probabilmente affermata nelle edizioni successive. L’invenzione di un tale testo non è cosa da poco e certamente non è cosa da aspettarsi da un falsificatore cui si scrive «non troppa dimestichezza col greco antico».

Ecco il duplice risultato delle nostre indagini:
- le emendazioni di Vossius e di Schubart, lontane dal corrompere il testo sano di una citazione medievale, hanno giustamente messo in evidenza i punti in cui la tradizione del testo si presentava corrotta;
- il testo del papiro, lontano dal venir smascherato per l’uso di infondate congetture come falso dei tempi moderni, offre il passo dell’opera nell’integra versione di Artemidoro, ancora senza le corruzioni infitte dalla tradizione posteriore, dando così un’egregia conferma del metodo critico dei filologi.

Mi fermo qui, rinunciando a trattare le altre osservazioni critiche formulate intorno ad altre varianti proprie della versione completa di Artemidoro serbata dal papiro rispetto al testo dell’epitome. Certo, rimangono ancora gravi problemi da chiarire e importanti questioni da indagare, non solo sulla forma testuale, sulla disposizione e sul contenuto delle colonne geografiche (e pure del passo che abbiamo esaminato), ma anche su una vasta gamma di altri aspetti che vanno ben oltre le conoscenze di un filologo. Spero tuttavia di aver contribuito con il mio intervento a creare una situazione più serena, che permetta di porre le domande relative al papiro senza che ci sia bisogno di invocare ad ogni difficoltà lo spettro del falso.

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Stephen Colvin

P. ARTEMID.: TEXT, PROEM, KOINÉ

The new papyrus presents two remarkable new texts, both roughly connected by the theme of geography. Both are clearly of ancient production; the script is datable to the beginning of the first century AD.

The second, which I shall call simply the text, is an extract from a description of Spain by Artemidorus (floruit either side of 100 BC), written in the lucid scientific koine of the Ionian tradition. It is good, business-like Greek; unobtrusive attention to style improves the clarity and the flow of the narrative. It makes use of the normal range of connectives particles to achieve this: δὲ, γὰρ, μὲν ... δὲ, τε ... καί. None of the sentences in the text starts without a connective, even in the dry listing of distances around the Iberian peninsula at the end of our text. Stylistically it could be described as a ‘middle’ style. There is minimal hypotaxis; sentences are on the whole short, with some attention to balance. The vocabulary is the Ionic-flavoured vocabulary of technical writing (διέξογεν, θεορέαται, κλίμασιν), neither poetic nor exotic.

In adopting this style Artemidorus positions himself in a tradition of Ionic prose, a useful and occasionally elegant tool for technical

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1 I learned much from the colloquium in Pisa upon which this collection of papers in based, and from the Oxford Conference of June 13, 2008 (St John’s College: organized by Kai Brodersen and J. Elsner). I am also indebted to the excellent editio princeps (Milano 2008) in numerous points of detail.
writing, which has a long tradition in Ionia: stretching back both to the medical writers and to the Ionian tradition of ethnography and geography.

The first text in the papyrus (as published) is a piece of florid epideixis on the theme of geography; it is of unknown authorship, and therefore of unknown date. An obvious hypothesis, since it could be interpreted as an introduction or prooimion, is that it was also written by Artemidorus as an introduction to his Geography, and for some reason, either accident or design, appears before Book Two in our papyrus.

