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 background with its reference to Miśra, Vāyu, Nanāt 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 Parnoi and the Sogdianoi.

1. Theophoric names

mihradn, cf. Sogd. mybran (S)  Hennig 1940, 6, < *mihrad-farnah-, with myr- *Miśra- ~ *sun* borrowed 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 miśra\*; cf. WEBER 1972, 198.

mybran Nanīfarnak 74-1, 4, a ka-extension of the type attested through Sogd. mybran (S) P 8,181 und V 8 V; 1 (Shatial) I, 16; 34, 68, and by Chineses. Ning-nir-fen  纂棘  < [niep\*nie] pjiu\*] apud IREDA 1965, 64 (with identification); s. in detail WEBER 1972, 198f. The goddess Nanīt replaced Old Iranian Anāhīd 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 by the so-called "Astronomical Diaries," 3

wyppyns Wāyfarīc, only attested in 79:10, the first element also in Wāybeza\*nāt s. SCHMIT 1995, 183, < *Vāyu-ba\*v-ana- "(den Windgött) Vāyu erquickend". Surprisingly enough, in the Nisa material there are no personal names compounded with *Vāt\*a-, but exclusively with *Vāyu- . 4 For corresponding names in (Sasanian) Middle Persian s. GIGNOUX 1980, Nos. 915, 916, 962-964. For the hypocoristic suffix -ič which is well attested in Parthian, compare e.g. Dhiči, 5 Attiwhiči, 6 Arwatič, Arwič, Pradahči and others.

gprbrn Garfarh The element gr- is well known from other names such as gryrthār Kal-i Jangal 1, 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 Gprbrn Arrāman II A 12, B 17 may also belong here though MATRHOFER 1974, 211 doubts to believe in a connection with Iran. *gari-, mountain and rejects the reference to Gpypp in Arrāman II 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 1980, Index Reversus) suffices to show that the element -panāh is used in theophoric names like Anāhīd-panāh or Mihr-panāh. With this background it is easy to follow Schmit 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 bahūviks like those with adjective as first element.
2. S = Sogdian script.
3. I owe this information to Dr. Barbara Bück (Berlin).
7. The problem of *farnah- itself does not concern us here; it has been discussed with interesting arguments most recently by A. LEBOEUF, «Scythian elements in Old Iranian,» in N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (ed.), Indo-Iranian Language and Peoples, Oxford 2002, 189-202, esp. 191-195.
fn. 50) who thinks that «hinter diesem Namen mit der Bedeutung 'das Farnah vorn (von den) Beg(en) haben' vielleicht eine mythologische Reminiszenz steckt».

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


wystprān Wiśistāna where the first element presumably belongs as a past part. to Avest. «weld-,

wyandprān Windprān is a kn-extension of the type Old Iran. *Vinda-prān- "the Farnah erlangend" (Schmitt 1998, 184). Sogd. wypān (Mug. Doc. B 9) contains as first element the pres. stem of the Sogd. verb wāri- "reach" atian and is formed like δprān (S. Weber 1972, 206) and obviously a calque of the name *Vinda-prān- which is not attested in Sogdian. The first element of δprān (S) itself belongs to the pres. stem δr- "have" "keep", so that, in this name, parallel to Old Persian Dārāya-va(3)š, one would expect Old Persian *Dārāya(prān)-vah, which indeed is attested by Elamite Da-rî-par-na (Mayrhofer 1973, 148) and Aramaic dryprān, cf. Weber 1972, 196-197.

With preverb:


4. Unknown:

wśprān, wypān Wiśiāna (or Wiśifān) cd. certainly contains *prāna- "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 Parfān < *Pari-prān-) and a by-form *fām as no such form ever existed. "Thus we are left with w(y)s- as the first element in this compounded name which must be read wī- or wī- but only the first one gives us a suitable etymon in Sogd. wyś-y'n (Mug. A 5.6, presumably 'excellent gift' or the like if we are allowed to compare Budd. Sogd. wys-kk 'eminently' (VJ). As was shown in

8. Because of the assimilation of *-ve- < *-rn- this name seems to be of Persian (not Parthian) origin.
9. See also Mayrhofer 1974, 206.
12. Cf. also Benveniste 1966, 82.
13. As Lobotsky 2002 judely remarks there is no *Aišī-

xarona-h beside Avest. Aišī-xarona(h). Furthermore, it is highly doubtful whether the personal name Tochi. Pattişarne (< Sogd. *pātyān, "having the Farnah of Budda", cf. Chines. Pātiśa) 65th century A.D. in Marathi transcription Svarapada, see Mayrhofer 1973, 148 (without identification), Wisse 1972, 196) could be compared as an example with an intrusive Iran. -s.
Weber 1972 the (second) element -yân in Sogdian personal names is used like -farn so that Sogd. wyshn may be compared with Parth. Wîfarn directly thus providing us as a Bahavrñhi with an adjective as first element as already shown above with regard to the Parthian name Širfarn.

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