

HANNO

MONIQUE MUND-DOPCHIE

(Université Catholique de Louvain)

Fortuna.

Bibliography.

I. *Hannonis Periplus.*

Translation.

1. Conradus Gesnerus.

Commentary.

a. Conradus Gesnerus.

FORTUNA

The voyage which Hanno, a native of Carthage, took along the coast of West Africa “when the power of Carthage flourished” (i.e., before 200 B.C.)¹ is known to us through two categories of independent sources.

To the first category belongs the *Hannonis Periplus*, an undated Greek text, describing the voyage from beginning to end. The complete title, Ἰαννῶνος Καρχηδονίων βασιλέως περίπλους τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας Λιβυκῶν τῆς γῆς μερῶν, ὃν καὶ ἀνέθηκε ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει δηλοῦντα τάδε (“The Sea-Voyage of Hanno, King of the Carthaginians, around the Libyan Regions of the Earth beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which he also set up in the shrine of Cronos, stating as follows”) indicates that this work is a Greek translation of a Punic text, com-

1. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 2.169. The date of the voyage is controversial: perhaps before 200 B.C., certainly before 146 B.C. There is no consensus on this topic among philologists and historians of Antiquity; see J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^e siècle avant J.-C.–IV^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 38 (Rome, 1978), 39–85 and S. Bianchetti, “Isole africane nella tradizione romana,” in *L'Africa romana. Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16–18 dicembre 1988*, ed. A. Mastino (Sassari, 1989), 215–47, especially nn. 1 and 6.

posed by Hanno himself, which was engraved and kept inside the temple of Baal-Cronos in Carthage. At present only two manuscript witnesses are known: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. gr. 398, s. IX, fols. 55r–56r and its fourteenth-century apograph, Mount Athos, Vatopedon Monastery, 655 + London, British Library, Add. ms. 19391 + Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, suppl. grec 443A.²

The second category of sources consists of al-

2. Pal. gr. 398 remained in Byzantium until the fifteenth century. It then formed part of the collection of Greek manuscripts acquired in the 1430s by Cardinal Johannes Stojkovič of Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik) and bequeathed by him in 1443 to the Dominican Convent of Basel. Hieronymus Froben, the famous Basel printer, obtained from the convent several manuscripts which he used for his editions. Those manuscripts which were not returned to the convent were presented by Froben to Otto Heinrich, Palatine Elector and founder of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. Pal. gr. 398 was listed in the Palatine Library catalogue attributed to Friedrich Sylburg (d. 1596). In 1623 this codex was brought by Leo Allatius to the Vatican Library; from there it went in 1798 to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and returned in 1816 to Heidelberg.

The apograph was discovered in 1838 by E. Zachariä in the Vatopedon Monastery on Mount Athos where the main portion of the manuscript is still preserved. In the 1840s a number of leaves were detached and came into the possession of the British Museum, now the British Library (21 folios, among them *Hannonis Periplus*), and of

lusions made by several Greek and Latin authors to various episodes and accounts of Hanno's voyage.³ The oldest testimony concerning a district outside the Pillars of Heracles, part of which burns continuously and part only at night, is cited in *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 37, a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise composed ca. 150 B.C. (?). In the first century A.D., Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia* 2.169, 5.8, 6.200) and Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 3.90, 93) include Hanno as a source in their descriptions of the coast of West Africa, as does Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 24, 56), a geographer of the third century A.D., who relied heavily on Pliny. Arrianus (second century A.D.) gives in his *Ἰνδική* 43.12 a fairly long extract concerning the end of the expedition, and Athenaeus of Naucratis (third century A.D.) provides in *Deipnosophistae* 3.83c some ironical reflections on Hanno's wanderings. There is also a corrupt text by Palaiphatos (150 B.C.?) with a mention of a "river Hanno" (*Περὶ ἀπίστων* 31).

