

# CRONACHE ERCOLANESI

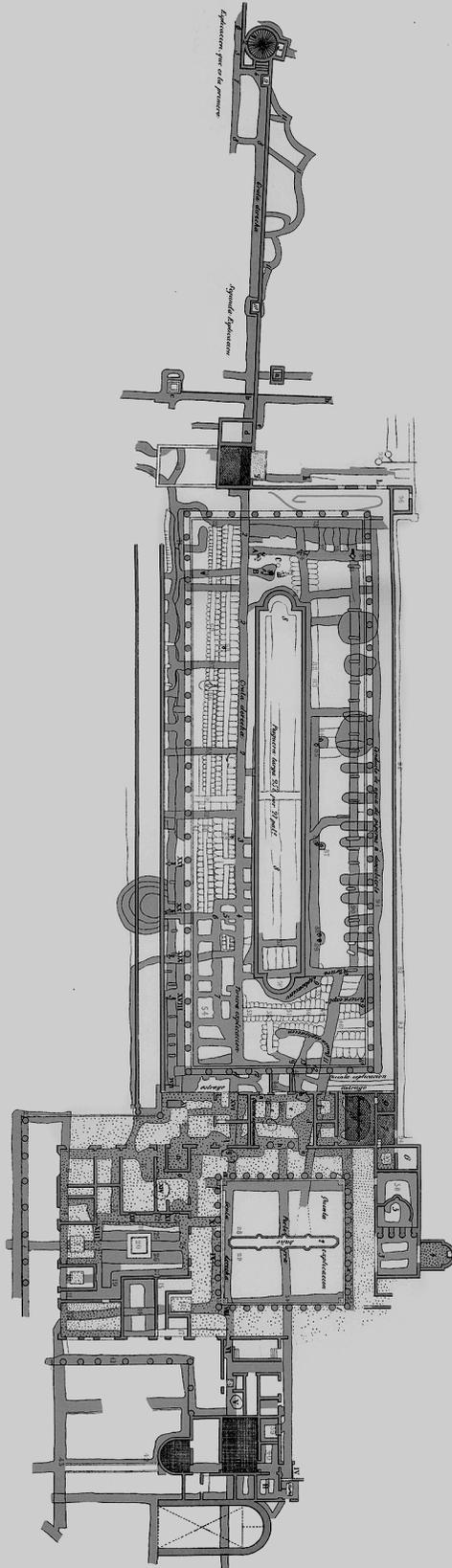
Bollettino del Centro Internazionale  
per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi  
e del Parco Archeologico di Ercolano

50/2020

fondato da  
Marcello Gigante  
e Gaetano Macchiaroli

direzione  
Giovanni Indelli  
Giuliana Leone  
Francesca Longo Auricchio  
Mauro Tulli

Editore  
Centro Internazionale per lo  
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'Marcello Gigante'



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CRONACHE ERCOLANESI - NUOVA SERIE  
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By chance, the establishment of the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi in 1969 came just one year after the inauguration of a new search for another collection of Epicurean writings – the writings contained in the massive Greek inscription set up in his home-city in northern Lycia by Diogenes of Oinoanda. The author, who started the new investigations at Oinoanda and is still involved with them, chronicles the story of the inscription from antiquity to the present, with particular focus on the discoveries and rediscoveries made at Oinoanda since 1968. The story includes mention of significant instances of interaction and collaboration between those involved in the Herculaneum and Oinoanda projects.

*Keywords:* Diogenes of Oinoanda, Inscription, New discoveries, Epicureanism, Herculaneum papyri

## FIFTY YEARS OF NEW EPICUREAN DISCOVERIES AT OINOANDA

MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH

### INTRODUCTION

Marcello Gigante's inspired and inspirational idea of establishing the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi (CISPE) developed during the Eighth Congress of the Association Guillaume Budé, held in Paris on 5-10 April 1968, and the actual foundation of it was announced by him at the end of the Fifth International Congress of Classical Studies in Bonn, on 5 September 1969.<sup>1</sup>

The first issue of «Cronache Ercolanesi», the new body's «bollettino», was published in 1971. It is a privilege and a pleasure to contribute to the present volume, the fiftieth to appear, in celebration of a notable landmark and of the impressive progress that has been made, during the last five decades, in the decipherment, restoration, and interpretation of the papyrus-texts found at Herculaneum.

As it happens, the inauguration of half a century of intensive new work on the papyri closely followed the inauguration of new investigations at Oinoanda, high in the mountains of northern Lycia,<sup>2</sup> focused on the discovery and rediscovery of another remarkable collection of Epicurean texts – the fragments of the philosophical inscription set up by Diogenes of Oinoanda in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The status of Oinoanda as what I have called «a Herculaneum in the mountains of Turkey»,<sup>3</sup> combined with the friendly and fruitful collaboration that developed between «Herculaneans» and «Oinoandans», is the

Acknowledgements: I thank all who have participated in the exploration of Oinoanda and the search for Diogenes' inscription since 1974, making particular mention of Jürgen Hammerstaedt, my close collaborator since 2007, and the late Martin Bachmann, who directed the investigations at Oinoanda in 2007-2012 and 2015.

Abbreviations: Fr. = Fragment(s) of Diogenes of Oinoanda, numbered, unless otherwise indicated, as in M.F. SMITH, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Epicurean Inscription*, La Scuola di

Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da M. GIGANTE, Suppl. 1 (Napoli 1993); JH = Jürgen Hammerstaedt; MB = Martin Bachmann; MFS = Martin Ferguson Smith; NF = New Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription, discovered since 1969.

<sup>1</sup> M. GIGANTE, *Premessa*, «CERc» 1/1971, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The altitude of the centre of Oinoanda (about 1,400 m) is greater than that of the summit of Vesuvius (1,281 m).

<sup>3</sup> See below, under 1993.

justification for this contribution, in which I chronicle the «life» of Diogenes' inscription, dealing briefly with the period down to 1967, before focusing attention on the discoveries and rediscoveries made at Oinoanda since 1968 and not neglecting to mention events and publications that have involved collaboration between those involved in the Herculaneum and Oinoanda projects.

## ANTIQUITY (1<sup>ST</sup>–4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES A.D.)

### 60-80 (ca.)

Diogenes is born into a wealthy and influential Oinoandan family. As a young man, he studies rhetoric, perhaps in Rhodes. At some stage of his life he becomes an Epicurean and develops links with Epicurean circles in Athens, Chalcis, and Thebes as well as in Rhodes, where he sometimes resides.

