *mx'st* $\beta$  *prn*: *TSP*, 8, 14. — **P** A Bodhisattva in the invocation. — **D** Unclear; probably a transcription of a Skt. name, which I could not identify. One can transliterate it as *pwr''n*, *pwrn'n* as well.)

**962.**  $pwr \bullet y[$  /?/ m.: **B** N(M), ](m) 'n  $\beta$ nt 'k mrty  $pwr(\bullet y)[$ : Ch/So 20508 V5 apud *MIr. Hss. I*, No. 346. — **P** The sender of a letter to the ruler of Khocho (see k'y, #530). — **D** Unclear. WMIr. pwr "complete" or pwhr "son" in the first part?

312

**963.** (*pwšpcwty* /*Pušpačūdi*/ m.: **B** B, *o pwšpcwty o*: *TSP*, 8, 32. — **P** A Bodhisattva in an invocation. — **D** Transcription of Skt. *Puşpacūda* "Flower-head", see *swβrncwty*, #1110. )

964. ( pwt-, pwtv, pwttv, bwtvv /Buti/ m.: B1 B, pwtv passim (c. 270 attestations in BS), variants *pwtyH* |: *SCE*, 218 (-*H* is the line-filler); *pwtty* is common in Dhy., 32 ff., TSP, 5, 7 ff., TSP, 8, 73 ff; SFBL, 7, 6; 8; Len., 93, 11; 32; 38. The form can be regarded as indeclinable in the singular, although once we meet an accusative on -w ('YK' pwttw nw'yst' wn''t "when he has invited the Buddha": Dhy., 80, but immediately after pwtty nw'y $\delta$ 't "he should invite the Buddha", where the accusative is not marked); an ablative ending also once in *cnn pwt'* (TSP, 5, 68; cf. MS examples below); voc. pwt' is more common (TSP, 2, 986, 1032; TSP, 7, 185; 197); also in the Skt. expression nm'w pwt': SCE 2, 398, 569, and ungrammatical ZKwH | βy'ny βxtm pwt' KZNH pt'yškwy: SCE, 477-8; βy'n βytm pwt': TSP, 7, 40; shortened pwt in the Skt. phrase nm'w pwt: (TSP, 7; 3, 202); nm'w pwtt (TSP, 2, 598, 601, 939, 1231; TSP, 8, 161; Vaj. 2, 9; SFBL, 7, 3). Pl. is normally pwt'yšt (c. 80 attestations), less commonly pwtyšt without a digraph (Mainz 245a (2) 5 apud MpnII, p. 17; Dhv., 280; VJ, 43; 1191; TSP, 7, 44; Len., 93, 10), other spelling variants include pwt'vštt: Dhv., 163; 347; pwt'vštH: TSP, 2, 918; end of line; pwtt'yšt: Dhv., 257; obl. pl. pwt'yšty (23 attestations), pwt'yštty: Dhy., 313; pwtyšty (TSP, 7, 93); note pwt'yštwH with graphical w- and -H in TSP, 2, 631. Not to be confused with  $pw\delta y$ ,  $pw\delta' y$  "Bodhi"; numerous derivatives include adj. pwt'n'k, pwt'n'y, pwt'ny, pwtt'n'k, adj. and abstr. ("Buddhahood") pwty'k(H); pwt' kt'k: "the Buddha's chamber", Padm., SCE. 177; pwtkš 'vtr-: 27; *pwty-kš'yttr*: TSP. 2. 21 "Buddhaksetra". — P1 The Buddha in Buddhist texts. Of course, in the S Mahayana texts it usually designates not a unique person but innumerable ones; see a list of Buddhas in the appendix. So it is not a PN in the majority of cases, but sometimes, however, the Historical Buddha (cf. š'kmwn, #1148, k'wt'm', #527) is meant under pwty (as in TSP, 11, Pj., SZ, Padm.). — **B2** N(M), ZKw | pwty dynH: Magi 33, p. 138; 't...pwty: BL, B2; pwty xypd'wntw frn s'r: BL, B60; prw š'kmnw pwt'y: Magi, 31, p. 138; (š)['](k)[y]mwn pwty: So 14001a V, Ü apud MIr. Hss. 1, No. 108, p. 92, cf. GMS, §32, n.; ZKH mwrt'z-w'nty-kr'y-t pwttyšt: MKG, 423; pwt(yš)[ty 'pš'yrywy]: BL, A2; ZY mywn z-wrnycykw pw(t)yšty: BL, A76; 't βy'nw 'nywnw pwtyšty 'pš'yrywy: BL, B1; ZKw rxwšny | βr'yšt'kw pwtty'kH 'spt'kw prβ'yr'tw δ'rt: MKG, 437-8;  $pnc \mid p(wt)yšt \ ZY \ p(ryš)t'ktw$ : So 18058/v/17-18 apud RECK, 2009d, p.

