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The article summarises news of and research on Oinoanda in northern Lycia in 2019-2021, with particular reference to the philosophical inscription of the Epicurean Diogenes. It includes a tribute to J.J. («Jim») Coulton and concludes with a review of over fifty relevant publications.

Keywords: Diogenes, Oinoanda, philosophical, Epicurean, inscription

1. Oinoanda Research and News, 2019-2021

The last expedition to Oinoanda, involving a team of six, took place in autumn 2017 (2-6 October). Its main purpose was to «tie up loose ends» by checking up on various architectural and epigraphical matters, arising from earlier work on the site and from subsequent study and reflection. It was an unexpected bonus that the visit brought about the location and recovery of six new fragments of Diogenes, which were published in 2019.¹

Since this visit, there has been a necessary cessation of investigations at Oinoanda, the priority and obligation being to complete the preparation of the book, a special volume of *Istanbuler Forschungen (IF)*, in which the results of the survey of Oinoanda carried out since 2007 and directed, until he died in 2016, by Martin Bachmann, are presented. Bachmann was to have been its editor, and his sudden death was a severe setback for the direction and fulfilment of the project. But the volume is now said to be in a very advanced state of preparation. As I commented in my last report: «The publication of the results of the outstandingly successful survey of Oinoanda carried out in recent years will mark the end of the latest chapter in the long story of the investigation of the site, but the hope must be that, alongside JH's [Jürgen Hammerstaedt's] and my prompt publications of all additions that have been made to Diogenes' inscription since 2007, it will also serve as a stimulus for renewed efforts to bring about the excavation that is so obviously desirable».²

In addition to the work done by contributors to the book, there has been a steady flow of publications about or relevant to Diogenes and Oinoanda, as section 5 of the present report shows.

One may be thankful that all the work on the site required for the publication of the results of the survey was completed before the eruption of the Covid-19 pandemic. In 2019 I made plans to make a private visit to Oinoanda in 2020, probably in May 2020, just after my eightieth birthday. Being, like Diogenes, «at the sunset of my life» ([ἐν δὲ] ἡμεῖς ... τοῦ βίου), I wanted to see the site and Turkish friends in the locality once more, before it is too late. I began my work at Oinoanda in my twenties, and I should like to have been able to say that I had visited a place so dear to me in seven decades of my life. But in January 2020 my health took a temporary dip, and I decided to postpone the plan. It was just as well, because, only weeks later, the arrival and spread of the pandemic made travel impossible. The experience made me think of words of Diogenes in his *Letter to Antipater*: writing from Rhodes, where he is spending the winter to avoid the cold and snowy weather at Oinoanda, he tells Antipater of his eager wish to travel to Greece in the spring, sailing first either to Athens or to Chalcis and Boeotia, but adds that this plan is uncertain on two grounds – «the change-

DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: NEWS AND NOTES XIV (2019-2021)

MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH

I thank the editors of «Cronache Ercolanesi» and all those who have kindly provided me with relevant information and/or publications. I thank also Nikolaus Koch for supplying the image reproduced in fig. 1 and giving permission for its inclusion.

¹ HAMMERSTAEDT-SMITH 2018. See the present article, 5.18.

² SMITH 2019, 302.

ability and inconstancy of our fortunes and also my old age» (τὸ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι ποικίλως ἄστατον καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔξωθε γῆρας).³

The site continues to be protected by Sedat Atçı, the loyal and energetic watchman employed by the Fethiye Museum. He is a son of the former watchman, Mehmet Atçı, who was appointed in 1973 and gave wonderful service until he died, in singularly tragic circumstances, in the summer of 1997. So the Atçı family has guarded Oinoanda for forty-nine years so far, and all who care about the place and its treasures – scenic, archaeological, historical, architectural, epigraphical, and philosophical – owe it great gratitude. From time to time during the pandemic Sedat has sent me photographs from Oinoanda. The most recent one showed him brewing tea on the Esplanade – a characteristic touch of humour recalling much banter that he and I have engaged in over the years about the quality (or lack of it) of refreshments taken on the site.

Another friend of equally long standing who has kept in touch is Hüseyin Köktürk, a retired archaeologist in the Fethiye Museum. He knows Oinoanda very well and has done excellent work to make the city and especially the philosophical inscription known to Turkish readers. His first article on Diogenes was noticed by me in «Cerc» 36/2006, 237. He has now completed a book entitled *Taşlara Kazınan Bilgelik Hazzı: Likya'da Oinoandalı Diogenes [The Pleasure of Wisdom Engraved on Stones: Diogenes of Oinoanda in Lycia]*, to be published in Turkey by Arkadaş Yayın Grubu. From time to time he makes private visits to Oinoanda and sends photographs.

Oinoanda is wooded, although less densely than in the past. Fortunately, the site and its immediate area were untouched by the forest fires which did so much damage in many parts of southern Turkey, including Lycia and Caria, in the summer of 2021. The nearest conflagration, not so very far away, destroyed a significant area of forest on the ancient road from Oinoanda to Tlos – a road which I followed on foot for several hours in May 2002. That same month, I visited Rhodiapolis, in southeast Lycia, to view the pieces of the massive inscription recording the benefactions and honours of Opramoas. I had read that the site was wooded and was puzzled that I could not see a wood as I approached the place to which I had been directed by local people. I thought that I had been misdirected, until, on arrival, I found that all the trees had been destroyed in a recent fire. It was a sad sight, although the absence of the trees made it easier to get one's bearings in the ruins and see the inscribed blocks.

The thought that it is more difficult to make sense of a site if it is wooded leads on to a tribute to Jim Coulton, who died in 2020. He was able to make sense of every site he worked on, whether it had tree-cover (like Oinoanda and Balbura) or not.

2. Jim Coulton (1940-2020)

John James Coulton, always «Jim» to family, friends, and colleagues, was born in Norfolk, England, on 24 February 1940, and educated at Winchester College and St John's College, Cambridge. After graduating in Classics, he stayed on in Cambridge to undertake doctoral research in classical archaeology under the supervision of William Hugh Plommer. A revised and updated version of his

³ Fr. 63 I-II 4.

dissertation was published in 1976 with the title *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*. After holding academic posts at the Australian National University, Canberra, and the University of Manchester, he moved to the University of Edinburgh in 1969 and remained there until 1979, when he was appointed Reader in Classical Archaeology at Oxford – a position he retained for twenty-five years, until his retirement in 2004.

A brilliant archaeologist and architectural historian, he was also an outstanding teacher, who was always generous with his time and expert advice not only to his students, but also to colleagues, including those with whom he worked on archaeological sites. Those sites were very varied in their locations and dates. They included Perachora (opposite Corinth), Zagora on Andros, Lefkandi in Euboea, and three cities in Anatolia – Oinoanda, Balbura, and Aphrodisias.

