

The Name *Asia* for the Continent; its History and Origin

Dedicated to Dean BERNARD O'KELLY

DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS

IF THE DISTINCTION between *great* or *major names* and *lesser* or *minor names* should carry any validity in onomastics, the names of the continents are, indeed, the greatest names on earth; they pertain to what we could call *world onomastics*. This explains then the author's ultimate goal to treat in a book the names of the three continents that constitute the *World Island: Europe, Africa, and Asia*. Within this plan, the present first part on the name *Asia* includes general remarks on world units and their distinction as well as on names compounded with two or even all three continent names.

It is no accident that the closed Mediterranean Sea, a huge lake, has an Asiatic, a European, and an African front; and it has been the Mediterranean that helps to divide the world into three continents as well as to reconcile their differences in climate, flora, fauna, peoples, and civilizations. These divisions started in the classical period with the Greek Ionian scientists. It was early, a little before 500 B.C., that the threefold division of the inhabited world (*Oikoumene*) into Asia, Europe, and Libya occurred. But the names by which these continents came to be designated were in use before the continents themselves were known; the names were first applied to limited regions but the application of each was gradually extended so as to include a larger area of land that lay behind it.

A second part of this Asia treatise dealing with the several names for *Asia Minor* or *Anatolia* is to appear in *Beiträge zur Namensforschung*.

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I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. JOURNALS AND REFERENCE WORKS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology

AJP = American Journal of Philology

AOF = Archiv für Orientforschung

CGL = Corpus glossariorum Latinorum, ed. G. Goetz. 7 vols. Lipsiae et Berolini, 1888–1923.

CSEL = Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DEI = Dizionario enciclopedico italiano

EBr. = Encyclopaedia Britannica. A New Survey of Universal Knowledge. 24 vols. Chicago, 1965.

ΕΕΒΣ = Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν

EIt. = Enciclopedia italiana

ΕΕΑ = Eleftheroudakis’ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν

- FHG* = *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müllerus, Paris, 1841–83.
Geographisches Jahrbuch
GGM = *Geographi Graeci minores*
Glotta
Gnomon
Ἑλληνικά
Hermes
Historia
Historia Mundi (Bern) 1 (1952), 2 (1953)
IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen*
Imago Mundi
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
Der Kleine Pauly 1 (1964), 2 (1967), 3 (1968–69) = *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, edd. K. Ziegler und W. Sontheimer. Stuttgart, 1964—. Cf. Thomasson (below, p. 8)
KF = *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*
Klio
KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*
KZ = *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*
MAOG = *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft*
Minos
Mus. Helv. = *Museum Helveticum*
NE = *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OLZ = *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Philologus
PM = *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*
PP = *Parola del Passato*
RE = *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
Reallex. d. Assyriol. = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
REG = *Revue des études grecques*
RHA = *Revue hittite et asianique*
Rh.M. = *Rheinisches Museum*
RIO = *Revue internationale d'onomastique*
Th.L.L. = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
Zeitschr. f. Assyriol. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZONF = *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*

B. BOOKS AND ARTICLES (and some abbreviations)

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Art. *Asia*, *EBr.* 2 (1965), 574b–604b.
Art. *Asia*, *EIt.* 4 (1929), 839b–904; append., 1.170b–173a; 2nd append., 274 to 287.
Art. *Asia*, *RE* 2 (1896), 1533–1562.
Art. *Asia*, *Th.L.L.* 2 (1900–1906), coll. 781–782; art. *Asius*, 786; art. *Āsius*, 787; *Āsis, Asias, Asiacus, Asia palus*, 786.

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II. GENERAL ON THE CONTINENTS AND WORLD UNITS

1. Oikoumene. Continents

The uninhabitable world, called *Anoikoumene*, and the inhabitable world, called by the Greek term *Oikoumene*¹ (Lat. *orbis terrae* or *terrarum*²), extend to ca. 450 million qkm. The Oikoumene, of ca. 100 million qkm, was divided by the Ionian scientists into three parts and by others into two. The tripartite division or division into three continents resulted from nautical experiences in the Eastern Mediterranean and from considerations of practical geography; the bipartite division by others³ was the expression of scientific ef-

¹ The term οἰκουμένη "world" (for οἰκουμένη γῆ) in Herodot. 3.106; ἡδε ἡ οἰκουμένη "our world" (= Asia, Libya, Europe) in Aristotle, *de Mundo*, 392b26, and οἰκούμεναι "worlds," *ibid.* 31. Cf. F. Gisinger, art. *Oikoumene I*, *RE* 34 (1937), 2158; Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte*² (1937), 13, 15, 16f. The Romans held almost all the inhabited earth, according to the Greek historian Polybius (1.1.5). The term *Anoikoumene* is certainly an irregular formation, from the point of Greek compounding (ἀ-privativum and noun οἰκουμένη), the expected expression being ἡ μὴ οἰκουμένη or ἀόικητος (and ἀνοίκτητος) "uninhabited" and "uninhabitable"; the monolectic term *Anoikoumene*, however, coined by geographers, is serviceable.

In China the notion of "oikoumene" (T'ien-hsia) signified in the period 480–249 B.C. the cultural area, consisting of a number of states, in which the earthly representative of heaven rules, while the world outside this oikoumene is inhabited by the barbarians. See Kin-ichi Watanabe [Tokyo], "Ostasien im 'Frühmittelalter'—ein Vergleichsversuch mit Byzanz," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), 335.

² Cf. orbis κύκλος οἰκουμένη (*CGL* 2.139.36); οἰκουμένη orbis, orbis terrarum (*ibid.*, 2.380.40).

³ The philosopher Anaximander (sixth cent. B.C.) divided the earth on the map into two parts, *Asia* and *Europe*. See M. Pohlenz, *Herodot, der erste Geschichtsschreiber des Abendlandes* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1937), p. 204.

forts and a theoretical aspect, taking into account the contrasts of climate and human race. The threefold concept of the world was not substantiated during the Ionic scientific period but Strabo made the first attempt toward that.

The parts of the world just mentioned are called *continents*. A *continent* is a large landmass or land unit. The Ionic notion of "continent" signified the culmination of a development in scientific progress.⁴ Indeed, it seems that the Ionian geographers, including Hecataeus, were the first to grasp the concept of a continent as an entity. Concerning Europe, from the late seventh cent. B.C. it represented "Middle Greece"⁵ but about 500 B.C. it was conceived of as a separate entity, as a continent. Thus, Herodotus (4.42–45) establishes as a fact that the idea of a continent named *Europe* was commonplace at his time (middle of the fifth cent. B.C.) and Herodotus' passage makes it clear that the name *Europe* covers the whole continent, as much as was known as Europe at his time.

Europe and *Asia* were long known in antiquity but not as continent names before the sixth century B.C. Thus, the epic poetry of Homer and Hesiod, that both record the name Ἀσία, does not know it as a continent name.⁶

The Greek term for "continent" was applied in antiquity to one of the three known continents, beginning in the fifth century B.C.⁷ The anonymous author of the Arabic work "The Regions of the World" like all Arab geographers accepts the division of the

⁴ R. Udden, "Der Ursprung des Erdteilbegriffes," *PM* 81. Jahrg. (1935), 193, 195f.

⁵ *Hom. hymn.* 3.251 = 291. *The Homeric hymns* (Oxford, 1963), p. 34f.

⁶ Homer's text (*Il.* 2.461 Ἀσία ἐν λειμῶνι) confirms the statement of ancient authors that he knows nothing of the divisions *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Libya*. The *Homeric hymn to Apollo* (73 and 113), composed ca. 600 B.C., includes the name Εὐρώπη but the broader sense as continent is not attached to the name. Hesiod, ca. 750 B.C., *Theog.* 357f., lists the names *Europe* and *Asia* as names of nymphs, yet not as continent names. Cf. Udden, *op. cit.*, 193b, note 3. Even if the nymphs *Europa*, *Asia*, and *Doris*, listed in Hesiod's *Theogony*, are personifications with a geographical significance, as G. R. Stewart (*Names* 9 [1961], 81) thinks they are, still *Asia* would refer to West Anatolia but not to the continent, which was in its later or modern magnitude unknown.

⁷ Sophocles, *Trach.* 101 (lyr.) δισσαὶ ἄπειροι, i.e. Europe and Asia; *idem*, *Fr.* 881 τὼ δὲ ἠπείρω; Isocrates, 4.35 ἐφ' ἑκατέρως τῆς ἠπείρου (on each of the two continents); Moschos [second cent. B.C.], 2.8 ἠπειροὶ δοῖα; etc.; Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.8 βίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν, of Libya. Also Herodotus, Aeschylus, Xenophon, and others use the term ἠπειρος for "continent." Cf. also *Schol. ad Od.* 7.8 (*Schol.*

world into three continents.⁸ It is remarkable, therefore, that Idrisi in the twelfth century was unaware of it and did not know the names *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, but knew the seven climates and ten sections.⁹

Geography in modern times has established, since the discoveries in the Renaissance and after modern exploration, *seven continents* on the planet: *North America* (third in size, ca. 9,385,000 sq.mi.) and *South America* (fourth in size, ca. 7,035,357 sq. mi.), *Europe* (third smallest, ca. 3,800,000 sq.mi.), *Asia* (largest, ca. 16,500,000 sq.mi.), *Africa* (second largest, ca. 11,530,000 sq.mi.), *Australia* (an island continent, ca. 2,948,366 sq.mi.) with New Zealand as sub-region, and *Antarctica* or the *Antarctic Continent* (the body of land around the South Pole).¹⁰

When the inhabitable world was divided about 500 B.C. into two great parts, i.e. Europe and Asia-Africa, the latter was called *Asia* and included also *Libya* (then = North Africa) as a subdivision.¹¹ To the twofold division of Asia and Europe, Eratosthenes, the founder of scientific geography, later returned.¹² The popular view of the bipartite grouping is represented by Isocrates (fourth cent.).¹³ In the Roman period and specifically at the mid-first century B.C., Varro and Sallust mention that at their time certain realists distinguished two parts of the world: Asia and Europe.¹⁴

Graeca in Homeri Odysseam ex codicibus aucta et emendata, ed. W. Dindorf, vol. 1 [Amsterdam, 1966], p. 321).

⁸ V. V. Barthold, in Ḥudūd als 'Ālam, *The Regions of the World*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky (London, 1937), p. 33.

⁹ Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae* (Stuttgart, 1926–31), vol. 1, part 3 (1926), p. 70.

¹⁰ In the earlier, traditional way the continents were counted as five or — the most — as six, depending on whether Antarctica was left out and the two American continents were taken as one continent.

¹¹ Cf. Herodotus 2.16; 4.45; Hippocrates, *De aër*. 12.

¹² See Varro, *De re rustica*, 1.2.3. Cf. H. Usener, "Dreiheit," *Rh. M.* 58 (1903), 339; H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*² (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 53, 78, and 86f.; cf. Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography* (1897), p. 67.

¹³ Isocrates, *Panegy.* (4). 179 (Isocrate, *Discours*, II³, edd. G. Mathieu et E. Bremond [Paris, 1956], p. 61): τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης . . . διχα τετμημένης καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δ' Ἑβρώπης κεκλημένης. Cf. also Soph. *Trach.* 101: δισσαῖσιν ἀπείροις, and *Fragm.* 1018, ed. Nauck²: τὸ δὲ ἠπειρῶ, etc. (Cf. note 7 and Usener in note 12.)

¹⁴ Varro, *De lingua*, 5.16 and 31; Sallust, *Bell. Jugurth.*, 17; Lucan, *De bello civ.*, 2.411–13. Cf. L. Deroy, *RIO* 11 (1959), p. 18.

One generation after the Father of Geography and logographer Hecataeus (ca. 520 B.C.), Herodotus (fl. 450 B.C.) rejected the latter's view and accepted the tripartite division, *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Libya*.¹⁵ This three-division scientific conception, borrowed by the Romans from Greece, triumphed.¹⁶

These three, *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, were held as far back as in the fifth cent. B.C. by Herodotus, the Father of History, to constitute one continuous landmass area. This unity notwithstanding, it so happened that for a long time the concept "*Europe-Asia-Africa*" was not expressed by one appropriate designation, one single but all-inclusive name.

It is, however, from a Homeric scholion that we have the information that the entire inhabited world, comprising Asia, Libya, and Europe – as known to the scholiast –, was called ἡπειρος "continent"¹⁷ (and he adds the well-known fact that each of these three divisions was likewise named ἡπειρος). We may accept this information at face value because the concept *Eurasiafrica* is as a matter of fact one continent.

The boundaries of the three continents, Asia, Europe, and Africa, doubtless constitute a unity in the Eastern Mediterranean because they are adjacent to one another and form the tripartite ground thereof. No wonder, then, that the unity of the three continents was repeatedly conceived of also as political. In ancient times it was Alexander the Great who strove to unite the three continents under his rule. More recently, four and a half centuries ago, in the early sixteenth century, the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1512–1520), conqueror of Egypt, was reading the life of Alexander the Great and desired to imitate him; he hoped to become master of the world by bringing Africa, Asia, and Europe under his domination, as Marino Sanudo tells us in his *diaries* (June 1518).¹⁸ If this ambition was too

¹⁵ Cf. H. Day, *Europe* (1957), p. 2. Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.7f., seems to be the oldest literary mention of the threefold division but this must have been earlier. By the way, Europe was believed by Herodotus (4.42) to be twice as large as Asia and Libya (= Africa) taken together (cf. Deroy, *RIO* 11.14). See also note 58.

¹⁶ Cf. Deroy, *ibid.*, p. 18f.

¹⁷ *Schol. ad Od.* 7.8: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡπειρος ἡ ὅλη οἰκουμένη, ἥτις τέμνεται εἰς τρία, εἰς Ἀσίαν, εἰς Λιβύην καὶ εἰς Εὐρώπην. ἑκάστη δὲ τούτων γῆ καλεῖται ἡπειρος. See above, p. 10, note 7.

¹⁸ Marino Sanuto [1466–1535], *I diarii* (aa. 1494–1512) 15 (Venice, 1889), col. 439. — Professor K. M. Setton of Princeton University who, lecturing on Pope Leo X

immodest for Selim in the sixteenth century, the world in our century and in the next will look to the United Nations for safeguards for the peaceful coexistence of mankind on the international level covering all continents.

From another modern standpoint, the single landmass "Eurasia" does not consist of two units, Europe and Asia, but actually of six major areas, five of them constituting Asia¹⁹ and one being "Europe."²⁰

2. Eurasia; Eurasiatic Great Continent

The continent of Europe is actually an enormous peninsula, the western end land, of the largest continent called *Eurasia*. The two regions of Europe and Asia constitute in reality an indivisible entity under that name, covering a land area of 20,300,000 sq.m. (i.e., 16,500,000 sq.m. of Asia + 3,800,000 sq.m. of Europe).

Eurasia, whose origins go back to the very dawn of the planet, is a supercontinent, a vast land mass that appears as a single unit and reaches from Europe's seaports to the icy wastes of the Bering Strait, a distance spanning half of the circumference of the globe, a sweep of land bounded by the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans, the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean and the reaches of the North Pacific. It is one of the most varied in landscape, climate, flora, and fauna and the parent continent of civilization.

The great continent of *Eurasia* is a modern scientific concept, based on much later explorations in Asia,²¹ and the much needed term was coined by the great scientist Alexander von Humboldt to designate Europe and Asia as constituting one continent.²² The German term *Eurasien* was introduced, we are told, by Eduard Suess.²³ In fact, it was American natural scientists who felt the full

and the Crusade at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on "After the Fall of Constantinople," May 3, 1968, mentioned Selim's ambition, obligated me by sending me the requested exact reference and copy from Sanuto's text.

¹⁹ Cf. below, p. 20.

²⁰ G. B. Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (1944), p. 14f.

²¹ H. Kiepert, *Ancient Geography* (London, 1881), p. 17; Suess, *Das Anlitz der Erde* I (1885), 766; A. Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet* (Leipzig, 1907). p. 6, note 1; cf. E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (New York, 1931), p. 4 f.

²² G. W. Hoffman, *A Geography of Europe*² (New York, 1961), p. 3.

²³ Meyers *Lexikon*⁷, 4 (1926), p. 303 (I owe this reference to Dr. Werner Müller, Bibliotheks-Rat, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, per letter dated April 2, 1965).

incompatibility of the traditional term *Old World* with the modern experiences and introduced instead the name *Eurasia*, to begin with in writings on animal geography; so tells us Eduard Suess²⁴ himself, who stresses the existence of one great continent consisting of the unified land mass of Asia, Africa, and Europe.²⁵ Also from a meteorological point of view, *Eurasia* has to be considered a single land mass.²⁶ In any case, the term *Eurasia* was first introduced by geologists and geomorphologists.²⁷ In learned Mod. Greek, therefore, the terms Εὐρασία / *evrasía* / “Eurasia” and Εὐράσιοι / *evrásii* / “Eurasians”²⁸ were simply transcribed from the European terms.

A term *Eurasia Septentrionalis* was coined in 1927 to represent a real entity, i.e. Eastern Europe and North Asia, when the journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* for East European and North Asiatic archaeology and ethnography was established in Helsinki.²⁹

Eurasia for “Europe and Asia forming one continent” is as a name a hypostasized compound formed from *Europa Asia*, and the formation was ready at hand precisely because these two continents have in geography, history, and literature been constantly opposed or joined since antiquity. The examples of linking the two continents in literature are many.³⁰ The grammatical phenomenon,

It is erroneous that the term *Eurasia* was proposed first by Carl Gustav Reuschle in his *Handbuch der Geographie* (parts 1 and 2, Stuttgart, 1858), as R. Almagia (art. *Eurasia*, *EIt.* 14 [1932], 572a) maintains. The reference to Reuschle, however, could not be verified by Dr. Werner Müller. Another term, *Eurasians*, is used to describe the class of descendants of mixed marriages between British men and Indic women; see James Hough (of Madras), *Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions etc. etc. of the Neilgherries, or Blue Mountains or Coimbatore, South India* (London, 1829), 137 with note*. Hough uses as synonym the name *Indo-Britons* and presumes the term *Eurasians* to have come as a contraction from *European Asians*, which is hardly necessary. Cf. also Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien* (Berlin, 1835), vol. 5, p. 998.

²⁴ Eduard Suess, *Das Antlitz der Erde* (Prag und Leipzig) 1 (1885), 766.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 767.

²⁶ L. D. Stamp, *Asia*⁴ (1938), p. 19.

²⁷ See H. Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte* (Freiburg i.Br., 1953), p. 52.

²⁸ Cf. EEA 6 (1929), 54a. Also Εὐρασιᾶτης m. “Eurasian” is used.

²⁹ See *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 1 (1927) 1–3. Editors: U. T. Sirelius (ethnography) and A. M. Tallgren (archaeology).

³⁰ Varro, *Lingua* 5.16, and passim; Cicero, *ad Brutum* 1.21; etc. In the same way, *Europa*, *Asia*, and *Africa* are juxtaposed; three examples may suffice: Sallust, *Jug.* 17.3: “. . . in parte tertia Africam posuere, pauci tantum modo Asiam et Europam

moreover, is clear if we consider compounds like *Calexico* and *Mexicali*, or with further shortening involved in the compound word, *Calneva*, *Texarkana*, *Delamarva Peninsula*, etc.³¹

English *Eurasian* "pertaining to Eurasia, of Eurasia" is an adjective, whose earliest found occurrence is dated in 1844³² and *Eurasiatic* "relating to Europe and Asia, of Eurasia" has also been in use³³ and corresponds to German *eurasiatisch*, e.g. *eurasiatischer Kontinent*.³⁴ In this context, we may remind ourselves that from a biological viewpoint there is no Asia but only the *Eurasiatic Great Continent*.³⁵ In the place of Eurasian, however, but always in the same sense, the adj. and noun *Europasian* was coined and used.³⁶ Most recently we record the term *Euro-Asian languages*.³⁷

Like *Eurasia*, another term was formed, *Eurafrica*, name for a movement of political thought motivated by the political and economic circumstances of the continents of Europe and Africa, that was initiated particularly in Germany; this concept affirmed the solidarity of the two neighboring continents on the ground of their being linked through the Mediterranean Sea.³⁸ Hence, also *Eurafrican* adj. "belonging to the continents of Europe and Africa combined" and noun *Eurafrican*.³⁹

Another term used in recent years is *Afroasiatic* or *Afroasian*, which means a political linking of Asia and Africa.⁴⁰

esse, sed Africam in Europa"; Isidorus, *Orig.* 14.2.1: "Asia . . . Europa . . . Africa, quae et Libya nuncupatur"; M. A. Lucanus, *de bello civ.* 6.817 (ed. J. D. Duff, Loeb) *Europam, miseri, Libyamque Asiamque timete* "ill-fated house, you must fear Europe and Africa and Asia."

³¹ *Calexico* from Cal(ifornia + M)exico; the reverse *Mexicali* from Mexi(co +) Cali(formia); *Calneva* from Cal(ifornia +) Neva(da), *Texarkana* from Tex(as +) Arcan(sas) + -a, *Delamarva* from Dela(ware +) Mar(yland +) Va (abbreviated from Virginia).

³² The *Eurasian Belle* 1844; *Eurasians* (noun) 1845; the mixed *Eurasian* population 1858, *Eurasian-plain* 1868, etc.

³³ *OED* 3,2 (1897), 323b; 323c; *Supplem.* (1933), 344c; cf. Webster's *3rd NID* (1961), p. 784c. — Cf. also mod. Gr. εὐρασιατικός χώρος "Eurasian space." For *Eurasiatic* one should compare *Asiatic* "Asian," this fr. Fr. *asiatique* ← Lat. *asiaticus* ← Gr. ἀσιατικός.

³⁴ Egon Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Die Biodynamik der Europiden," *Historia Mundi* 1 (1952), 116.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 147. ³⁶ *OED, Supplem.* (1933), p. 344c.

³⁷ Moritaka Takahashi, "The Man and People in Euro-Asian Languages," *Orbis* 14 (1965), 505: "Eurasia and other continents," "Euro-Asian languages."

³⁸ E. Cer., art. *Africa, Et., append.* 2 (1938–48), 72b.

(Footnotes 39 and 40, see next page)

3. Australasia

Though *Australia*, a name derived from Lat. *Terra Australis* "southern landmass,"⁴¹ *auster* being "the southwind," is a continent by itself (first called *New Holland* in the first half of the seventeenth cent.), yet another compound was formed, *Australasia*, designating the islands of the central and southern Pacific (syn. *Oceania*).⁴² As *Eurasian* adj. and noun, so also *Australasian* as a noun "native or inhabitant of the Australasian lands" and adj. "of the lands of the central and southern Pacific ocean."

³⁹ *Eurafrican* as an anthropological term "a dark-skinned race that inhabited regions on both sides of the Mediterranean" (1899) and "colored people of South Africa, descendants of native Africans with white admixture" (1927); *OED*, *Supplem.* (1933), 344c; Webster's *3rd NID*, p. 784c.

⁴⁰ One might compare the term, used by Eduard Suess (*Das Anilitz der Erde* 1 [1885], 768), *Indo-Afrika*, which is not included in the term *Eurasia*.

⁴¹ In Cicero *ora australis* "southern zone": Cicero, *Tusc. disput.* 1.28.68: *tum globum terrae eminentem e mari, fixum in medio mundi universi loco, duabus oris distantibus habitabilem et cultum, quarum altera, quam nos incolimus . . . altera australis, ignota nobis, quam vocant Graeci ἀντίχθων* "then the ball of the earth rising from the sea, set firmly in the center of the universe, habitable and cultivated in two separate zones of which the one in which we dwell is . . . the other, the southern, unknown to us, called by the Greeks ἀντίχθων" (Loeb, p. 81, note: i.e. counter-earth . . . a southern land-mass . . .).

Actually, the navigator Pedro Fernandez de Quirós discovered one island on the day of Pentecost, May 3, 1606, and named this land *Austrialia del Espiritu Santu* in honor of the king of Spain Philip III, who pertained to the House of *Austria*; this name prevailed in Spain. However, owing to the connection with the adj. *austral* (from Lat. *australis*), also the form *Australia* was found in Spain, so that both name forms are found side by side. But the diary of Jacob Lemaire, who undertook a voyage in the Pacific in 1615 to search for "la terre du sud," constantly and consistently uses the name *Australia*; the diary, titled *Spiegel der Australische Navigatie* (Mirror of the Australian Navigation), was published in Amsterdam, 1622. My authority on the above is Prof. A. Lodewyckx (of Melbourne), "De Benamingen van het vijfde Werelddeel, historisch en taaljudig toegelicht," *Handelingen van het Achttiende Vlaamse Filologencongres* (Gent, 1949), p. 167f. (kindly translated for me by Mr. Hugo Plomteux, Louvain). The general treatments contain nothing about the form *Austrialia*; see, e.g., E. H. Warmington, *Greek Geography* (London and Toronto, 1934), p. 132; E. Lambert and M. Pei, *The Book of the Place-Names* (New York, 1959), p. 26.

⁴² *Oceania* includes Micronesia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand, and the Malay Archipelago; in its narrow sense, Oceania includes only the first three areas named. Prof. Lodewyckx discussed in his communication also the name *Australasia* but nothing more is mentioned about it in the abstract printed in 1949 (see preceding note).

4. World Island

The *World Island* is a convenient term to designate the land mass covering the territories of Europe, Asia and Africa. The British geographer, Sir Halford J. Mackinder, coined the term.⁴³ He in Britain (1902 on) and later H. Hassinger in Germany have emphasized the idea of a single land mass of the World Island.⁴⁴ The term *World Island* is scientifically fitting and in use in scholarly writings. If need be, I suggest that we could coin an additional term, *Eurasi-africa*, to denote the tripartite unity of the World Island. Such need is very remote, for although the world has shrunk on account of rapid communication and traffic since the mid-twentieth century, yet the term *Eurasiatfrica* would signify some political unity that is, at least at present, outside reality.

5. The Old World vs. the New World

The distinction of *Old World* and *New World* arose from the fact that in the beginning of the sixteenth century the newly found lands in the west were not a part of Asia but constituted a New World, *Mundus Novus*.⁴⁵ The term *Novus Orbis* was first used by the Italian historian Peter Martyr, who gave the first account of the discovery of America.⁴⁶ The *New World* name originally referred to the newly found lands of Venezuela, Guiana, and northern Brazil and then was taken to cover South America and subsequently the whole western hemisphere, especially the "continental landmass of North and South America."⁴⁷ In the same way the name *America* appeared for the first time in 1507 and applied to the southern continent only⁴⁸ but, thirty-one years later, it is found for the first time to designate the whole western hemisphere.⁴⁹ Thus the fourth and

⁴³ Cf. G. W. Hofman, *A Geography of Europe*² (1961), p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ In a pamphlet in the form of a letter (that appeared in 1503 or 1504), first page: *Quas [sc. regiones] Novum Mundum appellare licet*. Though the letter proved to be a forgery, on account of internal contradictions, the name *Mundus Novus* stands as genuine. See M. S. Beeler, "America — The Story of a Name," *Names* 1 (1953), 1–14; cf. *DEI* 1 (1955), 352c.

⁴⁶ *De rebus oceanicis et Novo Orbe*, 1516. Cf. Webster's *Geogr. Dict.* (1964), p. 780.

⁴⁷ Webster's *3rd NID* s.v. *New World*.

⁴⁸ On the map made in 1507 and accompanying the *Cosmographiae Introductio* (reprinted later 1509/10/32/55).

⁴⁹ On a map drawn by the Renaissance cartographer Mercator (Gerhard Kremer).

fifth continents were added to the three previously known. Actually, the concept of the division into *continentes* or *partes orbis terrarum* in the modern sense was begun in A.D. 1507 by Martin Waltze-müller.⁵⁰

After the discovery of America and the creation of its designation as the *New World* the concept of the *Old World* (Germ. *die Alte Welt*)⁵¹ came into being. The *Old World* is the great landmass that includes three regions as a unit: Europe (the NW region), Asia (the NE region), and Africa (the SW region).⁵² This tripartite division of the *Old World* was known to the Greeks, the Romans and the Semitic inhabitants of the West Asiatic isthmus⁵³ but unknown to the Indians and the Chinese. However, the name *Old World*, covering as it was the earlier known parts of the world, i.e. the Eastern Hemisphere, is non-descriptive in geographical or geomorphological terms, and is incompatible with the tremendous advances of human knowledge in our century.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in a specific use the term *Old World* is equivalent to the continent of Europe. The term *old world* is still a synonym of Eastern Hemisphere but not as a name.⁵⁵

6. Hemispheres

The term *hemisphere* (Germ. *Halbkreis*, Gk. ἡμισφαίριον) is "half sphere." It was likewise after the discovery of America that the contrasting terms *Eastern Hemisphere*, "the vertical half of the earth that lies east of the Atlantic ocean and includes Europe, Asia, Africa and minor landmasses,"⁵⁶ and *Western Hemisphere* were created but are equally unscientific.

⁵⁰ See R. Uhden, "Der Ursprung des Erdteilbegriffes," *PM* 81. Jahrg. (1935), 197b.

⁵¹ Cf. Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte*² (1953), p. 50f.

⁵² Cf. art. *Asia*, *EBr* 2 (1911), p. 734b.