### 120-140 (ca.)

When Diogenes is «at the sunset of life» and in poor health, he is moved, in a spirit of philanthropy, to share the Epicurean recipe for happiness with Oinoanda's people and foreign visitors. He addresses not only his contemporaries, but also future generations, who are as much our interest and responsibility as is the present generation. As for so-called foreigners, they are actually fellow-citizens, for the whole world is one country and one home for humanity. Realising that an inscription in a public location would enable his message of moral enlightenment and salvation to reach the largest number of people both in his lifetime and after his death, he employs a team of professional stonecutters to carve his exposition of Epicureanism on the wall of a stoa that occupied the south side of what was, until a late Hadrianic or Antonine date, the city's agora – a polygonal area commonly known since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as «the Esplanade».<sup>4</sup> The lay-out of the seven-course inscription is carefully planned to make best use of the wall-space. Treatises on physics and ethics occupy the two lowest courses, with the *Physics* above the *Ethics* and intended to be read first. At the top of the inscription is Diogenes' third treatise, a defence of old age, with its 18-line columns occupying three courses. The two middle courses of the inscription contain a variety of letters and other writings, perhaps including a collection of maxims, although their position is uncertain. The writings higher up on the wall are carved in larger letters than those lower down. All the letters (it can be assumed) are painted, to make them easier to read on the whitish limestone. The whole inscription is of unparalleled size, perhaps occupying a space of 260 square metres and containing at least 25,000 words.

The approximate date of Diogenes' inscription is indicated by the so-called «Demostheneia inscription», a 117-line text concerning the establishment of a musical festival at Oinoanda by C. Iulius Demosthenes in 125. The close similarity of its lettering to much of that in the philosophical inscription makes it virtually certain that it is the work of one of the stonecutters employed by Diogenes. On its discovery and publication, see below, under 1972, 1973, 1988, 1994.

Diogenes' contacts with Epicureans in Athens make it very likely that he had a high regard for Pompeia Plotina, widow of Trajan and adoptive mother of Hadrian. Her sympathy with Epicureanism and support for the Epicurean school

<sup>4</sup> One possibility is that Diogenes took over the stoa for the display of the inscription at the time when the new agora, southwest of the Esplanade, was constructed. Work on that probably began in the 130s. In that event, he would have been able to convert the stoa to serve his specific purpose, e.g. by removing any obstructing doorways in the wall. His words «making use of this stoa» (τῆ στοᾶ ταύτῃ καταχρησάμενος) suggest use of an existing building rather than one built specially for the display of the inscription. The stoa may have been a gift to the city by a member of Diogenes' family of an earlier generation. Something we do not positively know is whether the inscription was on the inside of the wall(s) or on the outside. Carving it on the outside wall(s) might have been more straightforward, and the inscription might have been easier to read there, in the open air, but it is much more likely that it occupied the inside of the wall – the side that faced the Esplanade, where it would be seen by members of the public visiting that important space. Since the stoa had a northwesterly aspect, the amount of direct sunlight that reached the wall would not have been considerable, but visitors would have enjoyed pleasantly cool conditions on warm days in summer, and it is possible that there were small windows at the top of the wall, above the inscription, to improve the lighting. Whatever the precise arrangements were, one must assume that all parts of the inscription could be easily read by anyone with good eyesight, and one can probably assume too that the stoa was quite a simple building, with a single row of columns, admitting plenty of natural light. (I thank Jim Coulton, Nicolaus Koch, and Nicholas Milner for discussing with me various questions to do with the stoa.)

in Athens are well known. After her death, probably early in 123, Hadrian had a basilica built in her honour at Nemausus (Nîmes).<sup>5</sup> It is possible that his action had some influence on Diogenes' decision to use the stoa at Oinoanda to promote knowledge of Epicureanism, the system of philosophy favoured by Plotina. It is possible too that he had heard about the Poicile, a huge rectangular peristyle at Hadrian's villa at Tibur (Tivoli), named after the Stoa Poikile in which Zeno taught in Athens. One can only speculate about these and other possible influences, but what one can say with confidence is that the principate of Hadrian, who was himself supportively interested in philosophy, including Epicureanism, would have been a good time to think of displaying an exposition of Epicurean doctrines in a public place.

#### **4<sup>th</sup> Century (probably)**

The stoa is demolished, and the blocks of the inscription are used to build or repair other structures across the city. At the same time or, more probably, later in antiquity, the Demostheneia inscription and at least three Diogenes fragments are removed from Oinoanda to Kemerarası, a site just north of the hill of Oinoanda. See below, under 1983.

### **THE EARLIEST EXPLORATION OF OINOANDA (1841-1842)**

#### **1841**

29 October. Many centuries after it was abandoned by its inhabitants, Oinoanda receives its first European visitors, Richard Hoskyn and Edward Forbes, both British naval officers. Hoskyn publishes a brief account of their visit in «Journal of the Royal Geographical Society» 12/1842, pp. 143-161, at pp. 155 f., 159 f. In a paper immediately following in the same issue, pp. 162-169, at pp. 166 f., William Martin Leake identifies the place described by Hoskyn as Oinoanda.

#### **1842**

13 May. Thomas Abel Brimage Spratt, Edward Forbes, and Edward Thomas Daniell visit Oinoanda and make the first plan of it. Daniell dies on 24 September 1842. Spratt and Forbes describe their visit and publish their plan in *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis, in Company with the Late Rev. E.T. Daniell* (London 1847) I, pp. 272-276.

### **THE FIRST DISCOVERIES OF DIOGENES' INSCRIPTION (1884-1902)**

#### **1884**

December. Maurice Holleaux and Pierre Paris, of l'École française d'Athènes, chance upon five fragments of Diogenes' inscription – the first to have been discovered. They include a five-column text in which the writer (as yet unidentified) explains his mission (Heberdey-Kalinka fr. 58 / fr. 3 II-VI).

#### **1885**

Early June. Georges Cousin and Charles Diehl, also of l'École française d'Athènes, record 22 more fragments.

<sup>5</sup> SHA, *Hadr.* 12, 2. Cf. Cassius Dio 69, 10, 30.

### 1889

6-8 October. Cousin finds 37 fragments, making a total of 64. He publishes all in *Inscriptions d'Oenoanda*, «BCH» 16/1892, pp. 1-70.

### 1892

Hermann Usener publishes a much-improved text in *Epikureische Schriften auf Stein*, «RhM» 47/1892, pp. 414-456, and calls for more work at Oinoanda.

