

JÜRGEN HAMMERSTAEDT – MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH

DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2010 (NF 182–190)

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## DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2010 (NF 182–190)

*For Alain de Botton, lover of wisdom and friend of Oinoanda*

As in each of the first three seasons of the new epigraphical and archaeological project at Oinoanda in northern Lycia, in 2007, 2008, and 2009,<sup>1</sup> so also in the fourth season new fragments of the Greek inscription of the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes were discovered. In this article we present them and describe those parts of the latest work that are closely connected with the study and preservation of Diogenes' work.<sup>2</sup>

The 2010 survey ran from 16 July to 14 August. It was directed again by Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), İstanbul. We thank him for once more inviting us to work with him at Oinoanda and publish the new philosophical texts. We gratefully acknowledge also the crucial role which he played in the planning, preparation, and construction of the new storehouse for Diogenes' inscription. We are very grateful also to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey for again granting permission for the work at Oinoanda. We thank İbrahim Malkoç, Director of Fethiye Museum, who in the summer of 2009 and throughout the winter and spring of 2010 gave the proposal for the storehouse his wholehearted encouragement and support, and the Antiquities Authority in Ankara and the authorities of the Monument Preservation Office in Muğla who examined and approved the applications for permission to erect the building. We are grateful to Hakkı Emirhan Süel, of Fethiye Museum, who accompanied us at Oinoanda as the representative of the Turkish Government. He gave us valuable advice and shared with us his detailed knowledge of numerous archaeological sites of Lycia.

The following persons were engaged in the work of the 2010 survey: Veli Köse (Hacettepe University, Ankara) and Eric Laufer (DAI İstanbul) contributed to the archaeological exploration of the site; Nicholas Milner (British Institute at Ankara) and Gregor Staab (Cologne University) were chiefly responsible for work on non-philosophical inscriptions; Christina Klein, Martin Proksch, and Anke Neubert (all from Kiel University, sent by our collaborator Bernhard Stümpel) extended the geophysical prospection to significant areas east of the Esplanade and to the sanctuary of Apollo; Viktor Marzinkowski, and Hannes Stieler (both from the University of Applied Sciences at Karlsruhe, sent by our collaborator Tilman Müller) continued the 3D-scanning of the Diogenes fragments under the supervision of Konrad Berner; Berner also recorded the GPS positions of the fragments and other important objects on the site and stitched together the scans by virtual means after the end of the survey; Ertan and Vildan İltar (SEMA/Ankara) completed the terrestrial laser scanning by recording a well-preserved 60-metre stretch of the Hellenistic wall at the south end of the ridge on which Oinoanda is built; Ulrike Herrmann (Vienna University) and Annika Zeitler (Fachhochschule Regensburg), Gülen Karataş, Tuğba Ünlü and Cigdem Yilmazer (all from Mimar Sinan University, İstanbul) and Nikolaus Koch (DAI İstanbul) extended the detailed, hand-drawn structural record to the area, between the late defensive wall (the "Great Wall") and the later Agora, that contains the older bath complex dating from the time

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<sup>1</sup> Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007); Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) and (2009).

<sup>2</sup> An account of other work, such as the geophysical prospections and the drawing of detailed maps of important areas of the site of Oinoanda, will be published separately.

of Vespasian and the numerous rock-hewn and stone-built structures on “Martin’s Hill” south of the baths, basing their work on the point cloud model that had been produced by means of terrestrial scanning in 2009; Nikolaus Koch also supervised the construction of the storehouse on the Esplanade, which he had previously planned and designed in collaboration with Martin Bachmann; Adnan Elidenk, working in difficult conditions on the site, welded together the numerous steel components of the storehouse which he had previously produced in his forge at Bergama; Anke Raßelnberg and In-Yong Song (both from Cologne University) gave valuable assistance with many of the activities listed above, and especially with the various kinds of documentation produced by technical and manual means – work which much increased in 2010 because of the need to complete the records of items to be deposited in the new storehouse; Sally Lovecy again gave MFS welcome assistance with his epigraphical work. We conclude this record with mention of the invaluable contribution made to the success of the season by Sedat Atçı, watchman of Oinoanda, and our Turkish workmen, who assisted with the investigation of the site and the construction of the storehouse and accomplished the formidable task of transporting the construction materials up the rough and steep path from İncealiler, the village at the foot of the hill, to the site. Twelve tons of materials were carried by the men and their pack animals, one of whom, a vigorous donkey nameless in 2009 but now called Feridon, earns a special mention.

Our work at Oinoanda in 2010 would not have been possible without the generous funding of the DAI, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Köln Alumni/Freunde und Förderer der Universität zu Köln, and the Stiftung Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln, as well as a contribution from the Franz-und-Eva-Rutzen-Stiftung for the completion of the Geographical Information System (GIS) by Thomas Götzelt (DAI-Zentrale, Berlin). We are very grateful to all of them.