⁵³ Cf. Hassinger, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Suess, *Das Antlitz der Erde* vol. 1 (1885), 766: "Heute noch [i.e. in 1885] spricht man von einer 'alten Welt' und einer 'neuen Welt' und es steht kein anderer Ausdruck für die vereinigte Ländermasse von Asien, Afrika und Europa in allgemeinem Gebrauch als 'die alte Welt'." I used the copy of the book available in the Rare Books department of the University of Chicago Library, but I had the benefit of receiving the above passage earlier from Dr. Werner Müller, Bibliotheks-Rat, Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen (per letter dated March 1, 1965), to whom I am thankful.

⁵⁵ Webster's *Geogr. Dict.* (1964) has excluded the name but Webster's *3rd NID* includes it as a noun.

⁵⁶ Webster's *3rd NID* s.v.

III. GENERAL ON ASIA

1. Extent and Subdivisions

Asia, when viewed on the globe, is a great isosceles spherical triangle, having two sides of ca. 6,500 mi. extending from the Bering Strait to Aden and Singapore, while the third side measuring 4,500 mi. encloses the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.⁵⁷ The continent covers one third of the earth's surface and, along with Europe, it takes the northern and largest part of the Eastern hemisphere. The largest of all continents, it is 4.34 times the size of Europe.⁵⁸ In population, exclusive of the Russian portion, there lived in Asia early in this decade (1960's) over 1,600 billion people, which is more than the half of the world's population, i.e., 55 per cent thereof.⁵⁹

The all-inclusive terms for all of Asia are *East* and *Orient*.

Asia Major (Gr. Μεγάλη Ἀσία) is a large portion of Asia including *Far East Asia* and *Central Asia*, but the name *Asia Major* was not adopted before the fourth cent. A.D.⁶⁰

Other designations are as follows:

1. *Hither Asia*
2. *Nearer Asia*
3. *Western Asia*

Regional are these terms:

1. *Far East*, viz. the countries of East Asia bordering on the Pacific Ocean, i.e. China, Japan, East Siberia, Korea, Indochina, Malay Archipelago;
2. *Near East*, viz. the Balkan States and SW Asia, i.e. Turkey, Levant States, Palestine, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other coun-

⁵⁷ Art. *Asia*, *EBr* 2 (1965), 574.

⁵⁸ Herodotus, who (4.42, 45) considered Europe larger than Asia and Libya together, gave an enormous extension to Europe by making the line of demarcation between Asia and Europe run east and west and, thus, assigning North Asia to Europe. At the close of antiquity, however, Europe was held to be the smallest continent; Marcianus Heracleensis, *periplus maris exteri*, 6 (GGM, 3, p. 520): "Ἔσται δὲ πρώτη μὲν τῶν ἡπείρων μεγέθους ἕνεκεν ἡ Ἀσία, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ Λιβύη, τρίτη δὲ ἡ Εὐρώπη. Cf. H. T[reidler], art. *Europa 2*, *Der kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 449.

⁵⁹ *EBr* 2.603 b.

⁶⁰ P. S[mith], in W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (1878), 1.237 b.

tries of the Arabian peninsula; by extension it includes Egypt and the African lands S of Egypt;

3. *Middle East*, viz. the extensive region comprising the countries of S and SW Asia and NE Africa.⁶¹

These designations, though much used in the international field of diplomacy and politics, have no significance to the peoples of Asia itself.⁶²

One part of the continent is distinct under the name: *Anterior Asia* or *Orient*, German *Vorderasien*; this, exclusive of North Africa, includes the SW part of Asia between the Mediterranean, the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf; in other words, it includes Asia Minor and Armenia, the Arabic peninsula with the lands of the East Mediterranean and Irak (Mesopotamia), Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. *Near Orient*, embracing Turkey, Egypt, Assyria, etc., is contrasted to *Far Orient*.

The following general regional terms are used (though they are commonplace about every continent or subdivision of it):

1. *West Asia*; 2. *North Asia*; 3. *Central Asia*; 4. *South Asia*; 5. *East Asia*.⁶³ And each of these areas naturally comprises other subdivisions with directional names.

From another view, five major realms are discernible, that is,

1. *Russian Asia* or *Asiatic Soviet Union*, equivalent in area to North America;
2. *China* and *Japan*;
3. *The Subcontinent of India*;
4. *Southeast Asia*; and
5. *Southwest Asia* (*Anterior Asia*, *Vorderasien* or *Vorderer Orient*).⁶⁴

The *Asian Mainland* covers the area of China, the Indochinese area, and India without the islands (i.e., without Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia).⁶⁵

⁶¹ For definitions of these terms cf. Webster's *Geogr. Dict.* (1964) s. vv.

⁶² Cf. Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (1944), 146.

⁶³ Cf. Kin-ichi Watanabe, "Ostasien im 'Frühmittelalter' — Ein Vergleichsversuch mit Byzanz," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), 334–345 [not closely relating to this study].

⁶⁴ These five subdivisions according to Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (1944), p. 15a.

⁶⁵ The *Asia Islands*, a group of islands in the North Pacific, east of Gilolo, dis-

2. Western Boundaries of Asia

In antiquity some counted Egypt to Asia rather than to Libya (= Africa).⁶⁶ As for Europe, this continent is to be viewed as a gigantic west ramification of the landmass Asia.⁶⁷ The western boundaries between Asia, on the one hand, and Europe and Africa, on the other, have always been of importance in cultural history and discussed by the ancients as well as by the moderns.

In ancient times the rivers Phasis (today *Rion* in Georgia) and Araxes (*Aras*) were taken as borders toward Europe, or, in general, a line between the Black and the Caspian Seas, and later the Tanais (*Don* in Russia). Toward Africa, the Nile or the isthmus of Suez were taken as the separating boundary. For these discussions a reference to the relevant literature may suffice.⁶⁸ For geographical reasons alone, the water line from the Black Sea through the Bosphoros, the Sea of Marmara, Dardanelles, and an imaginary line continued to the Suez Canal is, in fact, the separating line for Europe (and Africa) west of it and Asia east of it.⁶⁹

Between Asia and Africa the boundary is the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. The conventional boundary between Europe and Asia, since the revision of the European frontiers at the Congress of

covered in 1805, were named after the ship *Asia*, which first accosted them. Cf. I. Taylor, *Names and Their Histories* (1896), p. 53 a.

⁶⁶ References in Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (1948), p. 271 note 2.

⁶⁷ Cf. Ninck, *Die Entdeckung von Europa durch die Griechen* (1945), p. 40.

⁶⁸ On the boundaries according to ancient authors (cf. Herodot. 4.45.2) see Thomson, *op. cit.*, 59 with note 2; 66, 209, 271, 290, 362f.; addendum, p. 399; Ruge, art. *Asia 1*, *RE 1* (1896), 1534 (here also earlier literature); H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*² (1903), 73 ff.; How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, 1 (1912), 167f. and 437; F. Gisinger, art. *Geographie*, *RE*, *Suppl.* 4 (1924), 552; Ninck, *op. cit.*, 39f.; Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte*² (1952), 53; D. Hay, *Europe* (1957), p. 2; idem, "Sur un problème de terminologie historique: 'Europe' et 'Chrétienté,'" *Diogenes* 17 (1957), 61 (citing F. G. Hahn, "Zur Geschichte der Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig*, 1881, pp. 83–204). [L. Deroy, *RIO 11* (1959), 14, 21f.]; H. J. Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* (Amsterdam, 1957–58), p. 298; H. T., art. *Europe 2*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), 449; etc.

⁶⁹ Cf. art. *Asia*, *EBr 2* (1960), 512b; E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Sea* (1931), p. 4; cf. also Stewart, *Names* 9 (1961), 89. The Bosphoros at its narrowest point of only 660 m. width separates the two continents and is along with the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal the strategically most important waterway of the Near East (*Naher Osten*); see Vera Hell, *Istanbul und die vordere Türkei*² (Tübingen, 1966), p. 57.

Vienna in 1815, is the Ural Mountains and the Ural River; the Caspian Sea; Iran and Turkey in Asia, Black Sea, Aegean Sea, Mediterranean Sea. Here follow three lines that can be set between Asia and Europe:

- (1) Black Sea, Azof-Sea, Manyč lowland, Yergeni-hill, Volga, Obštšay, Syrt, Ural Mountains;
- (2) Black Sea, Rion (Phasis), Koura-line, East shore of the Caspian Sea, Emba river, Mugodšar Mountains, Ural Mountains; and
- (3) Black Sea, Caucasus, West shore of the Caspian Sea, Ural River, Ural Mountains.

This delimitation appears to be most appropriate, although the Ural Mountains should be ascribed to Europe and the Caucasus to Asia.⁷⁰ In any case, in modern times since the eighteenth century the boundaries accepted are:⁷¹

- (a) toward Europe: Ural Mts, Ural River, Caspian Sea, the water-course of the two rivers Manyč, Black Sea, and the Aegean;
- (b) toward Africa: the Suez Canal, the Red Sea;
- (c) east, toward America: the Bering Strait, the Pacific.

IV. THE NAME *ASIA* AND ITS GEOGRAPHIC EXPANSION IN STAGES TO "CONTINENT" SIGNIFICANCE

1. The Name 'Ασία and Congeners

A. The Name Asia

The name 'Ασία in Greek and Roman literature.

The earliest attestation of the name in Greek literature appears to be in Hesiod (end of the eighth cent. B.C.), if 'Ασίη in POxy. 2503.3 derives from Hesiod.⁷²

⁷⁰ The above according to W. Sievers, *Asien*² (1904), p. 39. But, according to Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (1944), p. 146, this "so-called continental boundary in the general vicinity of the Ural Mountains follows no significant division of topography, drainage, climate, soils, land use, culture, or history. This conventional line is an arbitrary fiction of early map makers." By the way, Mr. Cressey is pictured in a photo of his book, p. 337, standing at the monument in the central Urals which marks the accepted boundary between the two continents.

⁷¹ Cf. M. Gortani, art. *Asia*, *EIt* 4 (1929), 839 b.

⁷² Cf. *LSJ Supplem.* (1968), p. 25 a.

The form Ἄστυ (— —) is expected and found in the Aeolic and Attic poets as well as in Pindar, Simonides, and Choerilus of Samos.

[first part of seventh cent. B.C.] Ἄστυ “Lydian coast area, Lydia (the dominion of Gyges)”: Archilochos, *Fr.* 23, ed. Diehl⁷³:
ὁ δ’ Ἄστις καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου.⁷³ The epithet μηλοτρόφος is used later by Aeschylus, *Pers.* 763: Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφου.

[sixth cent.] Ἄστυ “area around Colophon” Mimnermos, *Fr.* 12.2; ed. Diehl.⁷⁴

[ca. 600 B.C.] Sappho, *Fr.* 44.4.⁷⁵ [Sappho’s Ἄστυ stems from Homer *Il.* 6.395 ff.]

ἄλλη Ἀσία ‘Cilicia,’ *ibid.*, 1.6.

[end of sixth cent. B.C.] Ἀσία “the continent” Hecataeus (fl. 520 B.C.); so Herodot. 1.4; 4.45⁷⁶ [122 occurrences of Ἄστυ in Herodotus;⁷⁷ description in 4.45.3.]

⁷³ Archilochos lived according to some ca. 735–670 (so A. A. Blakeway, “The Date of Archilochos,” *Festschrift Gilbert Murray “Greek Poetry and Life”* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 34 ff.; cf. Margarete Noé, *Phoinix, Ilias und Homer: Untersuchungen zum neunten Gesang der Ilias* (Leipzig, 1940), p. 106 f. (approving); Blakeway (p. 53) sets the colonization of Thasos at 720 B.C. The above poem, parts of which probably were also fragments 15–19, was written before 652 because it refers to the ruling tyrant Gyges of Lydia (687–652 B.C.); see Archiloque, *Fragments, Texte établi par F. Lasserre, traduit et commenté par A. Bonnard* (Paris, 1958), p. 9.

According to D. Page in J. Chadwick (*Minos* 5 [1957], p. 126 note 4), the reading — — for ὁ δ’ Ἄστις τε κ. μ., suggested by the scholiast *Schol. ad Eurip. Med.* 708 and *Anecd. Par.*, ed. Cramer, is probably the correct one for the usually accepted — — — — = ὁ δ’ Ἄστις κ. μ. Dyer (*PP* 20 [1965], 119–121), approving the reading ὁ δ’ Ἄστις τε κ. μ., concludes from his discussion the same possibility, i.e. scanning Ἄστις as — —, i.e. Ἀστίης; in other words, the Homeric scansion, observing -sw- in Ἀστίης, could have affected Archilochos’ scansion.

⁷⁴ Mimnermos, *Fr.* 12.2, ed. Diehl³, 1 (1940 = 1954): ἰμερτὴν Ἄστυν νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.

⁷⁵ Sappho, *Fr.* 55a, ed. Diehl³ = ed. D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), p. 63; ed. E. Lobel and D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1955), p. 36: τὰς τ’ ἄλλας Ἀσίας τὸδε γὰν κλέος ἄφθιτον κτλ. (R. Dyer, *PP* 20.126 note 26: τὰς τ’ ἄ. Ἀ. τήνδε κτλ.). Sappho imitates Homeric phraseology freely, so also κλέος ἄφθιτον (see *Il.* 9.413). While Page interprets the passage taking Ἰδαίος “Idaios” to be the subject throughout and assuming a lacuna after line 3, Dyer (*ibid.*) suggests the alternative that the fragment be reconstructed with Aphrodite (Θέα for Θέ[...]) coming from Cyprus and sending Idaios as a messenger to say that “the city (i.e. Troy) is in all Asia destined for the most undying fame.” It is unknown, however, what Ἀσία means in the Sappho fragment and Dyer has not contributed to its clarification.

- [fifth cent. B.C.] Ἀσία "Asia Minor and Near East" Simonides 164.1; 171.1.^{77a}
- [fifth cent.] Aeschyl. *Prom.* 412 [Ä-].⁷⁸
Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου Pindar, *Ol.* 7.18 (34).
- [fourth cent.] Isocr., *Panegy.* 179.⁷⁹
Ἀσίη Dionys. *Perieg.* 9, 14, 22, 518.⁸⁰
Ἀσία, name of a Lydian town near Mt. Tmolos; Steph. Byz., s.v.;⁸¹ cf. *Etym. m.*, s.v.
- [fifth cent.] γᾶς Ἀσίας Soph. *Oed. C.* 694f.; ἀνὰ γᾶν Ἀσίαν Aeschyl. *Pers.* 584; etc.
- [first cent. B.C./first cent. A.D.] Ἀσία "Asia Minor, Anatolia"⁸² and the "continent Asia" Strabo 2.5.24; 12.1.3.
- [second cent. A.D.] Ἀσία "Asia Minor" Chariton 3.6., ed. R. Hercher, 2.59, 1.28 πολλή γὰρ ἡ Ἀσία; Xenophon Ephesius, ed. Hercher, 1.329, 1.11; 1.361, 1.29; 1.362, 1.15.
- [second cent. A.D.] Ἀσία "Asia provincia Romana" Ptolem., *Geogr.* 5.3.1.; 5.4.1.; 5.5.1, ed. C. Müller.⁸³

⁷⁶ In this passage "the continent of Asia" according to Ruge, *RE* 2 (1896) 1533f.; the "area around Sardis" D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959), 115, note 27.

⁷⁷ See J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*² (Hildesheim, 1960), p. 49.

^{77a} Simonides 164.1 (*Lyra Graeca*, ed. J. M. Edmonds, 2 [1964], p. 378): γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 584: γᾶς Ἀσίας); 171.1 (p. 386): Ἐξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἐνειμεν κτλ.

⁷⁸ Cf. H. J. Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* (Amsterdam, 1957-58), 1.273.

⁷⁹ τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης καλουμένης κτλ. (above, p. 11 note 13). On the political concept of Asia versus Europe in Isocrates' panegyric oration, delivered in 380 B.C., see Arnaldo Momigliano, "L'Europa come concetto politico presso Isocrate e gli isocratei," *Rivista di filologia* 61 (1933), 477-487.

⁸⁰ Ed. G. Bernhardt, *GGM*, 1828.

⁸¹ Also name of an Ethiopian island; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀσία (p. 131, 11. 5-6).

⁸² Ἀσία in many passages "Asia Minor" and "Asia provincia Romana" in the *Souda* in more than twenty passages (see *Suidae lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler, Lipsiae 1928-38, index).

⁸³ A brief note on Ptolemy's *Geography*. The work, written ca. A.D. 170 (the author's death dated the latest in A.D. 175), consisted of a text in eight books (i.e. chapters) and contained 27 maps of lands. The earliest mss (X, K, F, U, G, V¹) stem from the thirteenth century, none being before A.D. 1200, so that the earliest of them was written more than 1000 years after Ptolemy's death and can hardly

[Byzantine times] Ἀσία “Anatolia”⁸⁴ and “the continent Asia.” [sixth cent.] J. Lydus, *De ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth, p. 159 “the continent Asia” 9, p. 18, l. 14; 9a, p. 21, l. 9; 40, p. 90, l. 8.

[eleventh cent.] Manuel Comnenos στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης.⁸⁵

[mid-fifteenth cent.] Ἀσία “Anatolia”: Critobulus, *Hist.*, 2.3.2 (twice); 3.23.3 (Ἀσία here, though contrasted to Europe and Libya, still is “Anatolia”); 4.4.2.⁸⁶

Ἀσία is recorded as the name of a mountain in Laconia: Pausan. 3.24.6; also a temple of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀσία is mentioned (*ibid.*, 7) and the tradition of a shrine of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀσία in Colchis is recorded by Pausanias (*ibid.*). It is possible that the mountain was named Ἀσία from the temple standing there, because the town Λᾶς formerly lay on the summit of Mount Asia; however, there is another mountain in the area called Ἴλιος.

preserve a genuine text, less so the drawing of the maps. Ptolemy's Geography being, besides, a school handbook was exposed to additional text changes. On the mss and maps see P. Schnabel, *Text und Karten des Ptolemäus* (mit 8 ganzseitigen Karten) (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, herausg. von A. Herrmann). Leipzig, 1938.

⁸⁴ Cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), p. 104; cf. also E. Lambert and M. Pei, *The Book of Place-Names* (1959), p. 25f.

In [sixth cent.] Io. Malalas, *Chronographia*, Bonn ed., 1831, p. 366, l. 17: Ἀσία “the area where Ephesos was situated” (ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς Ἐφεσον, πόλιν τῆς Ἀσίας); [ninth cent.] G. Monachus, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1904), p. 558: ἴδικτον δὲ γράψας τοῖς / ἐν Ἀσία καὶ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Καρίᾳ ἐπισκόποις; the same area is expressed also as πᾶσα Ἀσία: Ἀρχαιολογ. Δελτίον 7 (1921—22) [publ. 1924], p. 132 note 1: Ἰσαὰκ . . . ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἐφέσου ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Ἀσίας (lead seal of the twelfth-thirteenth cent.); *REG* 7 (1894) 80, l. 17: ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς . . . μητροπόλεως Ἐφέσου καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Ἀσίας [year 1230 A.D.]; *NE* 7 (1910), 47, l. 20: Ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπόλεως Σμύρνης Μεθόδιος ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Ἀσίας [not dated]; Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, *Suppl.* of vol. 17 (1886), p. 56: ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου καὶ πάσης Ἀσίας. It is described as Ἀσία τῆς Ἰωνίας in a memoir of an unknown physician: ὕφ' ὧν καὶ μεθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἶλος εἰς Ἀσίαν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀπήχθη; Ἀνέκδοτα ἑλληνικὰ συγγραμμάτια ἐγγραφά τε καὶ ἄλλα κείμενα κατ' ἐκλογὴν συλλεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ “Μαυρογορδατεῖῳ Βιβλιοθήκῃ” ἀναγραφόμενων χειρογράφων καὶ νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενα ὑπὸ Α. Παπαδοπούλου τοῦ Κεραμέως. Constantinople, 1884 = Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Suppl.* of the 15th vol., B, p. 72.

⁸⁵ R. Guiland, *EEBS* 29 (1959), 42.

⁸⁶ ed. B. Grecu, *Scriptores Byzantini*, IV, 1963, pp. 175, 263, 277.

Lat. *Asia* "Anatolian peninsula"; "continent Asia"; "the Roman province of Asia":

"Anatolia": [fifth cent. A.D.] P. Orosius, *Historiarum adv. paganos libri VII*.⁸⁷

"Anatolia" and "the continent": [45–43 B.C.] Varro, *De lingua*, 5.16

Asia et Asia: Servius, *georg.*, 1.383

Asia: Prisciani *periegesis* 133⁸⁸

Assia provincia Troiae: *CGL* 5.268.59.

The development of the Roman concept of "Asia" was not different from that of the Greeks.⁸⁹ And, while the adj. *Asius* -a -um is a dactyl (*Asia pālus*, *Asia prāta*), the name *Asia* for the continent has initial short *ä*-.

The name Asia in European and other languages

The Greek name 'Ἀσία /asia/ became Latin *Asia* /asia/. From these two languages the name spread and entered the various languages of the world. Actually, most forms of the name accented on the initial syllable were based on the Latin source.

The earlier Russian name *Asija* derives from the Greek, as we are allowed to judge from the voiceless consonant. But the Polish form *Azja* as well as modern Russian *Azija*⁹⁰ and Czech are explicable from German or from a Romance language. In today's Arabic the name is likewise *Asia*,⁹¹ and in Turkish *Asya*, both from the same Latin source. The modern Chinese name for 'Asia' is *Asáu*.

"Great Asia" versus "Lesser Asia"

The entire continent was named Μεγάλη Ἀσία "Asia Magna, Asia Major," "Great or Greater Asia," so in Ptolemy's *Geography*

⁸⁷ *CSEL*, 5, ed. C. Zangemeister (Bonn, 1882), 1.2.25: Cappadociae . . . habet ab oriente Armeniam, ab occasu *Asiam*; 26 *Asia* regio vel, ut proprie dicam, Asia Minor; cf. I. W. Raymond, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans: The Apology of Orosius* (New York, 1936), p. 36.

⁸⁸ *GGM* 3.191: *Asia* quam supra populis distenditur amplis ad notiam partem.

⁸⁹ On the development of the Roman concept of "Asia" cf. Cardinali, *EIt.* 4.921.

⁹⁰ Cf. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1950–53), 1.7.

⁹¹ So in the pronunciation of Iraqi Arabic; my informants for Iraqi Arabic are Messrs. Fauzi Al-Rehani and Abdul Alchalabi, residents in Lansing, Mich. (December 28, 1966).

(ca. A.D. 170)⁹² and later.⁹³ Parts of Greater Asia: τὸ νότιον μέρος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀσίας “West Arabia, Yemen, the Indus-area, the rest of India, and China” and τὸ βόρειον μέρος τῆς Μ. Ἀ. “Armenia, Chorasán, Turks, and Hazars.”⁹⁴ The clear distinction between Μεγάλη Ἀσία and Μικρὰ Ἀσία seems to have been ultimately adopted before the fifth century A.D.⁹⁵ In the ninth cent. A.D., however, Μεγάλη Ἀσία covered the province of the Galatians.⁹⁶ The anonymous author of the Arabic work “The Regions of the World,” who like all Arab geographers accepts the division of the world into three continents, renders Ptolemy’s Μεγάλη Ἀσία as *Asiyat al-kubrā* “Great Asia.”⁹⁷

The *Lesser Asia* is recorded in English.

“Upper Asia” versus “Lower Asia”

Another distinction made by the Greeks was Upper Asia and Lower Asia. So Herodotus mentions τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας (1.95), τὴν Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην (1.103), and τῆς ἄνω Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίας (1.130). “The lower part of Asia” is expressed by τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω (1.72). Much later, J. Lydus (sixth cent. A.D.) distinguishes ἡ ἄνω Ἀσία (eight occurrences) from ἡ κάτω Ἀσία (three times),⁹⁸

⁹² Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, ed. K. Müller, 5.1; ed. Nobbe, 5, Argum. 1; 7, Argum. [48 lands constitute Ἀσία μεγάλη]; Chariton, 1.11, *Erotici scriptores Graeci*, ed. R. Hercher, vol. 2, p. 20, l. 12: χωρίον ἡμῖν ἐπιτήδειον ἔστιν Ἰωνία, καὶ γὰρ πλούτος ἐκεῖ βασιλικὸς ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀσίας ἄνωθεν ἐπιπρῶον κτλ.; *Anthol.* 11.3.

⁹³ Ἀσία Μεγάλη: *cod. Paris. graec.* 2399, fol. 44V, l. 26, ed. H. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ* (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 231; [sixth cent.] J. Lydus, *De ostentis*, 55, p. 111, l. 12; 57, p. 115, ll. 4f.

⁹⁴ Ptolemy, Ἀποτελεσματικά (Τετραβιβλος), edd. F. Boll et Ae. Boer (Leipzig, 1950), 2.3.8 (p. 63), 2.3.22 (p. 66); 2.3.30. Cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ed. and transl. by F. E. Robbins (Loeb, 1940), pp. 130f., 139, 145. Cf. R. Uhden, “Das Erdbild in der Tetrabiblos des Ptolemaios,” *Philologus* 88 (1933), 320f. — Ibn Chordābeh, *Book of the Roads and Lands*, calls these two parts *ityūfiyā* and *isqūtiya* respectively.

⁹⁵ On the names Μικρὰ Ἀσία and *Asia Minor* see my forthcoming study on the names for “Anatolia.”

⁹⁶ Vita Euaresti, ed. Ch. Van de Vorst, “La vie de S. Évariste, higumène à Constantinople,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923), 296.

⁹⁷ V. V. Barthold, in: Hudūd al-Ālam, *The Regions of the World*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky (London, 1937), p. 33.

⁹⁸ ἡ ἄνω Ἀσία: J. Lydus, *De ostentis*, ed. Wachsmuth, 18, p. 49, l. 17; 55, p. 11, ll. 2–4; 56, p. 112, l. 7; 57, p. 114, ll. 2 and 15; 58, p. 115, l. 15; p. 116, l. 5. ἡ κάτω Ἀσία: 56, p. 112, l. 14; 58, p. 115, l. 17 (here: τῆς κάτω, sc. Ἀσίας); p. 116, l. 12.

and so does Critobulus (1451–67)⁹⁹ in late Byzantine times. In contradistinction, then, κάτω Ἀσία comprises Hellespont, Bithynia, Lydia, Cilicia, and Pamphylia (as a synonym of Ἀσία ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ).¹⁰⁰

Asia provincia Romana

The Roman Province of Asia, called *Asia provincia* (Cic. Flacc. 100; etc.) and *provincia Asia* (*Monum. Ancyr.* 4.49) was the first one in Asia Minor, originally constituted in 133 B.C. and consisting of the greater part of Attalos II's kingdom as well as of the southern district of Caria; it comprised the Troas, the coastal cities, Mysia, Lydia, W. Phrygia, and Caria south of the Maeander; toward the east it extended up on the tablelands that occupy the center of the peninsula.¹⁰¹ Though at that time *Asia* was the name of both the continent and the Anatolian peninsula, the province was given the name *Asia*, owing to the fact that for the Romans that was the first land they occupied in that continent and in Anatolia. In other words, the name used by others and by the Romans themselves for much larger areas was now employed by the Romans for this Roman territory.¹⁰²

Greek writers, on the other hand, following the tradition, try to describe this area with Ἀσία¹⁰³ or with a periphrasis such as the

⁹⁹ Critobulus, *Hist.* 4.4.2 (ed. B. Grecu, 1963, p. 277): Ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ταῦρος ὄρος μέγιστον τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ διορίζων τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τῆς ταύτη θαλάσσης, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρήκων καὶ τέμων τὴν Ἀσίαν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον κατὰ Σινώπην, κάκειθεν αὖ διερχόμενος ἐνοῦται τοῖς Ἀρμενίων καὶ Μήδων ἕρσει καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῷ Καυκάσῳ. — Also Ἄνω Ἀσία 4.1.2 (p. 269); Κάτω Ἀσία 1.14.3 (p. 59).

¹⁰⁰ See Lydus, references in note 98.

¹⁰¹ See Strabo 13.4.2 and the map XII in H. Kiepert, *Atlas antiquus* (Berlin, 1876). On the province: D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), 34; 782 note 1; 1452 note 8; 155; 1044 note 30; B.E.T., art. *Asia*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964), 636f.; Brandis, art. *Asia* 3, *RE* 2 (1896), 1538–62. On the title Ἀσιάρχης “Asiarch” which derives from Ἀσία: Magie, *op. cit.*, pp. 449f.; 1298–1301 (with bibliography and discussion of theories); V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (1904), p. 70f.; art. Ἀσιάρχης, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964), 637; Brandis, *op. cit.*, 1564–78. On Ἀσιαρχία “office of the Asiarch” *Digesta* 27.1.6.14 (*Corpus Juris Civilis*, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. Krüger, Berlin, 1920); *Milet* 1 (9).339 (third cent. A.D.).