When Jim was working at Zagora in 1969, he met Mary Burness, a student of archaeology in Athens who was assisting with the excavation. Her father was Scottish, her mother, born Joanna Palascha in Smyrna (Izmir) in 1908, Greek. She and Jim fell in love and got married.

Jim joined the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA) team at Oinoanda in 1975. The topographical and epigraphical survey of the site had begun in 1974, but had not got off to the best of starts because of the international crisis connected with the landings of Turkish troops in northern Cyprus. Although members of the team stayed in the vicinity of Oinoanda from mid-July until early September, work on the site was twice halted by order of the Turkish government, and more time was spent off the site than on it. Moreover, although the four young topographical surveyors, all students, were competent and made satisfactory progress, they lacked the guidance of an experienced archaeologist. Jim's arrival in 1975 transformed the situation. He was able to give guidance to the surveyors (a different quartet from the one in 1974), and directed his great skill and energy to detailed study of Oinoanda's buildings. He continued work on the site in 1977, 1981, and 1983 and published the results in a series of fine articles, illustrated with meticulous drawings. One of his many strengths was that he understood, as his masterly book *Greek Architects at Work: Problems of Structure and Design* (1977) shows, how building projects were planned and executed and what problems were faced and overcome from design and quarrying to completion. Prior to the BIAA survey, the paved court that was actually the later of the city's two agoras was sometimes believed to be the likely location of Diogenes' stoa, but Jim's studies of it, published in *Oinoanda: The Agora*, «AS» 36/1986, 61-90, showed that this theory is untenable.

Jim was always generous to colleagues with information and advice about archaeological and architectural matters. I benefited hugely from his expertise and kindness, especially with respect to the very important matter of the structure of the wall of the stoa that carried Diogenes' inscription and my attempts to work out the positions of the various sections of it.⁴

In 1985, two years after the last season of the BIAA survey at Oinoanda, Jim initiated a wide-ranging survey of Oinoanda's northern neighbour, Balbura, and its territory. The survey continued under his direction each year until 1993. In July 1990 I visited him and his colleagues on site. I was in Turkey, partly to check the condition of Oinoanda prior to completion of my edition of Dioge-

⁴ See especially SMITH 1993, 95.

nes' inscription, partly to discuss in Ankara and Fethiye the possibility of an excavation on the site. I had arranged to visit Oinoanda with the acting director of the Fethiye Museum, and Jim kindly agreed to come too. In the event, four more years were to pass before a permit was granted for more research at Oinoanda and seven years before excavation took place, but Jim's continuing interest in and advice about Oinoanda were much appreciated.

In retirement, he and Mary first lived in Athens, but later, when his health declined, moved to Edinburgh. My last meeting with him was there in early October 2019. Although he was terminally ill with cancer and had very little mobility, his mind and memory were still excellent, and his keen sense of humour was intact. Oinoanda was one of the topics of our conversation: as well as recalling old times, we discussed the present situation and problems, including those related to Diogenes' stoa.⁵ I hoped to visit him again in the spring of 2020, but Covid-19 prevented that, and he died on 1 August 2020. He is much missed by all who had the privilege to know him.

3. Note on fr. 127 + NF 174

Among the discoveries made in 2009 was NF 174 (YF 239), published by Jürgen Hammerstaedt and me in «EA» 42/2009, 25-29 = Hammerstaedt-Smith 2018, 95-99. The text is an immediate continuation of fr. 127 (YF 081), discovered nearby in 1972. We were 99% sure of that in 2009, and our belief was confirmed in 2010, when we were able to reunite the two fragments physically on the site and show that they are parts of same block.⁶ In fr. 127 the letter-writer urges the addressee to turn away from rhetoric to Epicurean philosophy, and, before the discovery of NF 174, there was speculation that the writer might be Epicurus and the addressee Hermarchus, but the new passage reveals that the letter is addressed to a son of a certain Mettios Phantias, evidently a contemporary and acquaintance of Diogenes. Mettios (Mettius) is a Roman name, and the man mentioned in NF 174 may have acquired it after being granted Roman citizenship by C. Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus, governor of Lycia-Pamphylia in AD 99-102.

At the time we were editing fr. 127 + NF 174, we were under the misapprehension, as were many ancient historians (including the one who advised us!), that there was a second Mettius Modestus, grandson of the first, who occupied the same position in AD 130-133, and so we felt obliged to mention the possibility that the grant of citizenship was made by him. But it turns out that the younger Mettius Modestus is a ghost, invented by G.W. Bowersock in a paper delivered in 1982/1983 and published in 1985.⁷ His invention is exposed by Barbara Burrell.⁸ From the point of view of my preferred dating of Diogenes' inscription in or near the AD 120s, I am more than happy to learn that the younger Mettius Modestus never existed!

4. Lectures and Other Events

Jürgen Hammerstaedt gave the following lectures:

The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda: New Finds and Recent Research, University of Toronto, 31 May 2019.

⁵ See the acknowledgement in «CERC» 50/2020, 242 n. 4.

⁶ See our article in «EA» 43/2010, 5 f. = HAMMERSTAEDT-SMITH 2018, 113 f. and fig. 3.

⁷ *Hadrian and Metropolis*, in *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1982/83* (Bonn 1985), 75-88, at 82-86.

⁸ *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden-Boston 2004), 254. I am grateful to Werner Eck for his kind information and advice.

L'iscrizione epicurea di Diogene di Enoanda: scoperte e ricerche recenti, Università di Cagliari, 20 June 2019.

L'iscrizione epicurea di Diogene di Enoanda, at Secondo Festival Epicureo, «Liberi come Epicuro», Senigallia, 25 July 2020.

Papyrologie und Epigraphik: Die Inschrift von Oenoanda, at Congress «Tracing the Same Path: Tradition und Fortschritt der herkulanischen Papyrologie zwischen Deutschland und Italien / Tradizione e innovazione nella papirologia ercolanese tra Germania e Italia», Villa Vigoni (Lago di Como), 25 September 2020.

Diogene epicureo tra l'iscrizione di Enoanda e i papiri ercolanesi, virtual lecture to Scuola Estiva di Papirologia, Università di Lecce, 14 October 2020.

La spiegazione dei fenomeni meteorologici nell'iscrizione filosofica di Diogene di Enoanda, to the online Spin-Spider workshop on «Epistemology and Meteorology: Epicureanism and Scientific Debates», 22 October 2020.

Epicurean Psychology as a Help for Everyday Life. The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda, virtual lecture for a course on «History and Systems of Psychology», Pantheon University, Athens, 20 April 2021.

The Philosophical Diogenes of Oenoanda: New Finds, Recent Research and a Hint to Aristotle, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, 17 May 2021.

I testi epicurei offerti dall'iscrizione filosofica di Diogene di Enoanda, to the online Spin-Spider workshop on «Science and Philosophical Debates: A New Approach towards Ancient Epicureanism. I testi epicurei: storia degli studi e prospettive di ricerca», 5 July 2020.