The *Hannonis Periplus* and these indirect sources reveal diverse traditions. Although they agree on the reality of Hanno's voyage along the coast of West Africa and his discovery of extraordinary places, they are opposed on several points and leave some problems unsolved. Thus, there are discrepancies concerning the termination of the expedition. Accordingly, in some instances Hanno is forced to retrace his course because of a shortage of supplies (*Periplus* 18; Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 3.90) or unbearable traveling conditions (Arrianus, *Ἰνδική* 43.12); other authorities, however, credit the Carthaginian admiral with the circumnavigation of Africa (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.169). It should also be noted that the indirect testimonies cite elements per-

taining to the marvelous, e.g., Gorgons,⁴ Amazons,⁵ Goat-Pans, and Satyrs,⁶ which are lacking in the text of the *Periplus*. Finally, the sources disagree on the geographical location, the identity, and the inhabitants of some of the ports of call. Given, then, such conflicting views, it is easy to understand why Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia* 5.8) had his doubts about the authenticity of the entire account of Hanno's trip which circulated during his own lifetime.

In the Middle Ages Hanno's voyage was known only through the influence of Pliny the Elder on the encyclopedic tradition. The information which Pliny had gathered about Africa from Hanno's account on the Gorgades Islands (*Naturalis historia* 6.200) was reproduced, sometimes without reference to Hanno, by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), Dicuilus (fl. 825), Hugh of St. Victor (ca. 1096–1141), Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1190–1264), Petrus Alliatus (1350–1420), and Domenico Silvestri (ca. 1335–1411).⁷

Not until the Renaissance did attention come to be focused directly on Hanno's voyage and the account of his travels. At first they were referred to and commented on through the indirect tradition: in fact, the first allusions to Hanno in the Renaissance are to be found in connection with the study of Pomponius Mela and Solinus in the 1520s.⁸ In 1533 Sigismundus Gelenius published at Basel a volume containing a number of geographical writings, including the *editio princeps*

4. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.200; Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 3.99.

5. Pomponius Mela, *ibid.* 3.93.

6. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.7; Pomponius Mela, *ibid.* 3.90–93.

7. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 14.6.9; Dicuilus, *De mensura orbis terrae* 7.5; Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Descriptio mappe mundi* 2.79–81; Vincent of Beauvais, *Ymago mundi* 41; Domenico Silvestri, *De insulis et earum proprietatibus*, fol. 69, ed. C. Pecoraro (*Atti della Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, 4th Ser., 14 [1954] 1–319). For a partial study which deals with the medieval fortuna of Hanno, see M. Mund-Dopchie, *La fortune du "Périphe d'Hannon" à la Renaissance et au XVIIe siècle. Continuité et rupture dans la transmission d'un savoir géographique*, Collection d'Études Classiques 8 (Namur, 1995), 19–23.

8. See J. Camers, *In C. Iulii Solini Polyhistora Enarrationes. Additus eiusdem Camertis Index, tum literarum ordine, tum rerum notabilium copia percommodus studiosis* ([Vienna, ca. 1520]), 335; J. Vadianus, *Pomponii Melae De orbis situ libri tres, accuratissime emendati, una cum commentariis J. V. Helvetii castigatoribus, et multis in locis auctioribus factis* (Basel, 1522), 214.

the Bibliothèque Nationale, now the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (7 folios), where they are now preserved as Add. ms. 19391 and suppl. grec 443A respectively. The apograph has no independent value in establishing the text of Hanno; see A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, American Philological Association, Philological Monographs 14 (New York, 1952), 3–14 and J. Blomqvist, *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus, with an Edition of the Text and a Translation*, Scripta minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 1979–80.3 (Lund, 1979), 57.

3. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.8 (*commentarii*); Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.83c (Λιβυκαῖσι βίβλοις ἔτι τε ταῖς Ἄννωνος πλάναις).

of the *Periplus* based on Heidelberg Pal. gr. 398 (which was available at that time in Basel).⁹ Giambattista Ramusio's Italian translation of Gelenius' Greek text of the *Periplus* was published (Venice, 1550) in his collection of travel accounts dealing with Africa.¹⁰ This translation, accompanied by Ramusio's comments (also in Italian), had a wider influence than did the *editio princeps*. In its turn, the Italian version was translated into French by Jean Temporal in 1556 and into English by Samuel Purchas in 1625.¹¹ Furthermore, Ramusio's Italian commentary was also translated by Temporal, summarized by Purchas, and used in later analyses of Hanno's voyage.

