

δ, d, θ

412. (*θ'dsys* /*Tēdosīs*/ m.: **B** C, *qw* | [*θ'dsy*](*s*) (*mzyx*) *xwš(y)wnw s'*).: C2, *77 V*13; *c'nw*(*p*)*tyγwš θ'ds(y)s* | [*θ'dsy*](*s*): C2, *77 V*17-18. — **P** Roman emperor Theodosius the Great (379-395). — **D** Syr. *t'dsys* /*Tēdosīs*/, var. for *t'wdwsyws*, from Gr. *Θεοδόσιος*.)

413. (*d'dyn'* /*Dādyānā*/ m.: **B** C, *fr'my d* | *d'jyn'* *qw xypθ 'mrθt*: GP, 78; *d'djyn'* *xšywny*: GP, 167; *qw d'djyn'* *xšywny* | *s'r*: GP, 182-3. — **P** The Roman governor, torturer of St. George. — **D** Syr. *d'djyn'*, *ddyn'* /*Dādyānā*/ < Latin *Dadianus*.)

414. *δ'knyš* /*ʔ*/ m.: **B** N, ZY *δ'k-nyš* 'y*wH* 'y-z*H*: Muγ, B-1, L3 (SDGM, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a spear (or a water-skin, 'y*H*). — **D** Unclear. The reading *δzknyš* might mean “fortress-destroyer”, cf. s.v. *δrk'nk* (#434; or *δzk'nk?*).

θ'm' > θ'wm' #420

415. *δ'nδ't* /*Δānδat?*/ m.: **B** N, *nnynzt* ZK | (*k*)*wnt'kk* BRY | *δ'nδ't* (?) *npyšn* (?): UII, No. 271 (36: 55) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P** Grandfather (if *npyšn* is the right reading) of *nnynzt* (#796: 1); father of *kwnt'kk* (#588: 1); the last line, however, is written in a different hand, so it is unclear whether it belongs to this inscription or not). — **D** SIMS-W. chooses the transliteration *δ'nδmt* (without etymology), although he adds that readings such as *δ'nms* and *δ'nδ't* are also possible. For the last one he (UI2, p. 49) proposes an etymology linking it to Av. *dāmi.dāta*- “created by the creator”, OP **Dāmi-dāta*-, known through Elam. *damidadda*, Aram. *dmydt* and IPth. *dmydt* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 181). A borrowing from Indian *dāna*- “act of giving” (cf. *δ'p'tsyγH*, #416) cannot be excluded too. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 42b, has *δ'•mt*.

δ'nδmt > δ'nδ't #415

416. $\delta'p'tsyyH$ / $\Delta\bar{a}p\bar{a}ts\bar{e}y?$ / f.: **B N(M), $\delta'p'tsyy[H?]$: HENN., *So.*, VI, 2 (p. 7). — **P** A female name written on a margin of the list. — **D** “Fine (through, for?) $\delta'p't'$ ”. For $\delta'p't$ - comp. Gr. $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\tau$, Mandæan *dlyb't*, *lyb't*, *dyb't*, Pth. *dybt*, if “Große Jungfrau” (as *Mir. Man.*, iii, 880, 60-61; cf., however, P.O. SKJÆRVØ, 1994, p. 243, where *dybt* is interpreted as *Devadatta*, cf. *tyβd'tt*); alternatively to **B** $\delta'p't$ “donor”, Skt. *dānapati*, Chin. *Tan-yue*, (檀越, EMCh. *dan wuat*, see MACK., *BSTBL*, p. 183), both variants were already proposed by HENN., *So.*, p. 7. Another interpretation, linking the first part of the name with CS *d'p't* “truly”, was introduced later by the same author (HENN., *S God*, p. 253, n. 72). For the second part, S *sy-* “fine”, cf. Bct. PN $\Sigma\eta\gamma\omicron$.**

417. $\delta'p'tšyr$, $\delta'p'tšyrH$ / $\Delta\bar{a}p\bar{a}tšir$ / m., f.: **B1 N(M), $\delta'p'tšyrH$: HENN., *So.*, VI,1 (p. 7). — **P1** a female name from a list. — **B2** N, *m'xy-n* ZK | $\delta'p'tšyr z'tk$: Muγ, B-4, R4-5 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62). — **P2** The father of *m'xy'n* (#653: 1); obviously a male name. — **D** “Good (through, for?) $\delta'p't'$ ”, or “good donor”, see $\delta'p'tsyyH$ (#416) for further details. The names ending in *šyr* can be both feminine (cf. $\delta\gamma wtyšyrH$, #423) or masculine (as *nwy šyr*, #845).**

In the case fem. $\delta'p'tšyrH$ (as well as in *m'xšyrH*, #649, *nny šyrH*, #801, $\delta\gamma wtyšyrH$, #424) one might attempt to transcribe the final *-H* with /*a*/, since S *šir-* is a light stem, but the parallel male names in *-šyr* (*tymšyr*, #1280, $\delta'p'tšyr$, #417, *βntyšyr*, #294, *nwy šyr*, #845) and never in **-šyry* disagree with this transcription.

418. $\delta'rprn$ / $\Delta\bar{a}r\bar{f}arn$ / m.: **B B, *cnn* $\delta'rprn$ *dst'*: *TSP*, 8, 176. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** “(He who) possesses glory”, a compound of *Dāraya-vahuš* type, as WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 196-7, No. 7; cf. already Elam. *Dariparna* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.360), Babylonian *Da-ri-pa-ar-na-* (and other variants, see ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 246-47). Desmond DURKIN-MEISTERERNST kindly suggested an alternative: to understand it as an imperative “hold (your) glory”.**

419. $\delta't'yk$ / $\Delta\bar{a}t\bar{i}k$ / m.: **B1 N, *prnxwntk* Z(K) | $\delta't'$ [*yk*]: *UII*, No. 211 (34: 97); *UI2*, Addenda, p. 26; cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P1** Father (?) of *prnxwntk* (#911: 1). — **B2** N, $\delta't'yk$ (?): *UI2*, No. 641 (Dadam Das, 48:42, cf. *Fbs. DD*). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** Probably, to S $\delta't'yk$ “law-abiding”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 49, or a hypocoristic to a shortening of a name like *nnyδ't* (#789; as it was kindly suggested by Johnny CHEUNG, e-mail of 9.01.2008), OIr. **Dāt-ika-*.**

In No. 211 the end of the line is broken away. The reading in No. 641 is unsure, maybe $\delta't'k$, $\delta'ty'k$, $\delta't'r$, etc., less likely $\delta's^o$, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 23. If $\delta't'r$, to MP *dādār* “creator”, if $\delta't'k$, to Pont. Ir. *Λαδάγος*, *Λαδάκος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §99; *Step. Ir.*, No. 11), Elam. *Dadda*, *Dadaka*, *Datena* (GERSH., *Amber*, p. 238; MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.320; 8.368), Elam. *da-ti-ya*, Gr. *Δᾶτις* (SCHMITT, 1997, p. 166-8; 2006, p. 96-97)? Cf. also Zhaowu *Dadi* (達地, EMCh. *dat-di^h*), the ruler of Kushaniya in the mid-7th century (SHIRATORI, 1928, p. 114; however, CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 145, reads on this place *P'o-ta-ti*, 婆達地).

† $\delta't(^{\prime})/ > \delta't'yk$ #419

420. ($\theta'wm'$, $\theta'm'$ /*Tōmāl*/ m.: **B** C, *pyšt* $\theta'wm'$ | (*y*)*wtr cn dw'(t)snw xyd qt wyty bwt* $\theta'm'$: C5, 10, II V 13-14 (*NBS*, p. 270; *STi*, p. 78); ' $\theta'wm'$: C5, 14, V16 (*STi*, p. 32-33). — **P** The apostle Thomas. — **D** Syr. $t'wm'$ /*T'omāl*/, lit. “twin”.)