It seems to me that this hypothesis can be excluded by comparing the language and style of the two passages; the position of a proem before Book Two of the Geography is not in itself a fatal objection, since it is easy to find parallels for multiple proems in both Greek and Latin literature. I shall argue that the proem is of the same date as the papyrus itself, and is therefore 75 years or a century later than the text giving the description of Spain; and that – for want of a better hypothesis – it was composed in the workshop which produced the papyrus. The overwhelming view at the Oxford Conference was that the papyrus does not represent a luxury edition of Artemidorus. Any theory regarding the function of the papyrus and the intentions of the workshop which produced it are, of course, intimately connected with the view that is taken of the drawings. If the map does not, in fact, represent Spain, the hypothesis that the papyrus was intended as a luxury edition of the ancient geographer is weakened. This is a matter for art historians and cartographic experts; but it seems to me that the alternative view explains the two texts more easily. On this view the papyrus represents, not an ‘edition’, but spare workshop copy. A length of prepared papyrus was too valuable to be wasted: an obvious use for this in a scribal workshop which produced copies of literary texts would be for practice and training; either in calligraphy, or in composition (i.e. in the literary koinē).

I have described the first text as florid epideixis: better, perhaps, would be ‘an attempt at florid epideixis’, because the passage gives an odd impression of having been written by someone with imperfect control of the idiom. As a general point, the composer is clear about the exercise he engaged in: he is composing the familiar epainos of a discipline which is associated with technical writing, especially of the post-classical period. This is a rhetorical and agonistic exercise, in which the author positions himself as an expert in the field; as with declamation, the composer’s manipulation of the High Koinē is an essential ingredient in the epideixis. At the beginning of Polybius’ History (late II BC) we find the implication that it is normal to start a scientific work with epainos:

εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀναγράφοις τὰς πράξεις παραπληγίως συνε-βαίνειν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴς ἱστορίας ἑπαινον ... (Polb. 1.1)

If it were the case that historians before me had neglected the epainos of the discipline ...

It is noticeable, however, that the P. Artemid. proem misses the irony in Polybius (ibid.).

ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐ τινὲς οὐδ’ ἐπὶ ποσόν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἐποίειν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλει κέχρησαντα τοῦτο ... [sic.] δ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴς ἱστορίας ἑπαινον)

but since not just a few historians, but pretty well all of them – and they have not held back – have made this [i.e. epainos] the beginning and end of their work ...

It is, of course, to be expected that a proem will be in a somewhat different register from later parts of the work, and an obvious objection to my argument is that the stylistic and linguistic differences are explicable purely in terms of genre, but the contrast between the baroque obscurity of the ‘proem’ and the lucid competence of the text is so startling that other possibilities deserve to be explored.

I suggest that among the models for our composer was the first book of the newly-appeared Geography of Strabo (born 64 BC), who had in fact used Artemidorus as a source. This would have the effect of pushing the proem, and hence the papyrus, to the end of the first century BC at the earliest. Strabo in his first book exemplifies and defines the High Koinē for his era: a style appropriate for technical and epideictic composition. In his discussion of an adored style for prose, Strabo justifies the presentation of a polished epideixis:

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2 There is no consensus on the date(s) by which Strabo’s Geography was composed or circulated: see R. Syme, When did Strabo Write, in R. Syme, Anatolica: Studies in Strabo, ed. A. Bürle, Oxford 1995, 356-367; D. Duck, ‘The Date and Method of Composition of Strabo’s Geography’, Hermes 127 (1999), 467-478.
the language of prose — that is, artistic prose — is an imitation of poetic language ... the source and origin of artistic and rhetorical diction was poetry.

And indeed, prose which was *kateskeusmenos* (formal, stylistically elaborated) looked to poetry in the post-classical period. The raiding of the poetic lexicon appeared legitimate for two closely-related reasons:

1. the Ionic dialect seems to have sounded poetic *per se* (an association which owed its genesis to epic, and which can be traced back to the Classical period); since there was historically an important Ionian stratum in the literary koine, it is easy to see how the connection was made;

2. the High Koine drew its authority from a literary canon: this included classical and indeed Homeric poetry in addition to classical prose (the widespread assumption that it was based purely on classical prose is mistaken), since it was the written idiom of the highly educated, and artificial in the sense that it was divorced from the spoken idiom in a diglossic world, it came to include words that Demosthenes would not have used (and compare Herodotus, in any case).