Prior to the seventeenth century there is only one Latin translation of the *Periplus* and only one Latin commentary. Both are the work of Conradus Gesnerus, and they were published in 1559 at Zurich in the same volume by his cousin Andreas Gesnerus. Conradus Gesnerus' translation and commentary owe nothing to the Italian translation and commentary. Abraham Berkelius and John Hudson included the text of the 1559 edition in their respective editions of Stephanus Byzantinus (Leiden, 1674) and the minor Greek geographers (Oxford, 1698).¹² The 1559 edition was also frequently referred to in studies dealing with the geography of Antiquity.

Seventeenth-century Latin translations and

9. [S. Gelenius], *Arriani et Hannonis Periplus. Plutarchus, De fluminibus et montibus. Strabonis Epitome* (Basel, 1533), 38–40. See n. 2 above for the wanderings of Heidelberg Pal. gr. 398.

10. G. B. Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell'Africa* (Venice, 1550), fols. 121v–124v.

11. J. Temporal, *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde, contenans ses royaumes, regions, villes, cités, chateaux et forteresses: îles, fleuves, animaux, tant aquatiques, que terrestres: coutumes, loix, religion et façon de faire des habitans, avec pourtraits de leurs habits: ensemble autres choses memorables, et singulieres nouveautés: écrite de nôtre tems par Iean Leon, African, premierement en langue arabesque, puis en Toscane, et à present mise en François. Plus, Cinq nauigations au païs des Noirs, avec les discours sur icelles, comme uerrez en la page suivante*, vol. 1 (Lyons, 1556), fols. **1r–**6r; S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Five Bookes. The First* (London, 1625), 77–79 (translation, p. 78).

12. A. Berkelius, *Genuina Stephani Byzantini De urbibus et populis fragmenta A. B. latinam interpretationem et animadversiones adjecit. Accedit Hannonis Carthaginensium Regis Periplus. Graece et latine* (Leiden, 1674), 66–98; J. Hudson, *Geographiae veteris scriptores graeci minores. Cum interpretatione latina, dissertationibus ac annotationibus*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1698), 1–6.

commentaries devoted to Hanno include an unfinished translation and commentary undertaken by Lucas Holstenius ca. 1630 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 107, pp. 213–241) as well as Johannes Jacobus Müller's translation and commentary prepared as a dissertation under the supervision of Johannes Henricus Boecler and submitted to the University of Strassburg (1661).¹³ Samuel Bochart's Latin commentary on a large part of the Greek version of the *Periplus* comprised part of his *Geographia sacra* (1646).¹⁴ Isaac Vossius also intended to write a commentary (*Observationes*), to judge from copious remarks which he made in his other works about Hanno's voyage,¹⁵ and it is to be regretted that he could not carry out his project. Finally, mention must be made of a dissertation by Henry Dodwell published in 1698, in which the question of the authenticity of the various versions of the account that have come down to us is systematically and thoroughly discussed.¹⁶

These editors, translators, and commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth century used the same texts and documents that are available to us today. They studied the *Periplus* and the indirect tradition with great attention and submitted both to critical evaluation. They were aware of the difficulties raised by the disparity and the unreliability of the sources; they found it difficult to draw the itinerary on a map; they were unable to agree on the date and on the final stage of the journey; they were aware of the particular color the Greek version had given to the account and in the end expressed their doubts about the authenticity, if not of the voyage itself, at least of the texts which related it.