† $\delta'ykwrtw > \beta wkw$ #324

421. (δ)'(\bullet /?/ m.: **B** N, (δ)'(\bullet Z)K | *xwt'wδ*: *UI2*, No.616 (Dadam Das, 22:11; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 95). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das, son (?) of *xwt'wδ* (#1460). — **D** Unclear.

[$\delta\beta'mn$ f.: **B** N(C), $\langle \delta\beta'mn x'twn \rangle$: Credo, V19 (*STi*, p. 85, 87; *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 58, cf. *SC*, No. 206). — **P** A *secunda manu* subscript to the “Nestorian Credo”. — **D** S $\delta\beta'mpnH$ “lady” in late spelling; probably not as a PN.

One can speculate that it is a personal name of the “lady” (*xatun*), or *vice versa* (as SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 58) but since $\delta\beta'mn$ is virtually a synonym to Uygh. *xatun*, the subscript could merely represent a glossary entry.]

422. $\delta y''n$ /*Δayān?*/ m.: **B** N, $\delta y''n$ | *kwnt*: *UI2*, No. 652A (the inscription is located somewhere between Dadam Das and Thalpan, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 24). — **P** A visitor to the Upper Indus, son (?) of *kwnt* (#587: 9). — **D** As SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 49, to S $\delta y''n$ “fierce”.

423. $\delta ywt\gamma wncH$ /*Δayudyōñj*/ f.: **B** N, *wδwH ky ZY KZNH n'mt* $\delta ywt\gamma wncH ky ZY šy ZK$ | *py-šn'm'k cttH*: Muγ, Nov.3 R5-6; $\delta ywt\gamma wncH ky ZY ZK pyšn'm'k cttH ZKwH$ | *wy-'ws* $\delta ywtH$: Nov.4 R6-7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 21, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 28, YAK., *Marr.*, p. 310, 313). — **P** The “ordinary name” of *cttH* (#386), the bride of *'wttkyn* / *zyδ(')nH* (#205; #1572), ward of *cyr*

(#403), daughter of wy'ws (#1375: 1) in the marriage contract. — **D** Various possibilities for the second part, while the initial *δγwt-* is “daughter”.

LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 29 (cf. now *SÉSAS*, p. 37) proposed understanding this name as “profitable daughter” from Av. *gaona-* “Gewinn” (cf. C *γwnnc* C2, *45 R25 and SIMS-W., C2, comm. p. 100); or as “beautiful daughter”, from S *γwnc*. Note that S *γwnc* means “colour(ed)”, while “beauty” can be expressed only by *γwncy'kH*, an abstract derived from *γwnc* (*SCE*). YAK. (*Marr.*, p. 317-318), on the other hand, compares this name to similar expressions in Bct.: *ασνοωνο ασνωσογγο* “a daughter-in-law [to be treated] like a daughter-in-law”, *ολο ολογογγο* “a wife [to be treated] like a wife” and understood *δγwtγwncH* as “daughter-like”, a name that might have been given to her by the guardian, *cyr*. One can also understand the second part with the help of NP *γunča* “rose-bud”, a word with an East-Iranian appearance (thus LURJE, *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 238); cf. SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 106 ff. for female names of this type among Middle Eastern peoples. For WMIr. *dwxt* cf. 'z'd *dwxt* (#40); *δwt'ns'h* in *MN*, 148, seems to be a mixed Sogdo-WMir. name (on MP parallels, see ZIMMER, 1991, p. 118-119).

424. δγwtγšyrH /Δαγυδιšir/ f.: **B** B, *δγwtγšyrH* *dst'*: *TSP*, 8, 180. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** “Good daughter”; for -y- after the first part of the compound see *SCpd.*, p. 138-9, cf. *δ'p'tšyrH* (#417).

425. δkk' /?/ m.: **B** N, (*wxβ* ???) | *ZK* (?) *δk(k')*: *UII*, No. 221 (34: 107); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P** Father (?) of *wxβ* (?), #1351). — **D** Unclear; reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 49c. Cf. Bct. PN *Λαγο(κο)*?

426. (dqyws /*Dekiyōs*/ m.: **B** C, *ty](s)* (*d*)[*qyws*: C2, *77 R1; (*p*)*r* (*dqy*)*ws* *xwšywny m.(y)θt*: C2, *77 V*10. — **P** The Emperor Decius, persecutor of the sleepers of Ephesos (249-251 CE). — **D** Syr. *dqyws* /*Deqiyōs*/, also *dqys*, *dwqyws*, from Latin *Decius*.

Incidentally, *Dakianus-Shahri*, one of the modern names for the ruins of Toyoq in Turfan is derived from the same PN, in an enriched Arabic form *Daqyānūs*; the story of the sleepers of Ephesos was popular in the Islamic world (cf. R. PARET, 1986), and *Daqyonus* in Tajik and Persian is broadly equal to English *Queen Anne* (in “when Queen Anne was alive”), German *Anno Tobak* or Russian *Царь Горох*. LE COQ, 1923, p. 21-22, refers to a sanctuary of the “seven sleepers” in Toyoq.)

427. (δmwH /?/ f.: **B** N(M), *ZKn šxmyz'ty (cnn δ)m(wmH w)δ(wH?)*: *Giants*, H9 p. 70 (with n. 1, followed by *SC*, No. 137). — **P** The wife of the giant *šxmyz't* (#1182)? — **D** Unclear. HENN. (loc. cit., n. 1) gives the variant *δmpmH* and notes that *δβ'mprwH* is impossible. The context of the Book of Enoch would suggest “(kidnapped) human wife of *Shemihazah*, the chief

fallen angel”, although her name does not seem to be preserved in other extant sources.)

428. (*dney'yl* /*Dāniyēl*/ m.: **B** C, *dney'yl z't'*: C22, 5, 1 (*STii*, p. 31); *myd wyd'rt dney'yl*: C22, 5, 4 (*STii*, p. 31); *wyny dney'yl*: C22, 5, 27 (*STii*, p. 32); *wyny | dney'yl*: C22, 5, 31-32 (*STii*, p. 33); *myd wyd'rt dney'yl bywny*: C22, 5, 35; *cn dney'yl | bywny*: C22, 5, 40-41 (*STii*, p. 33); *pr dney'yl*: C22, 5, 43 (*STii*, p. 33); *pr dney'yl | wsyd pš'd'ry m'x βγγ šy dney'yl ms | prbγty θbr'*: C22, 5, 44-46 (*STii*, p. 33). — **P** The prophet Daniel. — **D** Syr. *dney'yl* /*Dāni'yēll*, *dney'l*, from Old Hebrew.)

429. *δp'x* /*Δəpāx?*/ m.: **B** N, *MN* (*δ*)*p'x kw 'nwtc*: *Muy*, A-7, 1 (*SDGM*, II, p. 74, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 82; *SDGM*, III, p. 64). — **P** The author of a receipt. — **D** Unclear. The final letter is clearly *x*, not *γ*.

430. *δpyrptw* /*Δip̄rpat'*/ m.: **B** N, *δp-yrptw*: *Graff.*, No. 6. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** “Chief of scribes”; the spelling *δp'yrptw* with the final *w* also in *Afr.*, 3; *ΔP*, 22, 24 (cf. *SIMS-W.*, C2, p. 61). Since all other graffiti from this hoard contain personal names (but cf. *twwδ*, #1269?), it is likely that *δpyrptw* serves here as a PN or professional nickname.

431. (*θrbw* /*Tarbō*/ f.: **B** C, *θrbw w'nw w'(b)*: C2, *66 R5; *'t t(γ)w qy θr(b)w 'yš*: C2, *66 R14; *q(w γnq)[y]n (θr)[bw s']*: C2, *66 V12; *(θrb)w swgb'r'nc (o)*: C28 R12 apud SCHWARTZ, 1970, p. 392. (C28 is a fragment of a manuscript of the same text different from C2, see SCHWARTZ apud *SIMS-W.*, C2, p. 139 n. 15). — **P** St. Tarbo, the sister of Simon, the martyr (executed in 345). — **D** Syriac *trbw* /*Terbō*/, *trby* /*Tarbī*/.)

