

NOTES ON SOME PARTHIAN NAMES FROM NISĀ

THE OSTRACA from Parthian Nisa provide us with an abundance of names that give us information not only on linguistic features but also on religious conceptions. The following notes on the type of name with Iran. **farnah*- as second element will elucidate both: the religious background¹ with its reference to *Miθra*, *Vāyu*, *Nanai* and **gari*- (perhaps mythological) and partly very direct connections to naming in Sogdian which may be interpreted of being the outcome of possible earlier neighbourhood of the *Parmo*i and the *Sogdiano*i.

I. THEOPHORIC NAMES

mtrprn *Mihrfarn*, cf. Sogd. **myrprn** (S)² Henning 1940, 6, < **miθra-farnah*-, with *myr*- 'Miθra' ~ 'sun' borrowd from Western Middle Iranian; this Sogd. name certainly represents 'having the *Farnah* of the sun' = being a child born on Sunday (Germ. "Sonntagskind"). The true Sogd. form of the first element is attested in *mšy'n*; cf. WEBER 1972, 198.

nnypnrk *Nanēfarnak* 741 :4, a *ka*-extension of the type attested through Sogd. **nnypnrn** (S) P 8.181 und V 8 V 1; (Shatial) I, 1.6; 34.68, and by Chinese. *Ning-ning-fēn* 寧寧忿 < [nieŋ'nieŋ' p'jiuən³] apud IKEDA 1965, 64 (with identification); s. in detail WEBER 1972, 198f. The goddess *Nanai* who replaced Old Iranian *Anāhīta* in regions of North-Eastern and Eastern Iran (but, curiously enough, not in the South-West) was still worshipped in Mesopotamia in Parthian times as is documented e.g. by the so-called "Astronomical Diaries".³

wyprnyš *Wāyfarniē*, only attested in 593:10, the first element also in *Wāybōzanak* s. SCHMITT 1998, 183, < **Vāyu-bauj-ana*- "(den Windgott) *Vāyu* erquickend". Surprisingly enough, in the Nisa material, there are no personal names compounded with **Vāta*-, but exclusively with **Vāyu*-.⁴ For corresponding names in (Sasanian) Middle Persian s. GIGNOUX 1986, Nos. 915, 916, 962–964. For the hypocoristic suffix *-iē* which is well attested in Parthian, compare e.g. *Dbešič*,⁵ *Artiwarčič*,⁶ *Arwatic*, *Arwič*, *Frādahič* and others.

grprn *Garfarn*⁷ The element *gr*- is well known from other names such as *gry'rthštr* Kāl-i Jangāl I, line 1, which was interpreted as a geographical name by HENNING 1953 but presumably justly as a personal name by LIVSHITS, NIKITIN 1991, 117, with fn. 31, followed by SCHMITT 1998, 173 (with fn. 30). The personal name Γερῶνις *Avrōmān* II A 12, B 17 may also belong here though MAYRHOFER 1974, 211 doubts to believe in a connection with Iran. **gari*-, 'mountain' and rejects the reference to *Gry-pnh* in *Avrōmān* III 6 which in its turn does in fact support the assumption of its being of theophoric origin. A look at Gignoux' book on the Sasanian names in epigraphical material (Gignoux 1986, *Index Reverse*) suffices to show that the element *-panāh* is used in theophoric names like *Anāhīl-panāh* or *Mihr-panāh*. With this background it is easy to follow Schmitt 1998, 179 (with

1. It is for this reason that I chose the distinction between "theophoric" and "non-theophoric" names though, linguistically speaking, "theophoric" names are just *Bahuvrīhis* like those with adjective as first element.

2. S = Sogdian script.

3. I owe this information to Dr. Barbara Böck (Berlin).

4. With regard to the relationship between **Vāta*- and **Vāyu*-, particularly in Eastern Iran, s. now D. WEBER, «Regen und Wind. Probleme um den sogdischen Regenzaubertext P 3», in *Indien und Zentralasien – Sprach- und Kulturkontakt*, Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 7. bis 10. Mai 2001,

hrsg. von SVEN BRETTFELD, JENS WILKENS (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, Bd. 61), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2003, 227–237.

5. MACKENZIE 1986, 109.

6. SCHMITT 1998, 192.

7. The problem of **farnah*- itself does not concern us here; it has been discussed with interesting arguments most recently by A. LUBOTSKIJ, «Scythian elements in Old Iranian», in N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, Oxford 2002, 189–202, esp. 191–195.

fn. 50) who thinks that «hinter diesem Namen mit der Bedeutung 'das Farnah vom (von den) Berg(en) habend' vielleicht eine mythologische Reminiszenz steckt».