The language of our proem employs a mixture of scientific and poetic terms, glued together in a shaky syntactic structure. It certainly gives the impression of an attempt at the High Koine. In the punctuation of the *editio princeps* there are twelve sentences (i.e. narrative units separated by a stop), including both the short rhetorical *τι γαρ*; (I 17), and the final sentence, which is broken off. This reckoning treats sentence 7 (I 31 ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔχειν ...) as separate from sentence 6 (I 22 ἐπαγγέλλεται τις ...), though the syntax continues; in


5 The text of P. Artemid. is always printed without the signs currently used in the papyri editions.

the sentence count this is perhaps compensated for by treating sentence 9 (II 3 ὁμικός δὲ καὶ ...) as a unitary sentence, even though it restarts itself at II 9 (δ' εἰσερχόμενον δέλτι ...). The sentences are long and awkward, and collapse into anacolutha; a major cause of the structural problems is an apparent lack of ability to manipulate structuring particles such as μὲν ... δὲ (completely absent). The favoured sentence connector is γὰρ. In the nine sentences which could be considered candidates for a connective particle at the beginning, γὰρ is found four times, δὲ is found twice, and οὖν once; there are two instances of asyndeton, in sentence 6 (I 22 ἐπαγγέλλεται τις ...) and sentence 11 (II 20 δὲξεται πίστεις ...).

In addition to general principles of composition which may reflect Strabonic influence, there are specific verbal coincidences with Strabo I. Both texts claim that geography is a *πραγματεία* (I 5) close to philosophy:

παρακλήσιον γὰρ αὐτὴν τῇ θεοτάτῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἔτοιμός εἰμι παρακλήσιον (I 13)

I am ready to stand it alongside that highest of divinities, Philosophy.

This recalls the opening sentence of Strabo I:


I believe that the study of Geography, just as much as other subjects, is part of the discipline of the philosopher.

Strabo connects this with a general wide learning:

ἡ τε πολυμάθεια, δι’ ἑς μόνης ἐφίκεσα τίτις τοῦ ἐργοῦ δυνατον, οὖν ἄλλοι τινὲς ἑστιν, ἢ τὸ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ὁνείρεσιν ἐπιθέλοντος, διότι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπίστημον φασίν (Strabo I 1, 1 p. 1-2 C, and cf. also II 5, 1 p. 109-110 C).

And wide learning, too, which is the sole means of achieving a work of this type [sic! geography], belongs only to the person who has investigated things both divine and human — knowledge of which they call philosophy.

The desire to connect geography with *polymathêia*, expertise in a range of learned disciplines, is also found in the 'Artemidorous' proem:

τῆς ἄληθες ἐπιστήμης ἐπιστήμου ποιεῖσθαι θαυματοῦ δεῖ ... (I 2)

[The Geographer] must demonstrate the entire range of his knowledge ...
... φύγα ἐστὶν ὁ τυχόν κόπος ὁ δυνάμενος τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ταύτῃ συν-
αισθασθεῖα (10-13)

For it is not an everyday labour that can wrestle with this science

This, for Strabo, includes the study of astronomy and meteorology: the
earth in relation to the rest of the kosmos (1, 15 p. 8 C). The papyrus
also sketches a relationship between the geographer and the kosmos,
but a vaguer one:

ἀπλοῦσα γὰρ ὁ ἀνήρ χωρίς τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἠλον συναντῆθη-
ται ... (140-41)

For the man opens himself up (?) to the kosmos and dedicates his whole
being ...

