

Απλοῦται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῶι κόσμῳ:  
a note on the proemium to the second book of Artemidorus 's  
*Geographoumena*\*

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The edition of the Milan papyrus<sup>1</sup>, which preserves part of the second book of the *Geographoumena* of Artemidorus of Ephesus, or, as contested, of its epitome, has provoked somewhat acrimonious discussion among scholars regarding its authenticity. This very discussion diverted us from our initial intention, which was to submit for publication a brief note on the “proem” preserved in the disputed papyrus. The opinion of a much esteemed colleague, who deemed that since the proem cannot be Artemidorus, “it seems pointless to try and identify links to the confused ideas in this text; its author, whoever it was, may have known Nemesius of Emesa or the *Corpus Hermeticum*, or even, as M. Calvesi<sup>2</sup> has argued, the French translation of Carl Ritter’s *Introduction* (1856) to his monumental *Erdkunde*”, compelled us to include our own proem to our small contribution to the sound and the fury that surrounds this interesting subject.

As is well known -and news reached as far as Greece-, *P.Artemid.* was challenged as a fake, even before its publication. The first contender in the strife over the authenticity of the text was L. Canfora, who was fast to notice the problems presented by the papyrus-roll and to suggest that it was a fake created by the notorious 19th century forger, Constantinos Simonides. Canfora’s well founded and upheld arguments focussed on a wide variety of problems, ranging from textual transmission to linguistic defaults, and pretty soon a large number of scholars joined in the dispute. However, according to our opinion, each argument can find its equally plausible counter argument. For example, the statement that the frequent misspellings<sup>3</sup>, are an indication of lack of authenticity could be countered by the statement that precisely *because* of these mistakes the forger cannot possibly be placed in the 19th century, unless he had foreseen the massive recovery and publication of documents, in which such phenomena abound<sup>4</sup>. And certainly his alleged lack of command of Greek

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<sup>1</sup> *Il Papiro di Artemidoro (P.Artemid.)*. Editio di C. Gallazzi, B. Kramer, S. Settis, con la collaborazione di G. Adornato, A.C. Cassi, A. Soldati, Milano, 2008, col. I, 39-II, 11 (pp. 147-151). Since, despite a hoard of publications, no other grand-scale reedition of the papyrus has yet appeared, we are referring to the editio princeps and its arrangement of columns.

<sup>2</sup> Calvesi, M., “Un Artemidoro del XIX secolo”, *Storia dell’Arte* 119 (2008), 109-128.

<sup>3</sup> As are the interchange of δ for τ and ο for ω, pointed out e.g. by Janko, R., “The Artemidorus Papyrus”, *The Classical Review* 59.2 (2009), 403-410, or ἐπαρχείας for ἐπαρχίας, commented upon by L. Canfora in “The many lives of fr. 21 of Artemidorus”, in Canfora, L. (ed.), *The True Story of the So-called Artemidorus Papyrus*, Milan 2007, pp. 67-68, or even υκ for γκ, υφ instead of μφ, mentioned by Bossina, L. 2007, p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Mayser, E., *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig 1906.

cannot be based on the testimony of a man who could even have been his disillusioned accomplice<sup>5</sup>.

The enthusiasm over the idea of the fraudulent savant's involvement did not abate with time, as would have been expected<sup>6</sup>. It is admittedly clear that Simonides was indeed capable of deceiving the considerably more innocent scholars of his era, who were craving for new finds from the past and lacked our multifaceted knowledge. His texts, however, were ladden with ludicrous eccentricities, while the handwritings he used on papyri, as well as his own, were usually slightly sloping to the left, and were drawn painstakingly, with the determination of a diligent schoolboy<sup>7</sup>. A great number of arguments, as that the papyrus contains a fragment from a Marcianean epitome of Artemidorus accessible to Simonides through 19th century editions of Byzantine works<sup>8</sup>, or that Simonides had mimicked the handwriting of those Herculaneum papyri that were published during his lifetime<sup>9</sup>, are equally plausible as their counter-arguments. However, many members of the scholarly community have now more or less agreed that:

1. The text of cols. iv and v could well be an abridged version of Artemidorus' *Γεωγραφούμενα*, and the whole of the text could be a compilation, while the possibility of a forger who copied from secondary sources published in the 19th century remains open<sup>10</sup>.

