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Humanists and travellers, Gorgons and gorillas:

Hanno the Navigator's *Periplus* and early modern geography (1530–1630)

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Abstract

This article is concerned with early modern interpretations of Hanno the Navigator's *Periplus*, an ancient travel account of a Carthaginian voyage down the coasts of Africa. The early modern period saw a rise in interest in geographical knowledge, and the ways in which different authors used Hanno's voyage reflects their understanding of the role of geography in conceptualising the world. In these discussions, writers had to negotiate between the confusing portrayals of the voyage in the received classical tradition and contemporary reports brought by voyages of exploration, as they sought to synthesise humanist and philological methods with contemporary travellers' accounts. Here, I will discuss how these syntheses were shaped by the economic and political concerns tied to the first wave of European overseas expansion. Amid this climate, ancient geographical knowledge found pragmatic applications, in contemporary issues of navigation and law, commerce and settlement, and claims of territorial possession, as well as in consolidating European perceptions of 'self' and 'the other'. This paper thus seeks to situate humanist practices and classical knowledge within the wider context of overseas voyages and early modern political and economic developments.

Keywords: early modern geography, Hanno the Navigator, humanism, voyages of exploration, early colonialism

I. Introduction

In 1533, there appeared the *editio princeps* of a Byzantine manuscript which recounted the tale of the *Navigation of Hanno, a Carthaginian nobleman, along the coasts of Africa beyond the Pillars of Herakles*.¹ This ancient voyage was known to the early modern world vicariously through fragmented and dissenting commentaries of classical scholars, but the newly published text described Hanno's story in considerably greater detail and was purportedly derived from an account written by the Carthaginian himself. Appearing in a climate where interest in navigation was on the rise and Spain and Portugal were advancing around the coasts of Africa and across the Atlantic Ocean, Hanno's account attracted renewed attention.² The Carthaginian's destination in particular provoked discussions, as neither ancient nor early modern commentators could agree on how far Hanno had sailed: the opinions ranged from the western coast of Africa to its circumnavigation, with some suggesting that Hanno may even have sailed deep into the Atlantic.

With these ambiguous interpretations, Hanno's navigation became a notoriously conflicted territory, as the English polymath Thomas Browne aptly remarked upon in his *Musaeum Clausum* (The Sealed Museum, 1683). In this humorous collection of things that did not exist, Browne wished there was '[a] learned comment upon the *Periplus* of Hanno the Carthaginian; or his navigation upon the western coast of Africa with the several places he landed at; what colonies he settled, what ships were scattered from his fleet near the equinoctial line, which were not afterward heard of, and which probably fell into the trade winds, and were carried over into the coast of America.'³ Understandably, these debates had an important bearing on early modern maritime and legal discussions. If Hanno had in fact reached the Red Sea – or even crossed the Atlantic –, what would this imply for reflections upon modern technological superiority over the ancients and for Spanish and Portuguese claims to their new overseas territories?

The supposed destination of Hanno was not the only part of the story that sparked debates. In what is probably the most curious episode in the account, the Carthaginian was said to have encountered hairy savages, whose skins he brought back home as proof of his voyage. Ancient

commentators, led by Pliny the Elder (AD 23-79), associated the hairy savages with the mythical Gorgons; however, the *editio princeps* put a new term into circulation, stating that Hanno's native interpreters called the brutes 'γορίλλας' (goríllas).⁴ Wondrous creatures were expected to be found in distant lands and the identity of Hanno's savages posed a major conundrum to early modern writers.⁵ In an annotated translation of the *editio princeps*, published in his *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Navigations and Voyages, 1550), the Venetian civil servant Giovanni Battista Ramusio honoured the classical tradition in translating 'goríllas' as 'Gorgone'. However, aware of the knowledge brought by the contemporary voyages around Africa, Ramusio also claimed to have discussed the issue with an anonymous Portuguese pilot. Well-travelled in the west-African waters, the sailor suggested that Hanno had in fact brought back the skins of 'babuini', large man-like monkeys abundant along the coast.⁶

As the Europeans were increasingly penetrating new regions, early modern scholars could compare long-established textual sources against the experiences of contemporary travellers and Ramusio's treatment of Hanno's report is representative of these negotiations between erudite and practical traditions of geographical knowledge. Although efforts to reconcile classical wisdom and novel information have been extensively explored in some disciplines of early modern knowledge, especially in natural history and medicine,⁷ the developments in other fields – such as geography – deserve further attention. A time-honoured practice rooted in the Ancient Greek words for 'earth' and 'description', early modern European geography was faced with the challenge of representing and reconciling newly discovered worlds: both those long gone, captured in classical writings, as well as those observed by contemporary navigators sailing across the seas.⁸ It was against this backdrop of the first wave of the European overseas expansion and the rising historical interest in Antiquity and antiquities that the syntheses between erudite and empirical took place. These confrontations between old and new, familiar and exotic, and between local and distant realities shaped early modern European perceptions of 'self' and 'the other', as well as their policies towards the regions discovered and the people encountered.

To illustrate these developments, I will compare the responses of early modern authors to Hanno's voyage and its associated, often conflicting ancient commentaries in the first century after the publication of the *editio princeps*. Starting with a brief consideration of the ancient tradition of Hanno's account, I then discuss the reactions in mid-sixteenth century Switzerland and Venice, focusing on the work of Conrad Gessner and Ramusio. Although both authors openly invoked humanist motivations, I suggest that their interest in Hanno and overseas voyages went hand in hand with the changing patterns of established trade routes, as well as with printers and authors capitalising on the increasing curiosity about distant lands. In the last section, I will explore the role of Hanno and Carthaginian navigations in the legal debates around the Spanish and Portuguese claims for their overseas possessions and illustrate how ancient knowledge was exploited to bolster the political agendas of early modern states. On the one hand, all these episodes reveal the humanist background of some of the practices used by early modern writers concerned with geography and illustrate how their methods were used to integrate old and new, as well as to produce novel meanings. On the other, I use these examples [to consider the role of ancient geographical knowledge in consolidating early modern European identities, as well as](#) to situate the treatment of classical geography and its synthesis with new discoveries into the wider socio-political and economic context of the period. I argue that in the climate of early European forays overseas, geographical knowledge of the ancient world found novel, pragmatic applications in contemporary issues of navigation and commerce.

II. Through the Pillars of Herakles

Modern evidence suggests that Hanno's legendary voyage is based on true events, which are thought to have occurred shortly after the First Sicilian War (480 BC), in which the Carthaginian ambitions of eastward expansion suffered a heavy blow.⁹ Instead, the Punics are deemed to have moved their attention in the opposite direction. Ancient sources talk of two noble brothers, Hanno and Himilco, who were sent by the Carthaginian senate to colonise the regions and explore new trade routes beyond the Pillars of Herakles; the former travelled towards the south, along the western coast

of Africa, while the latter went to the north-western shores of Europe.¹⁰ Upon their return both brothers are said to have written accounts describing their navigations, with Hanno also bringing back skins of hairy man-like creatures as proof of his voyage. As reported by Pliny, after arriving back at Carthage, Hanno had his report hung up together with these skins in one of the local temples as an offering to the gods.¹¹

The tale of Hanno's exploits soon spread across the Mediterranean and a Greek version of the story must have been in circulation by the mid-fourth century BC.¹² Nonetheless, the Carthaginian failed to garner greater attention until the Roman period, when a range of authors show a closer familiarity with his name, probably due to the increasing Roman interest and presence in Africa. Upon the sack of Carthage in 146 BC, the Roman conquerors were even said to have discovered Hanno's original account in one of the temples and their leader Scipio Aemilianus ordered the historian Polybius to set sail in Hanno's trails. According to Pliny, Polybius reached the Punic colony of Kerne and recorded his voyage of reconnaissance; the account was said to have confirmed many of Hanno's observations, but unfortunately did not survive.¹³ About a hundred years after this episode, the future king of Mauretania Juba II (52/50 BC-AD 20) came across Hanno's report in the library in Rome and discussed it in a now fragmentary commentary.¹⁴ By the late first century AD, however, the document appears to have been lost, since Pliny wrote about it in the past tense: 'there *were* notes of Hanno, a Carthaginian leader.'¹⁵

In the absence of an authoritative account and different versions probably in circulation, Hanno's navigation spurred the imagination of classical writers, some of whom ascribed to Hanno and the Carthaginians truly fantastic deeds. In ancient travel accounts, information from distant parts blended with fantasy and first-hand observations co-existed alongside mythology. The Pillars of Herakles – through which Hanno had sailed – marked the end of the world in the Greco-Roman tradition, appropriately bearing the inscription 'non plus ultra' (nothing further beyond).¹⁶ In other words, the Pillars represented the boundary between the known and the unknown worlds, between

the real and the mythical, thus opening the door for ancient authors to interpret the navigation in diverse ways.¹⁷

Together with the complex trajectory of the text, these readings would seem to explain why the ancient commentaries that survived into the early modern period offer such a confusing image of the voyage and disagree over the details. While Pliny and his eager reader Solinus (mid-third century AD) claimed that Hanno had circumnavigated Africa, Pomponius Mela (mid-first century AD) and Arrian (AD 92-175) concurred that the Carthaginian had navigated down the west-African coast into regions unknown to the Greco-Roman world, but not that far.¹⁸ Strabo (63/64 BC-AD 24) simply wrote that the Phoenicians had ‘explored the regions beyond the Pillars of Heracles and founded cities both there and in the central parts of the African sea-board’, but did not mention Hanno’s name specifically.¹⁹ Diodorus Siculus (first century BC) attributed even greater exploits to Punic navigators, as they were said to have discovered a large bountiful island far across the Ocean, but like Strabo, he remained silent with regard to their names.²⁰

