

m

627. *m* /M-/ m.: **B** N, *m*: *UII*, No. 239 (35: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 202. — **P** A visitor to Shatial (?). — **D** Unfinished.

628. (*m'δ'w* /*Madu*/ m.: **B** B, 'WZY | *m'δ'w cytk*: *TSP*, 8, 46-7. — **P** A name of a supernatural being. — **D** The Asura *Madhu* (lit. “honey”), as *BENV.*, *TSP*, p. 107.)

m'δwm > *srδwm* #1096

†*m'ktk* > *šyr'k* #1191

629. *m'n'kk*, *m'nk* /*Mānak*?/ m.: **B1** N, (*m'n'k*)*k*: *UII*, No. 321 (36: 105) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 216; *J* • | (*m*)'nk: *UII*, No. 59 (30: 10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154; *m'nk*: *UII*, No. 298 (36: 82); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial (or several namesakes. — **B2** N, *kyntr* | *ZK* (*c'm'*)'n[*J*(?) *BRV* | *m'nk*: *UII*, No. 300 (36: 84); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P2** Grandfather (or *nisba*, nickname) of *kyntr* (#614)? Or a separate inscription (in this case obviously the same person as #629: 1). — **D** *SIMS-W.* compares it to S *m'n*, *m'n'k* “thought, opinion, spirit, heart, conscience”; cf. ''*trxwmn* (#35); consequently we keep this name distinct from S -*m'nk* “-like”, which is a suffix, cf. *xwšm'ncH* (#1456), *nnv m'ncH* (#794), *βym'ncH* (#279).

630. *m'nβrt* /*Mānvarat*/ m.: **B** N, *ZK m'nβ(r?)t w('xz??)*: *Muy* B-7, R7 (*SDGM*, II, p. 166, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 196). — **P** “The M. came down”, an unclear word, but maybe a PN. — **D** Unclear; one can read also *mcnβ(r)t*, *mcny(r)t*. The name *m'nβrt* can be explained as “bearing consciousness”, cf. the following names and *tšβrt* (#1247).

631. (*m'ncw*, *mncw* /*Manju*?/ m.: **B1** N, *m'ncw*: *UII*, No. 372 (39: 67); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *mn(c)w* (*ZK*) (?): *UI2*, No. 657 (Thalpan, III, 83). — **P2** A visitor to Thalpan; one can also read it as *mncwzn*? — **D** Unclear; cf. also *m'n'kk* (#629)? Possibly an Indian

loan, from *mañju-* “beautiful”? This transliteration was already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9d.)

***m'nk > m'n'kk* #629: 2**

632. *m'n px'rš'k* /*Mān-paxə'se* / m.: B B, *pwtystβ wm't m'n px'rš'k n'm*: *TSP*, 9, 145. — P An interlocutor of the Buddha in *TSP*, 9. — D “Spirit-removing”, translation of a Skt. name, probably *Cittaviprayukta*, Chinese *Xinbuxiang* 心不相?

633. (*m'nxwty 'yšy xwt* /*Mañqutī? Iši Qut*/ f.?: B N(M), *'sxwstδ'rt m'nxwty 'yšy xwt*: Ch/So 14744 V9 apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 163. — P The name of a person (?) mentioned in the letter of *'ytpn* (#8). — D Turkic, as RECK, loc. cit.; *qut* “glory”, *'yšy* (according to the photo, this transliteration is better than *'ysy* in *Mlr. Hss. I*) “lady” (cf. *'yšy 'lp synywr 'yn'l 'ymyš*, #260), while *m'nxwty* remains unclear, maybe “step-glory”, with the Turkic 3 sg. possessive marker *-l*; or Sogdo-Turkic “spirit-glory”?)

634. (*m'ny* /*Mānī*/ m.: B1 M, *m'ny-c'nyy*: M121 R3, HENN., apud *GMS*, §1022 (adjective); *βyy* | [*m'n*]y: *Bekehrung*, 19-20 (the space in the lacuna preceding -y is hardly sufficient for reconstructing [*mrm'n*]y). — P1 *Mānī*, the founder of Manicheism, see under *mrm'ny* (#688). — B2 N(M), *m'ny m'ny-st'nd'r'k*: *MKG*, 3.1 V6, 347, p. 36. — P2 An abbot (*m'nyst'nd'r'k*; called *dbyr*, “scribe” in the Pth. version of this text, *MKG*, 173, n. 2 p. 26; cf. COLDITZ, 1995, p. 49), companion of 'Adda (''t') in the Western mission; a namesake of the founder of the religion. — D WMIr. *m'ny*, which in its origin is probably a Semitic name; for various suggestions see SCHAEDEER, 1934, p. 71, n. 3; SHAPIRA, 1999; TUBACH, ZAKERI, 2001.)

635. *m'ny wxmn* /*Mānī Wahman*/ m.: B N(M), *MN... m'ny-y* | *wxmn 'βt'δ'nw*: *BL*, B23-24; *'z-w βnty m'ny wxmn* | *'βt'δ'nw*: *BL*, B 46-47; *o m'ny wxmn 'βt'δ'n*: *BL*, B78. — P A Manichean Bishop of *twδkδ-*, the author of the Bāzāklik letter B. — D MP, “*Mānī-the-Nous*”, cf. SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 259, 262.

Here *wxmn* stands for MP *whmn*, which was also used in PNs, cf. *kryw wxmn* (#556); *whmn cwr*, *whmnrwšn*, *whmnš'h* (#1352 – 54). For the Sogdian development of **vahu-manah-* see *'trwxmn* (#35), *xwmn'* (#1440).

636. (*m'ny yyšw'* /*Mānī' Isō*/ m.: **B** M, (*m*)'(*n*)y y(y)šw' x(w)[y]štr: **MIK** III 4979 V I 2 apud *BBB*, p. 12; *BEDUHN*, 2001, No. 32 p. 226, reading follows *SC*. — **P** A presbyter depicted on a meal-scene. — **D** “Mani (and) Jesus”, cf. *SUND.*, *Pn. Man.*, p. 259, 262, 263.)

m'rm'ny, m'rym'nyy > mrm'ny #688

637. *m'stc 'wnš* /*Māstič Ūnaš?*/ m.: **B** N, *m'stc 'wnš* | *MLK'*: coin, *SMIR.*, *Sv. Kat.*, No. 168-190, p. 126-130, Table VIII-IX; LXV. — **P** A ruler of Samarkand, late 7th century (?). — **D** Unclear.

SMIR. reads *m'stn 'wyn* (or *'wy'n*) *MLK'*, *m'stc 'wnš* is *LIV.*'s correction (*Afr.*, p. 61-62 with note 1); he derives the name from *OIr.* **masa-* “extensive, great, old”, for *'wnš* cf. *'wnš'w* (#194). The writing is highly ambiguous; one can see *m-'n/z-s/r-t-č/n/h* *'w-n/z/y-n/z-n/h/c*; *R.N. FRYE*, 1950, p. 111-12 (= 144-45) compares it to *Mochuo* (默啜, *EMCh.* *mək-te^hwiat*, *-tjwāt* of *KARLGREN*), ruler of the *Mi* kingdom (*Māymary*) and son of *Wuleqia* (*'wyrk*) mentioned under 731 CE. While *mtcyr*, *SMIR.*'s initial reading supported by *FRYE*, loc. cit., can be surely rejected, *m'xtr* is not an impossible transliteration (however, in this case the chronological gap remains, unless we suppose that *Mochuo* and *m'xtr* were simply namesakes); regarding etymology, could it be a borrowing from *MP* *mehtar* “elder, senior, maior”? Alternatively, cf. very numerous *Mast-* names in the Northern Pontic inscriptions (*ZGUSTA*, 1955, §146; *TOKHTASJEV*, 2000); cf. *r'ymst brwy* and following names (#1007 – 09).

m'stn 'wyn/'wy'n > m'stc 'wnš #637

[*m'sy* /*Māse*/ m.: **B** N(M), *xw (m'sy)*: *Len.*, 37, 1 (*SI Kr* IV/693); *ZKw m'sy ryty*: *Len.*, 37, 2; *xw m'sy*: *Len.*, 37, 2, 20; *ZKn m'sy pšy-s'r*: *Len.*, 37, 3; *ZKn m'sy*: *Len.*, 37, 5; *ZKw m'sy*: *Len.*, 37, 13; *J(m'sy) ZKn*: *Len.*, 61 (*SI Kr* IV/804, apud *SC*, No. 326). — **P** A trickster, hero of a folk-story. — **D** “Old Man” (*S m's'k*, *m's'y*); the text gives no clue whether it was used as a common noun or as a nickname, although a definite article precedes common nouns more often than PNs. Cf., on the other hand, the name *Mosuo* (磨娑, *EMCh.* *ma-sa*) in the Chinese rendering apud *IKEDA*, 1965, p. 64; cf. also under #713.]

m't'tw > mt'tw #700

638. *m'w* /*Maw?*/ m.: **B** N, *?/m'w*: *UII*, No. 66 (30: 17); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 155. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Possibly complete, but the meaning is unclear.

SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 56) links it to S **m'w* < OIr. **amavant*- “mighty” (*BL*, A15 ff; however, YOSH., *BL*, p. 36-37, gives **mnw* “our” (enclitic) instead) and to the name *Mar Ammō*, the Manichean apostle, deriving from OIr. **amāvan(t)*- “mighty”; cf. under *mr'mw* (#682); cf. also *mw'k* (#701).

639. *m'x* /*Māx*/ m.: **B1** M, *J(r) cwr whmn cwr m'x* | *[:* M406, 10-11 apud SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 270. — **P1** A person in a name-list. — **B2, P2** see *mnx*. — **D** S *m'x* “moon”, maybe a the first part of compound-name, e.g. **m'x cwr*, which finds a parallel in Uygh. *m'xwccwr* (HENN. apud HAMILTON, 1986, p. 89)?

Sogdian *māx* has several meanings (ultimately interrelated with each other) which could form personal names, namely “month”, “moon”, “moon-god” (cf. the holy place called *Māx* in Buxārā, see CHRISTENSEN, 1904; lunar deities depicted in S art), the name of the twelfth day of the month (*m'x rwc*), Monday (*m'xjmnw*) or of the fourth day of the Epagomenae: (*māh-rad* by BĒRŪNĪ, *Āθār*, p. 57/47; the calendrical explanation of the names containing *m'x* is emphasized by BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9; cf. also WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 197-8, No. 12 with n. 24 and 25); it is also an epithet of Jesus in M texts.

640. *m'x'kk* /*Māxak*/ m.: **B** N, *š'w ZK m'x'kk BRY*: Muγ, Nov.3 V20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 29; YAK., *Marr.*, p. 311). — **P** Father of *š'w* (#1156), a witness in the marriage contract. — **D** Hypocoristic to *m'x* “moon, Moon-god, month”, cf. OChor. PN *m'xk*-, LIV., 1984, p. 264-5.

641. (*m'h'wy* /*Māhawai*/ m.: **B** M, *'rty m[h'wy qwy]*: *Giants*, C4, p. 65; *xw m'h'wy q[wy]*: *Giants*, C15, p. 66. — **P** A giant in Mani's “Book of Giants”. — **D** MP *m'hw(y)*, borrowed from Aramaic *Mahawai*, *mhwy* (see MILIK, 1976, p. 300; cf. *DMMPP*; SUND., 1984, p. 494 ff.).)

642. *m'xβ'mH* /*Māxvām*/ f.: **B** N(M), *m'xβ'mH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 6 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** “Moon-lustre”, cf. S *β'm* “down, morning”, *β'm'k* “colour”, OIr. **bāman*- “light” (HENN., *So.*, p. 7).

Also in *nwy β'mH* (#841), *nwšβ'mH* (#835); *fryβ'm xwncwy*, *frnβ'm*, *ryj wnwβ'm*, *yyšw* | *β'm*, *wγšyy β'm*, *γjnβ'm*, *wrtnβ'm*, *'z'dβ'm*, *wn'ncβ'm*, *yp'r γznβ'm* in *MN* (131, 138, 141-148, all female, but *β'my'n* in *MN*, 123 is male; his namesake Cao Yanyan 炎延, EMCh. *wiam-jian* was active in Gaochang in the mid 7th century, see RONG, 2009, p. 403); cf. a certain *b'mwyh* from Isfahan in the history of Samarkand (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 4); OChor. *β'mk*-, LIV., 1984, p. 260; NP *Māhiāb* for semantics; in the Islamic Persian onomastics the names with *Māh*- are only feminine, see SCHIMMEL, 1995, p. 108-9.

643. *m'xβntk* /*Māxvandel*/ m.: **B1** N, *m'xβntk* | *ZK nwxš●*: *UII*, No. 140 (33: 11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *nwxš●*

(#839). — **B2** N, *m'xβntk* ZK 'šw'n'kk: *UII*, No. 193 (34: 79); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of 'šw'n'kk (#1178: 2). — **B3** N, *m'xβn(tk)* ZK *nwn BRY*: *UI2*, No. 426 (40:18); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son of *nwn* (#828: 1). — **B4** N, *m'xβn(tk)*: *UI2*, No. 524 (53:30); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262; *m'xβntk*: *UI2*, No. 622 (Dadam Das, 23:5, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 96). — **P4** A visitor to Shatial, Dadam Das. — **B5** N, (β)wr'kk ZK *m'xβnt(k)*: *UI2*, No. 648 (Dadam Das, 50:5, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 130). — **P5** Father (?) of βwr'kk (#327: 2). — **D** "Slave of the Moon(-god)", cf. *m'xδ'yH* (#647), Bct. Μαμαρηγο. The reading has been already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 94 (= No. 140) and No. 39b (= No. 426).

644. m'xβyrt /Māxvyart/ m.: **B** N(M), 'zw | *Jm'x βyrt ywyty-m*: Ch/So 20002, R1-2, cf. *YOSH.*, Coloph., p. 129; *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 300. — **P** A person mentioned in the colophon. — **D** "(He who has been) obtained (from the) Moon(-god; epithet of Jesus in Manichean cosmology)".