Unlike the Strabonic passage, this has a metaphysical ring to it: a
woolly intrusion of rhetoric and metaphysics into technical writing.
This is an affectation that had attracted a sardonic comment in the
Hippocratic De veteri medicina (late V cent.):

Τείνει τε αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ... ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἡς τινὶ ἑξή
tηαν εἰρήνη ἢ σοφία ἢ ἱστορία ἢ γέγραπται περὶ φύσεως ἢσον νομίζω τῇ
ἱστορικῇ τέχνῃ προσήκειν ἢ τῇ γραφικῇ ... (Vet. med. 20)

Their account is still, doctors and sophists who write like Empedocles
tend towards philosophy ... But I hold that whatever has been said or
written about nature by a sophist or doctor pertains less to the art of
medicine than to the art of writing ... (transl. Schiefsky)

It is significant that the geographic text of Artemidorus in the papyrus
locates itself in the sober tradition of technical writing that this treatise
advocated and exemplifies, whereas our proem is self-consciously
aiming for something more ambitious philosophically and stylistically,
precisely of a type that the De veteri medicina had dismissed.

The proem shows familiarity with some of the traditions of
'scientific' writing, for example, traditions of medicine and physiogn-
omy. Proem II 3 illustrates the transfer of what Barton has called the
diagnostic gaze of the doctor 2 to a geographical context:

καὶ ὁ γεωγράφος ἐκπαιδεύει εἰς τὴν ἑκάστην χώραν, προκατανοήσας τὸ
κύτος τῆς παρακειμένης χώρας ... πολλὰ πέριξ βλέπον ... (II 3 s.)

2 Barton, Power and Knowledge, 98.

And even so the geographer, setting foot on the dry land of a country,
considering in advance the physical nature of the land that lies before
him ... looking carefully around him ...

The image recalls a passage from the Hippocratic Airs, Waters, Places:

ὅστε ἐς πόλιν ἐπιστὰν ἀφίκηται τίς, ἢ διειρήσεις ἢττα, διαφορούσθαι
χρή τὴν θεότην αὐτῆς ... (Λέον 1)

so when one arrives at a town that one is unfamiliar with, one should
consider its position ...

It can be seen as a demonstration of the expert's technē, and is in
line with the generally epidemic and agonistic thrust of the proem:
a grey area between technical writing and declamation, which could
be elided in more highly skilled writers. This agonistic imagery can be
seen also in the battle metaphors in the passage:

... οὔ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τυχόν κόπος ὁ δυνάμενος τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ταύτῃ συν-
aισθασθεῖα (10-13)

... For it is not an everyday labour that can wrestle with this science

περὶ ἑαυτῆς ὅλα βαστάζει ... (19)

she [scil. Geography] carries weapons ...

Now, in each case the 'fight' is portrayed as a metaphorical fight
to acquire skill or expertise, but the belligerent language also suggests
a battle between the author and other geographers in the agōn of
expertise: expertise which is both 'technical' and rhetorical.

The struggle for knowledge is also, of course, presented as a
struggle for virtue (explicit at I 42 - 2). This construction of theθoh
is typical of proems; as in forensic rhetoric, presentation of the nobility
of the authorial position is likely to be highlighted by blame of an
opponent, real or imagined:

... καὶ συνεκρούομενος τὰ ἑδία τοῦ νοὸς προοίμια ἢν ἢ τινος ἀρίστη
τὴν χώρας μέρος ἢ ἐκ πῶς ἐμεληθῇ, ὅπερ ἔδεικν τῷ ἀνεπιστήμονι

weighing the different starting points in his mind: whether he should
start from a particular part of the land, or fall upon the whole terrain at
once, a course which appeals to one without knowledge

This topos also hints at a competition among the prooimia which are
the starting points of expertise, i.e. precede and authorise the present-
ation of ἐπίσημῳ.
The style of the proem makes it hard to understand in many places (unlike the geographical text). This obscure style may have two causes: I have suggested that a major factor is lack of competence on the part of the writer; it could also be seen as evidence of a desire to locate the text in a tradition of deliberately obfuscating technical writing. Barton has explained this as 'the tension between a declared intent to teach and the apparent desire to remain master of the knowledge'. These two factors are not, of course, mutually exclusive: in general the proem conforms with the perplexing question of whether this piece of writing is a bad example of a good genre, or a good example of a bad genre. The answer could lie somewhere in between.