The episode with hairy creatures was likewise puzzling for ancient authors: who or what were they? Whereas Pomponius Mela wrote simply about ‘women ... hairy all over’, Pliny and Solinus identified them with the people descended from the mythical Gorgons.²¹ This peculiar interpretation was based on Hesiod’s *Theogony* (c. 700 BC), where the poet spoke of ‘the Gorgons who dwell beyond the glorious Ocean in the frontier land towards Night’ – thus to the west beyond the Pillars of Herakles, precisely where Hanno was deemed to have travelled.²² Although Pliny was not the first known author to make a connection between Hanno and the Gorgons, it was his work that made the association between Hanno’s beasts and the Gorgons familiar to early modern readers.²³

III. Byzantines scribes, early modern humanists and Hanno’s confusing legacy

In the Middle Ages, Hanno’s voyage was known only through Pliny’s commentary, with a handful of authors reproducing the information about the Gorgon islands.²⁴ It was the combination of printing press technology, humanist efforts to revive ancient learning, and the increased interest in

geography and navigation brought on by Spanish and Portuguese voyages, which contributed to a renewed, wider interest in Hanno. As discussed in the introduction, in 1533 the *editio princeps* of an account of the navigation was published by the Bohemian humanist Sigismund Gelenius in Johann Froben's renowned workshop in Basel.²⁵ The edition was based on a Greek text recorded in a Byzantine manuscript, which purported to have been copied directly from the lost account authored by Hanno. It is unclear how the manuscript travelled to the West, but it has been suggested that it was brought from the East about a hundred years earlier by John of Ragusa, who was sent in the 1430s by the Council of Basel as a legate to Constantinople. The theologian later bequeathed a collection of Greek codices to the local Dominican convent, from which Froben is known to have acquired numerous manuscripts that he later published.²⁶

Based on its composition and language, classicists tend to date the birth of the Greek version of Hanno's voyage between the fifth and the fourth centuries BC.²⁷ Moreover, its philological oddities, such as the lack of connective particles, indicate that it had probably been translated from a Semitic (Punic) language.²⁸ Although the narrative is presented as 'the account of Hanno ... which he also set up in the shrine of Kronos', contemporary scholars have argued that if the narrative was based on Hanno's original at all, then it must have been abridged and modified to suit a Greek reader.²⁹ The text itself presents a dry report of a voyage and serves no other purpose but to succinctly narrate a series of observations. This conveys the outward appearance of truthfulness and reliability, especially considered in the context of later Greco-Roman tales of fantastic voyages to mythical places. In terms of style, the account broadly falls into the classical genre of *periplus*, literally 'a sailing-around', or coastal sailing itinerary listing the features observed typically from an offshore perspective. Arising in direct response to the proliferation of maritime exploration in the Mediterranean, the earliest known *periploi* date to the late sixth century BC. Such works were intended to be used primarily as reference books for the topographical orientation of sailors, providing information about new coasts and markets.³⁰

The surviving manuscript recording Hanno's *Periplus* is part of a larger Byzantine codex, held in Heidelberg University Library, which is thought to have been composed by a Byzantine scribe in the early ninth century (Figure 1).³¹ The origin of the codex would therefore fall into the so-called First Byzantine Renaissance, a period of a revival of learning, when ancient manuscripts were actively sought and reproduced. The transcription is written in Greek minuscule, which replaced the old uncial system and coincided with the renewed Byzantine interest in classical works during the ninth and tenth centuries.³² At first sight, it seems clear that it was assembled as a collection of geographical and natural curiosities: in addition to Hanno, it includes other geographical works, such as the navigations of the Euxine and the Erythraean Sea and a chrestomathy – or a selection of excerpts – of the historian and geographer Strabo, as well as a number of *mirabilia* from various authors.

Leading members of the early modern *societas eruditorum* believed that classical works passed down to them through the Byzantine and other traditions formed a compendium of the most studied, and hence most copied ancient texts. Bringing new insights and discussing new topics, these sources were regarded as valuable additions to canonical works of the classical tradition.³³ Therefore, for early modern scholars, Hanno's account was particularly appealing because it extended the boundaries of the world previously known to them from reading Ptolemy and other ancient authorities. For the same reason, Gelenius's edition also included the *editiones principes* of the remaining geographical writings in the aforementioned Byzantine codex: the *periploi* of the Euxine and the Erythraean Sea, Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Fluminibus et Montibus (On Rivers and Mountains)*, and the chrestomathy of Strabo. It was not by chance that the Gelenius's compilation was published by Froben in the same year as Erasmus's *editio princeps* of Ptolemy, the scope of which these works were considered to broaden.³⁴

In his preface, Gelenius emphasised that Hanno's *Periplus* is to be treated as 'maiori fide', or 'especially reliable', since it was a first-hand account and 'even Pliny did not scorn his [Hanno's] testimony'.³⁵ Ironically, the Byzantine account conflicted especially with Pliny's commentary and only added more confusion to the already conflicting received tradition. According to Pliny, Hanno had

circumnavigated Africa, the episode with the hairy savages took place in 'εσπέρου κέρας' (the Horn of the West), and the Carthaginian had brought back two skins; however, the manuscript stated that Hanno certainly did not sail that far and arrived home with three skins of creatures that he had encountered at 'νότου κέρας' (the Horn of the South).³⁶ Most importantly, however, the manuscript introduced a new word into the narrative, stating that Hanno's indigenous interpreters called the mysterious hairy creatures 'γορίλλας' (gorillas), as opposed to Pliny's Gorgons.³⁷ Having discussed the provenance and associated confusing tradition of the account, in the rest of this paper I will consider how early modern authors dealt with these discrepancies, and how their approaches and methods reflected their motivations.

IV. Conrad Gessner and humanist geography

The first to convert Hanno's *Periplus* into Latin was the Swiss polyhistor Conrad Gessner. His annotated translation of the account was published in 1559 in Zurich and featured as an appendix to his Latin edition of Leo Africanus's *De Totius Africae Descriptione* (*Description of the Whole Africa*, written in 1526).³⁸ This was not an accidental choice, for Hanno's account was deemed to widen the scope of this monumental geographical work. Like his friend and colleague Gelenius, one of Gessner's motivations was humanist – to study and revive ancient learning and to discover classical rather than new worlds – and his approach was largely philological. In the quest of early modern humanists to recover and emulate ancient worlds and works, geographical knowledge was an integral part of the toolbox on which they relied. For correct interpretation of classical accounts and a proper use of the information they contained, knowledge and understanding of 'where' was utterly essential. It was the study of names and words, after all, which led to the knowledge of things.

In his *De Ratione Studii* (*On the Method of Study*, 1518), Desiderius Erasmus outlined the mission of geography in the following way: 'In cosmography, the important part is to trace which commonly recognised names of mountains, rivers, regions and cities match the ancient ones.'³⁹ This comparative approach, common to many other historical – or descriptive – disciplines of early modern

knowledge, meant that geographical information became an ancillary of scholars interested in Antiquity and antiquities, history, literature or theology.⁴⁰ Even Abraham Ortelius, a prominent sixteenth-century geographer, considered his discipline subsidiary to history and explained in the preface to his famous atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (*Theatre of the World*, 1570) 'how necessary the knowledge of geography is for rightly understanding history'.⁴¹ The German theologian and historian David Chytraeus (1530-1600) called topography one of the two eyes of *historia*, alongside chronology. He even recommended that university students own and use daily a map of the Holy Land when learning about biblical history and a map of the Greco-Roman world when reading classical literature.⁴²

With names vastly differing across works and traditions, and often lost in or corroded by time, the ambiguities of topographical terminology were problematic for early modern scholars. For instance, Chytraeus complained that '[o]ften the difficulties of not understanding the proper names delayed my progress and smoothness with which I read, and I desired to know ... the sites and distances of places, regions, cities, mountains and rivers.' To combat this issue, Nicholas Popper has argued that Chytraeus and his contemporaries relied on a 'method of parsing texts for historical nominatives'.⁴³ In other words, in dealing with the flood of texts and terms, early modern writers and readers of geographical works adopted the humanist methods of manuscript compiling and excerpting, which enabled them to successfully collate masses of literary material and synthesise the old with the new.

In this respect, the geographical focus of Gessner's translation becomes immediately evident: all topographical names in Hanno's *Periplus* were printed in capitals and later listed in their original Greek literation, as well as briefly discussed in the light of both ancient and modern knowledge (Figure 2). In this manner, Gessner and Froben immediately drew the attention of their readers to the most important and valuable snippets of knowledge present in the account, using typesetting as a reading technology which facilitated the humanist practice of combing texts for toponyms and other historical terms. To give these ancient nominatives a meaning in the contemporary world, Gessner had to confront Hanno's account with the most up-to-date geographical knowledge and, consequently,

consult current travellers' reports alongside classical authors. For example, drawing on the Portuguese voyages of exploration, Gessner associated Hanno's island of Kerne with 'Modera' (Madeira).⁴⁴

The Swiss scholar used contemporary geographical observations not only to elucidate the locations of toponyms lost in time, but also to correct errors of ancient scholars: such as when he sought to explain the discrepancies between the Byzantine manuscript and Pliny's commentary. Abiding by the humanist motto *ad fontes*, Gessner considered the surviving Byzantine manuscript authoritative. In attending to the Greek version and translating the hairy creatures as 'gorillas', he was the first to introduce this word into the Latin script.⁴⁵ Gessner also contested Pliny's geography. As discussed, the Roman author claimed that Hanno had sailed around Africa, stating that the Carthaginian had navigated from the Phoenician port of 'Gades (Cádiz) to the extremity of Arabia'.⁴⁶ Even though the Byzantine manuscript did not seem to support Pliny's claim, Gessner astutely explained that the account left open the possibility for circumnavigation, albeit an erroneous one.