2. The order of the columns should be rearranged and what was initially considered by the major editors to be the proem of Artemidorus Book 2, is an attempt at an encomium of geography which cannot belong to Artemidorus, mainly due to its lack of coherence and stylistic elegance<sup>11</sup>.

We firmly believe that the answer should always lie as close as possible to the obvious, and, therefore, a suggestion like P. Parsons', who thinks that the text might

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. Canfora, L., "Why this papyrus cannot be Artemidorus", in Canfora, L. 2007, p.122, n. 41, and Janko, R. 2009, who refer to the revelations of Simonides' mate and host, A. Lykourgos, *Enthüllungen über den Simonides-Dindorf Uranios*, Leipzig 1856, pp. 52-53).

<sup>6</sup> L. Canfora and his team are still producing more proof in order to support their theory, mainly through the pages of *QS*.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. his edition of *Ἀνώνυμος Περίπλους*, a notorious forgery dated by himself to 50 B.C., and note especially the α, β, ξ and υ (pl.1). See also his own hand in pl. 2. Is it possible to believe that Simonides became more dexterous after 1864?

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e.g. Billerbeck, M., "Artemidorus' *Geographoumena* in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium: Source and Transmission", in *Images and Texts on the 'Artemidorus Papyrus'*. *Working Papers on P.Artemid.*, eds. K. Brodersen and J. Elsner, (St. John's College Oxford, 2008) = *Historia Einzelschriften*. vol. 214, Stuttgart 2009, 65-87. See also *ibid.*, West, M.L., "All Iberia is Divided into Two Parts", 95-101, who argues that it is not unusual for emendations to be confirmed by new discoveries.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. Delattre, D., "La main du papyrus dit 'd' Artemidorus' et les écriture dessinées de quelques papyrus d' Herculaneum", in Canfora, L., *The True History of the So-called Artemidorus Papyrus. A Supplement*, Bari 2008, 13-18. Cf. also Janko 2009.

<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable (and we mention this just as a provocation, not because we believe that *P.Artemid.* is a forgery; it is ladden with too many riddles to be a fake) that nobody has suggested a 20th century forgery, a suggestion that would furnish an answer to all the disputed points.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g. d' Alessio, G., "On the 'Artemidorus' Papyrus", *ZPE* 171 (2009), 27-43; Porciani, L., "Il Papiro di Artemidoro: per un' interpretazione della sequenza testuale", *APF* 56 (2010), 207-231.

be “the casual product of a provincial trainee”<sup>12</sup>, offers an easier way out of the problem. Moreover, we still trust that further investigation of some aspects of this unique work preserved in the papyrus is worthwhile and will lead to a better understanding of the writer’s intellectual milieu, while it may also offer a hint towards the solving of the authenticity problem. To establish the author’s intellectual portrait and to examine his relationship to the trends of the spirituality of his time may supply an indication that the papyrus is genuine. No falsier or faker, however skilled and knowledgeable, would be capable of reproducing so convincingly the subtle way the ideas of Artemidorus’ times are reflected in this work, thus misleading scholars into incorrectly estimating the value of the text preserved on the papyrus. We hope our note, even though it focusses on the “satanic verses” which have allegedly crawled into the text in the form of a proem or ἐγκώμιον makes a small contribution in this direction. Even though the text is snubbed for its banality<sup>13</sup> and its nonsense<sup>14</sup>, one cannot deny that it presents an effort of expressing sophisticated philosophic concepts and that its language is compatible with a period that followed the LXX.