645. m'xc /Māxič/ m.: **B1** N, *m'xc ZY 'xšwmβntk* | *ZNH 'sm'nc BRYN*: Muγ, B-8, R6-7; *m'xc ZY* | *'xšwmβntk*: R13-14; *m'xc* | *ZY 'xšwmβntk*: R16-17 (*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*). — **P1** Brother of *'xšwmβntk* (#212), son of *'sm'nc* (#156:1), one of the purchasers of half of a *nā'ūs*. — **B2** N, *wy-šd't (Z)Y m'xc pn(c)*: Muγ, B-14, 1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 35). — **P2** A supplier of some products (?); maybe the same person as *m'xc* in B-8. — **B3** N, *m'xc*: *UI2*, No. 585 (Oshibat, 17:31, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 51); *m'xc*: *UI2*, No. 597 (Oshibat, 19:6 cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 83); *wynt('●●)* | *ZK 'spyw[δ?]* | *BRY m'x(c)* | *ZK γ'tk*: *UI2*, No. 662 (Hunza-Haldeikish). — **P3** A visitor to Oshibat, Hunza-Haldeikish, possessor of the title *γ'tk* (see under 'δ'k, #5), companion (?) of *wynt('●●)*, #1379. — **D** S *m'x* "Moon(-god), Month", -c is a hypocoristic or adjectival suffix.

646. m'hd'd /Māhdād/ m.: **B** M, *m'hd'd mwj'k sttyy*: *SUND.*, *Briefe*, II, 18; *Briefe II*, p. 413, 416. — **P** A Patriarch ("Teacher"), who succeeded to *myhr'yzd* (#743). — **D** WMIr. "Given (by the) Moon (i.e., Manichean Jesus)", cf. IPth. *mhdtk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 181), etc.

647. m'xδ'yH /Māxδāy/ f.: **B1** N(M), *m'xδ'yH*: *HENN.*, *So.*, VI, 5 (p. 7). — **P1** A female name in a list. — **B2** B, *wδyH m'xδ'yH δst'*: *TSP*, 8,

185. — **P2** A lady mentioned in the colophon, the wife of *cwr'kk* (#392). — **D** “Maid-servant of the Moon(-god)”, as HENN., *STP*, p. 737.

BENV. erroneously transliterated the form in *TSP*, 8 as *my'δ'yh* and considered it as a partly Indian name “Great maidservant”; “maidservant of the ninth lunar mansion (*my*)” apud BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 10-11.

648. *m'xprn* /Māxfarn/ m.: **B1** N, *m'xprn* | ZK *wxwšwδ*•: *UII*, No. 102 (31: 73); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167; *wx(wšw)δ(β'r)* (?) | *m('xpr)[n]* (?): *UII*, No. 294 (36: 78); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *wxwšwδ*• (#1368), father (?) of *wxwšwδβ'r* (#1367: 3). — **B2** N, *m'xprn* | (ZK) *βynt* | *š'wyr(yny)*: *UII*, No. 169 (34: 55); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 186. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *βynt* (#345), native (?) of *š'wyr*c (see #1159). — **B3** N, *m(')xprn*: *UI2*, No. 514 (53:20); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261; *m'xprn*: *UI2*, No. 653 (Thalpan I, 312:7). — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, Thalpan. — **B4** N, *m'xprn* (?): inscr. in ink on a pithos from Panjakent, Obj. XXV, quoted as *махфарн* from an unpublished reading of LIV. in *Panj.-1980*. — **P4** The owner of a pithos? — **D** “Glory of the Moon(-god)”.

Also attested as *m'xfn* in *MN*, 104 (cf. BENV., *Ét.*, p. 25), in Chinese transcription *Mopan* (莫潘, EMCh. *māk-p'uân*, see YOSH., *PNSChS*, WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 197-8, No. 12); *pry m'xprn* in a Manichean Uygh. colophon ed. by YOSH., *Coloph.*, p. 128. Comparison of the inscriptions No. 102 and 294 (if in the latter case the reconstruction is correct), suggests that we have a genealogical line *wxwšwδβ'r* – *m'xprn* – *wxwšwδβ'r* or *m'xprn* – *wxwšwδβ'r* – *m'xprn* (cf. SIMS-W., *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 65-66). This reading was given first by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 67b (=No. 102).

649. *m'xšyrH* /Māxšir/ f.: **B** N(M), *m'xšyrH*: HENN., *So.*, VI,4 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** “Good (for, by?) the Moon(-god)”, as HENN., *So.*, p. 7, cf. under *δ'p'tšyrH* (#417).

650. *m'xtk* /Māx-?/ m.: **B** N, *pnny ZKn m'x/* | *m'x(?)tk*: ostrakon from Panjakent, ed. LIV., *SDGM II*, p. 183, n. 7. — **P** A person (?) mentioned in a document on ostrakon. — **D** Moon + ?; for *m'x/* LIV. now (*SÉSAS*, p. 298, n. 3) reconstructs *m'x/y'n* (#653).

651. (*m'xtysyy* /Maqdisī?; Māx-tīse?/ m.: **B** M, *'ty xwp m'xtysyy*: SUND., *Briefe*, M112, 9, p. 305; *Briefe II*, p. 405-407. — **P** A *hapax legomenon* in a Manichean letter. — **D** Probably, Arabic *Maqdisī* “native of Jerusalem” (cf. *mkδ's*, *mqdšθ'*), as HENN. (apud SUND., *Briefe*, p. 312-313), or S “Mondeingang” in the sense of “(one who was born on the day when) the

moon enters (the new mansion/zodiacal sign)”, as initially proposed by SUND., *Briefe*, p. 307, n. 18; in *Briefe II*, however, the Arabic explanation is preferred, and SUND. thinks that the preceding *xwp* could be a PN (p. 407, n. 12); cf. also my *Khamir*, No. 2. The context is unfortunately broken.)

652. *m'xy'kc* /Māxyāč?/ m.: **B** N, 'yw wxwy-'nk (*m'x*)y-'kc δ'βr: Muγ, B-4, 4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p. 65). — **P** A supplier of a chain-mail (?). — **D** The base *m'x* “moon”, further unclear.

One can see in the second part the abstract suff. -y', -y'k (*GMS*, §1110-11) and in -c a hypocoristic suffix. The sense of such a name, however, remains enigmatic.

653. *m'xy'n* /Māxyān/ m.: **B1** N, *m'xy-'n* ZK | δ'p'tšyr z'tk: Muγ, B-4, R4-5; *m'xy-'n*: R9, R17, V2; *m'xy'n*: R11; ZK 'pδ'ty MN *m'xy'n* | s'r: R20-21 (*SDGM*, II, p. 56, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 62). — **P1** The lease-holder of three mills in the relevant contract. **B2, P2** see s.v. *m'xtk* (#650). — **D** “Boon of the Moon-god” or “boon of (the day) *m'x*”.

Cf. *y'nm'x*, *m'xy'n* in *MN*, 69 (BENV., *Ét.*, p. 25); a Chinese document from Turfan records a Bukhariot with the name *Moyan* (莫延, EMCh. *Mak-jian*), see YOSH., KAGEYAMA, 2005, No. 25; *Moheyan* (沒賀延) apud WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 201, No. 26. Hardly related to the modern river-name *Māyiyān* near Panjakent.

m'x/ > m'xtk #650

654. *m'y'kkH* /Māyak?/ f.: **B** N(M), *m'y'kkH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 2 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** HENN., *So.*, p. 7, traces this name back to Av. *Humāiīā* (+*akā-*), or to **māyā-* “Pleasure”, without initial **hu-*, of which no traces seem visible (as it was kindly pointed by R. SCHMITT).

Cf. the Chin. rendering *mei*, 妹, EMCh. **muai*, *məj^h* in a scale-fee document (of which I know only from YOSH., “On the origin of the Sogdian surname Zhaowu 昭武 and the related problems”, a handout for the conference devoted to 100 years of Turfan Studies, Berlin, 2003, No. 14); cf. *'my'rw* (#92), *my'y* (#725); Pont. Ir. *Μαιακος*, *Αμαιακος*, *Αμασιακος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §49, 139); IPth. *myk* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 190). For the female names ending in (hypocoristic) -*'kkH*, cf. *r'm'kkH*.

655. *m'yβryH* /Māyfri/ f.: **B** N(M), *m'yβryH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 11 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** HENN., *So.*, p. 7 compares it to *m'(y)prh*, which frequently occurs in the Syriac Nestorian tomb inscriptions in Semirechje and traces it back to **māyā-* + **friyā-*, “Pleasure-beloved”.

656. *m'yc* /Māyīč/ m.: B N, *rtȳ* (''st) *m'yc kw γyw s'(r) 'yw γ'wcr̥m rtȳ* ''st: Muγ, Б-1, L12 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a cow-skin. — **D** BOGOL., SMIR. read *srwt*, to OIr. **srūta-*, but the last letter cannot be *t* and the third letter looks more like *yodh*. The name *m'yc* would be a hypocoristic form of a name containing *m'y-* “pleasure”.

657. *m'ymrȳc* /Māymarȳč/ m.: B 1 N, *βrz(yr) 'k ZK | m'(ymrȳ)c BRY: UII*, No. 86 (31: 57); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165; *βrȳzr'k | 'β(y) 'mnβntk ZKy | m'ymrȳc | BRYN: UII*, No. 92 (31: 63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166; *βrȳzr'k | m'ymr(ȳ)c: UII*, No. 184 (34: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P** 1 Father of *βrȳzr'k* (#315: 1) and *'βy'mnβntk* (#51: 4). — **B** 2 N, *wn'yptβntk ZK | krnt'yk m'ymrȳc: UII*, No. 115 (31: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169. — **P** 2 Grandfather (or *nisba*) of *wn'yptβntk* (#1318: 3). — **B** 3 N, *m'ymrȳc ZK xsrδ'kk BRY: UII*, No. 117 (31: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169; (*m'ymrȳc*) | (*w*)*xwn'm: UII*, No. 244 (36: 28); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206. — **P** 3 A visitor to Shatial, son of *xsrδ'kk* (#1419: 2). Since we have *wxwn'm ZK xsrδ'kk BRY* in No. 6, in No. 244 *wxwn'm* (#1360: 1) and *m'ymrȳc* are probably brothers; further, this *m'ymrȳc* could be identical with *m'ymrȳc* in other inscriptions (#657: 1 or 657: 2). Reading of No. 244 is rather unsure. — **B** 4 N, *šȳrc Z(K)[] | m'(ymrȳ)c (?) : UI2*, No. 416 (40:8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243; “the ... reading is uncertain, since most of the letters are damaged”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 13. — **P** 4 Father (or *nisba*) of *šȳrc* (#1194: 3). — **B** 5 N, *m'y(mrȳ)c | ZK nwn BRY: UI2*, No. 525 (53:31); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P** 5 A visitor to Shatial, son of *nwn* (#828: 2). — **B** 6 N, *rtȳ 'wδ wm't | tȳšr't 'xw cwz'kk BRY m'ymrȳc: ΔP*, R18-19. — **P** 6 A *nisba* of *tȳšr't* (#1293). — **D** A *nisba* serving as a PN, from *m'ymrȳ-*, Ar. and NP *Māymurȳ* (*Šn.* definitely vocalizes *Māy(u)marȳ*), Chinese *Mi* (米) a district and principality to the South-East of Samarkand (*UI2*, p. 56).

HUMB., *SIF*, No. 59a (= No. 86), has *m'y●●●c*, No. 25 (= No. 416) *myš*, No. 46a (= No. 525) *mx●●hc*; in No. 70d (= No. 115), No. 71c (= No. 117) *m'ymrȳc*. In my opinion, E. DE LA VAISSIÈRE's (*HMS II*, p. 82, cf. YOSH., 2004b, p. 171) attempt to use this name as an indicator of the date of the *UI* corpus (implying that *Māymarȳ* is Panjakent and that it did not turn into a city before the 5th century) is too far-fetched; the *nisba* can easily be formed from the name of a land and not from the name of a city or an administrative unit.

658. (*m'ypr* /Mayūr?/ m.: B B, *ZY m'ypr(r) cytk: TSP*, 8, 47. — **P** The name of a supernatural being. — **D** Unclear, but probably a misspelling of **m'ywr* = Skt. *mayūra* “peacock” (as well as a name of Asura).

The last letter is preserved only partially, but looks more *r* rather than *y* with BENV. The penultimate letter is clearly *p*. In the handwriting of *TSP*, 8 the letters <*p*> and <*w*> are

distinct from one another, but in many other examples of S writing these two letters have very similar or even identical shape, and it is possible that the extant text was copied from a Ms. written in such a hand. Another possibility is to see here a rendering of Indian *Mahābali*- “great Bali”, the king of Asuras, but in this case S *y* on the place of Skt. *h* is strange (as it was kindly pointed out by SIMS-W.). YOSH., 1994, p. 23, quotes *m'ywr 'xšywn'yt* “peacock-kings” from the unpublished fragment *SI: KrIV/862* in the Petersburg collection.)

† *m'ypy* > *m'ypr* #658

m'ytr'k, *m'ytr'y* > *mytr'k* #737

659. *m'ywyz* /?/ m.: **B** N(M), *šmnw m'{y}wyz*: *Ōt.*, No. 7252, 3, p. 128; *y* is inserted above the line. — **P** The name of a Demon? — **D** The editors (p. 129) prefer to see here the name of an unidentified demon rather than the Imp. of 'y_wz- “to be in trouble”. If, indeed, a PN, the meaning is unclear.

660. *m'zy'n* /?-yān/ m.: **B** N, *m'(z)y'(n)* (?): *UI2*, No. 649 (Dadam Das, 53:6, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 132). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** “Boon of *m'z*”, one can read *mxy'n*, maybe miswritten *m'xy'n* (#653, see SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 23).

