

# Evidence for Indo-Iranian lexemes and phraseology in Armenian onomastic transmission: Part 1 (Ritual formulae and ritual pragmatics in the Veda and Avesta, V)

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## 1. Introduction: Iranian personal names in Armenian and the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*

Armenian personal names play a key role for the reconstruction of Old and Middle Iranian lexicon. Scholars of Iranian and Indo-Iranian onomastics and lexicology have always been aware of the importance of the large amount of (Indo-)Iranian lexical material transmitted to us especially in the form of proper names in non-(Indo-)Iranian or even non-Indo-European written traditions.

In the course of several years, our *Institut für Iranistik* at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) hosted a special project under the title *Armenian personal names of Iranian origin* with me as principal investigator and Dr. Hrach MARTIROSYAN (Leiden) as researcher, generously sponsored by FWF, the Austrian Science Foundation (project no. P27029–G23). After two triennial work phases (2014–2016 and 2017–2020), the results appeared in a volume comprising 872 Iranian names attested in Armenian sources from the earliest period up to the beginning of the 14th century (MARTIROSYAN 2021).

The monograph – designated in what follows as IPNB V/3 – makes part of the multi-volume project *Iranisches Personennamenbuch: This Dictionary of Iranian Personal names*, founded by Manfred MAYRHOFER in 1969, continued by MAYRHOFER and Rüdiger SCHMITT since 1979, is edited since 2005 by Rüdiger SCHMITT, Heiner EICHNER († 2024), Bert G.

FRAGNER († 2022) and myself at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. More than one hundred and twenty years after August POTT published the first comparative works on Iranian onomastics, in 1969 at the Academy in Vienna the Austrian linguist Manfred MAYRHOFER founded the ‘Commission for the elaboration of a Dictionary of Iranian names’. Originally run by two scholars, Prof. MAYRHOFER himself (University of Vienna) and his successor as Professor of Indo-European Linguistics in Saarbrücken and former pupil, Prof. Rüdiger SCHMITT (University of Saarbrücken), in 2003 this Commission was enlarged to an Institute for Iranian Studies – and the work at the ‘Namenbuch’ took completely new dimensions. In the course of the years, our Academy institute built up the centre of a network of competence concerning Iranian Onomastics and Linguistics that is unique in an international perspective.<sup>1</sup>

The *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* considers the research into Iranian names not only as a linguistic discipline but also as a highly important source of Cultural and Social History. Linguistic monuments of Old and Middle Iranian contain only a little part of the Iranian lexicon. A huge number of Iranian lexemes are to be found *only* thanks to personal names attested in non-Iranian languages of peoples that had cultural relations with Iranians. Names show linguistic contacts and mirror the variety of peoples, religions and heterogeneous social systems in the areas concerned.

Quite of course, Armenians had such contacts with *Iran Maior* for many centuries. We also possess important sources for *Old Iranian* names in Elamite, Assyro-Babylonian, Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit traditions. For *Middle Iranian*, besides Armenian, we have Middle Indic, Tocharian, Chinese, Syriac, Arabic, Byzantine Greek sources. Therefore, when exploring Iranian onomastics (and lexicology in general), we have to study not only primary Iranian language traditions but also more than 30 different collateral traditions (“*Nebenüberlieferungen*”).

Thanks to more than two and a half millennia of language contact, Armenian plays a key role for the reconstruction of Iranian lexicon.<sup>2</sup> Thus, apart for Indic, the genealogically closest *Schwestersprache* of Iranian, Armenian is no less valuable in comparative and historical perspective than Elamite, which exhibits the largest quantity of attested borrowed names<sup>3</sup> (limited, however, only on Old Iranian), or than Greek that shows the lon-

<sup>1</sup> On the history of the studies of the Iranian lexical heritage in various onomastic traditions, see, more recently, SCHMITT 2000a, SCHMITT 2005, TAVERNIER 2007, SADOVSKI 2012b, on Armenian MARTIROSYAN 2021.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., SCHMITT 1972 (1974), SCHMITT 1975, SCHMITT 1984; more recently, MARTIROSYAN 2021: 5–10, 13ff. et passim, with refs.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the conclusions of MAYRHOFER 1973, TAVERNIER 2007.

gest tradition of contact with Iranian languages in different phases of their development<sup>4</sup> over the course of more than two and a half millennia.

The Armenian material is of crucial importance not only due to a substantial number of commonly inherited lexemes but especially because of the extensive borrowings including, archaic appellatives and names, in particular: nominal compounds.

What has now become an urgent desideratum, is to see how archaic Indo-Iranian lexemes gained from non-Iranian sources like Armenian appear in such compounds and correspond to phrasemes attested within the attested Ancient Iranian and Indic texts. A closer look at vol. V/3 of the *Namenbuch* that comprises *almost nine hundred Iranian names in Armenian* sources shows that such (onomastic) compounds correspond to rich phraseological collocations in Iranian and Indic and nominalize formulaic syntactic expressions with ritual, mytho-religious and social relevance.

## 2. A follow-up project: phraseological and compositional backgrounds of Iranian names in Armenian

Therefore, after printing Martirosyan's onomastic material, now my part of the research goes beyond the pure lexicography: It aims to analyse the word-formation backgrounds of the Iranian names in Armenian, from the viewpoint of their correspondences in the *phraseology* and *language of poetry* of Old Iranian and Indo-Iranian times.