¹⁰² Cf. K. Bittel, *AOF* 13 (1939–43), 193 note 31; similarly Chapot, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁰³ Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, 5.3.1, ed. K. Müller, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 838, ll. 5,7; 5.4.1 (1,2,

following ones: ἡ ἰδίως Ἀσία¹⁰⁴ and ἡ ἰδίως καλουμένη Ἀσία,¹⁰⁵ ἡ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσία¹⁰⁶, Pergamon being the nucleus of the province, and ἡ Ἀσία ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.¹⁰⁷

B. Other names derived from Asia or connected with it

Among the names discussed here we distinguish adjectival formations used as names to designate lands or peoples and some personal names. Both categories are of interest for the overall consideration of the matters involved. We should, however, bear in mind that these names are not primary as is *Asia* itself but secondary and as such carry no weight concerning the interpretation of the name *Asia*.

[fifth cent. B.C.] Ἀσιάς f. noun, sc. χώρα, Eurip. (twice); Bianor 9.423; *Epigr. adesp.* 6.342; Steph. Byz. s.v.; Hesychius Ἀσιάς· ἡ <τρίχορδος> κιθάρᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ εὐρῆσθαι.¹⁰⁸

[fifth cent. B.C.] Ἀσιάς f. adj.: Ἄσιάς Aeschylus, *Pers.* 249; Ἀσιάς ἡπειρος Aeschylus, *Prom.* 735; Eurip., *Ion* 1586; Ἀσιάς χθών Eurip., *Ion* 74; Ἀσιάς φυλή "Asian clan" in Sardis, Herodot. 4.45.3 (just one instance), otherwise Ἡσιονεῖς.¹⁰⁹

[fifth cent. B.C.] Ἀσίς f. Simonides 171.7; Aesch. *Pers.* 763;¹¹⁰ Dionys. perieg. 20, 627, 661, ed. Bernhardt; ἐν Ἀσίδι . . . αἴη:

p. 846, 11. 4 and 7); 5.5.1 (1, 2, p. 859, 1. 6). Cf. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), p. 431.

¹⁰⁴ Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, 8.7.1, ed. F. Nobbe, 2.223f., 11.1—2 (on p. 224), 11.1—6.

¹⁰⁵ Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, 5.2.1, ed. Müller, 2.806, 11. 7 and 8; 5.2 (title) Τῆς ἰδίας καλουμένης Ἀσίας θέσις.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Appian., *Mithr.* 11.17.24; *Bell. civ.* 5.1 (referring to the 1st cent. B.C.).

¹⁰⁷ Idem, *bell. civ.* 3.2; adopted by Cassius Dio, 38.38.

¹⁰⁸ Eurip. *Tro.* 748: ἀλλ' ὡς τύραννον Ἀσιάδος πολυσπόρου; *Ion* 1356: πᾶσάν γ' ἐπελθὼν Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ἕρους; Bianor *epigr.* 9.423: Σάρδιες, αἱ βασιλεῖ Περσίς ἐν Ἀσιάδι; *Epigr. adesp.* 6.342: ναὸν ἔτευξεν / Κύζικος ἄδ' ἱρᾶ πρῶτον ἐν Ἀσιάδι.

¹⁰⁹ Aeschyl., *Pers.* 249: ὦ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἀσιάδος πολισμάτα, / ὦ Περσίς αἶα; *Prom.* 735: λιποῦσα δ' Εὐρώπης πέδον / ἡπειρον ἤξεις Ἀσιάδα (cf. H. J. Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* 1 [1957], 298); Eurip. *Ion* 1586: Ἀσιάδος τε γῆς / Εὐρωπίας τε; *Ion* 74: Ἀσιάς χθών; Herodot. 4.45.3: ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος [τοῦ Λυδοῦ] . . . ἀπ' ὅτευ <sc. Ἀσίῳ> καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκλήσθαι Ἀσιάδα. The name *Asia* was supposed to be linked with the Ἡσιονῆες in Maeonia (= Lydia) (see Strabo 13.4.8: . . . εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκῆψιον ἱαστὶ λέγεσθαι Ἡσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς· τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μήρονία, φησὶν, Ἀσία ἐλέγετο), but see the note on Ἡσιονία below, pp. 52 ff.

¹¹⁰ Simonides, 171, l. 7, in *Lyra Graeca*, ed. J. M. Edmonds, 2 (1964), p. 386:

Hesiod, *Catal.* 80, *POxy.* 1359 *Fr.* 1, 11;¹¹¹ Ἄσις γαῖα: Dionys. perieg. 231, 662; Apoll. Rhod. 1.444: ἐπ' Ἀσίδος ἠπείροιο; 2.777: [Heracles] δι' Ἀσίδος ἠπείροιο | πεζὸς ἔβη (sc. τῆς Λυδίας).

The adjectives Ἀσιας and Ἀσίς, represented also in Latin as *Asias* and *Asis*, are poetic derivatives from Ἀσία as is Ἀσία feminine of the adj. Ἀσιος.¹¹² There has been some discussion on Ἀσίς.¹¹³

[ninth-eighth cent. B.C.] Ἀσιος λειμών *Il.* 2.461, name descriptive of the Lydian valley of Caÿster.¹¹⁴

The god name Ζεὺς Ἀσεις (= Ζεὺς Ἀσιος) in the legend of a coin is attested from Caria,¹¹⁵ the adj. Ἀσεις standing for Ἀσις ← Ἀσιος.

*Ἀσία κόμη: I postulate this name form from the attested ethnic Ἀσιοκομήτης.¹¹⁶

Ἀσιος is attested as the name of a Greek poet from Samos (ca. 700 B.C.).¹¹⁷ Likewise, Ἀσία, name for a woman, occurring inscrip-

μέγα δ' ἔστανεν Ἀσίς ὑπ' αἰτῶν / πληγεῖσ' ἀμφοτέρας χερσὶ κραταιοπέμοις. Here Ἀσίς is the Persian Empire, i.e. Asia Minor and Near East. Aesch. *Pers.* 763: ἐν ἄνδρα πάσης Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφου / ταγεῖν.

¹¹¹ A. Traversa, *Hesiodi Catalogi sive Eoearum fragmenta* (Napoli, 1951), p. 120.

¹¹² Cf. Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 478 note 1.

¹¹³ On the poetic name Ἀσίς cf. G. Björck, *Das Alpha impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache* (Uppsala, 1950), p. 247. Dyer's suggestion of an alternative reading Ἀσις (*PP* 20 [1965], p. 120 with note 12) is needless speculation.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 45. Dyer's doubts on the reading Ἀσίω in *Il.* 2.461 and his preference of Ἀσίω as genit. sing. (*PP* 20.117 note 7) revives the theory of the nineteenth century now generally rejected. Lat. *Āsia p̄alus*: Verg. *Aen.* 7.701 (for Ἀσιος λειμών; Servius *ad loc.*); *Āsia* ... *pr̄ata Caÿstri*: Verg. *georg.* 1.383; cf. *Th.L.L.* 2 (1900–1906), 786f.

¹¹⁵ L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (Paris, 1954), p. 218,1 (Herakleia, Caria); cf. N. Jokl, M. Eberts *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte* 10 (1927–28), p. 153. — It is different from Ζεὺς Ἀσιος in Crete, where Ἀσιος is a deriv. of Ἀσος, name of the Cretan town.

¹¹⁶ W. M. Calder, "Inscriptions d'Iconium," *Revue de philologie* 36 (1912), 72, No. 45a: Θῦς Γάιος Δαδέος Ἀσιοκομήτης. Calder thinks of Ἀσιοκόμη as a village, dependent on the goddess' domain; if so, the original name form would have been Ἀσιας κόμη. However, Ἀσιας κόμη and Ἀσιοκόμη are not attested. On the village cf. W. M. Ramsay, "Res Anatolicae," *Klio* 22 (1928), 379 [*Asiokome* and the village *Sizma*; the Orandeis in 189 B.C.]; cf. Ruge, art. *Phrygia I: Topographie*, *RE* 39 (1941), p. 817.

¹¹⁷ Pausan. 2.6.5: ὁμολογεῖ δέ σφισι καὶ Ἀσιος; 4.2.1: ἐπελεξάμην ... ὅποσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἀσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν; 5.17.8: Ἀσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι καὶ Ἀλκιμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι.

tionally,¹¹⁸ is a Greek name and pertains to the geographic name; it is, therefore, a secondary name.¹¹⁹

The name Ἄσιος in Homer, which is recorded repeatedly in the Iliad for a Phrygian (*Il.* 16.717; another, Ἀσιάδης, 12.140; and *passim*), son of Hyrtakos and coming from Arisbe (2.837), and another (Ἀσιάδης), from Abydos at the Hellespont (17.583),¹²⁰ may be of a different origin or of the same origin, used as conveniently available, but in any case are also secondary.

[fifth cent. B.C.] Ἀσίης m., name of a Lydian, son of Kotys, Herodot. 4.45.3 (just once), Dionys. Halic. 1.27.1, in connection with Lydia.¹²¹

[ninth cent. B.C.] Ἀσιάδης m., name of a Trojan, *Il.* 12.140: Ἀσιάδην Ἀδάμαντα, and *passim*; 17.583: Φάινου Ἀσιάδη. This is a derivative of Ἄσιος (*Il.* 2.837).

Derivative ethnica, etc.

There are adj. Ἀσιαῖος and Ἀσιακός (Lat. *Asiacus*), derived from Ἀσία.

The earliest derivative is [fifth cent.] Ἀσιάτης¹²² with fem. Ἀσιᾶτις: Aesch. *Pers.* 61 (lyr.): πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιῆτις; Eur. *Androm.* 1: Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα; Ἀσιῆτις αἶα: Dionys. *Perieg.* 25, ed. Bernhardt, p. 10. Hence adj. Ἀσιατικός (Strabo 15.12.8), which yielded Lat. *Asiaticus*: Fr. *Asiatique*, Engl. *Asiatic*.

Lat. *Asiānus* adj. "Asiatic" is used instead, e.g. *Asiani Greci* CGL 4.478.43 (*Assiani Greci* 5.268.31; *Fragm. Murat.* 84 *conscripturunt una cum Basilide Assianom*);¹²³ as name of the inhabitant,

¹¹⁸ J. G. C. Anderson, "A Summer in Phrygia. II," *JHS* 18 (1898), 124, No. 73 [inscription found in Ilghin, East Phrygia]: Ἀχιλλεύς Ἀχιλλεῖ ἀνεψιῷ μνήμης χάριν σὺν γυναικὶ Ἀσίᾳ.

¹¹⁹ See L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (1964), p. 104.

¹²⁰ These names, Ἄσιος and Ἀσιάδης "son of Asios" (see further in text), in Homer appear to belong to an area between the Hellespont and the Sangarios river in Phrygia, i.e. to NW Anatolia; on the names see the analysis by Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), p. 124f. These names have been interpreted by Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 477, and *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 72, from Ἀσσός (**hāss-*).

¹²¹ Cf. Ed. Meyer, art. *Asies*, *RE* 2 (1896), 1580. On the explanation by J. Wackernagel see below, p. 48 ff.; we have only to disregard the author's ultimate explanation of Ἀσία from *Ἀσσοτος, this from Ἀσσός.

¹²² On Ἀσιάτης and other forms see G. Björck, *Das Alpha impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache* (Uppsala, 1950), p. 354.

(Footnote 123, see next page)

Asiānus. Hence, Gr. Ἀσιανός as adjective¹²⁴ and inhabitant name in Byzantine and post-Byzantine times.¹²⁵ Engl. *Asian* and *Asiatic* are from Latin, the latter of the two through the mediation of French *Asiannique*.¹²⁶

Ethnic Ἀσιεύς is recorded on two coins, both of Ἀσία, the town in Lydia.¹²⁷

Ἀσίων, a personal name transmitted epigraphically,¹²⁸ is, pace Bossert,¹²⁹ Greek.¹³⁰

Other names do not seem to belong here.¹³¹

2. Expansion in stages of the geographic name *Asia*

The geographic term *Asia*, attested early in Greek literature from the seventh century (Archilochos, Sappho, Phrynichos), arose as such in the Anatolian peninsula and started specifically in its

¹²³ *Das Muratorische Fragment*, ed. H. Lietzmann (*Kleine Texte*, 1), Berlin, 1933, p. 10 and 11.

¹²⁴ As adj. in the *Souda*, ed. A. Adler, s.v. Βραγχίδα: ἐν χόρω . . . Ἀσιανῶ; s.v. Γαλάται: τῶν . . . Ἀσιανῶν γενῶν. Critobulus 1.21.2; 28.1; 4.14.2: παραλία Ἀσιανή τε καὶ Εὐρωπαϊα; 4.3.8: [τὴν Σινώπην] ἐν ἐπικαίρω τε κειμένην τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐδείῳ Πόντῳ Ἀσιανῆς παραλίας (all later than mid-fifteenth cent. A.D.); A. Korais, *Συλλογὴ τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Βιβλιοθήκην καὶ τὰ Πάρεργα Προλεγομένων καὶ τιῶν συγγραμμάτων*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1833), p. 342: τὴν Εὐρωπαϊκὴν καὶ Ἀσιανὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς νήσους αὐτῶν κτλ.

¹²⁵ In a list of the Fathers of Nicaea: ὁσιος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀσιανῶν; E. Honigmann, *Byzantion* 20 (1950), 65 (as seventy-third in the list). Then, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ρωμαίων ἐς ὕστερον, ἔχων μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τὴν τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ τῶν Λυκαίων φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀσιανῶν 12th cent., N. Bryennius, Bonn ed., 1836, p. 74; Ὑπάτιος . . . ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσιανῶν ἐπαρχίας (Hypatius . . . episcopus Ephesus metropolita provinciae Asianorum) *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi (Florence, 1762), 8.970; Ἑλληνες γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ . . . ὧν οἱ ἀπόγονοι τὴν δίκην ἀπέτισαν διὰ τε τὴν τότε ἐς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς πολλάκις ὕβριν αὐτῶν Critobulus, 4.11.6 (ed. B. Grecu, p. 297); οἱ Ἀσιανοί: A. K. Ypsilantis, *Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν*, ed. Archim. Germanos Afthonidis (Constantinople, 1870), p. 767 [written in the eighteenth cent.].

¹²⁶ *OED* 1 (1933), 487c, s.v. *Asian*; on *Asiatic*: *Supplem. and Bibliography* (1933), p. 36c.

¹²⁷ ΑΣΙΕΩΝ (autonomous) and ΑCΙΕΩΝ (imperial); see A. Florance, *Geographic Lexicon of Greek Coin Inscriptions* (reprinted, Chicago, 1966), p. 15 [this is actually a glossary, not a lexicon]. Different is Ἀσεύς; see note 131.

¹²⁸ J. Keil — A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis* (1906), Denkschr. d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl. 53, 2 (1908), p. 96.

¹²⁹ Bossert, *Asia*, p. 2.

¹³⁰ L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (1964), p. 104.

¹³¹ So, e.g., Ἀσά, name of a hamlet near Corinth, Ἀσάια ὄνομα ὄρους κτλ

western part. The content of the name expanded gradually. The stages through which the name rose to the eminence of the name of the largest continent may have been four or five. We do not know of them because the details of the history of the name escape us as does the history of naming of geographic names in modern times. The following is a sketchy attempt to build up the history of the expansion in stages of the name.

STAGE IA: *Asia* designated part of Lydia (in Greek literature)¹³² and/or the land *Assuwa* (in Hittite records, ca. 1235 B.C.)¹³³ and

STAGE IB: "Western Anatolian peninsula," which was previously nameless, simply called "Ἡπειρος before it was named 'Ἀσία.¹³⁴ 'Ἀσιος λειμῶν in Homer (*Il.* 2.461) was a tract of land in Lydia, at the banks of the river Caÿster; but also the area of Sardis (Herodot. 4.45) is included.¹³⁵ In the seventh century B.C. 'Ἀσία designated the Lydian region.¹³⁶

(Souda), 'Ἀσαῖοι name of a people (*ibid.*; Baunack, *loc. cit.* [note 195] mentions also the irrelevant 'Ἀσσα = 'Ἀσσηρα and 'Ἀσέα for the Arcadian town). 'Ἀσιώτας in Hesychius s. 'Ἀσέα derives from the latter. 'Ἀσεύς, a personal name attested in the genit. 'Ἀσέως ('Ἐλία βασιλίσσα θυγάτηρ Εἰλάρου πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ 'Ἀσέως; J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 18 [1898], p. 125, No. 83), may, I submit, be preferably understood as ethnic Εἰλαρος . . . ὁ 'Ἀσεύς, i.e. inhabitant name of a place called 'Ἀσος or similar.

¹³² 'Ἀσίη in Archilochos (seventh cent.) and Mimnermos refers to the Lydian coast area; cf. Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 478. The content of 'Ἀσία in Archilochos *Fr.* 23 and Sappho *Fr.* 44.4 is indecisive (Sappho's 'Ἀσία stems from the *Iliad* 6.395ff.; Heubeck, *Historia* 2.478); 'Ἀσία in Mimnermos. *Fr.* 12.12. refers to the area around Colophon; and 'Ἀσίη in Herodot. 4.45 to the area around Sardis; see Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959), 115 note 27.

¹³³ Demonstrated by Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidentale* (1947), 47 and *passim*. Herodot. 4.45.3: τὴν 'Ἀσίην "Lydia"; Strabo 13.4.8: τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μηρονία, φησὶν (sc. Demetrius Scepsius), 'Ἀσία ἐλέγετο; Steph. Byz. 304.15: 'Ἡσιονία ἢ Σάρδεων χώρα ἢ καὶ 'Ἀσία. Cf. *Scholía in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*, ed. C. Wendel (Berlin, 1935), 2.777: 'Ἀσία γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Λυδία.

¹³⁴ Thus, *Scholía ad Iliadem*, 6.311: ἐδόθη δὲ [τὸ Παλλάδιον] Τρωὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κτιζόντι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ 'Ἀσίου τινὸς φιλοσόφου καὶ τελεστοῦ· διὸ δὴ εἰς τιμὴν 'Ἀσίου τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένην χώραν, πρότερον "Ἡπειρον λεγομένην, 'Ἀσίαν ἐκάλεσαν. See *Scholía Graeca in Homeri Iliadem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, ed. W. Dindorf (6 vols., Oxford, 1875–88), 3.303. We take here as true the name "Ἡπειρος for Western Anatolia, but we do not take as true the process of naming nor the mythology related by the scholiast.

A direct example of namelessness is recorded for a post office, which existed between June 21, 1909, and August 31, 1916, in North Dakota, and was called *Nameless*.

STAGE II: At the time of Herodotus the Anatolian peninsula was nameless¹³⁷ but Ἀσία is employed by Greek authors in the geographic sense of the peninsula (syn. Μικρὰ Ἀσία). Mazzarino mentions, in this regard, Sappho (fl. 600–595 B.C.)¹³⁸ but Attic authors from Xenophon on, certainly Strabo, Ptolemy, the Romans and the Byzantines call the peninsula Ἀσία.¹³⁹ Actually, traces of the meaning Ἀσία “Asia Minor” remained in the usage till *Asia* of the Romans.¹⁴⁰

STAGE III: Ἀσία, probably from the sixth century B.C. on but certainly not later than the fifth century B.C., when Lydia was incorporated in the Median-Persian Empire, expanded and came to designate also the adjoining land areas in the East, i.e. Anterior Asia (Vorderasien).¹⁴¹ The Ionic geographers may have extended the name to cover also Anterior Asia.

STAGE IV: We cannot ascertain with precision the point at which Ἀσία was applied as the name of one of the three divisions of the earth, but we do have indications and evidence about the approximate time. The Ionian geographers of the sixth century B.C.

¹³⁵ Page, *op. cit.*, p. 104 with note 27 [on p. 115].

¹³⁶ So Demetrius of Skepsis (2nd cent. B.C.) in Strabo 13.627; Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹³⁷ Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (1948), p. 79. Ἀσία covered approximately today's Asiatic Turkey, to the exclusion of Armenia and Kurdistan. On the namelessness cf. the same application on the western part of the Anatolian peninsula (p. 33).

¹³⁸ Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, 50. The author states (p. 92) that the concept Ἀσία for “Asia Minor” developed gradually, so that originally Ἀσία refers to the Lydian area and only during the first half of the sixth century, owing to the expansion of Lydian might, the concept of Ἀσία as a geographic unity “Asia Minor” was formed.

¹³⁹ Cf. K. Bittel, *AOF* 13 (1939–41), 193 note 31. Strabo (first cent. A.D.) 2.5.24; the Romans: Paulus Orosius (fifth cent.); Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 5.3.1; 5.4.1; 5.5.1. Part of Asia Minor coincided with the *Asia provincia Romana*. On the Byzantine usage cf. R. Guiland, *EEBS* 29 (1959), 42.

¹⁴⁰ So Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 338 note 220.

¹⁴¹ So Büchner, art. *Asia* 2, *RE* 2 (1896), 1538; A. Fick, *BB* 22 (1897), 225; M. Ninck, *Die Entdeckung von Europa durch die Griechen* (1945), p. 15. Thus, Ἀσία χώρα, Ἀσία, and Ἀσίς in Simonides 164.1; 171.1; 171.7 (ed. J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* 2 [1964], pp. 164, 386). In Athens of the fourth cent. B.C., Ἀσία was identified with Persia, while Europe was identified with Greece; see the scholion ad Aeschyl. Pers. 11: ἡ Περσίς Ἀσία, ἡ Ἑλληνίς Εὐρώπη (Scholia in Aeschyl. Persas, ed. O. Dähnhardt [Leipzig, 1894], p. 13) and A. Momigliano, “L'Europa come concetto politico presso Isocrate e gli Isocratei,” *Rivista di filologia e d'istr. class.* 61 (1933), 477–487, especially 480–82.

may have extended the content of the term Ἀσία and employed it for the continent; in other words, this was achieved through the old Ionic geographic science¹⁴² about the end of the sixth cent. B.C. and goes back to Hecataeus (ca. 520 B.C.) and his improved map made these concepts clear.¹⁴³ The first among the ancient Greek writers,¹⁴⁴ whose work has come to us, to know the name Ἀσία in that application were Aeschylus (*Prom.* 412, 734; *Pers.* 57, and *passim*), who has knowledge of Asia and used eastern materials for his drama *Persians*,¹⁴⁵ and Pindar (*Ol.* 7.33; *Pyth.* 9.8);¹⁴⁶ more so by the middle of the fifth century, when Herodotus wrote, the name had acquired continental significance. The broadening of the content of the name was favored through political processes and the expansion of the Lydian state (-546 B.C.) that had preceded the Persians.¹⁴⁷

Dyer assumes four phases in the emergence of the name Ἀσία to continental significance, devoting eight pages to the Greek evidence for the first two phases.¹⁴⁸ As the present exposition shows, I do not agree with Dyer in details.¹⁴⁹ His conclusion is this: Before the emergence of the Persian Empire and Aeschylus' drama *The Persians*, Asia was a name reserved for certain smaller areas within Anatolia; while Ἀσία in Archilochos is "Lydia," the name possibly

¹⁴² W. Kranz, in: Bossert, *Asia* (1946), p. 177.

¹⁴³ Cf. Nink, *Die Entdeckung von Europa durch die Griechen* (1945), p. 39.

¹⁴⁴ The idea that the names *Europe* and *Asia* in their largest semantic value are found in Hesiod's *Theogony* 357-359 [eighth century] (so Glotz, *Histoire grecque* 1 [1925], 148, 166) does not hold true; cf. Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 332 note 128.

¹⁴⁵ Kranz, *loc. cit.*; F. Fischer, *Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* (1924), p. 46.

¹⁴⁶ Ruge, art. *Asia* 1, *RE* 2 (1896), 1533f.

¹⁴⁷ Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 476.

¹⁴⁸ Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), 123-132. The phases are I. Pre-Lydian equation (Hesiod's Catalogue; traces in Homer's proper names and perhaps in Sappho and Aeschylus, taken with the Hittite possibility Assuwa); II. *Asia* = *Lydia* (Homeric, *Il.* 2.461; Archilochos, *Fr.* 23, Mimnermos, *Fr.* 12.2); the name emerges in literature ca. 700 B.C.; III. *Asia* = *Persian Empire*: Aeschylus in his *Persians*, Hecataeus; IV. *Asia*, one of the three divisions of the earth's surface (first in Hecataeus [?] or Herodotus).

¹⁴⁹ Dyer submits assumptions as to the content of the name Ἀσία in Sappho: (1) Ἀσία "the rest of the Troad," i.e. beside Troy; (2) Ἀσία "the land formerly called *Assuwa*," so that Troy was possibly the center of the Assuwa league; but Dyer (p. 127) finds it then surprising that Sappho should speak of Troy and the rest of Ἀσία as an entity; (3) Ἀσία "Anatolia."

was earlier used for a pre-Lyidian kingdom known to the Hittites as *Assuwa* and may be equated with the Troad kingdom. In any case, *Asia* appears to be a local Anatolian name.¹⁵⁰

Successive stages of broadened territories covered by a name are, in fact, observable in many cases of geographic names, ancient and modern. Each expanded stage of the name seems to be owing to the figure *pars pro toto*. In Greek, several instances are good illustrations of the case in point. Thus, the Greek name Ἑλλήσποντος carries the more limited semantic content of "strait of the Dardanelles" in Homer and this is the original situation; then the poet of the *Catalogue of Ships* extends the terminus Ἑλλήσποντος to the northern part of the Aegean, i.e. to the Thracian Sea; and its use to designate the south is preserved till Hecataeus and Hellanicus (the extension into the inner Aegean occurred in Hellenistic poetry as a literary affectation derived from the passage in the *Catalogue of Ships*).¹⁵¹

An area of the southern Greek peninsula called Πέλοπος γᾶ was the starting point for Πέλοπος νᾶσος, which produced the name Πελοπόννησος for the entire peninsula. In a similar way, in the middle ages the name Μορέας started as the name of a spot from a mulberry grove and in successive phases reached coverage for the whole peninsula.

Another good example is the name Ἑλλάς which, starting in Thessaly, came to cover the Greek lands.

The name *Canada*, deriving from a Huron word for "settlement, village," was applied originally to the region immediately adjacent to Quebec, and the term *canadien*, employed by the first French authors, designated Algonquian tribes neighboring the St. Lawrence River. Since then the semantics of the term has had a tremendous enlargement.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Dyer, *ibid.*, 132.

¹⁵¹ See Günther Jachmann, "Hellespontos als geographischer Terminus," *Athenaeum* (Pavia) 33 (1955), 93–110; Italian summary, p. 111.

¹⁵² See A. Dauzat, "Le nom du Canada," *RIO* 3 (1951), 81f. Cf. L. Deroy, "L'origine préhellénique de quelques noms de peuples méditerranéens," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'hist. or. et sl.* 13 (1955), 88f. See also I. Velyhor'skyj, "The Term and Name Canada," *Onomastica* X (Winnipeg, 1955), pp. 7–28; English summary, p. 5f. [the author presents the various possible explanations offered by researchers and others but does not solve the problem; he is even unaware of Dauzat's article]; J. A. Rayburn, "Geographical Names of Amerindian Origin in Canada," *Names* 15 (1967), 206 [from Huron-Iroquois *kanata* "collection of dwellings," first for a town and then for a territory].

Among continent names two are good illustrative cases. The name Εὐρώπη designating "Middle Greece" expanded ca. 500 B.C. to cover the continent of Europe, as far as it was known at that time, and this concept was commonplace about the mid-fifth century.

The name *America*, applied first to a small area, designated in 1517 South America only but, a generation later, came to cover both South and North America.¹⁵³

Reason and experience, therefore, instruct us that the name of a strip of land can be broadened in content to cover a larger area.¹⁵⁴

V. ETYMOLOGIES OF ΑΣΙΑ: CRITICAL REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF PERTINENT NAMES

A review of old and recent etymologies of the name Ἀσία may be in order for two reasons. First, though Bossert (1889–1961) has listed and discussed most of them in his own fashion¹⁵⁵ and has thus contributed to a better understanding of the issues of the problem, yet he did not discuss all of them nor in all their details. Then, since Bossert, a great discovery was made by the Englishman Michael Ventris: the deciphering of the Linear B script on Mycenaean tablets which opened a new wealth of Greek material formerly closed to us. We may, therefore, discern in the study of the names involved three periods of development:

- (I) the first period before the Hittite documents were read and exploited (before 1924);

¹⁵³ See above, p. 17. — Of people designations Lat. *Graeci* "Greeks" and French *Allemands* "Germans" were given, to be sure, from the outside by neighboring peoples, partly as *pars pro toto*, but the princes of the Allemanen never required the name *Germania* or *Deutschland* only for themselves; cf. F. Schachermeyr, "Zur Frage der Lokalisierung von Achiawa," *Minoica, Festschrift Joh. Sundwall* (Berlin, 1958), 373 note 30.

¹⁵⁴ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), p. IV, thinks that an insignificant strip of land called *Asia* could not become the name of the gigantic continent. Experience from the practice in living languages demonstrates beyond doubt that what Bossert denies actually happens in names of places. Heubeck (*Historia* 2 [1954], 477) was misled.

Bossert postulates that the *Asia* concept had been broad but, as a consequence of the collapse of *Asia* because of the peoples' migration ca. 1200 B.C., that concept was forcefully narrowed down to the later Lydia. I am afraid that Bossert confuses two things: the concept of *Asia Minor* as a political and cultural force and the name itself. Since the discussion of the name is our concern here, as far as we know, the Anatolian peninsula never had one name before the Greeks; the peninsula as a whole was nameless, e.g., during the half-millennium Hittite period.

¹⁵⁵ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), pp. 2–24.