Nicholas Milner has continued to work on Oinoanda's non-philosophical inscriptions. Two publications of his are detailed in 5.26 f., and a third article, entitled *An Unidentified Governor of Lycia-Pamphylia under Vespasian: A Re-edition of SEG 34: 1312 (= AE 1987: 947)*, is scheduled to appear in «EA» 54/2021.

Federico Giulio Corsi, of Università Sapienza di Roma, successfully defended his doctoral thesis on *Epistemologia e scienza della natura in Diogene di Enoanda* on 2 July 2021.

I was elected a Corresponding Member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) on 3 July 2020. Since 2007 I have participated in the work carried out at Oinoanda under the auspices of DAI and have collaborated with Jürgen Hammerstaedt in the recording, editing, and publishing of the numerous Diogenes fragments discovered and rediscovered during the investigations.

5. Publications

1. Asmis, Elizabeth. *Psychology* [Epicurean], in Mitsis (see 5.28), 189-220, at 197 f. (fr. 9), 202 (fr. 35), 207 (fr. 34).

2. Asmis, Elizabeth. *Epicurus on Parental Love*, «Cerc» 51/2021, 7-29, at 15. On fr. 54.

3. Canali De Rossi, Filippo. *Scriptorum Antiquorum Tituli 1: de rationibus quae inter auctores litterarum et titulos occurrunt* (Roma 2019). Diogenes features prominently in this collection of texts and the front cover of the book carries a photograph I took of fr. 19. There are two main sections: (1) *De heroica et didascalica poësi*; (2) *De philosophis et eorum scholis*. The translations, like all the notes and commentary in the book, are in Latin. No doubt the author has good intentions, and I thank him for giving me a copy, but his compilation seems rather strange, and it is difficult to see who will find it useful.

4. Cohen-Taber, Inbal. *The Lost Composition of Diogenes of Oinoanda*, «Materiali e Discussioni» 84/2020, 95-112. The whole argument of this article is built on false foundations. The writer believes that in fr. 3 II-VI (YF 053), part of the well-known introductory passage in the course of the inscription that contained Diogenes' *Physics*, *κόγγραμμα* in II 1 and V 11 refers not to his inscription, but to a work which he published previously in non-epigraphical form. It is indeed possible, even probable, that he circulated some of the writings included in his inscription prior to their display on the wall of the stoa, but Cohen-Taber's interpretation of *κόγγραμμα* is unacceptable for several reasons, and not least because it depends on her denial that the five columns are an immediate continuation of fr. 3 I, a column carved on a separate stone (YF 028). The join, accepted by every one of Diogenes' editors since 1892, is certain, the sentence that begins in fr. 3 I 13 continuing in the first lines of fr. 3 II and the word *αἰ/[τί]αν* being divided between the last line of fr. 3 I and the first line of fr. 3 II. Cohen-Taber's objections that the two stones «were found very far from each other, and the measurements of the blocks differ» (104) are completely invalid. Blocks that were neighbours in the inscription were often reused in different areas of the site,⁹ and both YF 028 and YF 053 have all the physical and epigraphical features common to the blocks in the second lowest course of the inscription.¹⁰ Since the foundations of Cohen-Taber's argument are false, the whole edifice she attempts to build on them collapses, and there is no need to comment further.

5. Corrado, Alberto. *A New Supplement to Diogenes of Oenoanda's Fr. 6 Smith: A Case of Epicurean Language Selection*, «Philologus» 164/2020, 269-276. The article concerns my restoration of [*πρῶτα κόμματα*] in reference to atoms in fr. 6 I 3 and in my *exempli gratia* proposal for what preceded the preserved text in fr. 8. Corrado objects on the ground that the term is not used elsewhere by Epicurean writers. He wants to substitute [*ἄτομα κόμματα*]. His preference may well be right, but I am unapologetic about my suggestion, given that *corpora prima* is a term Lucretius frequently uses for «atoms» (1.61, 171, 510, 538; 2.96, 486, 589, 843, 1011; 3.438). Corrado is aware of these occurrences, but does not consider Lucretius a reliable source. I beg to differ. Citing Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka's 1897 article on Diogenes (276), he gets their names in the wrong order, gives Heberdey the initial «K», and replaces their German title with a French one, borrowing it from the preceding note by Théophile Homolle.

⁹ I have often pointed this out, including in SMITH 1993, 98.

¹⁰ The features are listed *ibid.*, 78.

6. Dorandi, Tiziano. *Epicurus and the Epicurean School*, in Mitsis (see 5.28), 13-42, at 17 (maxims), 31 f. The listing of the various sections of the inscription mentions only the fragments contained in Smith 1993. The numerous substan-

tial and significant fragments found in 1997-2017 are omitted from the list, although the publication of new fragments by Hammerstaedt and me is mentioned in n. 80. In his next note (81), Dorandi writes: «On Diogenes of Oenoanda, see Hammerstaedt’s chapter in this volume» – puzzling advice, because there is no chapter by Hammerstaedt in the book, and the one about Diogenes is by Pamela Gordon!

7. Englert, Walter. *Voluntary Action and Responsibility* [in Epicureanism], in Mitsis (see 5.28), 221-249, at 222.

8. Erler, Michael. *Plutarch* [on Epicureanism], in Mitsis (see 5.28), 507-530, at 509, 519.

9. Gale, Monica R. *Lucretius*, in Mitsis (see 5.28), 430-455, at 436 (NF 127 + fr. 20).

10. Gigandet, Alain. *Images oniriques et contrôle éthique des représentations dans Épicure*, Nat. XXXIV, in Leone et al. (see 5.23), 47-57, at 50-52. On fr. 9.

11. Gordon, Pamela. *Diogenes of Oenoanda*, in Mitsis (see 5.28), 531-548. After an introductory passage which, *inter alia*, mentions the unparalleled nature and size of Diogenes’ inscription, its likely date, its location within Oinoanda, its varied content, and what it reveals about its author’s life, the rest of the chapter is divided into five sections, headed «Motivation and Cultural Context», «Methodology and Interpretation», «The Fluidity of Epicurean Texts», «Other Selected Fragments and Recent Discoveries», and «Stones, Texts, and Editions». Most of what Gordon provides is sound, but, like her contribution to an earlier *Oxford Handbook*,¹¹ this one is marred by unfortunate errors. For example, referring to the content of fr. 16, she writes: «It is not the Epicureans who deny the existence of the gods, but other philosophers, such as Diogoras and Pythagoras» (539). «Diogoras» for «Diagoras» might be excused as a typo, but definitely not «Pythagoras» for «Protagoras»! It is not correct that «Diogenes is our only source for the Greek vocabulary for the swerve» (540). Nor is it the case that Diogenes’ «version of the Epicurean *Key Doctrines* ... runs in a frieze across the middle of the inscription» (546): the continuous line of *Kyriai Doxai* actually runs through the spacious lower margin of the *Ethics*, at the very bottom of the lowest inscribed course of the wall. The position of these ethical maxims, carved in larger letters than the treatise above, is both visually and philosophically significant, for they are the foundation not only of the *Ethics*, but also of the entire inscription, whose purpose is to bring to its readers «the remedies that bring salvation» (τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας [φάρμα]κα, fr. 3 V 14-VI 2) – remedies that are briefly set out in the *Kyriai Doxai* and indeed in the first four of them, known as the «fourfold remedy» (τετραφάρμακος). So Gordon’s mistake is not a trivial one. She is more up to date than in her earlier *Oxford Handbook* chapter, but not fully so. Under her «References» she mentions Hammerstaedt’s and my publication of the new Diogenes fragments recorded in 2017, but does not make any use of it in the text of her chapter, despite two of the new pieces (NF 214 and 215) being of outstanding importance. It is unfortunate too that she