The approach taken in the *Namenbuch* is to explore systematic correspondences between appellatives or proper names, on the one hand, and elements of free syntax, on the other, in particular phraseological entities, esp. formulae of the language of (ritual) poetry (cf. SCHMITT 2000a: *passim*, SADOVSKI 2007 and 2013). For Indo-Iranian, studies in this area have so far been restricted to Avestan and Rigvedic material and some processes of lexicalization of epithets to theonyms and personal names in Iranian.

In order to broaden this horizon, my research over the last two decades has focused on the word-formation of compound adjectives and nouns, appellatives and anthroponyms corresponding on formal-and-semantic levels between Avestan and Vedic as well as on the systematic comparison of the joint use of their constituents in phraseological and formulaic collocations, in particular in the texts of ritual poetry and in the contexts of ritual pragmatics. These themes include a number of common denominators from the lexical and phraseological material of four

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<sup>4</sup> For Iranian names in pre-Hellenistic Old Greek sources, see the fundamental monograph SCHMITT 2011.

major projects that have been running since several years: the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Noun* for the *Leiden Indo-European Dictionary Series* (Brill Publishers)<sup>5</sup> as well as my volumes on *Indo-European Nominal Derivation* and *Indo-European Stylistics* for the *Indogermanische Grammatik* series at Heidelberg (Carl-Winter-Verlag).

This concerns entire semantic classes – e.g. that of ‘powers and forces’, a category of high importance for both the lexical history and the history of transfer of religious ideas, since the central deities of Indians and Iranians represent personifications of abstract forces: Social Contract (Iran. *Miθra-* / Ved. *Mitra-*), Rightness (Av. *Aša-* / OPers. *Arta-* / Ved. *Ṛta-*), Obstruction-Smashing Force (Av. *Vərəθrayna-* / Ved. *Vṛtrahán-*).<sup>6</sup> Some of them are discovered in non-Iranian *Nebenüberlieferungen* – and reemerge in new findings in the rich Armenian corpus:

### 3. Indo-Iran. \**HamHa-* as a second term of Armenian compounds

We find a series of archaic Armenian male names with the word IIr. \**HamHa-* ‘attacking force’ as a first term: Thus, Arm. *Amat*<sup>o</sup> goes back to Proto-Iran. \*(*H*)*am(H)a-tanū-(ka)-* (< \**o-uH-ka-*) ‘whose body has attacking onslaught’ (on which see further in the present article, §5.); there are traces of \*(*H*)*am(H)a-pāda-* ‘whose feet (OIran. *pād(a)-*) have Ama’ (§6.), of \*(*H*)*am(H)a-ḍasta-* ‘whose hands have Ama’ (§7.) as well as of other formations (§8ff.).

The common compositional term, Proto-Iran. \*(*H*)*am(H)a-* < IIr. \**HamHa-*,<sup>7</sup> occurs in Young Avestan as *ama-*, Old Avestan *āma-*, traditionally rendered as ‘impetuous or attacking force’. In Old Indic, we find Ved. *āma-* of the same meaning.

The name *Aršam* (gen. *Aršam-ay*) is well attested in Armenian as a name of several noble persons (see IPNB-Arm 115f., Nr. 94): Thus, *Aršam* Arcruni was successor of Marod and predecessor of *Aršawir*. Arsames, son of Sames was king of Sophhēnē (*Cop’k’*) and, later, of Armenia; founder of Arsamosata (*Aršamašat*) in the third c. BC. A homonymous Armenian king *Aršam* was son of Artasēs (brother of Tigran II) and father of Abgar. It occurs (A.) in Neobabylonian, as *Ar-šá-am-ma-*<sup>2</sup>, m,<sup>8</sup> as well as in Greek

<sup>5</sup> More about this ongoing project in SADOVSKI 2017: 567.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. SADOVSKI 2009: 158f., 2020: 559ff.

<sup>7</sup> I have dedicated a study to epithets and formulae containing this Indo-Iranian word; for more details with rich primary sources, see SADOVSKI 2020, to which I shall be referring specifically throughout the present article.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ZADOK 2009: 86, #45a (cf. #45/46/56/58), with further references.

Ἀροάμης (B.), at Herodot, Aischylos, Xenophon, in several fragments of Ktesias. Outputs of OIran. *\*(H)r̥ša-(H)am(H)a-* are well attested in later Greek authors but also in Elamite, Aramaic, Demotic, Lycian and Syriac transmissions. The underlying compound Ir. *\*Hr̥ša-HamHa-* means ‘having the force of a man / male (animal)’.<sup>9</sup>

A further personal name that belongs to the family of this compound is Arm. *Ašmut* (IPNB-Arm 90, Nr. 32), from OIran. *\*R̥šāma-*, as in *Aršam*, and the suffix *-ut*. Armenian *\*Aršamut* regularly develops to *\*Aršmut* through shortening of the medial unstressed vowel and then, with cluster simplification, to *Ašmut*.<sup>10</sup>

As I have shown in SADOVSKI 2020: 560f., the most important accounts of the simplex after the *Petersburger Wörterbücher* and GRASSMANN are to be found in NEISSER 1924: s.v., and in KIM 2010: 57f. (a dossier of the rendering variants circulating in the later literature<sup>11</sup>) – to which we may now also add ‘onslaught’, notably used by JAMISON / BRERETON 2014 as the default translation, in an invariable manner for virtually all the attestations. Consequently, the sphere of common semantic features of the Iranian and Indic words revolves around the meaning of ‘stress and storm’ / ‘*Sturm und Drang*’, viz. ‘rush(ing force/power), surge, onslaught; uncontrollable impetus, aggressive attack, excessive force’, largely in the sphere of ‘POWER’ words.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. *\*HamHa-* in Old Indic and Old Iranian

The second term of the compound OIran. *\*(H)r̥ša-(H)am(H)a-* consists of the Indo-Iran. simplex *\*HamHa-*, attested as *āma-* both in the Iranian Avesta, with ca. 60 instances, and especially in the oldest Vedic *Samhitās*: the number of attestations decreases in time (in the RV. 14 times, in the AV only once). The derivative Vedic *āma-vant-* ‘having (impetuous) force’ fully corresponds to Avestan *ama-uuant-*, MPers. *amāwand* ‘impetuous’ (cf. SADOVSKI 2020: 561–563, §1.1ff.).