† *mβ'y* > 'y_{ss} #254

† *mδrk'* > *crδyk'* #384

661. *mδryp'nwH* /?/ f.: **B** N, *(m)δryp'nwH* [: *Panj.-2004*, No. 7, 2, p. 56, photo XXXI. — **P** A name (?) inscribed on a potsherd. — **D** The editors read *y/nδ/lky'nwn/h* and supposed that it is a Turkic (?) personal name, though without etymology. However, I see that the first letter can be either *m* or *s*, the final *p'nwH* and *δ* are also beyond doubt.

As a bare hypothesis: a “historical” spelling of an already New Persian female name *Mihr(a)bānō*, which is interestingly related to Khorazm in the Persian lore (JUSTI, *INB*, p. 205), see *Rahmat-name*, p. 221.

662. (*mθy* /*Mattay*/ m.: **B** C, 't *mθy*: C5, 14, V16 (*STi*, p. 32-33). — **P** The Apostle Matthew. — **D** Syr. *mty* /*Mattay*/.)

663. (*mγ' wmn'* /*Maya Umna*/ m.: **B** N, *rty nwkr mγ' wmn' x'γ'n p'δy-š'δ'(t)[w]* | *δ['](rnt*: *Bug.*, II, 8-9. — **P** A ruler of the First Turkic Empire. — **D** Unclear, as are all the other names from the Bugut inscription. For the initial *mγ'* in this and similar names RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 219-220 proposes *S mx'* from OInd. *mahā* as well as some similar sounding forms in Mongolic languages (but cf. MMP *mγ'irk'n*, MN, 34, for OTu. *maya/baya-tarqan*, etc.).

YOSH. compares this name with *Yan-luo kehan* (奄羅, EMCh. *ʔiam'-la*), the Kaghan of the First Turkish Empire according to the Chinese sources. However, I found this name in the form *Anluo* (菴羅, EMCh. *ʔəm/ʔam-la*), son of Taba (see *mγ' t'tp'r*, #664), Kaghan in 581 and, in any case, the Sogdian and Chinese forms are fairly far from one another. T. ÔSAWA (*Mongolkiüre*, p. 479) equated it with *Pan-na kehan* (潘那, EMCh. *pʰan-naʰ*), the throne name of An-luo, but the similarity of the two names is rather distant.

LIV.-KLJASHTORNYJ's reading was *βγβwmyn γ'γ'n* "lord Bumīn-qayan", *Bumīn qayan* in the Runic inscriptions, Chinese *Tumen* (土門, EMCh. *tʰɔ-mən*), the founder of the First Turkic Empire (died in 552), see RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 207-213 (MP *bwmyñ* hardly here), and p. 218 for a tentative Iranian etymology (hypocoristic or patronymic form to *S βwm-* "earth").)

664. (*mγ' t'tp'r, mγ'' t'tp'r* /*Maya Tatpar*/ m.: **B** N, '*wr-kwp-r cr-'cw mγ''* | *t'[t](p)[r]* (*x'γ'n*) *wsn*: *Bug.*, I, 2-3; *βγγ mγ' t't(p)[r]* | *[x]γ[n]*: *Bug.*, I, 3-4; [*'wrkwp'r cr'?*](*c*)*w mγ' t(')[tp'r x'γ'n?]*: *Bug.*, II, 2; *ms 'kδry tγw mγ'* | *t(t)[p](r) x[γ'n]*: *Bug.*, II, 5; (MN) '*(B)Y mγ' t'tp'r x'γ'n* *wsn*: *Bug.*, II, 9; *J●y βγγ mγ' t(t)p'r x'γ'n*: *Bug.*, II, 11; *mγ(')* | *[t'tp'r/wmn' x'γ'n]*: *Bug.*, II, 17-18; *mγ(')* || *[t'tp'r/wmn' x'γ'n]*: *Bug.*, II, 19 – III, 1; '*HRZ-Y βγ (m)[γ]* | *[t'tp'r/wmn' x'γ'n?]*: *Bug.*, III, 3. — **P** (Magha) Tatpar Kaghan, the ruler of the First Turkish Empire, 572-581 CE. — **D** YOSH. (p. 123) gives his name in the Chinese rendering as *Mohetabo kehan* (莫賀他鉢可汗, EMCh. *mak/mɔʰ-yaʰ-tʰa-pat*), more commonly known as *Tabo kaghan* (他鉢可汗, EMCh. *tʰa-pat*).

LIV.-KLJASHTORNYJ (*Bug. L-K*, p. 74, 85) read *βγγ t'sp'r x'γ'n* "lord Taspar kaghan", and compared him to the same *Tabo kaghan*. The meaning and provenance of this name remain dark (cf. also *Tapar*, a PN mentioned by Maḥmūd Kāšyarī, I, 361; some hypotheses by RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 216 ff; *Onom. Turc.*, p. 711); the sequence '*wr-kwp-r cr-'cw* is given in the English translation by YOSH. as *Urkupar Cracu*, probably as a part of Tatpar's name (apud RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 219; he compares it to *twymys' wrkw*, #1252). LIV. proposes for I, 2-3 '*wskwp'r ckn'cw mγ'n* | (*tykyn*), "since Mahan-tegin...", where '*wskwp'r* is C *sqyp'r* "higher, above" and *mγ'n tykyn* /*Mahan-tegin*/ appears as a younger brother and heir of *mwx'n x'γ'n* (in all the subsequent attestations *mγ'n* is corrected into *mγ''* by YOSH.), who is not mentioned in the Chinese texts.)

fmγ'δ'yH > m'xδ'yH #647

†*mγ'mnH* > *mx'm'yH* #716: 2

†*mγ'n tykyn* > *mγ'' t'tp'r* #664

665. *mγδβ'ncH* /*Məγδəvānj*/ f.: **B** B, *mγδβ'ncH* *δst'*: TSP, 8, 182. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** To S *mγδβy* “minister” (from Pth. *mgbyd*, OIr. **magu-pati*-, as HENN., *So.*, p. 22, No. 11), with the fem. suffix, as BENV., TSP, p. 218.

666. (*mgdl'yq mrym* /*Maydalāyīk Maryam*/ f.: **B** C, *x' qwnt's(c o)* *mgdl'(yq mrym)* | *m't*: Schüller, I, V9-10. — **P** Mary Magdalene. — **D** Syr. *mrym mgdly'* /*Maryam Maḡdalāyā'*/, for the formation of the adjective see SIMS-W., *Syro-S* III, p. 146; cf. *mrym*, #694.)

667. (*mgntys* /*Maynetis*/ m.: **B** C, *w'n γwd'rt* | *mgntys xšywny*: GP, 181-2. — **P** King Magentius, friend of Dadianus (*d'dyn'*, #413). — **D** Syr. *mgntys* /*Maḡnetis*/ < Latin *Magentius*.)

†*mγnyH* > *mγz-* #668

668. *mγz-* /*Mayz?*/ m.?: **B** N, ZY *mγzy-H* | (*XX [X?] IIII*) *w'ry'k w'rp'n'k*: (gen.-dat.), Muγ, Nov.1, V39-40 (SDGM, III, p. 37). — **P** The recipient of armour (*w'rp'n'k*). — **D** Unclear. The final *-H* may serve not as a fem. marker, but as a line filler. BOGOL., SMIR., p. 96 understand it as OIr. **magna*- “naked” (however, in S we observe *βyn'k*, as MP *brahnag*, Oss. *bæynæg* etc.). Probably to be read as *mγzyH* from *mγz* “marrow” (light stem), as a nickname? In this case *-y* is a gen.-dat. ending of a light stem. Less likely, a borrowing.

669. (*mkδ's̄* /*Mikdās̄*/ m.: **B** N, ZY | *mkδ's̄ XXX*: Muγ, A-5, 23-4 (SDGM, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 215; SDGM, III, p. 51). — **P** The recipient of 30 drachmae. — **D** Unclear. BOGOL., SMIR., p. 96, connect it with Hebrew *miqdās̄* “holy” (cf. C *mqdšθ'*, #670; *m'xtysyy*, #651(?); *k'dwš* as a PN in MN, 29) However, we do not attest other Semitic names among the Mt. Mugh documents (apart from Arabic ones).)

670. (*mqdšθ'* /*Məkaddaštā*/ f.: **B** C, *wy'] xw'r mqdš(θ')*: C28 R4 apud SCHWARTZ, 1970, p. 392. — **P** Sister of *θrbw* (#431); C28 is a fragment of the

acts of Tarbo from manuscript different from C2 (SCHWARTZ apud SIMS-W., C2, p. 139 n. 15). — **D** *mqdšt'* /*mḡaddaštā*/ “Saint”; in the Syr. original it is a common noun rather than a PN; wrongly interpreted as a PN by the S translator, as SCHWARTZ, 1970, p. 393 (differently SIMS-W., *Syro-S III*, p. 150, who thinks that it was an untranslated technical term). Cf. *mkδ'sš*, #669, *m'xtysyy*, #651.)

671. (*mkl'sykt* /*Miklāsīgt*/ pl.: **B** M, *cn mkl'syktyy*: (obl. pl.) M112, 10, SUND., *Briefe*, p. 305; *Briefe II*, p. 405-407. — **P** *Miqlāšīya*, a heterodox Manichean community between 710 and 884, followers of *Miqlāš*; see further under *myhry'nd* (#746). — **D** Sogdian obl. pl. ending *-tyy* is preceded by a MP (and not a NP, as in *myhry'nd*) suffix *-īg*, which forms an adjective from the name *Miqlāš*. The name itself is Arabic and means “fat she-camel”, see LURJE, *Khamir*, No. 3.)

672. *mnβkk* /*?*/ m.?: **B** N, *mn(βkk)* : *Fbs. Sh.*, 154: 2, p. 303. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; photographs have not been published so far.

673. (*mnc'wšry*, *mnc'wšyr'y*, *mnc'wšyr'y''*, *mnc'wyšry*, *mncwšry*, *mncwšryy*, *mwncwšry* /*Mañjušīrī*/ m.: **B** B, 't *mnc'wšry pwtystβ*: *TSP*, 5, 95; *k'w mnc'wšry*: *TSP*, 6, 18; *ZK mwncwšry pwtystβ*: *TSP*, 2, 914; *ZK mwncšry pwtly* | *sβt*: *TSP*, 2, 933-4; *mncwšry-H* | : *TSP*, 7, 204 (Skt. invocation); *nm'cyw βr'm'wyn mncwšry pwtystβ mx'stβ*: *TSP*, 8, 9; *nwykr mnc'wyšyr'y''*: *Vim.*, 7; *ZKw mnc'wyšyr'y*: *Vim.*, 10; 'xw *mnc'wyšry*: *Vim.*, 11; *mn<c>'wšry*: *Vim.*, 41; *mnc'wyšry*: *Vim.*, 52; (*mnc*)*wšry*: *MPN III*, R20. — **P** Bodhisattva *Mañjuśrī*. — **D** From Skt. *Mañjuśrī*, lit. “Beautiful-happy”.

The first *w* in the form of *TSP*, 2 found parallels in *šks'pwt* for *śikṣāpada* in *TSP*, 2, 435-440 (cf. also SIMS-W, C2, p. 61; in *TSP*, 2, 933 read *mwncšry* instead of *fmwnčsry* in BENV.'s Edition. In the “over-vowelled” forms from *Vim.*, one can recognize *S šyr* “good” as a re-interpretation of the second part of the name, *-śrī* (cf. *kwm'ršyr*, #585; also *δ'p'tšyr*, #417, *βntyšyr*, #296); however, in Skt. we meet the form *Mañjuśrī*, too, and the Bct. rendering is attested as *Mavoṣipo*, OTu. *Mančuśīrī* (HAMILTON, 1986, p. 26); spelling 'wy is a feature of *Vim*: *nwykr* for *nwkr* “now”, *z'wyr'k* for **z'wr'k* “strong”, cf. also *zy'r* for *z'r* “poison”, *p'z'n* = *p'zn* “mind”, etc. in this text; the final *-y''* (*Vim.*, 7) could be a mis-interpretation of Skt. dative. Cf. possibly also *p'r'γz prnxwnk*, #870?)

mncky > 'wmyšṭkyn #193

mncw > m'ncw #631

mncwšry, mncwšyry > mnc'wšry #673

674. (*mncwty* /*Maničūdi* / m.: **B** B, *swβrcnwty mncwty rtnwty pwšpcwty*: TSP, 8, 32. — **P** Bodhisattva *Maṇicūḍa*, see under *swβrcnwty* (#1110). — **D** Skt. *Maṇicūḍa*, lit. “Gem-head”.)

675. *mnδryny* /*Mārīn-?*/ m.: **B** N, *rwδ'kk* | ZK *mnδry(ny)* | *šytyw(nk)* *np'yš(n)*: UII, No. 283 (36: 67); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P** Father (?) of *rwδ'kk* (#1030: 2), son of *šytyw(nk)* (#1206). — **D** SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 57) understands it as containing OIr. **manθra*- “(sacred) word”, S *m'r*- with an historical spelling (SIMS-W.’s transcription *Manthrēnī* in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212, implies an archaic pronunciation as well).

However, the final *-yny* remains unclear, *-yn* may be a hypocoristic (?) suffix, but why the final *-y* (oblique case of a heavy stem, which is rarely found in the UI inscription)? Maybe an Indian name, cf. *mntr'yH* (#677)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 283, has *mz BRY*.

676. (*mnš'* /*Mənaššē*/ m.: **B** C, (c)[*n m*]*nš'* (')[*žt*]: C13, 33, V9 (*Nachl. III*, p. 211). — **P** Manasseh, king of Judaea (687 – 642 BCE). — **D** Syr. *mnš'* /*mnaššē*/, from Old Hebrew. Two dots below *š* indicate final *-ē*, and not *-ā*.)

