

consequently the Arvand-rūd 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 Qaṣr-e Šīrīn and Ḥolwān, both well to the east of the river Tigris. Dastgerd stood on the left bank of the river Dīāla, along the course of which the Khorasan road proceeded through Jālūlā, Kāneqīn, and Qaṣr-e Šīrīn to reach Ḥolwān (the present-day Sar-e Pol-e Dohāb), 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 Qaṣr-e Šīrīn and Sar-e Pol) and breaking through the Jābal Ḥamrīn gorge, the river Dīāla enters the plain of lower Mesopotamia (Dīāla 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 Yašt* 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 Jālūlā (situated on a tributary of Dīāla draining the Sahrazūr valley, cf. above) and at Nehāvand.

Bibliography: See also the articles “Alwand Kūh, Daskara, Didjla, Diyāla, Djalūlā, Ḥulwān, and Qaṣr-i Šīrīn” in *EP. Camb. Hist. Iran III*, pp. 171, 758, 1067-69. E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire: Studies in the Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East*, posthumous papers ed. G. Waleser, Wiesbaden, 1968. M. Kayhān, *Ĵōgrāfiā I*, pp. 96-97. Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, pp. 59-60. Idem, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna, 1903. M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, N.J., 1984. N. Pigulevskaya, *Les villes de l'état iranien aux époques parthe et sassanide*, Paris, 1963, pp. 152-53. E. Pūr-Dāwūd, *Yaštā*, Bombay, 1928, pp. 222-27. Razmārā, *Farhang V*, pp. 230, 237.

(M. KASHEFF)

ARYA, an ethnic epithet in the Achaemenid inscriptions and in the Zoroastrian Avestan tradition. It is used in the Avesta of members of an ethnic group and contrasts with other named groups (Tūiryā, Sairima, Dāha, Sāinu or Sāini) and with the outer world of the An-airya “non-Arya.” Old Persian *ariya-* occurs in the phrase of Darius: *ariya: ariya: ciça*, “Arya, of Arya origin,” and of Xerxes: *pārsa: pārsahyā: puça: ariya: ariyaciça*, “a Persian, son of a Persian, Arya, of Arya origin.” The phrase with *ciça*, “origin, descentance,” assures that it is an ethnic name wider in meaning than *pārsa* and not a simple adjectival epithet. The corresponding Akkadian and Elamite offer the transcriptions *a-ri-i*, *ar-ri-i šitir* and *har-ri-ia*, *har-ri-ia*, *ši-iš-ša*. Elamite has also preserved the gloss to the name of the god Ahuramazdā: *u-ra-mas-da na-ap har-ri-ia-na-um* (Behistun 62), “Ahuramazdā, god of the Aryas.” In DB

4.89 *ariyā*, “in the Arya,” refers to script or language.

The Avesta has the plural *aire* (*Yt.* 5.69): *yaḥa azəm avata vərəθra hačāne yaḥa vīspe anye aire* “may I possess so much force as all the other Aryas.” The archer Ǝrəxša- (NPers. Āraš) is described (*Yt.* 8.6) as *xšviwi.išvatəmō airyanəm* “most swift-arrowed of the Aryas.” Kavi Haosravō is called (*Yt.* 15.32) *arša airyanəm* “the hero (*aršan-* “male”) of the Aryas.” The *dahyu-* lands of the Aryas (gen. plur. *airyanəm dahyunəm*) are known; and once the *pāda-* “settlement” is mentioned (*Yt.* 4.5 *airyābyō pādaēibyō*). The *xʾarənah-* “fortune” or (of royalty) a vague “glory,” is coupled with the gen. plur. (*airyanəm xʾarəno*) and with the adjective (*airyanəm xʾarəno*). The same adjective qualifies *vaējah-* “extensive territory,” in the name *airyanəm vaējō*, loc. sing. *airyene vaējahi* “the Aryan plain,” the first of the lands created by Ahura Mazdā (*Vidēvdāt* 1.3). In *Yašt* 13.87, the phrase *nāfō airyanəm dahyunəm čitərəm airyanəm dahyunəm* “the kindred of the Arya lands, the origin of the Arya lands,” coincides in use of *čitərə-* with Old Pers. *ariyaciça*. Over against the Arya lands stand those which are *anairya-* “non-Arya” (as in *anairyā diḡhāvō*, *Yt.* 19.68); this dichotomy was continued later in Persian tradition.