<sup>9</sup> For the reconstruction and the entire material see SADOVSKI 2020: 568, §1.7.

<sup>10</sup> The same development can be observed in two toponyms based on *Aršam*, as follows (MARTIROSYAN 2020: 90): “*Aršamunik*’ > *Ašmunik*’ (SOUKRY 1881: 31 line 5 [facsimile reproduction of the manuscript; HEWSEN 1994: 48 line 8]; MOVSXORENMAT 1865: 607; ABRAHAMYAN 1944: 349; cf. ANASYAN 1967: 281); *Aršamašat* > *Ašmušat* (PETOYAN 1965: 26; ADONTZ 1970: 387 fn. 12, 388–389 Nrs. 16–17; HAYTELBAR 1, 1986: 293)”

<sup>11</sup> Summarized as follows: „*āma-* (m.) “wuchtige Kraft, Wucht, Heftigkeit” [LUBOTSKY 1988, 65: “violence, fright”; HAJNAL 1994, 200: “Andrang, Betäubung” (aav. *āma-* “Angriffskraft”); EWAia I, 97: (m.) “Angriffskraft”; KATSIKADELI in KRISCH 2006, s.v. *ama*<sup>1</sup>: ‘ANGRIFFSKRAFT; PANIK]’“. The latter semanteme (‘panic’) is a mere contextual variant of the former and has arisen in the expression ‘to set into stress / massive attack’ > ‘to set in panic’.

<sup>12</sup> SADOVSKI 2020: 561, §1.3.

Both in Old Iranian and in Old Indic, *\*(H)am(H)a-*, however, is not a general term for ‘force’: It designates the aggressive ‘onslaught’, ‘rush’, ‘attacking violence’ and refers, above all, to the *unbridled* onslaught of *young male animals, human males*, the armed troops of *ephebes and warriors* and their protective deities. An Indo-Iran. comparandum is Av. *auui. ama-* / Ved. *abhyama-* ‘whose *áma-* is directed against (sb.)’ or ‘whose *áma-* is round around = in surplus’, a bahuvrīhi- compound of the Enthos type, with Ilr. *\*Hab<sup>h</sup>i* as first term displaying the two basic possible meanings of this adverb (ibidem, 563–565, esp. §1.4.0.).

(A.) Young Avestan *ama-* and its derivatives refer to a number of Ilr. deities of war and competition (for reasons of brevity, here I refer to the relevant subdivisions of §1.6. of my study from 2020, p. 566f.): The notion of *Ama-* is often (§1.6.2) connected with *Miθra-*, in his aspect of warrior-leader, as well as with *Sraoša-* and *Rašnu-* as his concomitants. *Ama* as attacking force characterizes *Tištriia-* (§1.6.3) as both a *warrior-god* – shape-shifting between a *horse*, a *bull* and a *warrior* – and a *heavenly star* deity who brings *water*.

(B.) The main presentation of *ama-* as a *deified, personified force* (§1.6.1) is in the Av. Yašt 14, as a couple with *Vərəθrayna-*, the Armenian *Vahang*, whose name is traditionally rendered as ‘Power of victory’. Etymologically, it means ‘the (god) who has/accomplishes *Obstruction-Smashing*’, as a factitive bahuvrīhi compound. Thus, the first half of Yt. 14 describes ten different avatars of *Vərəθrayna*: (a) as a (stormy) *wind* (*vāta-*), (b) as a *bull*, (c) as a *horse*, (d) as a *male camel*, (e) as a *boar*, (f) as a *young man*, in the age of 15 years, (g) as the rapacious *bird Vārəngan*, (h) as a *ram*, (i) as a *he-goat*, (j) to finally arrive to the end of transformation and appear as a *warrior of perfect body*.<sup>13</sup>

In this manner, the development of *Vərəθrayna* is presented in two lines of gradation, metaphorized by the motif of *shape-shifting as symbol of transformation* (meaning of course not only the allegory of the avatars of the deity but also the personal and social transformation of his worshippers): first, from an *uncontrollable* natural force like the Storm (in the RV., *vāta-* [often trisyllabic, < *\*uaHata-*] predominantly means ‘violent

<sup>13</sup> This is the same age and shape in which *Tištriia* and *Haoma* appear, the other two male deities connected to the term of *ama-*, as well as *Anāhitā* (§1.6.7.), the River goddess (corresponding to the Vedic *Sarasvatī-*), the only female deity related to derivatives of *ama-*, whose avatar is a 15-years old girl of perfect body. — Also *Apam Napāt* (§1.6.4.) as aquatic deity possesses *áma-*, being protector of sacred royalty. *Haoma-/Soma-* (§1.6.5.) is as both plant and king of waters (s. below, Part III), and *Vaiiu-*, Ved. *Vāyú-* (§1.6.6.), as (military) leader of the Aryan young-men hosts, *ma’riiaka-* (compare *mar-ūt-*). The notion of *ama-uuañt-* includes *Anāhitā* (again §1.6.7.), the heavenly-and-earthly river, and the *frauuaši-* (§1.6.8.), in their aspect as a *host of protectors* of the Mazdean community, who *bring water* to the mortals.

