

AZANIA — SOME ETYMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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There have been a number of attempts to establish an etymology for the name Azania. Liddell and Scott offer the derivation 'land of Zan or Zeus'.¹ Casson suggests that Azania has the same root as Zanzibar, and that this root had the meaning 'black'.² Huntingford argues that the name derives from the Greek ἀζαίνειν meaning 'to dry, parch up'.³ Finally, Dreyer points out that the Afro-Asiatic languages of north-east Africa have a word meaning 'brother' which may have given rise to the name.⁴ Liddell and Scott's derivation refers to Azania in Arcadia, whereas the others refer to a region in north-east Africa. This article investigates these derivations and goes on to ask whether the use of the same name for the Arcadian and the African Azania is a coincidence or not.

The evidence

The name Azania referring to north-east Africa is found in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (hereafter *PME*, 15.2), which probably dates from the first century AD.⁵ The author was probably a Greek merchant living in Egypt, who travelled the route himself.⁶ The area of the Red Sea as far as Opone he calls 'The Far Side' (τὸ Πέραν 7.4). He puts the country of the Barbaroi beyond Berenice, extending as far as East Africa (ἡ Βαρβαρικὴ χώρα 2.1.7-10). The term 'Barbaroi' refers to the Ichthyophagoi, Agriophagoi, Moschophagoi and the Trogodytes, who were notorious for their attacks on travellers in the region.⁷ Azania is the author's term for the east coast of Africa from Opone (Ras Hafoun) to Rhapta (Dar es Salaam), which was divided into a number of 'runs', or strips of desert.⁸ The Himyarite king Charibael in Muza (Yemen) and his governor controlled the trade along this coast in the author's day (*PME* 31). The author tells us that the Arabs knew the language of the inhabitants and had intermarried with them (*PME* 16). The Swahili people and language trace their origins to the integration of the Arabic traders with the local population.

Claudius Ptolemy, the second century AD Alexandrian geographer, gives a rather different description of this region. This author uses the name *Barbaria* as a general term for the coastal region containing trade ports in Arabia and Africa, including Azania (Ptol. *Geog.* 1.17.6).⁹ The term

Barbaric gulf (βαρβαρικὸς κόλπος) is used for the coastal 'runs' of Azania mentioned in the *Periplus*, and the name Azania is reserved to refer to the hinterland (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.7.11). Ptolemy calls the northern part of this region Hippalus after the man who discovered the use of monsoons to sail to and from India (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.7.41, cf. *PME* 57) and the southern section 'the Shallow Sea' Βραχέα θάλασσα (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.8.1). There was a regular trade between Rhapta in the extreme south and Aromata near the horn of Africa, as is evident from the mention of a merchant, Theophilus by name (Θεόφιλον δέ τινα τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀζανίαν πλεόντων, Ptol. *Geog.* 1.9.1). Derivatives of the name Azania are also known. *Azanitae* was later used as an ethnic name referring to Africans in general, as in *Pelagius episcopus civitatis Azanitarum*.¹⁰ Elsewhere the adjective form *Azanensis* is used.¹¹

In his description of Arcadia, Pausanias says that Azania was the name of a region which Azan inherited from his father Arkas, the descendant of Pelasgos, who had changed the name of his people from Pelasgians to Arcadians (Paus. 8.4.1).¹² Further information is supplied by Stephanus of Byzantium, the 6th century grammarian, who tells us that Azania was one of three regions of Arcadia (the others being Parrhasia and Trapezus) and that Azania contained seventeen cities which fell under the control of Azan (*Ethn.* ad loc.).¹³ A colonising expedition was also said to have set out from Azania in Arcadia and to have settled in Phrygia. The settlement was then named Azanoi, Azanos or Azania (Paus. 8.4.3).¹⁴ Stephanus also refers to the Ἀζανοί in Phrygia, quoting various sources (*Ethn.* ad loc.). The citizens were called Azanitai (Ἀζανῖται) from the feminine form Azanitis (Ἀζανίτις). Stephanus says that the Azanoi were named after Aizen (Αἰζὴν possibly from αἰζήρος 'in full bodily strength, vigorous'), who was the son of Tantalos, according to Herodian. Stephanus discounts this derivation by referring to another name for the city, Ἀζάνιος.¹⁵ The name also occurs in Semitic form in the Biblical apocrypha,¹⁶ and Cassiodorus (*Hist. Trip.* 2) mentions a certain Azanes, the eunuch of Sapor, the 3rd century AD Persian king. As an off-hand conclusion Stephanus mentions another place called Azania in Massilia, on the authority of Philo.