(II) the middle period since the Hittite studies (1924: Forrer); and (III) the recent period of the Mycenaean studies (1952: Michael Ventris).

In a general way, we may first discard some etymological games, although they originally were not thought of as such. E.g., *Asia* was supposed to be derived from the same stem as Skt. *ushas* (equivalent Gr. ἄως) "dawn," so the name would describe the land of dawn and be, therefore, classed along with such names as *East*, *Levant*, *Anatolia*, *Nippon*.¹⁵⁶ Or, *Asia* would be understood to have come from a Hebrew word in the sense "middle land" (middle point) or "Glanzland."¹⁵⁷ Or, *Asia* was a derivative of Gr. ἄσσαν "nearer" (compar. of ἄγγι).¹⁵⁸ Though tolerance and an effort to understand the various points of view of other scholars are always commendable, we have to look first of all for evidence and sound judgment, but in such "explanations" as the aforementioned we miss both, so that they constitute sheer speculation and have the flavor of legerdemain distraction, not serious claims.

In the following, several suggestions, proposals, and attempts at explanation of the name are examined, two of them more serious and deserving elaborate discussion, for some of their elements support our effort toward a probable solution. But the thoughtful reader will find discussion of onomastic and linguistic matters deserving his attention and hopefully stimulating to him, such as the notes on *Assos* and Ἀσσάων (pp. 50–52), *Hesione* etc. (52–56), *Assuva* (56–61), *Ahhijavā* (62f.), etc., and addenda to these.

1. *From Egyptian*

To the question whether an Egyptian name has etymologically originated the name *Asia* our response is directly negative, but both the Egyptian and the Greek name may very well have had a common Anatolian origin.

¹⁵⁶ A. F. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen* (Lemgo, 1859–61), 2.190f.; see I. Taylor, *Words and Places* (London, 1896), p. 51.

¹⁵⁷ A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, 2³.38 and 77; cf. S. Ruge, art. *Asia 1*, *RE* 2 (1896), 1534; H. Philipp, *PM* 82 (1936), 109 b.

¹⁵⁸ Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio*, 4 (*GGM*, 5.472): Ἐκλήθησαν δὲ ἡπειροὶ ἄπειροὶ τινες οὕσαι δι' ἄγνοιαν Ἀσία δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄσσαν εἶναι τοῖς ἀπ' Εὐρώπης ἀπιοῦσι. As F. Fischer (*Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* [Halle, 1934], p. 46 note 6) humorously said, "Das sieht fast wie ein Scherz aus."

The land name 'es-ja (also in the forms: *Asi*, *Asjê*, *isj.j*) occurs in the Egyptian stereotype lists and, besides, only in the reign of Thutmose III (early fifteenth cent. B.C.),¹⁵⁹ but is unknown to the redactors of the Assyrian documents. It occurs side by side with *Keftô* and both appear to be located in Anatolia.¹⁶⁰

The thesis was represented by some scholars that the Egyptian name designated the island of Cyprus¹⁶¹ but this has been rejected.¹⁶² Others have expressed the opinion that the Egyptian term represents an Asiatic land,¹⁶³ i.e. a land of Anatolia.

Theoretically, the identification of Asia with the Egyptian name 'es-ja (*isj.j*) is well possible, for five other Greek place names have been detected in Egyptian documents in recognizable forms.¹⁶⁴ In fact, a linking of the Egyptian name with *Asia* was suggested by Maspero (1886)¹⁶⁵ and later by K. Sethe (1917)¹⁶⁶ and H. R. Hall (1922).¹⁶⁷ Maspero's hypothesis was that the name *Asia* for the

¹⁵⁹ *Urkunden*, IV. 610 ff., especially 616.2.

¹⁶⁰ Giulio Farina, "I popoli del mare," *Aegyptus* 1 (1920), 8—20, especially 10—13, 19.

¹⁶¹ G. Maspero, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1886, p. 361 f. [*Asi* in Egyptian documents meant Cyprus]; K. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 336; Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens* (1927), 429 f.

¹⁶² G. A. Wainwright, "Alashia-Alasa; and Asy," *Klio* 14 (1915), 1—36 [*Asy* was located on the seacoast and had affinities with Syria and Asia Minor, and connections with the coast of Cilicia, and was never called an island]; H. R. Hall, "The Discoveries in Crete and their Relation to the History of Egypt and Palestine," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 31 (1909), 228; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 290. ¹⁶³ Wainwright, *Klio* 14 (1915) 1 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Three of these place names were identified by K. A. Kitchen, *Orientalia, N.S.*, 34 (1965), 5 f., and two more by W. F. Albright, "Aegean Place Names in a List of Amenophis III," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 181, Feb. 1966, pp. 23 f. The names are *Kunuša* (Κνωσσός), *'Amniša* ('Αμνισός), *Likat(a)* (Λύκτος), *Naupilyi* (Ναυπλία), and *Kutira* (Κύθηρα).

¹⁶⁵ G. Maspero, *Comptes Rendus* [see above note 161], p. 362; idem, *Revue Critique d'histoire et de littérature* 2, No. 37 (13 Sept., 1886), p. 199.

¹⁶⁶ K. Sethe, "Der Name der Phönizier bei Griechen und Ägyptern," *Orientalistische Studien, Fritz Hommel zum 60. Geburtstag* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1917—18), vol. 1, p. 330 with note 2: 'Ασία as part of Anatolia. Cf. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* (7 vols., Caire, 1925—31), 1, p. 77 f.; Th. Bossert, *Asia* (1946), pp. 3 and 78.

¹⁶⁷ H. R. Hall, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, 234 (1922), p. 315; in his earlier writing, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.* 31 (1909), 228, he thought that *Asi* or *Alasiya* may have been located on the Cilician coast.

Anatolian peninsula (and subsequently for the continent) would derive from the Egyptian name *Asi* "Cyprus" (which latter occurs from the time of Thutmose III).

A well-known fact, however, is that *Asi* ('-es-ja) never does signify Asia in any record. Instead, the Egyptian name *Setet* (spelled *Stt*) stands for "Asia" and specifically for the land area Anterior Asia,¹⁶⁸ and the ethnics *Sttyw*¹⁶⁹ and *Stty*¹⁷⁰ "Asian, Asiatic person." So the identification *Asia* = '-es-ja was rejected by Farina¹⁷¹ and Helck.¹⁷² According to the latter writers, these names as purely traditional, used in the stereotype lists, yield nothing concerning the use of the Egyptian name '-es-ja at the time of the origination of those lists.

Th. Bossert's contribution is that he set up the equation *Asia* = *Assuva* (Hittite) = *isj.j* (Egyptian) and has demonstrated that the Hittite name *Assuva* is identical, linguistically and in realia, with the Egyptian name *isj.j* "Asia," as recorded in Egyptian docu-

¹⁶⁸ *Stt* "Asia" on the inscription of Ptahwer (inscriptions of Sinai), dated from the time of Sesostrius III (1887–1849): "[delivering] Asia (*Stt*) to him who is in the Palace (the Pharaoh) etc."; see *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents*, ed. and transl. with commentary by J. H. Breasted (5 vols., Chicago, 1906–07) [hereafter abbreviated *ARE*], vol. 1, § 728, p. 319. See also K. Sethe, *op. cit.*, 1.330; G. Roeder, art. *Asien*, M. Eberts *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte* 1 (1924), 236b (with a reference to D. G. Hogarth, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeol.* 1 [1914], 9).

¹⁶⁹ Egyptian *Sttyw* "Asiatics" (ethnic) from sometime after 2100 (eleventh Dynasty, 2160–2000 B.C., reign of Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I): "Nubians, Asiatics (*Sttyw*), Libyans"; see *ARE* 1 (1906), p. 205, § 423H, with note d; *Sttyw* "Asiatics" from the reign of Amenhotep II (1447–1420 B.C.); *ibid.*, 2.307, § 784; 308, § 787; *Sttyw* "Asiatics" from the time of Harmhab (1350–1315 B.C.), and twice from the time of Ramses II (1292–1225 B.C.); *ibid.*, 3.12 (§ 20), 205 (§ 479), 210 (§ 490); *Sttyw* "Asiatics" from the time of Ramses III (1198–1167 B.C.); *ibid.*, 4.70 (§ 119); 71 (§ 122); 4.22 (§ 40); from the period 588–569 B.C.; *ibid.*, 4.508 (§ 994).

¹⁷⁰ From the period of Ramses III (1198–1167); *ARE* 4.42 (§ 72).

¹⁷¹ Giulio Farina, *Aegyptus* 1 (1920), 10–13 and 19, rejects the proposed identity *Asjê* = *Asia*, on the ground that *Asjê* "può non offrire una semplice assonanza col nome Asia: Ἀσίη ἐν λευκῶνι . . . (Il. 2.460) e la tradizione posteriore: Ἀσία γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Λυδία." The open-minded author closes his article with the expectation that one day new documents may shed light on the obscure problem.

¹⁷² W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 298, note 59, while rejecting Bossert's identification of *isj.j*, has observed that Bossert has laid too much value on the occurrence of *isj.j* in the stereotype lists.

ments.¹⁷³ The equation has not found unanimous assent¹⁷⁴ but has been accepted by Heubeck,¹⁷⁵ and I think I have reasons to adopt it myself.

In conclusion, the name *Asia* does not derive from Egyptian *'-es-ja* or vice versa but the Egyptian name *'-es-ja* is the Egyptian rendering of the Hittite name *Assuva* designating a part of Anatolia.

2. *From personal names*

When the ancients derived the land name Ἀσία from the name of an eponymous hero Ἀσιᾶς (Ionic form Ἀσίης, gen. Ἀσιῶ) or from the name Ἀσία (Ἀσίη) of Prometheus' wife or mother,¹⁷⁶ and this has been repeated by modern scholars,¹⁷⁷ in this attempt, really no explanation in itself, no method in the examination of these names has been visible. For two aspects are important about a serious interpretation: (a) arriving at the root of the problem and explaining at the same time also those personal names from which the geographic name is supposed to stem; and (b) demonstrating how such name derivations did or could occur. As it is, however, neither interpretation can be correct since, in retrospect and in view of the new evidence made available to us in the twentieth century, the geographic name can be explained in a more convincing way than this. As far as the pertinent name data can now tell us, the

¹⁷³ Th. H. Bossert, *Asia* (1946), 5f., 40 and 177. — Bossert rejected the identification by Sturm (*AOF* 7.187 ff.) of *isj.j* = *Isuwa*.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. W. Helek, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁵ A. Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 476 with note 1.

¹⁷⁶ Herodot. 4.45.3 reports on these two interpretations of the name but seems to favor the one, telling us that it was after *Asies*, the grandson of the mythical Lydian king Manes, that Asia and the Asiad clan were named: καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσιῶ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλήσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίης· ἀπ' ὅτευ [sc. Ἀσιῶ] καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδεισι φυλὴν κεκλήσθαι Ἀσιάδα. The second branch of the mythical Lydian royal family included son Atys and grandsons Tyrsenus and Lydus. The interpretation of Asia from the name *Asie*, Prometheus' mother (so Apollod., *Biblioth.* 1.2.2 and 3) is repeated by the scholiast in *Scholia in Apoll. Rhod. vetera*, ed. C. Wendel (Berolini, 1935), p. 40, *ad Apoll. Rhod.* 1.444 ἐπ' Ἀσιδος ἡπείρου: ἡ Ἀσία ὀνομάσθη ἀπὸ Ἀσίας τῆς Προμηθέως μητρὸς καὶ Ἀτλαντος κτλ.

¹⁷⁷ Goettling saw in the Oceanids (Hesiod's *Theogony*), i.e. *Europe, Asie, Doris*, and *Rhodeia*, the eponyms of the respective lands (Goettling-Flack, *Hesiodi carmina*³, p. 48 note) and F. Fischer (*Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* [Halle, 1934], p. 29) seems to agree with him.

names of the Oceanids cannot be primary but most probably derive from the corresponding geographic names, as a creative poet like Hesiod has such license to do. All three names, 'Ασίη of Prometheus' wife or mother, 'Ασίης of the Lydian king's grandson, and the name 'Ασιᾶς φυλή of a Lydian clan, are secondary names derived from the geographic name 'Ασία, which is found in the form *Aswia* in the Mycenaean tablets.¹⁷⁸ In the case of the personal name 'Ασίη found in Hesiod¹⁷⁹ (eighth cent. B.C.), we are compelled to consider it a secondary name, derived from the geographic term, not vice versa.

The personal name 'Ασιᾶς (-ης), rendered as "the beloved one," according to an opinion, and derived from the noun ἤσις (this should be ἤσις = τέρψις in the *Souda*),¹⁸⁰ is supposed to be found also in two other names, 'Ασίτιμος and 'Ησιόνη.¹⁸¹ However, there are obstacles: while α- in 'Ασία is $\bar{\alpha}$ or $\check{\alpha}$, the ἦ- /*he-* in ἤσις cannot be the same as α- in 'Ασίτιμος and 'Ασία. The attempted explanation is, in fact, impossible.

3. *From Gr. ἄσις ('Ασιος)*

The name 'Ασία is explained as fem. of adj. ἄσιος and for both of these the anc. Gr. noun ἄσις f. "slime, mud" was available as a source. The scholiast *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 10 says: 'Ασία διὰ τὴν ὑγρασίαν ἄσις γὰρ λέγεται ἢ ὑγρασία.¹⁸² In fact, the noun ἄσις f. "mud, dirt" is Homeric (*Il.* 21.321) and occurs also in Nicander (second cent. B.C.), and in Chariton (second cent. A.D.?) 2.2;¹⁸³ from this was formed ἄσιος as epithet "muddy."¹⁸⁴ This etymology of 'Ασία (for the fertile alluvial ground of the rivers at the west coast of Asia Minor) was accepted by Pape and Benseler,¹⁸⁵ A.

¹⁷⁸ 'Ασίης was explained by J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (1916), p. 86 note 1, as a backformation to 'Ασιώ (in *Il.* 2.461 'Ασιώι ἐν λειμῶνι), held erroneously to be a genitive instead of dative 'Ασιώι.

¹⁷⁹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 359 Χρυσῆς τ' 'Ασίη τε καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψώ.

¹⁸⁰ The *Souda* has 'Ησιόνη: ὄνομα κύριον and ἤσις: τέρψις.

¹⁸¹ Pape-Benseler, *WGE*³, p. 156a. On 'Ησιόνη see note, below, pp. 52 f.

¹⁸² *GGM* 2.431; Steph. Byz., s.v.; Eustath. *ad Dion. Perieg.*, 620.

¹⁸³ Ed. R. Hercher, *Erotici scriptores Graeci*, vol. 2 (1859), p. 28, l. 25: 'Εκ μακροῦς οὖν θαλάσσης ἀπόλουσαι τὴν ἄσιν κτλ.

¹⁸⁴ Eustath. *ad Il.* 2.461 explains 'Ασιος as ἰλυώδης.

¹⁸⁵ Pape and Benseler, *WGE*³, 156a, following their highly questionable practice, render the name 'Ασία as "More, Moorland," i.e. "marshland."

Fick,¹⁸⁶ W. Prellwitz,¹⁸⁷ É. Boisacq with reference to Fick,¹⁸⁸ by the editors of the Greek-English lexicon,¹⁸⁹ and, recently, with some hesitation, by H. Frisk.¹⁹⁰ But the explanation has rightly not enjoyed consensus.¹⁹¹

The early occurrence of Ἀσία ἐν λειμῶνι (*Il.* 2.461) caused scholars to theorize that the Asian plain is the marshy delta of the Caÿster River, which plain became thereafter the site of Ephesos, capital of Asia in its oldest sense. The increasing significance of that city would conceivably have caused the gradual extension of the name to the neighboring region, in case Ἀσία was originally Ephesos' territory. So the stem *as-* is sought in Ἀσιος (λειμῶν), etc., and *-es-* is found in the analysis of the name Ἐφ-εσ-ος in medial position, so that this city is given the interpretation "the town on the marsh"; with this name Ἀσέα in Arcadia is compared as a marshy valley.¹⁹²

However, except for ἄσιος, that might be claimed to have originally meant "marshy," as Ἀσιος, whose fem. form is Ἀσία, might, the rest is so nebulous that it is susceptible of no proof, especially

¹⁸⁶ A. Fick, "Altgriechische Ortsnamen IV," *BB* 22 (1897), 225, connects with ἄσις "mud which a river deposits" the Homeric Ἀσιος λειμῶν of Caÿster (*Il.* 2.461), whose name would have extended to Lydia and then to the kingdom of Lydia; when the latter was incorporated in the Median-Persian Empire, the name Ἀσία would have again been extended to cover more territory and very naturally then followed the application of *Asia* as a continent of its own. Cf. É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1914), p. 87, s.v. ἄσις.

¹⁸⁷ W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen 1905), p. 57, s.v. ἄσις.

¹⁸⁸ See note 186.

¹⁸⁹ *LSJ* s.v. Ἀσία and ἄσιος.

¹⁹⁰ Frisk, *GEW*, 1.162, s.v. ἄσις, following probably Liddell-Scott-Jones, says that perhaps ἄσιος as epithet of λειμῶν (*Il.* 2.461) with Eustathius is the word whence Ἀσία derives, in case the periphrastic name is not simply Ἀσιος "Asian" from Ἀσία.

¹⁹¹ P. S[mith], art. *Asia*, W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* 1 (1878), p. 233 b, rejected the linking of ἄσις and Ἀσία.

More recently, R. R. Dyer, discussing the name, glosses ἄσις "silt deposited by rivers" (obviously rendering "Schlamm, den ein Fluß absetzt" by A. Fick, *BB* 22.225) and attaches to the name the signification "land of silted harbors," in place of Pape-Benseler's "marshland," but concludes that this manifestly not original etymology is "attractive and may have played a part in popular etymology." See Dyer, *PP* 101 (1965), 127 note 27.

¹⁹² Cf. I. Taylor, *Names and their Histories* (1896), p. 53a; idem, *Words and Places* (1896), p. 52.

with regard to explaining the change of *es-* (in *Eph-es-os*) from *as-*; this, indeed, is utter nonsense.¹⁹³ Furthermore, the name Ἄσεια (in Arcadia) claimed as corroborating evidence is now known to be a word entirely different from Ἀσία.¹⁹⁴

4. *From a Greek word meaning "water"*

The appellative *ἄσσα in the sense "water" was postulated by scholars of the nineteenth cent. as the source of adjective ἄσσιος· προκόλιπιος (a Hesychian gloss) and ἄσιος; the name Ἀσία derived from the latter form would have signified the Anatolian peninsula as "the continent surrounded by water and lying in the sea."¹⁹⁵ The objections to this etymology are two: (a) the original sense of the name *Asia* was not "continent" or "island" or "peninsula," for, in fact, the name applied to an inland area in Asia Minor; and (b) the etymology ignores the prosody of ἄσιος "marshy" (ᾶ) and Ἀσία (ᾶ), which never were ἄσσιος and Ἀσσία.¹⁹⁶ The spelling *Assia* in Latin is, I submit, the result of the effort on the part of writers to render Ἀσία — —. The attempt, therefore, has failed.

5. *From Semitic ašū "east"*

The celebrated nineteenth-century explanations of *Asia* and *Europe* from Semitic have been reiterated for more than a hundred years by many a scholar in books, journals, and encyclopaedia ar-

¹⁹³ Arabic *al-Awāsi* (in Idrisi, middle of twelfth cent.) was suggested as representing Homeric Ἄσιος λειμών, ὁ τῆς Ἐφέσου κάμπος (Ducas, p. 47); see W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (1891), p. 32. If the Arabic name applies to this area, it can hardly be explained etymologically from Homeric Ἄσιος, which was not in use in the middle ages, but it can from Ἐφεσος. In fact, *afašin* stands for Ephesus and *Afasin* for the province of Ephesus; see *Mappae Arabicae. Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten, III. Bd. Asien I: Vorder- und Südasiens*, herausg. K. Miller (Stuttgart, 1927), p. 5 and 6 [map of Asia Minor].
¹⁹⁴ See below on *Asijatiġa*, p. 71 note 349.

¹⁹⁵ So J. Baunack, "Beiträge zur altgriechischen Onomatologie," *Theodor Vogel Studia Nicolaitana* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 22: "Kleinasien . . . d. i. der von Wasser umgebene, im Meere liegende Continent . . . Erst später ward der Name auf den Erdteil im Ganzen ausgedehnt, anfangs noch mit dem Zusatz ἡ μεγάλη Ἀσία und dann ohne diesen." The author, explaining ἀσάμινθος "bathtub" from ἄσσα "water" (p. 18), further interprets *Il.* 2.461 Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι as ἄσιῳ "wasserreich" (p. 21); for him both ἄσσι- and ἄσι- (this of ἄσις "mud") belong together (p. 33) and a by-form of Ἀσία is Ἀσίς.

¹⁹⁶ J. Wackernagel's suggestion of Ἄσσιος Ἀσσία from Ἀσσος (see below, p. 48f.) is now superseded by the new Mycenaean findings.

ticles. The etymology of *Asia* is believed by geographers such as H. Kiepert, Hassinger, Semple, and many others, and is still lingering on, but not without dissent. In more recent years, Hrozný took up this age-old etymology and lent it some prestige but not for long, because other scholars such as W. Otto, H. Th. Bossert, M. Gortani, and S. Mazzarino rejected the connection, and, on the other hand, revolutionary developments in Hittite and Mycenaean Greek studies opened unexpected new vistas.

The Semitic etymology is simple: As *Europe* is explained from Semit. *ereb* "sunset; evening, darkness; west" (a participial form to the verb *erēbu* "to set"),¹⁹⁷ so *Asia* is derived, as a participial form, from the Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian) verb *ašū* "to rise"; thus the pair of continents constitutes an exact parallel: *Europe* would mean "sunset, west, western land" and *Asia* "sunrise, east, eastern land."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ The Semitic explanation of *Europe* meaning "western land, west" from a word meaning "evening" or from Phoenician is presented by many nineteenth century scholars, e.g. F. A. Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, 1.2.211 f.; A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, 3.1; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, 1.26; van Herwerden, *Lexicon Graecum supplementum*, s.v.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin, 1895), 139f.; Grimme, *Glotta* 14 (1925), 17 [the author presents Assyr. *érēb šamši* "sunset" and Aram., Hebrew *ʾrēb* "sunset."]; more recently, G. R. Stewart, "Europe and Europa," *Names* 9 (1961), 79–90. I should add that the Greek or other pre-Greek explanation is favored by many others.

¹⁹⁸ For this early explanation of *Asia* from Semitic cf. P. S[mith], in: W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* 1 (1878), 234 with note 1 (where earlier literature is cited).

The etymology from Semitic was postulated by Samuel Bochart in the sixteenth century, was discussed by Allen, Halliday, and Sykes, *Hymn to Apollo*, 251, 291, and L. Deroy, *RIO* 11 (1959), p. 5 note 13. Most recently, Dyer (*PP* 20 [1965], 116 note 2) believes that Minoan *asuja* may represent Akkad. *ASU* "sunrise" and justify the guess of various scholars that the contrast Asia ~ Europe represents from a Cretan viewpoint the contrast of sunrise ~ sunset in Semitic, EREBU yielding Gr. *ἔρεβος* "darkness" and *Ἑρῳάπη*, an etymology implied in a Hesychian gloss. However, Dyer equates *Aswios* with *Aššuwā*, the plains of the Troad; there is a better explanation for *Assuwa*.

Cf. also H. Kiepert, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, 26 [Assyr. *ašū* "sunrise"]; W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1912; reprinted 1949–50), 1.320 (ad Herodot. 4.45.2); L. W. Lyde, *The Continent of Europe* (London, 1913; reprinted 1920), p. 6; G. B. Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (New York, 1944), p. 14b; *Der Große Brockhaus*¹⁶ 1 (1952), 434b; art. *Asia*, *EBR*. 2 (1911), 734b; etc.

It has often been repeated by various scholars that the terms *Europe* and *Asia* originated in the Aegean Sea, where *Asu* was applied to the Anatolian peninsula and *Ereb* to Greece and Europe; if there be truth in this, the division into the East (Orient) and the West (Occident) would indeed be justified.¹⁹⁹

Hrozný, to support this explanation, advanced synonymous expressions as parallels: Babylonian *Amurrû* "West" (the West Semitic Amorites are known to us from the Old Testament), i.e. "the country where the sun is hidden by the Ocean," from which he derives also the name *Amorites*, i.e. the name for the Canaanites, inhabitants of the land called *Amurrû*, and the Babylonian geographic name *Elamtu* "East."²⁰⁰

There is certainly no denying the existence of the natural contrast East vs. West. This is evident also in the Byzantine Greek terms Ἀνατολή "East" versus Δύσις "West" as well as the learned parallels Ἐφῶα ~ Ἐσπερία. The semantic content, however, of these contrasting names shows that *Asu* ~ *Ereb* do not stand on the same footing; for Δύσις designates "Western Europe; Western Roman Empire; (Byzantine) provinces in the Balkan peninsula," all taken obviously from the viewpoint of Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern World, of the Eastern Roman Empire (as the Byzantine state was originally called) and of the E. Balkan Peninsula. However the pair *Amurrû* and *Elamtu* is hardly conclusive evidence for *Ašû*.²⁰¹

To enhance the validity of the etymology of *Asia* from *Ašû*, Hrozný entirely removed the name *Assuva* from the picture, for he thinks it has nothing to do etymologically with Ἀσία, and suggested instead the correspondence of Hittite *Assuva* with the later occurring name *Assos* at Troy²⁰² (which is examined in some detail in the next etymological item, p. 48 ff.).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Ph. S[mith], in: W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* I (1878), 234; Cressey, *loc. cit.*; etc.

²⁰⁰ B. Hrozný, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens* (1940), p. 16; idem, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens und Indiens* (1941), p. 12; idem, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete* (1952), p. 4, 53 [on Amorites].

²⁰¹ Concerning the geographical term *East*, also *Nippon* "Japan" may be cited, i.e. "Land of the Rising Sun," consisting of two ideographs, *Ni* and *hon*, basically meaning "origin of light," "sun origin." Cf. Webster's *Geogr. Dict.* (1964), p. 790 b.

²⁰² Hrozný, *Ancient History* (1952), p. 133.

As soon as Hrozný's views had been published, W. Otto stamped his explanation as "entirely hypothetical"²⁰³ and, later on, H. Th. Bossert refuted it with the following effective argument: The name *Asia* as "the land of the rising sun" and *Europa* as "the land of the setting sun" could come into being from only one geographical point of view, i.e. from the world of the Aegean islands. But it is known from history that no Akkadians or other Semites lived there during the period that may be considered for the creation of the names Ἀσία and Εὐρώπη.²⁰⁴ Indeed, that old etymology, albeit satisfactory from the viewpoint of expressing "East" (Asia) as contrary to "West" (Europe), is uncertain and has been rejected;²⁰⁵ and though it still figures in old books like those of H. Kiepert, I. Taylor, E. C. Semple, and in new editions of geography books,²⁰⁶ it may and should be considered dead at present.

The following may be added. It is a fallacy to start with the outcome of a process, in this case that of Asia lying in the East and Europe in the West, and thus try to approach the sofar proposed etymologies and the origins of these names with this handicap of a phantom.²⁰⁷ The contrast might only then be age-old and from the very start, if the namegiver had stood on an island of the Aegean and had given the two names to *Asia* "East" and *Europe* "West." Such an assumption, however, is precluded for two reasons: (a) naming places in the past as well as in the present is not based on maps, but practical people everywhere give names to the places they move about, and (b) both geographic terms Ἀσία and Εὐρώπη clearly appear to have started as names of very restricted areas; especially, Asia is recorded in the inland of Anatolia. When a small

²⁰³ W. Otto, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens*, SB d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., *philos.-hist. Abt.*, 2, 3 (1941), p. 20 note 1.

²⁰⁴ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), p. 2.

²⁰⁵ It is uncertain for Gortani, art. *Asia*, *EIt.* 4 (1929), 839b; rejected by Mazarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 47f. (independently of Bossert).

²⁰⁶ Cf. Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte*² (1953), p. 51.

²⁰⁷ So it is done by R. Dyer (*PP* 20 [1965], 127), who says, "To what dim folk memory or etymology the opposition to Europe²⁷ <Note 27: Here Asia "the land of silted harbors"> is due can no longer be recovered." This opposition of Asia to Europe certainly cannot be recovered because there was none, as far as our data tell us. Dyer then continues, "but the amazing coincidence that the opposition parallels one in Semitic languages may conceal its origin"; what the author has in mind in this statement is not clear to me but he seems to deny the reality of such opposition.

area in western Anatolia was named *Asia* (this originally *Aswia*), in the minds of the namers (who were no geographers) there was no thought or motivation of an east direction. For this little area was located as east or west as any other place on the globe; and the same is certainly valid about *Europe*, when the name was applied to a small area in Greece.

A somewhat different approach is taken by two other scholars. For F. Fischer the designations of the continents "eastland" and "westland," *Asia* and *Europe*, had come from the Orient and were adapted by the Greeks to names familiar to them,²⁰⁸ in other words, if I understand the author correctly, through folk etymology. This is then elaborated by the American onomatologist George R. Stewart. He returns to the Phoenician-Hebrew source word meaning "west" to explain therefrom both the continent name *Europe* and the deity name *Europa*; this recurrent proposal is hardly proved. Regarding *Asia*, he does not, to be sure, accept the interpretation of the name from a Semitic word that is related to Assyrian *ašu* "east" but enters a tortuous and speculative compromise: Phoenician traders upon entering the Aegean Sea took over the then locally current name *Asia*, designating the east coast of the Aegean, and in so doing they held it, by folk-etymology, to be their Phoenician term for "east" and "might thus have been the more likely to call the other shore the West."²⁰⁹ In any case, the author considers the name *Asia* as etymologically related not to Semitic *ašu* but to the regional name *Assuva*.