wind, storm', as different from *Vāyú-* as a deity of the largely positively perceived Wind, but corresponding to the negative aspect of the dualistically perceived [Young] Avestan deity *Vaiiu*, a leader of the young male gang of the *ma'riiaka-* via a climactic chain of *increasingly stronger male animals* as representatives of overwhelming masculinity – the *bull*, the *horse*, the *he-camel*, the *boar* – up to the *young man* at the age of 15 (a topos, on which see below), a leader and person of reference of a paramilitary host of *same-age young male fighters*, traditionally designated as *Jungmannschaft*, *Männerbund* or *Wild Host*.

One cannot ignore the comparison between this sequence and the (decreasing) gradations between *he-camel* – *horse* – *bull* – *cow*.<sup>14</sup> In the case quoted above, however, the gradation is increasing; moreover, the entire sequence ends not with the *stallion* but with the *boar* as the most feared, irrational and violent animal among these exponents of exaggerated masculinity. The role of the *boar* as a representative of unbridled male behaviour is well-known both in the Indic (Ved. *varāhá-*) and the Iranian cultural sphere (YAv. *varāza-*, also in proper names, YAv. *Varāza-*, cf. IPNB I, 91f., EWAia. II/514, and Parth. /Warāz/, not only a personal name but name of a house/clan, on which SCHMITT 2016: *passim*, esp. s.v. /Warāz/, 226, Nr. 546, with deriv. /Warāzak/, 227, Nr. 548 as well as compounded /Warāzduxt/, 227, Nr. 548 and /Warāzframān/, 238, Nr. 548) but also beyond, cf. the names of Germanic berserker with the first term *Eber-* 'boar'<sup>15</sup> that I thematize in the forthcoming issue VII of the present mini-series *Ritual formulae and ritual pragmatics in the Veda and Avesta* (issues I, IV and V correspond to the studies SADOVSKI 2009, 2020 and the present article, VI to Sadovski 2024).

The second chain – rapacious *bird*, *ram*, *he-goat* – is not exactly anti-climactic, even if it corresponds to various decreasing gradations of the kind *horse*, *bull*, *goat*, *sheep*,<sup>16</sup> but rather shows how strong masculinity is becoming more and more mature, disciplined and controlled. At its end, we find the *warrior* after the fulfilment of the *rite de passage*, as a meanwhile completely grown-up person, who is becoming an established member of *society* and the *regular army*.

(C.) So in Vedic, *áma-* refers to the *warrior-god* Indra *Vṛtrahán-* who is designated as a *vṛṣan-* 'male (animal)', an image that in IIr. unites the concept of *animalistic* sexuality and the metaphor of the force of *waters*,

<sup>14</sup> Presented in SADOVSKI 2012a: 168f., §1.3.2.3, with Indic parallels from AVŚ. 9,25,(10) and TB. 3,8,5,2–3 ~ BaudhŚS 15,5,209, ĀpŚS 20,4,3, ibidem 159–161, §1.1.1.–1.1.3.

<sup>15</sup> Apart from classical studies like SCHRAMM 1957, two later monographs – BECK 1965 and MÜLLER 1970 – dedicate a special attention to the symbol of the boar in Germanic mythology and onomastics.

<sup>16</sup> They have been thematized in SADOVSKI 2018: 83–85, with fn. 4.



cf. RV. 4,22,2–3 (to Indra): ‘*The bull*, hurling with his arms the four-edged weapon, which is the repository of *bullish* strength—the powerful, *most manly*. [...] The god who, *being born* as the best of gods, is great by reason of his prizes and his great *explosive powers*, having taken the eager mace in his arms, he makes heaven tremble by his *onslaught*, as well as earth.’

(D.) In the preponderant number of occurrences, *ama-* has strongly physical dimensions and is mainly related to the physical depiction of young, *ephebic* warriors, members of the well-known Indo-Iranian institution of the *Männerbund*. They correspond to rituals and myths about the *Maruts*, the gods of the Old Indic (*Jung-*)*Männerbund*, the Rigvedic *mārya-*s par excellence (cf. below, §9), protectors of the ephebes and counterpart of the Iranian *ma’riiakas*<sup>17</sup>. As a counterpart to the *zoomorphic* avatars of the warrior-god *Vərəθraϋna* as *strong male*, sexually hyperactive *animals*, the same *comparantia* occur in similes concerning the *ama-* of the Marut in the Veda:

RV. 5,56,3cd:

ṛkṣo ná vo marutaḥ śimīvām ámo,  
dudhró gáur iva bhīmayúḥ ||

Euer Andrang, ihr Marut, ist wütig wie ein Bär,  
furchtbar wie ein störriger Stier (GELDNER, ad loc.).

Like a bear is your strenuous onslaught, o Maruts,  
fearsome like a headstrong ox. (JAMISON / BRERETON, ad loc.)

## 5. *Amat*<sup>o</sup>

The Armenian name *Amat*<sup>o</sup> is attested in the patronymic *Amat-uni* (IPNB-Arm 83, Nr. 14):

“The Amatuni house was a senior *naxarar* family, whose domain was in Artaz in the province of Vaspurakan. The Amatuni were known to most Armenian medieval sources [...]. Note also the modern family-names *Amatuni* and *Amatunean(c’)* [...]”<sup>18</sup> — *Amatuni* is a patronymic built with the suffix *-uni* to *Amat-* from OIran. *\*(H)am(H)a-t<sup>o</sup>*.