¹¹ *The Oxford Handbook to the Second Sophistic* (Oxford 2017). See my criticisms in SMITH 2019, 310.

thinks it worth mentioning speculations of A.S. Hall and D. Clay which, in the light of recent finds and research, have been shown to be mistaken (531, 536 n. 24). I refer to those scholars' estimates of the date of the inscription, and to Clay's suggestion, disproved by the discovery of NF 174 in 2009, that NF 127 might belong to a letter from Epicurus to Hermarchus.

12. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen. *Epicuro e Diogene di Enoanda tra sogno, visioni e realtà. Riscontri dell'opera Sulla natura di Epicuro nell'iscrizione epicurea?* in Leone et al. (see 5.23), 147-162. 4 figures. In this significant article, Diogenes' exposition of Epicurus' theory of vision, thought, and dreams is discussed in relation to the treatment of the same subject in Epicurus, *On Nature*, Books 34 and 25. The passages of Diogenes that receive most attention are fr. 9-10 and 43.¹² Hammerstaedt uses them to illuminate passages of *On Nature* and exploits *On Nature* to help understanding of Diogenes. A striking and convincing example of this procedure is his linking of φλεβοπαλία (Epic., *Nat.* XXXIV, col. XX Leone), «palpitation of the veins», a term likely to have been used previously by Democritus, with Diog. fr. 43 II, where it is described how fear sets the heart pounding. He makes several suggestions for the improvement of the text of the three Diogenes fragments. He does not see convincing evidence that Diogenes made direct use of *On Nature* in the composition of his work (162). Be that as it may, the inscription suggests that its author had a wide and deep knowledge of his master's philosophy, and it would be very surprising if he were not well acquainted with *On Nature* and made use of that acquaintance in his own writings.

13. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen. *Il riflesso di convenzioni librarie nell'epigrafia. I segni nell'iscrizione filosofica di Diogene di Enoanda*, in Nathan Carlig et al. (eds), *Signes dans les textes. Continuités et ruptures des pratiques scribes en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et Byzantine* (Liège 2020), 201-222. 16 figures. A good, up-to-date account and discussion of the methods of punctuation and other signs found in the inscription, including empty spaces, *paragraphoi*, the *mesē*, the mid-line horizontal stroke, the *diplē*, asterisk, and left-marginal Λ.

14. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen. *Overcoming and Placing the Emotion of Fear in a Philosophical System: The Case of the Epicurean Diogenes of Oenoanda*, in Anja Bettenworth & Jürgen Hammerstaedt (eds), *Writing Order and Emotion: Affect and the Structures of Power in Greek and Roman Authors* (Spudasmata 188) (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 2020), 27-46. 4 figures. The contributions to this volume focus on «the constructive and stabilizing aspects of emotions» (note on the cover), especially fear and anger. After a brief introduction to Diogenes' inscription, Hammerstaedt discusses the title of the *Ethics*. The title is incompletely preserved, but definitely mentions πάθη (fr. 28.3), «feelings», «emotions». Pointing out that Diogenes regarded Epicurean philosophy as an efficacious «medicine» to combat fear, Hammerstaedt goes on to discuss fear of death and pain (mainly) in the *Ethics*. In an important programmatic passage in fr. 34, fear of the gods heads the list of four disturbing emotions that must be eliminated (VI 14-VII 7), and the incomplete last sentence (VII 12-14) shows that Diogenes started with the gods, like Epicurus, *Men.* 123 f.; *Sent.* 1.¹³ Although it is true that no (other) surviving passage of the treatise «can be assigned beyond

¹² Fr. 69 and 125 are quoted in the notes (148 nn. 2, 4), but not discussed.

¹³ Hammerstaedt (42 n. 39) suggests that the text could be restored to make Diogenes tell his readers that he has already extensively treated fear of the gods in the *Physics*. This is possible, but it would be uncharacteristic of Diogenes to be content to do that, when the elimination of fear of the gods is of such fundamental ethical importance.

doubt to the announced investigation about gods» (33 f.), I believe that this is a matter of chance. But it is very likely that fear of the gods was treated much more briefly in the *Ethics* than in the *Physics*. In fact, the longest continuous passage of the *Physics*, and indeed of the whole inscription, that has so far come to light is part of Diogenes' demonstration that the gods are not to be feared. The passage, the *Theological Physics-Sequence (Theol.)*, naturally features prominently in Hammerstaedt's discussion of fear of the gods in the *Physics* (36-41). The last section of his contribution (41-46), headed «Unconscious Fear», is concerned with fr. 35 and argues that it belongs to Diogenes' discussion of fear of death, not as I (for one) preferred to think, or at least think possible,¹⁴ fear of the gods. One thing that is not clear to me about Hammerstaedt's chapter on Diogenes is how it is consistent with the book's declared aim of discussing «the constructive and stabilizing aspects of emotions». Experiencing fear of the gods, death, and pain and being in the grip of unnatural and unnecessary desires are, in the Epicurean view, just the opposite of constructive and stabilizing, and the purpose of Diogenes' inscription is to remove these disturbances and enable his readers to achieve ἀταραξία.

15. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen. *Diogene di Enoanda e le clausole ritmiche: Un'indagine sulla scia delle ricerche di Daniele Mastai*, in Michele Bianconi & Marta Capano (eds), *In amicitia tua memores et grati: Contributi di retorica, metrica e stilistica per Daniele Mastai* (Pisa 2020), 127-150. A study of rhythmic clauses in Diogenes, a revised and elaborated version of a paper the author delivered in Pisa in September 2017 at a meeting in memory of Daniele Mastai, who had held an Erasmus scholarship in Köln and died in 2016 aged only twenty-six. The subject is one which previously received some attention from Alberto Grilli¹⁵ and George Nicholas Hoffman.¹⁶ Hammerstaedt's treatment of it is interesting, not least because he attempts to link up rhythm with sense. One result of his research which I welcome is that he is now reconsidering (137) his opposition to my contention that the introductory passages fr. 2 and 3 are to be placed in reverse order.¹⁷

16. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen. *Das delphische Orakel und seine Sprüche in den philosophischen Debatten der Kaiserzeit*, in Balbina Bäbler & Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (eds), *Delphi: Apollons Orakel in der Welt der Antike*, «COMES» 4/2021, 413-429, at 427-429. In the section entitled *Epikureische Kritik*, the author quotes and discusses fr. 23 and NF 143.

17. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen. *Papyrologie und Epigraphik: Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda*, in Marzia D'Angelo, Holger Essler, & Federica Nicolardi, *Tracing the Same Path: Tradizione e innovazione nella papirologia ercolanese tra Germania e Italia / Tradition und Fortschritt in der herkulanischen Papyrologie zwischen Deutschland und Italien*, Settimo Supplemento a «Cronache Ercolanesi» (Napoli 2021), 41-57. 4 figures. «The article investigates the different origins of the various Epicurean texts offered by the 2nd century AD philosophical inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda and makes some observations on how they were inscribed» (Hammerstaedt's summary). The author's suggestions about Diogenes are always deserving of close attention and usually

¹⁴ SMITH 1993, 486.

¹⁵ *Osservazioni al testo di Diogene da Enoanda*, «PP» 15/1960, 125-151.

¹⁶ *Diogenes of Oenoanda: A Commentary*, Dissertation (University of Minnesota 1976), I, 66-69.

¹⁷ *The Introduction to Diogenes of Oinoanda's Physics*, «CQ» 50/2000, 238-246.

convincing, but his suggestion in this article that certain passages of the *Physics*, *Ethics*, and *Letter to Antipater* are stenographic transcripts is, in my opinion, misguided and implausible. In support of it, he points to NF 215, one of the most recently-discovered texts from Oinoanda, which contains the title and first column of what purports to be a letter from a certain Archelaus to a certain Dion. The fragment was first published in Hammerstaedt-Smith 2018, and I also gave it some attention in Smith 2019, 302-308. According to the letter, Dion has asked Archelaus what Diogenes said after the funeral of his (Diogenes') son, and Archelaus, eager to oblige, tells his correspondent that he can do better than give his own version of the speech, because he has taken a copy of the record of it made by «some accurate shorthand-writers» (σημειογράφων ... ἀκριβῶν τινῶν). The mention of stenographers, professionals who had only established themselves widely in the first century AD, is certainly very interesting, and one need not doubt that they operated in Oinoanda, Rhodes, or wherever the funeral took place. But, unlike Hammerstaedt, I do not believe that Diogenes made any use of stenographers in the composition of the writings in his inscription any more than I believe that the «new» letter revealed in NF 215 was actually written and sent by Archelaus to Dion. I have no doubt at all that the writer is Diogenes himself, who would hardly need stenographers to record his own speech. One of the indications that Diogenes is the writer is that there are very close similarities between the opening of the letter and the opening of his *Letter to Antipater*.¹⁸ Hammerstaedt believes that the dialogue between Diogenes and Theodoridas, reported in the *Letter to Antipater* (fr. 63), is also a transcript of an actual conversation and points to the use of shorthand: «Auch dieser Umstand weist, wie schon der lebhafteste, von Mündlichkeit geprägte Stil in *Physik* und *Ethik*, auf die Nutzung von Stenographie hin» (51). I disagree. Epicurus defined philosophy as «an activity that through discussion and reasoning secures the happy life».¹⁹ Diogenes no doubt followed his master's lead in his face-to-face dealings with people, but he also followed him by using dialogue and direct speech in his writings. Despite his declared disapproval of rhetoricians (fr. 112.6-8; fr. 127 I 3-5), he himself was clearly well-versed in the art of rhetoric, and his use of dialogue and direct speech, as well as reflecting the conversational methods recommended by Epicurus, is to be seen as a literary device designed to vary, dramatise, and enliven his exposition of Epicureanism. It is a technique practised also by Lucretius,²⁰ for the same reasons. In the case of NF 215, the presentation of Diogenes' own thoughts and words in a letter purporting to have been written by somebody else, who claims to have obtained them from stenographers, is a sophisticated extension of the device just mentioned, and the likely reason for its adoption is the sensitive nature of the topic, the death of Diogenes' own son. At the same time, wanting his readers to understand that the words attributed to Archelaus are actually his own, he makes Archelaus say that he obtained them from «accurate» stenographers. To take NF 215 at face-value is, I believe, to underestimate and diminish Diogenes' stature as an ingenious and effective writer and exponent of Epicureanism.

¹⁸ HAMMERSTAEDT-SMITH 2018, 62 f.; SMITH 2019, 306 f.

¹⁹ USENER fr. 219, 169; ARRIGHETTI fr. [230], 565.

²⁰ See e.g. Lucr. 3.933-949 and 955-962, where the poet puts into the mouth of Nature the strong words he addresses to those who complain when it is time for them to die; also 3.1025-1052, where he puts further thoughts on the same matter into the mouth of the reader.

18. Hammerstaedt, Jürgen, & Smith, Martin Ferguson. *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The New and Unexpected Discoveries of 2017 (NF 214-219), With a Re-edition of Fr. 70-72, «EA» 51/2018, 43-79*. 8 figures. Presents the six new fragments

discovered during a brief visit to Oinoanda by a small team in autumn 2017 (2-6 October). Recorded by Hammerstaedt in a hectic and heroic race against the clock, they include two particularly important texts. One, NF 214, the passage that immediately precedes fr. 72, reveals that the survivor of the shipwreck is not, as has often been supposed, Epicurus, but a man named Niceratus, a contemporary of Diogenes mentioned in fr. 70. The other, NF 215, gives us the title and seventeen-line opening column of a letter that purports to be from a certain Archelaus to a certain Dion, who has asked to be told what Diogenes said after the funeral of his (Diogenes') son. Happy to oblige, Archelaus tells Dion that he has the good fortune to possess a copy of the record of the speech made by «some accurate shorthand-writers» (σημειογράφων ... ἀκριβῶν τινῶν). The new texts found in 2017, including NF 214 and 215, are discussed not only in the article noticed here, but also, more briefly, by me in «CERC» 49/2019, 302-308. On the shorthand-writers, see also 5.17 above.

19. Laufer, Eric. *Architektur unter den Attaliden: Pergamon und die Städte zwischen herrscherlichem Bauengagement und Lokaltradition*, «Pergamenische Forschungen» 19 (Wiesbaden 2021). The book, by a prominent member of the Oinoanda team since 2009, contains mentions of Oinoanda, referring to some current discussions concerning the foundation of the city, its fortifications, the character and shape of the Esplanade (earlier agora), and that area's north stoa.