6. *Connection with name Assos*

An ingenious explanation was advanced by J. Wackernagel in 1916 that connects the geographic name Ἀσία with the place name Ἀσσοῦς, so that Ἀσία "Asian land" would have originally been *Ἀσσία and Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι (*Il.* 2.461) would stand for Ἀσσίῳ. He thus replaces long $\bar{\alpha}$ - in Ἀσίῳ and Ἀσίς (Aeschylus +) with the forms Ἀσσίῳ and Ἀσσίς, from which latter short $\bar{\alpha}$ - of both Ἀσία and derivatives would have resulted from Ionic change of $\sigma\sigma$ into σ (perhaps as in ὄσσοϛ → ὄσοϛ etc.). The length of the initial vowel

²⁰⁸ F. Fischer, *Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* (1934), p. 42. Erroneous is the author's statement that the continents were taken over by the Greeks after the Persian wars.

²⁰⁹ George R. Stewart, "Europe and Europa," *Names* 9 (1961), 88f.

in the names Ἀσία, Ἀσίς, Ἀσιος could, therefore, hardly be just metrical convenience but is rather real; the generally used anc. Gk. form Ἀσίη with short ᾱ- is Ionic with one -σ- (-s-) simplified from -σσ- (-ss-).²¹⁰ The author further suggests that the personal name Ἀσίης m.²¹¹ was taken from Ἀσίῳ / ἐν λειμῶνι as if the latter were Ἀσίω, a gen. sing. (= Ἀσίεω), and was formed by analogy on the pattern εὐμελίης : εὐμελίω.²¹² In realia, according to the eminent exponent, the name Ἀσία as the designation of the land in the East would have started from the Caÿster plain (*II.* 2.461 Καÿστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρον). On his interpretation of Ἡσιωνῆες see below, p. 54f.

Wackernagel's interpretation is, according to H. Jacobsohn, contradicted by the fact that Greek σσ is not simplified in non-Greek, Aegean, names in Ionic but σσ and σ interchange in such non-Greek names only after a long vowel, as in the case of the city name Λάρισα ~ Λάρισσα.²¹³

Jacobsohn is partly right. But it so happens that, a generation after Jacobsohn wrote, Wackernagel's suggestion is vindicated by the finds in Mycenaean records, where Ionic $\bar{\alpha}$ and Attic $\check{\alpha}$ are represented before original σF /sw/; in fact, the Mycenaean tablets have yielded the form ἈσFίος from which both Ἄσιος and Ἄσιος are now explicable.²¹⁴

Hrozný identified *Assuva* with *Assos*, the name of the city in the southern Troas, 50 to 100 miles NW of A. Goetze's location of Assuva.²¹⁵ It seems, however, impossible to explain Ἀσσος from ἈσFός, as we will see later in this exposition, so the connection of *Assuva* (**Asua*), suggested by Hrozný and still believed in by Professor I. J. Gelb,²¹⁶ seems improbable.²¹⁷

²¹⁰ J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen, 1916), p. 86 = *Glotta* 7.246. — The author probably followed the lead of others such as Pape-Benseler s.v. Ἀσσος (1.161b), who have: Ἀσσος λειμῶν "Moorstrich," Wiese in Lydien am Kaystrus, Steph. Byz. — In addition to the inhabitant name Ἀσσιος there are recorded: Ἀσσιος λίθος, Ἀσσία ληγός, and τὰ καλούμενα Ἀσσια, area pertaining to a river Ἀσσος in Phocis.

²¹¹ Ἀσίης m. is the name for a Lydian. Cf. above, p. 31 with note 121.

²¹² Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, 86 note 1.

²¹³ H. Jacobsohn, "Zu den griechischen Ethnika," *KZ* 57 (1929–30), 89 note 1.

²¹⁴ See below, p. 69.

²¹⁵ Hrozný, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens* (1940), p. 129; idem, *Ancient History* (1951), p. 133.

²¹⁶ In oral communication, spring 1965 (see below, p. 64).

²¹⁷ Thus, Albright, though thinking that nothing stands in the way of Hrozný's

My objections and those of others may be clarified in the following explanation of the place name Assos.

Note on the name Assos

Ἀσσός (inhabitant Ἀσσοίος)²¹⁸ was a city on the southern coast of the Troas, on the north shore of the Adramyttian Gulf (or Gulf of Edremit), opposite the N. coast of Lesbos and ca. 10 km distant therefrom, founded by settlers from Methymna (of Lesbos) ca. 1000 B.C.²¹⁹ The town was called Ἀσσός in early Byzantine times and then Μαχράμιον²²⁰ and by the Turks *Behram(-köy, or Behram-kale)*, but in the twelfth century *Azla*.²²¹ The identification of Assos with the much earlier settlement *Pedaso*s, the capital city of the Leleges (*Il.* 20.92 and often), however, of unknown location,²²² proposed by J. T. Clarke²²³ and the explanation of the name *Assos* from *Pedaso*s by shortening of the latter, have not really been demonstrated. In

equation (*AJA* 54 [1950], 168f.), adds that "Assuva may not be Assos" (*ibid.*, p. 169b); negatively also Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 476 note 1.

²¹⁸ Ἀσσοίων on coins of Assos (Mysia); see A. Florance, *Geographic Lexicon of Greek Coin Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1966), p. 15.

²¹⁹ Ἀσσός ἡ: Alkm. 153 (*Poetae melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page. Oxford, 1962); cf. Strabo 13.610f.; Ptolem. 5.2.4; Pausan. 5.4.9; Alexander Polyhistor fr. 96, Jacoby, *FGrH* III, 118; cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), 2.905 (with bibliography); A. M. M[ansel], art. *Assos*, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964), 1542–44; Büchner, art. *Assos*, *RE* 2 (1896), 1748; see the dates of Assos' history in J. T. Clarke et alii, *Investigations at Assos* (London, etc., 1902–21), p. 3a.

²²⁰ *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès*, ed. E. Honigmann (Bruxelles, 1939), 661.13, p. 22a [Ἀσσός Ἀσσοίος]. See references in W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), p. 104, 106; cf. p. 118. Ducas, 44, p. 332 Ἀσσός πόλις νῦν καλεῖται Μαχράμιον (from a personal name Μαχράμης; on him G. Pachymeres, 2.438) and τὸ τῆς Ἀσσοῦ φρούριον; it was also the see of a bishopric. Cf. W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (1891), p. 23.

²²¹ P. Amédée Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi traduite de l'arabe en français . . . et accompagnée de notes* (Paris, 1836–40), 2.303. *Azla* is correctly identified with *Assos* (pp. 302 and 303), for both are located in the same area of Adramyttion. On the large map of Idrisi the name is recorded in the forms *azla*, *azah* and *azila* (= Assos); see *Mappae Arabicae. Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten*, III. Band, *Asien*, I: *Vorder- und Südasiens*. Mit Beiheft: *Islamallas*, herausg. K. Miller (Stuttgart, 1927), p. 5.

²²² *Pidassa* (In Egyptian *pl-da-sa*), land in inner Anatolia, is located somewhere southwest of Hattusa, and is not identified with Mysian *Pedaso*s; see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 205 and note 22. But the name is identical; cf. W. F. Albright, *AJA* 54 (1950), 169.

On the Anatolian suffix *-aḥṣu, -aṣu* see Bossert, *Asia* (1946), 155 ff.; cf. J. Sundwall, *AJA* 52 (1948), 319; W. F. Albright, *AJA* 54 (1950), 169 note 29; E. Laroche, in: *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*, 2 (1957), 1–7; idem "Études de toponymie anatolienne," *RHA* 19 (1961), 89–90.

²²³ J. T. Clarke, *Preliminary Report of the Investigations at Assos 1881* (Papers of the Archaeolog. Instit. of America, Class. Ser. I) (Boston, 1882), p. 60–63; J. T. Clarke et alii, *Investigations at Assos* (1902–21), pp. 1 and 3.

view, however, of the fact that another town Ἴσσοῦς was located in Epirus and a river Ἴσσοῦς is recorded for Phocis²²⁴ and, furthermore, a town Πήδαρος existed at the Messenian Gulf in the Peloponnesus,²²⁵ such an explanation becomes highly improbable.

The place name Ἴσσοῦς in the Troas has psilosis for original *Ἰσσοῦς,²²⁶ for its ethnicon ΗΕΣΣΙΟΙ, i.e. Ἴσσοιοι, is well attested in the Attic tribute lists of the fifth century B.C.²²⁷ Ἴσσοῦς was originally pronounced Ἡσσοῦς by the Aeolians when it became known to the Athenians, perhaps so early that even the change of /ā/ to /ε:/ could take place.²²⁸ The genuine accentuation was probably Ἴσσοῦς (on the ultima)²²⁹ and the form Ἴσσοος (with an acute), often recurring in our records, proves nothing against the length of α.²³⁰ Along with Ἴσσοῦς are placed linguistically Ἴσσοῦς, the name of the Lydian town, and Ἴσσοῶν, the name of Niobe's father.²³¹

²²⁴ Pape-Benseler, *WGE*³, I.161.

²²⁵ Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 32 (1953), 168.

²²⁶ P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 28 (1940), 252, posits a name form *Ἰσσοῦς. Similarly, form Ἰσσοῦς, as in the text above, Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), 72.

²²⁷ *IG* 1.230.25; 234.60; 264. Assos was under Athens' influence 479–405 B.C. Likewise, the ethnicon of the city of Locris is Ἰσσοῦς accus. (Thucyd. 3.101); in a later inscription it is spelled Ἰσσοῦς; cf. Steph. Byz. Ἰσσοῦς, πόλις Λοκρῖδος. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰσσοῖος. Οὐκουδίδης τρίτη.

²²⁸ Against Hermann's view; so A. Schmitt, *Der Buchstabe h im Griechischen* (1952), pp. 44 and 45 note 20.

²²⁹ According to Arcad., p. 76, 12; cf. Meinecke ad *Steph. Byz.*

²³⁰ Büchner, art. *Assos*, *RE*, 2 (1896), 1748; Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 45 note 20.

²³¹ The name Ἴσσοῶν (*PHG* 1.39.13) of Xanthos of Sardis is, according to Brandenstein (art. *Kappadokia*, *RE*, *Nachträge* zum X. Band (1935), col. 139; followed by Bossert, *Asia* [1946], p. 67), equivalent to the Hittite name *Asuyan*. This latter name, syllabically transcribed *A-šu-wa-an*, occurs on a Cappadocian tablet (*Vingt-quatre tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection W. Golénischeff*. 5.2 = B. Landsberger, "Über die Völker Vorderasiens im dritten Jahrtausend," *Zeitschrift f. Assyriol., N.F.* 1 [1924], 221) and is supposed to belong to a pre-Hittite language in Cappadocia, not to Assyrian (so B. Landsberger, *ibid.*); according to others the date is the first half of the second millennium B.C. (Stephens, *Personal Names of Cappadocia* [1928], p. 24; Georg Eissler und Julius Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, I–II [Leipzig, 1930], p. 49 note c: *A-šu-wa-an*). The language of these "Cappadocian" tablets is a clear Akkadian, the earliest reachable stage of Assyrian; see J. Lewy, art. *Kappadokische Tontafeln*, in: M. Eberts *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte* 6 [1926], 214a. — An exactly similar formation is shown by the name *Ḫa-ḫa-lu-(w)a-an* (Musée du Louvre, *Textes Cunéiformes, IV: Tablettes Cappadociennes*, 122.2,6 = B. Landsberger, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol., N.F.*, 1 [1924], 222).

Heubeck, however, derived the name Ἴσσοῶν from the Lydian city name Ἴσσοῦς (which he holds to be identical to Ἴσσοῦς in the Troas ← Ἰσσοῦς), originally an ethnicon to the relevant place, with suff. *-won* crossed with genuine Gk. suff. *-ῶν* with a different function; other possible parallels cited are: Ἐλικῶν *Il.* 3.123 (from Ἐλική) and Mycen. Διφιῶν (KN Vc 293 *di-wi-ja-wo*). See Heubeck *Praegraeca* (1961) 56 and 72. See addenda, p. 81 f.

And, in accordance apparently with an indication of H. Jakobsohn,²³² Heubeck set the ultimate root of the name as **hāss-*.²³³

In any case, our conclusion is that the name Ἀσσός is unrelated to the name Ἀσία and the etymology to support this connection has failed; it is equally unrelated to *Assuwa*.

Note on Ἡσιόνη, Ἡσιονῆες, and Ἡσιονία

The names Ἡσιόνη, Ἡσιονῆες, and Ἡσιονία are treated here in connection with Ἀσία because they, like *Assos* and *Assaon*, have been, to be sure, linked with *Asia* but are probably unrelated.

Ἡσιόνη (*Hēsionē*), the name of the daughter of the Trojan king Laomedon and Leukippe,²³⁴ was, certainly much later, ascribed to Prometheus' spouse (who was known to Herodotus 4.45 as Ἀσίη). Heracles waged war against the Trojans to recover the reward promised him for saving Hesione and slaying the sea-monster.²³⁵ The legendary scene of the exposure of Hesione was the promontory and harbor (near Troy), which both have been identified by Thacher Clarke with *Beshik Burnu* and *Beshik Bay*, and the identification entirely suits the conditions.²³⁶

In Aeschylus Hesione was a sister of the Oceanid chorus and wife of Prometheus.²³⁷ With this better known personage the Oceanid Ἀσίη (Hesiod, *Theog.* 359) has been identified.²³⁸

It seems to me unlikely that the Mycenaean names from Pylos *a-si-ja* and (toponym) *a-si-ja-ti-ja* should be linked to Ἀσσός, Ἀσσάων, etc., as Heubeck, *op. cit.*, p. 73 note 76, suggests. On *asijatiya* see below, p. 71 with note 349.

²³² H. Jakobsohn, "Zu den griechischen Ethnika," *KZ* 57 (1929–30), 105 note 1.

²³³ *Historia* 2 (1954), 477: here he connected with Ἀσσός the name Ἄσιος of four persons in Homer (from Abydos, Φαίνοπι Ἀσιάδην *Il.* 17.583; Troy, 12.139 Ἄσιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα, 140 Ἀσιάδην and often; Arisbe, 2.837 Ἰβρακίδης ἦρχ' Ἄσιος and *passim*), and the name Ἄσιος λειμών (*Il.* 2.461) of the region at the banks of the Lydian Caÿster. On these names see also above, p. 31 with note 120.

Mysian Ἀσσος was explained as connected with Hittite *assus* "good"; which would then lead us to *Assuwa*. But W. Brandenstein, *ZONF* 11 (1935), 76 with note 1, adopts Dr. König's suggestion that the stone for the Lycian sarcophagi came from *Asson*, name of a place meaning "stone," with which he compares Iran. **asa* "stone" ← IE *ak'* - "hard stone."

²³⁴ Apollod., *Bibliotheca* 2.5.9, Loeb, 1.208 and 209; and *passim*.

²³⁵ Strabo 13.1.32: οὐ γὰρ ἔνεκα ἱππων, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡσιόνης καὶ τοῦ κήτους.

²³⁶ Walter Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad. Book XIII, cap. I*, ed. with Translation and Commentary (Cambridge, 1923), p. 167. Cf. Steph. Byz. (Graz, 1958, p. 13): Ἀγάμμεια, ἄκρα καὶ λιμὴν περὶ τὴν Τροίαν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν δευτέρῳ. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαμον τὴν Ἡσιόνην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδοθῆναι τῷ κήτει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀγάμμη κτλ.

²³⁷ Aeschylus, *Prom.* 557: καὶ λέχος σὸν ὑμεναίου / ἰότατι γάμων, ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον ἔδνοις / ἔγαγες Ἡσιόνην πιθῶν δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον. Cf. *Schol. Aesch. Prom.* 553.

²³⁸ Cf. F. Fischer, *Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* (Halle, 1934),

The city Ἡσιόνη in Lydia is equated with the city called Ἀσία. Whether the two names are also etymologically related is a different matter, as we will see.

In its semantic content, the name Ἡσιόνη was explained by Wilamowitz as originally having a definite meaning. Discussing the proper names in -ων and the related feminine names in -όνη of the type Ἀμφιόνα, Δηλιόνη, Μολιόνη, Ἡπιόνη, he states that Ἡσιόνη, name of Teukros' mother and Prometheus' wife, meant "the Asian (Asiatic) woman" (die Asiatin) and that the vocalism leads to the conclusion that to Ἡσιόνη belong the Ἡσιονῆες (see below).²³⁹ In fact, the name Ἡσιόνη seems to have its origin in pre-Homeric saga.²⁴⁰ Mazzarino, disagreeing with Wilamowitz, whom also F. Fischer follows,²⁴¹ suggests that Ἡσιόνη was by folk etymology linked with the name Ἀσία, so that the sense "the Asiatic lady" was a later addition to it and that the name Ἡσιονῆες was formed. I do agree with Mazzarino's arguments, viz. (1) that *Hesione* and *Asia* are not directly related, even in myths, and (2) the presence of the spiritus asper in the name Ἡσιόνη but its absence in the name Ἀσία definitely keep the two names apart from each other.²⁴²

Now ruled out thereby are F. Fischer's suggestions, (a) that ἀσιών and ἡσιόνη as well as ἡιόν and Ἡιόνη (Hesiod 255; Ἡιονεύς = Strymon; etc.) all signify an earth elevation, and his documentation of these identifications by referring to Boisacq as his authority,²⁴³ and (b) that Ἡιόνη and Ἡσιόνη perhaps are not very different, as well as (c) his further conclusion, while comparing Ἡσιονεῖς in Hesychius as equivalent to Ἀσιανόι, that Hesione and Asia are identical.²⁴⁴ For ἡιόν is of unknown origin, for Boisacq also,²⁴⁵ and the rest of the names are still under discussion at our time. Fischer himself had for his time declared the etymology of the name Ἀσίη uncertain,²⁴⁶ and thereby annulled his own identifications. The fact is that the marshaling of various names that offer a certain external similarity does not alone lead to their explanation; they need to undergo scrutiny and sifting.

46f. and 106f.; Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 328 note 86; Dyer, 125, assumes that the name Hesione was at home first in the Troad.

²³⁹ Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893), 2.81 with note 29; idem, *Aischylos: Interpretationen* (Berlin, 1914) 136 with note 4; cf. idem *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1931-32), 2.21 note 1.

²⁴⁰ Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 47.

²⁴¹ See F. Fischer, *Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* (1934), p. 106f.

²⁴² Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, 329 note 88.

²⁴³ É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 317, holds A. Fick's linking of ἡιόν from *ἀ[σ]ιων with OLat. *āsa*, Lat. *ara*, "earth elevation, altar" and MĪr. *ā* "elevation" to be conjectural and Froehde's from Lat. **ōsa*, *ōra* "border" a failure. Frisk, *GEW*, 1.626f., gives these references and adds V. Pisani's hypothesis of ἡιόν from Greek *αῖα*.

²⁴⁴ See Fischer, *loc. cit.*

²⁴⁵ Boisacq, *loc. cit.*

²⁴⁶ Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 47 note 6. — Erroneous also is his conclusion that Εὐρώπη and Ἀσίη turn out to be Chthonian goddesses (p. 142); this is simply forcing the evidence.

Ἡσιονῆες. —

The Esioneis were Lydian Maeonians, living near Sardis,²⁴⁷ and Asiatic Greeks.²⁴⁸ The ethnic Ἡσιονῆες, attested indirectly in Callinus, the elegiac poet of the seventh cent. B.C.,²⁴⁹ was the name of a tribe, otherwise attested as Ἀσιάς φυλή in Herodotus (middle of the fifth cent. B.C.).²⁵⁰ This name Ἡσιονῆες was clearly influenced by the linking of Ἀσία with the name Ἡσιόνη.²⁵¹ R. Dyer's claim of high antiquity in the Caÿster plain²⁵² for the name Ἡσιονεῖς is based on Wilamowitz.²⁵³ Many of these names are of course very ancient but what interests us here is how high their antiquity is; neither Wilamowitz nor Dyer has supported their opinion. As far as we can say, Ἡσιονῆες was probably known to Callinus.

The indication of the followers of Demetrius Skepsius, as recorded in Strabo (13.4.8), that the Ionic vocalism in Ἡσιονῆες is the recent development from Ἀσιονεῖς is taken seriously by Wilamowitz when he states that to Ἡσιόνη "die

²⁴⁷ Strabo 13.4.8.

²⁴⁸ Hesychius (ed. K. Latte, 2.297, No. 96), s.v. Ἡσιονεῖς: οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντες "Ἐλληνας (Callinus *fr.* 5).

²⁴⁹ E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica graeca*,³ 1 (1949), p. 3. Cf. Strabo 14.1.40: καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν ἀρδην ἀνααιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικῶ ἔθνονος εὐτυχίσαντος πολλὸν χρόνον· τὸ δ' ἐξῆς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλῖνος μὲν οὖν ὡς εὐτυχοῦντων ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούτων ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους πολέμῳ. Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ἤδη φαίνεται γνωρίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφορὰν· "κλαίω τὰ Θασίων, οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά". ἔξ οὗ καὶ αὐτὸν νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν. ἄλλης δὲ τινος ἐφόδου τῶν Κιμμερίων μέμνηται πρεσβυτέρως ὁ Καλλῖνος, ἐπὶ ἄν φησι· "νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὄβριμοεργῶν". ἐν ἧ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν δηλοῖ. And 13.4.8: Φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης ἀλῶναι τὰς Σάρδεας ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν καὶ Λυκίων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλῖνον δηλοῦν τὸν τῆς ἐλεγεῖας ποιητὴν, ὕστατα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Κροίσου γενέσθαι ἄλωσιν. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλίνου τὴν ἐφοδὸν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡσιονῆας γενομένην καθ' ἣν αἱ Σάρδεες ἐάλωσαν, εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σικήψιον ἰαστὶ λέγεσθαι Ἡσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς (cf. Demetrius Skepsius, 41, ed. Gaede)· "τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μηρόνια", φησὶν, "Ἀσία ἐλέγετο, καθ' ὃ καὶ Ὀμηρὸς εἴρηκεν· Ἀσία ἐν λειμῶνι Καύστριον ἀμφὶ βέεθρα". In other words, Callinus recalls the earlier invasion of the Cimmerians, indicating the capture of Sardis (14.1.40); the Esioneis were attacked by the Cimmerians and the city of Sardis fell (13.4.8); the School of Demetrius of Skepsis thought that the Asioneis were called by Callinus the *Esioneis*, i.e. that the name Ἡσιονεῖς is the Ionic form with the vocalism η (for α) of an *Ἀσιονεῖς in the Ionic speech territory.

²⁵⁰ Herodot. 4.45.3: καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδεισι φυλὴν κεκλήσθαι Ἀσιάδα. — Hesychius has Ἀσιάς· ἡ <τρίγορδος> κιθάρα διὰ τὸ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ εὐρῆσθαι. And the editor suspects ἡ Ἀσιάς κιθάρα in place of ἡ Ἀσία κιθάρα in: *Scholium in Apollonium Rhodium*, 2.777, ed. C. Wendel (Berolini, 1935), p. 187.

²⁵¹ Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 330 note 111.

²⁵² Dyer, 125.

²⁵³ U. v. Wilamowitz, *Aischylos: Interpretationen* (Berlin, 1914), 136 note 4: "Ἡσιονῆες sind älter als Ἀσιῆται."

Asiatin" belong the Ἡσιονῆες, according to the vocalism, while Ἄσιος Ὑγρακίδης and Ἄσιου λειμών in the Iliad have preserved the old, original, vowel *α* intact.²⁵⁴

Ἡσιονία. —

The area of Sardis was called Ἡσιονία, as we learn from Stephanus Byzantius.²⁵⁵

The evidence, if any, that Ἡσιονία, derived from Ἄσια is late and rather philological as it is found in Stephanus Byzantius 304.15: Ἡσιονία, ἡ Σάρδεων χώρα, ἡ καὶ Ἄσια. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἡσιονεύς. With this is to be compared the scholiast of Apoll. Rhod. 2.777: ὅτε δεῦρο δι' Ἀσίδος ἠπείροιο: τῆς Λυδίας λέγει. Ἄσια γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Λυδία. καὶ Ὅμηρος (B 461): Ἄσιφ ἐν λειμῶνι. κτλ.²⁵⁶ My personal thinking is that the name Ἡσιονία looks like a late creation to suit Ἄσια, i.e. to the pair Ἀσιονεῖς: Ἡσιονεῖς, a new name Ἡσιον-ία was set up to signify Ἄσια.

*

Of these three names, the two seem to be of importance. Let us see whether they are explicable. Ἡσιονῆες (and -εῖς) and Ἡσιόνη could belong together in spite of the spiritus asper of the latter, if this has indeed retained original aspiration, while Ἡσιονῆες has lost it due to Aeolic psilosis, as was the case with Ἀσσός from Ἀσσός. The ethnicon Ἡσιονῆες has been traced to Ἀσία²⁵⁷ and more precisely equated with Ἄσιονεῖς 'inhabitants of Asia (= Lydia), Lydians'²⁵⁸ with Ionic *η*-changed from Proto-Greek *α*; the same Ἡσιονῆες was also analyzed as influenced by the personal name Ἡσιόνη, this in turn being identified with Ἄσια.²⁵⁹ There are difficulties, however, in such an interpretation of the names and one difficulty in tracing the names Ἡσ- to Ἀσίτης m. (Herodot. 4.45), name of a Lydian king, is that Ἄσιος and Ἀσίτη never appear in Ionic as Ἡσιος and Ἡσία.²⁶⁰

On the etymology, therefore, it seems to me best to follow the suggestion of Heubeck: both Ἡσιόνη and Ἡσιονῆες perhaps are derived from a non-Greek stem **hāss-*, whence the name *Assos* (Ἀσσός: Ἡήσσιοι, Ἡσσός in Locris: Ἡσσιος) of the city in the Troas and Ἀσσάων as well as the Homeric name Ἄσιος of men from Abydos, Troy, and Arisbe²⁶¹ are explained.

²⁵⁴ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893), 2.181 with note 29.

²⁵⁵ Steph. Byz. Ἡσιονία, ἡ Σάρδεων χώρα, ἡ καὶ Ἄσια. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἡσιονεύς. The editor, Aug. Meineke, correctly adds about the ethnicon this: *apertum est hoc gentile ad Ἡσιονία, sed ad Ἡσιόνη revocandum esse*. For the form expected would have been *Ἡσιόνιος or *Ἡσιονεύς.

²⁵⁶ *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*, recensuit C. Wendel (Berolini, 1935), p. 187.

²⁵⁷ Demetrius of Skepsis in Strabo 13.4.8.

²⁵⁸ Strabo 13.4.8.

²⁵⁹ Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 45 note 86.

²⁶⁰ Cf. the fleeting remark of J. Chadwick, *Mimos* 5 (1957), 125.

²⁶¹ See above, p. 52 note 233; Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 477f.; idem, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 72.

Both Ἡσιόνῃ and Ἡσιονῆες show an extension with the suffix *-on-*, as is observed in Lat. *Iliona* (from Pacuvius on), this from *Ilios*, and the Homeric Ἰλιονῆα (acc. sing., *Il.* 14.489).²⁶² Heubeck finds the termination *-ιονεύς* in Ἰλιονεύς and, for the termination *-ιόνῃ* in Ἡσιόνῃ, he compares one parallel: Καβρ-ιόνῃς²⁶³

7. *Asia derived from Hittite Assuwa*

The Hittite name *Assuwa* (usually transcribed *Aššūwa*) is attested in *KUB XXIII 11 II 33*; *14 II 9*: the Annals of Tudhaliyas IV (ca. 1235 B.C.), a report on the campaign of that ruler and a victory over the “land of Assuwa,” a league which is mentioned for the first time and made up of twenty-two countries, some among these displaying the suffix *-uwa* (*Kispuwa*, *Halluwa*) and *-iwa* (. . . *iwa*).²⁶⁴ The text makes the appearance of a Hittite king in Lydia at least probable.²⁶⁵

A highly interesting and very promising identification of the name Ἰασία in Greek records with Hittite *Assuwa* and relevant etymology, first advanced by the ingenious Hittitologist Emil Forrer in 1924, has been under discussion since, for four decades. It was favorably accepted by P. Kretschmer (1924), who elaborated on details of the equation, as well as by W. Brandenstein (1935),²⁶⁶ as “very plausible” by F. Schachermeyr (1935) and K. Bittel (1939), under reservation and a condition by F. Sommer (1932), tentatively by A. Goetze with regard to localization (1933, 1957),²⁶⁷ defended by H. Bossert (1946), and approved by S. Mazzarino (1947), J. L. Myres (1953), D. Page (1959), and A. Heubeck (1954, 1961). The identification was rejected by J. Friedrich (1927) and W. F. Albright (1950), by the latter both on linguistic and historical

²⁶² Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (1916), 87 note 2 (with caution); cf. H. Jacobsohn, *KZ* 57 (1929–30), 89 note 1.