The best etymological interpretation is as a two-stem short name to OIran. *\*(H)am(H)a-tanu(H)-* > *\*Ama-tanū-* ‘having onslaught in (one’s) body’: It is reflected in the Parthian personal name *Amtan*, also with

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the previous note and, generally on the notion of Iran. *ma’riiaka-*, WIDENGREN 1969 (based on the results achieved but also essentially correcting speculative issues proposed by WIKANDER 1938, 1941).

<sup>18</sup> See MARTIROSYAN 2021: 83.



*k*-extension: *Amtanūk*. The first compound is attested in Parthian /*Amtan*/ in inscriptions from Nisa<sup>19</sup>. For the same component *\*(H)am(H)a-*, cf. Sogdian male personal names *Ammō* and *Maw* (IPNB-Arm, l. cit.), from a transponate Iran. *\*(H)am(H)āṣan(t)-* ‘full of onslaught, impetuous’. So, the bahuvrihi Ilr. *\*HamHa-tanū-* (< \*<sup>o</sup>-uH-) means ‘whose body is characterized with *Sturm-und-Drang*’, i.e. ‘having onslaught/rush(ing force) in (one’s) body’

An enlargement of the same stem is attested by Parth. /*Amtanūk*/<sup>20</sup> that goes back to a transponate *\*(H)am(H)a-tanu(H)-ka-*.

Regarding the underlying phraseology, I would like to refer to the Avestan Yašt 9 (studied in SADOVSKI 2009: 159, §4.3., and 2020: 574f., §3.6.2., together with its Indic parallels from the AVŚ 7,81,3):

*haoma* nmānō.paite vīspaitē  
 zaṇtupaite daijūhupaite  
 spanaṇḥa vaēdiiā.paite ◊  
*amāica* θβā vərəθraynāica  
 māuuōiia upa.mruuiē tanuiē

‘O [*stem of*] *Haoma*, lord of the house! lord of the village!  
 lord of the clan! lord of the country!  
 lord of the knowledge of holiness.  
 For the *Attacking Force* and the *Obstruction-Smashing Force*  
 I call you, for my *body*!’

In Indic, note RV. 8,20,6:

*āmāya* vo *maruto* yātave dyaúr,  
 jihīta úttarā bṛhát |  
 yátrā **náro** DÉDÍŚATE TANŪŚV Ā,  
 TVÁKŚĀMSI **bāhvōjasah** ||

To allow your *onslaught* to drive by, o *Maruts*,  
 heaven raises itself *higher aloft*,  
 when the **men**, **strong in arm**, KEEP PUTTING  
 THEIR ENERGIES ON DISPLAY ON THEIR OWN *BODIES*.

For what concerns its combinatorics with theonyms and its phraseological context, Ved. *áma-* refers to Indra and the Maruts at the peak of their (*Jung-*)*Manneskraft*, also representing the potency of *stormy waters*,<sup>21</sup> *humidity* and *fertility* (SADOVSKI 2020: 565f., §1.5.1.):

<sup>19</sup> For this Parthian name, see SCHMITT 2016: 38f., Nr. 20, SADOVSKI 2020: 572, §3.1.1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. SCHMITT 2016: 39, Nr. 21, and see SADOVSKI 2020: 572, §3.1.2.

<sup>21</sup> Metaphorical developments include the compound name of *\*Spitāma-* ‘the one who has *swelling, abundant, overflowing ama-force*’ (cf. MAYRHOFER 1977: Annex; MAYRHOFER 1979:

Thus, the Rigvedic hymns 5,58 and 5,59 celebrate the Maruts as emanation of rushing masculinity, ‘superior men’, a concept which in 5,58,8d is specified as ‘youths, belonging to the lofty mountains, loftily growing’:

RV. 5,58,8: hayé **náro māruto** mṛḷātā nas,  
túvimaghāso ámr̥tā řtajñāḥ |  
sátyaśrutah kāvayo **yúvāno**,  
*bṛhadgirayo bṛhád ukśámānāḥ* ||

– Hail, *Maruts*, (**superior**) **men!** Be merciful to us –  
o you of great bounty, immortal, knowing the (immanent) truth,  
hearing the realized (truth) [=poetic formulations], sage poets, *youths*,  
*belonging to the lofty mountains, loftily growing*.

These two hymns contain classical depictions of the gang of Maruts as a host of vagabond young men, the ‘Jung-Männerbund’ *par excellence*, lead by Indra *Vṛtrahán*.<sup>22</sup>

Particularly frequently, Ved. *áma-* is used in the context of such hymns and stanzas and characterizes both the group and the leader:

RV. 9,90,5:  
mátsi *soma váruṇam* mátsi *mitrám*,  
mátsi *índram* indo pavamāna *viṣṇum* |  
mátsi *sárdho mārutam* mátsi *deván*,  
mátsi *mahám índram* indo mādāya ||

JAMISON – BRERETON:

Exhilarate *Varuṇa*, o *Soma*; exhilarate *Mitra*.

Exhilarate *Indra*, o self-purifying drop, and *Viṣṇu*.

Exhilarate the *troop of Maruts*; exhilarate the *gods*.

Exhilarate *great Indra*, o drop, for his exhilaration.