Derivation

Huntingford suggests that the word could be derived from the Greek ἀζαίνειν 'to dry, parch up'.¹⁷ Pliny describes a variety of nuts as *azaniae* ('quae se in arbore ipsa divisere, azaniae vocantur, laeduntque ceteras, nisi detrahantur' *HN* 16.107). Pliny's description of these nuts suggests that, when dried, they exploded. His adjective *azaniae* is therefore related to the verb meaning 'to dry' and does not indicate the provenance of the nuts. Pliny also mentions an ocean or sea which he calls Azanian and which contains the island Scocotra (*HN* 6.108; 6.153).¹⁸ Thus Huntingford suggests that Azania means 'dried up land'. This meaning is appropriate to the dry

east coast of Africa. Furthermore Pliny's use of the phrase *azanium mare* is paralleled by the Arabic name for the coast, *Barr Ajjan*, as *bar* can be translated as 'sea'.¹⁹ The Romans, of course, would have known about this region as Graeco-Roman involvement in trade in the Red Sea area had been stepped up by Augustus and exchanges of goods are documented in the *Periplus*.²⁰

The proverb Ἀζάνια κακὰ, which was applied to the Azania in Arcadia, lends support to this argument.²¹ This proverb refers to the harshness of the land in Arcadian Azania. Stephanus also mentions a drought in Phrygian Azania, which suggests that this region too was dry and harsh and that the name was commonly used of such places (*Ethn. ad loc.*). Objections to Huntingford's interpretation of the name are that Pliny's *azanium mare* is too far north for Azania and etymologically the connection is questionable.²² Nevertheless, the Greek evidence suggests that Azania was a name given to a dry, harsh place and that this name was given to the north-east coast of Africa by Greek merchants.

Liddell and Scott suggest 'the land of Zan or Zeus' (*LSJ ad loc.*). There is a wealth of evidence in Pausanias to support this suggestion (Paus. 8.1). The family of Azan is closely connected with the inception of the cult of Zeus in Greece. Pelasgos, for example, was said to have been the first to discover that acorns from the grove of Zeus at Dodona were edible. His son Lykaon instituted the Lykaian Games and gave his name to Lykaian Zeus. There are also allusions in Pausanias to sacred mountains associated with the cult of Zeus, such as Mt Lykaion, Mt Azanios and Mt Kyllene. The name Azanis, the daughter of Azan, occurs in Ovid *Fast.* 3.659 in association with the nymph Anna, who first nurtured Zeus ('invenies, qui te nymphen Azanida dicant / teque Iovi primos, Anna, dedisse cibos').²³ The Cretan Kouretes knew of the connection between Zeus and Azan, as is clear from Statius (*Theb.* 4.292).²⁴ In the light of this evidence, the suggestion that the alpha in Azania is privative and that the word means 'the land without Zeus' or 'that God-forsaken hole', seems improbable.²⁵ Nevertheless the initial alpha of the name needs explanation. It is possible that 'without Zeus' meant 'without rain, dry', since Zeus was the god of weather, including rain.²⁶ This interpretation reconciles Huntingford's derivation with that of Liddell and Scott. The simplest derivation, which avoids this difficulty, is to derive the name from the personal name Azan.

The African Azania has also been related to the name Zanzibar, which is taken from the Arabic *zang* 'rust' and *bar* 'coast' = 'coast of rust-coloured people', though Lane takes *zang* to mean 'black'.²⁷ The coast was named Barbaria, a name which gave rise to the term Berbers, the ancient Causasoid inhabitants of North Africa, many of whom are light rather than dark in skin colour.²⁸ Furthermore Cushites and Semites appear to have entered southern Arabia and north-east Africa already in the 2nd mil-

lenium BC, and the expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples into this area is generally placed later than the first century AD, so that the Azanians may have been Hamito-Semitic rather than Negroid ethnically.²⁹