Some geographers, chroniclers of the Great

13. J. J. Müller, *Hannonis periplus. Quem a se latine conversum et annotatione quadam auctum in Inclyta Academia Argentoratensi Praeside viro amplissimo atque excellentissimo Dn. Jo. Henrico Boeclero, Historiarum professore celeberrimo, fautore atque patrono suo maxime colendo, praeceptoribus et commilitonibus suis sollemniter examinandum proponit Johann. Jacobus Müller* (Strassburg, 1661).

14. S. Bochartus, *Geographiae sacrae pars altera: Chanaan seu De coloniis et sermone Phoenicum* (Caen, 1646), 710–15.

15. I. Vossius, *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam De situ orbis* (The Hague, 1658), 207–208, 302–303, 305; Vossius, *Variarum observationum liber* (London, 1685), 51–53.

16. H. Dodwell, "Dissertatio prima. De vero peripli, qui Hannonis nomine circumfertur, tempore," in Hudson, *Geographiae veteris scriptores graeci minores* 1.1–41.

Discoveries (i.e., the discovery of the New World and the exploration of the African coasts), and intellectuals closely related to political circles and the business world had an interest in Hanno's voyage and account and viewed them in an exclusively contemporary perspective. They (e.g., Alvise Cadamosto, Luis del Mármol y Carvajal¹⁷) saw in Hanno the remarkable predecessor of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, and other Portuguese discoverers, or they (e.g., François de Belleforest, Abraham Ortelius, Giovanni Antonio Magini¹⁸) resorted to the *Periplus* as a source of information on the ancient state of Africa, or they (e.g., Hugo Grotius, Jan de Laet, Georg Hornius¹⁹) involved Hanno's voyage and the other navigations made in Antiquity in the controversies that the colonization of America and the African coast had aroused. In these controversies the fact of ocean navigations in Antiquity and the presence of Greek and Roman sailors along the African coast might deprive the Portuguese and the Spaniards of their title to occupancy of the African or American coast, or they could be used to prove the European origin of the American Indians.²⁰

Scholars involved in the colonial venture dis-

17. A. Cadamosto, *Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitolato* (Vicenza, 1507), ch. 1 (for an English translation see G. R. Crone, *The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century* [London, 1937; rpt. Nendeln, 1967]); L. del Mármol Carvajal, *Primera parte de la Descripción general de Affrica* (Granada, 1573), fols. 45v–46r.

18. F. de Belleforest, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1575), col. 1788; A. Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1573), fol. 4; G. A. Magini, *Geographiae universae tum veteris tum novae absolutissimum opus* (Cologne, 1597), fol. 182r.

19. J. de Laet, *Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De origine gentium americanarum, et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimae illius quaestionis* (Paris, 1643), 79, 133, 136–37; *Responsio ad dissertationem secundam Hugonis Grotii De origine gentium americanarum* (Amsterdam, 1644), 110–11; G. Hornius, *De originibus americanis libri quatuor* (Halberstadt, 1669), 145–50.

20. On these controversies, see, e.g., G. Gliozzi, *Adamo e il Nuovo Mondo. La nascita dell'antropologia come ideologia coloniale: dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali (1500–1700)* (Florence, 1977); on references to Hanno in these controversies, see M. Mund-Dopchie, "Different Readings of Hanno's Voyage from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century—From Pure Erudition to Ideological Debate," in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction. Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery, and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. Z. von Martels, Brill's Studies

cussed the navigations of Antiquity in a way appropriate to individual circumstances. But this was no longer the case after the allotment of the new colonies among European States. On the other hand, from the eighteenth century to the present day, editions, translations, and commentaries of the *Periplus* have steadily grown in number; the most recent translation (in Spanish) was published in 1996.²¹ Moreover, Hanno's account continues to attract a varied audience including philologists, historians of Antiquity, sailors, and experts in African matters who devote regular attention to the problems already encountered by many scholars of the Renaissance and the seventeenth century.²² Such persistent interest reveals how people's imagination, both past and present, has been quickened by the powerful dream of an antique adventurer, whose epic achievements still convey a sense of mystery.

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F. Cordano, *Antichi viaggi per mare* (Porde-

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21. *Periplo de Hanón*, in *Relatos de viajes en la literatura griega antigua*, ed. A. García Moreno and F. J. Gómez Espelosín (Madrid, 1996), 99–112.