243: p(wt): on a chest of the image of Buddha on a Manichean miniature MIK III 4947 (Le Coo, 1923, Taf. 6e), as read by RECK, 2009d, p. 248 (which seems to me very unsure); **M**, *pr*  $\beta \gamma y y b(w) t y y$ : *BBB*, 752; *'rtšn pwtyy* wnyy (xyp)δδ jwxšqty'h: M5030 V4, SUND., Date of Buddha, p. 437 (cf. *GMS*, §44; *SC*, No. 200);  $tyy \mid cn \beta \gamma n \beta xtm \mid (b)wt'(h)/: M370, V 4-6 apud$ GMS, §1179, cf. SC, No. 200, re-checked from photo at DTA (abl.); pwwtš'kmn: M5264 R4 apud GMS, §38, n, cf. BOYCE, Catalogue, p. 107; III zwrnycykt | pnc bwtyšt: M6330 R1-2, apud HENN., 1936b, 586; cn bwtyštt 'xšywnytyh: TiiD 66c 15 sq (=M5271, V2-3) apud GMS, §1648; o 'tym[s]  $\delta ynyy \mid mzyx [b]wtyst(y)[y'](t)[y]h \mid [p]s'[bwtytyy]: Fasts, No. 5, 8-10, p.$ 154; zwrnyy z(wr)[nyy p]wtyšt | ''ytnd: M134ii V8 apud SC Pt 200; tyšyngyy pnc 'njm(n c)n (pn)c pwt(yš)ty: BBB, D1; wny  $\beta yyys tt$  'tyyh | mr\delta'spnd 'ty pwtyštyv pyrnm | s'r: Tales, E, R5-7; among derivatives: bwt'ny | frnyy: "Buddha-rank", M129 V13-14, SUND., Eva, p. 319; cf. GMS, §1040; pš'bwtyt: M599, 14; pš'pwtyt: TiiD66, 2, 12 both apud GMS, §1143 "after-Buddhas". — P2 "Buddha" in the Manichean context. Not always a proper name. This word can be an epithet of Mani as well; see SUND., Historical Buddha, with literature. — D Transcription of the Indian Buddha "the awakened one". S, WMIr., NP, Chinese and even Western sources show that pronunciation |BUT(T)| was predominant, see SUND., *Historical Buddha*, p. 427-431, cf. also WEBER, 1975, p. 97; PROVASI, 2005, p. 120 n. 135.

SUND., op. cit., names several instances when the geminate *dd* is realized as *t* in WMIr. Now we can add that it was most typical for Bactrian, see SIMS-W., 1985b, also  $\beta\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\sigma$ "happier" from \* $s\bar{a}d$ -*dar*,  $\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\sigma$  "worse" from \**wad*-*dar* (*BD II*, s.vv); Bactria was the first among Iranian lands to accept Buddhist propaganda and so its mediating role in transmitting the name of the Buddha is historically plausible; however, the forms  $\beta\sigma\delta\delta\sigma$ ,  $\beta\sigma\sigma\delta\sigma$  are predominant in Bct., but  $\beta\sigma\tau\sigma$  is also attested (*UI1*, No. 52; Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly informed us that there are further examples in unpublished texts).

**965.** (*pwttð's* /Butðās/ m.: **B** N, *pwt(t)* $\delta$ 's ZK | (k)w(š) 'nk('nk): UII, No. 200 (34: 86); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 190. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, , son (?) of kwš 'nk 'nk (#600). — **D** Indian name Buddhadāsa "slave of Buddha", cf. *pwty* $\delta$ 'yH (#967),  $\delta$ y $\beta\delta$ 's (#461).

Although this name is obviously the first and very early attestation of Buddhism in Sogdian written culture (YOSH., *PNSChS* mentions that S names containing "Buddha" are attested in Chinese documents only after the latter half of 7<sup>th</sup> century), the person in question seems to have originated from Bactria because of his patronym (or *nisba*) *kwš'nk'nk* "Kushan", see SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 69-70. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 99c, has *pwt*•••s, cf. Uygh. *Budataz* (ZIEME, 1992, p. 81); *Burxan Qulï* "slave of the Buddha" apud ZIEME, 1977, p. 80; GABAIN, 1973, p. 74. )

**966.** *pwtty'n, pwtty'n, pwtty'n* /Butiyān/ m.: **B1** B, srcmyk BRY pwtty'n xwyštk: Intox., 32. — **P1** The scribe of the "Sutra of the condemnation of intoxicating drink", son of srcmyk. — **B2** B, pw-ty-'n  $\delta st'$ : TSP, 8, 184. — **P2** A person mentioned in the colophon. — **B3** N, ZJY MN (pw?)ttyy-'n s'n (?) w'/: Mu $\gamma$ , letter used as a scabbard-cover, 4 (SDGM, II, p. 221). — **P3** Unclear; text is very fragmented. LIV. proposes to understand it as "Buddhists", but maybe a PN. — **D** "Buddha's boon", cf. WEBER, ZSP, p. 201, No. 31.

Cf. *pwty'n* in *MN*, 65; Toch. B. *Putteyāne* apud WEBER, 1975, p. 97, Chinese renderings are *Fudiyan*(伏帝延, EMCh. *buw<sup>h</sup>- tɛj<sup>h</sup>-jian* in IKEDA, 1965, p. 63, with etymology), *Fuyan* (拂延, EMCh. *phut-jian*, see RONG, 2009, p. 410). If on the scabbard-cover we have the same PN, it is the single reference to Buddhism within the whole Mt. Mugh corpus! However, the reading is unsure.