677. (*mntr'yH, mntryH* /*Mandrī*/ f.: **B** B, ZKH *wδwH mntr'yH*: VJ, 285, 291, 305; ZKH *mntr'yH*: VJ, 293, 327, 770, 56e, 65e, 803-4, 806-7, 818, 927, 971, 1022-23, 1062, 1078, 1083, 1115, 1147, 1213, 1222, 1368-9, 1397, 1403, 1437, 1501, 1508; 'wy *mntr'yH*: VJ, 309, 1428; 'wyH *mntr'yH*: VJ, 332-3, 1193-4, 1210; 'M *wδyH mntr'yH...pr'yw*: VJ, 350-351, 822-3, 852, 864-5, 908-9; 'M *wδwH mntr'yH*: VJ, 401; 'M *mntr'yH pr'yw*: VJ, 1425; *cnn wδyH mntr'yH*: VJ, 24d; ZKw *mntr'yH ny'wδn*: VJ, 697; ZKwyH *mntr'yH*: VJ, 778; ZKn *mntr'yH*: VJ, 785 (read ZKH *mntr'yH?*); ZKw *mntr'yH*: VJ, 789-90; 'wy *mntr'yH*: VJ, 792, 1428; *mntr'yH*: VJ, 870; 'wy *wδwyH mntr'yH*: VJ, 904; ZKH *mntryH*: VJ, 1015, 1110; 'kw *mntr'yH s'r*: VJ, 1143; *cnn mntr'yH*: VJ, 1153; *mntr'yH* VJ, 1232, 1421; 'M *wδwyH mntr'yH pr'yw*: VJ, 1388-9. — **P** *Mādrī* (lit. “the chief of the Madras”), wife of *Sudāna* (*swδ'šn*, #1111). — **D** A non-conventional rendering (cf. *swδ'šn, kršny'n*, #551). For the intrusion of *n* one can compare *šnt'wδn* = *Śuddhodana*, but more likely it was re-etymologized as containing S *mntr* “mantra”, “maṇḍala”. A similar form *Māndri* appears in the Toch. A fragment of the Jātaka, see MAUE, 2007, p. 226 n. 8.)

678. *mntrwc* /?/ m.?: **B** N(M), *rtxw mntrwc w'nw* | (w)'β: So 18131, IIV3-4 (unpublished, facsimile apud SUND., *SSeele*, Tafel XXXVIII, cf. op. cit., p. 39); *rtxw mntrwcw* | [*m'δ?*] w'β: Ibid, V5-6. — **P** A person in a Manichean text, the interlocutor of a demon (δyw). — **D** Unidentified. Second part to *rw*c “day, light” (< Wlr; in the day-names)? Differently Iris COLDITZ, *IPNB II/4*, forthcoming. SUND. apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 52 p. 54, notes that the same name *mntrwc* appears in an unpublished Uygh. M text M1151/1 S. /5/.

***mntryH* > *mntr'yH* #677**

679. (*mnx* /*Manaq*?/ m.: **B** N, βyy *twrkyš x'γ'n pny* || *mnx*: coin, *Sv. Kat.*, No. 1588, p. 399-400; KAMYSHEV, 2002, No. 23, cf. *zeno.ru*, No. 9955. — **P** A word written on some Tūrgeš coins unearthed in the Talas and Chu valleys, 8th century. — **D** Unclear.

One can easily read *m'x* “moon” on this type of coins (the tail of the final letter definitely suggests *x* and not *γ*); of course, the appearance of the word for “moon” needs an explanation (but cf. *wn'ntm'x* on the so-called *Tukhus* coins, #1315: 2). If we read *mnx*, one can compare it to *mn'* (منع, lege *mny*, *منغ), the title of the ruler (*dihqān*) of Barskhān according to the 11th century Persian historian Gardīzī (see GÖCKENJAN, ŽIMONYI, 2001, p. 138). Gardīzī's information can easily go back to the 8th or 9th century, but the coins of this type are reported to have been found in the Talas and Chu valleys (and once in Khotan!), not on Īsiq-Köl, where (Upper) Barskhān was located. The meaning and further comparanda of the Turkic (?) title (?) **manaq* remain unclear.)

[***mnH βγ'ycn* /?/ :** **B** N(A), 'HRZYm *mnH βγ'ycn ptkwntw* (I)IIC XXIII [] *rwδk*: AL4, R3. — **P** The passage is not clear: “I (have) a debt of 323 copper cash (towards/from/for) *mnH* (or *mzH*, *krnH*?) *βγ'ycn* (*βγ'yc(k)*)”; REI. understood *m.h βγ'yc/* (in his transliteration; above I followed SC) as a female personal name (HRII, p. 29, n. 4). I would rather see in *mnH* a Sogdian counterpart of the unit *mina*, Pers. *man* (cf. S *p'tmnk*, YOSH. apud *Weights*, p. 9); *βγ'ycn/βγ'yck* in this case may be related to Taj. dialectal *φaza* “cotton prepared for spinning” with a suffix (etym. unclear).

If we consider *βγ'ycn* to be a PN, one can propose a distant etymology from OIr. **baga(ya)-čana(h)*- “longing for the deity”, as OP *Aspačanah-*, Av. *Xšaθrō.cinah-*, etc.]

680. (*mpšqn'* /*Məpaškānā*/ m.: **B** C, *w'btqn mp(š)q[n'*: C2, *48 R8. — **P** “Interpreter”, cognomen of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Nestorian teacher, c.

350 – 428 CE (as explained by SIMS-W., *SyroS III*, p. 150). — **D** Syr. *mpšqn* /*Mpašqānā*/ “interpreter, translator”.)

mr’ʿtt’ > ’t’ #31

681. mr’c /*ʔ*/ 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 *nisba*, nickname, family-name, grandfather or title (?) of *p’rs ’k* (#874). — **D** Unclear; -’c may serve as a hypocoristic suffix; hardly related to S *mr’z* “assistant”? Alternatively, to be read (MR) (Y), ideogram for *xwβw* “king”?

682. mr’mw, ’mw /*Mār Ammō*/ m.: **B** N(M), [*mr’m*]*w* [*k*]*w* *βr š’r pr’šy o*: MKG, 359, 3.2 RÜ, p. 37; (’γ)-*št mr’mw wyδβ’γ*: MKG, 3.2, R37, 396, p. 39; *rtY ZKn mr’mw* | *mwz-’k’*: MKG, 3.2, R39-40, 398-9, p. 39; *o mr’mw*: MKG, 3.2, VÜ, 400, p. 39 (cf. HENN., 1945c, p. 87); [*MN ’m*](*w*) *mn’ βry z-’t’kw*: So 14150 R4, apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 114; RECK, 2009c, p. 229. — **P** Mar Ammō, the first propagator of Manicheism in the East. — **D** WMIr. (*mry*) *’mw*, Copt. *Ammōs*, Chinese *Mo Mao* (末冒, LMCh *muat muaw*’); probably, an Iranian name, from **amāwan(t)*- “mighty”, as SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 56, s.v. *m’w*, see #638).

Other possibilities include: hypocoristic (of Arabic type!) to Syr. *’Ammānū’ēl*, as SCHAEDEr, 1934, p. 71 n. 3; alternatively derived from *’Amm* “der väterliche Oheim” (also an Arabic deity), as TUBACH, 1997, p. 390-391; the Iranian etymology is further supported by the observations that Mar Ammo knew the Parthian language and writing, and that his name is never written with the initial *’ayn*, see *Khamir*, No. 1. Cf. also IPth. *’mtnw(k)*, if “strong-bodied” (doubted by SCHMITT, 1998, p. 189). The honorific *mr* “lord” is omitted in the “Letter of the seal”, which was written from the person of higher position (Mani himself) to the lower.

683. mr ’ry’m’n pwxr /(*Mār*) *Aryāmān-puhr*/ m.: **B** M(N), *’t...βγ’y mr ’ry’m’(n)* | *pwxr xwrsncykw mwz-’kw*: BL, A18-19; [*mr ’ry’m’n pwxr* ?]: BL, A132; *’t...βγ’y mr ’ry’m’nw pwxr xwrsncykw mwz-’kw*: BL, B13 (graph. acc.); *’t ... βγ’y mr ’ry’m’n* | *pwxr xwrsncykw mwz-’kw*: BL, B76-77. — **P** The “Teacher” (Patriarch) of the Eastern Manichean Church (of “*X’arāsān*”), addressee of letters A and B from Bāzāklik. — **D** A Parthian name, *pwxr* stands for *puhr*, while *’ry’m’n* is “Friend”, or “Messiah”, epithet of Jesus in Manichean Western Middle Iranian (SUND., *Namen*, p. 103, n. 246; DMMPP, p. 53).

Cf. *š’δ ’ry’m’n* (#1143), *yzd ’ry’m’n* (#1541), *Aryaman fristum*, a presbyter in an Uyghur colophon (GABAIN, WINTER, 1958, l. 43 p. 15), (’)*ry*(’)*m’n rwšn* in a MMP Ms. with a

depiction of the ritual meal-scene (MIK III 4974, R8, BeDUHN, 2001, No. 36, p. 228, n. 196), *mry* *yšw* 'ry'm'n *mhystg* in *MN*, 212-13; SUND., *Ph. Man.*, p. 262 ff.

[*ʔ mr't*, Panj.-2001, 3, p. 86 – read *MR*-'*Y* “lord”, as SIMS-W., *per litteras*, see *Rahmat-name*, p. 220, § 17.]

***mr't*, *mr'tt* > 't' #31**

684. (*mrθ*' /*Mārtā*/ f.: **B** C, *yw* 'ync *qt šy n'm m't mrθ*': C5, 14, R15 (*STi*, p. 35-36); *pyšt mrθ*': C5, 14, R19 (*STi*, p. 35, 37); *nirθ*' *nirθ*' *xwy.sm bry.nc* 'yš *tyw*: C5, 14, V3 (*STi*, p. 37). — **P** Martha, the sister of Mary. — **D** Syr. *mrt*' /*Mārtā*/.)

685. *mry'rt'kk* /*Mə'ṛyārtak?*/ m.: **B** N, ZY 'st (*mry'rt'kk*) '[yw]H 'yz-H: Muṣ, B-1, L7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a water-skin (or spear, 'zyH). — **D** If my reading is correct, this name is a hypocoristic to *mry'rtH* “pearl” (#686). However, the lower part of the line is erased, and the reading is extremely unsure; BOGOL., SMIR. do not attempt to transliterate it.

686. *mry'rtH* /*Mə'ṛyārt*/ f.: **B** N(M), *mry'rtH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 7 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** “Pearl, Margaret”. For the etymology see GERSH., 1989.

687. *mrktH* /*Markat*/ f.: **B** B, *cnn mrktH* *δst*': *TSP*, 8, 174. — **P** Lady mentioned in the colophon. — **D** “Emerald, smaragd”, cf. *mrktH* in *So* 14000, 14, ed. SUND., 1995, p. 293 n. 48, also HENN., *So.*, p. 26, n. 13, Uygh. *marakat* (market), Tib. *mar-gad*, all from Skt. *marak(a)ta* (HENN., loc. cit.).

688. (*mrm'ny*, *m'rm'ny*, *m'rym'nyy* /*Mār Mānī*/ m.: **B** N(M), 'z-*mr(m')ny* (*n*)[*pyk*: *Ōt.*, 2517, 6, p. 78 (with MP preposition /az/); 'z *mrm'ny npykw*: *BL*, B57;]*βy* *mrm'n*[*y*: *Ōt.*, 7252, 1., p. 128; [*m*](*r*) *m'ny s'r*: *Ōt.*, 10088, 1, p. 164; *ZK rxwšny βr'yšt'k βy-y mrm'ny*: *MKG*, 3.2, R39, 398, p. 39; [*mrm'n*](*y*) *βr'y-št*: *MKG*, 3.3 IR5, 445, p. 42; *ZK*(*w*)*H βy-y mrm'ny* *δynH*: *MKG*, 3.4 R4, 520, p. 46; *βy mrm'ny*: *Šnš.*, 58 (= *Len.*, 68, 2); *xw βy(y)* | [*mrm'ny*]: *Šnš.*, 67-8 (= *Len.*, 68, 11-12); (*β*)*y mrm'ny*: *Šnš.*, 85 (= *Len.*, 83a, 8); *βy'y mr* | [*m'ny*]: *Magi*, 47-48, p. 138; *MN mrm'ny βy'y npyky*: *SSeele*, 155, p. 92; *xw* | *xwt'w yšw zynt mr* | *m'ny*: *TIHK*178 (D 170) R apud *St. Jesu I*, p. 59 = *So* 14570/t/9-11, MORANO, 2009c, p. 214; *ZKw βy*

m'rm'ny (sic!) *dynH*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 10(1), p. 17; *β(γ)y (mr)m'ny δ(ynH p)tcxš(δ)['*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 11(2), corr. *KB-Y2*, 6, 8/11 p. 215; 'xw | xwt'w 'yšw 'z-γ'nt *mr* | *m'ny*: *Or. Dom.*, R9-11; *m'rm'ny*: So 18112, R10 apud *MLr. Hss. I*, No. 244; *mrm'ny βγγ z-'t'*: *Ch/So* 19504, 1 apud *MLr. Hss. I*, No. 294; *rty ZKn βγγ mr(m'n)y nm'(c)['*: *Ch/So* 19520 V6 apud *MLr. Hss. I*, No. 300; *Jmrm'ny βry(š)[ty*: *Ch/U* 6542 v1 apud *MLr. Hss. I*, No. 380; *βγγ m'rm'[ny]*: So 14196, V11, apud *MLr. Hss. I*, No. 130; *J | βγγ m'rm(')[ny*: *Bekehrung*, 25; *J | m'n(y)['*: So 14153/r/4 apud RECK, 2009c, p. 235 (one can also understand it as S “mind” or “mona[stery]”, as RECK, op. cit., p. 236); *M, J(x)w βγγy m'rym'nyy*: M2207/II/V/2 apud BOYCE, *Catalogue*, p. 88; now MORANO, 2009b, p. 194-5 (a single reference in the Manichean script known to me!). — **P** Mani, the founder of Manicheism, see also *m'ny*. — **D** For the name, see under *m'ny* (#634). It is normally preceded by Aram. *mry* /*mār*/ “my lord”, as in *MWMLr.* (*mry*, *m'ry*, *m'r*, *mr*, rarely *m'rw*), also in Chinese *Mo Moni*, 末摩尼, etc., which is usually vocalized as *mār* (see BOYCE, 1977, p. 57; *DMMPP*). However, the long internal *ā* when spelt without *aleph* is a violation of norms of S orthography.)

