consequently the Arvand-rud must be located in an area where a major Sasanian royal palace stood, i.e., either in the area of Dastgerd or further northeast in the plain of Qasr-e-Sirin and Holwan, both well to the east of the river Tigris. Dastgerd stood on the left bank of the river Dila, along the course of which the Khorasan road proceeded through Jalula, Kanequin, and Qasr-e-Sirin to reach Holwan (the present-day Sar-e-Pol-e-Dohab), often considered the final stage of the road in Iraq, where it crossed the Zagros range to enter the Iranian highlands (Le Strange, Lands, pp. 61-63. 191). Formed by the confluence of a number of streams rising in the hills of western Iran (one being the Alvand [Arvand?] river flowing through the plain of Qasr-e Sirin and Sar-e-Pol) and breaking through the Jabal Hamrin gorge, the river Dila enters the plain of lower Mesopotamia (Dila plain)—an area of great strategic and economic importance throughout its history— which has been characterized as “the heartland of Sasanian strength” (R. M. Adams, Land Behind Baghdad, Chicago, 1965, pp. 69-83 and passim; Herzfeld, op. cit., pp. 52-54). The account of the Bahman Yasht must have been inspired by the sack of Dastgerd by Heraclius in 628 and the disastrous defeats of the Sasanian army at the hands of the invading Arabs at Jalula (situated on a tributary of Dila draining the Sahrazur valley, cf. above) and at Nehavand.


(M. Kasheff)

ARYA, an ethnic epithet in the Achaemenid inscriptions and in the Zoroastrian Avastan tradition. It is used in the Avesta of members of an ethnic group and contrasts with other named groups (Tuiring, Sairima, Dâha, Sâuí or Saini) and with the outer world of the An-airy “non-Arya.” Old Persian airyâ- occurs in the phrase of Zurvan: airyâ- airyâ- cîça, “Arya, of Arya origin,” and of Xeres: parsâ: parsâhyâ: puṣa: airyâ- airyacîṣa, “a Persian, son of a Persian, Arya, of Arya origin.” The phrase with cîça, “origin, descentance,” assures that it is an ethnic name wider in meaning than parsâ and not a simple adjectival epithet. The corresponding Akkadian and Elamite offer the transcriptions ar-ri, ar-ri-i šîrî and hari-ri-ia, hari-ri-a, ši-il-sa. Elamite has also preserved the gloss to the name of the god Ahuramazdæ: u-râ-mas-da na-ap har-ri-ia-na-am (Behistun 62), “Ahuramazdæ, god of the Aryas.” In DB 4.89 airyâ- “in the Arya,” refers to script or language.

The Avesta has the plural aere (Yt. 5.69); yâha azami avata xârâha haçiçe yâha wîspa anye aere “may I possess so much force as all the other Aryas.” The archer Arzăsha- (NPers. Âras) is described (Yt. 8.6) as xîwîm-išištanmâ airyâmâ “most swift-arrowed of the Aryas.” Kavi Haosrovâ is called (Yt. 15.32) arza airyâm “the hero (arz-“male”) of the Aryas.” The dâhu- lands of the Aryas (gen. plur. airyâmân dâhu-yanm) are known; and once the pāo- “settlement” is mentioned (Yt. 4.5 airyâbô pâo-deîhû). The xârâman “fortune” or (of royalty) a vague “glory,” is coupled with the gen. plur. (airyâmân xârâ) and with the adjective (airyâmân xârâmâ). The same adjective qualifies wâfâh “extensive territory,” in the name airyâmân wâfê, loc. sing. airyene wâfêh “the Aryan plain,” the first of the lands created by Ahura Mazda (Vidêdâh I, 3). In Yasht 13.87, the phrase nāsî airyâmân dâhu-yanm âtârân airyâmân dâhu-yanm “the kindred of the Aryan lands, the origin of the Arya lands,” coincides in use of ētâr with Old Pers. airyâyacî. Over against the Arya lands stand those which are anairyâ “non-Arya” (as in anairyâ dâhuwâ, Yt. 19.68); this dichotomy was continued later in Persian tradition.