432. *δrc* /*Δarič?*/ m.: **B** N, (*pr'p δr'c*): *Panj.-1978*, p. 138, No. 11. — **P** A recipient (?) of unknown goods. — **D** Unclear, but probably a *nisba* to *δr*-“valley”, cf. *γrc* (#486), *δrk'nk* (#434).

433. *δrγw'k* /*Žəγuwak*/ m.: **B** N, *ZY ZKn δrγw'k*: *Muy*, A-5, 11, 19 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** The recipient of one drachma for shoes and of 5 drachmae for unspecified goods. — **D** From *B δrγw*, *zγw*, *M. jγw*, *jwγ* “hard, cruel” with the hypocoristic suffix -'k,

as in BOGOL., SMIR., p. 93. A nickname? SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 50) proposes reading *δrxwnk*, see *δrxwnysk* (#441).

434. *δrk'nk* /*Darkāne?*/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn *δrk'n(k) pr 'δwy δrxm kβšt'*: Muγ, A-5, 9; ZY *δrk'nk*: A-5, 10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of shoes and other equipment. — **D** Unclear. BOGOL., SMIR. (p. 93) give an etymology from OIr. **θraha*kānaka- “coward”, and LIV. sees an adjective from a place-name **δr(k)-* (cf. *δrc*, #432, *kws'nk'nk*, #600).

Cf. *Darān*, a village near Samarkand acc. to *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 23a, cf. *ILAST*, p. 138. Transliterations *δ'k'nk*, *δnk'nk*, *δzk'nk* are equally possible. The latter would be a *nisba* to the large town *Dizak*, *Dēzak* in medieval Ustrušana, today *Žizzaq*, half way from Samarkand to Tashkent; cf. also under *δ'knyš* (#414).

435. *δrm ryzkr* /*Darm-rēžkar*/ m.: **B** B, *pwtystβ wm't prw δrm ryzkr n'm: Vim.*, 190-191. — **P** Bodhisattva, an interlocutor of Vimalakīrti. — **D** “Acting at will in the Dharma”; a translation of some name; however, both Chinese versions of the sūtra imply Skt. *Dharmeśvara* “Dharma-independent, Dharma-lord”, while Tibetan has *Dharmavikurvaṇa*, “Modifying one’s dharma”, see *BSTBL*, ii, p. 39, No. 61.

Cf. fem. PN *ryjqr* in *MN*, 143. Noteworthy is that no other PNs with /*rēž*/ “will” have ever been found in S texts so far, while in MP Maḥrnamag S names *βyryj* “god’s will”, *MN*, 79, *ryj | y'n* “grace of will”, *MN*, 101-2, *ryj wnwβ'm* “will-victory-light”, *MN* 141, and *ryjqr* are found.

436. *δrsm't-* /?/ f.?: **B** N, ZNH ZY *y-'m-k ZK-w-y tx-s-'y-cy-H γ-'δp-'ny-ny-H xr-'r-y-H ZK-w-y-H δ-r-s-m-'ty-H x-y-p-δ XX X s n'k-r-t-k*: (obl.) SIMS-W. apud *Silver Wares*, p. 56-58, in an inscr. in early Sogdian script on a silver bowl found in 1990 in Karashahr, now in Kurle Museum; cf. *UI2*, p. 49-50; *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228-9. — **P** The owner of the bowl? Or her father of mother? — **D** Unclear, cf. following; the names with *δrym(')t-* (#442 – 43). The final *H* is normally a feminine marker, the preceding *-y-* is obl. case-ending?

This inscription, although it represents a well known formular of S labels on silver vessel (“this cup is somebody’s own, 30 staters of silver”) and is incised in a clear hand, contains a number of unclear words and expressions. *txs'ycyH* is obl. of the theonym *Taxsīč* (cf. *txs'ycβntk*, #1274), or a place-name *Taxsīč* near Samarkand (BARTHOLD, *Turkestan*, p. 132), the following *γ'δp'nynyH/γ'δp'zynyH/γ'δp'nyzyH* might be a noun, and SIMS-W. proposes to see here a feminine of **γ'δ-p'n*, MP **gāhbān* “treasurer of a throne”, *xr'ryH*

(#1409) seems to be another PN, maybe that of the owner, and *δrsm'tyH* was her father or mother? Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS was very kind in informing the author on whereabouts of this inscription and giving his preliminary reading, which is more detailed than the published Chinese version (e-mail dated 31.12.08).

437. *δrsmfβntk* /ʔ-vandeʔ/ m.: **B** N, *δr(smtfβn)tk: UII*, No. 345 (39: 40); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** SIMS-W.'s initial reading was *δr(●●●●βn)tk*, corrected into *δr(smtfβn)tk* in the *Addenda*. He compares this name to *δrymt* and adds *δrsm'tyH*. The reconstruction *δr(ymtfβn)tk* (#443) cannot be excluded, too. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 91a, has *ZK ●●βntk*.

438. *δrw'spβntk*, *δrw'sβntk*, *δrwspβntk* /Žuwāspvande, Aruwāspvande/ m.: **B1** N(A), 'LH *pysk δrw'spβntk: AL2* (2), R42; *J(δrw)'s(βn)[tk: AL2* (2), R44. — **P1** Father of *pysk* (#987: 1). — **B2** N, *p(r)[nc ZK (?)]* | *δrw'(sp)[βntk: UII*, No. 258 (36: 42) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208; *prnc ZK* | *δrw'spβntk* | *BRY: UII*, No. 366 (39: 61); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P2** Father of *prnc* (#907: 4). — **B3** N, *n'wmyw ZK* | *δrw'spβntk: UI2*, No. 497 (53:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — **P3** Father (?) of *n'wmyw* (#766). — **B4** N, *δrwspβntk: UI2*, No. 519 (53:25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial; the absence of *aleph* could be probably a misspelling. — **D** "Slave of (the deity) *Druuāspā*". *δrw'sβntk* could be not merely a misspelling, but also a simplification of a difficult consonant cluster /*sp-v*/, cf. *'xwrmtz't* (to which Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS proposes to add Bct. *Ασβιδό < *aspa-pati-*). Readings already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 124c (= No. 366), No. 104 (= No. 497).

δrw'spH > δrw'spH m'xw #439

439. *δrw'spH m'xw* /Žuwāsp-māxʔ/ m.: **B** N, *np]('xšt δpyrʔ) δrw'spH (m-)x-(wʔ): Alphabet*, 4, p. 263, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 304. — **P** The scribe who wrote the alphabet on an ostrakon from Panjakent. — **D** LIV. reads *δrw'spH 'šy'* "Druwasp for remembering" and took *δrw'spH* as a male PN of the scribe. However, I see a letter before *aleph* in the second word, most probably the higher part of *m*; the following letter is more similar to *x* rather than *š*. If my reading is correct, the name consists of two theonyms: *Druuāspā* and *Māh*. For this type of names cf. *r'mtyš* (#1004). For the final *-H* in *δrw'spH* note that Av. *Druuāspā* was a feminine deity (unlike, of course, Kushana *Αροοασπο* and NP *Luhrāsp*, see also *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 239 n. 51); cf. *nnyH βntk* (#805) and *xšwrδH βntk* (#1426) for *H* at the end of the feminine initial part of the compound name.

***δrwsḡβntk* > *δrw'sḡβntk* #438: 4**

440. *δrw*• /*Žuwāspvande?*/ m.: **B** N, *δrw*•: *Fbs. Sh.*, No. 40:24, p. 245. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Probably unfinished *δrw'sḡβntk*, as SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 245.

441. *δrxwnysk* /*?*/ m.: **B** N, *δrxw(n)ysk(Z)K (?)* | *xwš'kk*: *UII*, No. 406 (39: 101); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *xwš'kk* (#1454: 2). — **D** Unclear. For *-sk* hypocoristic cf. *kr'yšk*• (#546), *Jn'pxwcsk* (#751). Cf. also *δrḡw'k* (#433), *trxwn* (#1244).