²⁶³ Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 477.

²⁶⁴ On the name *Assuwa*: Bossert, *Asia* (1946), 27, 40, 67–70; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London, 1959), 105–107 [according to these authors, p. 106, the confederacy of Assuwa lay to the north of the Arzawa countries]. The name *Halluwa* is compared with *Hallawa* elsewhere (H.G. Güterbock, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, 43.323); so Garstang and Gurney, *op. cit.*, 106; cf. E. Laroche, *RHA* 19 (1961), p. 78, No. 81.

²⁶⁵ Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (1935), p. 42.

²⁶⁶ W. Brandenstein, *ZONF* 11 (1935), 77.

²⁶⁷ A. Goetze on his map titled “Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit” localizes *Aššūwa* at the Hermos (Gediz) plain between Aḫḫijawa (questioned) in the north and Maša in the south; see his *Kleinasien*² (1957), facing page 228.

grounds.²⁶⁸ It is now nearly universally accepted, even in general reference works.²⁶⁹

The important points of the etymology are presented in some detail in the following.

Forrer did not mention the equation²⁷⁰ of 'es-ja = *Asia* and did not link the Egyptian name with his own suggestion. His theory, expounded in 1924, was summarily like this: the land called *Aššuwa*, occasionally recorded in the cuneiform Hittite texts, comprises the provinces Lydia, Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia Minor at the Propontis, and is to be equated with *Asia*. In presenting the evidence, Forrer referred to the Annals of Tuthalijas IV, at that time still unpublished, in which twenty-two states, designated as constituents of Assuva, are conquered by the aforementioned king.²⁷¹ Forrer reiterated his exposition some eight years²⁷² and twelve and thirteen years later.²⁷³ he still holds *Assuva* to be *Asia* and to comprise the area of Lydia, Northern Caria, Southern Phrygia, Mysia, and Phrygia Minor.²⁷⁴ A further treatment of the questions related to Assuva has not been realized by Forrer himself.²⁷⁵

F. Schachermeyr follows Forrer's suggestion as very plausible, as we have seen above,²⁷⁶ and J. Friedrich, while conceding that the origin of the name *Asia* is to be sought in Lydia, yet feels that Forrer did not advance evidence for his equation, and thinks the assumption still awaits demonstration.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁸ W. F. Albright, "Some Oriental Glosses on the Homeric Problem," *AJA* 54 (1950), 168.

²⁶⁹ Cf., e.g., E. H. W (armington), art. *Asia*, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), p. 107b: "The name was probably derived from 'Assiuva' [write *Assuva*] the Hittite designation of NW Asia Minor."

²⁷⁰ See above etymology 1, pp. 38-41.

²⁷¹ E. O. Forrer, "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *MDOG*, Nr. 63 (1924), 6f., 16.

²⁷² E. Forrer, art. *Assuva*, *Reallex. d. Assyriol.* 1 (1928-32), 227.

²⁷³ E. Forrer equates "Assuva = Groß-Lydien" in *Mélanges Cumont* (1936), p. 712 note 1; cf. *Klio* 30 (1937), 181.

²⁷⁴ Forrer, *Reallex. d. Assyriol.*, 1.227.

²⁷⁵ Promised by Forrer: "Nähere Behandlung folgt in: E. Forrer, *Forschungen*, I, 3. Heft." This intent remained unfulfilled.

²⁷⁶ Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (1935), p. 68 note 1. Based on Forrer and Schachermeyr is C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (Oxford, 1938), p. 33.

²⁷⁷ J. Friedrich, "Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?," *KF* 1 (1927-30), 100 note 4.

Kretschmer approved of Forrer's theory and supported it with his own suggestion that the Greek speakers replaced the termination *-uwa* in the name *Assuva* for a country by their familiar suffix *-ia*,²⁷⁸ like – I submit – Αἰτωλία, Βοιωτία, Θεσσαλία, Ἰταλία, Μακεδονία, etc. On the other hand, Sommer finds the interpretation not convincing but gives no reasons for his objection. A second aspect was contributed by him; though very rigorous in judging similar matters, he considers the identification of the two names as possible under the condition that the native (Hittite) population pronounced the name *Assuva* as *Asüa*, in which case Gr. ι /i/ was substituted by Greek speakers for the vowel *ü*.²⁷⁹ Though his approval of the equation, even under a condition, is welcome,²⁸⁰ yet facts from Mycenaean Greek do not warrant Sommer's claim for the pronunciation *Asüa*.²⁸¹

By the way, Dyer, criticizing Kretschmer's (1924) and Sommer's (1932) philological arguments, finds these not altogether convincing, i.e. that Greek speakers could replace the Hittite termination *-uwa* with their own *-ia* (Kretschmer) and that Greek and Hittite had rendered differently a local pronunciation *-ya* (which latter D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 1959, accepted after the discovery and the decipherment of the Linear B tablets).²⁸² It is of course easy for us after 1952 to criticize Kretschmer and Sommer but we ought to be judicious and respect and admire their scholarly judgment, also in this specific matter, because they were able, each through his genius and rigorous method, to come very close to details of the solution.

²⁷⁸ P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 13 (1924), 213.

²⁷⁹ F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* (1932), 362 note 1 [Forrer's equation *Assuva* = Ἀσία is "lautlich unter einer besonderen Voraussetzung möglich"]; 370 note 1: Phrygian possessed the phoneme *ü* which is rendered in Greek as *u* or *i*, e.g. Βρύγες and Βρίγες; of Hittite names, *Marušta* and *Marišta* are compared. So N. Jokl, art. *Phryger*, M. Eberts *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte* 10 (1927–28), 146 b.

²⁸⁰ Cf. D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959), p. 104: The kingdom of *Assuva* has been sited in a region that was known to the Greeks as Ἀσία and the latter name is earliest associated with the district of the River Cayster and, north thereof, the territory of Sardis.

²⁸¹ It may be noted that F. Sommer considers the name Εὐρώπη pre-Greek; *IF* 55 (1937), 185 note 1; 256f. However, this in itself does not equal an explanation; it merely conveniently and speculatively evades the question of the explanation.

²⁸² Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), 121 note 14.

It appeared, up to the early 1950's, that the deduction of *Assuva* being Ἀσία, as suggested by Forrer and discussed by other scholars, was either excluded or at least seriously doubted.²⁸³ A case in point is Bittel's caution and desideratum. Having in mind the historical standpoint, he considers desirable clarification as to why the concept *Asia* had been taken by the Greeks only in the fifth century B.C. and how it could be understood at the same time as the name for a much wider territory than *Assuva* designated.²⁸⁴ However, Bittel's caution, praised as masterly by W. Otto,²⁸⁵ may be understandable but, from the viewpoint of historical geography and, especially, from the onomastic point of view, is unwarranted because the author was not well informed. E.g. Ἀσιος λειμών in Homer is hardly irrelevant in the discussion of the name Ἀσία. Numerous geographic names, furthermore, display changes in form and changes in semantic content that have come up in their long history and these changes are inexplicable through archaeology alone. The present exposition of general aspects and of etymological matters hopefully illustrates this point. We may, of course, add that we are now better prepared to discuss the name than were scholars a generation ago. In substance, S. Mazzarino has answered Bittel's questions.²⁸⁶

Mazzarino weighs the process by which *Assuva*, in which *u* would be *ü*, developed into *Asüa*, as Sommer had proposed, and the change to Ἀσίῤα (*Asiva* was recorded in Cappadocia) and Ἀσία.²⁸⁷ J. L. Myres hesitatingly opines that *Assuva* was the basis for Greek Ἀσία.²⁸⁸ And it was generally agreed that the name *Assuva* was to be regarded as the prototype for the name *Asia*.²⁸⁹

This situation, however, changed since the revolutionary developments in the 1950's resulting from the decipherment of the Mycenaean Linear B tablet texts, in which name forms resembling *Assuva* were read and studied.

²⁸³ Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), 47.

²⁸⁴ K. Bittel, *AOF* 13 (1940), 193 with note 31.

²⁸⁵ W. Otto, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens* (1941), p. 20 note 1.

²⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, 47f.

²⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, 239 note 88.

²⁸⁸ J. L. Myres, "Kleinasien," *Historia Mundi* 2 (1953), p. 463 [chapter: "Das zweite Reich der Hettiter," pp. 462-467].

²⁸⁹ Cf. Garstang and Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959), p. 107.

The localization of *Assuva* cannot be fixed unequivocally.²⁹⁰ Thus *Assuva* was "Great Lydia" according to Forrer (1936),²⁹¹ and to the district Tunta (= Ninoe = Aphrodisias) of *Assuva* there belongs also North Caria.²⁹² E. Cavaignac²⁹³ thought of the land *Assuva* as being situated between the Hittite and the Achaean monarchies, perhaps in the valley of the Maeander, not far from the Aegean coast,²⁹⁴ and located it along the Caÿster river.²⁹⁵ Another scholar hesitatingly suggests for it the north of Pamphylia.²⁹⁶ Hrozný prefers Mysia,²⁹⁷ and Goetze the Northwest of Asia Minor in the gap between Arzawa and Kaska lands.²⁹⁸ For R. Dyer the name Ἀσία was possibly used of a pre-Lyidian kingdom known to the Hittites as *Assuva* and may be equated (through *Hesione* and the homes assigned to heroes by the name Ἀσιος in the *Iliad*) with the Troad kingdom; but it remains doubtful, says he, to what extent the new kingdom of Asia was coextensive with the old league of *Assuva*, the reason for this doubt being that much of the earlier Greek evidence implies that the name *Asia* was first at home in the Troad.²⁹⁹ There is, however, agreement among most scholars on one point, that the land *As-*

²⁹⁰ Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* (1932), p. 362; cf. Heubeck, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 116 [review of D. Page's *History and the Homeric Iliad*].

²⁹¹ E. Forrer, "Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche," *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'hist. orient. et slaves, 4) (Bruxelles, 1936), p. 712 note 1.

²⁹² Idem, "Kilikien zur Zeit des Hatti-Reiches," *Klio* 30 (1937), 181 note 1.

²⁹³ E. Cavaignac, who gave a translation of the fragments "Les Annales de Šubuiluliuma," *Revue des études anciennes* 32 (1930), 229-44, gives *Assuva* in *RHA* 3 (1934), plate 1, map.

²⁹⁴ E. Cavaignac, *Subbiluliuma et son temps* (Paris, 1932), pp. 42, 91.

²⁹⁵ E. Cavaignac, *ibid.*, before page 1: on a map (carte du monde hittite, 1400 to 1350 B.C.). Concerning the period, be it noted that Suppiluliuma I (died ca. 1340 B.C.) was contemporary with Amenophis IV; see E. Laroche, "Chronologie hittite: état de questions," *Anadolu* (Paris) 2 (1955), pp. 12, 15.

²⁹⁶ R. Ranzoszek, "Die sogen. Annalen des hethitischen Königs Tuthalijas (IV)," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 9 (1933), 112.

²⁹⁷ B. Hrozný, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens* (1940), p. 129; so also W. F. Albright, *AJA* 54 (1950), 168f.

²⁹⁸ A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*² (1957), p. 180 = ¹(1933), p. 163. The author says nothing about the origin of the name *Assuva* itself.

²⁹⁹ R. Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), 121f. and 132. The evidence of *Hesione* and *Asios* is nonexistent, as is shown elsewhere in the present exposition and particularly because *Hesione* and *Asios* are unrelated to *Aswia* = Ἀσία. Note also that *Assuva* at the Hellespont is attested late; see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 290.

suwa has to be sought in West Anatolia, so, e.g., Forrer, Goetze, and Schachermeyr,³⁰⁰ to mention a few. The consensus has further been that Assuva was rather the area that, later in history, was called Lydia.³⁰¹ Bossert's interpretation is that Hittite *Assuva* designated a kingdom that comprised for a time almost all of the west coast of Anatolia; when the Mycenaean Greeks immigrated to that region ca. 1500 B.C.,³⁰² they heard the name from the natives; at ca. 1200 B.C. (Peoples Movement) the concept *Asia* narrowed down to the region later known as Lydia.³⁰³

The Greeks did not come to Asia Minor so early but the process, that the Greeks heard the name *Assuva* and adapted it to their own language, is realistic. Bossert's narrowing down of 'Ασία to Lydia is of course an answer to Bittel's desire for clarification. But I do not agree on the point made in such a way that we have to accept *Assuva* = 'Ασία not only in the form but also in the extent of the territory. The workings in naming and use of names are more complex than to demand for the historical past linear solutions like that. No, the name 'Ασία, taken over by the Greeks, could be employed by them in a different sense than *Assuva* had been used. In addition, scholars tend to forget that Gr. 'Ασ-ία is a Greek name formation and not a copy of *Assuva*.³⁰⁴

In conclusion, the equation 'Ασία = *Assuva* is almost universally accepted as plausible, and more so now than it was nearly half a century ago (1924).³⁰⁵ The reason for this is, certainly, the fact that more data have been made available through the two discoveries of records, Hittite and Mycenaean, and their publication as well as some other Anatolian materials, and a sharper refinement of the linguistic and philological method has been attained.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (1935), p. 95.

³⁰¹ Cf. E. Forrer, *loc. cit.* Bossert, *Asia* (1946), pp. IV and 67; S. Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), 47; cf. Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958), p. 453 note 1; A. Heubeck, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), p. 116.

³⁰² The date 1500 B.C. for the appearance of Greeks in Asia Minor was accepted by W. Brandenstein, art. *Kleinasiatische Ursprachen*, *RE, Supplem.* 6 (1935), 178.

³⁰³ Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. IV.

³⁰⁴ Thus, R. Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), 132, insists that *Asia* appears to be a local "Anatolian" name, but he owes us the demonstration of his hypothesis.

³⁰⁵ Cf. also Dyer, *ibid.*, 121.

³⁰⁶ The Luvian divine name *Aššiya-* (E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue luvite* [Paris, 1959], p. 126) may or may not be related to *Assuva*.

Note on Ahhijavā

This context leads us to the intricate question of *Ahhijavā*, which has been discussed in numerous books and articles.³⁰⁷ The name occurs in nearly twenty Hittite cuneiform texts (diplomatic documents) of the Boğazköy Archives, the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Its interpretation is twofold. *Ahhijavā* possibly has *ija* representing the phoneme *i* in cuneiform Hittite³⁰⁸ and, according to L. Deroy, the form representing *Ahhīwa* could have a variant **Ahhaiwa* = Greek 'Αχαιῶτες,³⁰⁹ and designated the Mycaeneans who were the lords of the Aegean for two centuries (1400–1200 B.C.); and the name was, as Deroy suggests, an early geographic and political appellation without any linguistic value in origin, there being no safe link to specify the meaning of the word.³¹⁰

Still better, *Ahhijavā* is identified with Greek *'Αχαιῶτα /akhaiwīā/ meaning "region of the Achaeans," and this identification appears to be more plausible. The name *akawija*, which was found recorded on one single Mycenaean tablet from Knossos C 914 in the relative form *akawijade* = 'Αχαιῶτανδε, is probably a local Cretan place name.³¹¹ The identification of *Ahhijavā* with Mycenae,³¹² since 'Αχαιῶτα was once 'Peloponnesus',³¹³ or possibly with Rhodes,³¹⁴ on which island a place name 'Αχάτα is attested (and Rhodes was Achaean from the time Knossos had a Greek dynasty, i.e. from 1460 B.C.), was advanced by the historian F. Scha-

³⁰⁷ Nearly 50 items were listed by 1955: O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (London, 1952), 226f.; Louis Deroy, "L'origine préhellénique de quelques noms de peuples méditerranéens," *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (Bruxelles, 1955 = Annuaire de l'Institut de philol. et d'hist. orientales et slaves, XIII), p. 94 note 1. More than ten items were added since.

³⁰⁸ J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1940), 1.5, § 14a; cf. Deroy, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (1955), p. 93.

³⁰⁹ Cyprian 'Αχαιῶτες was supposed to be read on a syllabic inscription of Abydos; O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté* (Paris, 1961), No. 405, considers the reading *sa-ka-i-wo-se* doubtful.

³¹⁰ Deroy, *op. cit.*, p. 94. — The maritime *Ahhijavā* perhaps were, according to S. Marinatos ("Περὶ τὸν πρῶτον 'Αχαιῶν ἐποικισμὸν τῆς Κρήτης," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15–16 [1961–62, published in 1963], 3, p. 190f.), the Pylians, i.e. Arcadian Achaeans and Minyans.

³¹¹ 'Αχάτα as a town name in Crete has been attested (*Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 4.175). Then the historical anthroponym 'Αχαιός is found also as *akawo* on a Knossos tablet (KN X 738) = 'Αχαιῶτες. The *-de* is found also in *konosode C* 5753 + 7046 + [X] 7630 = Κνωσσόνδε, as recalled by C. J. Ruigh, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (Amsterdam, 1967), p. 181, note 420.

³¹² So Schachermeyr, *Minoica, Festschrift f. J. Sundwall* (1958), 365ff.; S. Dow, *AJP* 83 (1962), 96 [review of Page's *History and the Homeric Iliad*]; cf. L. A. Stella, *La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei* (Roma, 1965), p. 28f.

³¹³ D. J. Georgacas, "A Contribution to the Study of Greek Toponymy. I," *Names* 7 (1959), 79–83. The name 'Αχαιῶτα may have stood originally for the Peloponnesus; cf. W. Porzig, *IF* 61 (1954), 167.

³¹⁴ Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*; A. Heubeck, *OLZ* 50 (1955), 133; D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 1–40.

chermeyr.³¹⁵ In any case, *Akhaiwiā* originally meant "land of the Achaeans, Achaean land." The equation Ἀχαιῶνα = Hittite *Aḫḫijavā* = Egyptian *Akajwaša* ('aqajawaš),³¹⁶ combined with the more recently uncovered *akawija* (in *akawijade* = Ἀχαιῶναδε),³¹⁷ cannot be a mere coincidence.

We may, therefore, now be quite reasonably safe in having identified one more of four great Anatolian states (the four being Hatti, Kizzuvatna, *Aḫḫijavā*, and Assuva), which still existed in the second half of the second millennium B.C., that is, *Assuva*. Its location is approximately determined on the basis of evidence from cuneiform Hittite and Egyptian texts as well as of the Greek tradition on Asia.

8. From Hieroglyphic Hittite

Bossert suggested that *Asi-ja* (*Asi-ia*) was derived from the Hieroglyphic Hittite word *āsī* "good" with the aid of the suffix *-(j)a*, which corresponds to the Hittite suff. *-(u)wa* in *Assuwa*,³¹⁸ so that these names would have the sense "good soil" and the triple equation Ἀσία = *Assuva* = *'es-ja* is received.³¹⁹ The author further suggests that, at least in the second half of the second millennium B.C., Assuva was inhabited in part by Hieroglyphic Hittites,³²⁰ but there is hardly evidence to prove or make such a suggestion probable. The author presents also Hieroglyphic Hittite *āsī-* "to love" and partic. *āsī-s* (from *āsīnts*) "loving" and HH name *Ašit* "the loving one." On the established fact that the Hieroglyphic Hittite is part of Luvian and on related matters, see addenda, p. 83 f.

9. From Luvian, etc.

H. Bossert drew attention to the place name suffix *-wa* in examples such as *Adanawa*, *Arzawa*, *Istanuwa*, *Tuwanuwa*, and *Wat-*

³¹⁵ See notes 312 and 314; Page, *loc. cit.*; G. L. Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites* (Oxford, 1960), 44f.

³¹⁶ Egyptian *Aqaiwasha* on the inscription of Karnak; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents*, ed. J. H. Breasted (Chicago, 1906-07), 3.574 and 579, pp. 241 and 243; cf. also p. 239 note a (reign of Merneptah, ca. 1225-1215 B.C.). The transliteration is *'-k'-w'-š* and Breasted writes the name *Ek-wesh* in English.

³¹⁷ On Mycenaean *akawijade* = Ἀχαιῶναδε see Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents* (1956), 141, 148; Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis lexicon* (1963), p. 8; cf. J. Chadwick and Baumbach, *Glotta* 41 (1963), 178; cf. idem, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 57; Mario Doria, *Avvicinamento allo studio del miceneo* (Rome, 1965), p. 247; C. J. Ruigh, *Études* (above, note 311), p. 181. It is the suggestion only of L. R. Palmer, *Gnomon* 29 (1957), 565, that *akawijade* should be an anthroponymic.

³¹⁸ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), pp. 69, 177. So earlier also Heubeck, *Historia* 2 (1954), 477, with reference to Bossert, *Asia*, p. 69. ³¹⁹ Bossert, *Asia*, p. 177. ³²⁰ *Ibid.*

tarwa, and pointed out the coincidental distribution of the *-wa* and *-assa-* names.³²¹ With reference to Bossert, I. J. Gelb wrote on the prolific suffix *-uwa* in geographic names in Anatolia in Cappadocian and cuneiform records.³²² Then, beside Heubeck's statement that names with a *-u-*stem such as Μινόαι and Φλέγυες belong to a pre-Hellenic Indo-European linguistic stratum, called otherwise Pelasgian, related perhaps to Luvian,³²³ it was L. R. Palmer who observed the place names in *-wa* that are recorded in Linear B tablets such as *Apatawa*, *A2ratuwa*, *Risowa*, *Roowa*, etc., and he has linked these Mycenaean names to the Luvian place names in support of his Luvian hypothesis.³²⁴

If this is so, then the Hittite name *Assuwa* also could possibly be of Luvian origin. The appearances are obvious but real evidence is too flimsy to allow us to reach a reasonable decision generally or on the specific name *Assuwa*.

10. *Bossert's combinations for an etymology*

H. Bossert, who rendered very useful service to our research work through his important monograph on Asia, with all the materials at hand was still unable to present a satisfactory explanation for the name *Asia* or a clear-cut view on it. The term "combinations," in

³²¹ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), pp. 40 ff., 60. — Luvian is the oldest source of the suff. *-assa-*, which is found on Cappadocian tablets (end of the third millennium B.C.); see W. Brandenstein, *ZONF* 11 (1935), 71; on *-assa* place names, idem, art. *Kleinasiatische Ursprachen*, *RE Supplem.* VI (1935), coll. 177 f.; more sifted material on *-ssa* from Hittite records: E. Laroche, "Notes de toponymie anatolienne," *MNHMH Σ XAPIN*, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*, 2 (1957), 1–7 [he concludes, p. 7, that the theory of a pre-IE substratum in Anatolia cannot be based on the place names in *-ssa*]. On *-σσος* names in Greece, A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), 50. See addenda, 84 f.

³²² I. J. Gelb, "A Contribution to the Proto-Indo-European Question," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 2 (1952–53), 32 f. — Names in *-wa* (as mountain names and city names), were listed from Hittite records by Liane Jakob-Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen, II. Teil," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin; Deutsche Akademie d. Wiss.) 9 (1963), 221–229. — *Isuwa* is located east of the Euphrates at the Tigris' headwaters; see H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma etc.," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10 (1956), 125 a; cf. idem, "The North-Central Area of Hittite Anatolia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 20 (1961), 85 b.

³²³ Heubeck, *op. cit.* (1961), p. 36.

³²⁴ L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaean and Minoan* (1961), p. 245. However, the findings of Laroche are that linguistic origin of the suff. *-ssa* in cuneiform Hittite records cannot be sought in Luvian only (see above, note 321).

the present heading, about Bossert's attempts at explanation, used by Heubeck,³²⁵ characterizes the multiplicity of suggestions, interesting but some superficial, that have not resulted in any one solid or probable solution.

The location of *Assuva* is, according to Bossert, approximately determined on the basis of evidence from cuneiform Hittite and Egyptian texts as well as of the Greek tradition on *Asia*.³²⁶

Bossert's multiple suggestions are as follows:

- (1) from Hittite *āsī-* "to love";
- (2) from Hittite *āsī* "Heil, Gutes" with the particle *-ua* of direct discourse;
- (3) *Asija* with suff. *-ja* from Hittite *āsī* neut. sing. "Heil, Gutes" = *Assuva* from Hitt. *asu-* (usually transcribed *aššu-*);
- (4) *Asuva* and *Asi(j)a* are two dialectal pronunciations of the same name;
- (5) *Asuva* renders original name *Asia*;
- (6) *Asuva* is a folk-etymological adaptation of *Asia*;
- (7) original Hittite *Assuva* changed later into *Asia*.³²⁷

Bossert seems to favor, however, the equation of the stems *aššu-* and *asi-*.³²⁸

While leaving out the Hieroglyphic Hittite connections, ³²⁹ I may summarize a few details of the above listed combinations:

The land name *Asia* may have originated from Hittite *asi(j)a*. The Hittite *aššija-* "to love," recalling to Bossert the name *Asia*, actually occurs side by side with *assuwa-* "to love," and parallel derivatives from both *assij-* und *assuy-*.³³⁰ In addition, etymological connection between *assija-* and *assu-* had been suggested.³³¹ Bossert mentions the cuneiform Hittite *Ašiat* "the beloved one" in comparison with Hieroglyphic words and the HH name *Ašit* "the loving one."³³²

³²⁵ A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca*, p. 73 note 76.

³²⁶ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), p. 177.

³²⁷ Bossert, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.

³²⁸ Bossert, *op. cit.*, 70.

³²⁹ On these see p. 63 and addenda, p. 83 f.

³³⁰ Such parallels are listed by Bossert, *op. cit.*, 61–63. Note that *š* and *šš* being graphic represent IE *-s-*.

³³¹ J. Friedrich, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol., N.F.*, 5.41 note 21; 51 note 1; idem, *IF* 41 (1923), 371.

³³² Cf. above, p. 63.

In Bossert's opinion, it is demonstrable that *asi-* in another Hittite dialect is equivalent in sense to *aššu-*. The word *āsi*, which is read in lead letters (Bleibriefe) – and followed by a name in the dative – is taken by the author as neut. sing. of adj. **āsīs* and equivalent to *aššu-*.³³³

Bossert doubts the parallel identity of *assuwa-* and *assija-*. So, he thinks, examples of interchanging vocalism *i/u* may lend support to the equation *Assuwa = Asia*; thereby, the name *Assuwa* may be the Hittite rendering of *Asia*, or *Asuva* and *Asi(j)a* are two dialectal pronunciations of one and the same name; or, in case *Assuwa* does derive from *assu-* "good," then *Asija* is from dial. Hitt. *asi-* "good" with suff. *-ja*.³³⁴

On the above, let Heubeck's remark suffice that the forms with *i* in the above forms may be secondary formation on the original *u*-forms.³³⁵

In another respect, the name *Assuwa* could, according to Bossert, have been taken over by the Hittites from non-Hittite speakers when the name had already acquired this same form (*Assuwa*). In the *Assuwa* territory itself this name could have changed to *Asia* at a later date.³³⁶

The author would, furthermore, not exclude folk-etymology being at work about the name, whereby the original name, being *Asia*, was assimilated into the already existing name *Assuwa*, which accidentally showed a close resemblance to *Asia*.³³⁷

All these suggestions and remarks, useful as they may be, are too many and divergent possibilities to yield the one desirable interpretation and, in fact, have not resulted in a conclusive etymology of the name on Bossert's part.

VI. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NAME ASIA

There are two significant developments that render our work in interpreting and explaining the name *Asia* easier today. The first is a matter of methodology in onomastics, an important point of a methodical principle; and the second is the fresh material that came to light through two great discoveries of the twentieth century, one in Anatolia and the other in Greece.

³³³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 69 and 148.

³³⁴ *Op. cit.*, 67–69.

³³⁵ Heubeck, *Praegraeca*, p. 73 note 76.

³³⁶ Bossert, *op. cit.*, 69.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

In considering the list of these names, we have to take into serious account an important point of methodical principle, viz. whether the name under consideration is a *primary name* or a *secondary name*³³⁸ and, in the etymological explanation of the names, we ought to focus our attention on the primary name rather than on its derivative forms, derivative meanings and uses. Many a scholar has overlooked this principle both in other areas and in the case of the names of the continents. Examples from our present investigation are these: the name 'Αστῆ of a goddess, whose worship is supposed to have been imported from Colchis to Laconia (Pausan. 3.24.5) and is rather an epithet of Athena (if so, the full name was 'Αστῆ 'Αθήνη); 'Αστῆ, appearing as mother of Atlas, Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Menoitios,³³⁹ while Hesiod (*Theog.* 508) has Klymene and Aeschylus (*Prom.* 18, 209, 1091) has the old earth goddess Themis as that mother, is obviously a secondary name; the name 'Αστῆ here is replacing earlier names, Klymene and Themis. Similarly, the name 'Ασία for an Oceanid³⁴⁰ is secondary. The man's name 'Αστῆς, son of Kotys, which seems to derive from 'Αστῆ, is equally secondary. These names, therefore, should not be entered into etymological considerations. The name 'Ασία for the land area in Anatolia is the primary name since it represents Hittite *Assuwa*, this used also for a region in Anatolia. The mythological name 'Ασία is a derivative of the geographic name and therefore secondary and, as such, has no bearing on the explanation of the names for Asia Minor or for the continent of Asia.

While half a century or so ago the origin of the name *Asia* could well be considered, notwithstanding speculations that do not equal explanations, as unknown,³⁴¹ today we do have more material at our disposal to work with and sufficient, though not abundant, evidence enabling us to reach a solution not only possible but even very probable. This is, in fact, one of the results of two chance discoveries that have produced evidence, i. e. the Hittite and the Mycenaean records.

