

translations of the *Periplus* was made in Venice and published by Giambattista Ramusio in 1550 as part of a volume of *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (p. 35). A French translation, published by Jean Temporal, appeared in 1556 within a volume on Africa (pp. 38–9); this was followed by a translation in Latin, published in Zurich in 1559 (p. 56). The first English translation, based on Ramusio, only appeared in 1625 and was associated with other ancient and biblical voyages (p. 43); and a reprint of the Latin translation was published in Oxford in 1698 by John Hudson as part of a volume of ancient geographers (pp. 50–1). The second main study covers the different ways in which Hanno's text was cited and considered in the Renaissance. These include specific word studies, a discussion of the marvels, as well as the relation of Hanno's voyage to a real topography.

One of the most interesting sections in the book concerns the way that Hanno became an emblem or a prototype in the age of the Great Discoveries; he is seen as one of the first in a long line of explorers who transmitted 'the flame of discovery' from generation to generation (p. 88). One of the earliest mentions in this regard was made by Nicolò Scillacio in 1494, himself influenced by Columbus's return from his second voyage (p. 88). Brief consideration is also given to the use of Hanno from the eighteenth century onwards. One of the most striking examples cited was the use by François-René de Chateaubriand in his attack on the French Republic, published in 1796. There he draws a parallel between two great commercial nations: for antiquity, Carthage, and for the present day, England. For Chateaubriand, the two great voyagers representing the furtherance of trade were Hanno and Captain James Cook (pp. 141–2).

Hanno continues to play a rôle in the way that the Phoenicians are viewed today. In a major 1988 Venice exhibition, the *Periplus* was discussed within the context of Phoenician seafaring and ancient views of the Phoenicians; Hanno's account may have even given rise to a forged Phoenician inscription near João Pessoa in northern Brazil which came to light in 1872 (S. Moscati, *The Phoenicians* [1988], pp. 558, 560, 570). This study of Hanno is a reminder that the classical world, as well as the Renaissance, gave rightful recognition to the achievements of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, which have, perhaps, sometimes been given less than their true acknowledgement.

University of Wales Swansea

DAVID W. J. GILL

G. INDELLI, V. TSOUNA-MCKIRAHAN (edd., trans.): *[Philodemus]: [On Choices and Avoidances]*. (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, La Scuola di Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da Marcello Gigante, 15.) Pp. 248. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1995. ISBN: 88-7088-343-4.

The Herculaneum papyrus 1251 was first unrolled in 1808 to reveal twenty-three columns of text, the last fifth of the original roll, lacking title and author. Both the top and the bottom of each column had been destroyed. The contents revealed no clear order and were regarded as a miscellaneous collection of largely disjointed remarks. In addition to the surviving papyrus, now less readable than before, there are two apographs, published in 1811 and 1881. There have been several critical editions, the last of which was published by W. Schmid in 1939. Since then, however, a number of important advances have been made with regard to the text, its authorship and its interpretation. More recently Gigante has argued for the authorship of Philodemus rather than the previously canvassed Hermarchus or Epicurus himself. The present edition, besides taking all this more recent work into account, has the extra advantage of having two authors with complementary skills, I. providing the papyrological input and T. the philosophical expertise. Their partnership has been more than responsibility for particular sections of the finished work; it has been a fruitful interaction throughout the preparation of the volume.

They argue persuasively, on both philosophical and stylistic grounds, for Philodemus as author, and with considerable plausibility provide the title *On Choices and Avoidances*, a title mentioned by Philodemus himself in Herc. 1424, whilst the words *αἰρέσεις* and *φυγαί* occur several times in combination in the text of Herc. 1251. Indeed the topic of moral choices and avoidances is the prevailing theme of the fragment. The disjointed nature of the fragment is due not merely to the

damage to the edges of the papyrus roll but more fundamentally, according to the authors, to its being the peroration of the treatise. In the sixty-page introduction over thirty pages are devoted to a careful analysis of the contents and to placing them in their context. The authors vigorously reject the notion that it is a random compendium and argue strongly that it is an articulate whole with the recurrent theme of moral choice and avoidance. Given that this is the peroration of the treatise, the precise theory promulgated by Philodemus cannot be recovered, but enough survives to show the importance of upholding the prominence of reason in making ethical decisions. From the outset three antirational views are rejected: that moral choices are dictated by affections, that future pleasures cannot be mentally anticipated, and that no judgement is more valid than another. By way of encouragement the Epicurean 'fourfold remedy' is repeated. Superstition and the fear of death are also dismissed as incompatible with Epicurean rationalism, which forms a firm basis for making moral choices. A final picture is painted of the Epicurean sage and the rational way in which he conducts himself.

Most interestingly I.&T. show that the author can sometimes modify his Epicureanism to counter new philosophical objections, but in the most careful way so that no disrespect is shown to the Master, e.g. in applying conventional techniques of formal analysis, or in the examination of the relation of the virtues to each other and to pleasure where a nonreciprocal entailment is implied rather than the strict mutual entailment of pleasure and virtue: pleasure always implies virtue, but virtue may exist without pleasure, i.e. one can accommodate the good man who is in (temporary) pain. In many ways this gentle 'modernization' of Epicureanism is the most interesting feature of the whole piece. In general 'Philodemus' puts more emphasis on reason than Epicurus, e.g. in reasoning out the balance of pain and pleasure. Elsewhere he softens a harsher Epicurean formulation, e.g. in developing the notion of a more *indirect* influence of the learning of the cardinal tenets on our moral behaviour.

Over a hundred pages of detailed and well-documented commentary help to corroborate the general points of interpretation and guide the reader through the obscurities of the text. We are given an Italian as well as an English translation, although the former seems more elegant than the English one, which, though accurate, is sometimes a little clumsy in expression, e.g. 'and feeling confidence against illness and death' rather than 'feeling confident in the face of illness and death'. The volume is completed with a very full *index verborum*. This introduction and commentary to a mere fifteen pages of Greek text serves the reader well as an introduction to the lively and continuing debate on a number of important philosophical issues in the first century B.C.

University College Dublin

ANDREW SMITH

W. SIEVEKING (ed.): *Plutarchus, Pythici Dialogi* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana). Pp. xi + 124. Stuttgart and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1997 (corrected edn by H. Gärtner of the 1st edn 1929). Paper, DM 42. ISBN: 3-519-11502-6.

Plutarch's three 'Pythian Dialogues' have been here extracted from Sieveking's third volume of the *Moralia*. G. provides a brief preface, explaining the scope of the reprint, and three further pages enable the reader to decode the old apparatus. The last two pages of the pamphlet are also owed to G., who adds some new *loci similes*, corrects the text and apparatus criticus, and refers Plutarch's poetic quotations to more recent editions of the fragmentary authors. One may question this undertaking, since the student can either buy the same text, translated by F. C. Babbitt, in the fifth volume of the Loeb Library's Plutarch *Moralia* (which includes the long *Isis and Osiris*), or use the Budé edition, independently produced by R. Flacelière in 1974 (Volume vi of the series)—it is not mentioned by G., but was warmly welcomed by D. E. W. Wormell in *JHS* 95 (1975), 216. Both these volumes have indexes, and the Budé even has a useful index of themes. Either of them would seem to be a better bargain, since this reprint has no index of any kind.

King's College London

ROLAND MAYER