A variant of this theory relates Azania to the name Zingis or Zengisa (Ζίγγις ἢ Ζήγγισα), a cape south of Opone, mentioned by Ptolemy (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.7.11). Von Wissmann associates this place-name with the Zangenae, mentioned by Pliny, a close contemporary of the author of the *Periplus* (HN 6.176).³⁰ The Zangenae were an Arabian tribe mentioned by Juba in association with the Trogodytes, and the Ichthyophagoi, renowned for their swimming ability. Both the Zangenae and Zingis are located at the border between the Red Sea and Azania and both words may be etymologically connected with the name Azania by the Arabic ethnic term *Zanj*. The word *Zanj* is used, for example, by the Arab historian Tabari to refer to Black slaves in Mesopotamia, who rebelled against the caliph of Baghdad in 868.³¹ The rebels were difficult to subdue and sacked Basra before being suppressed in 883.³² Krumm derives the word from the Persian *zangik* meaning 'negro', though Turton questions this.³³ Turton also connects Ptolemy's toponym *Zingis* with this word and suggests that it was rarely used as an ethnic term, but that when it was, it often had pejorative connotations.³⁴ The travel notes of the 10th century Arab historian Al-Mas'udi, who knew Marinus, the source of Ptolemy, mentions leopard skins from the 'land of Zanj' and elephant-hunting by the 'Zanj' communities (Zingis) on the East coast of Africa.³⁵ The name is also used to refer to a governor of Aleppo, presumably black, who founded the Zangid dynasty (1127–1222).³⁶ This explanation does not explain the initial alpha of Azania. Nevertheless this etymology is suggestive, particularly in the light of the development of a creolised form of Arabic mentioned by the *Periplus* (PME 15). The name therefore may have been a blend of Arabic and the indigenous African language of the region.

Again, Dreyer points out that the Hamito-Semitic or Afro-Asiatic languages of NE Africa contain a number of words meaning 'brother' which may have been the root of the name Azania.³⁷ The name would then mean 'land of brothers'. The words cited are *san* (Beja, North Cushitic); *zan*, *zin* (Demba, Central Cushitic), *zino*, *zinogi* (Bachama, Chad); *sen* (Modgel, Chad); *sen* (Somrai, Chad). The Bushmen, some of whom survive in East Africa and Southern Africa, are known as the *San*. The initial alpha of Azania, however, still requires explanation. Huntingford refers to the derivation of Azania from the Arabic *ajam* 'non-Arab, foreigner', which meets this objection.³⁸ It is noticeable that Huntingford's derivation is the one echoed by the Greek βάρβαρος, the word on which Barbaria, the name of the coast of north-east Africa, is based. Dreyer fancifully suggests that the Afro-Asian etymology of Azania could be brought into line with Huntingford's derivation of the name from *ajam* foreigner, if the initial 'a' of

Azania were privative (hence 'land of those who are *not* our brothers').³⁹

African and Arcadian Azania

The origin of the Arcadian Azania is closely associated with the arrival of Pelasgians in Greece. Pausanias, for example, records a poem by Asios in praise of Pelasgos, who is said to have been born of the 'black earth', a hall-mark of the Pelasgians (Paus. 8.4). Linguistically there is nothing that prevents the word from being Pelasgian.⁴⁰ Arcadia was geographically isolated and linguistically conservative (the region retained the Arcado-Cyprian dialect for a long time). Arcadia could therefore have preserved this pre-Greek name. The form of the name may be paralleled in other Pelasgian names such as Ἀζωρος, Γορτυνία, Μελανδία and Πλακία, which bear some lexical resemblance to Azania.⁴¹