Four place-names containing airyà- occur in the Avesta. The airyô-šayana “dwelling of the Aryas” (Yt. 10.14), comprises six names, of which four are well known: iskataxouramât mouram háriout gasmâ surâm x’árizamâ “Iskata. Pouruta, Margu, Haraiva, Gava-Sugda. Hârâzami.” The mountain Airyô-xûsta (Yt. 8.6) was in eastern Iran; yâha iti-rîs mainya-âsà yim apâh xarzhô xîwê xîwê xîwê xîwê xîwê xîwê airyô.xûstâ xûsta xûsta xûsta xûsta xûsta xûsta xûsta xûsta xûsta arijwâm avi gariw “like the mind-swift arrow which the archer Arxhâ shot, swift- arrowed, most swift-arrowed of the Aryas, from Mount Airyô-xûsta to Mount Xvanvant.” The forest (râzurâ, Yt. 15.32) called wîspa aire.râzurâ (loc. sing.) was where Kavi Haosrovâ slew Váyu. The fourth name is the airyamân uâdji. Zor. Pahl. érân-êz, frequent in the texts and remembered also in Manichean Sogdian ‘yûn wyz (“ârân wëzan”) and Turfan Parthian (j / i / m wyzn, see W. B. Henning, BSOAS 11, 1943, p. 69). In Greek, Herodotus (7.62) stated that, in the past, the Medes had been called Arioi. The Greek use of Aria (Latin Arià) for Old Pers. Haraiva, Balôči Harê( ), Arm. H(a)re, was likely to cause confusion.

The same ethnic concept was held in the later centuries. The Denkard (ed. Madan, p. 438.23) offers hûtômakton er mar tôri “the best-born Arva man,” associating arya- with good birth; cf. the Old Persian connection with birth in ariyačîça. Similarly érîh ut dâhu-pâth (ibid., 553.17) “nobility and lordship,” contrasts with arg ut bâr hác škiššin, “labor and burdens from poverty.” In the inscription of Sâpur I on the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt (ŠZK), Parth. ‘yûn W ‘nry’n (aryân ut anaryân), Mid. Pers. ‘yûn W ‘nry’n (érân ut anérân, cf. Armenian eraq ateran) comprises the inhabitants of all the known lands. The imperial title in Sasanian inscriptions is Parth. ML KYN MLK aryan ut anaryân ke šîhr hác yazdan, Mid. Pers. ke étêre hác
honored man,” Pali ayyaka- “grandfather,” and ayyakā- “grandmother.” Hindu Sanskrit has aṛya-vārta. The contrast between aṛya- “noble and dāsā- “slave” and dāsya- (the pejorative epithet) is missing in the Iranian tradition. Old Persian has dāhyya- “a land and its people;” Turfan Parth. has dāhīśi “slavery.” But Khotan Saka dāha- “man, virile person,” and Wahi bai “hero” (dāhyy-) are used in a good sense. To this dāhā- one can compare dāsā- “man” (RV 6.21.11), who is set in a generation before mānu- “man.”

These facts are undisputed, but no decision has yet been reached regarding the earlier meaning of the Iranian and Indian words. No evidence for such an Indo-European ethnic name has been found. The Irano-Indian aṛ- is a syllable ambiguous in origin, from IE. ar-,-er-, or ar-. The only evidence that this word is from Indo-European aṛ- is in the Celtic Old Irish aíre “the free man” in Irish law, and aíre (gen. sing. aírech, nom. pl. aírig) glossed by Latin optimas “of the best class.” (The first component ario- of Germanic names may always be identified with hario- “army, troop.” The Celtic first component ario- in names is uncertain because Celtic lost initial p-.) On this slight evidence it has been usual to accept Indo-European ar- as the base. Attempts to connect aṛya- with other basic words have been many. H. Güntert, Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland (Halle, 1924), proposed “allied” (base ar- “to fit”). Paul Thieme offered a detailed proposal to trace Rigvedic aṛi, glossed iśvara- and ari, Atharvavedic ari- “enemy” (AV 13.1.29: aīr yō nāh pṛtanayati “the foe who fights against us”), together with aṛya- and aṛya-, to a primitive society in which the mutual connection of host and guest was expressed by the one word; he translated it “stranger” (Der Fremdling in Ryveda, Leipzig, 1938). This was adopted by L. Renou (Études védiqques et pâñjîniennes II, Paris, 1956, pp. 109-11) and in Wackernagel-Debrunner (the revised preface) but criticized by G. Dumézil, Le troisième soverain, Paris, 1949. It places the work too early in Indo-European times and hardly offers a way to advance from “stranger” to an ethnic name. A different explanation was proposed by the writer in “Iranian aṛya and dāha-,” TPS, 1959, pp. 71-115 and supplementary note TPS, 1960, pp. 87-88. Accepting the interpretation of ari- and aṛya-bhīṣa- “possessor,” these words were traced to a base ar- well attested in Iranian in the sense of “get” and “cause to get, give.” Avestan has ar- and Ossetic ar-; cf. Greek arnumai “to get,” and Armenian arinou “to take,” hence Indo-European ar-. (The world ari- ari- “enemy,” was connected with Rigvedic rī- “attack,” and Iranian Pahl. arik “attack,” and so to Indo-European er-.) For aṛya-, the Iranian ethnic name, it was proposed to start from the sense of “good birth” and so with Ossetic är- är “to bear young,” a specialized meaning of the same IE base ar-. Cf. Old Norse gerta “to get,” also “to bear young,” getinn “born.” The stage of society represented by the word was the oikarkhu, birth into which gave nobility; this is expressed by the later use of ā-za- as in āžāta- “born
into the House, noble;" in the Indian tradition it is expressed by ājñeya- "well born" (said of man or animal). This arya-, Indian ārya- "noble," was thus an excellent name for a people; and it favored the further development into an ethical concept of "excellence, nobility." The identification of ar- with āzān- is attested by the Khotan Saka rendering of arya- by əysəhə from *āzān-ya-, for which Avestan provides āstra- "well born," and Man. Mid. Pers. azān, Armenian azniu "excellent, noble." The Celtic āriak "free man" and optimas fit here admirably. Note, too, that (with causative -ną-) Hititite ātr-na- "to bring an animal to copulation," can best be placed with this same Iranian Ossetic ār- "to bear young, give birth," rather than with Greek ornumi "to stir up, excite." For the pregnant meaning "good birth" for arya-, note how Latin gentils, originally simply "of the family," was in the Romance languages changed to the meaning "noble." Hititite arawa- "free, noble" could be brought in here in preference to E. Laroche, Hommages à G. Dumézil, Brussels, 1960, pp. 124-28, where it is traced to ara- "friend," and compared with Gothic freis "free," and frijonds "friend." 