442. *δrym't* /*Žēmat*/ m.: **B1** N, *δrym['t?]*: *UII*, No. 138 (33: 9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 176-7, the end of the inscription is weathered away. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *nn(y)wn(wn) ZK* | *δrym't BR[Y]*: *UII*, No. 208 (34: 94); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P2** Father of *nnywnwn* (#804), maybe the same person as *δrym't* in No. 138; SIMS-W. (*Fbs. DD*, p. 93) takes into account the possibility of reading this inscription as Dadam-das 21: 8 (*nnyβntk ZK δrymtβntk*), but considers such a transliteration as palaeographically difficult. — **D** “Demetra, Δημήτηρ”, a shortened name from a compound like *δrym(')tβntk*, cf. *'n'xt* (#94). For this Greek goddess in Bactria (*Δηματρ-*, *Δρηματ-*) and Sogdiana (*δrym't*, *jymt*) see SIMS-W. – DE BLOIS, 1998, p. 165; SIMS-W., *Invaders*, p. 228; SIMS-W. – DE BLOIS, 2005, p. 189; this transliteration is first given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 95b (= No. 208).

Cf. also *δrsm't*, *δrsmtβntk* (#436-437).

443. *δrymtβntk* /*Žēmatvande*/ m.: **B1** N, *nnyβntk ZK* | *δrymtβntk*: *UI2*, No. 609 (Dadam Das, 21:8; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 93); *nnyβntk ZK* | *(δ)rym(tβn)tk (BRY) (š)y(rw'β)k (?)*: *UI2*, No. 615 (Dadam Das, 22:5; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). — **P1** Father of *nnyβntk* (#787: 16), note the similarity in the father's and the son's names. — **B2** N, *βr'yšmnβntk δrymtβntk* | *pr'wtβntk*: *Xian*, 30-31. — **P2** Son of *wyrk'k* (#1381). — **D** “Slave of Demetra”.

The name of *Wirkak's* son in the Chinese version is written *Weimo* (维摩, EMCh. *jwi-ma*; YOSH., *Xian*, p. 60-61, n. 6, mentions that in the 6th century the initial *j* (from OCh **d*-) could still be pronounced as *dž*); the same *weimo* was used to transcribe *Vimalakīrti* in Chinese (cf. *βr'yšmnβntk*, #303); note the parallelism between the three brothers' names. Incidentally, another *Žēmatvande* of the Kešš clan is known to have been active in the North-Western China at the same time (Shi Shewupantuo, 史射勿槃陀, EMCh. *zid^h-mut-ban-da*, on a tomb-inscription, 609 CE), but his ancestors bear names strikingly different

from those of this *δrymʃntk*, see YOSH., *Xian*, p. 62; another namesake of his was mentioned in the Dunhuang documents, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64

444. *dryst rwšn* /Drīst-rōšn/ m.: **B** M, *kww yzd 'ry'm'n dryst rwšn myhr whmn 'ty whmnš 'h s'r*: SUND., *Briefe*, I, 28, p. 306; *Briefe II*, p. 408, 410. — **P** A member of the Turfan Manichean community. — **D** MMP, “whole light” or “proper light”, cf. *rwšn pwxr* (#1036). Cf. *ḏ^rst* as a name of a person from the district of Samarkand in Arabic rendering (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 5).

† *δr●●●●βntk* > *δrsmtβntk* #437

445. *δs* /Δas?/ m.: **B** N, *δ(s) (?) nnyβntk*: *UII*, No. 99 (31: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *nnyβntk* (#787: 5); “the two words stand on either side of the picture of a stairway leading up to a stupa, a rare piece of *prima facie* evidence for a direct association between Sogdian name and Buddhist carving” (SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 16). — **D** Maybe not a name, but a numeral “ten”, or a PN with the same meaning. Cf. Bct. PN *Λασομρο*, or maybe *Δασο*, although S /δ/ normally corresponds to Bct. λ (alternatively, it could have come from Skt. *dāsa*- “slave”, as a short-name, cf. *δyβδ's*, #461, *pwttδ's*, #965).

446. *δs'kr* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), *MN βnt(k)w δs'k(r)[*: *AL7*, 1. — **P** The author of the letter. — **D** Transliteration follows that of *SC*, No. 368, *REI* left it as ●●'k, SIMS-W., *Greeting*, p. 177, 180 gives *δs'k●[*], with probably one more letter missing. Meaning is unclear, to *δs*- “ten”?

447. *δstf* /Δast^o-?/ m.?: **B** N, *J●kk ZK δ(st)[* (?): *UI2*, No. 456 (48:4); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 252. — **P** Father (or *nisba*, title) of *J●kk*. — **D** To S *δst* “hand”?, cf. *sw'rm* (#1109); NP PN (*Šn.*) *Dastān*.

δšcy > *δxcy* #458: 2

448. *δšcy'pt* /Δiščyāpat/ m.: **B** N, *δšcy'pt δykH: Ōt.*, No. 6341, V2, cf. YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 241-3. — **P** The sender (?) of the letter. Noteworthy is that he is named *βγyβntk* (#287: 2) on Recto. — **D** YOSH., loc. cit., understood it as either a PN or a title, equal to *δš'pt/δc'pt* in *MN*, 68, 81-82 with the meaning “(he who is) watched over or approved (*-āpat* < *āpāt*) by

(as being born on the day of the) Creator ($\delta\check{s}cy$ ”), as suggested by SIMS-W. This possibility is maintained in the edition of the Ötani collection.

The editors also compare it to the name (*Kang*) *Dishebo/fo* ([康] 地舍撥, EMCh. $di^h\text{-}cia^h\text{-}pa^h/puat$) from Chinese documents from Dunhuang; see also YOSH.-YAK., *SghS*, p. 251; $d\check{s}'(p)[t]$ $cyk\check{s}y$ in a M Uyghur prayer (YOSH. apud MORIYASU, 2004, p. 230, 7; 241); furthermore, the same name is manifested in *Daishibi* (代失畢 EMCh. $daj^h\text{-}cüt\text{-}pjit$), a ruler of Samarkand who is mentioned under 575 and 603 in Suishu (cf. SHIRATORI, 1928, p. 104; *Sv. Kat.*, p. 423).

449. $\delta wcrs$ /?/ m.: **B** N, $'y\omega w'r | pn'kw \delta wcrs$: Muγ, B-2, 2-3 (*SDGM*, III, p. 41); *ZY* $\delta wcrs$ $'y\text{-}wH$ $'y\text{-}z\text{-}H$: Muγ, B-1, L3 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of armour ($w'rpn'k$) and a spear (or water-skin, $'zyH$). — **D** Unclear. $\delta wcrm$ as “(made of) two pieces of leather” (LIV., *SDGM*, II, p. 85, n. 37, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 93 n. 44) is possible for B-2, but does not suit the context of B-1.

450. $\delta wk'y\check{n}$ / $\Delta\delta kin$?/ m.: **B** N, $\delta wk'y(n) | ky\check{n}c$: *UII*, No. 226 (34: 112); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of $ky\check{n}c$ (#611). — **D** Unclear; one could read $\delta wk''(n)$, $\delta wky'(n)$.

If $'yn$ could serve here as a hypocoristic suffix (cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 45), for δwk cf. MP, NP $d\delta k$ “spindle” (which can be attested as a PN $\Delta\omega\gamma\omega$ in Bct. as well: a borrowing?); cf. $ck'w\check{s}'k$ (#369) for semantics. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 47a, has $\bullet\bullet y$.

451. $\delta wr wyt''p'k$ / $\Delta\ddot{u}r Wit\ddot{a}pe$ / m.: **B** B, *ZKn* $\delta wr wyt''p'k n'm pwt\ddot{y}$ $'\beta c'n(p)\delta$: *Sukhā*, V6. — **P** The Buddha “Shining afar”. — **D** Translation of *Yuanzhao biyou* 遠照彼有 “shining afar” in the Chinese version by Kang Senkai (but *Dusprasaha* in the Pali version of the *Sūtra* translated by Max MÜLLER, p. 66).