But is the “proem” a mess of incoherent ideas expressed in a pompous asianic or, even worse, semi-literate style? Its author undeniably offers a somewhat elaborate comparison of the discipline of geography and philosophy. He argues that geography has close connections with philosophy, and is in fact a branch of it. One passage on the matter reads like this: Ἀπλοῦται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὅλον συνανατιθέται ταῖς τῶν θεοπρεπεστάτων μουσῶν ἐναρέτοις ἐ[πα]γγελίαις ἵνα τὸ θεοπρεπὲς σχῆ[μα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐ]ν ἀρετῇ [ἰερώτατον ποιῇ] τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ὁμοίως [δὲ] καὶ [ὁ γεω]γράφος ἐπελ[θὼν εἰς τὴν] ἡπειρον χώρας τι[νὸς κατανοή]σας τὸ κύτος τῆς περικειμένης χώρας καὶ τ[ῶν] ἁλ[λοθι] χωρῶν ἐργα[ζομένης] [αὐ]τῷ πρ[ότ]ε[ρον] πολυετοῦς [καὶ ἀσχόλ]ου ἐργασίας. Ὁ καθεστὼς [ὀφείλ]ει τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ συν[αλ]λάτ[τειν] τῇ ὑποκειμένη χώ[ρᾳ] πολλὰ πέριξ βλέπων<sup>15</sup>. A provisional translation might be as follows: *Man stretches himself out to the whole world and thus he comes to take full advantage of the most divine and virtuous promises of the Muses, so that the god-like form of philosophy through virtue makes him most holy. In the same way the geographer studies the various regions of a continent, after examining the dimensions of the surrounding area. This is a result of his laborious and age-long preoccupation with the geography of other areas. Anyone who deals with the description of a certain area must adapt himself to the area under investigation.*

The chain of thought of the writer is clear: the philosopher’s investigations encompass the whole world; in the same way a geographer must immerse himself in the study of a certain area if he intends to describe it accurately. Here, we wish to elucidate in the passage just quoted is the notion that philosophy enables man to

<sup>12</sup> Parsons, P., “Artemid.: A Papyrologist’s View”, in *Images and Texts on the “Artemidorus Papyrus”*, in Brodersen, K. and Elsner, J. 2008, 27-33. L. Canfora himself, in an exciting book (Canfora, L., *Il copista come autore*, Palermo 2002, p. 15), claims that on close examination, *it is the copyist who is the real creator of the texts that managed to survive.*

<sup>13</sup> Tosi, R., “Non Asiani sed Asini”, *AARov* 259 (2009) = ser. VIII, vol. IX, A, fasc. II, 2 pp. 35-54.

<sup>14</sup> David, L., “Ἀπλοῦται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κόσμῳ”, *QS* 65 (2007), 395-397.

<sup>15</sup> *Il Papiro di Artemidoro (P.Artemid.)*. Editio di C. Gallazzi, B. Kramer, S. Settis, con la collaborazione di G. Adornato, A.C. Cassi, A. Soldati, Milano, 2008, col. I, 39-II, 11 (pp. 147-151).

extend himself to the whole world. How did the writer come to use the verb ἀπλοῦται? In their commentary, the editors of the papyrus of Milan give a not so enlightening reference to the *Patristic Lexicon* of G.W.H. Lampe and they also cite Plotinus III, 5, 9, 2<sup>16</sup>, but in this passage there is only a bare mention of the Platonic *Poros* who extends himself: Ὁ οὖν Πόρος λόγος ὢν τῶν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ καὶ νῶ καὶ μᾶλλον κεχυμένος καὶ οἷον ἀπλωθεὶς περὶ ψυχὴν ἃν γένοιτο καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ. Incidentally, any association of the use of ἀπλοῦται in our text with the Plotinic simplification (ἁπλωσης) would be misleading. It would also be misleading to associate the text to Carl Ritter, since it is barely resonant of his holistic geography, because man in *P.Artemid.* is described as a mere observer/examiner of the universe as a whole, whereas in Ritter, as in Hegel, man is one of the parts that form the cosmic entity, on the same ontological level as nature and history.

In our view, the writer is employing here a *topos* that is fairly common in the philosophical discussions of his time and has its roots in the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, while its resonance reaches Cicero and the Stoics<sup>17</sup>. A-J. Festugière, who has thoroughly studied the whole corpus of texts in which the main ideas of the so-called cosmic religion are expounded in the Hellenistic period, traces the *topos* back to Xenophon's *Memorabilia*<sup>18</sup>. Xenophon, inspired by the views of Diogenes of Apollonia on the subject, points out that since the soul of any individual has unlimited access to all places on earth, we must admit that the mind of God governs everything, his providence encompassing the whole world. The same idea appears in many texts of the Hellenistic and Roman period. In the *Corpus Hermeticum*<sup>19</sup>, in the works of Nemesius of Emessa<sup>20</sup>, and most of all in the works of Philo there are unmistakable traces of this theory. In chapter 22 of his treatise *De plantatione* Philo points out that the eyes of the soul are able to extend to observe the whole world: ὁπότε γὰρ οἱ ἐκ φθαρτῆς παγέντες ὕλης ὀφθαλμοὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέβησαν, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς γῆς χωρίου πρὸς τὸν μακρὰν οὕτω ἀφεστῶτα ἀνατρέχειν οὐρανὸν καὶ ψαῦειν τῶν περάτων αὐτοῦ, πόσον τινὰ χρὴ νομίσαι τὸν πάντη δρόμον τῶν ψυχῆς ὁμμάτων; ἅπερ ὑπὸ