The core of the issue lay in the interpretation of the location of 'νότου κέρας' (the Horn of the South), the final destination of the Carthaginian navigator. In the Greco-Roman tradition, 'νότου κέρας' or its Latin equivalent, 'austri cornu' were supposed to be the last promontory of Africa from which one sailed southwards into the unknown seas.⁴⁷ This cape was traditionally associated with the eastern coast of Africa, better known to the Greco-Romans than the western coast, and was deemed to lie somewhere in today's Horn of Africa. However, drawing on the information brought by the Portuguese voyages of exploration, Gessner pointed out that halfway down the west-African seaboard, the coast turns sharply and directly towards the south (as the term Horn of the South would imply), and rather than with Arabia, identified Hanno's final stop with 'Cabo formoso' in the Niger delta.⁴⁸ Therefore, it was by relying on contemporary maritime reports that the Swiss Pliny, as Gessner was known, corrected what he considered the error of his Roman namesake.

To further bolster this conclusion, Gessner turned again to a combination of classical knowledge and contemporary geographical accounts. He pointed out that some cartographers tend to decorate the area around 'Cabo formoso' with a one-eyed human; this was, for example, the case of

Sebastian Münster's popular *Cosmographia*, published in 1544 in the nearby Basel (Figure 3).⁴⁹ Gessner believed this to be a time-honoured allusion to the Graeae, the three mythical sisters who shared one eye among them and who were said to dwell in the same area as their sisters Gorgons.⁵⁰ The Swiss humanist considered this to explain Pliny's interpretation of 'gorillas', as well as associating it with Pliny's anecdotes about a west-African king who had only one eye in his forehead and west-African people said to have three or four eyes because of their sharpshooting skills.⁵¹ In portraying – or perhaps rather imagining – the creatures residing in the parts visited by Hanno, Gessner therefore turned to their monstrous physiognomy and highlighted a trait that underlined their 'otherness' from his European audience.

For humanist intellectuals like Gessner, geography represented a bridge connecting Antiquity and modernity, which allowed them to fully grasp the works of classical authors and, consequently, use, interpret and follow them as patterns to fulfil their literary and scholarly ambitions in the contemporary context. Although deemed ancillary to history and literature, geography was integral to reconstructing ancient worlds. To put geographical knowledge into context, however, humanists also had to follow contemporary voyages, even if from a distance. As the example of Gessner demonstrates, modern observations could be used not only to contextualise ancient knowledge, but also – in an attempt to revive and improve on classical learning – to correct and explain any errors that canonical authorities may have committed. The adoption of the familiar methods of manuscript compilation and excerpting, alongside reading technologies facilitating these practices, enabled early modern humanists to process and synthesise vast quantities of geographical information, both old and new. It was these negotiations between erudite and empirical knowledge which turned geography into 'a discipline at once arcanelly erudite and precisely technical'.⁵²

V. Trade routes and Swiss exoticism

Gessner's interest in the geography of distant places deserves a further commentary. In the decade preceding the publication of his translation of Hanno's account, the Zurich printer Christoph

Froschauer issued Gessner's *Pandectarum sive Partitionum Universalium Libri XXI* (*Pandects, or Universal Knowledge in 21 Books*, 1548) and *Mithridates sive de Differentiis Linguarum* (*Mithridate, or on the Differences of Languages*, 1555).⁵³ The latter was the first comparative linguistic work to incorporate the languages of the indigenous populations of the Americas into the linguistic system of the Old World, which aligned with Gessner's wider interests in New World phenomena. For instance, he experimented with and wrote about substances such as tobacco, guaiacum, and tomatoes.⁵⁴ The *Pandects*, then, included a list of seventeen maps of the Old World found in Zurich, known to and most probably used by Gessner.⁵⁵

Geography was in fashion in Zurich more widely: between 1546 and 1600, fifteen editions of Johannes Honter's famous *Rudimenta cosmographica libri IIII* (*Four Books on the Rudiments of Cosmography*, 1542) were published in the city alone. The third book treated in detail the topography of Asia and Africa, and copies of the work can be found in libraries in both Catholic and Protestant cities throughout the German-speaking lands.⁵⁶ Gessner also worked with *Rudimenta* extensively, for instance in teaching geography to his students.⁵⁷ The situation in neighbouring Basel was not dissimilar. As discussed, it was in the local Froben's workshop that the *editio princeps* of Hanno's account and many of the remaining geographical writings from the Byzantine codex were published, even in the same year as Erasmus's edition of Ptolemy. Basel was also the birthplace of Münster's *Cosmographia*, one of the most popular books of the sixteenth century, which passed through over twenty editions in five different languages by 1628.⁵⁸

~~This then begs the question: Why, amid the Alps in the landlocked Zurich and Basel, did printers and authors show an interest in the geography of distant lands?~~

Despite the distance from immediate exigencies of early European colonialism, the climate in the wider German-speaking lands was conducive for knowledge production about overseas: for instance, the instrumental role played by early sixteenth-century Rhenish cosmographers in the conceptualisation of America has been well documented.⁵⁹ Although landlocked amid the Alps, the cities of Zurich and Basel were particularly well-positioned to generate and disseminate information

on distant lands. Located on major transalpine trade routes and linked to the Rhine trade, the two Swiss metropolises were part of important commercial, scholarly and diplomatic networks connecting south with the north and east with the west, or central Europe with Italy, France, Spain and the Low Countries.⁶⁰ Scholars in Zurich and Basel were thus perfectly placed to gather information from all corners of Europe and, moreover, could rely on the technological and institutional support provided by the local strong printing industry, the University of Basel and the Carolinum in Zurich. Furthermore,

The advancing Reformation ensured a steady supply of sources from the monastic libraries that were being abolished.⁶¹ From what remained available among unpublished manuscripts and minor genres, geographical and travel accounts were becoming increasingly popular, especially in the context of the market of curiosity about *exotica* that came with the first wave of European overseas voyages.

Production of knowledge about distant lands was both intellectually and financially rewarding and Swiss scholars and printers found audience both home and abroad. Although noblemen and explorers from the German-speaking lands had limited direct involvement in overseas conquests, central-European merchants and entrepreneurs financed many overseas expeditions in the early sixteenth century; the Emperor Maximilian even used his dynastic relations with Portugal to facilitate German participation in forays in India.⁶² With Portuguese and Spanish voyages opening up new commercial avenues and reshaping the geography of European trade, there were opportunities for profit, as well as immediate economic consequences for the German-speaking regions. As for Basel and Zurich, tied to both transalpine and Rhenish trade routes, they were directly affected as the balance of commerce with Asia was shifting away from the Mediterranean ports of Venice and Genoa into the Rhine delta and cities like Antwerp and later Amsterdam. Even seemingly distant lands and events thus had pronounced local implications and information about overseas lands drew extensive attention in the German-speaking lands: a demand that the Swiss were well-situated to cater for.

With the Swiss boasting a neutral status and lacking direct involvement in the colonial enterprise, their publications could claim one major advantage. Unlike the ideologically-laden writings of the nascent European empires, the Swiss could afford to issue information about the world that

could be perceived largely non-sectarian and non-partisan. In Gessner's case in particular, the effort to produce ideologically independent texts for an international clientele becomes clear just from a quick glance at the titles of his publications. In addition to the aforementioned works concerned with comparative linguistics and universal knowledge, he also compiled *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545-9), or a 'universal library', an international bibliography of authors writing in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Moreover, unlike many of his colleagues, Gessner was not employed by a political sovereign and did not use his dedications principally as appeals for patronage, but rather to acknowledge his international informants.⁶³

Therefore, although the Swiss had limited physical engagement in the European colonial enterprise, there were indirect means and incentives for them to become involved. The conquest of distant lands, real or imaginary, could take different forms and early modern communities beyond the usual naval powers were not untouched by the colonial race and have responded to the newly emerging opportunities in a myriad of idiosyncratic ways.⁶⁴ Due to their geographical location, political situation, as well as the intellectual climate characterised by close ties between humanist learning, book trade and commercial concerns, sixteenth-century Basel and Zurich were particularly well-placed to produce knowledge about overseas and, in that respect, become the newsagents of the German-speaking lands and beyond. In his *Inventing Exoticism* (2015), Benjamin Schmidt has explored the role of the Dutch in conceptualising and marketing the geography and the knowledge of distant lands at the turn of the eighteenth century, a process which gave birth to our modern conceptions of 'exoticism' and 'globalism'. From the cases discussed here, it seems that Swiss authors and printers may have played a non-negligible role. It seems, however, that in the early sixteenth century, Swiss – or more broadly Rhenish – authors and printers may have played an equally important part in informing earlier perceptions of new worlds and 'otherness'. Yet, defining early perceptions of distant lands and 'otherness', To what extent and why were the extent of and the reasons behind their involvement. Zurich and Basel printers and authors involved in shaping early European ideas about exotic lands, nature, and peoples have received little attention. In exploring these themes, it is crucial

to keep in mind that construction of 'the other' went hand in hand with the construction of 'self' and give particular attention to local idiosyncrasies.⁶⁵

Some of the consequences of the Portuguese and Spanish imperial forays also had a more direct and immediate bearing on the situation in Switzerland. With Basel and Zurich located on major transalpine trade routes connecting northern Italy, France and the German-speaking lands, it could not go unnoticed that Vasco da Gama's circumnavigation of Africa opened up new, competing commercial avenues and shifted the balance of trade with Asia away from the Mediterranean. Later, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Dutch revolt against the Castilian hegemony also severely disrupted the Rhine trade, which similarly played a major part in the economies of Basel and Zurich. The seemingly distant lands and events could therefore have pronounced local implications and the Swiss interest points to their awareness of newly emerging commercial opportunities and rivalries, as well as reflecting their deeply felt concerns about the changing face of sixteenth-century Europe.

VI. Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*: merchants and humanists, commerce and philology

If there was one place where the anxieties about the changing balance of the sixteenth-century European trade were felt particularly deeply, it was in the Venetian Republic – and Ramusio's treatment of Hanno provides a fitting illustration. Appearing in the first volume of the aptly titled *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (1550), Ramusio's conversion into his vernacular preceded even the Latin translation by Gessner and attests that Hanno provoked interest among merchants and navigators. To understand Ramusio's aims and approach, his work is to be considered in the context of what Joan-Pau Rubiés labelled the 'Italian moment', defined by close links between humanist education and mercantile interests.⁶⁶ These concerns were brought together by the Venetian political élite, including Ramusio, as the city lived off its commercial investments and its officials were brought up according to the new classical ideal. Underlying Ramusio's *opus magnum* were hence strong economic motivations, but also an attempt to incorporate modern methods and observations into the classical geography of humanist scholars.