#### *pwty* > *pwt-* #964

**967.** *pwtyó'yH* /Butiðāy/ f.: B B, *m'tH pwtyó'yH ôst'*: *TSP*, 8, 173. — P Mother of *cwr'kk* (#392). — D "Maidservant of the Buddha", as *Fuzhitai* (浮知臺, EMCh. *b'jəu-tie-d'ai*, see YOSH., *PNSChS*) in the Chinese rendering.

The S masculine counterpart of this name, \* $pwty\beta ntk$ , seems to be attested as *budävamdai* is a Khotanese tax register, see YOSH., 1997, p. 568-69, cf.  $pwtt\delta$ 's, #965.

**968.** *pwtyprn* /*Butifarn*/ m.: **B** N(B),  $\beta\gamma\gamma$  - - - (?) *wyt'w* <*z'tk*> (?) *pwtyprn*: *Ladakh*, 13. — **P** Father (?) of *wyt'w* (#1390), father (?) of a visitor  $\beta\gamma\gamma [$  (#292). — **D** "Favour of the Buddha"; this clearly Buddhist name agrees with the relatively late date of the inscription.

Cf. Toch. A rendering *puttiśparäm* (TREMBLAY, 2005, p. 425), Chinese *Bodifen* (勃帝忿, EMCh. *bət-tej<sup>h</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>*), *Fudifan* (伏帝番, EMCh. *buw<sup>h</sup>-tej<sup>h</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>unh*), *Fudifen* (伏帝忿, EMCh. *buw<sup>h</sup>-tej<sup>h</sup>-p<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>*), *Futufen* (伏吐忿, EMCh. *buw<sup>h</sup>-t<sup>i</sup>p<sup>-h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>*), *Fufan* (拂犯?, EMCh. *p<sup>h</sup>ut-buam<sup>h</sup>*?) in IKEDA, 1965, p. 63, cf. WEBER, ZSP, p. 199, No. 16; RONG, 2009, p. 407.

### *pww<u>t</u>š'kmn > š'kmn #1148: 2*

**969.***pwx'r* /*Puxār*/ m.: **B** N, [Z]Y ZKn | *pwx'r pnc*: Muγ, A-5, 3-4; ZY ZKn *pwx'r*: A-5, 8; ZY ZKn *pwx'r*: A-5, 17 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51); ZY | *pwx'r 'yw w'ry'k*: Muγ, Nov.1 R27-8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 37); *'yw pw-x'r*: Muγ, B-2, 5 (*SDGM*, III, p. 41); *rty '(δ)ry w'rpn'k* 

pw(x)['r?]: Muy, B-6, 2, VX+6 (*SDGM*, III, 42, with reading pw(s)[t]; I follow *SDGM*, II, p. 85, n. 37, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 92 n. 44 [without translation]). — **P** A recipient of drachmae, supplier of four drachmae, a recipient of two lambskins (?, w'ry'k), of armour (w'rpn'k). — **D** "Bukhariot". BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 98) compare C *fwx*'r "blessed", which is in fact a metathesis from MP *farraxw*, NP *farrux* (*GMS*, §447). LIV. connects this name with *Buxārā*, *pwx*'r in *So.*, 8, b4, on coins (see k'w, #524), Chinese *Buhuo* (布豁, EMCh.  $ps^h$ -xwat), OTu. *buqaraq ulus*.

Does this name underlay the Chinese rendering Puhuolian (普火廉?, EMCh.  $p^h \mathfrak{d}$ '-xwa'liam?; see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64) while the person in question, however, bears the surname Shi (石), i.e., native of Čāč? It is interesting to note that pwx'r syntactically appears to be an adjective, while Buxārā is a noun. Cf. pwx'r xw $\beta$  as opposed to sm'rkn $\delta c$  MR'Y, Arabic Buxārxudāh, Arabic nisba Buxārī and not \*Buxārawī. For place-names used as personal names without a suffix cf. n'p'xs (#760), prnmy $\delta n$  (#908), c'c (#356), under 'štyx'nc (#184), cf. also Xurāsān as a PN in the History of Samarkand (TAFAZZOLI, KQ II, p. 10, III, p. 8). In A-5, 15 pwx'r is probably a Buxārxudāh drachma, as suggested by LIV., where the expression ZKn 'y-w t'zy-k(') (p)r'm'(y) | X pwx'r  $\delta\beta rt$  can mean "(he) ordered to exchange (lit. give) 1 Arabic [drachma] for 10 Buxārxudāh [ones]", as I proposed in Khamir, No. 23 n.

**970.** (*pwyl'*/*Boyla*/ f.: **B** N, ( $\bullet \bullet \bullet pwyl'$ ? $\bullet \bullet \bullet$ ) *x'twn*: Terek-say, IB, 2, 36, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P** A lady, visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, *Bojla* being a high title, cf. *kwyl pwyl'*, *xwt pwyl'* (#603, #1472; RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 231 ff., with lit.). The name is probably incomplete. )

**971.** (*pwz-*/*Boz*/ m.: **B** N(B), *pwzy*  $\delta st[y':$  (obl.) *DTS* E11; *xwšy z'ty pwzy*  $\delta sty'$ : (obl.) E12. — **P** A person who was sent with gifts from the author of letter E. — **D** Turkic *boz* "grey, beige", as *DTS*, p. 47, cf. PN *Boz bay tiräk* (GABAIN, 1973, p. 73); *Boz, Buz* in *Onom. Turc.*, I, p. 164; 181.)