Stephanus says that the cult of Zeus in Arcadian Azania was in conflict with the worship of Dionysus.⁴² Stephanus here quotes the sixth book of Eudoxus' geography to the effect that there was a spring in Azania which caused those who tasted its water to be unable to tolerate the smell of wine, because Melampous polluted its waters by immersing the daughters of Proetus in it, after they had been driven mad by Dionysus. The name Melampodes is used to refer to early inhabitants of Egypt, whom Aegyptus is said to have subdued before renaming the land.⁴³ Melampous is said to have understood birds and insects, which may suggest his African origins. Herodotus tells us that Melampous introduced the phallic procession and the cult of Dionysos into Greece from Egypt (Hdt. 2.49.9).⁴⁴ Stephanus' story supports this statement. Bernal (above, n.24) 75-83, recently suggested that the Pelasgians were Near Eastern, laying emphasis on Herodotus, who claims that the language of the Pelasgians was not Greek (Hdt. 1.58, 2.50). Bernal associates the Pelasgians with Egypt and Canaan and cites Herodotus' assumption that the Egyptians made themselves kings in Greece (Hdt. 6.55). In addition, Stephanus says that there was another Azania near Massilia. Massilia was founded by the Ionian Phokaians, and Herodotus tells us that the Ionians were Pelasgian settlers (Hdt. 7.94-5). Furthermore, the cave near which the colony of Azania in Phrygia was located contained a statue of Kybele, the mother of Zeus, in Pausanias' day (Paus. 8.4.3). The worship of Kybele here was similar to the Hittite cult of the Mother Goddess at Tas Suret. Pausanias' account of the colony may have been an explanation for the similarity in the names. It is possible that the Arcadian Pelasgians originated in Phrygia, however, rather than moving from Arcadia to Phrygia.

There are clear indications, therefore, that the name Azania was not Greek. Stephanus gives a number of variations in the orthography of the name (given above), as well as the bizarre etymology of Hermogenes. Hermogenes derived the word from Exouanous ('Ἐξουάνους), because during

a famine the cowherds had sacrificed for good pasturage and when the gods did not listen Euphorbos sacrificed an ouanous (a fox — οὐανους = ἀλώπηξ) and an exis (a hedgehog — ἔξις = ἐχῖνος) to the gods. This did the trick and Euphorbos was made priest and archon by the inhabitants. The city was then called Exouanous, which stands for ἐχίναλῶπηξ ('Hedgehogfox'). The name was then changed to Azanion (Ἀζάνιον).⁴⁵ This fanciful story is an aetiological fable, characteristic of Libyan tales, which resembled the fables of Aesop (Arist. *Rhet.* 1393^a 30). The Greek proverb αἰεὶ τι Λιβύῃ φέρει καὶνὸν may also have originated in Libyan tales.⁴⁶

Conclusion

It is clear, therefore, that the Azania in Arcadia is related to at least two other places in the ancient world associated with the Pelasgians, and that the name may not originally have been Greek. There are also indications that the name was associated with Egypt and possibly with Africa. However, the argument that the name originated in Africa and was imported into Greece by the Pelasgians is difficult to prove. The alternative, and preferable, explanation is that, when the Greek merchants came into contact with the people of East Africa, they discovered that the coast was already extensively colonised by the Arab traders, who had intermarried with the local inhabitants and produced the Swahili people and a creolised form of Arabic (*PME* 16). This creolised language may have contained a toponym resembling the Greek Azania. Both the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy may have identified the Swahili name with the non-Greek toponym used by the Pelasgian settlers in Arcadia. The Swahili name may have borne a superficial, but probably coincidental, resemblance to the Greek one. The name has since been given other interpretations and modern interpretations of the name reflect the ideological importance currently attached to it in South Africa.

NOTES

1. LSJ *ad loc.*
2. L. Casson ed., *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989, 136; W.H. Schoff ed., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New Delhi 1974², 92.
3. G.W.B. Huntingford ed., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980, 62.
4. Peter Dreyer, *Martyrs and Fanatics*, London 1980, 220.
5. Casson (above, n.2); Schoff (above, n.2); Huntingford (above, n.3); Tomaschek, 'Azania', *RE* 2.2 (1896), 2639–2640; H. Schlichter, 'Ptolemy's Topography of Eastern Equatorial Africa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, ns 13 (1891) 513–553; the detailed and descriptive maps and drawings of elevations are given in C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Paris 1855; G. Bunsen, *De Azania Africae Litorale Orientali*, Bonn 1852; H.B. Robinson (ed.), *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar under the Direction of Captain*