To begin with commerce, Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century was in economic and political decline. Engaged in a long and exhausting war with the Ottoman Turks, it had also lost its monopoly on the lucrative trade with the East due to the Portuguese discovery of the sea route to India. The publication of Ramusio's work came in the years following a particularly painful moment for Venice, which had lost another war with the Ottomans in 1540 and had to surrender most of its remaining foreign holdings, as well as coming to the bitter realisation that the *Serenissima Repubblica* could no longer stand up to the Ottoman navy alone.⁶⁷ In publishing a collection of first-hand travel accounts in Italian, Ramusio hoped to turn the attention of his compatriots to new opportunities and motivate them to sponsor and carry out voyages which could lead to new trading ventures and boost the moribund Venetian Republic.

It is not by chance that in *Navigazioni et Viaggi* particular attention is devoted to travel reports from Africa and India. Ramusio's intentions are made even more explicit in the second volume (1559), where he included a *discorso* about 'various voyages that could be used to bring spices', urging the Venetians to seek new routes to the East and regain control over the spice trade.⁶⁸ Throughout his monumental *opus*, moreover, he included suggestions for further exploration, using past voyages as examples to follow. Ramusio's efforts thus show that Venice was not a resigned bystander in the race for new dominions, but actively endeavoured to change its fortunes and explored the options associated with overseas voyages and the developing colonial enterprise. By the same token, this story points to the dire nature of the Venetian situation: not that developing viable commercial routes around Africa – or even passing through the Gibraltar – ever seemed feasible. Together with the examples discussed in the previous section, this story highlights the array of different European reactions to overseas voyages and their aspirations to take part in early colonial endeavours.

However, humanist and intellectual inclinations were just as important as political and economic concerns to Ramusio's efforts. Partnering with the cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi, Ramusio declared in the opening of *Navigazioni et Viaggi* that he wished to improve upon Ptolemy, whose tables he and Gastaldi found imperfect and lacking in knowledge brought by the recent Spanish and

Portuguese navigations. Ramusio also aimed, so he said, to compile materials for future historians and geographers. Mirroring many of the humanist efforts discussed in the previous section, the objective was to collect all accounts that would extend the borders of the world described by Ptolemy and reconcile the classical geographical tradition with modern discoveries. While Gastaldi provided his geographical and cartographical expertise, Ramusio contributed his knowledge of languages and classical sources, as well as his humanist methods of manuscript reproduction. It was by placing novel observations about the world into the context of received knowledge that Ramusio and Gastaldi made sense of them; but, by the same token, the information contained in classical accounts had little value without reference to contemporary voyages. Consequently, Rubiés labelled Ramusio an ‘empirical philologist’: one who relies on humanist methods and seeks his material in ancient manuscripts, whilst also systematically ordering his evidence according to the concerns of practical geography.⁶⁹

Ramusio’s translation and *discorso* of Hanno’s *Periplus* is representative of these efforts. Taking advantage of his humanist training, he opened with references to ancient authorities, such as Pliny and Pomponius Mela, and pointed out similarities and overlaps between Hanno’s and other classical accounts. However, in the second – and considerably longer – part of his *discorso*, Ramusio claimed to have consulted an anonymous Portuguese pilot allegedly experienced in west-African waters, to whom he had shown Hanno’s report and whose testimony he inserted. The sailor shared his admiration and respect for the ancient navigator and his seafaring skills, sensations which Ramusio sought to incite in his readers. The mysterious Portuguese subsequently confirmed many of Hanno’s observations and tried to identify some of the locations visited by the Carthaginian: for example, he placed Hanno’s encounter with the hairy savages to the island of Fernando Póo (Bioko).⁷⁰

Furthermore, as outlined in the introduction, the well-travelled pilot helped Ramusio interpret some of the more fantastic elements in the story in the light of new discoveries. The Portuguese suggested that the hairy savages that Hanno had encountered were in fact monkeys; elsewhere, he talked about the scorching deserts along the coasts of Africa, thus trying to explain Hanno’s words about ‘the coast ... inaccessible because of the heat’.⁷¹ Making use of his own humanist expertise,

Ramusio then commented on each of the episodes through the lens of classical knowledge. He drew parallels between Hanno and the mythical Perseus, who had slain the Gorgon Medusa, as well as elaborating on the ancient beliefs about how the Earth around the equator was too hot for humans to inhabit.

In animalising the hairy savages and explaining the more fantastic elements of the story Overall, Ramusio's *discorso* thus sought to demythologise the account and lend credence to Hanno's navigation. In a period when ancient maritime voyages were regarded with considerably greater suspicion than terrestrial ones and the achievements of ancient navigators were increasingly considered superseded by their modern counterparts,⁷² Ramusio's treatment of Hanno's *Periplus* corroborated its credibility and accomplished his purpose of providing guidelines and inspiration for his Venetian peers. Inhabited merely by animals, the regions reached by Hanno were ripe for invasion and exploitation. The Carthaginian's capture of the three savages, who were incidentally all female, only played into the existing tropes of conquest, masculinity and slavery.⁷³ At the same time, however, Ramusio's revival of Hanno's account was part of the wider humanist and Renaissance agenda, as the Venetian sought to incite admiration among his readers by displaying the perfection and the accomplishments of Antiquity. If classical art and literature were becoming exploits to be imitated, why could not an ancient navigation become one too?

The popularity of Ramusio's work and the various translations published over the course of the following decades increased the awareness of Hanno's account among European readers. For example, it seems highly suggestive that Ramusio inspired the first English translation of the *Periplus*, which appeared in Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimage* (1625).⁷⁴ In his discussion of the ancient navigation, the Englishman adopted many of the Venetian's topographical identifications and, to a certain extent, also the interpretation of the mythical Gorgons. Beyond Purchas, the Carthaginian appeared in poems;⁷⁵ his voyage was celebrated as a predecessor of contemporary explorations;⁷⁶ and his destination sparked heated discussions,⁷⁷ as well as fantastic conjectures, with the suggested final stop of his

journey ranging from America⁷⁸ to Paradise.⁷⁹ These debates bring us to the last section of this paper, where I will focus on Hanno's role in early modern disputes around claims for territorial possessions.

VII. Hanno in the service of empire: ancient knowledge, modern possessions

The fifteenth century saw a rise of European maritime exploration, pioneered largely by the Portuguese and Spanish efforts to establish a sea route to India and set up direct trade with the opulent kingdoms of Asia. Disputes soon arose between the two states regarding the control of the African coast, the Atlantic islands of Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde and the Canaries, as well as the territories reached by Christopher Columbus. The authority of the papacy was called upon to solve these conflicts and a series of papal donations was issued: these granted Spain and Portugal the rights of jurisdiction over their respective maritime possessions, instituted the policy of *mare clausum* to protect their interests, and, together with the associated Treaties of Alcáçovas (1479) and Tordesillas (1494), demarcated their territories. These titles were granted to the Spanish and Portuguese for their promise to champion the Christian faith in the aforesaid regions and – more importantly for the purpose of this paper – for reaching and occupying these lands before any of their rivals, or 'discovering' them.⁸⁰

With contemporary authors ascribing to Hanno the feat of circumnavigating Africa or even reaching America, the location of the Carthaginian's final destination had potentially important implications for the Spanish and Portuguese claims for overseas possessions. Here, I will first discuss how the Castilians mobilised Hanno to affirm their territorial claims in both America and Africa, before moving to Hanno's role in the Dutch-Portuguese disputes around the *mare clausum* policy. I argue that even if early modern debates around overseas territories revolved largely around traditional legal concepts, classical accounts and the geographical knowledge contained in these texts found their application in these issues as well.

In Spain, its colonisation policies and the validity of the papal donations were already being questioned in the 1530s by Francisco de Vitoria and his followers, or the so-called School of Salamanca.⁸¹ Vitoria admitted that unoccupied territory – or *res nullius* – was to become the possession

of the first who discovered it, but he also argued that American lands were the rightful property of their original inhabitants, as local rulers legitimately exercised jurisdiction over their people. Consequently, the Indies were not the Pope's to give away, and nor had the Spanish king any rightful claim over America. Furthermore, Vitoria asserted that a mere difference of religion did not justify any political and military action. Thus, the Spanish may be entitled to travel to America and establish trade and diplomatic relations with the local communities, but they could not claim their lands or property, or impose their rule or faith on them.