452. δwrk / $\Delta\ddot{u}rak$?/ m.: **B1** N, $pysk ZK | \delta wrk$: *UII*, No. 142 (33: 13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177. — **P1** Father (?) of $pysk$ (#987: 4). — **B2** N, $\delta wrk ZK nny\beta nt(k) | B(R)Y$: *UII*, No. 245 (36: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206; $\delta wrk | nny\beta nt(k)$: *UII*, No. 280 (36: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211; $\delta(wrk) | (ZK) (?) | nny\beta nt(k) | BRY$: *UII*, No. 330 (39: 25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 226; $\delta wrk ZK nny(\beta n)tk$: *UI2*, No. 499 (53:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259; $nny\beta nt(k) | \delta wrk ZK$: *UI2*, No. 645 (Dadam Das, 48:78, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 123). — **P2** A visitor to Shatial and Dadam Das, son of $nny\beta nt(k)$ (#787: 9). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 43a (=No. 245), has δwkk . For inverted word-order in No. 645 see s.v. $pysk$ (#987: 2). — **B3** N, $\delta w(r)k | wnw(s)'(w) BRY$: *UII*, No. 248 (36: 32); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P3** A visitor

to Shatial, son of *wnws'w* (#1328); the spacing of the first line may suggest *δw(●)ZK* as well. — **B4** N, *δwrk* | *ZK* | *wxw(š)'kk* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 652 (Dadam Das, 61:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 138). — **P4** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *wxwš'kk* (#1363: 2). — **B5** N, *βwr* | *δ(wr)k*: *UI2*, No. 672 (Dadam Das, Addenda, 65:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 143). — **P5** Father of *βwr* (#326: 3?), or a separate visitor to Dadam Das; "...enough can be seen to make the above reading very probable", as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 25. — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 50) sees here S *δwr* "far" + hypocoristic in *-'kk*. Cf. Av. PN *dūraē-kaēta-*, *dūraē-srūta-*, Pont. Ir. Δυρπαναις (ZGUSTA, 1955, §587, if not Thracian?), Elam. *Durakka* (fem.) can also belong here (differently GERSH., 1970a, p. 197, and MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.392); cf. also OChor. *δrwk-*, LIV., 1984, p. 258, 2? Cf. also *Rahmat-name*, p. 224, n. 60.

453. δwt'yk /*Δūtīk*/ m.: **B** N, *δwt'yk ZK pys'kk* (?) | *BR(Y): UI2*, No. 513 (53:20); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *pys'kk* (#987: 19). — **D** Either to S **δwt*, OIr. **dūta-* "messenger" or to MP *dūd(ag)* "hearth, family"; cf. OP (Elam.) *Dudda*, *Dutena*, *Dutukka*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 50. Bct. *δoδayo* can be either a PN or a common noun derived from MP *dūdag*. The transliterations *δwt'yk*, *δnt'yk*, *δwy'yk*, etc. look possible, too.

454. (dwyd, t'wyδ /*Dawīd*/ m.: **B1** C, *dwydy γwbty:t*: (obl.) C2, *55 V23; *f(š'mnq)' dwyd 't šy wyn'*: C2, 60 V21; *pr dwyd* | *xypθ bnty: x'ny:*: C5, 1, R15-16 (*STi*, p. 31; *NBS*, p. 267); *wynt' pr dwyd* | *bywny*: MIK III 52, 6-7 (*STii*, p. 34); *wy'z dwyd* | *bywny 't w'b'z*: MIK III 52, 8-9 (*STii*, p. 34); *'t dwyd bywny pt'w'z 't myθ w'b'z*: MIK III 52 10 (*STii*, p. 35); *ptyθy' wn' dwydy*: MIK III 32, 12 (*STii*, p. 35; obl.); N(C), *ny'δ' cw βrtδ'rt* | *t'wyδ c'nw βz- 'y'wkw m't*: *STSC2*, p. 160, 10-11 (T II B 65 01 v, Psalm 6, 1); *c/w ywyδ'rt t'wyδ*: *STSC2*, p. 164 (T III T III T.V.B. R2, Psalm 29, heading); cf. SCHWARTZ, 1971, p. 413, n. 6. — **P1** The Biblical king David. — **B2** N(C), *t'wyδ swkβ'r prns'r*: *DTS*, F20. — **P2** An addressee of the letter, a Christian monk (*swkβ'r*). — **D** Syr. *dwyd* /*Dawīd*/, from Old Hebrew.

In the Turko-Sogdian letter F the name *t'wyδ* was recognized by M. SCHWARTZ, *Psalms*, p. 257, n.4, cf. *DTS*, p. 60.)

455. δwynk /*Θwēnak?*/ m.: **B** N, (*rty ZK δ*)[*wynk*] (*ZY*)[*: Legends*, 1 (Room 1/Sector XXII), 5, p. 164; *rty (●●) δwynk cw(p'r?)*: *ibid*, 8; (*rt*)[*y*] (*δwynk š*)*y-m'r*: *ibid*, 10. — **P** A hero of the inscription and the wall-painting? — **D** Unclear.

LIV. (op. cit., p. 164-165) rejects any connection of the name with S *'δw(')* “two” and Av. *aduuān-* “way, road”, but understands it as a development of Av. *θway-* “to terrify”, *θwaiiaqha-* “danger, threat”, *θwaiiahvant-* “terrible, frightful” with suff. *-ynk* (cf. *swynk*, #1123) in the sense of a protective name “designed to frighten away demons”; however, one would expect S **δβ'y* from this root.

456. δx /*Δax*/ m.: **B1** N, *δx ZK* | *rnk'sp: UII*, No. 222 (34: 108); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 193. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *rnk'sp* (#1014), reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 49c. — **B2** N, *tyδrβntk ZK* | *δx: UII*, No. 401 (39: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — **P2** Father (?) of *tyδrβntk* (#1277: 1). — **B3** N, *δx ZK ry(w)δ(β')l'r JBRY: UII*, No. 404 (39: 99); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 236. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son of *rywδβ'r* (#1051: 2), probably identical to *δx* in No. 401 (see SIMS-W., 1997-8, p. 526). — **D** S *δx* is not attested except in PNs, but has comparanda with a large scope of meanings. It may be “land, country, village” (as CS *δyx'w*, OP *dahyu-*, MP *dēh* etc.), or “man, male” (Khot. *daha-*, Waxī *δay*), “servant” (OIr. **dāhi-*, although here, as in S *δ'y* “slave-girl”, Pth. *d'hyft* “servitude” and NP *dāh* “slave”, one would expect a long *ā*), or *Dahae* tribe (OP *daha-*, Av. fem. adj. *dāhī* and PN *Dāqha*, Elam. PN *Da-ha* etc.), see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51. SIMS-W. suggests a comparison with Bct. PN *Λavo* (*UI2*, No. 665 p. 25).

R. SCHMITT (1993, p. 60), prefers the last explanation; cf. also *δxz'tk* (#460) as compared to *xwnyz'tk* (#1445), cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 13; moreover Gr. *Λαος*, which was frequently given to slaves (cf. ZGUSTA, 1955, §761) can belong here too; all the above forms are ultimately related. Cf. also *(Δ)δaxkaθ*, a town in Čáč (LURJE, 2003, p. 192) and Ochor. PN *δh kynk*, interpreted as “sword (S *kyn'k*) of Dahae” (LIV.-MAMBERTULLAEV, 1985, p. 40).

δx' > δxc #458

457. δx'nk /*Δaxānak*/ m.: **B** N, *δx'nk ZK* | *tš'kk* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 434 (42:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *tš'kk* (#1246). — **D** *δx* + patronymic suffix *-nk*. One can read *δxcnk* as well.