I/77, Nr. 291; SCHMITT 2011: 346f., Nr. 316, SADOVSKI 2020: 572, § 2.4.). Its first term *\*spita-* corresponds to Ved. *spīta-* ‘swelling, abundant, overflowing, inexhaustible’ and depicts Waters not only metaphorically but also literally.

<sup>22</sup> The terms ‘Sturm und Drang’ or ‘(rush-and-)onslaught’, of course, are profoundly ambivalent and by far not only as positive as they occur in the above-mentioned examples of epithets that have become proper names: Thus, Ved. *abhyama-*, attested in the new-found fragments of the Paippalāda-Atharvaveda (hymn AVP 6,14), occurs in a magical *sūkta* aiming at “smashing” a series of *hostile* male forces, to which not only mythical demons but completely real *juvenile male gangs* organizing raids against Vedic Aryans, are meant to belong. They are presented with the characteristic features of *Jung-Männerbund* members about whose provenance (from the same kin or from other ethnic/social circles) nothing is specified but who are characterized with surplus of *violent* (and therefore socially *hostile*) virile force. In the same hymn 6,14, these juvenile delinquents are characterized by additional features of *vṛātya*-like groups cf. stanza 3: ‘The one whose *áma-* is in surplus, who eats what must be groped for, / the Grop-er with a horrible hand, / the Shuddering-eyed one with soft fingers (and so on): these do we cause to vanish from here’ (cf. SADOVSKI 2020: 564f.).

Employing the technical term *ama-*, the introductory verses 2ab of the hymn 5,59 say about the host of the Maruts:

RV. 5,59,2ab:

*ámād eṣām bhīyāsā bhūmir ejati,*  
*náur ná pūrṇā kṣarati vyáthir yatí | [...]*

In fear of their *onslaught* the Earth trembles.

Like a loaded boat she *streams*, going a wayward course. [...]

A related idea underlies the compound Proto-Iran. *\*(H)am(H)a-tavijah-* ‘stronger by means of / thanks to Ama’: This compound is continued in Parthian / Amtāw /<sup>23</sup>, the personal name of a corn supplier (Sadovski 2020: 574, § 3.4.).

Since its second term starts with <sup>o</sup>*t-*, theoretically it, too, might be reflected by the Armenian name *Amat<sup>o</sup>*, thus pointing to an additional (or alternative) etymological source.

## 6. *Amiad*

We find the Armenian male name *Amiad* (IPNB-Arm. 84, Nr. 15) in a colophon from 1607, designating *a* recipient of a Gospel in Van.

MARTIROSYAN 2020: 84 tentatively derives this name from SWIran. *\*Amyāt/d* < OIran. *\*(H)am(H)a-dāta-* ‘Given by *Ama-*’, as a short name based on names with OIran. *\*(H)am(H)a-*. For the development of SWIran. *\*-yāt/d* (vs. NWIran. *\*-dāt*) from OIran. *\*-dāta-* ‘given’, he rightly quotes *Spandiat* vs. *Spandarāt*.

However, names of the structure ‘given by X’ are so-called calendric names,<sup>24</sup> dedicated to the deity protecting the specific day on which a person was born. Not any divine name can be employed in names in *\*-dāta-*. And *Ama* is no genius of a day of the Zoroastrian calendar! Thus, an alternative etymology has to start from a shortening of the name *\*(H)am(H)a-dāsta-*.

Proto-Iran. *\*(H)am(H)a-dāsta-* means ‘having a hand that has onslaught/rush(ing force)’, a wishful name for a future warrior. It is attested in Aramaic *ʾmdst* [instead of *ʾmdsm*], discovered by LIVŠIĆ at BOWMAN 1970, 111, no. 41, 2, cf. SCHMITT 2016: 38, sub Nr. 17. This *bahuvrīhi* compound corresponds to the ancient type of *īṣu-hasta-* ‘having a hand

<sup>23</sup> Cf. SCHMITT 2016: 39, Nr. 23.

<sup>24</sup> This type has been identified and discussed in extenso in the study SCHMITT 2000b.

(*hásta-*) that has arrows (*iṣumant-*) > ‘having arrows in his/her hand’.<sup>25</sup> In Vedic, we find the same type *vájra-hasta-* ‘with a hand that is with *vájra-*’, ‘having *vájra-* in the hand’, as an epithet of Indra *Vṛtrahán*. In the Avesta, we have the very same characterization of *Miθra-* in his aspect of warrior-leader: *vazrəm zastaiia draž°* ‘he holds the Vazra with his hand’, a collocation corresponding precisely to Ved. *vájra-hasta-* (SADOVSKI 2020: 573, §3.2.3.).

To make the parallel complete, we must include the presentation of the *manly vigours* of Indra in the Rigveda by using both the notion of ‘*having the manly powers in the hand*’ and the concept of *áma-*:

RV. 1,67,3

*háste dádhāno nṛmṇá víśvāni-*,  
*áme devān dhād gúhā niśīdan |*

*Taking in his hand all manly powers*, sitting down in secret,  
he sets the gods in (the path of) his *onslaught*.

The Vedic evidence is delivered by the stanza from RV. 8,20,6 already quoted above:

*ámāya vo maruto yátave dyaúr,*  
*jihīta úttarā bhát |*  
*yátrā náro dédiśate tanúšv á,*  
*tvákšāmsi bāhvòjasah ||*

To allow your *onslaught* to drive by, o *Maruts*,  
heaven raises itself higher aloft,  
when the *men, strong in arm*, keep putting  
their energies on display on their own bodies.

The complete phraseological parallel would be Av. *amauuant- zasta-* ‘a hand full of onslaught’.