In 2010 it was necessary to obtain funds not only for the investigation of the site, but also to meet the substantial cost of the storehouse for the Diogenes fragments on the so-called Esplanade (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> During the earlier seasons we had noticed a deterioration in the condition of many Diogenes fragments caused by exposure to the elements and vandalism. Moreover, many of the smaller fragments were inaccessible to further research, having been buried for their safety in the rubble of a wall. This Burial Place had been used by the British survey teams from 1975 to 1981 and again in 1997, and by the German-led teams in 2007–2009. It was agreed that there was an urgent need to give all the fragments proper protection.<sup>4</sup> In spring 2010, when permission for the erection of a storehouse had been granted, we launched an international appeal for funds. The appeal quickly received an extremely generous response. By far the largest contribution was made by The Gilbert de Botton Memorial Foundation, a cultural fund established under the will of Gilbert de Botton (1935–2000). One of those who administer the fund is his son, the writer and philosopher Alain de Botton. Immense gratitude is owed to him for making possible an extraordinary gift. Other principal donors were: MFS, Gustav Kranck, Steelteam; Kulturerhaltprogramm des Auswärtigen Amtes der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; Klaus Fischer/Fischer Befestigungssysteme; John Fraser (Versoix); Il Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung İstanbul; The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust; and Societat Catalana d’Estudis Clàssics. Gratitude is due to all these institutions and individuals, as well as to numerous friends of JH, academic and non-academic, who made gifts to Oinoanda on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday.

<sup>3</sup> A short description of the storehouse and its construction is given in Smith (2011).

<sup>4</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 3 n. 9.



Fig. 1. The storehouse, view from SW

The work of erecting the storehouse occupied the whole period of the 2010 season. Despite several delays caused by violent thunderstorms, the building was completed just in time for the Diogenes fragments that had been collected together for storage to be securely locked away inside the strong steel structure before we departed (fig. 2).

The total number of Diogenes fragments now in the safety of the storehouse is 93. Of these, 36 were collected from scattered locations on the site.<sup>5</sup> The situation of 120 other stones in scattered locations was carefully checked and documented under the direction of Emirhan Süel, in the hope that it will be possible to move them too in the future. The majority of Diogenes fragments brought into the storehouse came from the Burial Place, south of the South Stoa of the Esplanade, used as a depository for finds since the early years of the British survey.<sup>6</sup> With the help of Sedat Atçı, working under the supervision of Emirhan Süel, we removed from the Burial Place all the Diogenes fragments we could find there, a total of 57.<sup>7</sup> Seven fragments of non-philosophical

<sup>5</sup> YF (= Yazı Felsefi) 001 (fr. 130); YF 020 (fr. 137); YF 021 (fr. 123); YF 024 (fr. 51); YF 025 (fr. 120); YF 026 (fr. 18); YF 027 (fr. 119 III); YF 028 (fr. 3 I); YF 030 (fr. 119 I–II); YF 067 (fr. 152 II 7–11); YF 095 (fr. 159); YF 096 (fr. 47 I–II); YF 101 (fr. 14); YF 103 (fr. 4); YF 114 (fr. 140); YF 120 (fr. 68); YF 121 (fr. 50); YF 133 (fr. 38); YF 136 (fr. 102); YF 137 (fr. 45); YF 142 (fr. 170); YF 147 (fr. 171); YF 155 (fr. 82); YF 161 (fr. 162); YF 178 (fr. 96); YF 196 (NF 140); YF 226 (NF 171); YF 233 (NF 179); YF 234A+B (NF 178); YF 241 (NF 177); YF 244 (NF 185); YF 246 (NF 189); YF 248 (NF 187); YF 249 (NF 188); YF 250 (NF 183); YF 251 (fr. 166).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Smith (1996) 20.

<sup>7</sup> YF 017 (fr. 78); YF 019B+C (fr. 6); YF 098 (fr. 103); YF 106 (fr. 36); YF 107 (fr. 86); YF 108 (fr. 107); YF 109 (fr. 83); YF 110 (fr. 81); YF 111 (fr. 60); YF 112 (Fr. 27); YF 113 (fr. 25); YF 116A (fr. 133, 9–10); YF 117 (fr. 90); YF 118 (fr. 97); YF 119 (fr. 41); YF 131 (fr. 88); YF 138 (fr. 1); YF 145 (fr. 8); YF 150 (fr. 135); YF 152 (fr. 31); YF



Fig. 2. Inscription fragments in the storehouse

inscriptions, found and inventorised during the British investigations, were also retrieved from the Burial Place and taken to the storehouse.<sup>8</sup> Another non-philosophical inscription, which a local boy claimed to have found in 2010 near the sanctuary of Apollo,<sup>9</sup> has now found a new sanctuary in the storehouse. Fourteen Diogenes fragments known to have been hidden in the Burial Place were not located. Thirteen of them were first discovered in 1975,<sup>10</sup> one in 1997.<sup>11</sup> Our failure to rediscover them does not mean that they are lost for ever, but illustrates the imperfection of the previous storage method, which was the best that could be devised at the time. We hope to be permitted to resume the search for them in 2011. The new search will be facilitated by the compilation of a booklet containing the measurements, descriptions, and photographs of the missing pieces.