458. δxc, δxcy /*Δaxč, Δaxci, Δčxi?*/ m.: **B1** N, *βynt* | *ZK δxc* | *BRY: UII*, No. 53 (29: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 152. — **P1** Father of *βynt* (#346: 1). — **B2** N, *tk'yn* || *tyšβ'n* || *δxcy* | *βyy; βγγ* || *δšcy* | *βγγ; δšcy* | *βγγ*: countermarks on the drachmae of Pērōz and Xusrō I, see BARATOVA, LIV., 2002, p. 21-26, cf. SMIR., 1967, p. 39-40; *SSNSS*, p. 173-175; BARATOVA, 1999, p. 223-224; good photo in ZEIMAL', 1994, Fig. 4, 4. — **P2** A name of a ruler in Northern Tokharistan? — **D** Suffix *-c(y)* (either of hypocoristic or adjectival nature, cf.

cx'yc, cxcy, #399, maybe *kwrcy*, #591) is attached to *δx* (#456). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 41 has *δx'* (equally possible in SIMS-W.'s view).

On the countermark, maybe *δšcy* (the reading preferred by SMIR., also LIV., *Alphabet*, p. 257 n. 3, *Panj.-1998*, p. 50-51, BARATOVA, LIV., 2002, BARATOVA, loc. cit.), with the meaning “(born on the day) *δšcy* (= *δαθυσδ*, the 8th or 15th day of the month)”. LIV. and LUKONIN suppose that this name is related to *δyxcy* (see under *δyšcy*, #465) and consider a possibility that the owner of the silver bowl is the same person as *δxcy*, the prince of *pyškw* (see also under *tyšβ'n*, #1291).

459. *δxyw'k* /*Δaxyw'ak?*/ m.: **B1** N, ●●●●● | *δxyw'k*: *UI2*, No. 470 (50:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254; one can also read *δxyw'n*. — **P1** Father (?) of a visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *δxyw'(k)* | *'štyx'nc*: *UI2*, No. 592 (Oshibat, 18:130, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68). — **P2** A visitor to Oshibat, son (?) of *'štyx'nc* (#183). — **D** To CS *dyx'w*, *dyxw* OIr. **dahyu-* “country” cf. Median (Gr.) *Δηϊόκης*, OP (Elam.) *Da-a-hi-ú-uk-ka*, see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51 and SCHMITT, 1993, p. 60; cf. also now Bct. PN *Δηϊαγο?*

460. *δxz'tk* /*Δaxzāte*/ m.: **B1** N, *dxz'tk*: *UII*, No. 204 (34: 90); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *δxz'tk* *ZK prnc*: *UII*, No. 297 (36: 81); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *prnc* (#907: 5). — **B3** N, (*txs'ycδβ'(r)*) | *ZK δxz(')t(k)* *B(RY)*: *UI2*, No. 593 (Oshibat, 18:131, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 68). — **P3** Father of *txs'ycδβ'r* (#1275). — **D** “Son (*z'tk*) of *δx*”, see under *δx* (#456), cf. *myrz'tk* (#734), *xtwz'ty* (#1431), *xwtz't* (#1476) and, especially, *xwnyz'tk* (#1445). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 92b (= No. 204), has *δx'●●●*.

461. (*δyβδ's* /*Dēvdās*/ m.: **B1** N, *δ(y)βδ's*: *UII*, No. 97 (31: 68); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, the inscription is written carelessly, so the reading is unsure. — **B2** N, *nnyznc* (*ZK*) *δ(y)βδ's* | - - - *c*: *UII*, No. 100 (31: 71); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P2** Father (?) of *nnyznc* (#807); however, the third or the fourth word (or both) may not belong to the same inscription, so this *δyβδ's* may not be a father of *nnyznc*. Moreover, it is strange to find an Indian name of the father together with an Iranian name of the son. — **D** An Indian name, *Devadāsa-* “Servant of god”, cf. *pwt(t)δ's* (#965; as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51). The first part corresponds to the Bct. PN *Δδηβο* and the second possibly to *Δασο*.)

462. (*dyβδtt, tyβδ'tty* /*Dēvdatt*/ m.: **B1** B, *nwkr dyβδtt 'xw: Dhu.*, 106. — **P1** *Devadatta*, the Buddha's rival. — **B2** N(M), '*xw tyβδ'tty 'krt'nk'r'y: Magi*, 32, p. 138. — **P2** *Devadatta*, the calumniator of the Buddha's teaching in the M text. — **D** Skt. "Given by god(s)".

Probably, he is *dybt* in M Pth. (*Mir. Man.*, iii, 880, 60-61; P.O. SKJÆRVØ, 1994, p. 243), cf. also under *δ'p'tsyγH*, #416; *Labdacus*, the opponent of Terebinthus-Buddha in the anti-Manichean composition *Acta Archelai* (LXIII) seems to be another corrupted transcription of this name (cf. *wpr'tt*, #1332); I cannot explain the final -y of the M form but to note that a similar -y appears in some other foreign PNs in S, cf. *rwstmy* (#1035).)

463. *dyk'r* /?/ m.: **B** B, *cnn dyk'r [δst']*: *Ōt.*, No. 1144, 1, p. 54 (also YOSH., *Misc.* 三, p. 94; YOSH., *Misc.* III, p. 240.). — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** Unclear. A foreign name? Or to *dykH* "letter"; cf. also *δs'kr* (#446)?

464. (*dykprtyš 'ltwn t'γ 'lp r'δm'z trx'n smwr* /? *Altun Tay Alp ? Tarxan? Samōr?*/ m.: **B** N, *rty δ(y?)kprtyš 'ltwn t'š 'lp r'δm'(z?) | [trx'?]n smw(r?) δwyt'*: Kulan-Say, IIIa, 14-15, *SĒSAS*, p. 377 ff. with ill. 111. — **P** Father of a lady-visitor to Kulan-say. — **D** Turkic, but largely unclear, as the handwriting is weak.

Instead of *rty δ-*, I see rather *swyn*, see s.v. *pwyr' swyn twnkw 'lptrx'n* (#954); *xwsyn* (#1452); for *'lp r'δm'z* (the single Iranian, though not explained, name-element, as LIV.), maybe better *'lp 'δmy(š)*, see *'lp'tmyš snkwn* (#71); *trx'n* is completely invisible, and the following word (transliterated *smwr* by LIV., see *sm'wr'kkH*, #1076?) looks more like *snkwn* "general"; *altun* "gold" and *t'γ* "mountain" (cf. s.v. *'yl t'γ*, #237) are clear.)

dylwmy' > ywhnn #1534: 3

δyn'kk > nrkk #813: 3

465. *dyšcy* /*Δiščī, Δixčī?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZNHZY (y) 'mk ZKn n'pcβzty-cyk dyš-cy xypδ 'yw knpy 'YKZY XX s n'krtk*: *SSNSS*, No. 25, p. 173; ill. 3 (a silver bowl from Chilek). — **P** The owner of the bowl. — **D** LIV.-LUKONIN hesitate between *δγcy* (or *dyxey*) and *dyšcy*. The second possibility agrees with M *δšcyy* "eighth and fifteenth day of the month"; while the first may be understood as a *plene* writing of *δxcy* (#458; the possibility of prosopographical identity of *δšcy* and *dyšcy* is examined as well), cf. *cxcy* (#399); later LIV. (*Panj.-1998*, p. 49-50; cf. *Sānak*, p. 49; *Predvoditel'*, p. 218), preferred *dyšcy*, "(the one who was born on the day of the) creator".

The final *-y* might indicate the oblique ending. The reading *dyxcy*, however, would agree with Dizhe (狄遮, EMCh. *dejk-tēia*), the ruler of Kešš in the early 7th century (CHAVANNES, 1903, p. 146).