## 7. *Ampak*

In early sources, the name *Ampak* refers to an Armen. *nahapet*, successor of Haykak; “they say that he lived in the time of Belok‘os and that he caused senseless riots and perished therein”.

<sup>25</sup> SADOVSKI 2020: 573, §3.2.; on the Iranian word for ‘hand’ cf. Sadovski 2017: 579, §5.1.2. — On this type of “double possessive” compounds discovered by Wilhelm SCHULZE see SCHINDLER 1986 (cf. also SCHMITT 1967: 177–181).

This name reflects MIran. \**Ampak(a)-* from OIran. \*(H)*am(H)a-p-aka-*, hypocoristic to a shortened form of Parthian *Āmpād* from \*(H)*am(H)a-pāda-* ‘having *onslaught* in (one’s) feet’, cf. OIran. \*(H)*am(H)a-ḏasta-* ‘having *onslaught* in (one’s) hands’, attested in Aramaic.<sup>26</sup>

The compound \*(H)*am(H)a-pāda-* means ‘whose feet (OPers. *pāda-*) have Ama’. Its main transmission is the Parthian /*Ampād*/, from O.Nisa (81 BC).<sup>27</sup>

## 8. *Argam*

Notable in this regard, too, is the male name *Argam* (IPNB-Arm. 108f., Nr. 79):

It is attested in the nominative *Argam*, the gen. *Argamay*, as well as in the abl. *i Murac'enēn Argamay*, at multiple places in Movsēs Xorenac'i. In Book 2,51, the name *Argam* is identified with another form, *Argawan*. From prosopographical viewpoint, at Movsēs this *Argam* was a ‘master of the house’ of the *Murac'ean* family considered to be descendants of *Azdahak*.

The Armenian name is of Iranian origin and probably contains OIran. \**arga-* ‘worth, value’ and \*(H)*am(H)a-* ‘onslaught, attacking force’:

When analyzing the first term, we should start from an Iran. \*(H)*árga-* identical with Ved. *arghá-* ‘worth, value’ < \**Harg<sup>h</sup>a-*. Thus, the Indo-Iran. compound IIr. \**Harg<sup>h</sup>a-HamHa-* means ‘whose onslaught / attacking force is worthy / valuable / (full) of “value”/valor’.

Old Iranian \**arg<sup>o</sup>* ‘worth, value’ is rarely attested. Still, we find a good parallel among Iranian personal names in Neo-Assyrian sources<sup>28</sup>: The male name *Ūargi* exhibits two decisive forms, both in inscriptions of Sargon II as old as 716 BC. This is the *eponym* of the town of *Bit-U(m)argi* (in the far Western Media) that has not been reached by any of the Assyrian kings before Sargon II: He defeated the town, integrated it into this province and made it pay tribute to Assyria. The name is “no doubt Iranian”.<sup>29</sup> Thus, ZADOK 1976a, 214b; 1976c, 387b plausibly reconstructs the compound as Iran. \**hu-u-arga-* ‘of good worth/value; valuable’, connecting it with Iran. \**arga-* = ved. *arghá-* ‘value, price’ < IIr. \**Harg<sup>h</sup>a-* (cf. SCHMITT 2007: 163, Nr. 148). The compound formation as a whole thus goes back to Indo-Iranian \**Hsu-Harg<sup>h</sup>a-*.

<sup>26</sup> See above, §6.

<sup>27</sup> SCHMITT 2016: 39, Nr. 17.

<sup>28</sup> SCHMITT 2007: 163, Nr. 148, following ZADOK 1976a, 214b; 1976c, 387b.

<sup>29</sup> The discovery of the form *Ū-ar-gi* in Najafehabad is of decisive value, since it proves that \**m<sup>o</sup>* of *Umargi* is just a graphematic convention expressing an intervocalic glide; cf. SCHMITT 2007: 163, Nr. 148.

With regard to the *phraseological backgrounds* and external syntactic co-occurrences of the two terms of the compound, the small-corpus Old Persian and the middle-corpus Avestan languages do not provide us with examples of the simultaneous appearance of the verb *arj* or the noun *arga-* with *ama-*. Here, the well-known “Vedic key” of interpretation (or, as Karl Hoffmann used to call it, the *vedisierende Methode*) helps again:

It is to be discovered in one of its central hymns to the Maruts, the gods and protectors of the Old Indic *Männerbund*, the Rigvedic *mārya-*s by antonomasia. We already quoted – twice! – its first part that contains the notion of *āma-*, RV. 8,20,6:

*āmāya* vo *maruto* yātave dyaúr,  
jihīta úttarā bṛhāt |  
yātrā **náro** DÉDÍŠATE TANŪŠV Ā,  
TVÁKŠĀMSI **bāhvōjasah** ||

To allow your **onslaught** to drive by, o **Maruts**,  
heaven raises itself higher aloft,  
when the **men**, **strong in arm**, KEEP PUTTING  
THEIR ENERGIES ON DISPLAY ON THEIR OWN BODIES.

Within the same hymn, the noun *ama-* ‘onslaught’, appearing above in RV. 8,20,6, corresponds to verb *ARH* ‘to be (full) of “value”/“valor”’ (basis of *argha-*) in RV. 8,20,18:

yé **cārhanti marútaḥ** sudānavah,  
smán mīlhúśasá **cáranti** yé |  
átaś cid á na úpa vásyasā hṛdā,  
**yúvāna** á vavṛdhvam ||

The **Maruts** of good drops who **are worthy** (of the soma-drink)  
and who **go about** practicing generosity all together.  
With a better heart even than this [=usual generosity],  
**o youths**, turn yourselves hither toward us.