mrtty > *myttr* #736

689. *mrtty* /*Marti?*/ m.: **B1** N, *cytβntk* | *ZK mrtty BRY*: *UII*, No. 312 (36: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215; *mrtty ZK* | [*c*](*y*)*t(βn)tk* (?) *BRY*: *UII*, No. 313 (36: 97); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, father or (and?) son of *cytβntk* (#408: 6). Probably the nephew and grandfather were namesakes, but it is not clear whether *mrtty* or *cytβntk* was the father-and-son of two namesakes. Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 109a, 109b. — **B2** N, *mrtty* | *ky(ncny)*: *UI2*, No. 454 (48:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 251. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *kyncny* (#613). — **B3** N, *mrtty ZK* | '*βy'mnβ(ntk)*: *UI2*, No. 484 (50:27); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 256. — **P3** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of '*βy'mnβntk* (#51: 3); this reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 10. — **B4** N, *J(mr)ty ZK* - - y - - *UI2*, No. 587 (Oshibat, 17:36, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 52). — **P4** A visitor to Oshibat, son (?) of - - y - - (#1675); maybe incomplete at the beginning? — **B5** N, *ZY 'y(w) βrwrwk (crm) sm'r* | *knδc mrtty βyr*: *Muy* B-11, V3-4 (*SDGM*, II, p. 64-65, n. 4, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 71 n. 119; *SDGM*, III, p. 42). — **P5** The recipient of a rolled-up leather. Here *mrtty* can be either the name of a person or a common “man” who is denoted as a “native of Samarkand” (see *sm'rknδc*, #1075). — **D** Cf. S *mrtty* “man”, cf. OP PN *Martiya-*; SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 57) considers that this name is equal to *mrtty* in the common sense

(as OP PN *Martiya-*), while HUMB. (1981, p. 90) thinks about Av. *mašiiā-*, the First Man (see *mrtynH*). R. SCHMITT considers the above explanations as semantically unlikely and explains these names as a hypocoristic with suffix **-iya-* from a name containing **marta-* “mortal” (SCHMITT, 1997, p. 164-166). Cf. also PN *mrđk* in the History of Samarkand (TAFAZZOLI, *KQ III*, p. 7), ZMP *Mardag* (CERETI, 2003, p. 315).

690. *mrtynH* /*Martīyan(a)*/ f.: **B** N(M), *ZKH mrtynH wm't. Magi*, 17, p. 138. — **P** Eve, wife of the prophet Adam and corruptor of his faith according to Mani's teaching. — **D** A usual “translation” of the Semitic name of the foremother by that of the Iranian one: **martiyanākā-* (wife of **martiya-*), MP *mašyānag*, MMP *mwrđy'ng*, see SUND., *Namen*, p. 101. Note that Adam is left untranslated (see 'δ'm, #6: 2) and we have the transcription 'hw'y (#214: 2) for Eve in another text.

HENN., *Magi*, p. 140, n. 4 proposes to transcribe *martēn(a)*. The group */-iya-/* is not expected to be spelt with a single *yodh* in S script, but cf. *kynH* (under #532: 2) for */Kāyen/* in the same text two lines below.

691. (*mrw'n* /*Marwān*/ m.: **B1** N, *ZKn mrw'n δsty*: Muṣ, A-14, 31 (*SDGM*, II, p. 78, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 86; *Last Days*, p. 167, BOGOL., SMIR., *I.1 & A14*, p. 118). — **P1** A person who brought *βtwprn*'s (#320) message to *knδ-* (Konibodom or Panjakent?). — **B2** N, *mrw-'n*: *Graff.*, No. 2. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. The name is written indistinctly, not necessarily in the Sogdian writing. — **D** As noted already by LIV. (*SDGM*, II, p. 89, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 97), an Arabic name *Marwān*. Ultimately it comes from NP *marjān* “coral” (YAK., *I.1 Rev.*, p. 247, n. 25); or from NP *mihrabān* “merciful” (EILERS, 1961-2, p. 222); cf. also *Khamir*, No. 12.)

692. *mrw'H* /*Murwā*/ f.: **B** N(M), *m(rw'H x)[wt'ynH*: *MIK III 6251, 2 apud *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. *435. — **P** A name written on the image of an Electa. — **D** Transcription of WMIr. *mwrw'* “omen” (cf. *mwrw'*, #709), in GULÁCSI, 2001, No. 89, only *m(x/n. h.)* is given. Dr. COLDITZ kindly suggested to me that the word reconstructed as *(x)[wt'ynH]* can stand here for the name of another Electa.

693. *mrxyl* /*Mirxiyal?*/ m.: **B** C, *(mr)xyl wyny. ptry*: C2, 1R 23. — **P** Father of *yzdyn* (#1544) and *t'dqwšsp* (#1211). — **D** The Syriac text gives his name as *mhryr*; i.e. *Mihr-(a)yār* “friend of Mithra” (cf. GIGNOUX,

JULLIEN, JULLIEN, 2009, No. 290); the S form could originate in the earlier MP *Mihr-hayār*, Syr. **mhrhyr* dissimilated into **mhrhyl* > *mrhyl*, as SIMS-W. cautiously proposes in C2, p. 68; for *x* in the place of WMIr., Syr. *h* see under *wxwr'n* (#1362).

694. (*mry'm*, *mry'mH*, *mrym* /*Maryām*/ f.: **B1** C, ()*mrym* | 'fryt:(y)str cn s('t 'yš)t(y) * : C2, 51 V13-14; *qw mrym* ... s': C2, *57 V11; N(C), *cn mry'm pwrȳc'y*: Credo, V8 (*STi*, p. 85-86; cf. *SC*, No. 206); *J(mr)y'm s'r*: So 12600/I/v/4 apud RECK, *Survey*, p. 195. — **P1** The Virgin Mary. — **B2** C, *wy'yw xw'r qt šy* | *n'm m't mrym*: C5, 14, R16-17 (*STi*, p. 35-36); *pyšt mrym*: C5, 14, V5 (*STi*, p. 37-38). — **P2** Mary, sister of Martha (cf. *mrθ'*, #684). — **B3** N(M), *mry'mH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 10 (p. 7). — **P3** A female name in the list. — **D** Syr. *mrym* /*Maryam*/, MMP, Pth. *mrym*, from Old Hebrew. Cf. also *mgdl'yq mrym*, #666.)

695. (*mrys* /*Māres*/ m.: **B** C, *prys*] | (mr)ys *psq(p)y*: C2, *77 R*15-16; 't *w'ptnt m m'r(y)s (ps)[qpy*: C2, *77 V*6 (here *m* probably represents an unsuccessful first attempt of the scribe to write the name, see SCHWARTZ, *STSC-2*, p. 61); *qw m(ry)s psqp.y* ... s': C2, *77 V*11. — **P** The Bishop of Ephesus. — **D** Syr. *mrys* /*Māres*/ (so SIMS-W., C2), from Latin *Marius*.)

mry bby > *bby* #272

mrysysyn > *sysn* #1136

696. (*mš'yx'*, *mšyx'*, *mšyh'* /*Məšihā*/ m.: **B1** C, *xwn]ty mšyh'*: C2, 7R 18; *p](r) mšyh' n'(m*: C2, 12 R29; *pr mšyh'* | *z'wr*: C2, 31 V7-8; *pr mšyh' y'n θbr'qy'* : C2, 31, V25; *pr mšyh' tnp'r 't ywxnw*: C2, *40 V24; *qy mš(yh)' [prw* : C2, *48 R6; *(q)y mšy[h](' prw)*: C2, *48 R8; . *mšyh'*: C2, 51 V15; *pr mšyh' wrny*: C2, *55 V21; *cn mš(yh)' . sptyt nywdnt*: C2, *57 R6; [*] m(šy)h' frwrtqy*: | [*wy]*'*q*: C2, *57, R17-18; *mšyh](')* 'x(z)'(m)nty: C2, *57 R33; *mš(yh)' ȳryw*: C2, 57 V7; *J(mšyh' wyc') [wqy'*: C2, *64 R19; *cn mšyh' wšnty 'wty pyd'r*: C2, *68 V6; *(q)w (m)šyh(' wyš)nty (xy)pθ'wnt <s'>*: C2, *77 V*8; | (m)šyh' (bž) *xwtȳ* : C2, *104 R1; *pr xwt'w mšyh'*: GP, 66; *ny zw 'ym mšyh'*: C5, 2, R4 (*STi*, p. 57-8); *qt tȳw ny*: 'yš *mšy(h)'*: C5, 2, R14; *pcȳ'(z')t m(šyh)'*: C5, 13, V17 (*STi*, p. 56-57; cf. *SC*, No. 86); *qt m[šy](h)'* (xcȳ): C5, 15, I v 20 (*Nachl. II*, p. 66, corr. *SC*, No. 87); *pr mšyh'* | *n'm*: C23, 20, R7-8 (*NBS*, p. 263; *STi*, p. 83; *Nachl. III*, p. 174, 176); *mšy(h)'y* |

ptmwyd'ryšt': (obl.) C23, 20, R8-9 (NBS, p. 263; STi, p. 83; *Nachl. III*, p. 174, 176); *mšyh' xypθ*: C23, 20, R16 (NBS, p. 264; STi, p. 83; *Nachl. III*, p. 174, 176); *mšyh' xcy*: C23, 23, R4 (STi, p. 80; *Nachl. III*, p. 186-187); *(m)šyh' by'(n)[yq *z'wr xcy]*: C23, 24 R2 (*Nachl. III*, p. 189; cf. SC, No. 109); *pr | m'x xwdw mšyh' xypθ z'rcnwqy' 't | šyr'qty'*: C14, 1 6-8 (STii, p. 13); *qt mšyh' ny xcy byy*: C14, 1 35 (STii, p. 15); *mšyh' xypθ ynqyn*: C14, 2, 13 (STii, p. 20); *cn mšyh' | xypθ pyd'rnqy'*: C14, 3, 19-20 (STii, p. 23); *mšyh' 'ž'wny xypθ | 'zd'qry'*: C14, 3, 41-42 (STii, p. 25); *qw xypθ'wnt | mšyh' s'r*: C22, 4, 6-7 (STii, p. 28); *qw xyp(θ)'(wn)t () mšyh' | s'r*: C22, 4, 22-23 (STii, p. 29); *qt mšyh' | xypθ bntyt 'ym'*: C22, 4, 24-25 (STii, p. 29); *xšywny qy n'm žyrrntq'm | šy mšyh'*: C22, 5, 19-20 (STii, 32); *mšyh'y p'dy*: (obl.) *Schüler*, IV13; *qt wy:nny mšyh'y*: (obl.) *Schüler*, IIIV11 (oblique form *mšyh'y* in C6 = TiiB6b, R9, is mentioned by SIMS-W., *Syro-S*, p. 150 as well); *wyny mšyh'*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r5, p. 53; *qy xyd by'nyš[pq]t[y xwd'w] | mšyh' xcy* ∴ *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r14-15; *mšyh' ž(wx)šqy*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 1r26, p. 54; *J(m)šyh' wrnw*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 3r21 p. 65; *mšyh' q' mn 'y(ž)[n qθ'ry*: *Nachl. HANS. I*, 3v9. — **P1** Messiah, Christ in Christian contexts, see *yšwy* (#1522: 1). — **B2** N(M), *(m)š'y-x' ZY (w)rz-kr'k βyy wm't*: MKG, 3.4 R6, 522, p. 46; *ZKn | mš'y-x' δrxwškt' ... ZY ZK mš'y-x' | 'xšnyrk ZY 'nd'ykH*: MKG, 3.4 R11-13, 527-29, p. 46; *cnn mš'y-x' ptšnykH sny*: MKG, 3.4 3, V35, 592, p. 49; *prw mšyx'*: *Magi*, 35, p. 138; *'y mšy-x'*: So 14195 R3, apud *MIr. Hss. I*, No. 129; *oo 'y mšy-x' δyw[tH]*: *Bekehrung*, 26. — **P2** Messiah (Christ) in M texts, see also *yyšw'* (#1522: 2). The literature on the Christ's role in Manichean teaching is voluminous; see, e.g. SUND., *Manich. Ir.*, I, p. 5-12. — **D** Syriac *mšyh' /mšihā/* (from Old Hebrew), *WMIr. mšyh'.*)

697. mšδn /?/ m.: **B** N, *m(š)δn*: *UII*, No. 368 (39: 63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; SIMS-W., loc. cit., adds *mšδk* as a less likely reading; *HUMB., SIF*, No. 12, has *m•δk*.

mškw'n > mšyprn #698

698. mšyprn /Mišifarn?/ m.: **B** N, *ZY mšy-prn [...]*H: *Muy*, B-1, L7 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** The recipient of a water-skin (or spear, *zyH*)? — **D** Possibly, “the glory of Mithra” (see *mšyy'n*, #699), but the reading remains unsure and alternative possibilities are numerous.

BOGOL., SMIR. read *sykw'n* or *mškw'n* (both without etymology). I see *prn* “glory” in the second part while the first part (*m/s-y/x/š-k/r/y*) remains unclear. The reading *mškpyn* may

mean “glory of substance”, *sxyprn* “mocked glory” (see SIMS-W., *Nachl. HANS. I*, p. 62 for *sxy-*); *sxrprn* would mean “glory of the wheel.

mšyx', mšyh' > mš'yx' #696: 2

699. *mšyy'n* /Mišiyān/ m.: **B** N(M), *o mšy-y'n* [*Ōt.*, 7453, 2, p. 141. — **P** A person in a fragmentary list? — **D** Cf. *mšyy'n* in *MN*, I, 52 “boon of Mithra” (BENV., *Ēt.*, p. 26; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 201, No. 27; cf. BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9: “Sunday boon”)?; alternatively one can read *mšy-yx'* for *mšyx'* “Messiah” (cf. *ʾyšw* in the following line).