### 1895

15/16-22 June. Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka, of the recently-established Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, visit Oinoanda. They rediscover 51 fragments and find 24 new ones. They publish all, with measurements and scale-drawings, in *Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda*, «BCH» 21/1897, pp. 346-443. Their text is much superior to Cousin's, and they benefit from comments by Usener and Theodor Gomperz.

### 1902

10-12 June. Heberdey revisits Oinoanda. Among the 12 inscriptions he copies are two Diogenes fragments, but he never publishes his copies, which remain unknown to Diogenes scholars until 1977, by which time both fragments had been found during British work on the site. They are published by MFS as NF 3 (fr. 130) and NF 108 (fr. 74).

## WORK ON DIOGENES BASED ON THE TEXTS AND DRAWINGS PUBLISHED BY THE 19<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY DISCOVERERS (1907-1967)

The three scholars who edit Diogenes between 1907 and 1967 base their texts wholly on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century publications, especially on the drawings of Heberdey and Kalinka.

### 1907

Johann (Iohannes) William, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig). This first Teubner edition of Diogenes contains a critical text of the fragments found in 1884-1895, with preface and notes in Latin and a plan of the editor's proposed arrangement of the inscription. Despite his total reliance on the copies made by the French and Austrian epigraphists, his text represents a great advance on earlier work, and progress is made in working out the arrangement of the inscription and the order of fragments within the various sections of it.

### 1950

Alberto Grilli, *I frammenti dell'epicureo Diogene da Enoanda*, in V.E. Alfieri & M. Untersteiner (eds), *Studi di filosofia greca: pubblicazione in onore di R. Mondolfo* (Bari), pp. 347-435. Italian translation of the fragments found in 1884-1895, with introduction and commentary.

### 1960

Alberto (Albertus) Grilli, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Milano). Critical

text of the fragments found in 1884-1895, with a preface in Italian and Greek indices.

### 1962

C[ecil] W[illiam] (“Dick”) Chilton makes a one-day visit to Oinoanda. Describing it in a postscript to his short article *The Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «AJA» 67/1963, pp. 285 f., he reports seeing just four known fragments of Diogenes and concludes that the rest must be «either buried in the soil or hidden under the masses of masonry lying everywhere».

### 1967

C.W. Chilton, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig). Critical text of the fragments found in 1884-1895, with a preface in Latin and Greek indices.

## WORK ON DIOGENES INVOLVING NEW DISCOVERIES AND AUTOPSY OF EARLIER ONES (1968-)

### 1968

9-10, 12 July. MFS visits Oinoanda for the first time and rediscovers 39 of the 88 fragments found in the nineteenth century.

### 1969

29 June-4 July. MFS recovers four more «old» fragments and four new ones (NF 1-4), including a passage of the *Physics* criticising the Stoic and Democritean explanations of dreams (NF 1 / fr. 10 III-V) and a passage of the *Ethics* refuting Empedocles’ theory of reincarnation (NF 2 / fr. 42 I-II). Both link up with «old» fragments. Publications of the results achieved in 1968-1969: MFS, *Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda Discovered and Rediscovered*, «AJA» 74/1970, pp. 51-62; *Observations on the Text of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «Hermathena» 110/1970, pp. 52-78.

### 1970

6-11 May. MFS rediscovers two more «old» fragments, one of which (Heberdey-Kalinka fr. 68 / fr. 33 I-III) had been very incompletely recorded and published, and 12 new ones (NF 5-16). The new discoveries are substantial, adding 650 words to the text of the inscription, a slightly larger figure than that contributed by the 24 new fragments recorded by Heberdey and Kalinka in 1895, and a figure not exceeded in any later year of the exploration of Oinoanda. They include: two fragments of the *Physics* that link up to give six columns of Diogenes’ explanation of vision, thought, and dreams (NF 5-6 / fr. 9); two linking fragments of the *Ethics* reiterating the Epicurean explanation of dreams and again criticising the Stoics and Democritus (NF 13 + 12 / fr. 43); a passage of the *Ethics* on physical pain (NF 14 / fr. 47 III-IV); and two fragments of *Old Age*, one of which (NF 15 / fr. 152 III) asserts the futility of seeking happiness in wealth. The discoveries are of great significance not only for the quantity of text they contribute, but also for two other reasons: in the first place, four of them (NF 7, 8, 9, 10 / fr. 72, 71, 69, 70) belong to a writing or writings previously unknown; secondly, 11 of them are from two areas of the site where no previous finds of

Diogenes fragments have been made – five on what, after further discoveries by MFS there, came to be named «Martin's Hill», south of the Esplanade, and six in the doorway of a late structure down the slope west of the later agora. In recording fragments of Diogenes, new and «old», MFS for the first time takes squeezes<sup>6</sup> of them as well as photographs, and in the following years makes and keeps his squeeze-coverage of the inscription complete, so enabling numerous improvements to be made to the text. Publication: MFS, *New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «AJA» 75/1971, pp. 357-389.

### 1971

5-8 May. MFS finds two new fragments (NF 17-18), NF 17 (fr. 48) being part of the discussion of pain in the *Ethics*. Publication: MFS, *Two New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «JHS» 92/1972, pp. 147-155. He makes squeezes of many previously-known fragments, including NF 1-4. Close study of them yields good results: for example, in the case of fr. 15, a severely-damaged block of the *Physics*, nine complete lines about visions of the gods are deciphered – eight more than by Heberdey and Kalinka, who discovered it in 1895. Publication: MFS, *New Readings in the Text of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «CQ» 22/1972, pp. 159-162.

C.W. Chilton, *Diogenes of Oenoanda: The Fragments: A Translation and Commentary* (London-New York-Toronto). This companion-volume to Chilton's 1967 text contains NF 1-4 in an appendix. It is reviewed by MFS in «JHS» 93/1973, pp. 234-236.