22. See Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (n. 2 above), 48–101 passim.

none, 1992), 5–14 (Italian translation and commentary).

A. García Moreno and F. J. Gómez Espelosín, *Relatos de viajes en la literatura griega antigua* (Madrid, 1996), 99–112 (introduction and Spanish translation).

II. TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, American Philological Association, Philological Monographs 14 (New York, 1952); M. Mund-Dopchie, “Les humanistes face aux ‘gorilles’ d’Hannon,” in *Prose et prosateurs de la Renaissance. Mélanges offerts à M. le professeur Robert Aulotte* (Paris, 1988), 331–41; Mund-Dopchie, “La survie du ‘Périple d’Hannon’ au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1989) 163–75; Mund-Dopchie, “Different Readings of Hanno’s Voyage from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century—From Pure Erudition to Ideological Debate,” in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction. Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery, and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. Z. von Martels, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 55 (Leiden, 1994), 111–19; Mund-Dopchie, *La fortune du “Périple d’Hannon” à la Renaissance et au XVII^e siècle. Continuité et rupture dans la transmission d’un savoir géographique*, Collection d’Études Classiques 8 (Namur, 1995).

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I. HANNONIS PERIPLUS

TRANSLATION

1. Conradus Gesnerus

In 1559 Andreas Gesnerus published at Zurich in the same volume, without an *epistola ad lectorem*, two unrelated works about Africa: the Latin translation by Johannes Florianus of Johannes Leo Africanus’ treatise *Africae descriptio* and the Latin translation by Conradus Gesnerus of the account of Hanno’s voyage.

The *Africae descriptio* was completed in 1526

by Johannes Leo Africanus (John Leo the African, actually al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al Wazzân), a Muslim native of Granada, who had traveled in North Africa and in the Near East. The original text, written in Arabic or in Italian (there is no consensus on this point), is lost. It was first published in Italian by Giambattista Ramusio in his collection of travel accounts dealing with Africa (Venice, 1550). The Latin translation by Johannes Florianus, rector of the college of Antwerp, was first published in 1556 at Antwerp. Neither the text nor the dedication addressed to Melchior Schetus Corvinus, treasurer of Antwerp, was altered in the 1559 edition. There are, however, some minor changes: the *Index rerum memorabilium* was amplified and titles were revised. (On Johannes Leo Africanus and his *Africae descriptio*, see O. Zhiri, *L'Afrique au miroir de l'Europe: fortunes de Jean Léon l'Africain à la Renaissance* [Geneva, 1991]).

Conradus Gesnerus' translation of the *Hannonis Periplus* appears, with separate pagination, at the end of the 1559 edition. The dedicatory letter is addressed to Johannes du Choul, a French naturalist, whose *Pilati Montis in Gallia descriptio* was published by Conradus Gesnerus together with his own treatise *De rarioribus et admirandis herbis* (Zurich, 1555). In this letter Gesnerus explains that he undertook the translation at the request of his cousin Andreas Gesnerus who wished to complement the edition of the *Africae descriptio*. Conradus Gesnerus chose Hanno since there was no time for a larger task, and he worked with haste on both the translation and the commentary. Despite such difficult conditions, Gesnerus' translation of Hanno is accurate and contains only a few minor mistakes. The Latin prose is clever, perhaps too elegant in comparison with the original text.