700. *mt'tw, m't'tw* /?/ m.: **B** N(A), *m-t- 't-w* || *Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 286, No. 1246; *m- 't- 't-w* || *Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 286, No. 1244-45. — **P** A ruler of Samarkand (1st - 3rd century CE?), who issued silver coins in imitation of Antiochus. — **D** The reading given above follows M. ALRAM (*NPIN*, p. 286) and is extremely unsure; ZEIMAL' did not separate this legend from that of *'št'm* (see *'št't*, #182: 1) Read [*'*] *'št't* ●?

(m?)t(r●)w'k > xt'yβ'k #1429

701. *mw'k* /Mawāk'/ m.: **B** Bu, *MR'Y mw'k*: coin, *NPIN*, p. 279-280, No. 1234; cf. NAYMARK, 1995, p. 31, 40-42. — **P** A ruler of the Buxārā oasis, 4th - 5th century? — **D** Reading by Michael ALRAM. On the one side, the name can be compared to *myw* “tiger” and the names with this element (cf. #738 ff.; with *scriptio brevior*, cf. *cr'k* in Bu script, #381?). On the other side, this name has a series of pendants in the onomastics of Pont. Ir. and “Saka” circles: *Μαωνης* / Khar. *Moasa*, the ruler of Indo-Sakas, *Μευακος* from Tanais, a Farghana ruler *Mugua/Wugua/Wugu* (母寡/ 毋寡/ 毋鼓, OCh **mæg-kwá*, **m̃iwo-kwa* **m̃iwo-ko*, acc. to KARLGREN) in the 2nd century BCE (cf. DAFFINÁ, 1967, p. 50; LITVINSKIJ, 1972, p. 192-193), and especially *Μαβάκης*, the leader of Central Asian Sacae in Alexander's time (Arr, III, 8, 3), cf. also *m'w* (#638); Elam. *Mauiyakka* (MAYRHOFFER, *OnP*, 8.1049). Cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 20.

702. *mwōpwt* /Mūlput'/ m.: **B** N, *mwōpwt* | *ZK* (?): *UII*, No. 370 (39: 65); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** Unclear; the first part can be S *mwō* < Skt. *mulya* “price”, while the second seems to be S *pwt* “silk”. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9b, reads *m●ōp●t*.

703. *mwk'n-* /*Mūkān-?*/ m.: **B** N, *šnw*y (or *ɣnw*y, *xnw*y) | *BRY* | *mwk'ny* (obl.?), inscr. on a bronze seal in the collection of the State Hermitage (Gl 13000), ed. LIV., 2009, p. 248 with. figs. 3 and 4. — **P** The father of *šnw*y (? #1173) according to LIV.'s reading. — **D** Unclear. One can read also *mw̄yδny*, *mw̄nynδ*, *mw'ky*, etc. If indeed *šnw*y is to be read as *xypδ*, the last letter is probably -y for the oblique case.

704. *mwkr'ncH* /*Mōkrānj?*/ f.: **B** N(M), *mwkr'ncH*: HENN., So., VI, 9 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in the list. — **D** Unclear.

HENN., So., p. 7, proposes three variant meanings: either to Pth. *mwqr'nyg*, a title of a group of hymns, of unclear meaning and pronunciation (“Makurānian”?, Syr. *mawqrān* “he who honours”?, see the discussion by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, 2004b, esp. p. 101-103), or to *mōk-kar* “teaching” (MP *hamōg*, Toch. *amok*, but S /*mōžāk*/), or, finally, to the old name of Korea, *Mukri*. -*'ncH* is a usual feminine suffix.

705. (*mwkw* /*Mügü*/ m.: **B N(C), *mwkw xwβw*: *DTS*, G18. — **P** A king, ruler of 'z' (Tib. 'A-ža, Chinese *Tu-yu-hun*), a tribe of nomad origin, who established a kingdom in Qaidam and central Gansu in the 9th century. The king named *Boqili* (撥乞狸, EMCh. KG. *puât-k'jät-lji*, PLB. *pa^h-k^hit/k^hij^h-li/li*) moved the people from Gansu in 884. — **D** Probably Turkic *Bügü* “wise, magic, mystical”, a common PN, maybe the same person as Boqili; one ruler of the 'A-ža is called *Ma.ga Tho.gon Kha.gan* in the Tibetan texts from Dunhuang; for Turkic *b-* rendered as *m* in Iranian, cf. MMP *my'ṭrk'n* for *Baya Tarxan*, MN, 34, see *DTS*, p. 74.)**

[*mwmyñ xm'yr* /*Mumin Xamūr*/ m.: **B** N(M), *[(m)wmyn xm'yr prm*: *KB-YI*, p. 119; *KB-Y2*, 13, 7/21. — **P** The Baghdad Caliph, possibly Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809), Al-Amīn (809-813) or rather al-Ma'mūn (813-833). — **D** Transcription of Arabic title *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* “Commander of the faithful”, not a PN in the proper sense. The “inverted” syntax reflects either Iranian or Turkic models; cf. also under *xmyr*, #1407; LURJE, *Khamir*, No. 7.]

mwncwšry > *mnc'wšry* #673

706. *mwñδβ* /?/ m.: **B N, *m(wñδβ)* (?): *UI2*, No. 604 (Campsite, 3:8). — **P** A visitor to the Indus campsite. — **D** Unclear, reading quite uncertain.**

mw̄pδ > *tw̄wδ* #1269

707. *mwrδry* /?/ m.: **B** N, *xwt'wβntk* | *ZK mwrδry*: *UII*, No. 70 (31: 41); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 163. — **P** Father (?) of *xwt'wβntk* (#1458). — **D** Unclear.

The penultimate letter can be *k*, too (*UI2*, p. 57). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 66a, reads *mwz BRY*. Hardly to S *mwrδ*- “death”? Cf. a somewhat similar sounding name in the Chinese rendering *Wuduo* (勿多, EMCh. *mut-ta*) apud IKEDA, 1965, p. 65. Cf. *mwr●●●●k* (#710).

708. *mwrnyn* /?/ m.: **B** N, *xwβ* | *mwrnyn(H)* | *xnš'n(H)*: coin, *Sv. Kat.*, No. 33-36, p. 96; Table II; LXI. — **P** A word in a coin-legend from Samarkand, maybe the name of a king (6th cent. CE?). — **D** The inscription is lapidary and rather difficult to read, only *xwβ* is clear.

For the word to the right, SMIR. (p. 21-22) proposed *γnš'n* signifying “(one who has a) good sign-*nišān*”; this idea cannot be accepted for both palaeographical and semantical reasons. One can transliterate it as *γ-n-z-x/š/ 'y/k-n/H* (to *γzn* “treasury”, with some unknown second element?); ISKHA KOV, 2008, p. 174, reads lapidary written *x- 'γ- 'n*; i.e. *Kaghan* (indicating early Turko-Sogdian contacts?). The word to the left is transliterated as *mwknyn* on p. 21-22 and as *mwrzyn* on p. 96. According to the photos, it is *t/m-w-n/z/r/k-n/z-c/y-n/H*, maybe *mwrzyn*, a hypocoristic to *mwrzk* “small” (cf. Elam. PN *Maršukka* < **Mṛzu-ka*-, MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 999)? Less likely, *twrz'k* “son of *Twr*” (cf. *twr'k*, #1262, the name of a ruler of an earlier time?)

709. *mwrw'* /-(?)*Murwā*/ m.: **B** N(M), *J* | *mwrw' š'd 'ry'm'n*: *BL*, A114-115. — **P** An authority in the Manichean cloister in Turfan. — **D** MMP *mwrw'h*, *mwrw'* “omen, sign”, cf. *mrw'H* (#692); *ysn mwrw'* (#1519); *wyspwxr mwrw'* (#1383).

In WMIr., cf. the names *mry myrw'h* *yyšw 'spsg*, *Yišō'-Murwāh*, *Bān-murwāh* (*DMMPP*, 234, SUND., *Pn. Man.*, p. 256); *Jmwrw'h*, PN in MMP (SUND., *Pn. Man.*, 263; BeDUHN, 2001, p. 227 No. 32; *DMMTT*, p. 234), *qnyg(m)wrw'h* in M759 II R8 apud DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, *Hymns LS*, 1299 with n. 416; *Fristum murwa ban* (so to be read *p'n*) in a Manichean Uyghur text from Dunhuang (HAMILTON, 1986, 7, 18). Alternatively, *mwrw' š'd 'ry'm'n* represents a single name consisting of three elements (see *š'd 'ry'm'n*, #1143), or *J* | *mwrw'* is the second element of a name with the initial part lost?

710. *mwr●●●●k* /?/ m.: **B** N, *k'nk* *ZK* (?) | *m(wr - - -)k*: *UII*, No. 192 (34: 78); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189. — **P** Father (?) of *k'nk* (#516: 3). — **D** Unclear, cf. *mwrδry* (#707). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 52a, has *x●●●●●* beneath this name, but SIMS-W. (*UII*, p. 20) doubts whether this line is written in S.

711. *mwš'* /*Mūša*?/ m.: **B** N, *mwš'*: *UII*, No. 209 (34: 95); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191; *mwš'()*: *UII*, No. 361 (39: 56); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 231. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** “Mouse”?, cf. *nnymwš'* (#795), *mwš'kk* (#713) and *UI2*, p. 36-

7. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 17e, has *mwš(y)* or *mβš(y)*; for other “small animal” (nick-)names cf. s.v. *βwβ* (#321); also MP PN *Mūšēn* (GIGNOUX, *IPNB* II/2, NO. 668; ZIMMER, 1991, p. 122); however, I cannot explain the final *aleph* in this name (fem. light stem ending *-a*, as suggested by SIMS-W.?).

712. (*mwš'* /*Mōšēl*/ m.: **B** C, 't ms *mwš'* 't 'ly': C2, *55 R20; *mwš'* ryt: C2, *55 R22; *yw tw'* 't yw *m(w)[š](')* y ('t [y](w) 'l)[y 'y]: (obl.) C5, 18, V16 (*STi*, p. 15-16; *Nachl. II*, p. 78, restoration in SC, No. 89); *bywny mwš'*: MIK III 52, R2 (*STii*, p. 34); *sng s'r wny.nt mwš'* *bywny* | 't 'hrwny: MIK III 52, R3-4 (*STii*, p. 34); *mwš'* (b)[ywny: *Schüler*, IV1; (m)wš': *Schüler*, IIIR1 — **P** Moses. — **D** Syr. *mwš'* /*Mōšēl*/, from Old Hebrew, cf. MMP *mwš'*.)

713. *mwš'kk* /*Mūšak*/ m.: **B** B, *mwš'kk δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 179. — **P** A person mentioned in the colophon. — **D** “Mouse” (?) cf. *mwš'* (#711) with hypocoristic.

IKEDA, 1965, p. 64, compares it to *Mosuo* in the Chinese rendering (磨娑, EMCh. *ma-sa*, but *mua-sa* in KARLGREN's system), which seems to be rather distant from *mwš'kk*. Cf. *m'sy* (after #637).

714. (*mwtklyn*, *mwtkr'yn* /*Mōdgalēn*/ m.: **B** B, *m(w)[tklyn](y)wp'rs*: *SZ*, R1 (obl.); [*mwtkr*](')yn *KZNH w'(β)*: *MPN III*, R1; *ZK mwtkr'yn KZNH* | *w'β*: *MPN III*, R9. — **P** (*Kolita Mahā*)-*Maudgalyāyana*, a pupil of the Buddha, his interlocutor in the *Sūtra über die Zeit*. — **D** Skt. *Maudgalyāyana* (a patronym to *Mūdga* + “approaching”).

One notes that the quantities of the vowels in S and Skt. forms do not agree with each other, so one needs to assume a mediation of some other language. The name could have been borrowed *via* a Ms. in Khar. script, or Bactrian, where vowel length is not recorded. The Chin. forms *Mulian* (目連, EMCh. *muwk-lian*), *Mujianlian* (目健連, EMCh. *muwk-kian-lian*) also stand apart. For regular borrowing, see *mx' mwtkr'y'n*, #719.)

715. (*mw x'n* /*Muqan*/ m.: **B** N, 'Y-(K)' •m••• *m(wx)'n x'y'n*: *Bug.*, I, 2; 'HRZY *nwkr ZK βyy mw x'n x'y'n*: *Bug.*, I, 3; *βyy (m)[wx'n x'y'n]*: *Bug.*, I, 5; *tw(') xwy-štr 'HY mw x'n x'y'n pr'y-t*: *Bug.*, II, 3; *mw x'n x'y'n npyšn βyy ... p'y nry x'y'n*: *Mongolküre*, 6. — **P** *Muqan Qayan*, the ruler of the First Turkic Empire (553-572 CE). — **D** The Chinese rendering is *Muhan* (木汗, EMCh. *Məwk-yan^b*). The etymology remains unclear, but it could hardly be Turkic.

YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 364-5 explicitly states that the third letter on the Mongolküre inscription is *x* and not *y*; TREMBLAY's (2001, p. 317) reconstruction of Kaghan's original name as *Burxan*

looks highly hypothetical and is not strengthened with further arguments; RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 218-19 puts forward an Iranian etymology, patronymic from S *mwγ*- “magus”.)

716. (*mx'm'yH*, *mx'm'yH* /*Mahāmāy* / f.: **B1** B, *ZKH mx'm'yH xwt'ynH*: *VJ*, 1507. — **P1** Mother of the Buddha Gautama. — **B2** N(M), *mx'm'yH*: *HENN.*, *So.*, VI, 2 (p. 7). — **P2** A female name in the list. — **B3** B, *mx'm(y)H δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 182 (cf. *HENN.*, *STP*, p. 737); the letters (y) are, however, very unclear, *BENV.*'s initial reading *my'mnh* is no less probable. — **P3** A lady mentioned in the colophon. — **D** Skt. *Mahāmāyā* “Great pleasure”.)