### 1972

29 April – 6 May. MFS, on his fifth visit to Oinoanda, discovers 13 new fragments (NF 19-31),<sup>7</sup> 11 of them on Martin's Hill. They include a column of the *Physics* on the ambiguity of oracles (NF 19 / fr. 23) and two passages of the *Ethics*. One of the *Ethics* texts is concerned with pleasure and expresses disagreement with the views of Aristippus (NF 20 / fr. 49). The other is the so-called «Golden Age fragment» (NF 21 / fr. 56), in which Diogenes looks forward to a time when human beings will be living like gods on earth, in justice and mutual love, without the need for fortifications or laws, engaging in co-operative farming in the intervals of studying philosophy. In another of the new texts (NF 24 / fr. 127) the writer urges his addressee to turn from rhetoric to study of Epicurean philosophy – a move which Diogenes himself is likely to have made at some stage of his life. MFS identifies the author as Epicurus and assigns the passage to the *Letter to Mother*, but see under 2009. Several fragments of *Old Age* are discovered. Two of them (NF 25-26 / fr. 152 I-II) link up and are so closely related to NF 15 / fr. 152 III (see under 1970) that MFS suspects (correctly, as it later emerges) that they are to be joined to it; a third, NF 27 / fr. 153, in which the uselessness of his wealth to Croesus is mentioned, is evidently part of the same argument. Publication: MFS, *Thirteen New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, *Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asia Minoris* 4 (Wien 1974), dedicated to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century discoverers of Diogenes. The volume includes a re-edition of NF 12-13 and Greek indices to NF 1-31. On the same visit to Oinoanda, the unpublished Demostheneia inscription, which, unknown to MFS and other scholars,

<sup>6</sup> Italian «calchi», French «estampages», German «Abklatsche». Squeezes are made by using a handled brush to beat wetted sheets of filter-paper into the letters inscribed on the stones. When the sheets are dry, they are removed and, if well made, exhibit and retain an accurate impression of the text.

<sup>7</sup> In 2015 it was decided that one of the 13 fragments, NF 31 / fr. 178, a very worn block on which no letters are visible, is not part of Diogenes' inscription. See JH and MFS, *New Research at Oinoanda and a New Fragment of the Epicurean Diogenes (NF 213)*, «EA» 49/2016, pp. 110 f.

had been located at Kemerarası by Jürgen Borchhardt in June 1967 and was being studied by Michael Wörle, is rediscovered and recorded in a now-broken state by MFS, who uses it to redate Diogenes' inscription from the late second or early third century to ca. 125.

### 1973

15, 17-20 September. MFS, visiting Oinoanda with Elizabeth Mary Smith, records seven new fragments (NF 32-38), including one that mentions Alexander the Great (NF 34 / fr. 51), and three «old» ones. Publication: MFS, *Seven New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «Hermathena» 118/1974, pp. 110-129.

29 September. An illustrated talk on Diogenes given by MFS at The Tenth International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Izmir persuades the Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA), David H. French, that the Institute should conduct an epigraphical and topographical survey of Oinoanda. It is agreed that it will be directed by the Roman historian and epigraphist Alan Stirling Hall, recently elected Honorary Secretary of BIAA. MFS's talk is also heard by Michael Wörle, who informs him afterwards that the Demostheneia inscription is not a new find, but had been discovered in 1967.

Diskin Clay, *Sailing to Lampsacus: Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragment 7*, «GRBS» 14/1973, pp. 49-59, argues that NF 7 / fr. 72 describes Epicurus' experience of being shipwrecked. On the true identity of the shipwrecked man, see under 2017.

### 1974

15-25 July, 4-15 August. The first season of the BIAA survey of Oinoanda, led by Alan Hall, takes place, but is interrupted and shortened by the emergency that followed the landings of Turkish troops in Cyprus on 20 July. 23 new fragments of Diogenes and two «old» ones are found. MFS publishes 13 of the new texts (NF 39-51) in *More New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, in J. Bollack & A. Laks (eds), *Cahiers de Philologie I: Études sur l'Épicurisme antique* (Lille 1976), pp. 279-318. They include two substantial and well-preserved *Physics* fragments (NF 39, 40 / fr. 20, 21), in which Diogenes argues that the gods did not create the world either for us or for themselves. Other discoveries include a passage of the *Ethics* (NF 44 / fr.47 I-II) in which fear of pain is discussed with reference to cases where a person dies a violent but instant death, and a brief statement, to be assigned to the *Maxims*, of the causes of thunderbolts and earthquakes (NF 45 / fr. 98). Publication of 10 new fragments, all small, is postponed because the season is abruptly terminated before they can be recorded fully.

### 1975

7-19 April. MFS visits l'École française d'Athènes in Athens to study Cousin's *cahier* for 1889 and the «French» squeezes made of Diogenes fragments in 1884, 1885, and 1889. He presents the results in *Diogenes of Oenoanda and l'École française d'Athènes*, «BCH» 101/1977, pp. 353-381, dedicated to Louis Robert, a pupil of Maurice Holleaux.

17 July – 6 September. Second season of the BIAA survey. For the first time James («Jim») Coulton, a leading expert in ancient architecture, joins the team. Diskin Clay of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, joins it too. The topographical surveyors plot the position of each Diogenes fragment on a plan of the city. 44 new fragments are recorded, but the amount of text they yield is disappointingly meagre: only two contribute any complete lines. One of these, belonging to the *Maxims* (NF 82 / fr. 99), explains how hail is formed in summer. MFS publishes them, along with 10 small fragments found in 1974 and one fragment found in 1976 (NF 94), as NF 52-106 in *Fifty-five New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «AS» 28/1978, pp. 39-92. By far the best find made in 1975 is NF 115 / fr. 19, but permission to record it and another new text (NF 121 / fr. 149 III) is refused by the government-representative and not granted until 1981.

Adelmo Barigazzi publishes in *Prometheus* 1/1975, pp. 99-116, the first of several valuable articles on the new fragments.

### 1976

18-25 August. Alan Hall visits Oinoanda three times with Richard P. Harper and a representative of the Turkish government to assess the feasibility of an excavation.

December. George Nicholas Hoffman completes his doctoral dissertation *Diogenes of Oenoanda: A Commentary* at the University of Minnesota – a useful work, generally superior to Chilton's 1971 commentary. It only takes full account of new fragments found up to and including 1971 (NF 1-18).

### 1977

27 July – 1 September. A BIAA team works at Oinoanda. It includes Richard Harper, who after his brief visit in August 1976 draws up detailed plans for a major excavation, which he would direct, and Diskin Clay, who hopes to find in the USA most of the large sum of money needed to fund it. On the pretext that there will be no further search for Diogenes in advance of the excavation, MFS is excluded from the team, contrary to his wish. In the event, three fragments found in 1895 are rediscovered and seven new fragments (NF 107, 109-114) come to light, four of them close to the theatre. The best-preserved new text, NF 107 / fr. 63 I, is part of the opening section of the *Letter to Antipater* and immediately precedes two connecting fragments found in 1889 (fr. 63 II-V). Writing from Rhodes, Diogenes reiterates to Antipater his eager wish, first stated in fr. 62, to set off, as soon as winter has ended, for Athens, Chalcis, and Boeotia. Publication: MFS, *Eight New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda*, «AS» 29/1979, pp. 69-89, the eighth fragment presented being NF 108 / fr. 74 (see under 1902).