- W.F.W. Owen, Twickenham 1833 (a fascinating document of British colonial history in the region, though of little direct relevance to ancient Azania); W. Vincent, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, London 1807. 2,143–255 with the dissertations on ancient maps and the 'Adulitic inscription'. See also N. Chittick, 'An Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Horn: The British-Somali Expedition, 1975', *Azania* 11 (1976) 117–133 and plates.
6. The author talks of 'trees we have in Egypt' (ὡς τινα καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δένδρων δακρύει τὸ κόμμι *PME* 29). He has a detailed knowledge of the regions he describes which suggests personal experience.
 7. The *Periplus* (4.2.1) says that the port of Adulis had to be moved away from the Barbaroi for safety. Cleopatra is said to have spoken the language of the Troglodytes (*Plut. Ant.* 27.3–4).
 8. For the suggested modern equivalents of the ancient toponyms, see Casson (above, n.2).
 9. K. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* 1–3, Paris, Didot 1883; C.F.A. Nobbe, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* 4–8, Leipzig, Teubner 1843, (Hildesheim reprint, Olms 1966). Bunsen (above, n.5) discusses the text in detail.
 10. Joseph Perin, *Onomasticon Totius Latinitatis*, Patavii 1713, referring to Conc. Const. a 536 Mansi 8.1049^H.
 11. Perin (above, n.10), referring to *Patr. Nic.* 2.138 (*Pisticus Azanensis*); 5.138 (πιστός Ἀζανῶν); 1.142 (*pisticus Azanon*).
 12. The name of a tribe in Arcadia, the Ἀζᾶνες, occurs in Euripides *Orestes* 1647 ed. G. Murray, Oxford 1913². Werner Biehl ed., Leipzig 1975, agrees with F.A. Paley ed., London 1872–1890², that the line is spurious. The name also occurs as the title of a play by Achaëus, a 5th century tragedian. Fragments of Achaëus are extant, ed. B. Snell *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1, Göttingen 1971. Servius (*Aen.* 11.31) comments on the name *Parrhasio Evandro*.
 13. A. Meineke ed., *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika*, Berlin 1849, repr. 1958.
 14. See J.G.C. Anderson, *ABSA* 4 (1898) 53–7. The settlement was located near to a cave, which was sacred to Kybele.
 15. Coins and inscriptions indicate that the name of the Phrygian city was Ἀζανοί.
 16. In the Old Vulgate II Esdras (Esdras and Nehemiah) 20.10, mention is made of *Iesus filius Azania*.
 17. cf. *Nic. Ther.* 205. A variant, ἀζάνειν, is also found (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 270).
 18. Pliny wrongly restricts the sea to the Hippalos area, but does give tantalising information on places in the region, such as Adulis (*Aegyptiorum hoc servi profugi a dominis condidere*), and lists the produce of the area, namely ivory, rhino horn and hides, tortoise-shell, apes and slaves (*HN* 6.172). Solinus (*Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 54.12; 56.5. c. 200 AD) talks of the *pelagus Azanium*.
 19. Schoff (above, n.2) tells us that the Arabs called the first part of the east coast of Africa (Somalia), *Barr Ajjan*, 'preserving the ancient name' and the second part *Benadir* = 'coast of harbours'. The Portuguese navigator De Barros also refers to the name for the north-east coast of Africa as *Ajan*. Schoff's connection between Ausan and the 'Ausanitic coast' (above, n.2) 94 is pure speculation (Casson [above, n.2] 252). This conjecture is based on Müller's suggestion of παρ' ... Ἀδωνείτην ἡδὲ for the unintelligible εἰπενήδιων (*PME* 15). See Casson (above, n.2) 253.
 20. See Steven Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 BC – AD 217*, Leiden 1986; Jehan Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*, Palais Farnèse 1978.
 21. Zenob. 2.54 Ἀζάνια κατὰ ἐπὶ τῶν κακοῖς προσπαλαιόντων. Ἀζάνια γὰρ τόπος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας λεπτόγεις, σκληρὸς καὶ ἄκαρπος, περὶ ὃν πονοῦντες γεωργοὶ οὐδὲν