One of the strategies to counter this chain of thought was to promote the idea that the inhabitants of the 'New World' were in fact descendants of Hispanic people and Columbus's voyage was merely the completion of a divine plan to reunite America with its Spanish motherland. This agenda profoundly relied on Carthaginian navigations. Castilian writers embraced the accounts of Hanno and others, striving to showcase – and often fabricate – links between the ancient Carthaginian and the contemporary Spanish nation. In doing so, they ensured that the first discoverers and colonisers of their 'new' possessions remained Spanish after all and that their recent discoveries were in fact 're-discoveries', which returned to the Castilians what rightly belonged to them all along. Pioneering these ideas was Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1535), the official chronicler of Charles V, who drew on the aforementioned excerpt from Diodorus about the Carthaginian voyage to a bountiful island across the Ocean in order to claim that America was known to the ancients. Subsequently, he carefully constructed the argument that these lands were in fact identical to the ancient island of the Hesperides, which bore the name of its discoverer Hesperus, the legendary twelfth king of Spain.⁸²

In his *Crónica General de España (The General Chronicles of Spain, 1543)*, Florián de Ocampo perpetuated this argument. He meticulously fashioned links between Carthage and Spain, recounting, for example, fabricated and embellished stories about how Hanno had waged wars in the Iberian Peninsula, and how he was later appointed to protect Carthaginian interests in Andalusia.⁸³ After discussing at length Hanno's famous voyage, he stated that the success of the expedition encouraged further ventures among his compatriots, which ultimately led to a Hispano-Carthaginian colonisation

of America.⁸⁴ Francisco López de Gómara in his *Historia General de las Indias* (*A General History of the Indies*, 1553) even ascribed the discovery of the continent directly to Hanno.⁸⁵ This strategy, which revolved around the idea that America and its inhabitants were Spanish from the very beginning, had numerous advantages for the Spanish: firstly, it dealt with the *res nullius* argument; secondly, it justified Spanish claims without resorting to Papal donation and the Treaty of Tordesillas, and, consequently, challenged the spiritual authority of the papacy and the territorial claims of the Portuguese over West Indies; and finally, it eliminated Columbus's heirs from the picture – all in all, reinforcing the Spanish sovereignty over their American possessions.⁸⁶ The Spanish were not alone in turning to this tactics: for instance, Sir Walter Raleigh argued that North America was first reached by the legendary Welsh prince Madoch in the twelfth century, hence bolstering English claims for possessions overseas.⁸⁷

An identical approach was employed to reinforce Spanish claims for territories in Africa. In his chronicles, Ocampo gave Hanno a Spanish crew for his famous voyage, calling the chapter in question 'On the great navigation of Hanno and his Spaniards from Cádiz to the Red Sea'.⁸⁸ In the bid to contest Portuguese territorial claims as well as the Treaty of Tordesillas, Ocampo identified the islands where Hanno had encountered the hairy savages with the Portuguese dominion of Cape Verde.⁸⁹ In addition, he inserted numerous entirely concocted episodes, such as the one where Hanno and his Spanish crew stopped over in the now rightly Spanish dominion of the Canary Islands and left Hispanic colonisers behind.⁹⁰ In Ocampo's telling, the places visited by Hanno and his crew were teeming with marvellous creatures, from dragons and satyrs to Gorgons and catoblepas. In populating these lands with monsters, Ocampo defined their nature in opposition to the civilised European world, thus rendering the intervention and the civilising mission of Spain all the more necessary. Needless to say, monsters – rather than humans – would legitimate different colonial policies.⁹¹ It is important to note that Ocampo's work pre-dates both Gessner's and Ramusio's editions and in his creative treatment of the story, the Spaniard thus most likely relied on ancient commentaries rather than on the purported Hanno's account itself, which afforded him greater leeway to fill in the gaps with his fabrications.

During the sixteenth century, the Spanish hence instrumentalised Hanno's and other accounts of Carthaginian voyages discussed by the ancients as a political tool to bolster their position in the scramble for overseas possessions.

The discussion of the role of Hanno in the Dutch-Portuguese disputes begins with the well-known episode from 1603, when the Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina* was seized by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) off the eastern coast of Singapore. The legitimacy of this capture was protested by the Iberian Union and to defend its actions, VOC hired a young jurist Hugo Grotius, who produced a long treatise entitled *De Jure Praedae* (*On the Law of Prize and Booty*, 1604-5). In 1609, one of its chapters was published as an anonymous pamphlet *Mare liberum* (*Free sea*), which contested the Iberian policy of *mare clausum* and their trade monopoly on the trade in Asia. In his arguments, Grotius drew heavily on Vitoria and the School of Salamanca, both by discarding religious grounds as a valid reason for a political or military intervention and by defining the concepts of the rights of possession and discovery. According to Grotius, property had its origins in occupation; however, since the East Indies had already been occupied by the local inhabitants under the protection of sovereign Asian rulers prior to the Portuguese arrival, Grotius excluded the possibility of considering these territories *res nullius*. Following the same line of thought, the Dutchman famously challenged the policy of *mare clausum*, arguing that the Portuguese could not claim the ownership of sea routes or the sea itself, since high seas cannot be effectively occupied and controlled. Moreover, since the seas in question had been navigated throughout history, the Portuguese cannot even claim any primacy.⁹² Here, Grotius bolstered his legal claims with historical evidence. Drawing on accounts of navigation from Antiquity, he concluded that Hanno had been the most famous ancient circumnavigator of Africa and that the Carthaginian's deeds 'sufficiently demonstrate that the Portuguese were not the first' to double the Cape of Good Hope.⁹³

Tasked with replying to the Dutch challenge was Serafim de Freitas, professor of law at the University of Valladolid. In his *De Justo Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico* (*On the Rightful Portuguese Empire in Asia*, 1625), he addressed each of the arguments of the Dutch in turn. Freitas did not counter

Grotius's argument that East Indies cannot be considered *res nullius*, but he disagreed on the definition of discovery. He maintained that the Portuguese were the first to open the sea route to Asia and, therefore, both by legal customs and the papal donation rightfully acquired the right to sail and control the passage.⁹⁴ Since this argument revolved around the Portuguese primacy, the accounts of Hanno and other ancient navigators became essential to solving the issue. Indeed, Freitas devoted half a chapter of his treatise exclusively to Hanno.⁹⁵

Unlike his predecessors, Freitas did not seek to appropriate the Carthaginian's deeds, but strip him of his achievements, as he contested the veracity and the length of the voyage. In the first half of his commentary, he carefully picked out all instances of curious and fantastic events, arguing that Gorgons are 'tales for children' and concluding that 'among serious authors,' such as Pliny and Vergil, 'the navigation of Hanno to the Indies had always been considered fabricated'.⁹⁶ Ironically, here Freitas perpetuated the interpretations of Greco-Roman commentators such as Pliny, who inserted mythological traces into the story, rather than following the account purportedly written by Hanno and edited by Gelenius, which in fact contains few fantastic anecdotes. In the second half, Freitas drew on contemporary navigational knowledge to assert that based on the topographical features and the duration of the voyage 'Hanno's expedition did not cross the equator' and Hanno's final stop at 'the Horn of the West was very distant from the Cape of Good Hope'.⁹⁷ In conclusion, Freitas assured his readers that the first to circumnavigate Africa was his compatriot Vasco da Gama. Even though Grotius considered his foe 'a man worthy of reply' and was urged to answer, he never did. Ultimately, Freitas's arguments proved insufficient to protect the Portuguese rights and its crumbling empire in Asia.

In the climate of overseas voyages and their associated political disputes, ancient geographical knowledge found novel, pragmatic uses in bolstering claims of European powers for their territorial rights. As the examples discussed here demonstrate, the same set of sources, if treated with creativity and imagination, could be used to support many opposing viewpoints. When looking to defend their case, early modern scholars cherry-picked authoritative classical accounts for anything of use, ignoring information that contradicted their agenda. To an extent, this strategy was facilitated by the humanist

culture of excerpting and collating snippets of knowledge: torn out from its wider context, information thus extracted from an authoritative source could be easily reinterpreted in a new light or even twisted around. One of the most respected early modern humanists, the Flemish philosopher Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), provides a fitting example. In his discussion of whether America was known to the ancients, he referred to Seneca's *Suasoriae* (exercises in rhetoric, first century AD): 'They say that in the Ocean, there lie fertile lands, while beyond it in turn are born new shores, a new world.'⁹⁸ Seeking to confirm his own beliefs, Lipsius torn the passage entirely out of its context, failing to mention that Seneca had in turn completely dismissed this idea: 'These are fictions easy of invention, for the Ocean cannot be sailed.' The Flemish was too good a scholar to not know what he was doing. In a similar fashion, Hanno and the associated ancient commentaries were subject to contradictory treatments. The Carthaginian's example therefore illustrates how early modern European states exploited the works of Antiquity for their own political objectives, as they sought to ground their claims, status, and hereditary rights in the authority of classical authors.⁹⁹

VIII. Conclusion

Propelled by voyages and explorations, the sixteenth century saw an increase in interest in geographical knowledge. As discussed here, early modern scholars used geography to conceptualise the world in a number of ways, which reflected their broader motivations and agendas. Despite new discoveries, classical works such as Hanno's *Periplus* were welcomed as sources and tools to realise their ambitions: from building a bridge between Antiquity and modernity to exploring new commercial avenues and asserting political claims. A distinctive feature of all the projects considered here was the blending of erudition with practical empiricism or, more precisely, of philological and humanist methods with travellers' accounts and contemporary observations. For early modern scholars, the experience of new discoveries and foreign regions was not at odds with the world as portrayed in their erudite books but, conversely, it entailed the quest for a harmonious coexistence of tradition and innovation.

At the same time, the three cases discussed here reveal that interpretations of ancient works and the geographical knowledge they contained cannot be disentangled from the wider context of political and economic concerns of the period, brought by the first wave of European overseas voyages. Hanno's revival was closely related to increased European interest and presence in distant lands and with the associated opportunities to generate profit, either by satisfying the curiosity of readers, opening commercial routes, or exploiting new territories. In this climate, ancient geographical knowledge found novel, pragmatic applications in contemporary issues of navigation and law, as the nascent colonial empires of Spain, Portugal and Holland mobilised or scorned Hanno to bolster their respective agendas. The Carthaginian garnered attention also in Venice and even landlocked Switzerland: two episodes brought together by the awareness of the shifting balance in established trade routes, as well as reflecting that considerations of taking part in the conquest of distant lands – on land or on paper, real or imaginary – extended beyond the rising naval powers.

Through the processes of knowledge-making about distant places, their exoticisation or familiarisation, the peoples and the nature of foreign regions were ideologically constructed, often with the intent in mind of justifying their exploitation. Against this backdrop, early modern European perceptions of 'self' and 'the other' were consolidated. Renaissance always was a geopolitical project and with the Greco-Roman world offering a unit of cultural cohesion and a pattern to follow, humanist efforts and the associated renewed interest in ancient geography were central to these projects. As the different treatments of Hanno's *Periplus* indicate, there was no unified European response however and attention to the cultural, political, religious and economic aspects provides insights into the idiosyncrasies of these encounters and confrontations. Above all, therefore, the examples discussed here reveal that as much as there is a history of geography, there is also a geography of geography, which determined the purpose of ancient geographical knowledge in the eyes of early modern authors. Writers from countries with imperial ambitions – Spain, Portugal and Holland – who had first-hand access to the latest information from overseas, used classical geographers to their own purposes, chief amongst which were to gain the edge over their rivals in the race for new dominions.