13-14 October. An international colloquium on ancient Lycia is held in Istanbul. MFS contributes an illustrated talk on Oinoanda and Diogenes. Publication: *Oenoanda and Its Philosophical Inscription*, in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, «Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul» 27/1980, pp. 73-87. He also gives a brief talk (not published) summarising the French work at Oinoanda in 1884-1889.

### 1979

3 September. MFS, on a visit to Naples, meets Marcello Gigante, who invites collaboration with him and his colleagues.

### 1980

19 September. Richard Harper's ambitious plans for an excavation having come to nothing, MFS visits Oinoanda prior to having discussions about the site with Turkish officials in Ankara.

### 1981

16 July – 4 August. The BIAA investigations at Oinoanda are continued by a team of four, including MFS. Seven new fragments are recorded, including two which, when they were located in 1975, the team had been forbidden to record (see under 1975). In one of them, NF 115 / fr. 19, which is part of the *Physics*, Diogenes sets out wrong and right attitudes to the gods, criticising the way Homer represents them and recommending that statues of them be made «cheerful and smiling, so that we may smile back at them rather than be afraid of them». The other text, NF 121 / fr. 149 III, belongs to *Old Age* and is a continuation of a fragment found in 1889. Publication: MFS, *Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragments 115-121*, «Prometheus» 8/1982, pp. 193-212.

### 1983

17-31 August. Alan Hall and three experts on architecture, including Jim Coulton, work at Oinoanda. Three fragments of Diogenes (NF 122-124) come to light in the village of Kınık, several kilometres northeast of Oinoanda, having been brought there from Kemerarası.<sup>8</sup> One is a *Physics* text (NF 122 / fr. 24), almost certainly aimed at the Stoics, which demonstrates the unreliability of divination from dreams by referring to the same dream as the one described by Cicero, *Div.*, 2, 144 – a dream interpreted by Antiphon and another «expert» in diametrically opposite ways. Another of the new texts (NF 124 / fr. 129), assigned to Diogenes' *Ten-Line-Column Writings*, is part of a polemical argument, also probably directed at the Stoics, about wealth and poverty. Publication: MFS, *Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragments 122-124*, «AS» 34/1984, pp. 43-57.

### 1984

October. Publication of Angelo Casanova, *I frammenti di Diogene d'Enoanda* (Firenze). Although not based on autopsy of the fragments or of squeezes of them, this edition, with an Italian translation, of all the known fragments except NF 122-124, is a very useful contribution to study of the inscription, as are the editor's various articles on Diogenes.

### 1986

12 December. Alan Hall dies, aged 55.

### 1988

The Demostheneia inscription is published, 21 years after its discovery, by Michael Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung von Oinoanda* (München).

<sup>8</sup> See above, under 4<sup>th</sup> Century and 1972.

16-23 May. MFS visits the Kleinasiatische Kommission in Vienna, to examine the squeezes made of Diogenes fragments by Heberdey and Kalinka in 1895 and the Oinoanda pages of their *Skizzenbücher*. In a dusty cupboard he makes the unexpected discovery of the unsigned and unattributed manuscript in which Theodor Gomperz recorded his suggestions concerning Diogenes' inscription.

### 1990

6-12 May. MFS participates in the Second International Lycia-Symposium in Vienna and gives an illustrated talk on the contributions to knowledge of Diogenes made by Heberdey, Kalinka, and Gomperz, published as *The Philosophical Inscription at Oinoanda in Lycia: The Austrian Contribution* in J. Borchardt and G. Dobesch (eds), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien 6.-12. Mai 1990* (Wien 1993), II, pp. 221-228.

25 July – 4 August. MFS visits Fethiye, Oinoanda, its territory, and Ankara in a new effort to get work at Oinoanda restarted.

23-25 October. MFS participates in a symposium in Vienna celebrating the centenary of the Kleinasiatische Kommission and gives an illustrated talk published as *In the Footsteps of Heberdey and Kalinka: Recent and Current Work on Diogenes of Oinoanda* in G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck (eds), *Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien 1993), pp. 339-348.

Publication of Diskin Clay, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda: New Discoveries 1969-1983*, *ANRW* II 36.4 (1990), pp. 2446-2559, 3231 f. – despite many mistakes and misprints, an important contribution to study of the inscription by an Epicurean scholar who participated in work at Oinoanda in 1975 and 1977.

### 1993

February. Publication of MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Epicurean Inscription*, La Scuola di Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da M. Gigante, Supplemento 1 (Napoli), dedicated to the people of İncealiler, the village at the foot of the hill of Oinoanda. Greek text of all the fragments of Diogenes found between 1884 and 1983, with full apparatus criticus, English translation, bibliography, extensive introduction, notes, comparative-numeration indices, measurements, Greek indices, and 18 figures.

19-26 May. Congresso Internazionale sull'Epicureismo greco e romano, Napoli and Anacapri. Contributions on Diogenes of Oinoanda from Luciano Canfora, Angelo Casanova, and MFS. MFS's illustrated talk, *A "Herculaneum" in the Mountains of Turkey: Oinoanda as a Source of Epicurean Texts*, is published in G. Giannantoni & M. Gigante (eds), *Epicureismo greco e romano: Atti del congresso internazionale, Napoli, 19-26 maggio 1993* (Napoli 1996), pp. 951-968.

MFS, *Did Diogenes of Oinoanda Know Lucretius? A Reply to Professor Canfora*, «RFIC» 121/1993, pp. 478-492, refutes Luciano Canfora's contention (in

«RFIC» 120/1992, pp. 39-66) that Diogenes was a contemporary of Lucretius and mentions him in fr. 122.

### 1994

11-21 July. Exploration of Oinoanda and its territory by a BIAA team, consisting of Stephen Mitchell (director), Nicholas Milner, Jeremy Rossiter, and MFS, with the main aim of assessing the feasibility of an excavation. One very small new fragment of Diogenes is found (NF 125 / fr. 182), and in the village of Kınık (see under 1983) the text of NF 124 / fr. 129) is fully exposed and recorded for the first time.