**972.** *py'wt* /?/ m.: **B** N,  $\beta y$ -*rtw MN py*-'*wt*: Mu $\gamma$ , Nov. 6, 9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 224; *SDGM*, III, p. 49). — **P** A supplier of 8 drachmae. — **D** Unclear. As an alternative reading LIV. proposes *pr'wt* (also in *SÉSAS*, p. 224-5), but it is paleographically unlikely, as remarked in *UI2*, p. 41-2, (though similar to '*prwt\betantk*, #119, etc.). Hardly from OTu. *püt* "to believe".

**973.** (*pycwtt* /*Bičut?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZKn pycw-tt BRY*: Mu $\gamma$ , B-8, R3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108; GERSH., *Frog-plain*, p. 196; GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P** Father of *ck'yn cwr βyδk''*, the ruler

of Panjakent (#370; probably, before 708 CE).— **D** Unclear; sounds like a Turkic name, but etymology is unclear.

I had a pleasure to discuss this name with the turkologist Dr. Dmitry RUKHLIADEV (Petersburg) and he assured me that there is no similar word in the known OTu. texts. Cf. also *Pizi*, (皮子, EMCh. *bið/bi-tsi'/tsi'*; see IKEDA, 1965, p. 67) in the Chinese rendering. He may be the same person (or namesake?) as *Bi-zhuo* (閉拙, EMCh. *pɛj<sup>h</sup>-tɛwiat*), the ruler of Southern Mi (米, 南謐, *Māymury*) appointed by the Chinese in 658 CE according to Sui-shu; see YOSH., 1993a, p. 254; YOSH., *Zhaowu*, p. 59-60. Furthermore, a similar name  $\beta\eta\sigma\sigma\tau\sigma$  appears on coins from Gōzgān (Northern Afghanistan) at the end of 7<sup>th</sup> century; probably these coins were issued by the same ruler (SIMS-W., 2008a, p. 119).)

### *pyδ'rc* > *prδrc* #894

**974.**  $py\delta mz$  / $P\bar{\imath}lmaz$ ?/ m.: **B** N,  $kw \ py\delta mz$  (s)'r: Mu $\gamma$ , E-1, L12 (SDGM, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a cow hide, either a person or a placename. — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 98) understand it as "big (as an) elephant", as Av.  $v\bar{\imath}r\bar{o}.maza$ -, pasu.maza-, staoro.maza-, cf. a NP epithet and PN  $P\bar{\imath}ltan$ "(with) elephant's body" (cf. SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 120).

Cf. maybe *fyd*, a Samarkandī name in Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 7). In other attestations (E-3, 1, E-12, 2) *py\delta mz* is a adjective for *wyt'k* "rope", in E-18, 3 it is more probably an object (as *SDGM*, II, p. 154-5, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 180) rather than a person (pace *SDGM*, III, p. 77).

**975.** (  $py\theta ywn$  / $P\bar{e}\theta\bar{i}y\bar{o}n$ ?/ m.: **B** C, cn  $\check{s}y(r)qty py(\theta)[ywn pyd'r: C2, 3 R8; ] | py\theta ywn 'y.st: C2, 3 R9; py\theta yw]n s'.: C2, 3 R13; ]<math>py\theta(yw)n$  | [: C2, 3 V4-5; py\theta yw]n bwn s'.: C2, 11 R27; 'w] ( $\check{s})[y]r(q)ty$  py $\theta ywn$ : C2, 22, R16;  $\check{s}yrqty$  ( $p)[y](\theta)[ywn: C2, 25$  V21; mry | py $\theta ywn$ : Liber Vitæ, R3. — **P** St. Pethion, the Christian healer and martyr. — **D** Syr. pytywn / $P\bar{i}/\bar{e}t\bar{i}y\bar{o}n$ /, from Greek: either  $\Phi \alpha \epsilon \theta i \omega v$  or  $\Pi v \theta i \omega v$ , see NÖLDEKE, 1874, p. 99, n. 1.)

#### *pyk* > *pykk* #977

**976.** *pyk'n* /*Pēkān?*/ m.: **B** N, *pyk'n ZK* | *δyw-n'm*: *UI2*, No. 574 (Thor I, 143). — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *δywn'm* (#473). — **D** *pykk* (#977) + suff. -(')'n (patronymic?).

**977.***pykk, pyk, pykk'* /*Pēk*?/ m.: **B1** N, '*n*'*xtβntk* | *ZK pykk*: *UI1*, No. 131 (31: 102); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 171; ('*n*'*x*)*tβntk* | *ZK (py)kk BRY*: *UI1*, No. 159 (34: 45). — **P1** Father of '*n*'*xtβntk* (#95: 1); reading by HUMB., SIF, No. 77c (=