<sup>16</sup> *P.Artemid.*, p. 206.

<sup>17</sup> Some scholars, intentionally or not, examining other passages of the proem, have already hinted to this direction: Pinto, P.M., "Sul *Περὶ κόσμου* e il "proemio" del nuovo Artemidoro", *QS* 65 (2007), 389-393, examines the proem against the introduction to the ps.-Aristolelic *Περὶ Κόσμου*. Bossina, L., in "'Artemidoro' Byzantino. Il proemio del nuovo papiro", *QS* 66 (2007), 329-388, discusses the phrase τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ θελήσεως of col. i.34, and states that a classic or hellenistic writer would have referred to ἐπιθυμία instead of θέλησις. R. Tosi 2009 makes an allusion to Philo regarding the use of the word προπλάσσω, and Sedley, D., in his article "Philosophy in the Artemidorus Papyrus", in Galazzi, C., Kramer, B., Settis, S., Soldati, A. (edd.), *Intorno al papiro di Artemidoro. I. Contesto culturale, lingua, stile e tradizione*, Atti del Convegno internazionale del 15 novembre 2008, Scuola Normale Superiore, Milan 2009, believes that *P.Artemid.* "reveals an authentic follower of the Academy". Finally, L. David 2007 in a paper entitled "Ἀπλοῦται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ κόσμῳ" completely misses the point.

<sup>18</sup> Festugière, A.-J., *La Révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste. II. Le dieu cosmique*, Paris 1949, 87-88. Cf. also the observations of P. Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life. Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*. Edited with an introduction by A.I. Davidson, translated by M. Chase, Blackwell, Oxford UK & Cambridge USA 1995, 238-250.

<sup>19</sup> Festugière 1949, 543-544.

<sup>20</sup> Festugière 1949, 544, n. 1.

πολλοῦ τοῦ τὸ δὴν κατιδεῖν τηλαυγῶς ἡμέρου περωθέντα οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον αἰθέρα τείνεται, παραμειψάμενα δὲ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου τοὺς ὄρους ἐπείγεται<sup>21</sup>. The verb τείνεται used by Philo closely corresponds to the verb ἀπλοῦται of *P.Artemid.* Festugière collects various texts of Philo that display a similar content<sup>22</sup> and help us understand the meaning of the passage of *P.Artemid.*

The idea that man's mind or soul is able to extend its vision, thereby encompassing the whole world is widespread even among Christians. The *Life* of St. Benedict written by pope Gregory the Great offers an example of the use of this idea. One night, towards the end of his life, the saint had a vision of the whole universe, which appeared to him in the midst of a supernatural light emanating from God. The terminology employed by Gregory is noteworthy: *Omnis etiam mundus, velut sub uno solis radio collectus, ante oculos eius adductus est*<sup>23</sup>. The author explains this vision, and in doing so exploits the older philosophical *topos* in the following way: *animae videnti creatorem angusta est omnis creatura. Quamlibet etenim parum de luce creatoris aspexerit, breve ei fit omne quod creatum est, quia ipsa luce visionis intimae mentis laxatur sinus tantumque expanditur in Deo, ut superior existat mundo. Fit vero ipsa videntis anima etiam super semetipsam. Cumque in Dei lumine rapitur super se, in interioribus ampliatur, et dum sub se conspicit, exaltata comprehendit quam breve sit quod comprehendere humiliata non poterat*<sup>24</sup>. The verbs *expanditur* and *ampliatur* are striking. The influence of the old philosophical *topos* is rather clear. Therefore, the ideas expressed in *P.Artemid.* are compatible with Artemidorus' era, and, of course, do not preclude the possibility that this passage in a more or less accurate way reproduces his own writings.