On the other hand, for Gessner and Ramusio, who lacked this privileged intelligence and whose homelands had no direct involvement in the colonial enterprise, Hanno's account offered chance to learn about new worlds. In other words, there was a stark difference between those who had travelled overseas and those who had not. Whilst the former did not seek classical accounts primarily to acquire information about the geographies of distant lands, the latter were left with the task of comparing diverse second-hand reports and compiled their visions of far-away places from different sources, including those from Antiquity.

Note

¹ Sigismund Gelenius, *Arriani et Hannonis Periplus, Plutarchus de Fluminibus et Montibus, Strabonis Epitome* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1533), 38-40. See *Appendix* for an English translation of the account. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

² Early modern reactions to Hanno's voyage have been briefly commented on by Monique Mund-Dopchie, whose claims this study seeks to further develop, thus offering a more nuanced treatment of Hanno's reception. Mund-Dopchie provided an exhaustive list of authors concerned with the Carthaginian, but suggested that they 'assumed two opposite attitudes', devoting their attention to either antiquity or contemporary developments (p.113). Furthermore, particularly the treatment of the reception within the context of maritime discoveries requires a more careful portrayal of the legal and political background. Altogether, this study seeks to bring the 'opposing' philological and contemporary attitudes closer together, set the debates around Hanno on a safer socio-political footing, and devote more attention to developments in geography and the procedures involved in its practice. See: Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'The Different Readings of the Journey of Hanno' in Zweder von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (Leiden; New York, NY; Köln: Brill, 1994), 111-9.

³ Thomas Browne, 'Musaeum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita' in *Certain Miscellany Tracts Written by Thomas Brown* (London: Charles Mearns, 1683), 6.

⁴ Gelenius, *Periplus*, 40. Note that the term 'gorillas' is in the accusative plural: the corresponding nominative singular and nominative plural would be probably 'gorilla' and 'gorillai', respectively.

⁵ For interpretations of monstrous and marvellous in the early modern period, see especially: Lorraine J. Daston and Katharine Park, 'The Topography of Wonder' in *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York City, NY: Zone Books, 1998), 21-66; Peter G. Platt, *Wonders, Marvels and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (Newark, DE; London: University of Delaware Press, 1999); Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (eds.), *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2007); Mittman and Dendle (eds.), *Ashgate Research Companion*; Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (eds.), *Early Modern Zoology: Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2014); Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁶ Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Venice: Lucantonio Giunti, 1550), 111v-4v.

⁷ See especially: Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of the Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1992); Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (eds.), *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 2005). See also: Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1962); Gianna Pomata, 'Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre, ca. 1500-1650' in Lorraine J. Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck (eds.), *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 45-80; Surekha Davies (ed.), 'Science, New Worlds, and the Classical Tradition', *Journal of Early Modern History* special issue, xviii (2014).

It has been also argued that together with the humanist techniques of excerpting and collating 'nuggets' of evidence – and thus detaching them from general theories of universal causes –, these developments encouraged historicisation of experience and contributed to the early modern redefinition of the notion of 'fact' in the context of science. See: Peter Dear, 'Totius in Verba: Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society', *Isis*, lxxvi (1985), 145-61; Lorraine J. Daston, 'The Factual Sensibility', *Isis*, lxxix (1988), 452-67; Lorraine J. Daston, 'Baconian Facts, Academic Civility, and the Prehistory of Objectivity', *Annals of Scholarship*, viii (1991), 337-64; Lorraine J. Daston, 'Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe', *Critical Inquiry*, xviii (1991), 93-124.

⁸ For early modern geography, see: Numa Broc, *La Géographie de la Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1980); John Brian Harley, David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-2007); John Brian Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe', *Imago Mundi*, xl (1988), 57-76; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Oxford, 1992); Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Faussett (Cambridge: Polity, 1994); Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (New York City, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (New York City, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550-1700* (Brill, 2011); Nicholas Popper, *Walter Raleigh's 'History of the World' and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago, IL;

London: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Davies, *Ethnography*.

⁹ Few texts of such short length have received as much scholarly attention as Hanno's *Periplus*. For literature overviews, see: Alfredo Mederos Martín and Gabriel Escribano Cobo, 'El Periplo Norteafricano de Hannón y la Rivalidad Gaditano-Cartaginesa de los Siglos IV-III a.C.', *Gerión* xviii (2000), 77-107; Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'Hanno' in Virginia Brown, James Hankins and Robert A. Kaster (eds.) *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, vol. viii (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 49-55.

For Hanno's *Periplus* in the context of ancient navigation, see: Walter W. Hyde, *Ancient Greek Mariners* (New York City, NY: Oxford University Press, 1947); Brian H. Warmington, 'Carthaginian Expansion in the Fifth Century' in *Carthage: A History* (London: Robert Hale & Co., 1960), 33-47; Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (London, 1979); Lionel Casson, 'Beyond the Pillars of Hercules' in *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 116-26; Duane W. Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic* (New York City, NY; London: Taylor & Francis, 2006); Duane W. Roller, *Ancient Geography: The Discovery of the World in Classical Greece and Rome* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 56-60.

For attempts to localise the features of *Periplus* on the modern map, see: Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of Hanno: A Voyage of Discovery Down the West-African Coast, by a Carthaginian Admiral of the Fifth Century BC* (Philadelphia, PA: Commercial Museum, 1912); Max Cary and Eric H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1929), 47-52; J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 73-7; Rhys Carpenter, *Beyond the Pillars of Heracles: The Classical World Seen Through the Eyes of its Discoverers* (New York City, NY: Delacorte Press, 1966), 81-100; Lionel Casson, 'Setting the Stage for Columbus', *Archaeology*, May-June (1990), 50-5; Edward Lipiński, 'Hanno's *Periplus*' in *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2004), 435-75; Livio C. Stecchini, 'The voyage of Hanno', *Metrum: A Site Devoted to the Memory of Livio Catullo Stecchini*, <<http://www.metrum.org/mapping/hanno.htm>> (s.d.).

For linguistic and stylistic analyses of Hanno's *Periplus*, see: Jérôme Carcopino, 'Le Périphe d'Hannon et ses Fausses Confidences' in *Le Maroc Antique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), 73-82; Gabriel Germaine, 'Qu'est-ce que le Périphe d'Hannon? Document, Amplification Littéraire ou Faux Intégral?', *Hesperis*, xxxiv (1957), 205-48; Stanislav Segert, 'Phoenician Background of Hanno's *Periplus*' in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, tome XLV*,

vol. III (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1969), 499-520; Nikolaos Oikonomides, *Periplus or Circumnavigation of Africa* (Chicago, IL: Ares, 1977); Jesper Blomqvist, *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus* (Lund: LiberLäromedel Lund, 1979); Paul E. H. Hair, 'The *Periplus of Hanno* in the History and Historiography of Black Africa', *History in Africa*, xiv (1987), 43-66; Lipiński, *Periplus*.

¹⁰ See especially: Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 2.67.

¹¹ Pliny, *Historia*, 6.36.

¹² References to Hanno's voyage appear in Pseudo-Aristotle's *On Marvellous Things Heard* (37) and in Palaephatus's collection of rationalised myths, dated to the mid-fourth century BC; see: Jacob Stern, *Palaephatus: Περί ἀπίστων – On Unbelievable Tales* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1996), 62-4.

¹³ Pliny, *Historia*, 5.1. For Kerne, see *Appendix*, sect. 8.

¹⁴ Roller, *Through the Pillars*, 113.

¹⁵ Pliny, *Historia*, 5.1, 'fuere Hannonis Carthaginensium ducis commentarii'. The emphasis is mine.

¹⁶ This perception persisted into the early modern period: the Pillars featured on the frontispiece of Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* (The Great Instauration, 1620) alongside the inscription 'Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia' (Many will pass through and knowledge will increase), while the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V chose the motto 'Plus ultra' (Further beyond) for his coat-of-arms, implying the significance of the Pillars as a gateway to new worlds.

¹⁷ It has been suggested that the Carthaginians may have tried to perpetuate and take advantage of these Greco-Roman beliefs, deliberately larding their accounts with myths about unnavigable waters full of monsters to discourage foreign exploration and protect their commercial and territorial interests. Whereas the Carthaginians had colonies up and down the Atlantic coast of Europe and Africa, Greek and Roman sailors preferred to stay within the 'safe' waters of the Mediterranean. Carcopino, *Périple*, 75; Roller, *Through the Pillars*, 29; Warmington, *Carthaginian Expansion*, 71-2.

¹⁸ Arrian of Nicomedia, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 8.43; Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, 9.3-5; Pliny, *Historia*, 2.67, 5.1, 6.36; Solinus, *Collectanea*, 24.15, 56.12.

¹⁹ Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones and John Robert Sitlington Sterrett (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1.3.2.

²⁰ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 5.19-20.

²¹ Pomponius Mela, *Description of the World*, trans. Frank E. Romer (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 3.93; Pliny, *Historia*, 6.36; Solinus, *Collectanea*, 56.12. In fact, in introducing the Gorgons into the story, the latter two authors may have been misled by Mela (or the tradition he was following). Mela placed the Gorgon Islands across from ‘εσπέρου κέρας’ – or the Horn of the West –, which Hanno had hastily left, but treated this event as separate from the encounter with the hairy women at the Horn of the South (Mela, *Description*, 3.96). Perhaps Pliny and his follower Solinus mixed these two episodes together.

²² Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1914), 2.273-5. ‘Land towards Night’ – or in the original Hesperus, the personification of the evening star – is the equivalent of ‘westwards’.

²³ Palaephatus placed Phorcys, the father of the Gorgons, at the island of Kerne (cf. *Appendix*, sect. 8) by the river Annon (Stern, *Palaephatus*, 62).