On the basis of the copies, photographs, and squeezes he made in 1972, MFS, *New Readings in the Demostheneia Inscription from Oinoanda*, «AS» 44/1994, pp. 59-64, presents some improvements to the text published by Michael Wörle in 1988. The photographs in the article demonstrate the close similarity of the inscription's lettering to that of Diogenes' inscription.

### 1996

October. Publication of MFS, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda*, *Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris* 20 (Wien), dedicated to Marcello Gigante – a companion-volume to MFS's 1993 edition, presenting scale-drawings and descriptions of the stones, 217 plans and photographs, details of find-places, and a Greek text that is more cautious and less complete than the 1993 one.

Alexandre Étienne & Dominic O'Meara, *La philosophie épicurienne sur pierre: Les fragments de Diogène d'Oinoanda* (Fribourg/Paris). French translation, with introduction, notes, bibliography, and indices.

Pamela Gordon, *Epicurus in Lycia: The Second-Century World of Diogenes of Oenoanda* (Ann Arbor). The unreliability of the book is demonstrated by MFS in «AncPhil» 18/1998, pp. 216-220.

### 1997

14-21 April. MFS has discussions at the Fethiye Museum and visits Oinoanda with José Kany-Turpin and the archaeologists Julian Bennett and Jean Öztürk in preparation for an excavation.

31 October – 9 November. In collaboration with the Fethiye Museum, an excavation is conducted under the auspices of BIAA by MFS (Scientific Director), Julian Bennett, and Andrew Goldman – the first (and, to date, the only) scientific excavation to have been authorised and undertaken at Oinoanda. Despite the smallness of the team (and Bennett was present for only part of the time) and the shortness and lateness of the season, due to the permit having been issued very late, 10 new fragments of Diogenes are recorded (NF 126-135), including eight blocks re-used in the construction of the stylobate- and step-courses of a platform carrying statue-bases on the south side of the «Esplanade» (earlier agora). They include: the largest piece of the inscription yet found, NF 126, and

another large fragment, NF 127, which join up to add nine columns to a theological passage of the *Physics* that is continued in fr. 20 and 21, both found in 1974; two fragments of the *Ethics*, one of which (NF 128) carries the line-endings of fr. 33 IV and line-beginnings of fr. 33 V, the other (NF 129) a passage that is a continuation of NF 146, discovered in 2008; three additions to the *Maxims* (NF 130-132); and two pieces of *Old Age* (NF 133-134), NF 134 providing the line-endings of fr. 146 II 1-5. The finds of 1997, as well as being themselves substantial (they contain about 500 words), are important also because they confirm what riches lie under the surface at Oinoanda, at no great depth. Publication: MFS, *Excavations at Oinoanda 1997: The New Epicurean Texts*, «AS» 48/1998, pp. 125-170, with 20 figures and Greek indices.

### 1998

Julian Bennett agrees to direct a continuation of the BIAA excavation, but the permit is issued too late for him to be able to do this.

### 1999-2001

British applications to work at Oinoanda are refused, despite adequate funds being available.

### 2000

Simone Mooij-Valk, *Diogenes van Oinoanda: Levenslessen in Steen* (Groningen). Dutch translation, with introduction, bibliography, explanatory notes, indices, and illustrations. Includes the new fragments found in 1997.

### 2002

21-27 May, 1-5 June. MFS, based in Fethiye, discusses and visits Oinoanda with staff of the Museum and explores Oinoanda's territory, on 2 June making a seven-hour walk from İncealiler to Bayırköy, following the actual or conjectural line of the ancient road which Diogenes is likely to have taken when he was travelling from Oinoanda to Tlos and/or the Lycian coast.

19-21 October. An international colloquium on *I papiri ercolanesi e la storia della filosofia antica* is held in Naples to mark the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the discovery of the papyri. MFS contributes a paper on *Herculaneum and Oinoanda, Philodemus and Diogenes: Comparison of Two Epicurean Discoveries and Two Epicurean Teachers*, published in «Cerc» 33/2003, pp. 267-278.

### 2003

20-22 June. Hugh Elton (Director of BIAA, 2001-2005), Angela Kalinowski, Jeremy Rossiter, and MFS visit Oinoanda to prepare for a planned excavation, to start in 2005 and be directed by Rossiter. One new fragment (NF 136), joining up with NF 94 / fr. 161, is discovered in the theatre. Publication: MFS, *In Praise of the Simple Life: A New Fragment of Diogenes of Oinoanda*, «AS» 54/2004, pp. 35-46.

December. Publication of MFS, *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda, The Epicurean Inscription*, La Scuola di Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi fondata

da M. Gigante e diretta da G. Arrighetti e F. Longo Auricchio, Supplemento 3 (Napoli), dedicated to Francesca Longo Auricchio. It contains the 11 new fragments discovered since 1993 (NF 125-135) and the results of work done away from the site in the same period. It includes Greek indices.

#### **2004**

For *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda* MFS is awarded the Premio Internazionale di Papirologia Ercolanese 'Theodor Mommsen'. He receives it in Pozzuoli on 12 January 2005, and the following day the book is presented at a meeting in Naples by Alberto Grilli and Nicola Pace.

#### **2005**

22 April. Jeremy Rossiter withdraws his application for an excavation-permit, after failing to obtain any funds for the work.

November. BIAA informs the Turkish authorities that it wishes to stop paying the salary of the site-watchman it had employed at Oinoanda since 1 November 1997.

#### **2006**

March. BIAA's commitment to Oinoanda formally ends.

Late May. MFS approaches Jürgen Hammerstaedt (JH) about the possibility of a collaborative project at Oinoanda and receives a prompt and positive response.

December. Martin Bachmann (MB) of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul, agrees to direct a new survey at Oinoanda.

Publication of JH, *Zum Text der epikureischen Inschrift des Diogenes von Oinoanda*, «EA» 39/2006, pp. 1-48 – his first article on Diogenes, containing many proposals for improvement of the text.

MFS's first report on Oinoanda in «Cronache Ercolanesi»: *Diogenes of Oinoanda: News and Notes, 2005*, «Cerc» 36/2006, pp. 233-245. From 2008 until 2019 a report appears in the journal each year, co-authored in 2015-2018 by JH.

#### **2007**

25 September – 5 October. The first season of investigations at Oinoanda under MB. The team of five includes JH and MFS, who henceforth collaborate in recording, editing, and publishing the Diogenes-finds. They present the five new fragments discovered (NF 137-141) in *The Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda: New Investigations and Discoveries (NF 137-141)*, «EA» 40/2007, pp. 1-11.