20. Laufer, Eric. *Oinoanda*, in Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), Berlin (ed), *Ausgegraben / Excavated* 7 (Berlin 2021), 93 f. One figure. This «coffee-table» book presents drawings made during the investigation of fifty sites by DAI over the years. Laufer's brief bilingual (German and English) text introduces the brilliant drawing, made by Nikolaus Koch, illustrative of work at Oinoanda in 2010. The drawing, reproduced, with the artist's kind permission, in this article (fig. 1), is described by him as «a collage of scenes». It vividly portrays work in progress on the «Esplanade» (earlier agora), with the central focus on the construction of the steel storehouse, designed by Koch and erected that summer for the protection of finds made on the site, especially the fragments of Diogenes. Included in the picture are the «Great Wall», standing and fallen pedestals, people and donkeys carrying steel beams and panels, members of the survey team engaged in various activities, sundry items of equipment, a tent for laser-scanning work, and a representative group of Oinoanda's ubiquitous goats.

21. Lehoux, Daryn. *Cosmology and Meteorology* [Epicurean], in Mitsis (see 5.28), 81-93, at 83. Citing NF 7 [= fr. 72] II 12-13, the author says that there is mention of a «ceremonial drum» in an apparently cosmogonical context, in reference to the shape of the earth. Oh dear! He is using my *editio princeps* of a difficult fragment, published in 1971. In the following years the text and interpretation of the fragment were vastly changed and improved. It soon emerged that the passage is not cosmogonical, and that the «drum» I thought I had deciphered was a chimera. It is remarkable that a contributor to such an important book on Epicureanism seemingly knows nothing of work on Diogenes during the past fifty years – work that has turned up several new texts about meteorological phenomena. It is not only about Diogenes that Lehoux's chapter is

woefully out of date: for example he does not even mention, and probably does not know, Frederik A. Bakker's book *Epicurean Meteorology: Sources, Method, Scope and Organization* (Leiden 2016).

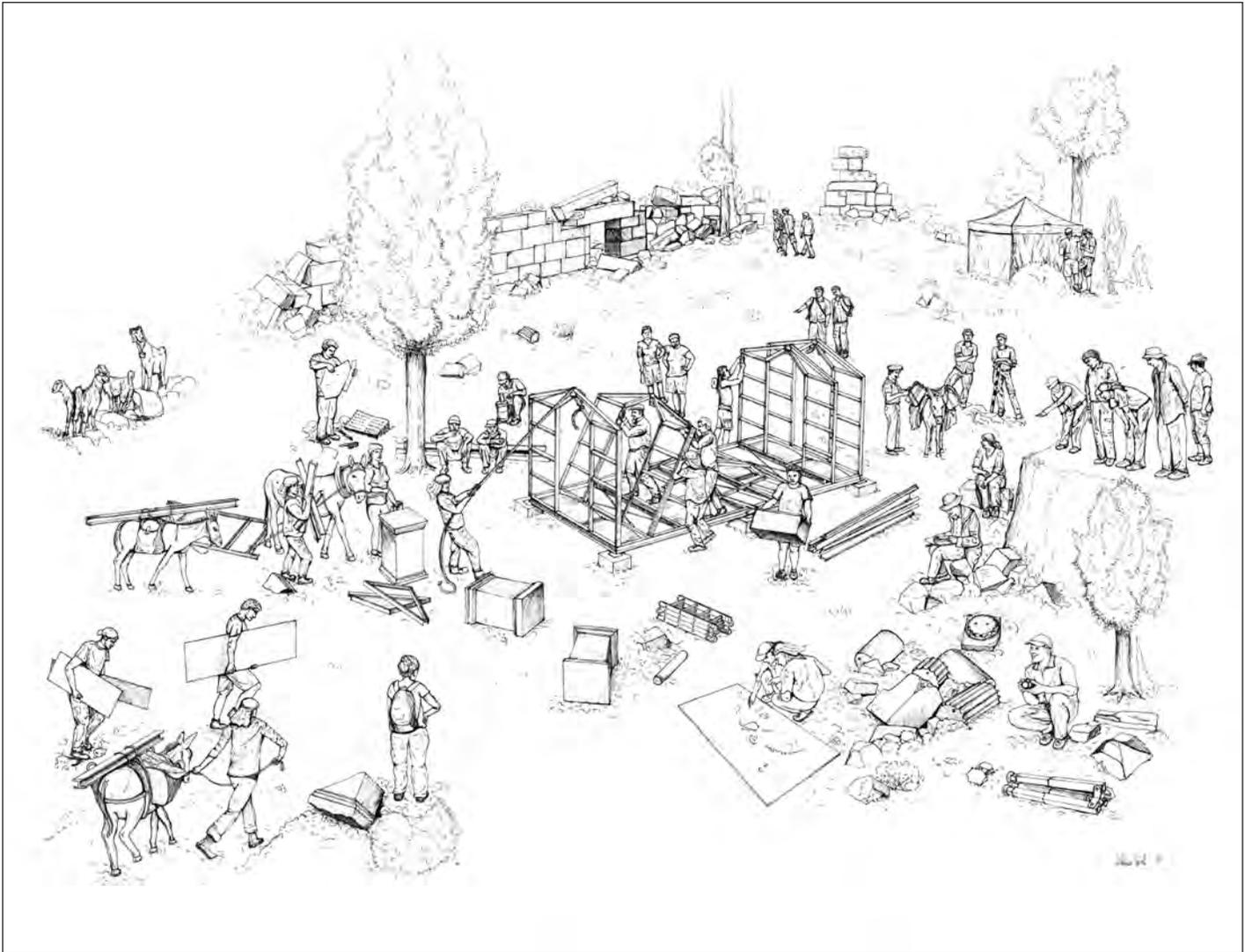


Fig. 1. Collage-portrayal, by Dipl.-Ing. Nikolaus Koch, of participants (biped and quadruped) in the Oinoanda survey of 2010 carrying out their work, including the construction of the steel storehouse on the Esplanade. © Nikolaus Koch.

22. Lehrer, Martin. *Welterkenntnis als Wandzeitung: Philologen und Archäologen auf der Suche nach den Einzelteilen einer Monumentalinschrift*, «Antike Welt» issue 5/2021, 65-71. 7 figures. The writer has firsthand knowledge of Oinoanda and has seen the survey-team in operation on the site. He summarises well the story of Oinoanda and the work to discover and record Diogenes' inscription from 1884 to the present, with a concluding section on the feasibility and desirability of an excavation.

23. Leone, Giuliana, Masi, Francesca Guadalupe, & Verde, Francesco. “Vedere” *l’invisibile: rileggendo il XXXIV libro Sulla natura di Epicuro (PHerc. 1431)*, Sesto Supplemento a «Cronache Ercolanesi» (Napoli 2020), See 5.10, 12, 24, 25, 31, 48.

24. Leone, Giuliana. *Epicuro e “le voci dell cose”*, in Leone et al. (see 5.23), 71-84, at 74, 81 (fr. 43 I 8-12).

25. Masi, Francesca Guadalupe. *L’origine dell’errore e del turbamento emotivo nei sogni*, in Leone et al. (5.23), 59-70, at 59 (author’s summary), 64 f. (fr. 9 IV 2-VI 3), 67 f. (fr. 10, 43), 68 (*Letter to Mother*).