717. (*mx'k's'yp'*, *mz'yx k's'yp* /*Mahākāśēpa*, *Mazēx Kāśēp*/ m.: **B** B, *ZKw pncw* | *šmnt' mx'k's'yp'* *ZY 'wrpyrβ'* *k's'yp'* *ZY n't'y k's'yp'* *ZY* | *k'y'' k's'yp'*: *Len.*, 93, 18-20; *ZK mz'yx k's'yp*: *Vim.*, 41; *ZK x(w)[yštr]* | *[mz'yx k's'yp]*: *VB*, II, 1, 21. — **P** An elder disciple of the Buddha. — **D** Skt. *Mahākāśyapa*, as already F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403; semi-translated as *mz'yx k's'yp* “great Kāśyapa” or transcribed from Skt. See *k's'yp* (#523), for the final *aleph* cf. *'m'yt'*, #15.)

718. (*mx'kp'yn*, *mx'kpyn* /*Mahākappin*/ m.: **B** B, *mx'kpyn (XXX ptr)*: So 18240, II, margin; (*mx'kp*)'yn *XX(XI ptr)*: So 18241, II, margin, apud *Araṇemi*, p. 340; *mx'kpyn M[LJK']*: So 18240, I, 1 apud *YOSH.*, *Bodh.*, p. 338. — **P** *Mahākapphiṇa*, a person in Jātaka literature, the king, pupil of the Buddha; used here as the title of a text. — **D** Indian, “Great Kapphiṇa” (also called *Kappiṇa*, *Kaphila*, *Kamphilla*).)

mx'm'yH > *mx''m'yH* #716: 2

719. (*mx'-mwtkr'y'n* /*Mahā Maudgalāyan*/ m.: **B** B, *ZY 'wyn mx'-mwtkr'y'n*: *Len.*, 93, 22. — **P** (*Kolita*) *Maudgalyāyana*, a disciple of the Buddha. — **D** “Great Maudgalyāyana”, see *mwtklyn* (#714); cf. OTu. *mwtkl'yyn* /*Motg(a)layin*/, *mwtk'ly'n* /*Motgalyan*/, *mwtk'ly'ny-* /*Motgalayani-* (P. ZIEME apud *SZ*, p. 342 n. 28); Toch A. *Modgalyāyaṃ*.)

mx'mnH > *mx'm'yH* #716: 2

720. (*mx'wr* /*Mahā-?*/ m.: **B** B, *'wy m(x')[wr*: *Len.*, 8, R2 (corr. SIMS-W., *SC*, 316); *cnnn mx'w(r)*: R5 (corr. SIMS-W., *SC*, 316). — **P** A word in the S Samghāṣūtra, maybe a PN? — **D** Unclear, but looks Indian. I cannot exclude a transliteration *mx'w(y)[cy* in R5, thus *mahāvīci*, the name of the

Buddhist hell (cf. *tmync* in R4; however Indian *v* is usually rendered with S β); or *mx'wr* “mahoraga-s, great serpents” in *Len.*, 93?)

721. *mxrH* /?/ m.?: **B** N, *Z(K)[n* •?/ *mxr-H*: Muγ, A-5, 2; *ZY* (•*mxr*?): A-5, 10 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 213; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of drachmae and equipment. — **D** Difficult reading. LIV. has *myr* (now *mxr*), BOGOL., SMIR. give ..*myy*..

In line 2 a gap before *m* has a too limited space for any letter after *Z(K)[n*, but the shape of *m* suggests rather internal than initial position. After the *reš* or *yodh* in the final shape we see a horizontal stroke, either *hā* or *nūn*. In the first case, we have to admit here a feminine name. One can also read *mxrn* for MP *Mihrān* (cf. *mhr'n* in the “History of Samarkand”, TAFAZZOLI, *KQ II*, p. 6), see *Pyšn 'm'k*, p. 239.

722. *my'β'nkyH* /*Mayāvēnuk-?*/ f.: **B** N(A), [*pyš*](*t*) *MN xypδyH δ(')yH my('β)'nkyH*: (obl.) LM.II.ii.09 = Or 8212 (1823), R19, apud SIMS-W., *Greeting*, p. 179. — **P** A woman, the sender of the letter. — **D** So transliterated in SC, No. 370, *my('β)cnkyH* in *Greeting*, loc. cit. For *my'* – “pleasant”, cf. *'my'rwc* (#92), *my'y* (#725). SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 57) understands the second part as obl. of *-β'n(w)k*, from Av. *bānu* “ray” or MP *bānūg* “lady”.

***my'βcnkyH* > *my'β'nkyH* #722**

723. *my'c* /*Mayač*/ m.: **B** B, *ny''k 'BY' my'c δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 172. — **P** Grandfather of *cwr'kk* (#392: 1). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 57) transliterates *my'c* (but *tmync* in SC, No. 232, following *TSP*) to S *my'kcyk* “pleasant”.

One can read the third letter equally as ' , *n* or *z*. BENV. omitted it in the translation and supposed it is a suffix, related to *δst'* (p. 172); however, parallel passages of the same text (e.g. *ny'kH m'tH 'rwtpnrnd'yH δst'* *TSP*, 8, 172, see #149, etc.) would rather let us suppose a PN here, as HENN., *STP*, p. 737.

***†my'rh''w/n* > *my'rx''n* #724**

***my'k* > *np''k* #809**

724. *my'rx''n* /*Mayāraxān?*/ m.: **B** N, *my'rx''n c'c'nn'pc III III III XX X styrk*: *SSNSS*, No. 18, p. 170-172; image in *VS*, XXV, 53. — **P** The possessor of a silver bowl, leader of the Čač nation (*c'c'nn'pc*). — **D** The fifth letter is of unusual shape, one can read *h* (as preferred by LIV./LUKONIN), *š* or *x/γ*. For the

first part, cf. *my'y* (#725), *'my'rw*c (#92), for the second cf. *rx'n*, #1040; also Bct. PN *Muapo*.

LIV., *Praviteli Pancha*, p. 57 n. 6; *Predvoditel'*, p. 214 with n. 4 (cf. also *Sānak*, p. 49), proposes to read the name as *MY'R š'w*, where *MY'R* is an unusual spelling of the Arameogram *MRY'/MR'Y* “lord” and *š'w* “black” (cf. #1156). HARMATTA, *Avar Objects*, p. 61, transcribes *Mayāktāv*. The reading *my'rx'n/Mayārkhān* is proposed by YOSH., *Phoenicians*, p. 191.

725. *my'y* /Mayāy?/ m.: B N, *my'y* | *kwrsyk* | *snk* | *cyrδc* | *kwš'nk'n*: UI2, No. 560 (Thor I, 26). — **P A** visitor to Thor, companion of *kwrsyk* (#594), *snk* (#1081: 4), *cyrδc* (#404), *kwš'nk'n* (#599: 2). — **D** To OIr. **māyā-* “pleasure” (for the shortening cf. *GMS*, §124), cf. *'my'rw*c (#92), *my'k* (under *np'k*, #809). With SIMS-W., UI2, p. 57, final *-y* may be a hypocoristic suffix, cf. MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, p. 285; JUSTI, *INB*, p. 521; GIGNOUX, *IPNB*, II, 2, p. 8.

726. *myδkn*, *myδk'n* /Mēδkan?/ m.: B1 N, *myδkn*: UII, No. 111 (31: 82); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168; *myδk(n)*: UII, No. 123 (31: 94); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170; *myδk(n)*: UII, No. 129 (31: 100); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 171; *myδkn*: UI2, No. 515 (53:21); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 261. — **P1 A** visitor (or several visitors – namesakes) to Shatīal. — **B2 N**, (*s*)*nk* | *myδk(n)* | *prnyn*: UI2, No. 518 (53:24); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P2 A** visitor to Shatīal, companion of *snk* (#1081: 3) and *prnyn* (#913; or son of *prnyn*?; father of *snk*?). — **D** The final *-kn*, *-k'n* is a (pro)-patronymic suffix (SIMS-W., UI2, p. 53), *myδ* may be either “day” or “middle”, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 57. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 74a (= No. 111), has *myδk'r* or *myδk ZK*, *myδk'r* in No. 129 as HUMB., *SIF*, No. 77b, but the last letter is “not a well formed *r*”, as SIMS-W., UII, p. 18.

It is worth noting here that M44 R8 does not contain the name *myδq[r]yy*, pace COLDITZ, 1987, 159, p. 300-302; the MS phrase *pryβyy myδq[r]yy 'styy* means “there are clouds everyday” (an unusual situation in the arid Turfan oasis which was mentioned by the scribe); cf. also Pont. Ir. *Μησακος, Μηθακος* (ZGUSTA, 1955, §149), or Toch. A *Maskari-*?

[*ʔmyδyckt* > *srδyct* N, *myδ srδyct* ZY ZK *zntr'k 'yw* [: *Μυγ, Б-1*, I (*SDGM*, II, p. 220; III, p. 43); the word understood by LIV. as the name of a recipient of chain-mail and transliterated as *myδyckt*, was read as *myδ srδyct* by BOGOL., SMIR. (op. cit., p. 47), the 3rd day of intercalation, cf. *srdrd* apud BĒRŪNĪ, *Āthār*, p. 57/47, which gives a better sense.]

727. (*myk'* /Mīxā/ m.: **B** C, .(p)rptt ymyk': C2, *94 V24. — **P** Micah, the biblical prophet. — **D** Syr. *myk'* /Mīkā/, from Old Hebrew.)

728. (*myk'yl* /Mīxāēl/ m.: **B** C, gbry'yl 't myk'yl fryšty:t. C2, 60 V12; w'nw w'b gbr'yl qw (m)[yk'yl s']: C2, 60 V15; 't p'žy:r nwqr my(k)'yl: C2, 60 V19; *myk'yl fryšty:* GP, 115-116. — **P** The Archangel Michael. — **D** Syriac *myk'yl* /Mīkā'ēl/. Cf. *m(y)h'yl*, *myx'yl* in the WMIr. Manichean texts, maybe *myxy* (#747).)

729. (*mylys* /Mīles/ m.: **B** C, z)prt 'dy mry mylys | ['psqwp': Eugen, R5-6; qw | [mry mylys s']('): R11-12; mry] (mylys 'p)[y](sqwp)': R19; qw mry | [mylys]('pys)q(w)p[' s': R23-24; my)lys 'pysqwp': R25; qw mylys | ('pysqwp)': R28-29; pšt] | (xw fwx'r mylys 'pysqwp' xwty: V3; 'yny fwx'r zprrt 'dy (m)[yly](s) 'pysqwp'y[: V12; c'nw 'yt mry mylys | (')[p](ys)qwp': V14-1; (q)[w f](wx)[r 'dy mry mylys s']: V18; [mry mylys]: V20; [zprrt '](d)y (m)[ry](m)[ylys]: V24; mry myl(ys 'pysqwp)': V28. — **P** Mar Miles, the bishop of Seleucia and Susa, end of the 3rd century, who reproached p'p', the patriarch of Ctesiphon (#867). — **D** Miles, Milles. SUND., Eugen, p. 322, shows that the Sogdian form is closer to Syriac *myl's* of the London Ms. 1, rather than to *mylws* and *mylyws* of other Syriac variants.)

mync > *my'c* #723

730. *myr'yn* /Mi^hrēn/ m.: **B1** N, š'p'wr ZK | *myr'yn* BRY: UII, No. 32 (20: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 142. — **P1** Father of š'p'wr (#1154: 1). — **B2** N, *myr'y(n)* | *swynk*: UII, No. 292 (36: 76); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *swynk* (#1123). — **D** As SIMS-W., UI2, p. 57, *Mi(h)rēn*, a MP/Pth./Bct. name, formed from *mihr* “sun, Mithra, friendliness etc.” + suff. -ēn (a hypocoristic according to GIGNOUX, IPNB II, 2, No. 642). Cf. *myrprn* (#732), *myrsr* (#733), *mxrH* (#721)? Probably, a foreign name, since MS *myr*, *myhr* “Sunday” (add Muṣ A-12, vi, 1: *my(rzmnH)*, as corrected in SC, No. 264 against FREJMANN's †*myrš* z., SDGM, I, p. 48) is not expected to have been borrowed at an early date; moreover *myr'yn*'s son has a MP/Pth./Bct. name š'p'wr, too.

†*myrbd* > *nrymn myrpδδ* #818

731. *myrδ't* /*Mirδāt?*/ m.: **B** N(A), *myrδ't*: coin, ZEIMAL, 1983b, p. 253, pl. 20, 6-8, cf. RTVELADZE, 1997, p. 26 No. 9; NAYMARK, 2008, p. 65. — **P** A ruler of the Buxārā oasis (?) between 2nd century BCE and 1st century CE, who imitated the coins of Euthydemus. — **D** Reading unsure, cf. *NPIN*, p. 272-273, No. 1221. One wonders whether the name **Miθra-dāta-* could have yielded the form /*mirdāt*/ (in *WMir?*) with **θ > *h > Ø* at such an early date (cf. in this respect *Μιρα-δάτης*, *Μεiri-δάτης* in the Awroman Greek documents of the 1st century BCE, SCHMITT, 1998, p. 175), particularly in a script, which is usually conservative.

A specimen with the clearly visible legend in the collection of the National Bank of Uzbekistan was published by RTVELADZE, 1997. It completely supports the reading of ZEIMAL, loc. cit. (cf. cautiousness of ALRAM, *NPIN*, p. 272-3, No. 1221).

732. *myrprn* /*Mirfarn*/ m.: **B** N(M), (*m*)*yr(pr)n*: HENN., *So.*, V, 1 (p. 6). — **P** A name in a list. — **D** “Glory of Mithra”. Either a loan from Parthian (cf. *mtprn*, *Nisā*, p. 197; WEBER, 2004, p. 120; *Μιτραφέρνης* etc.), or a recent composition: *M myr*, *myhr* “Sunday” (HENN., *So.*, p. 6; cf. the same explanation by BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9), in this case the name can reflect a birthday; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 198, No. 13, pleads for “Sonnen-Farn”.

Cf. *myšpr* (#735); *myr* 'γδy in an Uyghur Manichean text, see HENN., *Argi*, p. 554 n. 2 (= p. 582), *Mir Yegān* (HAMILTON, 1986, p. 167). Dr. COLDITZ kindly informed me about another attestation of this name in an unpublished fragment.