No. 131). — **B2** N, *pykk*: *UI1*, No. 175 (34: 61); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187; *(p)ykk*: *UI1*, No. 178 (34: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187; *pyk*: *UI1*, No. 240 (35: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 202; clearly visible on the rock but not in photographs. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **B3** N, *pykk'* | *ZK 'n'xtβntk* | *BRY*: *UI1*, No. 328 (37: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 222; *pykk'* | *ZK ('n•)*: *UI1*, No. 340 (39: 35) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'n'xtβntk* (#95: 2). Comparison with No. 131, 139, suggests a line *pykk* – *'n'xtβntk* – *pykk* or *'n'xtβntk* – *pykk* – *'n'xtβntk*. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 106a (=No. 328) and No. 28 (= No. 340). — **D** This is obviously the same name as Brāhmī *pekako* (see O. VON HINÜBER, *Fbs. Sh.*, 5:2-5, p. 123, p. 60). However, no Iranian or Indian etymology for this and similar names (see *pyk*, *pyk'n*, *pykn'x*, Bct. *Παιοκ*-; OChor. *p(y?)k*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 4; n. 92 p. 283 maybe, Toch. A *Bhek?*) has been proposed so far (possibly "milky one", from Av. *paiiah-* with *-kk*?; LIV., 1984, p. 283, n. 96, compares it to OInd. *páyate*, *pīta-*).

**978.** *pykn'x* /*Pēknāx*?/ m.: **B** N, *pykn'x*: *UI2*, No. 570 (Thor I, 135). — **P** A visitor to Thor. — **D** One can read *pykn'zn*. Cf. *pykk* (#977), *pyk'n* (#976), *n'x* (#768). However, both parts remain unexplained.

### pyl'tws > pntyws pyl'tws #889

979. ( *pylk'* /*Bilgä*/ m., f.: **B1** N(M), *c'nkw pylk'*[: *KB-H*, 1-6, 22(1), p. 21. — **P1** A person mentioned in the inscription. — **B2** N, (*xw* $\beta w \bullet \bullet \bullet pylk'$ ) | (*x'twn'* $\bullet \bullet \bullet$ : Terek-say, IB, 1, 5-6, *SÉSAS*, p. 383 ff. with ill. 112. — **P2** A lady, visitor to Terek-say. — **D** Turkic, "Wise", most likely as part of a long name, cf.  $\beta y \delta k''$ , #342.)

**980.** (*pylyqydws* /*Palikīdōs*/ m.: **B** C, *myms pylyqydws* ... ['znt]: C2, \*91 V8. — **P** The Roman general Placidus, Eustathius after he accepted Christianity (see '*wstθys*, #199). — **D** A corrupt form for Syriac *plqydws* /*Palaqidōs*/, < Latin *Placidas*, as SCHWARTZ, *STSC2*, p. 1.)

**981.** (*pylypws* /*Pilippōs*/ m.: **B** C,  $\Box:\Box$  *pylypws prwg[y'yqt*: C2, \*56 V7; '*t pylypws*: C5, 14, V16 (*STi*, p. 32-33, spelt  $\circ$  by M $\ddot{U}$ , but without a dot above p in *SC*, No. 87). — **P** The Apostle Philip. — **D** Syr. *pylypws* /*Pilippōs*/, from Gr.  $\Phi i\lambda i \pi \pi \sigma \varsigma$ .)

**982.** ( *pyms'r* /Bimsār/ m.: B B, [p]yms'r xwt'w: Len., 49, 8; pym[s'r: Len., 81, 14; ZKw pyms'r | mz'yxw xwt'w: Len., 93, 20-21; c'n'w xw pyms'r | x(w)t'(w): LIV., KR IV/879, 11-12; xw pyms'r xwt'w: LIV., KR IV/879, 20; xw pyms'r | [xwt]'w: LIV., KR IV/879, 32-33; ywn'y $\delta$  pym(s)['r xwt'w]: LIV., KR IV/879, 36. — P Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, the patron of the Buddha Gautama. — D Skt. Bimbisāra (lit. "Precious [as] gold"), as identified by BENV. (MSL, 23/2, 1927, p. 131 = Ét., p. 20). His Chinese name, Pingshe (浒舍 EMCh. bɛjŋ-cia<sup>h</sup>) also shows the loss of the second -b-.)

**983.** *pymwc* /?/ m.: **B** N, *pymwc* (?)  $ZK \mid py(s)k \mid BRY$ : *UI2*, No. 531 (54:27); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 267. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *pysk* (#987: 12). — **D** Writing unclear; one can also read *pys'n* or even *pys'k* (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 18, after examining the photographs; *pymwc* is said to be visible on the rock).

*†pyr > psw #936* 

#### *†pyrk > †tk*' after #1224

**984.** *pyrtr* /*Pīrtar*?/ m.: **B** N, (*ZY py*)*rtr* '*yw* '*z*- $\gamma rw$ : Mu $\gamma$ , E-1, L1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 43). — **P** A recipient of chain-mail? — **D** Unclear, the handwriting is ambiguous; one can see  $k/p/r/w-w/k/p/y-x/\gamma/s/r-t-r/k$ . *pystr* (for *pystrw*) "later" would also suit the context. Cf. also '*sk*'*tryk xwystr* "head of the village of *Askātar*" in the same text.