26. Milner, Nicholas P. *Leader-gods and pro poleos Priests: Leto, Apollo, Zeus and the Imperial Cult at Oinoanda*, «Anatolian Studies» 69/2019, 133-154. 18 figures. Presents and discusses three previously unpublished inscriptions (YÇ 1241a, 1134, 1100) illustrating the public cults of Leto and Apollo at Oinoanda.

27. Milner, Nicholas P. *New Readings from Oinoanda (SEG 44, 1200), Olbasa (SEG 48, 1536) and Maionia*, «Gephyra» 18/2019, 1-9. 6 figures. The treatment of the inscription from Oinoanda, on a fragmentary statue-base, occupies the greater part of the article (1-5; figures 1-4). It is a republication, with significant corrections, of YÇ 1079, a text, honouring an athlete, first published by Alan Hall† and Milner in 1994. The revised version reveals that the athlete is called Aurelius Aisimos, and that he is praised as «multiple victor» rather than «sacred victor».

28. Mitsis, Phillip (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Epicurus and Epicureanism* (Oxford 2020). This important book of 850 pages is bulky and weighty – not a handbook one could easily take to read on a train, bus, or plane! In his «Introductory Remarks» (1-9), the editor draws attention (2 f.) to the fact that knowledge of Epicureanism «is continually being enriched by new evidence in a way that distinguishes it from the rest of its ancient competitors». After revealing that one of the two sources of new evidence is the papyri from Herculaneum, he continues: «A second distinctive source of evidence is perhaps among the strangest and most impressive productions of the ancient philosophical world». He means of course the inscription of Diogenes. The well-planned book is divided into three parts, headed «Epicurus», «Ancient Epicureanism and Its Critics», and «Early Modern and Later Reception». There are thirty-one chapters written or co-written by thirty-three scholars, including Mitsis himself. The collection will be valuable to scholars and students of Epicureanism, although the quality of the chapters varies somewhat: not all of the contributors are fully up to date, and the one chapter devoted solely to Diogenes is not completely reliable. For this chapter, see 11. For other chapters that have things to say about Diogenes, see 5.1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 21, 36, 43, 44.

29. Morel, Pierre-Marie. *Naturalismo e cosmopolitismo nell’Antichità: Epicureismo vs stoicismo*, in Gaia Bagnati et al., *Philosophica 4: Le varietà del natu-*

ralismo: Incontri Ca'Foscari-Paris 1 (Venezia 2019), 63-76, at 64 f., 71-74. In connection with Epicurean cosmopolitanism, discusses fr. 30 and 56, expressing opinions broadly in line with mine in Smith 1993, 139 f.

30. Morel, Pierre-Marie. *Sexe, amour et politique chez Lucrèce*, «Philosophe Antique» 19/2019, 57-84, at 70, URL, DOI: 10.4000/philosant.3093. On fr. 10 IV 2-6.

31. Morel, Pierre-Marie, *L'ombra di Democrito sul libro XXXIV (coll. XX-XXI) del Περί φύσεως di Epicuro*, in Leone et al. (see 5.23) 85-94, at 86 (fr. 9-10), 92 (fr. 43).

32. Nijs, Wim. “Then Truly the Life of the Gods Will Pass to Men”: *Contemplating Diogenes of Oenoanda's Golden Age*, «GRBS» 59/2019, 242-261. A well-informed and thoughtful discussion of fr. 56.

33. Nijs, Wim. *The Parasite and the Philosopher: The Transformation of Epicurean Doctrine in Lucian's De parasito, 14-15*, «Eirene» 56/2020, 241-256, at 243-245, 249. Nijs makes most use of fr. 33 on causes of pleasure, with mentions also of fr. 32 and NF 192 (243), fr. 12 (247 n. 25) and 56 (249 n. 32).

34. Nijs, Wim. *Diogenes of Oenoanda on Jews and Egyptians: Some Thoughts on Theol. V,7 – VI, 2*, «Classical World» 114/2021, 339-353. A discussion of the lines in NF 126 in which Diogenes calls the Jews and Egyptians «the most superstitious» (δεισιδαίμονέτατοι) and «most abominable» (μιαρότατοι) of all peoples. The writer's conclusion is that «it is highly unlikely that Diogenes' words on Jews and Egyptians had anything to do with xenophobic stereotypes or religious practices» (352). It would be nice to believe this, but can one?

35. Pace, Nicola, review of J. Hammerstaedt, P.-M. Morel, & R. Güremen (eds), *Diogenes of Oinoanda: Epicureanism and Philosophical Debates / Diogène d'Oenoanda: Épicurisme et controverses* (Leuven 2017), in «Athenaeum» 108/2020, 277-294.

36. Piergiacomi, Enrico. *Language* [Epicurean theory of], in Mitsis (see 5.28, 308-332, at 326 f. (fr. 12, 23, NF 192).

37. Seggiaro, Claudia Marisa. *Pensar la phýsis en Aristóteles: la crítica de Diógenes de Enoanda a la concepción de la física del Estagirita*, «Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía» 38/2021, 1-22. On Diogenes' criticism of Aristotle in fr. 5.

38. Smith, Martin Ferguson. *Diogenes of Oinoanda: News and Notes XIII (2018)*, «CErc» 49/2019, 301-313. A report of research and news concerning Diogenes and Oinoanda in 2018.

39. Smith, Martin Ferguson. *A New Look at Diogenes of Oinoanda, Fr. 157 Smith*, «Hyperboreus» 25/2019, 351-362. 2 figures. A new text and discussion of a fragment of Diogenes' *Old Age*, discovered in 1969.

40. Smith, Martin Ferguson. *Fifty Years of New Epicurean Discoveries at Oinoanda*, «Cerc» 50/2020, 241-258. A contribution to the fiftieth number of «Cronache Ercolanesi», summarising the story of the discovery and rediscovery of fragments of Diogenes' inscription, with particular focus on work in the fifty years 1968-2017. The highlights and chief publications of each year are recorded. The writer's inauguration of new investigations at Oinoanda in 1968 occurred just one year before Marcello Gigante announced the establishment of Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, and the two projects have much in common: as well as being of very similar age, both are concerned principally with Epicurean texts, often fragmentary; and although the Oinoanda texts are preserved on stone, they are presented in imitation of papyrus rolls, with the Greek inscribed in columns and with similar methods of punctuation. For many years there has been much interaction and collaboration between those involved with Herculaneum and Oinoanda, to their mutual benefit.

41. Smith, Martin Ferguson. *Tribute to Diskin Clay and His Work on Diogenes of Oinoanda*, in Peter Burian, Jenny Strauss Clay, & Gregson Davis (eds), *Euphrosyne: Studies in Ancient Philosophy, History, and Literature in Memory of Diskin Clay* (Berlin 2020), 109-111. Reprinted from «Cerc» 45/2015, 191-193.

42. Smith, Martin Ferguson. *Covid-19 and Greek Philosophy*, «The Philosophers' Magazine» 90/2020, 53-56, at 54. One figure.