733. *myrsr* /*Mirsar*/ m.: **B** N, *myrsr* 'yw: Muγ, B-1, L8 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P** A recipient of some goods. — **D** Reading unsure; the meaning seems to be “(the one who has) Mithra (as his) head”, “led by Mithra”, cf. *δyw-sr* (#475), *'ypr-sr* (#251); Aram. rendering *mtsrsh* (TAVERNIER, 2007, p. 251)?

734. *myrz'tk* /*Mirzāte*/ m.: **B** B, 'xw 'kwcyk *myrz'tk* [pwny]'rkš'yt šmny: *So.*, III, 23-24, p. 62. — **P** A monk, translator of the *Samjñā-Dharmāh-Sūtra* (?) from Kuchean (?) into Sogdian. — **D** *Myrz'tk* seems to be the Sogdian name of this person, possibly given at his birth; his Buddhist (or: “Tocharian”) name was Punyarakṣita (*pwny'r'kš'yt*, #958). This Sogdian name can mean “Mithra-son”, “Sun-son”, “Sunday-son”, a patronymic “Son of *Mīr*” (HENN., *So.*, p. 60) or even be equal to NP title *mīrzā*, as SUND.-KUDARA in *SZ*, p. 348, contra HENN., *So.* (for NP *mīrzā* < **marya-zātaka-* cf. already HANSEN, 1940, p. 140; with a reference to this name).

735. *myšpr* /?/ m.: **B** N, J - - - [|] *myšpr*: *UI2*, No. 483 (50:26); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255, “very faint. It is not clear where either line begins or ends”, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 16. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? Or the father of a visitor? — **D** One would think, first of all, of reconstructing this name into *myšpr*[n “Glory of Mithra”, cf. *crδmys* (#383), *mšyprn*, *mšyy’n* (#698-699), if the date of the inscription is not too early for development of **θr* into š (cf. *tyδrβntk*, #1277).

736. *myttr* /?/ m.: **B** N, ZY ZKn *myttr ctβ’r*: Muγ, A-5, 20 (*SDGM*, II, p. 181, cf. *SĒSAS*, p. 215; *SDGM*, III, p. 51). — **P** A recipient of 4 drachmae. — **D** Unclear. BOGOL., SMIR., p. 96, read *mrtty* or *mytty* and suppose that it is a borrowing or comes from OIr. **martiya*-. LIV., p. 184, reads *mytty* and thinks that it is a Turkic name. Cf. also *mytr’k*?

mytty > *myttr* #736

737. (*mytr’k*, *mytr’y*, *m’ytr’k*, *m’ytr’y* /Mētrē/ m.: **B1** B, ‘kw *mytr’k* | *pwty s’r*: *TSP*, 2, 582-3; ‘ys’t *zwrn’k mytr’y*: *TSP*, 5, 97; *mytr’k*: *TSP*, 7, 204; *m’ytr’y pwty xwyšt*: *TSP*, 8, 200; *m’ytr’y*: *TSP*, 8bis, 23 (Skt. invocation); ‘M *mytr’y pwty*: *TSP*, 17, 38; ZK *mytr’k pwty*: *SCE*, 214; *nm’cyw βr’m ’wyn m’ytr’k pwtystβ mx’stβ prn*: *TSP*, 8, 5; [nm]’cw βr’m ’wyn *m’ytr’k pwdystβ m(x)’(s)[tβ prn]*: *SFBL*, 7, 11; *ms m’ytr’k pwd’yystβ*: *Sukhā.*, R3; ‘kw *m’ytr’k pwdystβ*: *Sukhā.*, R5; [‘kw](*m’yt*)[*r’k*]: *Sukhā.*, V3. — **P1** Maitreya, the Buddha of Future. — **B2** N(M), J(*k*)*t’rt’wtt* | J(●) *mytr’y*: So 20217a, 2, 1-2, apud RECK, *Mlr. Hss. I*, No. 327. **P2** — Maitreya in the (broken) Manichaean context. — **D** Buddha *Maitreya*-, lit. “friendly, benevolent” (“Maitreya of future epoch”, lit. “let come (3 sg. opt.) time Maitreya” in *TSP* 5); cf. also Toch. *Metrak*, *Maitrak*, Pth. *mytrq*, *mytrg*, *mytr-*, Bct. *Μητραγο*, cf. SIMS-W., *Indian Elements*, p. 134, who assumes Gāndhāri mediation.

The name in the Manichaean text was quoted by SUND. apud HUTTER, 2002, p. 114 with n. 14. (The signatures T Ia and So 20017 given there are wrong. It is of course *one* fragment with old and new signatures). See HUTTER, 2002, passim, for examination of the role of Maitreya in Manichaeism; cf. TONGERLOO, 2008.)

738. *myw* /Mēw/ m.: **B** N, *myw*: *UII*, No. 161 (34: 47); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185; *myw*: *UI2*, No. 491 (52:2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 258; *myw* (?): *UI2*, No. 448A (47:11A; 47: 19 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 251); in small and faint letters. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** “Tiger”, maybe a short name, cf. *rtmyw* (#137) and the following names.

739. myw'k /Mēwak/ m.: **B** N, *rty* 'st myw'k 'δwy 'z-y-H 'yw 'xsynH ('zyH): Muγ, B-1, L10 (*SDGM*, III, p. 44). — **P**1 A recipient of three water-skins (or spears, 'zyH). — **B**2 N, *my(w)'k*: *UII*, No. 270 (36: 54) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210. — **P**2 A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic to *myw* “tiger” (cf. *SIMS-W.*, *UI*, p. 58).

BOGOL., SMIR. read *šywn*c and on p. 98 correct it into *ryw'c*. The first letter, however, is neither *š* nor *r*, but rather *m*, less likely *s*, the last letter is either *k* or *c*; *myw'n* is a less likely reading for the inscription from *UI*.

740. mywc /Mēwič/ m.: **B** N, *m-y-w-(c)*: *Paykend-2006*, No. 2. — **P** A name on an ostrakon, 5th century CE? — **D** A hypocoristic to *myw* “tiger”, maybe incomplete at the beginning, cf. *'sprmywc* (#166); *tywc* (#1298) maybe also here?

741. mywn'yH /Mēwnāy?/ f.: **B** N(A), *MN δwytH | mywn'yH | 'z'tcH*: *ALI* (2), V1-3; (*M*) [*N δw*] (*γ*) *δryH m(y)[wn'yH]* 'z'(*')*tcH: *ALI* (2), R1; *pyšt MN xypδ δ'yH myw(n)'yH*: *AL3*, R25. — **P** A free-woman ('z'tcH), daughter of *c't'ysH* (#363), wife of *nnyδt* (#789), mother of *š'ynH* (#1162), author of *ALI* and *AL3*. — **D** The first part of the name is most probably *S myw* “tiger” (cf. *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 58; *ALI* (2), p. 188), while *-n'y* (or *-z'y?*; this transliteration is preferred by *SIMS-W.*, *Greeting*, p. 177 ff. and *SC*, No. 368, contrary to the later edition of *ALI*) does not have an adequate interpretation. To *S n'y* “behold”? Or to *z'y* < **jah-* “leave” *SIMS-W.*, *C2*, p. 51, n. 25-26?

YOSH. (*Xian*, p. 65) mentions *Miaoni* (妙尼, EMCh. *mjiaw^h-nri*), the grandfather of Shi Shewupantuo, a high functionary of Sogdian origin in the 6th century, as a male counterpart of *mywn'yH*. LIV. (2008b, p. 306) translates the name as “tiger-cub”, probably implying that *-n'yH* could be an early variant of hypocoristic suffix *-(')yn* (cf. *UI2*, p. 45 for the latter).

742. mywprmyn /Mēwframēn?/ m.: **B** N, *mywprmy*n: *UII*, No. 122 (31: 93); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170; written with an unusual but unambiguous form of *m*, as *SIMS-W.*, *UII*, p. 18. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** *SIMS-W.* (*UI2*, p. 63) links *-prmy*n with *S prmy*nwkH, OIr. **fra-manyu-* “hope”, Pth. *frmnywk*, thus “Tiger-hope”, cf. *'rwprmy*n (#144) and *'rwmyw* (#143). *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 72, has *mywpr*m'n.

mywz'yH > *mywn'yH* #741

743. myhr'yzd /Mihr-Īzad/ m.: **B** M, *pr βyrw'n myh(r'y)[zd]* (*mwj'k*)yy sryy: *Briefe II*, 2, 18, p. 413, 416. — **P** The late (*βyrw'n*) Patriarch (“Teacher”) of the Manichean community. — **D** “Mithra-the-God”, not even in the Middle, but rather in the New Persian form.

The internal 'ayn with *yod* demands the reading /īzad/, or /ēzad/, as in NP, not MP *yazad* (note that the reading with initial vowel is required by metrics for MNP *yzd*, too, see DE BLOIS, 2006, p. 113). However, a good half of the name is reconstructed. In his first edition, SUND. transliterated *myh*●● and mentioned explicitly that the fourth letter cannot be *r* (*Briefe*, p. 310, n. 40), while HENN. and GERSH. (apud *Briefe*, p. 315) were reading *myhr*['n].

744. myhr p'd'r /Mihr-pādār/ m.: **B** M, *o p'rtyšn [s](')r'r kyy myhr p'd'r xcy*y: *Briefe*, I, 25, p. 305, *Briefe II*, p. 408-9; 'ty *myhr p'd'(r) | s'r'r*: *Briefe*, I, 30-31, p. 306; *Briefe II*, p. 408, 410. — **P** The “head” (*s'r'r*) of a criticized Manichean group (Mihrīya, *myhry'nd*, #746, or Miqlāšīya, *mkl'sykt*-, #671). — **D** A MP name; *pādār* is explained by the editor as a participle (or agent noun) of MP *pādan* “protect, watch, defend”, or “stand, wait”, while *mihr* can be interpreted equally as designating “Mithra”, “contract”, “friendship”, “love”, “Sun”, “living spirit”, “third messenger”; finally, *myhr* can stand for Mihr, the founder of Mihrīya (*myhry'nd*), if *myhr p'd'r* was the head of this community, and not the Miqlāšīya, see SUND., *Briefe I*, p. 308, n. 26; cf. also *Pn. Man.*, p. 256: “Mithra/die Sonne als Hüter (habend)”.

745. myhr whmn /Mihr Wahman/ m.: **B** M, *kww yzd 'ry'm'n dryst rwšn myhr whmn 'ty whmnš'h s'r*: *Briefe*, I, 28, p. 306; *Briefe II*, p. 408, 410. — **P** A member of the Turfan Manichean community. — **D** WMIr., probably “Mithra (the Sun, contract, friendship) + Vohu-manah- (good-mind)”; in the Manichean MP technical lexicon it would mean “Living Spirit + Light-Nous”, cf. *whmnš'h*, #1354.

746. myhry'nd /Mihryānd/ pl.: **B** M, *myšnd (my)hry'nd krtrty(y)*: (pl.) M112, 5, *Briefe*, p. 305; *Briefe II*, p. 405-7. — **P** Mihrīya Manicheans according to Arabic sources, the followers of an orthodox group of the Mesopotamian Manichean church between 710 and 884, followers of the archegos *Mihr*, who were opposed by the heterodox group of *Miqlāšīya* (*mkl'sykt*, #671); see now KHOSROEV, 2007, p. 235-6; SUND., *Briefe*, p. 292 ff. — **D** *Mihr*, the name of the archegos, is furnished here with an adjective suffix *-yān* and a Sogdian heavy stem plural ending *-t* (after *n*, *-d*). The suffix is not Middle-, but already New Persian, where *-agān* is realized as -

iyān (as NP *parniyān* against MP *parnagān* “damask silk”; cf. Middle Persian suffix in *mkl’sykt*, LURJE, *Khamir*, No. 3). The name *Mihr* is, of course, Western Iranian “Mithra”; see #743 – 745.

747. (*myxy* /*Mīxī?*/ m.: **B** C, . *myxy*: *So. Tu. Chr.*, p. 56-57, A, 5. — **P** A Christian from Turfan. — **D** Unclear; either a hypocoristic to *myk’yl* “Michael” (#728), or a Chinese bisyllabic name, as SIMS-W., op. cit., p. 57, n. 79.)

†myh●● > myhr’yzd #743

748. *mz’yx yrβ’k* /*Mazēx yarβāk*/ m.: **B** B, ZK *mz’yx yrβ’k* | *pwtystβ mx’stβ*: TSP, 2, 603-4; ZK *mz’yx yrβ’k*: 619; ZK *mz’yx yrβ’k pwtystβ* | *mx’stβ*: 697-8; ZK *mz’yxH yrβ’k* | *pwtystβ mx’stβ*: 706-7; *ms mz’yxw yrβ’k pwtystβ*: 722; *’kw mz’yxH* | *yrβ’k*: 753-4; ZK *mz’yx yrβ’k*: 758; *mz’yxw yrβ’k*: (voc.) 832, 869; *mz’yx yrβ’k*: (voc.), 842, 860; *mz’yxH yrβ’k*: 855-6 (voc.). — **P** The Bodhisattva Mahāmati. — **D** Literal translation of Skt. *Mahāmati*, “(the one who possesses) great knowledge”, “Grande-Sagesse” (cf. also SUND., KUDARA, *VB* II, n. 15, p. 118).

mz’yx k’š’yp > mx’k’š’yp #717

749. *mzt’kk* /*Mazdak?*/ m.: **B** N, *mzt’kk* (ZK) | (*s*)*p’δ(rw)c* BRY: *UII*, No. 261 (36: 45) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal, son of *sp’δrwc* (#1086). — **D** *Mzt* seems to originate in OIr. **mazdā-*, probably not “wisdom”, but short for the God’s name *Ahura-mazdā-*. Cf. *’xwrmzt’t* (#217), *Močδako* in Bct (SIMS-W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 308) and MP PN *Mazdak*. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 44, has *βnt’kk*.

†m●H βγ’yc/ > mnH βγ’ycn after #679