#### **2008**

5 July – 10 August. The second season of the survey directed by MB – much longer than the first with a much larger team. 24 new fragments are recorded, and a small fragment not seen since its discovery in 1889 is rediscovered. Notable finds are: NF 143 (*Physics*), criticising oracles, like fr. 23, and specifically

the one that encouraged Croesus to attack the Persian Empire, and mentioning Archilochus; NF 146 (*Ethics*), in praise of the simple life, which yields most pleasure; and NF 155 (*Maxims*), commending Plato for thinking that the world had an origin, but criticising him for believing it to be a divine creation and imperishable. The 2008 season sees the development of a programme, started in a small way in 2007, of using the latest technological methods to document an extensive area of the site, investigating subterranean structures by means of geophysical prospection and terrestrial scanning and carrying out 3D (three-dimensional) documentation by means of laser-scanning. New technology is exploited too to create 3D images of the fragments of Diogenes' inscription by means of laser-scanning and to fix their present positions by means of GPS (Global Positioning System). These methods are to continue to be used throughout the years of the survey. Publication: JH & MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Discoveries of 2008 (NF 142-167)*, «EA» 41/2008, pp. 1-37.

### 2009

15 July – 15 August. The third season of the new survey. 15 new fragments are found, and two blocks not seen since 1895 are relocated. The most substantial new find is NF 167, which immediately preceded NF 126 in the *Physics*. Its discovery means that what is now called the *Theological Physics-Sequence* is extended to 14 consecutive columns. Another new text whose value is enhanced because it joins up with a text already known is NF 174 (*Ten-Line-Column Writings*), bearing the lines that immediately follow the end of fr. 127 I – lines which reveal that the writer who in fr. 127 urges his addressee to turn from rhetoric to Epicurean philosophy is not, as has often been thought, Epicurus, but Diogenes, the addressee being the son of a certain Mettios Phantias, and it being well attested that the Mettii were a prominent presence in Lycia in Diogenes' time. NF 177 (*Old Age*) is a third new text that links up (very probably) with a known one (fr. 146 I 1-5). Diogenes makes the consoling point (*experto crede!*) that it does not matter if the elderly move about more slowly than they did before, because, presumably, they are not intending to compete in the Olympic Games! NF 157 (*Maxims*), discovered but only partly exposed in 2008, is recorded in full. It asserts that more pleasure is derived from seeing someone attractive than from having sexual intercourse, and that, if one does have intercourse, it makes no difference whether one's partner is good-looking or not. Publication: JH & MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Discoveries of 2009 (NF 167-181)*, «EA» 42/2009, pp. 1-38.

### 2010

16 July – 14 August. The fourth season of the new survey. The nine new Diogenes texts discovered (NF 182-190) include a well-preserved block of the *Physics*, NF 182, which immediately followed fr. 20 and raises to 16 the number of consecutive columns preserved of the *Theological Physics-Sequence*. The new text catalogues celestial and meteorological phenomena that are harmful or at least not beneficial to human beings. It also mentions parts of the earth that are unsuitable for human habitation. It is a passage that is continued, after a gap, in fr. 21, where Diogenes turns his attention to the sea, including «the so-called Dead Sea». NF 184 (*Maxims*) and NF 186 (*Ten-Line-Column Writings*) are the

two other significant new texts. NF 186 is of special interest because Diogenes affirms his interest in helping women (not named in the preserved text) in their study of Epicureanism. A major achievement during the season is the construction on the Esplanade of a steel storehouse for the Diogenes fragments and other significant finds. It is funded by those who responded generously to an international appeal in the spring. Much the largest donation comes, thanks to the writer and philosopher Alain de Botton, from the Gilbert de Botton Memorial Foundation. The other donors include the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante'. Publication, dedicated to Alain de Botton: JH & MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Discoveries of 2010 (NF 182-190)*, «EA» 43/2010, pp. 1-29.

## 2011

17 September – 14 October. The fifth season of the new survey. 15 new fragments are discovered (NF 191-205), but only three of them yield a significant amount of text. The most substantial, NF 192 (*Ethics*), carries three columns of detailed criticism of the Stoics for misrepresenting the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the highest good. The passage includes an address to Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. Further significant additions to the text of the inscription result from the full exposure of three fragments which, when they were found in 1997, could not be read in full because parts of them were hidden by stylobate-blocks above them. The three are NF 127 (*Physics*), NF 130 (*Maxims*), and NF 133 (*Old Age*). Publication: JH & MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Discoveries of 2011 (NF 191-205, and Additions to NF 127 and 130)*, «EA» 44/2011, pp. 79-114. The dedicatee is John Fraser, of Versoix, Switzerland, a generous donor to the Oinoanda project. During the season, a documentary film, *A Gigantic Jigsaw Puzzle: The Epicurean Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda*, directed by Nazim Güveloğlu, is shot at Oinoanda. In the following years it wins prizes at several international festivals, and on 10 March 2015 is uploaded to YouTube, where it has now been viewed about 17,000 times.

## 2012

January. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) agrees to fund «Rekonstruktion der philosophischen Monumentalinschrift des Diogenes und Dokumentation ihres archäologischen Kontexts durch die webfähige Forschungs- und Informationsplattform eines Oinoanda-GIS».<sup>9</sup>

9-13 July. Konrad Berner, of Karlsruhe University and a member of the Oinoanda team, visits the remote island of Foula in Shetland to scan a selection of MFS's squeezes of Diogenes fragments.

Late July – early August. Berner and JH visit Athens and Vienna, to scan a selection of squeezes of Diogenes fragments made between 1884 and 1895 and stored in the archives of l'École française d'Athènes and the Kleinasiatische Kommission.

25 September – 5 October. The sixth season of the new survey. Seven new fragments are recorded (NF 206-212). One, NF 207, a substantial piece that is

<sup>9</sup> GIS = Geographisches Informationssystem.

almost perfectly preserved, links up with fr. 29 and adds another two and a half columns to the important preface to the *Ethics*. Diogenes asserts that happiness can be achieved only through the study of Epicurean philosophy, and that the purpose of his inscription is to bring readers of all ages moral enlightenment and salvation. Another significant discovery, NF 209, is of the closing lines of a «new» letter addressed to two or more unnamed persons. The subject is death, and the message is: «As it is not possible to die twice, so it is not possible to live twice either. We should be cheerful when we die, for we shall give up not only good things but also bad ones». Two small fragments, discovered by Cousin in 1889 and published by him without measurements, are rediscovered and properly recorded for the first time. Two other already-known fragments (fr. 145 and NF 133), belonging to *Old Age*, are shown to join up. Publication: JH & MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: New Discoveries of 2012 (NF 206-212) and New Light on «Old» Fragments*, «EA» 45/2012, pp. 1-37.