**985.** *pyrwz* /*Pērōz*/ m.: **B** N(M), *MN* (•)*mn*/'(*t*)*y*' *pyrwz s*(•••)'/*n*  $\gamma(\bullet)wn'\delta'$ : MIK III 7251 r6 apud *MIr. Hss. 1*, No. 437. — **P** A name (?) inscribed in minute Sogdian script after 5 lines of names in OTu. in M script. — **D** WMIr. *Pērōz*, lit. "victorious" (also as a PN); GULÁCSI (2001) does not attempt to transliterate the line. See the following names; *rwšn pyrwz* (#985); cf. *peroysa* in the Brāhmī inscription from Shatial (O. von HINÜBER in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 144).

**986.** pyrwz wyspwxr / $P\bar{e}r\bar{o}z$  Wispuhr/ m.: **B** N(M), rwšn pw(x)[r ZY wykr"?] | syšn wyspwxr o pyrwz wyspwxr: BL, A118-119. — **P** An electus (prince?) who lived with šxry'r  $z'\delta'k$  (#1183), cf. rwšn pwxr (#1036), wykr'syšn wyspwxr (#1377). — **D** MMP pyrwz "victorious" + WMIr. wyspwhr "prince"; cf. 'wg' pyrwz tgyn in MN (19-20).

987. pvsk. pvs''kk. pvs'k. pvs''k /Pēsak. Pēse?/ m.: B1 N(A). 'LH pvsk δrw'spβntk: AL2 (2), R42; 'PZY | pys''kk 'yw y'tk: AL2 (2), R59-60. — P1 A trader in Dunhuang(?), son of  $\delta rw$ 'sp $\beta ntk$  (#438: 1). — **B2** N, pys(k) | BRY | rwδ' ZK: UII, No. 108 (31: 79); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 168; rwδ' ZK pysk BRY wxwn'm ZK {pysk BRY}: UII, No. 116 (31: 87); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 169; for the "inverted" word order see SIMS-W., Fbs. Sh., p. 63, n. 4; in No. 116 the second line converges with the first, so it was not necessary to repeat the last two words; rwô' (ZK) pv(sk) [BRY (?)]: UI2, No. 627 (Dadam Das, 31:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 100). — **P2** Father of  $rw\delta'$  (#1029: 1) and wxwn'm (#1360: 2); the same transliteration, but with reverse order of lines, is already given by HUMB., SIF, No. 71a-b (=116), No. 111 (= 108). — **B3** pysk ZK (s)p' $\delta xr\check{s}$ : *UI1*, No. 88 (31: 59); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165; *pysk ZK* | (*s*)*p* 'δ*xr*(š *B*)*RY*: *UI1*, No. 201 (34: 87); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 190. — P3 A visitor to Shatial, son of sp'δxrš (#1087). — B4 N, 'yntwk' | ZK pysk: UII, No. 141 (33: 12); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 177; pysk ZK | δwrk: UII, No. 142 (33: 13); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 177. — P4 Father (?) of '*yntwk* (#249: 2), son (?) of  $\delta wrk$  (#452: 1), a visitor to Shatial. I take *pysk* in Nos. 141 and 142 as one and the same person since the inscriptions follow one another on the same stone. — **B5** N, (*pvs*)/k: UI1, No. 144B (33:17); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 177-8; pvsk; UI2, No. 469 (50; 12); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 254; (py)s'(k) (?): UII, No. 331 (39: 26); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 227. – P5 Visitor(s) to Shatial. — B6 N, nnyβntk | ZK pysk BRY: UI1, No. 181 (34: 67); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 188. — P6 Father of nnyBntk (#787: 7). Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 50b. — **B7** N, *ptšpr* | *p(y)sk* | (•*xsn*')*k* (?) (*BR*)*Y* (?): *UI1*, No. 227 (34: 113); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 193. — P7 A visitor to Shatial, companion of ptšpr (#948: 4), the son of  $\bullet xsn'k$  (#1665, as translated by SIMS-W. in Fbs. Sh., p. 193). — **B8** N, *pysk ZK* | βγνδβ''r BRY: UI1, No. 385 (39: 80); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 234. — **P8** A visitor to Shatial, son of  $\beta\gamma\nu\delta\beta''r$  (#288: 2); reading by HUMB., SIF, No. 17k. — B9 N, pysk ZK | 'ywt (?) BRY: UI1, No. 403 (39: 98); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 236. - P9 A visitor to Shatial, son of 'ywt (#62?); reading by HUMB., SIF, 122b. — **B10** N, [p](y)sk ZK |  $[\bullet \bullet \bullet](w)$ nwn BRY: UI2, No. 457 (48:5); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 252. - P10 A visitor to Shatial, son of ●●●wnwn (#1659). — **B11** N, pysk | ZK 'prštk | BRY: UI2, No. 475 (50:18); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 254 — P11 A visitor to Shatial, son of 'prštk (#117); reading by HUMB., SIF, 6. — **B12** N, pymwc (?)  $ZK \mid py(s)k \mid BRY$ : UI2, No. 531 (54:27); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 267. — P12 Father of pymwc (#983?). — B13 N. (šyrwxwm')[r] (?) | (pysk) (?): UI2, No. 548 (106:2); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 276. — **P13** Father (?) of *švrwxwm'r* (#1202); transliteration uncertain. — **B14** N, *pysk* | *-mwxsrδ*: *UI2*, No. 566 (Thor I, 109). — **P14** A visitor to Thor, son (?)