²⁴ Mund-Dopchie, *Hanno*, 50.

²⁵ Gelenius, *Periplus*, 38-40.

²⁶ Aubrey Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, PA: American Philological Association, 1952), 9.

²⁷ Blomqvist, *Date and Origin*, 50-1; Lipiński, *Periplus*, 435.

²⁸ Segert, *Phoenician background*, 509.

²⁹ As the presence of Kronos in the subtitle reveals, the names of gods are Greek, while many topographical names had been Hellenised (e.g. Thymiaterion, ‘Altar of incense’).

³⁰ Blomqvist, *Date and Origin*, 55; Roller, *Through the Pillars*, 8-10.

³¹ *Codex Palatinus Graecus* 398, 55r-56r <<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec398>> (15 February 2018). Diller, *Greek Geographers*, 4; Hair, *Periplus*, 44.

³² Nigel G. Wilson, ‘The Libraries of the Byzantine World’ in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, viii (1967), 53-80; Leighton D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 44-78; Luciano Canfora, ‘Řecká literatura a její osudy’ in Dagmar Bartoňková (ed. and trans.), *Dějiny řecké literatury* (Prague: KLP – Koniasch Latin Press, 2009), 15-25.

³³ Canfora, *Řecká literatura*, 25; Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, esp. 58-78.

³⁴ Desiderius Erasmus, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1533).

³⁵ Gelenius, *Periplus*, preface (np.).

³⁶ Cf. *Appendix* sect. 14 and 17-8.

³⁷ *Codex Palatinus*, f. 56r. For how Hanno's 'gorillas' became 'our' gorillas (*Gorilla gorilla*), see: Thomas S. Savage and Jeffries Wyman, 'Notice of the External Characters and Habits of *Troglodytes gorilla*, a New Species of Orang from the Gaboon River', *Boston Journal of Natural History*, v (1847), 417-42; Thomas H. Huxley, 'On the Natural History of the Man-like Apes' in *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1863), 33-4; Oikonomides, *Periplus*, 37-8; Kenneth A. R. Kennedy and John C. Whittaker, 'The Ape in Stateroom 10', *Laboratory Primate Newsletter*, xxvii (1988); Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'Les Humanistes Face aux Gorilles d'Hannon', in *Prose et Prosateurs de la Renaissance: Mélanges Offerts à Monsieur le Professeur Robert Aulotte* (Paris: Sedes, 1988), 331-42.

³⁸ Conrad Gessner, 'Hannonis, Carthaginensium Ducis Navigatio' in *Joannis Leonis Africani De Totius Africae Descriptione*, trans. Johannes Florianus (Zurich: Andreas Gessner, 1559).

³⁹ Desiderius Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schürer, 1518), 4v, '[In cosmographia] praecipua pars est observasse, quae montium, fluminum, regionum, urbium vulgo recepta vocabula, quibus antiquis respondeant.'

⁴⁰ See, for example, the work of Pier Andrea Mattioli who in his *Discorsi* on Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica* (1544) among other strove to match the plants described by the Greek physician with their contemporary counterparts.

⁴¹ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Gilles Coppens de Diest, 1570), preface (np.), 'quam necessaria sit ad eas [historias] recte intelligendas geographiae ... cognitio'.

⁴² David Chytraeus, *De Ratione Discendi* (Wittenberg, 1576), L₂ r/v. Cited in: Urs B. Leu, 'Textbooks and Their Uses – An Insight into the Teaching of Geography in 16th Century Zurich' in Emidio Campi, Simone de Angelis, Anja-Silva Goeing and Anthony T. Grafton (eds.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 2008), 239.

⁴³ Popper, *Raleigh*, 126.

⁴⁴ Gessner, *Navigatio*, 17 (cf. *Appendix* sect. 8).

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 9.

⁴⁶ Pliny, *Historia*, 2.67, 'a Gadibus ad finem Arabiae'.

⁴⁷ See, for example: Strabo, *Geography*, 16.4.14; Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 4.7.

⁴⁸ Gessner, *Navigatio*, 18, 20-1. Classical cartographers led by Ptolemy depicted the western coast of Africa as turning directly and continually towards the south outside the Pillars of Herakles.

⁴⁹ [Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* \(Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544\), map no. xxiii.](#)

⁵⁰ [Gessner, *Navigatio*, 21.](#)

⁵¹ [Pliny, *Historia*, 6.35.](#)

⁵² Popper, *Raleigh*, 122.

⁵³ Conrad Gessner, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum Universalium Libri XXI* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1548); Conrad Gessner, *Mithridates sive de Differentiis Linguarum* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1555).

⁵⁴ Urs B. Leu, 'Konrad Gessner und die Neue Welt', *Gesnerus*, xxxix (1992), 279-309.

⁵⁵ Gessner, *Pandectarum*, 111v.

⁵⁶ Leu, *Textbooks*, 232.

⁵⁷ Leu, *Textbooks*, 240.

⁵⁸ Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544). See: Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch Eines Biographischen Gesamtbildes* (Basel; Stuttgart: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963); Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Surekha Davies, 'America and Amerindians in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis Libri VI* (1550)', *Renaissance Studies*, xxv (2011), 351-73; Jasper C. van Putten, *Networked Nation: Mapping German Cities in Sebastian Münster's "Cosmographia"* (Brill, 2017).

⁵⁹ [It was the cartographer Martin Waldseemüller based in St-Dié, who coined the term 'America' in 1507; see for example: Christine R. Johnson, 'Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America', *Past & Present*, cxci \(2006\), 2-42. For the reception of the newly discovered worlds in the German-speaking lands, see: Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung Einer Neuen Welt: Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums 1493-1598* \(Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000\); Harald Kleinschmidt, *Ruling the Waves: Emperor Maximilian I, the Search for Islands and the Transformation of the European World Picture c. 1500* \('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2008\); Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* \(Charlottesville, VA; London: University of Virginia Press, 2008\); Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* \(New York City, NY; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010\).](#)

⁶⁰ Burmeister, *Münster*, 135-40; Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (1949), trans. Siân Reynolds (London: University of California Press, 1995); 202-24; Pieper, *Vermittlung*; McLean, *Cosmographia*, 41, 163.

⁶¹ The dispute over sausage eating during lent, which set off the Reformation in Zurich, was even organised from the workshop of the prominent local printer Johann Froschauer. For the Swiss Reformation and early modern printing, see: Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Lukas Erne, 'The History of the Book in Switzerland' in Michael F. Suarez and Henry Ruxton Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Book: A Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 388-90.

⁶² [Kleinschmidt, *Ruling the Waves*, 182-4; Christine R. Johnson, *German Discovery*, ch. 3-5.](#)

⁶³ Ann Blair, 'Conrad Gessner's Paratexts', *Gesnerus*, xxxvii (2016), 73-122.

⁶⁴ For instance, it has been suggested that the Florentine Medici dukes compensated for their lack of colonial activity by acquiring objects from and producing images of the Americas, thus being involved in their 'vicarious' conquest. In sixteenth-century Bohemia, the Protestant Unity of Brethren translated Jean de Léry's account about the Brazilian Tupinamba people, as they saw in the Americas the opportunity to escape from the increasingly Catholic-dominated realms and to build a new Christendom among the unspoiled indigenes. See: Jean de Léry, *Historie o plavení se do Ameriky, kteráž i Brasíliá slove*, trans. Pavel Slovák and Matěj Cyrus (Vidim, 1590); Lia Markey, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

⁶⁵ [For example, Leitch has argued in *Mapping Ethnography that in early sixteenth-century Germany, iconographic representations of American peoples were in a close dialogue with the portrayal of the ur-Germans, derived from the recently re-discovered Tacitus's treatise on Germania.*](#) Drawing on the case of the contributors to Münster's *Cosmographia*, van Putten has pointed out in *Networked Nation* that such publications were a platform where different communities could express and disseminate their local and national cultural identities.

⁶⁶ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the *History of Travayle* to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre' in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham; Burlington, VT: CRC Press, 2012), 28. For further links between commercial and humanist practices, see, for example: Anke te Heesen, 'Accounting for the Natural World: Double-entry Bookkeeping in the Field' in Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (eds.), *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 237-51.

⁶⁷ Frederic Chapin Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press, 1973); Margaret Small, 'A World Seen Through Another's Eyes: Hakluyt, Ramusio, and the Narratives of the *Navigazioni et Viaggi*' in Carey and Jowitt (eds.), *Hakluyt*, 45-55; Rubiés, *Rise*, 25-41.

⁶⁸ Giovanni Battista Ramusio, 'Discorso di Maestro Giovanni Battista Ramusio Sopra Varii Viaggi per li Quali Sono State Condotte Fino a' Tempi Nostri le Spezierie e Altri Nuovi che se Potriano Usare per Condurle' in *Secundo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Venetia: Lucantonio Giunti, 1559), 967-90.

⁶⁹ Rubiés, *Rise*, 30. See also: Surekha Davies, 'The Wondrous East in the Renaissance Geographical Imagination: Marco Polo, Fra Mauro and Giovanni Battista Ramusio', *History and Anthropology*, xxiii (2012), 215-34.

⁷⁰ Ramusio, *Primo volume*, 113v.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 113v.

⁷² Popper, *Raleigh*, 135.

⁷³ [See, for example: David Brion Davis, 'Constructing Race: A Reflection', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, liv \(1997\), 7-18; Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder": Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, liv \(1997\), 167-92.](#)

⁷⁴ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Five Bookes* (London: William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625), 77-9.

⁷⁵ John Dunton, *A Voyage Round the World* (London: Richard Newcome, 1691), f. B2; Thomas Heyrick, *Miscellany Poems* (Cambridge: John Hayes, 1694), 24.

⁷⁶ Hiob Ludolf, *A New History of Ethiopia* (London: Samuel Smith, 1682), 151-2; Luis del Mármol, *Primera Parte de la Descricion General de Affrica* (Granada: Rene Rabut, 1573), 45v-6r.