³³⁸ This principle was appropriately pointed out and discussed by Professor L. Zgusta in his paper "Some Principles of Work in the Field of the Indigenous Anthroponymy of Asia Minor," *Annali*, sez. lingu., dir. W. Belardi (Istituto Orientale di Napoli) 6 (1965), pp. 89–99; offprint, pp. 1–10.

³³⁹ Apollod. *Biblioth.* 1.8; cf. Tzetzes to Lycophron 219, 894, 1283, 1412.

³⁴⁰ Hesiod, *Theog.* 359; the same is Prometheus' wife, Herodotus 4.45.

³⁴¹ Cf., e.g., M. Gortani, art. *Asia*, *Et.* 4 (1929), 839b.

The interpretation here presented, already foreshadowed in the foregoing critical discussion of the various etymologies, is a combination of evidence advanced and suggestions brought forth by investigators. We are heavily indebted to scholars and other authorities but especially to the brilliant discoverer and founder of Mycenaean philology, Michael Ventris, and his able associate and then continuator, John Chadwick, who, *pace* sterile objections, opened up the Mycenaean evidence for us, as well as to one who lastly wrote on the subject, A. Heubeck. Of Forrer's brilliant and productive suggestions I have already spoken above. Here, therefore, I propose to present the interpretation that the labors of these and other scholars have rendered feasible.

The real solution of the problem of the name 'Ασία is not a simple affirmative or negative response to Greek or non-Greek origin, because (a) in either case the problem is very intricate, involving the interaction of Anatolian languages and Greek, and (b) the name for the Anatolian peninsula and the continent has a Greek form anyway.³⁴² What has been interesting for us is the history of the name from its beginnings to our time, including its origins. Thus we have to examine the evidence from both Greek and Hittite.

1.

It is now well attested that the initial vowel α - in "Ασιος and 'Ασία is either long or short, i.e. "Ασιος as adj. (in *Il.* 2.461) has a long initial α -³⁴³ but 'Ασίη—'Ασίᾶ have short α -³⁴⁴ as J. Wackernagel had observed and demonstrated in 1916,³⁴⁵ however, with a

³⁴² I have to disagree with Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), 132, in his statement that, in any case, *Asia* appears a local Anatolian name and it is unnecessary to look for a Greek origin, even in the Linear B inscriptions (where it is found in Greek; excluding Linear A). We must look for the true origin anywhere, with no predilection; cf. n. 360.

³⁴³ "Ασιος λειμών *Il.* 2.461, name of the Lydian district of the Caÿster valley; "Ασιος, personal name of a man from Troy (brother of Hecuba [from Phrygia], 16.717; another: 12.140, and *passim*), a Trojan ally from Arisbe (2.837), from Abydos (16.583).

³⁴⁴ 'Ασίη, 'Ασία: Mimnermos, *Fr.* 12.2, ed. Diehl³: ἱμερτήν 'Ασίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα (see above, p. 23 with note 74); Archilochos, *Iamb.*, *Fr.* 23, ed. Diehl³ (3, 1952 = 1954): ἰ — ὁ δ' 'Ασίης καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου (see above, p. 23 note 73); Sappho, *Fr.* 55a.4, ed. Diehl²; cf. also the name 'Ασίη of an Oceanid in Hesiod, *Theog.* 359.

³⁴⁵ J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen, 1916), p. 86 = *Glotta* 7.246. See above, p. 48f.

different etymology (from *Assos*) in mind. The evidence for the alternate $\bar{\alpha}$ - and $\check{\alpha}$ - forms has been evinced from the morphologically parallel adjectivized land names in Aeschylus, i.e. Ἄσις (*Pers.* 763f.: ἐν ἄνδρα... Ἀσιδος μηλοβότου ταγεῖν) and Ἀσιάς (sc. γῆ: *Pers.* 249). This quantitative alternation, furthermore, has been rendered explicable by the varying treatment a Proto-Greek original form Ἄσφιος /*áswios*/ has had in ancient dialectal Greek, resulting in Ionic *ásios* and in Attic *ásios*, both written in Greek ΑΣΙΟΣ (and in the minusele script Ἄσιος). And, as we see, Ionic Ἄσιος did not share the change of $\bar{\alpha}$ into η (i.e. to *Ἡσιος) because this $\bar{\alpha}$ was not original Gk. $\bar{\alpha}$ as in $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ -τηρ but the result of its position in Ἄσφιος (see below).

Valuable evidence from Mycenaean records deciphered just a dozen years ago (since 1956) has been very welcome. In six Mycenaean tablets from three centers, two each from Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae,³⁴⁶ the word *a-si-wi-jo* is read and, according to the rules set up by Michael Ventris for reading these texts, would be Ἄσφιος in Greek. The anthroponym Ἄσφιος is thus gained from *asiwijo* on a Knossos tablet (*Df* 1469) and on two Pylos tablets (*Cn* 285.12; *Eq* 146.11).³⁴⁷ Furthermore, what is read on a Pylian

³⁴⁶ From Knossos: *Df* 1469 + 1584; from Pylos: *Cn* 285.12 and *Eq* 146.11; from Mycenae: *Au* 653.5 + 657.11. — See *The Pylos Tablets*, ed. E. Bennett, Jr. (Princeton, 1955), 210a; J. Chadwick, "The Mycenae Tablets III," *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, N.S. 52, pt. 7 (1962), 54 and 55 [inscriptions *Au* 653.5 and 657.11: *a-si-wi-jo*. Chadwick reconstructs the Mycenaean Gr. form *Aswios*]; *Inscriptiones Pyliae ad Mycenaeam aetatem pertinentes*, edd. C. Gallavotti et A. Sacconi, (Romae, 1961), pp. 33 [*Cn* 285.12: *asiwijo* ARIES 100 [+], p. 66 [*Eq* 146.11], p. 77 [*Fr* 1206: *po-i-ni-ja asiwija*; also 1210, 1260: M. Lang ap. Bennett, *The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos* (Salamanca, 1958), p. 45]. — Cf. Anna Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae graecitatis lexicon* (Romae, 1963), p. 39, s.vv. *a-si-wi-ja* and *a-si-wi-jo* [*Aswios* — Gr. Ἄσφιος with a question mark]; J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach, "The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 41 (1963), 177, s.v. Ἄσιος [with a reference to the Cretan town name Ἄσος, this from earlier *Ἄσφος]; cf. also the entry πότνια, *ibid.*, p. 238; M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 416 [*Aswios*, and town name Ἄσος in Crete with a question mark]; O. Landau, *Mycenisch-griechische Personennamen* (Göteborg, 1958), pp. 29, 216, 269; A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), 71.

³⁴⁷ Whether this is from the name *Ἄσφος of the later Cretan city Ἄσος or not (a form of *Aswos* is seen in *asiwei* PY *An* 18; Palmer, *Interpretation* [1963], 132f. and 250) has not been and probably cannot be decided. See, on the other hand, the discussion by J. Chadwick, *Minos* 5 (1957), 125; cf. M. Lejeune, "Sur le vocabulaire économique mycénien," *Mycenaean Studies Wingspread*, 1961, ed. E. L. Bennett, Jr. (Madison, 1964), p. 104 note 68.

tablet as *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* (Fr 1206) is transcribed as *Potniāi Aswiāi*, i.e. Ποτνια Ἀσφιῶι = Ποτνια Ἀσία, dat. sing., meaning "to the Aswian Lady (or Mistress)," "to the Asiatic Mistress," i.e. a mother goddess; Ἀσφιῶ then is an epithet applied to Πότνια.³⁴⁸

To Palmer's Ἀσφιῶ from Ἀσφίως ← Ἀσφος Dyer (PP 20 [1965], 116f.) offered an alternative: a primary name **Asiwe* (Ἀσίφη) and therefrom Ἀσφί (— —); to document this he parades wellknown recorded names, Ἀσιβᾶ in Cappadocian (Ptolem. 5.6.10), Ἀσφί of the mountain in Laconia (Pausan. 3.24.6), Ἀσία of a city in Lydia (Steph. Byz.; the entry Ἡσιονία from Demetrius of Skepsis fr. 42, ed. Gaede, identifies this Ἀσία as a Σάρδεων χώρα. This latter, Dyer [117 note 4] reasons, may annul the value of the former reference), and perhaps the Oceanid name Ἀσφί in Hesiod, *Theog.* 359.

³⁴⁸ J. Chadwick, *Minos* 5 (1957), 125. — On the mother goddess *Potnia* from Pylos: *ibid.*, 122f. On *Sitōi Potniāi* "for the Lady Sito (Σιτώ)" from Mycenae (Oi 701.3), J. Chadwick, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 52,7 (1962), 58; this is read *sitōn* (gen. plur. of σῖτα) *Potniāi* = σῖτων Ποτνια "to the Lady of the cereals" by L. R. Palmer, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, 1965 (Cambridge, 1966), 284.

Palmer, *Interpretation* (1963), p. 250, rendering *Potniāi Aswiāi* "to the Lady of Aswos," suggests taking *Aswiāi* as a toponymic adjective with reference to E. Townsend-Vermeule, *AJA* 61 (1957), 199a, who compares Ζεὺς Ἀσως in Crete (Steph. Byz. s. Ἀσως) and Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀσία (Pausan. 3.24.6) on Mt. Asia, one of the southern spurs of Taygetos. Prof. Vermeule inclines to linking *Athena Asia* with *Potnia Aswia* (PY Fr 1206). With her agree Pugliese Carratelli, *PP* 1959, p. 416; Maddoli, *Atti dell' Accad. Toscana di Scienze e Lettere* "La Colombaria," 1963, p. 73; Luigia Achillea Stella, *La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei* (Rome, 1965), p. 230.

The "Asiatic Lady" or mother goddess has been thought to be one like Κυβέλη; see C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (Amsterdam, 1967), p. 184 with note 430. On Πότνια Ἀθῶνα (KN V 52 + 52bis + *atana potinija*), *ibid.*, p. 108 with note 50. The possibility *Potniai Aswiās* "to the Lady of Asia Minor," suggested by Ruijgh, p. 184 (with a question mark), might be admitted, but only if *Aswia* is not "Asia Minor," which semantic content was attached to Ἀσία in the sixth cent. B.C. (see above, p. 34 with notes 137 and 138); *Aswiā* would have been a region of the peninsula. The literary evidence, however, of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀσία renders Ruijgh's suggestion unnecessary.

C. Gallavotti, "Note brevi di filologia micenea," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, *N.F.*, 30 (1958), 52, agrees that *potinija* is a theonym but stamps as merely hypothetical the suggestion by Chadwick (*Minos* 5 [1957], 125), that the goddess is Asiatic or Anatolian "magna mater." Gallavotti sees in Fr 1206 *Potnia(i) asiwija(i)* representing Greek Ποτνια (dat. sing.) Ἀσφίαι (nomin. plur.) "the Asian women (offering) to the Mistress" and identifies it with *a.64.ja* (= *aswija*) of Linear A, in which also *kinidija* (= Κνίδια), *miratija* (= Μιλάτια) etc. occur.

Palmer, *Interpretation* (1963), p. 250, explains KN V 52 *atana potinija* as "The Lady of Atana," a local *Potnia*, and, as "The Lady" or "The Mistress" recurs as a

In this context a reminder may be in order that a seemingly cognate toponym that is encountered on Mycenaean tablets from Pylos is certainly unrelated to the name under investigation.³⁴⁹

religious title in the ancient Near East to designate a particular divinity (L. Palmer, "New Religious Texts from Pylos," *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1958, p. 9f.), he considers the possibility that *Potnia* represented a goddess of a particular type and finds that a possible candidate is the Minoan-Mycenaean counterpart of the Peloponnesian Artemis, whom Nilsson (*Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 1.285ff.) identifies with the Minoan-Mycenaean *πότνια Θηρών*.

³⁴⁹ The toponym *asijatija*, occurring frequently on Pylian tablets (*Ae* 134, and seven more times; once more in the form *asatija Mn* 162), was explained as a derivative of *'Ασεάτας*, this being the name of the founder of *'Ασέα* in Arcadia (Pausan. 8.3.4), and displays *i* for *e*, i.e. as *'Ασία* (for and) from *'Ασέα* and *'Ασιατία* from **'Ασεατία*. This latter name is held to be an adj. formation. The ethnic *'Ασεάτας* (gen. plur. *'Ασεατών -των* as well as *Μεγαλοπολιτών* of the federal league), derived from the city name *'Ασέα*, occurs in coin inscriptions; see G. S. G. Robinson, "Ethnics on Greek Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th ser., 14 (1914), 246 [ΑΣΕΑΤΩΝ]; A. Florance, *Geographic Lexicon of Greek Coin Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1966), p. 15 [ΑΣΕΑΤΑΝ, ΑΣΕΑΤΩΝ]. *'Ασεάτης* is also another name of the Alpheios, which originates in the Asea valley; cf. Pugliese Carratelli, *Studi Classici ed Orientali* 7 (1958), 49.

On the texts: *The Pylos Tablets* (1955), p. 210a; cf. Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents* (1956), p. 147 and (no. 31), p. 169; on p. 145 the Mycenaean name is equated with the historical *'Ασέα*. Cf. Palmer, *Interpretation* (1963), pp. 21, 74, 75, 76, 126, 127, 167, 180.

The phenomenon called alternation *i/e* was examined in a study, suggested by Chadwick, by D. A. Hester, "The *i/e* Alternation in Mycenaean Greek," *Minos* 6 (1958), p. 32 [*a-si-ja-ti-ja* is one of 31 examples, i.e. single cases of *i* = Gr. *ε*; however, Greek possesses both name forms, *'Ασέα* and *'Ασία*]. Cf. also an ethnicon from *'Ασέα* in Hesychius (ed. K. Latte) s.v. *'Ασιώτας*: *'Ασέα ἐστὶ κώμη Ἁρκαδίας* κτλ. Herodian (2.479, ed. Lentz) records for us *'Ασία* = *'Ασέα* and ethnic *'Ασιάτης*. Further on the vocalic change and the derivation: H. Mühlestein, *Études Mycéniennes* (1956), p. 94 with note 1, and p. 96; idem, *Mus. Helv.* 15 (1958), 226 note 26. Cf. M. Lejeune, *Mémoires de la philologie mycénienne* I (Paris, 1958), p. 268 and 270 note 71; idem, *Proceed. of Cambridge Colloquium on Mycen. Studies* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 144, 147, and 243; G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Studi Classici ed Orientali* 7 (1958), 49.

On the adjectival formation: F. Kiechle, *Kadmos* 1 (1962), 99. A. Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae graecitatis lexicon* (1963), p. 38, s.vv. *a-sa-ti-ja*, *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. See also Pugliese Carratelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 49.

Heubeck's viewpoint on Pylian *a-si-ja* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* is this: An assumed personal name (originally being an inhabitant name) **a-si-ja-ta* would presuppose a place name arisen from the attested noun form *a-si-ja*, which in turn may be etymologically connected with *'Ασσός*, etc. See Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 73 note 76. If, however, *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, is identified with Mt. Asia, a southern spur of

For a better understanding or demonstration of the postulated reduction of the consonant cluster $\sigma\phi$ /*sw*/ to the simple consonant σ /*s*/ in Greek Ἴσσιος from Ἴσσιφίσιος, an exact parallel from early Greek and Mycenaean would be welcome. In fact, an adj. *wiswo-* attested in a compound read in a published Knossos tablet³⁵⁰ is the very same attested dialectal Greek (Arcadian, Boeotian, Cretan) adj. *Ἰσσιφός* /*wiswos*/ "equal" (in size, rank, strength, or number).³⁵¹ The latter form yielded with the reduction of $\sigma\phi$ /*sw*/ to σ /*s*/, on the one hand, Ionic (and Epic) ἴσσιος /*isos*/, with long *ι*, therefore, circumflexed, and, on the other, Attic ἴσσιος /*isos*/³⁵² with short *ι* and, consequently, bearing the acute accent.

The Mycenaean texts have, therefore, secured, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the earliest Greek form Ἴσσιφία for Ἴσσία, which latter is the classical and only form known from our literary and inscriptional Greek tradition (before the discovery of the Mycenaean tablets and their decipherment).

Taygetos behind Thalamai (Pausan. 3.24.6), where a temple of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἴσσία is mentioned (Pausan. 3.24.7 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑραιπέσιος ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπικλησίων Ἴσσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκη καὶ Κάστορα φασὶν ἀνασωθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Κόλχοις Ἀθηνᾶς Ἴσσίας ἱερὸν . . . ὅτι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἴσσίαν τιμᾶσιν οἱ Κόλχοι, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκούσας γράφω), as suggested by E. Townsend Vermeule, *AJA* 61 (1957), 199a (rejected by Pugliese Carratelli, *loc. cit.*), then the name could still be a deriv. of Ἀσέα—Ἀσία: Ἀσιατρία from Ἀσεατρία. If, on the other hand, Ἀθηνᾶ Ἴσσία is linked with *Potnia Aswiā* (PY Fr 1206), as Professor Vermeule suggested, than it cannot be related to *asijatiya*. In fact, the tradition of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἴσσία in Colchis makes such a linking improbable.

The name *a-se-ja* read in Linear A is explained as an ethnicon derived from the name *a-se-e* (PY An 18.4) = Ἀσέα; see E. Peruzzi, "Note Minoiche," *Minos* 6 (1958), 14 note 1. According to C. J. Ruijgh, *Études* (1967), p. 178 note 406, it is difficult to set *asijatiya* in a direct relationship with Ἀσέα or the toponym *asee* (Ἄλσει, dat.-loc. of Ἄλσιος) and thus the interpretation of *asijatiya* is uncertain; it seems to me that the author has not followed up the pertinent literature on this point. Concerning *a-su-ja* see below, p. 73 with note 354.

³⁵⁰ The adj. *wiswo-* is the reading from *wi-so-wo-* in the compound *wi-so-wo-pa-na* Sh 740; Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents* (1956), No. 292, p. 378f. and 412 = Bennett, *The Pylos Tablets* (1955), pp. 186 and 226; Chadwick and Baumbach, *Glotta* 41 (1963), 206.

³⁵¹ Cretan and Arcadian Ἰσσιφός, Arcadian Ἰσσιφόδαμος, Boeotian Ἰσσιφόδιφος, Homeric written ἴσσιος (ι-) from Ἰσσιφός, and Attic ἴσσιος (ι-). See M. Lejeune, *Traité de phonétique grecque* (Paris, 1947), 116f. (from *wid-s-wos); cf. C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*³ (Chicago, 1956), 49f.; Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), 71 note 69.

³⁵² This was indicated by J. Chadwick, *Minos* 5 (1957), 125; elaborated by A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 71.

2.

The just stated fact has reduced to a minimum the difference existing (when this equation was first suggested back in 1924) between the Greek name form 'Ασία and the Hittite name form *Assuva*. By these developments, Forrer's equation, which certainly was not presented in convincing detail, has been rendered indubitable.³⁵³

In fact, the land name *Assuva*, an epichorial designation for a territory in the West Anatolian peninsula, has been made the basis for the interpretation of the name 'Ασία for nearly half a century. We align here also the Minoan name *a-su-ja*, read in Linear script A, HT 11 II 1,³⁵⁴ if it is an ethnicon, which E. Peruzzi doubts; should it be an ethnicon, it is derived from 'Ασος, name of a Cretan town with an ancient temple of Ζεὺς 'Ασιος (Steph. Byz. s. 'Ασος), i.e. the earlier form *Aswos*,³⁵⁵ and so indirectly related to *Assuva*. *As-*

³⁵³ S. Mazzarino, *Fra oriente e occidente* (1947), p. 47f., has revived Forrer's equation with the suggestion that (1) the original name was restricted to Lydia, where the Homeric 'Ασιος λειμών was actually located; so too *Assuva* has a restricted application; and (2) an extension of the semantic content of the name 'Ασία made it what it really was later.

As J. Chadwick, *Minos* 5 (1957), 126, put it, the matter of $\tilde{\alpha}$ - and $\tilde{\alpha}$ - in 'Ασιος, 'Ασία "would be clinched if we could accept Forrer's equation of 'Ασία with Hittite *Assuva*"; he does accept it along with Mazzarino and, concerning *Potnia Aswiā*, suggests that "Matriarchal Lydia would of course be an obvious home for a mother goddess" (p. 126). Chadwick's thesis, however, does not necessarily imply that we need *Potnia Aswiā* to explain the name *Aswiā* ← 'Ασία; it rather means that both Lydia and Mycenae were patronized by mother goddesses.

A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 72, has formulated these facts in a masterly way.

³⁵⁴ P. Meriggi, "Glossario miceneo (minoico B)," *Memorie dell'Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, Serie 3^a*, tomo IV, 2 (1955), p. 25: *asuja* 11a3 [The glossary on pp. 24—34].

The name *asuja* has been compared with another name to have its form clarified: as the name of a goddess Δι.Ψα, known from Pamphylia, is written in two equivalent ways *diwija* and *diuja*, so can *asuja* reflect *asiwija*; cf. Palmer, *Interpretation*, p. 486. Another attempt has been made to prove that Mycenaean *asiwija* is equivalent to Minoan *asuja* and the sign 64 is equal to *siwi* = *swi*; cf. Gallavotti, "Note brevi di filologia micenea," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, N.S., Firenze, 30 (1958), 52f. The attempt, however, at linking *asuja* with Akkadian ASU "the rising of the sun" (Dyer, *PP* 20 (1965), 116 note 2) is useless.

³⁵⁵ E. Peruzzi, "Note Minoiche," *Minos* 6 (1958), 14 with note 1. The author gives an alternative derivation of *a-su-ja* from the name Συτα of another Cretan place. He is correct in rejecting A. Furumark's equation of *a-su-ja* with *a-se-ja*, as

suva may originally have been **Aswa* as the land name, and derivatives therefrom were *Aswios* with fem. *Aswiā*, designating the "inhabitant from the land Aswa," or as adj. "of or pertaining to Aswa."³⁵⁶

2. *The etymology of Hittite Assuva*

We may go to the root of things, if possible. Heubeck derives *Assuva* itself from cuneiform Hittite *assus* (with gen. *assuvas* or *assavas*) meaning "good, expedient; pleasant, etc." The latter was derived from IE **esu-s* (hence Gr. ἐβός) "good, brave, etc."³⁵⁷ The connection is possible and even probable. With regard to semantics, while Bossert attached to the name *Assuva* the sense "Land des Heils,"³⁵⁸ i.e. "land of fortune," I might be allowed to suggest that **Aswa* would have meant something like "good land" and its derivative Ἀσφία "land or country with good soil."

In all candor, however, I cannot be as sure about this connection as Heubeck seems to be, believing as he does that Hittite *assu-* is the basis of *Assuva*.³⁵⁹ This is my reasoning: Caution is required by the fact that linguistic situations are, in reality, much more complex than they appear to be in their results before us, with the developments that have gone unrecorded and the scanty materials of ancient languages that have happened to reach us. I am, specifically,

if both were ethnica of *a-se* (Ἀσέα). A. Heubeck (*Praegraeca*, p. 73) mentions the same name *a-su-ja* (read by P. Meriggi) as to be connected with *Assuva*.

³⁵⁶ Heubeck, *op. cit.*, p. 72f.

³⁵⁷ For the accepted derivation of Hittite *assus* from IE *esus* (Gr. ἐβός) with gen. *eswos* see A. Walde—J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1927—32), 1.161; J. Friedrich, "Einige hethitische Etymologien," *IF* 41 (1923), 370—72 [he was the first to compare Hitt. *assus* 'gut' with Gk. ἐβός 'gut, trefflich' and neut. *assu* 'Habe' with Homeric Gk. ἐάων 'Glücksgüter' (Gk. ἀγαθά, Lat. *bona*)]; W. Couvreur, *De hettitische H* (1937), p. 98; H. Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen* (Copenhagen, 1938), p. 167 with note; C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 1175; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1950), p. 342, s.v. *esu-s*; cf. H. Frisk, *GEW* 1 (1960), 594; A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 73. — For the attempt to connect the Gk. suffix -έβος such as in βασιλεύς with IE *esus* (gen. *eswos*) see O. Szemerényi, "The Greek noun in -έβος," *MNHMH Σ XAPIN, Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer* (Vienna, 1956—57), 2.175f. with note 57.

³⁵⁸ Bossert, *Asia* (1946), p. 2.

³⁵⁹ Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 72f.

afraid that homonymity, which we so well know from the study of modern languages, is a constant possibility; we should always bear in mind that it may mislead us to apparent but unreal explanations and is, therefore, an easy source for grave errors. Hasty explanations of this sort, given for ancient names whose history is little known, have their match in observable folk-etymologies in modern languages, which are often well couched in name forms adapted to suit the folk-etymology in each case. In such cases knowledge or no knowledge makes little difference; both are aspects of a game.

Even if homonymity is not involved in our case, whereby the geographic name *Assuva* is explained from the noun *assu-*, actually we do not know whether we etymologize a primary or a secondary name *Assuva* for a region, whose location is also unknown; data linking *assu-* and *Assuva-* may be missing, e.g. the possibility of an adjectival or nominal **assuva* cannot be excluded.

3.

Conclusion

In summary, we may state that, when the ancient Greeks came to Anatolia, and specifically to the west coast of it, late in the second half of the second millennium B.C. and found the Hittite name *As-suva* in use in Lydian territory, perhaps pronounced **Aswa*, they formed the Greek adj. *Ἄσσιος* /*áswios*/, whence the later form *Ἄσιος* (*ásios* and *ǎsios*) evolved, and also the fem. **Ἀσσία* /*aswíā*/, which yielded the historical Greek form *Ἄσια* (i.e. *āsia* and *ǎsia*). The latter formation was naturally expected, following suit with so many land names in Asia Minor terminating in *-ία*, and still known in history as *Βιθυνία*, *Ἰωνία*, *Καρία*, *Λυδία*, *Λυκία*, *Μυσία*, *Παμφυλία*, *Φρυγία*, etc.³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ The concluding statement of R. Dyer (*PP* 20 [1965], 132), that *Asia* is an Anatolian name and “it is unnecessary to look for a Greek origin, even in the Linear B inscriptions where it is first found in Greek (excluding Linear A <*asuja*>),” is an error in method (see above, n. 342). For the fact is that no Anatolian language gives us a form *Asia* nor a termination *-ia* (*Ἄσιος* and *Ἄσια* are not Anatolian forms) nor the semantic variations in the history of the name, and the origin of a geographic name or any other name consists not merely of the root but also of its formation(s) and the historical whereabouts in the use of one or more languages both in space and in time. Actually without the Greek forms the name *Asia* could never be interpreted from its Anatolian source to a satisfactory degree. We did have to examine carefully and explain adequately the Greek name forms, including those in My-

It seems to me that Heubeck's neat contribution to advancing our study of the relevant names deserves attention. With regard to the name (I) Ἄσσός (from *hāss-*) and congeners and again (II) concerning the name Ἄσφις and congeners he has summarized his conclusions in the following tabulations of correspondences:³⁶¹

I. Ἄσσός etc.

Linear B place-name formation with *-s-* : Prehellenic (in later Greek) place-names in *-σ(σ)ος* : Homeric Gk. place names in *-σ(σ)ος* : Anatolian (non-Gk.) texts in *-šša* and the like : Luvian suffix *-ašši-*.

II. Ἄσφις, *Assuva*

Linear A *asuja-*(?) : Linear B adj. (?) *asiwijo-/a-* : Anatolian and later Gk. Ἄσ(φ)ις : Homeric Gk. Ἄσις : Gk. inscriptional country name Ἄσις : (non-Greek) Cuneiform Hittite adj. *assu-* and West Anatolian country name *Assuva*.

In collecting the material and presenting the evidence which each time made itself available, various authors and investigators have rendered valuable service to all interested in the problem at hand. If the foregoing conclusion is found to stand as true, credit is owed to the colleagues who made it possible by their genius and their labors.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

University of North Dakota

cenaean Linear B script before reaching a satisfactory solution regarding the ultimate source. Cf. above, p. 68ff.

³⁶¹ See Heubeck, *Praegraeca* (1961), p. 89f. — The sign */:*, instead of a vertical line is used in the text above between correspondences.

VII. ADDENDA

Pp. 2–9: Bibliography.

Atlas of the World. Mid-century edition. Ed. by John Bartholomew. Vol. I: *The World, Australasia and East Asia . . . With an Index-Gazetteer.* Vol. II: *South-West Asia and Russia . . . With an Index-Gazetteer.* London: The Times Publishing Co., 1958, 1959. [Preface, pp. XIII–XVII (general information about the work); Progress of World Mapping, pp. XIX–XXI; plates 24 (in the 1st vol.) and 25–48; plates 1–7: World physiography, oceanography, climatology, vegetation, mankind, surface routes, air routes.]

Paul Bolchert, *Aristoteles' Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen.* Berlin, 1908. (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, herausg. W. Sieglin, H. 15.) [The 1st ch.: *Aristoteles' Erdkunde von Asien*, pp. 6–28.]

Kurt Brüning, *Asien.* Tenth ed. by H. Lehmann. München, etc., 1964. (Harms Handbuch der Erdkunde, herausg. J. Wagner und W. Eggers.) [On p. 5, the 4th ed. (1932) was listed as H. Harms — K. Brüning.]