Dedication (ed. of Zurich, 1559). Inclito genere et virtutibus viro Johanni du Choul Conradus Gesnerus s. p. d. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Cum his diebus patruelis meus Andreas Gesnerus Johannis Leonis Africam suis typis cuderet eique auctarium aliquod novum a me addi contenderet, nec otium ad maiora mihi suppeteret, subito Hannonis Navigationem, qua is maximam libycae orae partem lustravit, dieculae fere opera, latinam feci, et simul scholia quaedam, nimis quidem festinanter conscripta, adieci. Hunc vero tantillum libellum, vir inclite, in praestantiae tuae nomen veluti tute-

lare inscribere non dubitavi. . . . Accipe igitur quicquid hoc et quantumcunque est libelli, meae erga te observantiae pignus perpetuae et amoris monumentum summi. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 4) Vale cum magnifico amplissimoque viro Guilielmo du Choul, regio senatore et Allobrogum praefecto, cuius incomparabilis doctrinae ac diligentiae lucubrationes partim iam vidi, partim summo desiderio expecto, et mecum omnes cultioris literaturae studiosi, quemadmodum etiam tuas. Iterum vale quam felicissime et me ama. Tiguri Helvetiorum urbe primaria tertio Calend. Februarii. Anno salutiferi partus M. D. LIX.

Hannonis Periplus (ed. of Zurich, 1559). [*Inc.*]: (p. 5) Placuit Carthaginensibus ut Hanno navigaret extra columnas Herculis, et <urbes> Libyphaenicum (*sic*) conderet. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 9) Feminas tamen cepimus tres quas, cum mordendo et lacerando abducturis reniterentur, occidimus, et pelles eis detractas in Carthaginem retulimus. Neque enim ultra navigavimus, cum annona deficeret. Finis.

Editions:

1559, Tiguri (Zurich): per Andream Gesnerum. VD H-532. NUC. BNF; BAV; (CtY; DLC; MnU; RPJCB).

1674, Lugduni in Batavis (Leiden): apud Danielelem a Gaesbeeck. With the fragments of Stephanus Byzantinus' *De urbibus et populis*, the Greek text of the *Periplus*, and Conradus Gesnerus' Latin translation and commentary (with some misprints). NUC. BL; BNF; (CtY; OLX).

1698, Oxoniae (Oxford): e Theatro Sheldoniano. With the works of the other minor Greek Geographers, the Greek text of the *Periplus*, and Conradus Gesnerus' Latin translation and commentary (with some orthographical changes). BL; BNF; Louvain-la-Neuve, Bibliothèque Générale et des Sciences Humaines.

Biography:

See CTC 2.307. Add to the *Bibliography*: L. Braun, *Conrad Gessner*, Collection Les grands Suisses 8 (Geneva, 1990); Ph. Ford, "Conrad Gesner et le fabuleux manteau," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 47 (1985) 305–20; H. H. Wellisch, *Conrad Gessner: A Bio-Bibliography*, 2d ed. (Zug, 1984).

COMMENTARY

a. Conradus Gesnerus

Conradus Gesnerus' short commentary on the *Hannonis Periplus* was published at Zurich in 1559 together with the translation described in I.1 above. It deals essentially with vocabulary and geographical *realia*. Gesnerus identifies Hanno, explains the meaning of words and sentences by resorting to other ancient texts (from Herodotus, Pliny the Elder, Arrianus, Ptolemaeus, etc.), and brings together diverse occurrences of the names of places visited by Hanno. Occasionally he is also interested in comparing the *Periplus* with the indirect tradition: he relies entirely on the text of Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. gr. 398 and blames Pliny the Elder for departing from its readings.

Commentary (ed. of Zurich, 1559). In eundem

libellum extemporaneae quaedam Annotationes. [*Inc.*]: (p. 10) In titulum. De Hannone. *Hanno* apud Plinum et alios fere Latinos scriptores aspiratur. Graeci non aspirant, forte propter regulam grammaticorum . . . / . . . (p. 12). In ipsum libellum. Libyphoenices invenio in Tabulis Geographicis circa Carthaginem, quam Phoenices condidisse historiae produnt. Sic et Libyaegyptii a Plinio dicuntur (cf. *Periplus* 1) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 21) *Κρημνοβάται* (*Periplus* 10). Eosdem *ἠλιβάτας* dixeris. *Τοῖς μετρίοις* (*Periplus* 18). Repono *πέτροις*, sicut et supra legitur (*Periplus* 9). Finis.

Editions:

See I.1 above.

Biography:

See I.1 above.