The connection between the linguistic competence and the stylistic choices can be explained by recalling that the koiné was an alien idiom to native speakers of Greek in the first century, just as standard Arabic is an alien idiom to most native speakers of Arabic across the Arab world: linguistic competence is achieved only after long education and a training in the canonical texts, and for this reason it is likely to reflect reasonably closely the literary and stylistic skills of the speaker. In this context a scribe who was employed to make copies of literary texts would have been in a slightly anomalous position: the nature of his work would have made him familiar with a wide range of texts from Greek high culture; on the other hand, he would not have been through the educational programme of the élite of the Greek gymnasium.

The koiné was primarily a written standard; it represented thepaidia that was necessary to prove one's Hellenic credentials. The geographical text of Artemidorus demonstrates the easy and unforced use of an appropriate register of the koiné by an educated writer. The proem looks very much like a practice exercise by someone who aimed at this competence.

Aspects of the text make it look like a writing (calligraphic) practice on the part of a scribe: for example, the re-touching of the serifs that is evident in places in the papyrus. In that case the proem might represent a compositional or rhetorical exercise by such a trainee scribe (or perhaps even a jocular exercise in dictation by a superior). If we reject the idea that the papyrus is a luxury edition (and therefore a product of Alexandria), it could be the product of a provincial Egyptian workshop. Dictation could be invoked to explain some of the peculiarities:

- the structural looseness: long, rambling sentences that are occasionally without syntactic coherence;
- spelling mistakes, such as the constant omicron in geographia; νιττάς de for νιττάς της I 38; κακτάς for κακτάς II 9; the confusion of voiced, voiceless, and aspirate stops is not uncommon in Egyptian Greek, especially after an s;
- in line I 38 the syntax of the clause would be considerably helped, as Alan Griffiths has suggested, by replacing τὰ παλιόνα with ἐν παλιόνα; in oral delivery (with a stress, not a pitch accent) the sequence κατατ ἐν παλιόνα [kaftó (ε)πλιόνα] could, by a hurried scribe, have been mentally translated into κατατ ἐν παλιόνα [kaftó τα πλιόνα].

It has often been remarked that, on the whole, it is the superior examples of literary prose that have survived from antiquity in the manuscript tradition; we would have every reason to predict the existence of second-rate or amateurish production, and now (if I am right) we have an example.

Michael Silk has in a provocative article drawn a distinction between an Attic and an Ionic tradition in the history of the koiné:

With the long and momentous tradition of Attic abstractness, compare and contrast the world of Ionic prose. Here the treatises of the Hippocratic corpus are an object lesson. No one now (as indeed, no doubt, no one then) reads them for their language; but if one does, one finds, again and again, both a refreshing independence from the new Attic-based modes of expression and, more specifically, a cast of idiom – concrete, even sensuous – in touch with the language of (even) Homer.  

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7 Barton, Power and Knowledge, 173.
8 The elegant phrasing of this opposition is Peter Parson's.
These two traditions, it could be argued, are illustrated neatly in the new papyrus: the lucid exposition of geography in the Ionian tradition of technical writing in a text that can be securely ascribed to Artemidorus; and a poem in the 'Attic' tradition, which aimed at the kateskenasmenos style and demanded much kopos from an aspiring Hellene in the provinces.

Albio Cesare Cassio

CULTURA ELENISTICA E LINGUAGGIO RELIGIOSO IN ARTEMIDORO


Le colonne I-II contengono qualcosa di molto diverso da tutto quello cui siamo abituali: un’introduzione, insieme pomposa e aggressiva, a quel secondo libro in cui era contenuta l’impressa forse più significativa della vita professionale di Artemidoro, il periplo della Spagna. Per questo egli ha profuso in questa introduzione tutte le sue capacità retoriche secondo la moda dell’epoca; come ho sostenuto nell’editio princeps (P.Atemid., pp. 134-139) è molto probabile che le prime due colonne di testo siano un esempio di stile asiano. I risultati