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F. Machatschek, *Das Relief der Erde.*² Berlin, 1955.

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D. H. Teuffen, *Die östliche Welt. Asien zwischen Steinzeit und Gegenwart.* Baden-Baden, 1961.

H. Schmökel, "Geschichte des alten Vorderasien," *Hb. d. Or.*, 1, II, 3 (1957).

H. Schmökel et alii, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient.* 1961.

Pp. 9 ff.: *Oikoumene. Continents.*

The American space flight of Apollo 8 took place in December 1968 and the first color views of the earth as a globe were made by the astronauts from deep space; a half-earth was viewed 230,000 miles away for the first time, so that whole continents were pictured as on a study globe. Cf. *Time*, Jan. 10, 1969, p. 40, and picture opposite p. 41.

The historian Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.) was the first to question the island form of the Oikoumene. Strabo (1st cent. A.D.), however, harks back to the island theory of the Oikoumene, to which theory Ptolemy put an end; he prepared the way for the heroic enterprise of the explorers of the Age of Discovery, more than a millennium later. See H. K. W. Kumm, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 42 (1926), pp. 14, 21.

Another interesting ancient term, compounded with *oikoumene*, is *Antioikoumene* for part of Africa where the Eleusinian mysteries priest Nicagoras (of Cyprus, who traveled through Egypt and left behind a visiting inscription in Egyptian Thebes in 326 B.C.) set the Nile source. Cf. A. Hermann, "Der Nil und die Christen," *Jahrbuch*

für *Antike und Christentum* (Munich) 2 (1959), p. 50 note 139a. The contrast of *Antioikoumene* to *Oikoumene* is like that of Arctic (ἀρκτικός) and Antarctic (ἀνταρκτικός).

Pp. 13 ff.: Eurasia.

The continental area represented in Eurasia is rightly regarded, in the phrase of a famous geographer, as the heartland of humanity. From its interior the great migrations that have peopled the earth have flowed towards its circumference and beyond; within its boundaries there were founded all the seminal civilizations which have shaped man's progress and set their mark upon the ground that he inhabits. Cf. *Atlas of the World, II: South-West Asia and Russia* (1959), p. XXII. See also *plate 25: Eurasia*.

The separating effect between Asia and Europe is insignificant, so the concept *Eurasia* came about to express that Europe is in reality a small peninsula of the enormous Asiatic land block. See K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 10.

P. 16: Australasia.

It is depicted in the *Atlas of the World* 1 (1958), plate 10.

P. 17 f. (also 1): The Old World

There have been interrelations among Asia, Africa, and Europe which illumine their vicissitudes. The concept *Old World*, in which these three continents are included, has only historical importance today; for Europe no longer stands as part of the Old World opposite the Americas representing the New World but the opposition is East versus West. See K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 10. Cf. A. Hermann, *op. cit.* [addenda to p. 9, above, p. 77 f.], p. 39 with note 54.

P. 17 with notes 45–50:

On the name *America*, the New World, and related matters see also Germán Arciniegas, *Amerigo and the New World* (New York, 1955) and *Atlas of the World 5: The Americas* (London, 1957), preface, p. XII.

P. 18: Hemispheres.

Pomponius Mela speaks in his *De chronographia*, a popular description of the earth written in A.D. 43, of the northern and southern hemisphere, five zones, Antichthones, etc. Cf. H. K. W. Kumm, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 42 (1926), p. 15. The notions of *Western* and *Eastern Hemisphere* are likewise inaccurate; cf. K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 10.

P. 19: General on Asia.

On the population increases of Asia between 1800 (602 million) and 1960 (1,762 million) cf. K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 34f. Of the total world population, over 3 billion since 1963, more than its half lives in Asia (*op. cit.*, p. 9).

P. 21: Western boundaries of Asia.

Cf. also K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 10f.

Firmly established in historical terms is the southern part of the Asiatic border against Europe, i.e. the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphoros as well as the Marmara Sea, though also the Bosphoros divides the cosmopolis Constantinople and the Turkish state. The Anatolian Mediterranean coast, richly structured, and the many islands lying in front of it are rather of European kind; here a borderline is drawn through the greatest sea depths, which follows in essence also the political allotment of the islands to Greece or Turkey. Cf. Brüning, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The distinction of Asia and Europe as separate continents, nevertheless, goes back to the cultural-geographic net weight of Europe, its exceptional position in the history of mankind and modern civilization. Compared with this, Asia possesses also its net weight; and the development after both world wars up to the present demonstrates the fact that Asia has been able to preserve its importance in full measure despite the rush of western civilization. Cf. Brüning, *loc. cit.*

P. 22 f.: The Name 'Asía:

In Hesiod fr. 165.11 'Ασίη contains Troy and in fr. 180.3 it is apparently associated with the Hermos river; see M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony. Edited with Prolegomena and Commentary* (Oxford, 1966), p. 267.

P. 24, note 83:

On Ptolemy's *Geographia* cf. *Atlas of the World* 1 (1958), p. XXI [up-to-date evaluation of Ptolemy's work and the impact of his maps on the great explorers].

P. 26: The name Asia in other languages.

Though the peoples of East Asia do have their own conceptions about location, the name Asia, designating the continent and introduced by the Europeans, has generally prevailed upon the Asiatic peoples. Cf. K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 9.

P. 34 with note 137:

The Anatolian peninsula in its entirety is assumed to have been nameless before it was named *Asia*

The land name *Hatti*, non-Indoeuropean, covers central Anatolia, more exactly the north central area embracing the loop of the Halys (now Kızıl Irmak) and bounded by the Kaska on the Pontic zone and the Pala in the northwest (see E. Laroche, *Les noms des hittites* [Paris, 1966], p. 266f.). This name *Hatti* with a Hurrian ethnic name *Hattuḫi* (E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* [New Haven, 1941], p. 45) as a vague land concept continued from the 19th cent. to at least the 17th cent. B.C. Then it was replaced by the more precise *Hattusas udne* and ^{URU}*Hattusa-*, both meaning "*Hattusa-land*" and, in part, taken from the name of the capital *Hattusas* (on the site of modern Boğazköy, recently renamed *Boğazkale*). In any case, the concept *Hatti* was no longer valid for the Hittites of the Great Imperial times (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.). The name is thoroughly discussed by A. Kammenhuber, "Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch," *Hb. d. Or.* 1, II, 2 (1969), pp. 123–27. [My thanks go to the author for the courtesy of supplying me with a set of page proofs of her section in this collective reference work; February 1969.]

There is, however no indication in the texts that *Hatti* was ever used in any Anatolian language to designate the entire Anatolian peninsula, whose namelessness for the 2nd millennium B.C. is, insofar as preserved records allow us to tell, a fact. The namelessness of a wide area in ancient times is understandable with the unsurmountable difficulties of communication among adjacent regions and with the impossibility of surveying large territories as well as with many different peoples inhabiting such a wide area. When the larger area was finally named, the namers simply applied the name of a smaller area to the wider one.

P. 37:

Along with the expansion of knowledge of the earth, the concept of each of the continents Asia, Europe, and Africa was gradually expanded from the coast to the entire continent. Cf. K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 9.

P. 39 with notes 161 and 162:

"Cyprus" had the name *Yatuan* in Assyrian and the following ones in Egyptian: *Kufrus* (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* [see above, p. 39, note 166] 1.40), *sbu* (1.48), *sbinaï(ti)*, and *Āountānaï* (1.57 and 3.83).

P. 39, note 163: Asy:

H. R. Hall, "The Keftians, Philistines and Other Peoples of the Levant," *CAH* 2 (1924), 275–95, thinks also that *Asy* would seem to be the mainland of Asia Minor, perhaps west of Cilicia and Alashiya, and that the name may simply be from *Asia* (p. 281).

ETYMOLOGIES

Pp. 41 n. 177; 48; 67 with nn. 340, 344, 347: Ἀσίη (and Εὐρώπη) in Hesiod's Theogony.

The names Ἀσίη and Εὐρώπη are recorded by Hesiod in his *Theogony*, composed before 700 B.C., ll. 359 and 357 respectively, as names of two nymphs of Tethys' and Oceanus' 41 chief and eldest daughters listed by name in addition to the number of 3,000 others. It seems obvious to me that these names, used in the genealogical epic, are to be sure traditional but are in their use secondary as were Ἄσιος, Ἀσίης, etc. Goettling's opinion, followed by F. Fischer, that these nymphs are eponymous and have received their names from the lands over which they are supposed to preside seems close to the true state of affairs. The etymological origin of the name Ἀσία in the form Ἀσῦα /*Aswia*/ is several centuries older than the time of the composition of Hesiod's *Theogony*. It is disappointing that in a recent otherwise good book, the commentary to the *Theogony* (M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* [see above, p. 79: add. to p. 22], pp. 266f.) adheres to opinions prior to 1916 with regard to the etymology from ἄσος "mud" (see above, p. 42f.) and to the long vowel *ā* allegedly "by metrical lengthening" (see, however, above, pp. 23f., 48ff., and 68–72), as if the startling developments in Mycenaean Greek studies had not taken place.

P. 44: From Semitic:

It has persisted to this day; so K. Brüning, *Asien*¹⁰ (1964), p. 9.

P. 44, note 193:

The ancient name Ἐφεσός survived in the Turkish form *Efsus*; see W. C. Brice, "The Turkish Colonization of Anatolia," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (Manchester) 38 (1955–56), p. 43.

Pp. 48–52: Ἀσσοός:

The word *haššu-* in Hittite records is not Indo-European, for the etymological attempts are not satisfactory; see E. Bilgiç, *AOF* 15 (1945–51), p. 15 with notes 109 and 110.

P. 50, note 222: Πιδάσσα:

On the suffix *-assi* (Luvian) and *-assis* (Carian) and *-assa-* see also G. Neumann, "Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft 1816 und 1966," *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 24* (1967), pp. 28f. (Institut für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck) [Dr. H. Ölberg of this Institute has put me under great obligation by courteously dispatching to me a copy of this study. Feb. 1969.] Cf. also p. 84, addendum to p. 64 note 321.

P. 51, note 231: Ἀσσάων—Assuwan:

The earlier bibliography on the "Cappadocian" names up to before 1928 and given above in note 231 should be replaced by more recent work since 1945: Stephens, *Personal Names of Cappadocia*. (Yale Oriental Series, Ser. XIII, 1). 1928; Emin Bilgiç, "Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens," *AOF* 15 (1945–51), 1–37; idem, *Die einheimischen Appellativa der kappadokischen Texte und ihre Bedeutung für die anatolischen Sprachen*. Ankara, 1954 (Ankara Univ. dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya, Fakültesi Yayınları, 96. Sumeroloji Enstitüsü Yayınları, 3); A. Goetze, "Some Groups of Ancient Anatolian Proper-Names," *Language* 30 (1954), 349–59; A. Kammenhuber, "Nominalkomposition in den altanatolischen Sprachen des 2. Jahrtausends," *KZ* 77 (1961), 161 ff.; idem, "Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch," *Hb. d. Or.* 1, II, 2 (1969), §§ 1–3, pp. 119–127.

In Anatolia, Kültepe is the mound under which Kanis was buried, situated close to Kayseri. Kanis was the center, so far the richest in finds, of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies in Asia Minor of the period ca. 1880–1780 B.C. (so A. Kammenhuber, *Hb. d. Or.* 1, II, 2 [1969], 119–27). The hundreds of "Cappadocian" texts on tablets, dated in the 19th–18th cent. (according to A. Goetze, in the 20th cent.) B.C., i.e. much earlier than the Boğazköy documents (these dated 1400–1200 B.C.), were uncovered in Kültepe and are documents concerning commercial activities of Assyrian merchants in Anatolia and written in a type of Akkadian, called Old Assyrian. E. Bilgiç took into consideration the published and ca. 500 unpublished texts. Their material includes few god names, very many personal and place names, and appellative nouns; some of these words in all three categories recur in Hittite texts and part of the place names occurs in Lydian, Lycian, Carian, Greek, Byzantine Greek sources, others do in texts of Akkadian, New Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian times and from Nuzi. The tablets contain also numerous proper names of

Anatolian natives with whom the Assyrians came into contact; part of the Kültepe names are explicable from Hattic, the language spoken in eastern Anatolia by a pre-Hittite (and pre-Luvian and pre-Palaic) population and preserved in remnants on Boğazköy tablets. Bilgiç and A. Kammenhuber (*KZ* 77 [1961], 162) ascribe most of the personal name material of the "Cappadocian" texts to a non-IE southeast Anatolian language as against A. Goetze's IE view. See Bilgiç, "Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden," *AFO* 15 (1945–51), 1–2 [-*ašša* pre-Luvian, p. 13]; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961), 161 ff.; Goetze, *Language* 30 (1954), 350f. [-*aššu* and -*aḫšu* are possibly dialectal variants of one and the same suffix (p. 358); names in -*aš(š)u* are represented in the texts of Kültepe (Kaniš), 16 of them, from Boğazköy four and from Nuzu four; evidence for their close relationship of the two formations are five pairs of names such as *Ḫapiaḫšu* and *Ḫapeaššu*, *Niwaḫšu* and *Niwaššu*.]. On the suffixes see below, p. 84 f.

In agreement with Th. Bossert, who had explained many "Cappadocian" place names as Hittite, and in opposition to B. Landsberger (*AOr* 18.341 note 67), who decidedly rejects this solution, Bilgiç, who studied the material thoroughly, mentions many instances explicable as Hittite with regard to stem and termination, some names having Hittite both stem and ending. Thus, part of personal names with the suffix -*at* and -*an* are now explained as Hittite. See Bilgiç, *Die einheimischen Appellativa der "kappadokischen" Texte* (1954), p. 18 ff. Thus, also the personal name *Šuppi-lapa*, probably meaning "clean hare," in Cappadocian texts contains the same word for "hare" found in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic Hittite *d/lapa(r)* = Lat. *lepus*, *leporis*, Gk. λεβηρίς "rabbit," and in personal names in cuneiform and hieroglyphic Hittite; Bilgiç, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

After this orientation, the name referred to in the heading above will be briefly discussed. The name *Ašuwā* occurs in the inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity (I. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* [Chicago, 1935], 56.45) and the name *Ašuan* in the "Cappadocian" texts, i.e. the Old Assyrian inscriptions of Kültepe (65.2). Contrary to A. Goetze's opinion expressed in Lewy (*Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden von Kültepe*, 1.49 note c), one scholar thinks that these names recall the land name *Aššuwa*; E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite* (Paris, 1952), p. 107 f. It appears that this brief remark of Laroche was the incentive for Bilgiç to try to explain the name more fully: *Assu(u)an* is derived from the Anatolian word *aššu*- "good" with the suffix -*an*, this in turn from *-*ant* (the latter is not linked with the place name suffix -*anta* or explained as participle or as a plural ending). The suffix in *Aššuyan* and *Ḫatništuan* has not been assigned a certain meaning as yet. See Bilgiç, *Die einheimischen Appellativa der "kappadokischen" Texte* (1954), p. 20 f. This new explanation is possible, but not satisfactory in all respects. See also addendum to p. 74 with note 357 on *Assuwa*, p. 85 f.

In Egypt there occurs the name *Aswān*, *Aswan*, *Assuan* (1) for a province, south-east Upper Egypt, and (2) for the city (ancient *Syene*, Σύηνη, also Σοήνη, Σούνα with inhabitant name Σηηνίτης, Σηηνάτος), i.e. the capital of the province, located on the right bank of the Nile (with a population of 22,192 in 1937); this ancient city was an important town in the first millennium B.C. About 3½ miles to the south of the city is the great *Aswān* dam, built in 1898–1907 to replace a 19th century barrage (cf. Webster's *Geogr. Dict.* [1964], p. 77 a) and the new dam is built in the 20th century. This Egyptian name *Assuan* together with the ancient Σύηνη, trans-

mitted in Greek sources and supposed to derive from the name Σέρνος, is hardly related etymologically to the Anatolian personal name *Assuwa* of the "Cappadocian" texts.

P. 60, note 295:

E. Cavaignac located Assuwa in the area along the Caÿster river. *Suppiluliuma I* (died 1340 B.C.): Suppiluliuma I, founder of the Great Hittite Empire, reigned between ca. 1380 and 1346; see A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (1968), p. 43. The dates of the short chronology by W. F. Albright and F. Cornelius are 64 years (= one Venus period) lower than the dates of the middle chronology by Sidney Smith, A. Parrot and others, and are 120 years lower than those of the long chronology. The short chronology, however, proves to be closer to the actual chronology as evidenced from the Hittite texts; see Kammenhuber, *Die Arier*, pp. 23–46 [III. Synchronischer Überblick].

P. 62 f.: *Ahhijavā*.

Recently, R. A. Crossland, "Immigrants from the North," *CAH* 1, ch. XXVII (1967), 27, believes with others that *Ahhijavā* was Rhodes and that the name was taken over by the Hittites from Mycenaean Greeks and was not a survival of a Greek form current in Anatolia some centuries before their time

Professor Kammenhuber, however, states that in the Hittite Empire, which flourished between the 17th cent and 1200 B.C., it was after 1400 B.C. that Hittite historical texts attest for the first time *Alašija* 'Cyprus' and *Ahhijavā*. In her view, *Ahhijavā* designates both the west coast of Asia Minor and at least the islands along it, most probably, in addition, parts of Mycenaean Hellas. The relations with *Ahhijavā* grow strained ca. 1250 B.C., just 50 years before the downfall of the Hittite Empire, which was occasioned by the so-called Sea-peoples, which came from the Balkans. See A. Kammenhuber, "Die Sprachen des vorhellenistischen Kleinasien in ihrer Bedeutung für die heutige Indogermanistik," *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, H. 24 (1968), p. 62.

P. 63, note 316:

Egyptian *Aqaiwaša* (= 'Αχαΐοι) is transliterated and listed as *aqaiouachaou* by H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* [see above, note 166], 1.109.

Pp. 64–66: Bossert's explanation and combinations.

Bossert identified *Assuwa* as "Asia," i.e. northwest Asia Minor, and set the equation *Asia* = 'Isj.j = *Assuwa* (see also pp. 40 and 63), which is followed by R. D. Barnett, "Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age," *CAH*, revised, 2, ch. 30 (1967), p. 4.

Bossert's combinations inspire no confidence in us because of defective methodology. In his study *Asia*, p. 91 and passim, he attempted to prove that the Hieroglyphic Hittites were the earliest IE settlers in Anatolia (but they were not) and explains as Hieroglyphic Hittite all that earlier scholars held to be Luvian. He considered Nesish as a designation for the so-called Hieroglyphic Hittite (*Bildhethitisch*) and tried to elevate the latter to be the most important linguistic and cultural element of Ḫatti since the 3rd millennium B.C. in Kizzuwatna and Arzawa. The at-

tempt was not vindicated as have judged scholars like H. Otten, H. G. Güterbock, A. Goetze, and A. Kammenhuber. See A. Kammenhuber, "Zur hethitisch-luwischen Sprachgruppe," *KZ* 76 (1960), p. 10f.; idem, in *Hb. d. Or.*, I, II, 2 (1969), p. 121. Actually, Nesish is cuneiform Hittite. *Hittite hieroglyphics (hethitische Hieroglyphen)* stands for the script called hieroglyphics and invented by the Hittites but the language is precisely *Hieroglyphic Luvian* (Fr. *louvite hiéroglyphique*, Germ. *Hieroglyphenluwisch*), whose texts begin ca. 1300 B.C. *Cuneiform Luvian* along with its local dialects (of Istanuva, Hubesna, etc.) is Luvian in the narrow sense of this term, while Luvian in its broader sense comprises cuneiform Luvian, hieroglyphic Luvian, and Lycian (this consisting of two dialects and recorded in a script that derived from the Greek alphabet). Cf. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 76 (1960), 10ff., and in *Hb. d. Or.* I, II, 2 (1969), p. 122f.; E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (Paris, 1960), p. 253ff.; cf. also J. Puhvel, "Dialect Aspects of the Anatolian Branch of Indo-European," *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*, edd. H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel (Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 235–247, espec. 238.

P. 64, note 321: Names in -ssa, -assa, and -issa:

On these names, the following literature should be mentioned: E. Bilgiç, „Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens," *AOF* 15 (1945–51), 8 with note 59; 9 note 60; 13; 15 [who takes *-assa* to be a pre-Luvian (erroneously called proto-Luvian) suffix]; H. G. Güterbock, *Orientalia* 25 (1956), 127ff.; E. Laroche, "Notes de toponymie anatolienne," *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*, 2 (1957), 1–7; A. Kammenhuber, "Zur hethitisch-luwischen Sprachgruppe," *KZ* 76 (1960), pp. 1–26; on the names *-assa*, especially, pp. 6, 7, 13; J. Puhvel, "Dialect Aspects of the Anatolian Branch of Indo-European" (1966) [see above addendum to pp. 64–66] p. 238; G. Neumann "Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft 1816 und 1966" (see above, p. 81: addendum to p. 50 note 222).

Among 2,000 recorded names of places in Hittite records there are seventy in *-assa* and *-issa*; cf. Laroche *op. cit.*, p. 5. Contrary to Laroche's interpretation of the *-ssa* suffix as IE,¹ A. Kammenhuber, on the basis of the many inexplicable and un-IE word stems among the place-names in *-ssa* (*op. cit.*, 7, 13), sees in these Anatolian place names only word elements from the language(s) of the pre-IE speaking population(s).

Hittite uses *-assa-* for adjectival formations.² Hittites, Luvians, and Hattians formed geographical names with *-assa-*.³ On the numerous *-assa* place names in Hittite sources it is necessary to consult the work of E. Bilgiç (p. 9 note 60); in addition to place names, there are personal names and god names in *-assas* (*ibid.*, p. 8).⁴

On this occasion it may be mentioned that the Luvian thesis by L. Palmer and G. Huxley, according to whom Luvian was the substratum language of Greek in

¹ Laroche states (*op. cit.*, 7), "Les toponymes en *-ssa* ne témoignent aucunement d'une plus haute de la langue louvite," which means not earlier than 1300 B.C.

² Kammenhuber, *KZ* 76 (1960), 6 with note 1 (references).

³ Kammenhuber, *KZ* 76.6.

⁴ On the place names of later Asia Minor and pre-IE Greece see Bilgiç, *op. cit.*, p. 8 note 59 (with bibliography cited).

Greece and Crete, has been disproved by various scholars.⁵ Even Palmer's and Huxley's explanation of the mountain name Πάρνασσός /*Parnassós*/ in Greece, for which there is an exactly corresponding southeast Anatolian place name *Parnašša*,⁶ from Luvian *parna-* "house" (the connection had been made by E. Forrer back in 1934) is for semantic reasons (the name is interpreted as "the <mountain> pertaining to the temple," implying Delphi)⁷ fallacious. For Hittite-Luvian *parna-* is "building, house," not "temple" and *parn-*, occurring in the stem of the mountain names Πάρν-ων in the Peloponnesus and Πάρν-ης (gen. Πάρν-ηθ-ος) in Attica, leads us rather to the sense "height," "peak" or "stone."⁸ The name *Parnassos* then is Anatolian but not Luvian.

P. 74 with note 357: The etymology of Assuva:

Proto-Anatolian rates as a very archaic IE dialect, and Hittite is archaic, while the Luvian type, spoken in *Luvia*, the area later renamed *Arzava*, is less archaic.⁹ The ca. 2,000 geographic names of the Hittite records are important precisely because they are long lasting, viz. they were long in use even before they were recorded in the Hittite texts. One of them is *Assuva*, a name which seems to be well explained from *assu-* "good." However, it also involves other Anatolian names, specifically compounded or derived with suffixation, and their interpretation from the same Hittite word *assu-* or not.

E. Laroche, treating the names terminating in *-ašu* (Cappadocian) and *-aššu* (Hittite, Boğazköy), such as Cappad. *Abiziaššu* in *-ašu* (eight different names in *-ašu*) and *Ḫappuwaššu* with *-aššu* (four different names), analyzes ten names. He discovered in the catalogue of the names of Boğazköy some 15 names identical with those of Cappadocia. The majority of these names have, according to the author, a Hittite etymon on the basis of *-aššu*, which is equated with the Hittite word *aššu-* "good." The Cappadocian tablets present a complex mélange of Semites (along with some Hurrites, Anatolians (and, to a good part, Hattians), Hittites (who introduce the compound names in *-aḫšu*, *-aššu* or adapt to their language ancient Hattic names) and people of the south speaking dialects of Luvian and having the suffixes *-uman* and *-ssa* corresponding to Hattic *-il*.¹⁰

Because *-aḫšu* and *-aš(š)u* occur as second components in names in the texts of Kültepe (sixteen of them), Boğazköy (four), and Nuzu (four), and there are five pairs with both suffixes such as *Ḫapiaḫšu* and *Ḫapeaššu*, *Niwaḫšu* and *Niwaššu*, A. Götzte concluded that they are possibly dialectal variants of one and the same suffix.¹¹ This second component was rejected by É. Benveniste.¹² A. Kammenhuber

⁵ Cf. G. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 29; R. A. Crossland, "Immigrants from the North," *CAH* 1, ch. XXVII (1967), p. 28.

⁶ E. Laroche, *op. cit.*, 5, No. 46 (also R.A. 47.193); A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 76 (1960), p. 13. ⁷ Crossland, *loc. cit.*, considers this explanation attractive.

⁸ Neumann, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Cf. J. Puhvel, *Ancient Indo-European Dialects* (1966), pp. 237, 239.

¹⁰ E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite* (Paris, 1952), p. 107; cf. idem, *RHA* 46.29 [the author explains the name *Kuzanaššu* as Proto-Hattic; A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961) 210 with note 1, questions the existence of a Proto-Hattic **ašu* side by side with Hittite *aššu-* "good"].

¹¹ A. Goetze *Language* 30 (1954), 357f.

¹² *BSL* 48.2, p. 33.

accepts the reflexes of IE **esús* (gen. *eswos*) in Aryan, Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luvian, and Palaic,¹³ but questions the existence of a Proto-Hattic **ašu* side by side with Hittite *assu-* "good" and with the second element *-ašu* from the personal names of Kanesh-Kültepe and Nuzu, and, since Hittite, Palaic, and Luvian have *yašu-* "good," the component *-aššu* could be only Hittite.¹⁴ When, therefore, the suff. *-εὐς* of Greek nouns was explained from IE *-esús* and the Anatolian *-ašu-* names¹⁵ are taken as parallels,¹⁶ the objection was voiced that the Greek *εὐ-* is the first component in Greek words.¹⁷

One of the pitfalls in paleolinguistic studies is homophony or homonymy as exists, but to a lesser degree, in the study of modern contemporary languages, even within one and the same language, and is fittingly called "the siren of identical sounds,"¹⁸ that often misleads even the expert. In addition, folk-etymology played a great part in the languages of the Near East in the second millennium B.C. and, therefore, modern explanations of words offered are often shaky.¹⁹ The inherent helplessness, however, of the student of ancient languages derives, to a large extent, from the scanty materials transmitted, which are a minimal fraction of the vocabulary once used by the speakers of the given ancient language; e.g. the entries in E. Laroche's Luvian dictionary number 900 and A. Kammenhuber counts 190 words for the Palaic dialect.

To return to the name *Assuwa*, if we consider names, the Proto-Hattic group of personal and place names shows the stem *asu-*: *Asu*, *Asu-e*, *Asu-ilka*, *Asu-kani*.²⁰ Hieroglyphic Luvian *asu(wa)*,²¹ a form derived from a Proto-Aryan **ašva*, this in turn from IE **ekwo-* "horse,"²² is unrelated to *Assuwa*; equally unrelated to the latter is the personal name *Aš-šu-wa-ru* in Alalah.²³

¹³ A. Kammenhuber, "Das Palaische: Texte und Wortschatz," *RHA* 17, fasc. 64 (1959), pp. 14, 18, 90.

¹⁴ A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 76 (1960), 3–8, 13; 77 (1961), 210 note 1 (no. 3). In this the author agrees with B. Landsberger and E. Bilgiç that the suffix *-aššu* is of non-IE origin. ¹⁵ Laroche, *Onomastique*, p. 107.

¹⁶ Szemerényi, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*, 2 (1957), 157–181; on the *-asu-* names, pp. 169f., and 181. See above, note 357.

¹⁷ Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961), 173 note 1.

¹⁸ "Sirene des Gleichklangs": A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg, 1968), p. 14.

¹⁹ So Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961), 161 ff.; idem, "Die Sprachen des vorhellenischen Kleinasien in ihrer Bedeutung für die heutige Indogermanistik," *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 24 (1968), note 46 [on p. 122].

²⁰ See E. Bilgiç, "Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden usw.," *AFO* 15 (1945–51), p. 14.

²¹ Cf. E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* 1 (Paris, 1960), Nos. 99 and 98, 108; P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* (1962), p. 39f. It is perhaps the same word in Cuneiform Luvian *a-aš-šu-* (pronounced *assu-*) according to Rosenkranz, *IF* 68 (1963), 87 note 7.

²² See A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier* (1968), p. 210. Mitanni-Hurritic *assussani-* "horse trainer" possibly also has *ašva-* "horse" as its first component (*ibid.*, p. 235).

²³ *The Alalah Tablets*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (London, 1953), 177.28; cf. Kammenhuber, *op. cit.*, 92 note 280.

VIII. INDEX

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