466. *dyšt't'c* /*Δišt'tāč?*/ m.: **B** N, *cnn dyšt't'c pr'yw*: Muγ, A-9, R8 (*SDGM*, II, p. 94, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 99; *Last Days*, p. 171). — **P** “with Δ”; if a PN, a companion of the unnamed addressee of the letter; more probably a common noun, maybe “in haste” (as *Last Days*, p. 174). — **D** An earlier reading *dyštw'c*, interpreted by SIMS-W. (*UI2*, 74) as “emission of the day *daθušō* (SM *δšcy*, N *dtš*, BĒRŪNĪ, *dst*, cf. Bct. *δαθβ-*)” does not agree with the facsimile. GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE understand the last part of the word as *t'c* “hastening”, the first part remains unclear. LIV. (in a letter of 12.11.2007; cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 99) understands it as a nickname “built up quickly”, which seems to be the best possibility.

†dyštw'c > dyšt't'c #466

467. *dyt* /*Δēt*/ m.: **B** N, *dyt*: *Panj.-2001*, No. 2, p. 85-86. — **P** A name written on a potsherd. — **D** Unclear, cf. *dytk'n* (#468); SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 51, compares its initial part to S **dyt*, from OIr. **dātiya-* “law-abiding”; R. SCHMITT kindly drew author’s attention to OIr. PN **Dāt-iya* (in Elamite and Greek renderings, see SCHMITT, 2006, p. 96-97; TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 172) which is a hypocoristic to a name containing *(-)*dāta-*.

468. *dytk'n* /*Δētkān*/ m.: **B** N, *dytk('n)*: *UII*, No. 11 (5: 34); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 127; *dytk'n*: *UII*, No. 382 (39: 77); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** See *dyt* (#467) + patronym in *-k'n*. Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17g.

dyt'tpyr > [ryt'tpyr] after #1045

469. *dyw* /*Δēw*/ m.: **B** N, *dy-w*, *δ(y)-w*: *Graff.*, No. 21-22. — **P** Graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** “Daeva, Dēw”, likely to be a shortening of a PN such as *dyw'štyc* (#471).

470. *dyw'kk* /*Δēwak*/ m.: **B1** N, *dyw'kk*: an unpublished seal from the Hermitage museum, see *SDGM*, II, p. 104, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 109. — **P1** Owner of the seal. — **B2** N, *dy(w')kk* (?) | *ZK wxwšwδβ'r* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 567

(Thor I, 124). — **P2** A visitor to Thor, son of $w\alpha w\delta w\beta' r$ (#1357: 2). — **B3** N, $\delta yw'kk$: *UI2*, No. 630 (Dadam Das, 32:4, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 100). — **P3** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** $\Delta\bar{e}w$ with hypocoristic suffix.

471. $\delta yw'styc$ / $\Delta\bar{e}w\bar{a}st\bar{i}c$ / m.: **B1** N, 'LKŠNT 'Y-(K)ZY ZKn $sy-w\delta y-k$ MLK' | (s)m'rknđc MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$ 'yw ŠNT | ('z): Muγ, B-4, R1-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZKn $pncy$ (M)R'Y ($\delta y-w's$) $ty-c$ | XI ŠNT 'z: Muγ, B-3, 1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 71, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 76; *SDGM*, III, p. 62); MN MLK' $\delta y-w'styc$ | MN $y-w\delta'xšy-tk$ BRY: Muγ, B-4, R5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZKn MLK' $\delta y-w'styc$: Muγ, B-4, R12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZK MLK' $\delta yw'st(y-c)$: Muγ, B-4, R22 (*SDGM*, II, p. 57, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62); ZKn $xw\beta w$ $\delta y-w'sty-c$ | XI $sr\delta$ 'z: Muγ, A-10, 8-9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 73, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 81; *SDGM*, III, p. 57); 'YKZ(Y) ZKn | $xw\beta$ $\delta yw'sty(c)$ [...ŠNT 'z]: Muγ, A-7, 5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 74, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 82; *SDGM*, III, p. 64); 't βyw $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $syw\delta y$ -nk MLK-' smr-knđc MRY-' | $\delta yw'sty-cw$: (graph. acc.) Muγ, A-14, 1-2; 't βyw $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $syw\delta y$ -nk MLK-' smrknđc MRY-' | $\delta yw'sty-c$: Muγ, A-14, 32-33 (*SDGM*, II, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86; *Last Days*, p. 167; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 117-118); 't $\beta y-w$ $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $syw\delta y-k$ ' (sic!) | MLK' sm'rknđc MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$: Muγ, Nov.2 R1-2; 't βyw $xw\beta w$ RBcH 'nwtH $syw\delta y-k$ MLK(') (s)m'(r)kn[đc] | MR'Y $\delta yw's(t)y-c$: Nov.2, R15-16 (*SDGM*, II, p. 104, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 111; *Last Days*, p. 163); 't βyw $xw\beta w$ RBcH '(nwt)[H $syw\delta ykw$ MLK' sm'rknđc] | MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$: Muγ, B-10, R1-2; 't βyw $xw\beta w$ $syw\delta ykw$ MLK(') sm'(rkn)[đc MR'Y] | $\delta yw'sty-c$: Muγ, B-10, R14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 106, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 113); 't $syw\delta y-k$ MLK' sm'rknđc MR'Y | $\delta y-w'styc$: Muγ, I.1, 2-3 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 120; BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 114; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 222; YAK., *I.1 Rev.*, p. 234); MN $xw\beta$ $\delta y-w'sty-c$: Muγ, B-17, R1; MN $x(w)\beta$ $\delta y-w'sty-c$: B-17, R20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 116-117, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 128); MN $syw\delta y-k$ MLK' $\delta y-w'sty-c$: B-18, 1; 20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 123, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 132; *Last Days*, p. 159); MN $syw\delta yk$ MLK' $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-18, R1; R10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 132, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 147, *SDGM*, III, p. 69); MN $syw\delta yk$ MLK' sm'rknđc MR'Y | $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-2, 1-2; MN $syw\delta yk$ MLK' sm'rknđc | MR'Y $\delta y-w'styc$: A-2, 8-9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 137, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 152; *SDGM*, III, p. 67); MN $syw\delta y-k$ MLK' $\delta y-w'styc$: A-3, 1; MN $syw\delta yk$ MLK' $\delta yw'sty-c$: A-3, 7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 138, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 154); MN $sy-w\delta yk$ MLK' sm-<'>rknđc | MR'Y $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-16, 1-2; ZKn MLK' | $\delta y-w'sty-c$ 'đw $sr\delta$ 'z: A-16, 11-12; $rt y$ $t'\beta ty$ ZNH n'mk ZKn | MLK' $\delta y-w'sty-c$: A-16, 14-15 (*SDGM*, II, p. 139, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 157; *SDGM*, III, p. 70); J(δ) $y-w'sty-c$ (context lost): Nov.5,