#### **2014**

22-24 September. An international colloquium on Diogenes is held in Istanbul and Muğla, Turkey, followed, on 25 September, by a visit to Oinoanda. For the resulting publication, see under 2017.

27 November. Publication of JH & MFS, *The Epicurean Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda: Ten Years of New Discoveries and Research* (Bonn), dedicated to Martin Bachmann. The book, abundantly illustrated, brings together the seven articles in which 76 new fragments of Diogenes were first published between 2003 and 2012 (NF 136-212) – the first by MFS, the others by JH and MFS in collaboration. It also reprints JH's substantial 2006 article (see under 2006) and includes three new contributions by the authors, including the full Greek text, with English translation, of the *Theological Physics-Sequence*,<sup>10</sup> and Greek indices to NF 136-212.

#### **2015**

5-10 October. MB, JH, and two others visit Oinoanda to check measurements and other details. A new block of Diogenes' *Maxims* (NF 213) is recorded. Publication: JH & MFS, *New Research at Oinoanda and a New Fragment of the Epicurean Diogenes*, «EA» 49/2016, pp. 109-125.

#### **2016**

3 August. Martin Bachmann dies suddenly in Istanbul, aged 51, while working on a volume, which he was editing, of contributions by leading participants in the Oinoanda project directed by him since 2007. His death is a serious setback for the continuation and completion of the work, which has still not appeared.

#### **2017**

May. Publication of the proceedings of the colloquium held in Turkey in 2014: Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Pierre-Marie Morel, and Refik Güremen (eds), *Diogenes of Oinoanda: Epicureanism and Philosophical Debates / Diogène d'Oenoanda: Épicurisme et controverses* (Leuven), dedicated to Martin Bachmann.

<sup>10</sup> See above, under 2010.

2-6 October. Six participants in the Oinoanda project visit the site. JH records six new fragments of Diogenes (NF 214-219). They include: the block (NF 214) that immediately preceded NF 7 / fr. 72; and the beginning of a previously unknown letter (NF 215). NF 214 reveals that the shipwrecked man is not, as most have supposed, Epicurus, but, as George Hoffman contended in 1974, Niceratus, a contemporary of Diogenes mentioned in fr. 70. The new letter purports to be from a certain Archelaus to a certain Dion, who has asked to be told what Diogenes said after the burial of his (Diogenes') son, but MFS believes that it was actually composed by Diogenes as a way to vary and dramatise the presentation of his views. Publication, including a new presentation of three «old» fragments that belong to the same letter as NF 214: JH & MFS, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The New and Unexpected Discoveries of 2017 (NF 214-219), With a Re-edition of Fr. 70-72*, «EA» 51/2018, pp. 43-79.

## 2018

9 July. The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of MFS's exploration of Oinoanda, as is noted in «CErc» 48/2018, pp. 224 f.

## CONCLUSION

Knowledge of the inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda has vastly increased since 1968, above all through the discovery and publication of new texts and the rediscovery, re-examination, and re-edition of «old» ones. The number of fragments discovered has much more than tripled, from 88 to 305, and the quantity of text has more than doubled, from about 3,550 words to about 8,000. The length of the known parts of Diogenes' inscription is now only slightly less than the combined length of Epicurus' *Letter to Herodotus*, *Letter to Menoecus*, and *Principal Doctrines* (*Κύρια Δόξα*), and it is more extensive than the inscription recording the benefactions and honours of Opramoas of Rhodes.<sup>11</sup> As for the 88 fragments of Diogenes found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 67 have been rediscovered.

Great progress has been made too with working out the arrangement of the inscription, with the illumination of its topographical, architectural, historical, and cultural context, including its dating, and, not least importantly, with ensuring its protection for posterity. But, as with Herculaneum and its papyri, much work remains to be done, for we still have only a fraction of the complete text of the inscription. As the one who has devoted more time than anyone else, living or dead, to the recovery of Diogenes, I take much satisfaction and some pride in what has been achieved by those involved in the various phases of the investigations at Oinoanda in the last half-century, but at the same time I cannot help feeling some disappointment at the continuing lack of a major programme of excavation, clearing, and restoration. If such an operation were to be carried out, it would probably at least double the extent of the known text, and, although it would certainly present challenges, these would be much easier to surmount than any at Herculaneum, for Oinoanda is an uninhabited site, and, as the excavation in 1997 confirmed, the hidden treasure lies at no great depth.

<sup>11</sup> The Rhodiapolis inscription contains about 7,260 words, according to Christina KOKKINIA, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis: Euergetismus und soziale Elite in Lykien* (Bonn 2000), p. 15.

«Treasure» is a fitting description of both Diogenes' inscription and the Herculaneum papyri, and they are treasures of a similar kind. The former resembles the latter, not only in respect of its Epicurean content and the way in which its writings are carved in imitation of unrolled papyrus-scrolls, but also with regard to the extraordinary circumstances of its survival and discovery and the way in which its text is seen as it was by its readers in the ancient world, albeit often in a less good state of preservation. I have always thought the recovery and editing of new texts a more important and rewarding occupation than the re-editing and reinterpreting of old ones. Diogenes' inscription, like the papyri from Herculaneum, deserves a special place in the history of classical studies as one of the most remarkable documents to have come down to us from antiquity. It is to be hoped that the next 50 years will be at least as fruitful as the last have been in advancing knowledge of both the inscription and the papyri.

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FINITO DI STAMPARE NEL MESE DI OTTOBRE 2020  
DALLA GRAFICA METELLIANA

*Sarà scritta un giorno sulle pagine di questo 'Bollettino' la cronaca della ripresa degli scavi della 'Villa dei Papiri' in Ercolano?*

*La pianta\* del Weber cesserà di essere un documento di archivio o un mero incentivo a ipotesi marginali?*

*Sarà descritto un giorno lo scavo di altre ville ercolanesi?*

*La speranza non è incerta, ma è soprattutto in tale voto, la cui realizzazione esige tuttavia tempi non troppo brevi, che rinviene giustificazione il titolo di «Cronache Ercolanesi», organo del Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi.*

MARCELLO GIGANTE

Dalla 'Premessa' al volume 1/1971

\* [Riprodotta in copertina]