Four place-names containing *airya-* occur in the Avesta. The *airyō.šayana-* “dwelling of the Aryas” (*Yt.* 10.14), comprises six names, of which four are well known: *iškātəm pourutəmča mourum hārōyūm gaomča suḡdəm xʾārizəmča* “Iškata, Pouruta, Margu, Haraiva, Gava-Sugda, Hvārazmi.” The mountain *Airyō-xšuθa* (*Yt.* 8.6) was in eastern Iran: *yaḥa tiyriš mainya-asā yim aḡhaṭ ərəxšō xšviwi.išuš xšviwi.išvatəmō airyanəm airyō.xšuθaṭ hača garōit xʾanvantəm avi gairim* “like the mind-swift arrow which the archer Ǝrəxša shot, swift-arrowed, most swift-arrowed of the Aryas, from Mount *Airyō-xšuθa* to Mount *Xvanvant*.” The forest (*razurā*, *Yt.* 15.32) called *vīspe.aire.razuraya* (loc. sing.) was where Kavi Haosravō slew Vāyu. The fourth name is the *airyanəm vaējō*, Zor. Pahl. *ērān-vēž*, frequent in the texts and remembered also in Manichean Sogdian *ʾryʾn wyžn* (**aryān vēžan*) and Turfan Parthian (*///n wyžn*, 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 *Areia* (Latin *Aria*) for Old Pers. Haraiva, Balōči Harē(v), Arm. H(a)reu, was likely to cause confusion.

The same ethnic concept was held in the later centuries. The *Dēnkard* (ed. Madan, p. 438.23) offers *hutōhmaktom ēr martōm* “the best-born Arya man,” associating *arya-* with good birth; cf. the Old Persian connection with birth in *ariyaciça*. Similarly *ērīh ut dahyupatīh* (ibid., 553.17) “nobility and lordship,” contrasts with *arg ut bār hač škōhišn*, “labor and burdens from poverty.” In the inscription of Šāpūr I on the Kaʿba-ye Zardošt (ŠKZ), Parth. *ʾryʾn W ʾnʾryʾn* (*aryān ut anaryān*), Mid. Pers. *ʾryʾn W ʾnyʾn* (*ērān ut anērān*; cf. Armenian *eran eut aneran*) comprises the inhabitants of all the known lands. The imperial title in Sasanian inscriptions is Parth. *MLKYN MLK ʾryān ut anaryān kē šīhr hač yazdān*, Mid. Pers. *kē čitərə hač*

yazdān, Greek *arianōn kai anarianōn* (ŠKZ 1). In the singular Parth. *'ry*, Mid. Pers. *'yly*, Greek *arian* occurs in a title: *'ry mzdysn nryšw MLK*, **ary mazdēzn Narēsahv šāh* (Parth. ŠKZ 19); *'yly mzdysn nršy MLK* (Mid. Pers. version 24), Greek *arian masdaasnou*. The empire is called *'ry'n hštr* (Parth.), *ērān šahr* (Zor. Pahl.). Armenian has retained *arya-* in nom. pl. *ari-k'*, gem. pl. *areac'*, and in sing. *ari ayr* "Arya man, Persian;" the negative *anari-k'* is found, as well as the Mid. Pers. phrase *eran eut aneran*. New Persian has *ērān* (western, *īrān*), *ērān-šahr*. In the Caucasus Ossetic has Digoron *erā, irā*, Iron *ir*, with Dig. *iriston*, Iron *iryston* (the i-umlaut modifying the vowel *a*, but leaving the *-r-* untouched), the ancestral "Alān" and Latin (1459 A.D.) Arani. The name "Alān" is found in Greek Alanoi, Latin Alani, Chinese A-lan, Caucasian Megrel *alani k'oč'i* "brave man," Georgian Alanet'i "Alan country," Pers. Alān, Arab -Pers. al-Lān as the name of a people north of the Caucasus powerful until the Mongol invasion.