The following name is not attested in Nisa but may well have existed in Parthian times:

Μαυφάρης *Avroman* I, A 8–9, B 9 (in both occurrences Gen. **Μαυφάρης**)⁸ < **Māhi-farnah-*, cf. **Μαυφάρης** (Olbia) ZGUSTA 1955, 113,⁹ Sogd. **m'xfrn** M I, 104, **m'xprn** (Shatial) I, 31.73, also attested by Chines. *Mo-fen* 莫分 < [muək pjiuən (or: b'jiuən¹⁰)] apud IKEDA 1965, 88, from Iran. **māh-*, 'moon' (also 'month'), which re-occurs in the Sogd. expressions for "monday" as well as for the 12th day of the month.

2. NON-THEOPHORIC NAMES

1. Bahuvrīhiś with adj. as first element:

šyprn *Ššfarn*, just as Sogd. ***šyprn**, 'having good Farnah', presumably in Chines. *Shih-fēn* 失忿 < [çiēt p'jiuən¹¹] IKEDA 1965, 64 (without identification), with *šyr-* 'good' as first element (s. WEBER 1972, 199), possibly already Old Persian (in Elamite transcription) *Širaparna*, see MAYRHOFER 1973, 234 (8.1555) after GERSHEVITCH 1969, 230.

wystrpnk *Wistfarnak* where the first element presumably belongs as a past part. to Avest. *vaēd-*, 'finden' (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, 1318 ff.), i.e. "having found (= achieved, gained) Farnah", for which one may compare Sogd. **ʿytprn** (S),¹² lit. "to whom Farnah has come" > "felix"; cf. n¹³ **ʿyt prn** "unlucky".¹⁴

2. The type *Dāraya-va(h)uš*:

wyndprnk *Windfarnak* is a *ka*-extension of the type Old Iran. **Vinda-farnah-* "das Farnah erlangend" (SCHMITT 1998, 184). Sogd. **byrprn** (Mug Doc. B 9) contains as first element the prs. stem of the Sogd. verb *byr-* "reach" "attain" and is formed like **δ'rpnr** (s. WEBER 1972, 196) and obviously a calque of the name **Vinda-farnah-* which is not attested in Sogdian. The first element of **δ'rpnr** (S) itself belongs to the prs. stem *δ'r-* "have" "keep", so that, in this name, parallel to Old Persian *Dāraya-va(h)uš* < **Dāraya(t)-vahu-*, one would expect Old Persian **Dāraya(t)-farnah-* which indeed is attested by Elamite *Da-ri-par-na* (MAYRHOFER 1973, 148)¹⁵ and Aramaic *dryprn*, cf. WEBER 1972, 196–197.

3. With preverb:

prprn *Parfarn* 2580 1:5, interpreted by Schmitt 1998, 180 as **Pari-farnah-* "ringsum Farnah habend", being a semantical parallel to Avest. *Aiβi-x'arənah-*.

4. Unknown:

wšprn, **wyšprn** *Wišfarn* (or *Wičfarn?* ed.) certainly contains Iran. **farnah-* "Glücksglanz" as second element, but remains «in seinem ersten Bestandteil [...] völlig unklar" (thus SCHMITT 1998, 192). It is not possible to interpret this name as a compound consisting of the preverb **vi-* (like *Parfarn* < **pari-farnah-*) and a by-form **šfarn* as no such form ever existed.¹⁶ Thus we are left with *w(y)š-* as the first element in this compounded name which must be read *wiš-* or *wič-* but only the first one gives us a suitable etymon in Sogd. *wyš-y'n* (Mug) A 5.6, presumably 'excellent gift' or the like if we are allowed to compare Buddh. Sogd. *wyš'kk* 'eminent' (VJ).¹⁴ As was shown in

8. Because of the assimilation of *-q-* < **-m-* this name seems to be of Persian (not Parthian) origin.

9. See also MAYRHOFER 1974, 206.

10. Apud HENNING, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11 (1943–1946), 482.

11. WEBER 1972, 105.

12. Cf. also BENVENISTE 1966, 82.

13. As LUBOTSKYJ 2002 justly remarks there is no **Aiβi-*

šx'arənah- beside Avest. *Aiβi-x'arənah-*. Furthermore, it is highly doubtful whether the personal name Toch. *Putišparne* (~ Sogd. **pwšyprn*, "having the Farnah of Buddha", cf. Chines. *Fu-ti-fēn* 伏帝忿 < [b'ʃjuək tci' p'ʃjuən¹¹] IKEDA 1965, 63 (without identification), WEBER 1972, 199) could be compared as an example with an intrusive Iran. *-š-*.

14. WEBER 1972, 203.

Weber 1972 the (second) element *-yān* in Sogdian personal names is used like *-farn* so that Sogd. *wyšy'n* may be compared with Parth. *Wišfarn* directly thus providing us a *Bahuvrīhi* with an adjective as first element as already shown above with regard to the Parthian name *Šāfarn*.

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