⁷⁷ For one of the major debates revolving around the veracity, antiquity and individual features of the account, see: Isaac Vossius, *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam 'De Situ Orbis'* (The Hague: Adriaan Vlacq, 1658), 302-5; Henry Dodwell, 'Dissertatio Prima: De Vero Periplus, qui Hannonis Nomine Circumfertur' in John Hudson (ed.), *Geographiae Veteris Scriptores Graeci Minores*, vol. 1 (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1698), 1-41; Thomas Falconer, *The Voyage of Hanno* (London, 1797).

⁷⁸ Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos: A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford: John Lichfield and William Turner, 1625), 774-5; Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile Begunne Anno 1626* (London: William Stansby and Jacob Bloome, 1634), 217-8; John Ogilby, *America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the*

New World (London: Printed for the Autor, 1671), 21-2; John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (London: Giles Widdows, 1674), 223.

⁷⁹ Caelius Rhodiginus, *Antiquarum Lectionum Commentarii Libri XVI* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio and Andrea Torresano, 1517), 22-3.

⁸⁰ Ram Prakash Anand, 'Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum' in *Origin and Development of the Law of the Sea: History of International Law Revisited* (The Hague: Brill, 1983), 40-71.

⁸¹ Charles Henry Alexandrowicz, 'Grotius and India (1954)' in David Armitage and Jeniffer Pitts (eds.), *The Law of Nations in Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 113-5.

⁸² Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (Seville: J. Cromberger, 1535), i, esp. 16 seqq.

⁸³ Florián de Ocampo, *Los Cinco Libros Primeros de la Cronica General de España* (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1553), iii, 147v-57r. These largely fabricated insertions of Hispanic traces into Hanno's life and voyage were taken up even by some foreign scholars: for example, John Ogilby described how Hanno 'manag'd the War in Spain' (Ogilby, *America*, 19).

⁸⁴ Ocampo, *Cronica General*, iii, 175v-6v.

⁸⁵ Ronald H. Fritze, 'Who's on First: The Pseudohistory of the Discovery and Settlement of Ancient America' in *Invented Knowledge: False History, Fake Science and Pseudo-Religions* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 84.

⁸⁶ Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 30; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 61-3.

⁸⁷ This argument was based on the similarity perceived by a Welsh observer between the Welsh and one of the Aztec languages; see: David Beers Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1 (Macmillan, 1979), 66-8; Popper, *Raleigh*, 170.

⁸⁸ Ocampo, *Cronica General*, iii, 157r-160r, 'De la jornada grande que navego Hanon y sus Españoles despues que salio de Caliz ... al mar bermejo.'

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, iii, 158v. Bartolomé de las Casas made a similar claim against the Portuguese, arguing that Phoenician navigators sailing from Cádiz landed both in Cape Verde and Brazil; see: Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1552), eds. Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle and José Sancho Rayon (Madrid: Miguel Ginesta, 1875), 82-3.

⁹⁰ Ocampo, *Cronica General*, iii, 157r.

⁹¹ [Davies, *Ethnography*, esp. ch. 7.](#)

⁹² Jonathan Ziskind, 'International Law and Ancient Sources: Grotius and Selden', *The Review of Politics*, xxxv (1973), 537-59; Mónica Brito Vieira, 'Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum: Grotius, Freitas, and Selden's Debate on Dominion over the Seas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lxiv (2003), 361-77; Martine Julia van Ittersum, *Hugo Grotius, Natural Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies 1595-1615* (Boston: Brill, 2006); Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Hugo Grotius's Dissertation on the Origin of the American Peoples and the Use of Comparative Methods' in *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2007), XI: 1-34; Mark Somos, 'Secularization in *De Iure Praedae*: From Bible Criticism to International Law' in Hans W. Blom, (ed.) *Property, Piracy and Punishment: Hugo Grotius on War and Booty in 'De Iure Praedae' – Concepts and Contexts* (Brill, 2009), 147-91; Alexandrowicz, *Grotius*, 113-20; Charles Henry Alexandrowicz, 'Freitas versus Grotius (1959)' in David Armitage and Jennifer Pitts (eds.), *The Law of Nations in Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 121-39.

⁹³ Hugo Grotius, *Mare Liberum sive de Jure quod Batavis Competit ad Indicana Commercia Dissertatio* (Leiden: Ludovicus Eseviri, 1609), 32-3, 'satis arguunt primos non fuisse Lusitanos'.

⁹⁴ Brito Vieira, *Mare Liberum*; Alexandrowicz, *Freitas*.

⁹⁵ Serafim de Freitas, *De Justo Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico* (Valladolid: Hieronymus Morillo, 1625), 22v-6v.

⁹⁶ Freitas, *De Imperio*, 24v-5r, 26r-v.

⁹⁷ Freitas, *De Imperio*, 25r-6r.

⁹⁸ James Romm, 'New World and *Novos Orbis*: Seneca in the Renaissance' in Wolfgang Haase and Reinhold Meyer (eds.), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas: European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, vol. 1 (Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 94, 'Aiunt fertiles in Oceano iacere terras ultraque Oceanum rursus alia litora, alium nasci orbem ... Facile ista finguntur, quia Oceanus navigari non potest.'

⁹⁹ Cf., for example, with the Polish Sarmatism, the belief that Polish nobility was descended from the ancient culture of Sarmatians, or with the Dutch and Moravian identification with the Germanic tribes of Batavi and Marcomanni, respectively, during their early modern national struggles. See: Pavel Papáček, *Keltové a Němci či Slované?* (Prague: Printed for the Author, 1902), esp. p. 7; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (University of California Press, 1988), esp. 69-92; Friedrich Karin, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569-1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. 85-95.

Appendix

Translated by Jerker Blomqvist, in: *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus: With an Edition of the Text and a Translation* (Lund: LiberLäromedel Lund, 1979), 61-3.

The sea-voyage of the Carthaginian king, Hanno, around the Libyan regions of the earth beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which he also set up in the shrine of Kronos, stating as follows:

1. The Carthaginians decided that Hanno should sail beyond the Pillars of Heracles and found cities with Libyphoenician settlers. He set sail with sixty fifty-oared ships, a multitude of men and women, thirty thousand in number, food, and other equipment.

2. When, putting to sea, we had passed the Pillars and sailed for two days beyond them, we founded our first city, which we gave the name Thymiaterion (Altar of Incense). Below it there was a large plain.

3. Then, sailing westwards, we gathered at Soloeis, a promontory of Libya, which is overgrown with trees.

4. Having dedicated a shrine to Poseidon there, we went aboard again and sailed eastwards for half a day, until we were brought to a lake, situated not far from the sea and full of much, tall-grown reed. There were also elephants in it and other animals grazing in large numbers.

5. When we had left the lake about one day's sail behind, we founded cities by the sea, which we called Karikon Teichos (Carian Wall), Gytte, Akra (Promontory), Melitta, and Arambys.

6. When we had sailed from there, we came to a big river, Lixos, which flows from Libya. Beside it a pastoral tribe, the Lixitai, pastured their cattle. We stayed with them for some time and became their friends.

7. Above them there lived inhospitable Ethiopians, inhabitants of a savage land divided by big mountains, out of which the Lixos is said to flow. In the mountains, strangely shaped men, Troglodytes, were said to live, who were quicker than horses in running, said the Lixitai.

8. When we had got interpreters from them, we sailed along the desert to the south for two days and then again eastwards during one day's travel. There we found innermost in a bay a small island with a circumference of five stadia, which we colonized, naming it Kerne. Judging from our voyage, we esteemed it to be situated opposite to Carthage, for the journey from Carthage to the Pillars was comparable to that from the Pillars to Kerne.

9. After that, we arrived at a lake, having sailed through a big river (Chretes?). The lake had three islands, larger than Kerne. After a day's sail beyond them we arrived in the innermost part of the lake. Above it huge mountains rose, full of savage people, clad in animals' skins. Throwing stones, they drove us away, preventing our disembarking.

10. Sailing from there, we came to another river, big and broad and full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses. From there we turned back again and returned to Kerne.

11. From Kerne we sailed to the south for twelve days, keeping to the coast, which was everywhere inhabited by Ethiopians, who fled from us and did not await our approaching: they spoke a language unintelligible also to the Lixitai in our company.

12. On the last day we anchored under some big, woody mountains: the timber of the trees was sweet-smelling and colourful.

13. Sailing around them for two days, we came to an immense expanse of sea, on the other side of which, in the direction of the mainland, there was a plain. At night we observed that fire was rising everywhere from the plain at intervals, sometimes more and sometimes less.

14. Having drawn water, we sailed from there onwards for five days along the coast, until we arrived at a big bay which the interpreters said was called Hesperu Keras (Horn of the West). There was a big island in it, and in the island a lake that resembled the sea. In the lake there was another island. When we disembarked, we could, in daytime, see nothing but a forest, but at night we saw a lot of fires

burning and heard the sound of flutes, the clashing of cymbals and drums, and an immense shouting. Therefore, fear seized us, and the diviners recommended us to leave the island.

15. We sailed away quickly and travelled along a fiery land full of incense, from which enormous torrents of fire emptied into the sea; the coast was inaccessible because of the heat.

16. Therefore, we sailed in fear quickly from that place, too. During four days' travel we saw at night the coast full of flames. In their midst there was a gigantic fire, bigger than the rest and rising, as it seemed, to the stars. In daytime this appeared to be a huge mountain, called Theon Ochema (Chariot of the Gods or Support of the Gods).

17. Sailing from there along the fiery torrents, we arrived on the third at a bay called Notu Keras (Horn of the South).

18. In its innermost part there was an island, resembling the former, with a lake, and in the lake there was another island, full of savage people. The far greater part of them were women with hairy bodies, whom the interpreters called Gorillas. When we pursued them, we could not catch any males, but they all escaped, being good climbers and defending themselves with ...(?); but we caught three women, who, biting and clawing their catchers, refused to follow them. However, we killed and flayed them and brought their hides to Carthage. For we did not sail any further, since our provisions had run short.