x+3; 'M $\delta y(w)['](\dot{s})ty-c p(r)[']yw$: Nov.5, x+4 (SDGM, II, p. 170, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 201); ZKn $\delta yw-'sty-c xwt'w X | sr\delta ''z$: Nov. 6, 1-2; $xwt'w \delta yw-'sty-c | XII sr\delta ''z$: Nov.6, 7-8; ZKn $xwt'w \delta yw-'sty-c XIII | sr\delta ''z$: Nov.6, 12-13 (SDGM, II, p. 186, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 222, 224; SDGM, III, p. 49); [ZKn] $x(w)[\beta w] \delta y(w'st)y-c [?' sr\delta ''z] (rty)$: B-1, L3 (SDGM, III, p. 44); ZKn $pncy MRY' \delta y-(w) 'sty-c 'x(w-\dot{s})w | sr\delta ''z$: A-4, R1-2 (SDGM, III, p. 60); ZKn $pncy MR'Y | \delta yw 'sty-c | 'st sr\delta ''z$: A-8, 1-3 (SDGM, III, p. 62); $\delta yw 'sty-c xw\beta w XIII sr\delta ''z$: B-1, 1 (SDGM, III, p. 64). — **P1** $\Delta\bar{e}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}\check{c}$, son of $yw\delta'x\dot{s}ytk$ (#1529), heir to $ck'yn cwr \beta y\delta k''$ (#370), the main character of the Mt. Muγ documents, $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}\check{c} / D\bar{i}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}$ in the Arabic sources, the ruler of Panjakent, who claimed to be the king of Sogdiana (probably 708 – 722), crucified by the Muslim governor after being captured at the castle of *Abarγar* (the site of Mt. Mugh); for the latest research on this character see GRENET, DE LA VAISSIERE, *Last days*; MARSHAK, 1996; for his coinage see s.v. *nn-*. — **B2** N, $(\delta)yw-'(s)tyc$: *Panj.-2004*, No. 2, p. 55, photo XXV, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 305. — **P2** A name written on an ostrakon from Panjakent. It is quite likely that the local ruler $\Delta\bar{e}w\bar{a}\dot{s}t\bar{i}\check{c}$ is mentioned here since an ostrakon found nearby (*Panj.-2004*, No. 1, p. 54, photo XXIV) contains the dating formula (as a scribal exercise). — **D** This name (also attested as Arabic (*dihqān*) $\delta yw'stj$, but applied to a different person, see TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 6) is identical to MS $\delta yw'styc$ (M 549, 7, HENN., *Magi*, p. 142, $\delta yw'styc$ in M 664, 27 apud GMS, §1277), CS $\delta yw'stync$ (SIMS-W., *Polemic*, r13, p. 404) adj. “Demonic, Ahrimanic”. However, $\delta yw'styc$ and similar names (δyw , $\delta yw'kk$, $\delta yw\gamma wn$, $\delta ywsr$, $\delta ywn'm(k)$ (#469 – 75), $s't\delta yw$ (#1066), $snk\delta yw$ (#1084), Chinese rendering *Liaoyan*, 了延 for $*\delta ywy'n$, see YOSH., 1989. p. 149, or $rywy'n$ (#1054?); $D\bar{e}w\bar{d}\bar{a}d$ son of $D\bar{e}w\bar{d}ast$ among the rulers of Ustrushana in Ṭabarī's *History*) seem to imply a “positive” attitude to the $*daiva-$ in the eyes of Ancient Sogdians.

The same attitude is probably attested also among the forefathers of Ossetians (*ĪÉSOJa*, I, p. 84) and, maybe, proto-Paštuns (*ĒSĪJa*, II, 310), and particularly for the usage among Ustrūšanians see HENN., *S God*, 254; NÖLDEKE, 1923; ZARSHENAS, 2004; I.M. ORANSKIĪ (1957, p. 82) notes in this connection that names based on *Devona* “mad, berserk” were common among the pre-modern Pamiris, while JUNKER, 1930, p. 107, mentions the apparently positive attitude of the Yaghnobis towards *Dew-i Sapēd* “the white Dew”. Cf. also a Saka *De-e-mi-ši* in Achaemenid Babylonia, if from $*Daiv-i\check{c}a-$ (with ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 249).

The correct reading $\delta yw'styc$ instead of initial $\dot{r}\delta yw'sty$ (which was established on the basis of the corrupted Arabic form) was proposed by HENN., *Kalender*, 88; the etymology of the second part, $-st-$ from OIr. $*a\dot{s}ta-$, PPP from $*az-$ “move, induce” was introduced

by FREJMAN, 1952. BOGOL. and SMIR. (1955 [*non vidī*], also *SDGM-III*, p. 93) understood this name as “native of *δyw’šr’*”, where the latter toponym corresponds to the modern *Devaštaw*, mountains to the south of Panjakent (possibly named after the king?); later BOGOL. (1995, p. 232) proposes **Daivā-γršta-* “nurtured by *Daeva* (взрошенный ДЭВОМ)” with partonymical suffix. LIV. (*Praviteli Pancha*, p. 61 n. 22) notes that the Arabic dictionary *Tāj al-’Arūs* (III, 319) explains the name *Dīwāsī* as “(he) with Jinn” مع الجنين.

As Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly noted to me, the adjective *δyw’štyc* in S is not a feminine form (pace *GMS*, §1277), but rather gender unspecific. It is clear from *δyw’štync mng* “devilish jealousy” in *Polemic*, r13, where *mng* (BS *mnk*) is clearly masculine. The antonym of *δyw’štyc*, namely *’xwrmtzyc* “Ahuramazdean”, can equally characterize both m. and f. nouns, see *GMS*, §1278. Cf. also TREMBLAY in GRENET, MARSHAK, TREMBLAY, 1998, p. 19.

472. *δywywn* /*Δēwγōn*/ m.: **B** N, *rty np ’xšt ZKn ’sp’nk δywywn*: Муγ, A-9, Vbis 2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 94, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 100; *Last Days*, p. 172). — **P** The second name (patronym or nickname?) of *’sp’nk* (#161) the scribe of A-9. — **D** A *γwn*-adjective to /*δēw*/, either negative (thus, nickname “devilish”, *Last Days*, p. 175, *SDGM*, II, p. 104) or positive, “heavenly” (HENN., *S God*, p. 253, cf. now LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 109).

473. *δywn’m* /*Δēwnām*/ m.: **B** N, *pyk’n ZK* | *δyw-n’m*: UI2, No. 574 (Thor I, 143); the name is written as if it were two separate words. — **P** Father (?) of *pyk’n* (#976). — **D** “Name, fame of daevas”, cf. *xwt’wn’mk* (#1461), *pryn’m’k* (#928), *δywn’m’k* (#474).

474. *δywn’m’k* /*Δēwnāme*/ m.: **B** N, *MJN wyspn’[cy βnt’kty? | MJN δywn’m’k]*: *Panj.-2004*, No. 4, 2-3, p. 55, photo XXVII. — **P** The name of the addresser of a “letter” in a writing exercise. — **D** See *δywn’m* (#473, with hypocoristic suffix); the line 3 seems to be deliberately erased and in this case is not related to the text.

475. *δywsr* /*Δēwsar*/ m.: **B** N, *rty ’’st (ms δy)wsr ’(yw)H ’z-yH*: Муγ, Б-1, L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of a water-skin (or spear, *’zyH*). — **D** The text is damaged, so reading unsure. BOGOL., SMIR. read *jkwsr*, but I see an initial *δ* on the photo. This name, if the proposed reading is correct, would mean “(one with) a daevic head”, or “led (by) daevas”, cf. *myrsr* (#733), *’ypr* (#251), *βwsr’k* (#329), *βsr* (#317?).

δyxcy > δyšcy #465

476. *δzwy /Dizōy?/* m.: **B** Bu, *pwx'r xwβ δzwy*: FRYE, 1950, p. 108; LIV., KAUFMAN, DIAKONOFF, 1954, p. 158; SSNSS, No. 15, p. 167. — **P** A king of Buxārā, possessor of a silver plate. — **D** Unclear, maybe *δnwy*; *-ōy* could be a MP hypocoristic suffix, as FRYE, 1956, p. 119, cf. *c'swy*. Prof. R. SCHMITT (letter of 22.05.2008) kindly suggests that if indeed the Bukharan script was reluctant in marking internal //I/-like sounds with *yodh* (cf. *cr'k*, #381, *mw'k*, #701), this name could be related to names like NP *Dīnōy* and *Dīzōy* (JUSTI, *INB*, p. 85).

477. *δl /?/* m.?: **B** N, *k('n)[(?) | δl*: UI2, No. 507 (53:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — **P** Father (?) of *k('n)[(#518)*. — **D** Unclear.

478. *δ●●šyst /?/* m.: **B** N, *δ-[-](š)yst |](š)pnδ[●](t)wt*: UII, No. 277 (36:61); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *](š)pnδ[●](t)wt?* (#1643). — **D** Unclear. Reading *-(š)yts* is also possible; MP *dōšist* “the nicest”, common among MMIr. names (see SUND., *Pn. Man.*); cf. also OChor. *δwšy(t)'nk*, LIV., 1984, p. 268, 9; n. 73 p. 282?