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<sup>21</sup> Philonis Alexandrini, *Opera quae supersunt* II. Recognovit P. Wendland. Editio minor, Berolini 1897, 129, 8-15. See also a French translation and some comments in Festugière 1949, 560-561.

<sup>22</sup> Festugière 1949, 558-561.

<sup>23</sup> Gregorii Magni, *Dialogorum* II, 35, 3, 24-25 [Gregorio Magno, *Storie di santi e di diavoli (Dialoghi)*. I. (Libri I-II). Introduzione e commento a cura di S. Pricoco, Testo critico e traduzione a cura di M. Simonetti, Fondazione Lorenzo Vall, A. Mondadori editore, 2005, 206].

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* II, 35, 6, 47-55 (Simonetti 208-210). See also the interesting comments of P. Courcelle, "La vision cosmique de saint Benoît", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 13 (1967), 97-117.

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Artemidorus 's *Geographoumena*

GGM I = Karl Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores e codicibus recognovit, prolegomenis, annotatione, indicibus instruxit, tabulis aeri incisus illustravit* Carolus Müllerus, vol. 1, Paris, 1855 (*Scriptorum graecorum bibliotheca*, 44); repr. Hildesheim, 1965 and 1990.

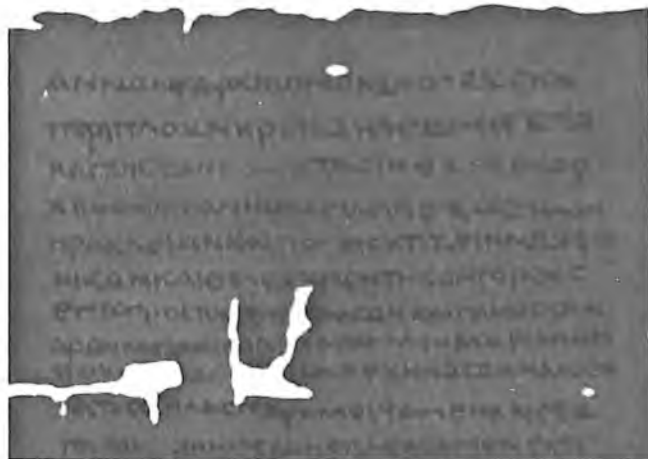


Plate 1: Part of the papyrus depicted in K. Simonides, *The Periplus of Hannon, King of the Karchedonians*, London 1864.

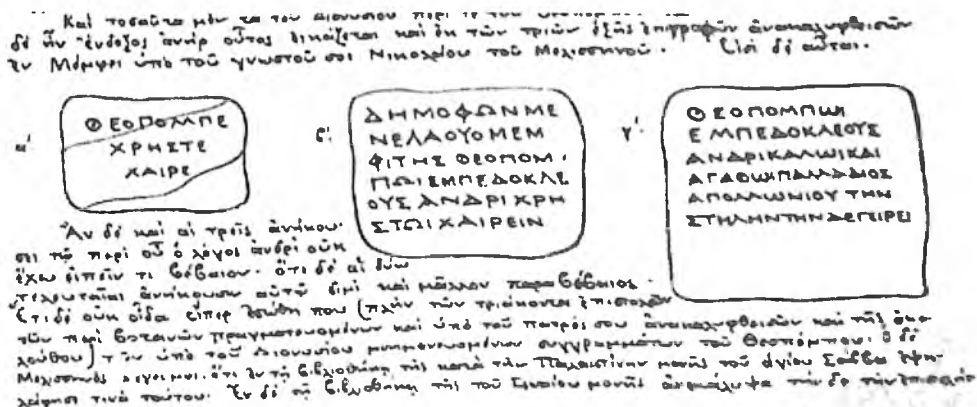


Plate 2: Part of Simonides' autograph from *Αὐτόγραφα Κωνσταντίνου Α.Φ. Σιμωνίδου*, published in Moscow, 1st edition, 1853 (<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>).

This text is barely resonant of Carl Ritter's holistic geography, because the man in it is described as a mere observer/examiner of the universe as a whole, whereas in Ritter, as in Hegel, man is one of the parts that form the cosmic entity, on the same ontological level as nature and history.