- κομίζονται; Diogen. 1.24 Ἀζάνια κακά: ἐπὶ τῶν κακοῖς διηγεῖσθαι προσπαλαιόντων. Ἀζάναι γὰρ τόπος σκληρὸς, περὶ δὲ πονοῦντες οἱ γεωργοὶ οὐδὲν πορίζονται. See E.L. Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, Göttingen 1839, 1.46; 1.184. This proverb is linked to another, Ἀεὶτι Λιβύη φέρει καινόν, by a variant reading of κακόν for καινόν. Arist. *HA* 8.28; Ath. 14.623.F and Nicephor. Greg. 2.507.B.
22. See Albrecht Dihle, 'Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit', *ANRW* 29.2 (1978) 562-3. The long quantity of the second syllable of the word Azania makes the connection with ἀζαίνειν, which derives from *az-yn-ye/o, less likely.
 23. E.H. Alton's suggestion of 'Azanida' for 'Atlantida' in this line is now the generally accepted reading (see Alton, *Hermathena* 44 [1926] 114, who makes the same change for *Trist.* 1.11.15). J.G. Fraser ed., *The Fasti of Ovid*, London 1929, 1,158, is prepared to accept this conjecture. The conjecture is also accepted by Franz Bömer ed., *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten I & II*, Heidelberg 1958, and E.H. Alton, D.E.W. Wormell, E. Courtney (edd.), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*, Leipzig 1988, who cite also James Diggle, 'Notes on Ovid's *Tristia* Books 1-2', *CQ* 30 (1980) 411-412. Kowalski, *Gnomon* 6 (1930) 222, prefers *Atlantida*. The name is used also of a nymph wooed by Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 209).
 24. 'venit et Idaeis ululatus aemulus Azan, Parrhesiæ duces'. The scholiast confirms the connection 'Azan apud Arcades Curetes hoc nomen habent de monte Azanio. unde vulgo in sacris Deae Magnae ... dicitur Azan'. Azan was also the bridegroom of Hippolyte, whom Herakles freed from the centaurs (Diod. 4.33). He is also remembered as the person for whom the first funeral games, which featured horse-races during which Apis was killed, were held. Azan's son, Kleitor, was associated with Lykosoura, which Lykaon had founded. Also Diod. 5.80.1. See Martin Bernal, *Black Athena*, New Jersey 1987, 77 and n.16.
 25. The suggestion was made by Peter Green. See Dreyer (above, n.4, 219).
 26. Cf. A.B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge 1914-1940, 1.76.
 27. Dreyer (above, n.4) 216, takes 'zang' as 'rust-coloured'. Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Beirut 1968, 3, col. 1256, takes 'zang' as 'black'. The root may also be found in the name Zambia, Zambezi, etc. 'Tanzania', however, was formed from a combination of Tanganyika and Zanzibar when the two states amalgamated.
 28. Dreyer (above, n.4) 218.
 29. Roland Oliver, 'The problem of Bantu expansion', *Journal of African History* 7.3 (1966) 361-376; Roland Oliver & Brian M. Fagan, 'The emergence of Bantu Africa' in J.D. Fage (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 2, 500 BC - AD 1050, CUP 1978; Roland Oliver and Gervase Mathew, *History of East Africa*, 1, Clarendon 1963. The term 'Bantu' is used in this literature in a linguistic rather than an ethnic sense.
 30. Pliny probably wrote after the author of the *Periplus* but is ignorant of much of Azania and probably had finished the *Natural History* when the *Periplus* came into his hands (the fact that he did know of the *Periplus* is indicated by 6.101.7 — a description of the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus, and a passage of great interest for the significance of the trade with this area). Von Wissmann, 'Zangeneae', *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968), 1337-1348, connects the Zangeneae with Azania and puts them in East Africa. Von Wissmann also associates the other tribe names in Pliny with places in East Africa (eg. *Bargeni* from Bar Agam).
 31. W.H. Schoff (above, n.2) relates the name to the 'ancient Arabic and Persian division of the world into three sections, Hind, Sind, and Zinj' (in this he is following Yule's