of –*mwxsrδ* (#1617). — **B15** N, *pysk* | *k*'sy•*[*: *UI2*, No. 568 (Thor I, 128). — **P15** A visitor to Thor, son (?) of  $k'sv \bullet f$  (#521). — **B16** N, xwrmvw | (pvs'kk): UI2, No. 527 (53:33): cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 263. — P16 Father (?) of xwrmyw (#1448: 2). — **B17** N, pysk ZK | i(y)kp 'c BRY: UI1, No. 12 (7: 5); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 131; pysk (ZK) | 'y(k')p(c) (?) BRY | (w)s- - -: UI2, No. 473 (50:16); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 254. — P17 A visitor to Shatial, son of 'vk'pc (#223). Reading by HUMB., SIF, No. 3 (= No. 473). — **B18** N, pys'kk | kwnt: UII, No. 124 (31: 95); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P18** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of kwnt (#587: 4); HUMB., SIF, No. 68, has pvs''k. — **B19** N, *dwt'yk ZK pvs'kk* (?) | BR(Y): UI2, No. 513 (53:20); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 261. — P19 Father of *δwt* '*vk* (#453). — **B18** N, *pvs* '*k* '*xw krz BRY nwcknδ* '*k*: ΔP, R20. — **P18** A witness in the sale of 'wp'cH (639 CE), son of krz (#557), native of nwcknδ-(#823). — B19 B, cnn pysk *dst*': *Ot.*, No. 2921, 2, p. 54 (also YOSH., Misc. Ξ, p. 94; YOSH., Misc. III, p. 240). — P19 A person in the Ōtani colophon. — B20 N, pysk: Graff., No. 10. — P20 A graffito on a Buxārxudāh drachm, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. Reading indistinct, one can see  $\beta yxw$ ,  $\beta v \delta p \ etc.$  — **D** To OIr. \**pais*- "to colour", as YOSH.,  $\Delta P$ , p. 27; *Misc. III*, p. 241, supported by SIMS-W., UI2, p. 66. Technically, this name, as MP, NP pēs, Old Russian necb can denote a person with "(false) lepra, eczema", see ORANSKIJ, 1981; cf. now MORANO, 2009b, p. 182 ff., who, having analyzed various possibilities, translates *pysyy* (a character in Manichaean tales) as "magpie".

This lexeme was also attested by B.A. ALBOROV in Ygh. in 1934 (unpublished lexical materials) and confirmed by our informants in 2008; the form is pes, pe<sup>i</sup>s. This name (one of the most common S ones) appears in the form Bisuo (畢/睥娑, EMCh. *piit/p<sup>h</sup>si<sup>h</sup>-sa*) in the Chinese documents from the Turfan region; see YOSH., Misc. III, p. 241, also probably as the name of the ruler of Minor An (Xarqāna), Zhaowu Bixi (閉息, EMCh. pɛj<sup>h</sup>-sik), mentioned in 656-660, cf. CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 137, SHIRATORI, 1928, p. 117-118. Pont. Ir.  $\Pi_{IJ}\sigma\kappa\alpha$  also here (ZGUSTA, 1955, §695), as well as Pont. Ir. names in -pei $\theta\alpha$  (from \*paisa-):  $A \rho_{1} \alpha \pi_{\epsilon} (\theta \eta_{\varsigma}, \Sigma \pi \alpha \rho_{\gamma} \alpha \pi_{\epsilon} (\theta \eta_{\varsigma}, Scolopi < h > tus, \Sigma \pi \alpha \rho_{\gamma} \alpha \pi_{1} \sigma_{\gamma} \sigma_{\gamma}, see Tokhtasjev,$ 2005, §57; SCHMITT, 2003, No. 4, 21-22. Cf. further Av. fem. PN Paēsanhanū- "Schmuck liebend" (MAYRHOFER, IPNB I/1, 237); Elam. Ampiša < \*ham-paisa-, as GERSH., Amber, p. 176; Bakubeša < \*baga-paisa-, Mišbeša < \*vīspa-paisa- (MAYRHOFER, OnP, 8.234; 8.1120), MP (Arm.) Porpēs (INB, 254 b), etc., see Step. Ir.; Pessāl in the colophon to Tocharian A Maitrismit (apud TREMBLAY, 2005, p. 430) can belong here, too (but with a hypocoristic of a Khotanese type); Bisi in Uyghur (HAMILTON, 1986, 1, 12') is a feminine name. For the semantics cf. Arabic lagab (nickname) al-Abras "der Leprakranke", apud SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 41.