## 9. \*Meroyr (gen. Merur-i)

A hapax name \*Meroyr (gen. Merur-i) is attested in the form Meruri-n on a cross-stone from Hin Ĵula from 1550 AD (IPNB-Arm 254, Nr. 471):

MARTIROSYAN’s tentative interpretation of the formation is as a reflex of Parth. PN \*Mēr(āy)ōδ: Its first term is \*mēr- < OIran. \*marya- ‘young man, young warrior’ (cf. MPers. Mērag-būd m., Arm. Merak-but). In West Middle Iranian, beside the MPers. tradition, Parthian, too, possesses per-

sonal names with the participation of the element *\*marīa-ka-*: thus, /Ardmarīg/, m., goes back to Proto-Iran. *\*(H)ṛta-marīaka-*, which rather than simply a ‘Diener des R̥ta’ (SCHMITT 2016: 48, Nr. 46) designates a ‘young man/champion of Rightness’, so to say a ‘Jüngling des Rechtseins’, a metaphor in which the deity Aša (as son of Ahura Mazdā) is represented as a prince accompanied by a *Jungmännerbund* (as the prince in Ancient Iran, cf. the historical accounts in WIDENGREN 1969), to whose representatives the holder of this wishful name should belong, too.

The second term is OIran. *\*(H)jāyda-*, the counterpart of Skt. *yodhā-* ‘warrior, fighter’, attested in Armenian collateral tradition and directly in a series of (Middle) Iranian male names like Parthian *Razmayōd* (SCHMITT 2016: 188f.). In Armenian, cf. *Řazmiozan* (IPNB-Arm. 306, Nr. 634), *Paroyr* (IPNB-Arm. 299, Nr. 612) < Parth. *\*Par-(āy)ōd* < OIran. *\*Para-(H)jāyda-* ‘the one who fights in front’; cf. the *Paradebeispiel* of OIran. *\*(H)aspā-(H)jāyda-* ‘fighting on horseback’ transmitted by Elam. *Aš-ba-ya-u-da*, YAv. *Aspāiaoda-*, m. (BENVENISTE 1966: 78; MAYRHOFER 1973: 130, 1977b: 22; HINZ 1975: 46, MARTIROSYAN 2021: 299, ad Nr. 612).

From the point of view of word-formation and semantic development, the underlying Indo-Iran. compounded adjective *\*marīa-Hjāyda<sup>h</sup>a-* is clearly to be interpreted as an original bahuvrīhi ‘the one whose fight is against young warriors’, developed to a compound of (active) verbal government [*upapada-samāsa-*] ‘the one who fights young warriors’. Here we have a perfect structural and semasiological match with Indo-Iran. *\*UīHra-Hjāyda-* ‘the one who fights men/warriors’, attested in Elamite *Mi-ra-ia-u-da*<sup>30</sup> and containing the word for ‘man, hero’.

A further – and even closer – compositional parallel appears in the name OIran. *\*(H)jāyda-martīja-* (BACK 1978: 231, 275) – not an “inversed compound” but a bahuvrīhi of the factitive type meaning ‘the one who “has”/provides humans with battle’, that is, ‘the one who fights men’.

If we turn to the *phraseology* underlying the old adjectival epithet crystallized in the personal name, we should search for a collocation of the noun *yúdh-*, f. ‘fight’ (the abstract and not *yúdh-*, m., the *nomen agentis* ‘warrior’) + *mārya-*, m. ‘young man; *Männerbund* member’ in Indic. I recently found one syntagmatic example from Vedic phraseology, in the Sāmavedic tradition. It’s attested in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, in a context characterized by clear *vrātya-* references, as so often in this ritual-exegetic text:

PB. 7,5,15: *yudhā maryā* ajaiṣmeti tasmād yaudhājayam ||

‘In **battle** (*yudhā*), o **young men**, we have won (*ajaiṣma*)’ (thus Indra thought): therefore the *yaudhājaya-* sāman/melody [exists / is called like this].

<sup>30</sup> Cf. TAVERNIER 2007: 350 and IPNB-Arm., l. cit.



A beautiful semantic parallel concerning the notion of ‘overwhelming the combatants’ is delivered by RV. 10,103,2:

saṃkrāndanenānimiṣēna jīṣṇunā,  
yutkāreṇa duścyavanēna dhṛṣṇunā |  
 tād *indreṇa* jayata tāt **sahadhvaṃ**,  
yúdhō nara ísuhastena vṛṣṇā ||

With him, who makes (them) cry out together, who is unwinking, conquering,  
combat-creating, difficult to shake, bold –  
 with *Indra* now conquer, now **overwhelm**  
the combatants, o **men** – with the *bull* with arrows in his hand.

10. The discussion of the distribution and phraseological combinatorics of the term for ‘onslaught, attacking force’ in Armenian names of Indo-Iranian origin shows that the Iranian compounds attested in Armenian sources contain whole *bundles of intrinsic parallels* between the Old Iranian and Old Indian traditions. Moreover, the newly investigated Armenian personal names show hidden rests of underlying syntactic structures and idiomatic collocations, which correspond to *common (Indo-Iranian) phraseological features* revealed by the comparative evidence of Avestan and Vedic in formulaic expressions attested in hymnal and magical poetry. Thus, the study of personal names can not only enhance our understanding of the Armeno-Iranian cultural interrelations, but also contribute to our comparative research on Indo-Iranian studies in a significant manner.

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