43. Spinelli, Emidio & Verde, Francesco. *Theology* [Epicurean], in Mitsis (see 5.28), 94-117, at 107 (NF 155), 112 (fr. 19).

44. Tsouna, Voula. *Hedonism* [Epicurean], in Mitsis (see 5.28), 141-188, at 144, 150 f. (fr. 34), 153, 154 (fr. 49), 157 (fr. 34), 166 f. (fr. 44, 49, 1, 34, 153), 169-171 (fr. 33, including NF 128).

45. Vassallo, Christian. *The Presocratics at Herculaneum: A Study of Early Greek Philosophy in the Epicurean Tradition, With an Appendix on Diogenes of Oinoanda's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (Berlin 2021). A substantial volume (xxi + 763 pages), well printed and produced, with about fifty pages of bibliographical references, followed by about sixty pages of indices. After «Prolegomena» (1-84), mainly on «Presocratics and Epicureanism: a historico-philosophical inquiry based on the contribution of the Herculaneum papyri», the bulk of the book is occupied by the «Corpus Praesocraticorum Herculanense» (85-592), in which individual Presocratics appear in alphabetical order, from Acusilaus Argivus to Zeno Eleates. The texts come first, then the commentary in a separate section. I leave it to Herculaneum scholars to assess the presentation and treatment of the texts preserved in the papyri and will confine myself to Diogenes, whose welcome inclusion in the «Appendix» (593-645) is entirely appropriate, given that the texts in his inscription are presented in obvious imitation of writings on papyri. Moreover, his work is a rich source of polemical treatment of Presocratic theorists – surprisingly rich, one might think, in view of the space-limitations that its epigraphical form might have been expected to impose. Vassallo usefully collects the relevant passages, reproducing the Greek

texts with my, or Jürgen Hammerstaedt's and my, translations, and, where relevant, prints the texts alongside parallel passages: for example, fr. 6 is printed beside corresponding passages of Philodemus, Cicero, and Lucretius (601). Other texts of Diogenes quoted in Greek, with translation and commentary, are (in order of appearance) fr. 66, fr. 29 III + NF 207, NF 142, fr. 100 (as reconstructed by me in «AS» 50/2000, 133-138), fr. 42, 54, 24, 7, 9 VI-10, 16. Vassallo is not completely sure-footed when he describes the discovery of the inscription and its proportions (597 f.). It is not correct that «the portico where the inscription was erected was discovered in 1884». Diogenes' stoa was destroyed or demolished in antiquity, and the discovery was of five pieces of the inscribed wall that had been re-used in other structures. The mention of «a series of excavations directed by Smith along with J. Hammerstaedt» is also inaccurate. I was the scientific director of an excavation carried out in collaboration with Fethiye Museum in 1997, but this is the only scientific excavation ever carried out at Oinoanda by me or anybody else. Collaboration between Hammerstaedt and me began in 2007 and has been very fruitful, but our work was always part of an architectural and epigraphical survey, not an excavation, and the survey was directed from 2007 until his death in 2016 by Martin Bachmann. Vassallo's most troubling mistake is to give the «considerable height» of the inscription as ca. 2,5 m, alleging (alarmingly!) that this is my calculation. My actual calculation is that the height of the seven inscribed courses was ca. 3,25 m.²¹ Another misunderstanding by the author is revealed in his statement that Diogenes' treatise on old age is in «three sections» and «separated from the previous courses by a brief engraved course». The reality is that the treatise is carved in eighteen line columns on the three topmost courses of the inscription, and that below the column-ends on the third topmost course there is a significant empty space, and, that below that, «but not in a separate course», is a roughly scored band, perhaps created originally to receive some sort of moulding. Despite these criticisms, the appendix on Diogenes is a praiseworthy section of the book.

46. Verde, Francesco. *Fenomeni fisici e spiegazioni multiple in Lucrezio e nell'Aetna pseudovirgiliano*, «GCFI» settima serie 14/2018, 523-544, at 530 f., 543. On fr. 13 III.

47. Verde, Francesco. *Antiochus and the Epicureans on the Doctrinal Agreement between Plato and Aristotle*, «Bruniana & Campanelliana» 25/2019, 363-384, at 372-384. On fr. 5.

48. Verde, Francesco. *Rileggendo il XXXIV libro Sulla natura di Epicuro: Struttura generale e questioni storico-filosofiche*, in Leone et al. (see 5.23), 7-24 at 19 (fr. 43 I 8-10), 21 (fr. 10 I 4-8), 22 n. 91 (fr. 43 II 3-5).

49. Verde, Francesco. *L'epistemologia di Epicuro e il Teeteto di Platone*, «Historia Philosophica» 18/2020, 13-44, at 26 (fr. 5).

50. Verde, Francesco. *The Partition of the Soul: Epicurus, Demetrius Lacon, and Diogenes of Oinoanda*, in Brad Inwood & James Warren (eds), *Body and Soul in Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge 2020), 89-112, at 89, 105-112 (fr. 37-38).

²¹ SMITH 1993, 92.

51. Verde, Francesco. *Epicurean Meteorology, Lucretius, and the Aetna*, in Philip R. Hardie, Valentina Prosperi, & Diego Zucca (eds), *Lucretius Poet and Philosopher: Background and Fortunes of De Rerum Natura* (Berlin-Boston 2020), 83-101, at 91 f. (fr. 13).

52. Verde, Francesco. *Il saggio epicureo a il controllo delle passioni*, in Christelle Veillard, Olivier Renaut, & Dimitri El Murr (eds), *Les philosophes face au vice de Socrate à Augustin* (Leiden-Boston 2020), 205-218, at 221 n. 66 (fr. 71 II 9-13).

53. Warren, James. *Epicureans on Hidden Beliefs*, in Fiona Leigh (ed.), *Self-knowledge on Ancient Philosophy: The Eighth Keeling Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy* (Oxford 2020), 171-186, at 176-178, 182 f. On fr. 35 and 3.

Abbreviations: Fr. = Fragment(s) of the inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda. Unless otherwise indicated, the numbering is that of SMITH 1993 = M.F. SMITH, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Epicurean Inscription*, La Scuola di Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi fondata da M. GIGANTE (Napoli 1978-), I Suppl. (Napoli 1993); NF = New Fragment(s) of Diogenes of Oinoanda, discovered since 1969; YF = Yazı Felsefi (Philosophical Inscription), the numbers in the YF series being those of the inventory of Diogenes fragments; HAMMERSTAEDT-SMITH 2018 = J. HAMMERSTAEDT-M.F. SMITH, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The New and Unexpected Discoveries of 2017 (NF 214-219), With a Re-edition of Fr. 70-72*, «EA» 51/2018, 43-79; SMITH 2019 = M.F. SMITH, *Diogenes of Oinoanda: News and Notes XIII (2018)*, «CERC» 49/2019, 301-313; *Theol.* = *Theological Physics-Sequence* (in the inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda).

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