**988.** pvsws /Pēsūs/ f.: **B**: M. šalwn 'tvv pvsws: M7800, r9-10 apud SUND. *Mani & Enoch*, p. 45 = 702 (cf. WEBER, *Inchoativa*, p. 193, *GMS*, §1649); wnvv šklwn 'tvv | pvswsvv pvrnm(s')r: (obl.) v8-9 (cf. WEBER, Inchoativa, p. 64);  $rty(v)[IV \beta](r)vwr pjwwq ww | šklwn xwrt\delta'rt 'tvv IV | [\beta r](v)wr x'$ (p)vsws: M7800 v12-14, cf. GMS, §1415; oo šąlwn 'ty pysws 'yy: SUND., Eva, R14; š)klwn 'ty pysws: M141 (+M6795) apud SUND., Pēsūs, p. 211; [w](ny)y šąlwnyy rytyy: BBB, EII, 15, p. 48; (cw) šklwn 'ty pysws: M141+6795, R14, MORANO, S Cosm. Ms.; cf. LN, n. 7,3, p. 82; N(M), šklw](n) ZY pysws: So 14256, v3 apud SUND., Pēsūs, p. 211. — P The female abortion demon, mother of the 1<sup>st</sup> human pair, according to the Manichean creation myth, cf. *šklwn* (#1165). — **D** The Semitic name of this demoness is *nbr'yl* or *nmr'yl*, which also appears in the Chinese Traité manichéen (Yeluovang, 業羅泱, EMCh. *niap-la-?ian*, see SUND., LN, p. 82, 7, 4 with literature); in Pth. pysws, in MMP maybe 'pswsg (so SUND., Pesūs, p. 208-9), Chinese Beisusi (卑訴 斯, LMCh. pii-sua'-sz). The different approaches to this name have been recently introduced by SUND., Pesus, who compares it to OIr. paisa-"Lepra" (lit. "coloured one"), see pysk above, and SCHWARTZ, 2006, where pys- is explained as "leopard", (lit. "coloured one", too), in accordance with her Semitic Nemrā-'ēl "leopard-god", lit. "spotted-god". Both authors agree that the final -ws is a typical ending for the supernatural beings in Iranian Manicheism.

**989.** ( *pyš'ckwr βyr'wr prβr'c* /Baišajgur Vairur Pravarāj/ m.: **B** B, nm'cw  $\beta$ r'm 'wyn pyš'ckwr  $\beta$ yr'wr pr $\beta$ r'c pwty (p)[rn: SFBL, 7, 7; [nm'cyw  $\beta$ r'm 'wyn pyš'ckwr  $\beta$ yr'wr] pr $\beta$ r'c pwty prn: TSP, 8, 1. — **P** A name of a Buddha. — **D** The Buddha Bhaişyaguru Vaidūryaprabhā(rāja) (lit. "Teacher of medicine, (king)-light of jewel'), as already explained by REI., HRII, p. 78, see also pr $\beta$ r'c (#893).

When translated into S, his name appears as '*rwr*'n mwck' ''pkyny 'rd'yp'k xwt'w m'y $\delta$ '' $\gamma$ t'k (#146); on the Indian *d* represented as *r*, see s.v.  $\beta$ yr'wr'y, #349.)

**990.** *pyškwr* /*Peškur*?/ m.?: **B** N, *pyškwr*: countermark on the drachmae of Pērōz: *SSNSS*, p. 173-175, LOGINOV, NIKITIN, 1993, p. 274-5, Fig. 16A. — **P** Either a PN, or a place-name on the countermark (the second explanation is preferred by LIV. and LUKONIN, although the place has not been identified). — **D** Unclear; if a PN, maybe "after-boy" (cf. *kwrcy*, #591), signifying "second boy born in a line"?

YOSH., 1995, p. 83-84; also YOSH., 2004a, p. 130, equates the name *pyškwr* with *He Beishiqu* (河卑尸屈, EMCh. *pjiǎ/pji-ci-k<sup>h</sup>ut*) in a Chinese document from 7<sup>th</sup> century Astana. Cf. *tyšβ'n* (#1291).

**991.** (*pyšw* /?/ m.: **B** N, '*yw cyny* <*pyšw*> *nβnt*: *DTS*, A14 (written above the line); *pyšw nβ'nt* [: *DTS*, A21. — **P** A trader in fabric (*ryzy*), the Chinese (*cyny*, for adjectives on -*y* see *DTS*, p. 28). —**D** The editors (*DTS*, p. 29) suppose that it is a Chinese bisyllabic name, not identifiable. )

*†pyw > psw #936* 

**992.** py(---ik) /?/ m.?: **B** N, (---- kk) | ( $pr \bullet ix \bullet \gamma \bullet \gamma \bullet$ ) | py (---- ik) | p'm: *UI1*, No. 315 (36: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 216. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Deliberately obliterated; the same reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 102.

**993.** *p*--*m* : **B** N, (p---m) *UI1*, No. 322 (36: 106) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 217. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear.

**994.**  $p \bullet [ ] \bullet nm(c) /?/ m.?: B N, p \bullet [ ] \bullet nm(c) (?): UII, No. 350 (39: 45); cf.$ *Fbs. Sh.* $, p. 229. — P A visitor to Shatial. — D Unclear; one can read <math>] \bullet m(c)$ .

**995.**  $(p \bullet \bullet \beta)r$  /-var?/ m.?: **B** N,  $(p \bullet \bullet \beta)r \mid (\bullet \bullet kw)r$ : UI2, No. 463 (50:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of  $\bullet \bullet kwr$  (#1612). — **D** Unclear; one can see S ('') $\beta r$  "to bring" at the end.

**996.** p - - - -, p - - - /?/ m.?: **B1** N, p - - - - | (s)k(' - - -): UI1, No. 109 (31: 80); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 168. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of sk' - - (#1073). — **B2** N, (')spn $\delta t | (ZK p - -)$ : UI1, No. 395 (39: 90); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 235. — **P2** Father of 'spn $\delta t$  (#160: 2)? — **D** Unclear.