An ethical use of Zor. Pahl. *ēr, anēr* can be seen in *Mēnōg ī xrad* 20.15: *anērīh ī hrōmāyikān* "the evil conduct of the Romans (i.e., Byzantines);" *Dādistan ī dēnīg* 66.1: *mart ī ēr ī hudēn* "the Arya man of good faith" (here "noble").

Outside Iranian there is much further evidence in the Old Indian tradition of the Vedas and later texts. A word *arya-* with three accentuations (*ārya-, aryā-, aryā-*) is traditionally glossed by *īśvara-* "owner, possessor," more vaguely "lord." This same meaning was also offered for Rig Veda *ari-*. But to compare with Iranian *arya-* the Indian tradition has *ārya-*. The latter is normally taken as an adjective by lengthened vowel (*vr̥ddhi* formation) but could also be explained by a long *ā* before two consonants. In the Vedas occurs Kāthaka *āryam varṇam* "the Arya color," contrasting with *dāsam varṇam* "the Dāsa color" of the enemies of the Arya people (*RV* 2.12.4). Beside this confrontation there is also the social difference of Jaiminiya *āryam ca varṇam śaudram ca* "both the Ārya and the Śūdra color," the Śūdra being at first the workers. In *RV* 1.77.3 occurs *devayāntīr viśa... ārih* "the devout Ārya houses" (if this is the feminine to *ārya-*; the traditional rendering is from *ar-* "to move"). In later Indian texts the drama has *āryaputra* for the wife's address to her husband: "son of an Arya" or "of a noble." In Buddhist sources *ārya-*, feminine *āryikā-*, is a laudatory epithet of the monk and nun used in place of *bhikṣu-* and *bhikṣuṇī*. It is used in some sense of "noble" of the Buddhist *satyāni* (true doctrines) and of the *dharma-* (doctrine) in the terms *ārya-satyāni* and *ārya-dharma-*. In *ārya-dharma-* the *arya-* is translated by Khotan Saka *āysnā-* "of high birth." The later Indian languages, Pali, and various Prakrits have the corresponding later forms. The Buddhist glosses confirm the sense of "high-born" or "noble" and "lord." Thus Tibetan has *rje-po, rje-hu, jo-bo jo-hu* "lord," with Chinese gloss "honored person;" Tibetan *ya-rabs* "high birth," renders *āryatā-* (hence "nobility"). As laudatory epithet note also Ārya-dēsa- "noble land," for India; and Ārya-bhāṣā- "noble language," for Sanskrit. Note, with Suffix, *āryaka-*

"honored man," Pali *ayyaka-* "grandfather," and *ayyakā-* "grandmother." Hindu Sanskrit has *āryāvarta*. The contrast between *ārya-* "noble and *dāsā-* "slave" and *dāsyu-* (the pejorative epithet) is missing in the Iranian tradition. Old Persian has *dahyu-* "a land and its people;" Turfan Parth. has *dāhīft* "slavery." But Khotan Saka *daha-* "man, virile person," and Waxī *ḍai* "hero" (**dahy-*) are used in a good sense. To this *daha-* one can compare *dāsa-* "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 *ar-* is a syllable ambiguous in origin, from IE. *ar-, er-, or or-*. The only evidence that this word is from Indo-European *ar-* is in the Celtic Old Irish *aire* "the free man" in Irish law, and *aire* (gen. sing. *airech*, nom. pl. *airig*) 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 *arya-* 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 *ari*, glossed *īśvara-* and *ari*, Atharvavedic *āri-* "enemy" (*AV* 13.1.29: *ārīr yō nah pṛtanyati* "the foe who fights against us"), together with *arya-* and *ārya-*, 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 Rgveda*, Leipzig, 1938). This was adopted by L. Renou (*Études védiques et pāninéennes* II, Paris, 1956, pp. 109-111) and in Wackernagel-Debrunner (the revised preface) but criticized by G. Dumézil, *Le troisième souverain*, 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 *arya* and *daha-*," *TPS*, 1959, pp. 71-115 and supplementary note *TPS*, 1960, pp. 87-88. Accepting the interpretation of *ari-* and *arya-* by *īśvara-* "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 *ar̥nōum* "to take," hence Indo-European *ar-*. (The word *ari-, āri-* "enemy," however, was connected with Rigvedic *ṛti-* "attack," and Iranian Pahl. *artik* "attack," and so to Indo-European *er-*.) For *arya-*, the Iranian ethnic name, it was proposed to start from the sense of "good birth" and so with Ossetic *ār-*: *ārd* "to bear young," a specialized meaning of the same IE. base *ar-*. Cf. Old Norse *geta* "to get," also "to bear young," *getinn* "born." The stage of society represented by the word was the *oikarkhia*, birth into which gave nobility; this is expressed by the later use of *ā-zan-* as in *āzāta-* "born