Finally various explanations have been offered for Rigvedic Aryamān-. Avestan airmaman-, where the first component has been rendered "true, Aryan, wealth." The supernatural being (called ādityā-) Aryaman has the epithet ēspāti- "official in the house." He is in charge of the treasury; hence this writer has preferred to explain his name as "the being in charge of riches and hospitality."

See also Aryans; Indo-Iranian languages.


(H. W. Bailey)

ARYAMAN. See ARYAMAN.

ARYAMEHR. See MOHAMMAD REZA SHAH PAHLAVI.

ARYĀNA, Bulletin of the Historical Society of Afghanistan. Shortly after its establishment in 1321 Š./1942, the society initiated a monthly journal in Persian (called Dari in Afghanistan) and Pašto devoted to Afghan studies in the widest sense, treating matters of art and archeology, history and ethnography, languages, literature and paleography, geography and folklore and biographical data. The society selected the name Aryānā for the journal on account of the report by Eratothenes (d. ca. 196 B.C.), handed down by Strabo (Geography 15.2.8) and discussed by orientalists (e.g., H. H. Willson, Ariana Antica, London, 1871, pp. 119f.), that this was the name of ancient Afghanistan. The first issue came out in January, 1943, under the editorship of Ahmad ‘Ali Kohzad. Subsequent editors were ‘Ali Ahmad Na’imi (from vol. 2, no. 8), Mohammad Ebrahim Kallil (from vol. 7, no. 7), Mohammad Haydar Žubal (from 1332 Š./1953), ‘Atiqallah Ma’ruf (from 1333 Š./1954), Mohammad Sarvar Homayun (from 1335 Š./1956), ‘Abd-al-Hayy Ḥabibi (from 1342 Š./1963). The journal was published monthly until 1352 Š./1973, but quarterly since then. An index listing articles in volumes 1-26, published in 1347 Š./1966, contained 1347 titles; by now it has probably reached 3000 items. The journal has had considerable influence in reinforcing Afghan’s awareness of their cultural heritage (the national airline of Afghanistan, for instance, is called Ariana), and has been helpful in maintaining scholarly cooperation with Iranian scholars and others interested in Afghanistan’s history and culture. It has also published useful essays on Iranian studies (see I. Afsar, Fehrest-e maqalāt-e fārsī-III, Tehran, 1348-55 Š./1969-76).

Bibliography: See also Aryâna Dā’erat al-mu‘āref, Kabul, 1328 Š./1949, I, p. 252.

(‘A. Ḥabibi)

ARYANA VAŒJAH. See ŘEANVEJ.

ARYANDESES. Achaemenid satrap of Egypt. The name is of uncertain etymology (R. Schmitt, "Mediterran und persises Sprachgut bei Herodot," ZDMG 117, 1967, pp. 119-45 esp. 134 n. 106). He was appointed by Cambyses in 522 B.C. (Herodotus 4.166). Soon after, a rebellion forced the imperial officials out (DB 2.5-8 with Polycaenus 7.11.7), but Darius traveled to Egypt in the summer of 518, pacified the people, and reinstated Aryanides (Polycaenus, loc. cit., with G. Posener, La première domination Perses en Egypte, Cairo, 1936, pp. 36ff.; R. A. Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign," AJSL 58, 1951, pp. 37ff.; G. G. Cameron, "Darius, Egypt and the Land beyond the Sea," JNES 2, 1943, pp. 307-13, esp. p. 310). Desiring to codify the Egyptian laws (Diodorus 1.95.4-5), Darius wrote "to his satrap" before December, 518: "Let them bring to me the wise men among the warriors, priests, and scribes of Egypt, who have assembled from the