- commentary on the travels of Marco Polo, which says that Zinj, or Zanj, is one of the three divisions of the Indies [of which Africa formed a part] namely Hind, Sind and Zinj). This resulted in the medieval idea of the Indies, which consisted of Africa together with India and Asia. Marco Polo thought Abyssinia was part of India.
32. See E.J. Brill's *First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1938*, Leiden 1987; S.F. Mahmud, *A Short History of Islam*, London 1958.
 33. B. Krumm, *Words of Oriental Origin in Swahili*, London 1940; E.R. Turton, 'Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: A Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area', *Journal of African History* 16.4 (1975) 519-537.
 34. Turton (above, n.32) 525.
 35. G.P.S. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African coast. Select documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century*, Oxford, Clarendon 1962, 15. The Arab historian Mas'udi knew of Marinus, the source of Ptolemy, according to D.M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to AD 1500*, Longman 1971.
 36. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh 1967. The use of the name to refer to Blacks in general is confirmed by Edward William Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, Beirut 1968.
 37. Dreyer (above, n.4).
 38. G.W.B. Huntingford (above, n.3).
 39. The *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests a connection with Arabic 'adjaan', which refers to the Muslim call to prayer.
 40. See A.J. Van Windekens, *Le Pélasgique: Essai sur une langue indo-européenne préhellénique*, Louvain 1952; A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands*, Göttingen 1905. Neither Fick nor Van Windekens discusses the word itself.
 41. Fick (above, n.39) 165.
 42. 'Αζανία, μέρος τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, ἀπὸ Ἀζάνος τοῦ Ἀρκάδος. οἱ οἰκῆτορες Ἀζᾶνες καὶ Ἀζῆνες. καὶ Ἀζάνιος καὶ Ἀζανία καὶ Ἀζάνιον. Εὐδοξος δὲ ἐν ἔκτῃ γῆς περιόδου φησὶν ἔστι κρῆνη τῆς Ἀζηνίας, ἣ τοὺς γευσασμένους τοῦ ὕδατος ποιεῖ μὴδὲ τὴν ὁσμὴν τοῦ οἴνου ἀνέχεσθαι, εἰς ἣν λέγουσι Μελάμποδα, ὅτε τὰς Προϊτίδας ἐκάθαιρεν, ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀποκαθάρματα'. ἔστι δὲ μοῖρα τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἢ Ἀζανία. διήρηται δὲ εἰς τρία, Παρρασίους Ἀζᾶνας Τραπεζουντίους. καὶ ἔχει ἡ Ἀζανία πόλεις ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἃς ἔλαχεν Ἀζήν. ἔστι καὶ Μασσαλίας ἄλλη, ὡς Φίλων. (Steph. Byz. *ad loc.*)
 43. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4. Δαναὸν μὲν οὖν Βῆλος ἐν Λιβύῃ κατέφυγεν, Αἴγυπτον δὲ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ, ὅς καὶ καταστρεφόμενος τὴν Μελαμπόδων χώραν (ἂψ' ἑαυτοῦ) ὠνόμασεν Αἴγυπτον. Apollodorus is copied by Eustathius 1.60.31-36.
 44. See also Diod. 1.97.4.
 45. Ἀζανοί, Φρυγίας πόλις. Στράβων δωδεκάτῃ 'τῆς δ' Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας Ἀζανοί τε εἰσι καὶ Νακόλεια'. οἱ πολῖται Ἀζανῖται, τὸ θηλυκὸν Ἀζανίτις. Ἡρωδιανὸς διὰ τῆς αἰ ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν καθόλου λέγων Ἀζήν Ταντάλου παῖς, ἂψ' οὗ ἐν Φρυγία πόλις Ἀζανοί. τινὲς δὲ Ἀζάνιον αὐτὴν φασιν. Ἑρμογένης δὲ φησιν οὐδὲ οὕτως, ἀλλ' Ἐξουάνουν αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι· λέγεται γὰρ παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγροικίας εἶναι, λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου συνελθόντες οἱ ποιμένες ἔθουον εὐβοσίαν γενέσθαι· οὐκ ἀκούοντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν Εὐφορβος τὴν οὐανοῦν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀλώπηξ, καὶ ἔξιν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐχίνος, θῆσαι τοῖς δαίμοσιν· εὐαρεστησάντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὐφορίαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν παλινκαρπῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ περιόικους πυθομένους ἱερέα καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτὸν καταστήσαι. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν Ἐξουάνουν, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐστὶν ἐχινάλωπηξ. ἔοικε δὲ μετῆλλοῦσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Ἐξουάνουν τὸ Ἀζάνιον. ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον τῷ Βιθυνίῳ, περὶ οὗ ἐροῦμεν. (Steph. Byz. *ad loc.*)
 46. Leutsch and Schneidewin 1.46, referring to Bernhardt, *Hist. Litt. Græc.* 1.58.