into the House, noble;" in the Indian tradition it is expressed by *ājāneya*- "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 *ā-zan*- is attested by the Khotan Saka rendering of *arya*- by *āysnā*- from **ā-zan-ya*-, for which Avestan provides *āsna*- "well born," and Man. Mid. Pers. *āznān*, Armenian *azniu* "excellent, noble." The Celtic **ariak* "free man" and "*optimas*" fit here admirably. Note, too, that (with causative *-nu*-) Hittite *ar-nu*- "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 *gentilis*, originally simply "of the family," was in the Romance languages changed to the meaning "noble." Hittite *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."

Arya- as first component in proper names becomes ambiguous if two words existed: *arya*- "Aryan," and **arya*- "wealth" (cf. Man. Parth. 'yr, Arm. *ir*, Mid. Pers. *xīr*, Khotan Saka *hāra*-, all meaning "thing"). Such names are Old Pers. Ariyāramna (Greek Ariaramnēs), Ariobarzanēs, Elamite Harrikhama, Harri-made, Harrimana, Harripirtan; Lydian Arijamaña; Nisa Parthian 'rymtrk, 'rybrzn; the Sogdian name of the capital city Bukhara: in Chinese, A-lam-mit from **aryāmēθa(n)* (J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden, 1938, p. 140), later Rāmēθan.

Finally various explanations have been offered for Rigvedic *Aryamān*-, Avestan *airyaman*-, where the first component has been rendered "true, Aryan, wealth." The supernatural being (called *ādityā*-) Aryaman has the epithet *sātpati*- "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.

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ARYAMAN. See AIRYAMAN.

ĀRYĀMEHR. See MOHAMMAD REZĀ SHAH PAHLAVI.

ĀRYĀNĀ, Bulletin of the Historical Society of Afghanistan. Shortly after its establishment in 1321 Š./1942, the society initiated a monthly journal in Persian (called Darī in Afghanistan) and Paštō 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 Āryānā for the journal on account of the report by Eratosthenes (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 Aḥmad 'Alī Kohzād. Subsequent editors were 'Alī Aḥmad Na'imī (from vol. 2, no. 8), Moḥammad Ebrāhīm Kalīl (from vol. 7, no. 7), Moḥammad Ḥaydar Žūbal (from 1332 Š./1953), 'Atīqallāh Ma'rūf (from 1333 Š./1954), Moḥammad Sarvar Homāyūn (from 1335 Š./1956), 'Abd-al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (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./1968, 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 Ī. Afšār, *Fehrest-e maqālāt-e fārsī* I-III, Tehran, 1348-55 Š./1969-76).

Bibliography: See also *Āryānā Dā'erat al-ma'āref*, Kabul, 1328Š./1949, I, p. 252.

(A. ḤABĪBĪ)

ARYANA VAĒJAH. See ERĀNVEJ.

ARYANDES, Achaemenid satrap of Egypt. The name is of uncertain etymology (R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *ZDMG* 117, 1967, pp. 119-45 esp. p. 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 Polyaeus 7.11.7), but Darius traveled to Egypt in the summer of 518, pacified the people, and reinstated Aryandes (Polyaeus, loc.cit., with G. Posener, *La première domination Perse en Egypte*, Cairo, 1936, pp. 36ff.; R. A. Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign," *AJSL* 58, 1951, pp. 373ff.; 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