153 (fr. 87); YF 170 (fr. 57); YF 176 (fr. 93); YF 177 (fr. 94); YF 179 (fr. 95); YF 183 (fr. 182); YF 197 (NF 139); YF 198 (NF 138); YF 201 (NF 159); YF 203 (NF 163); YF 204 (NF 152); YF 205 (NF 151); YF 207 (NF 144); YF 208 (NF 149); YF 209 (NF 164); YF 210 (NF 145); YF 211 (NF 165); YF 212 (NF 154); YF 213 (NF 156); YF 214 (NF 150); YF 218 (NF 147); YF 219 (NF 158); YF 220 (NF 148); YF 222 (NF 153); YF 223 (fr. 110); YF 224 (NF 162); YF 225 (NF 160); YF 228 (NF 175); YF 230 (NF 169); YF 231 (NF 176); YF 232 (NF 173); YF 234C (NF 178); YF 235 (NF 172); YF 237 (NF 168); YF 238 (NF 170); YF 239 (NF 174).

<sup>8</sup> YÇ (= Yazı Çeşitli) 1021, 1055B, 1055E, 1075, 1150, 1204, 1208.

<sup>9</sup> YÇ 1245.

<sup>10</sup> YF 115 (fr. 133, 1–3); YF 116B (fr. 133, 9–10); YF 128 (fr. 101); YF 132 (fr. 84); YF 139 (fr. 89); YF 140 (fr. 85); YF 141 (fr. 124); YF 143 (fr. 80); YF 144 (fr. 91); YF 148 (fr. 181); YF 149 (fr. 92); YF 158 (fr. 134); YF 160 (fr. 46).

<sup>11</sup> YF 184 (NF 135).

Two similar booklets, compiled by JH, proved of great value during our search for missing Diogenes fragments in 2010. One of them presented all the relevant information about pieces which had been discovered or rediscovered during the British work at Oinoanda between 1968 and 1981,<sup>12</sup> but not relocated during the German survey. It contained descriptions, measurements, drawings, and photographs of 17 missing fragments and three small pieces missing from a block that is not missing; it also contained plans on which the last recorded position of each missing fragment was marked. Several copies of the booklet were printed and circulated among members of the team, and it helped us to find seven of the missing fragments.<sup>13</sup> The other booklet documented 30 fragments or sub-fragments (pieces broken off main fragments) that had not been seen since the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Of these no photographs exist, but photographs of squeezes, where these exist, and drawings were included in the booklet, as was any information about the find-places. Unfortunately such information is all too often unhelpfully vague, although Cousin (1892) does sometimes give useful clues, telling us (for example) that a fragment is near to another fragment or to others. Most, if not all, of the missing pieces are on the west side of the so-called Great Wall, the section of the late defensive wall that bounds the west side of the Esplanade. This area is strewn with hundreds of blocks, often piled on top of one another, and masses of rubble. Most of the mess was created by the French and Austrian investigators between 1884 and 1895, but illegal excavations in more recent years have made the situation worse. It must be assumed that most of the non-rediscovered fragments found by the French and Austrians are buried, and a thorough cleaning of the area will be needed in order to recover them. However, with the help of the booklet, one small piece (fr. 166), not seen since its discovery in 1895, was relocated in 2010.<sup>15</sup> The total number of fragments and sub-fragments still missing is now 37.<sup>16</sup>

When we were preparing for publication the new Diogenes finds made in 2009, we were able for the first time to use a 3D scan to help us combine a new fragment (NF 174/YF 239) with a fragment found not far away in 1972 (fr. 127/YF 081).<sup>17</sup> The scan of NF 174 reinforced our view that the two are actually parts of the same block. Since we had no scan of fr. 127, just photographs

<sup>12</sup> The booklet also contained details of fr. 24 (YF 182), one of three Diogenes blocks found by the British in the village of Kınık in 1983.

<sup>13</sup> Fr. 96 (YF 178); fr. 115 (YF 173); fr. 131 (YF 172); fr. 140 (YF 114); fr. 161 (YF 162); fr. 163 (YF 100); fr. 164 (YF 129). The following pieces which were recorded in this booklet are still missing: fr. 24 (YF 182); fr. 33.V–VI (YF 090); fr. 34.VII 1–9 (YF 038B); fr. 39.II 10–14 (YF 037B); fr. 79 (YF 039); fr. 100 (YF 051); fr. 104 (YF 146); fr. 121B/C/D (YF 080B/C/D); fr. 132 (YF 094); fr. 167 (YF 050); fr. 106 (YF 007).

<sup>14</sup> Eleven of them are missing since the French investigations in 1884–1889: fr. 11 = HK (47); fr. 24 = HK (79); fr. 67 = HK (44); fr. 73 = HK (51); fr. 76 = HK (87); fr. 77 = HK (88); fr. 113 = HK (27); fr. 144 = HK (20); fr. 165 = HK (11); fr. 180 = HK (12); fr. 42.III = HK (76). The other 19 fragments and sub-fragments, whose number was reduced to 18 in 2010, were last seen during the Austrian investigations in 1895: fr. 7 (HK 43), fr. 10.I–III (HK 52), fr. 17 (HK 54), fr. 34.I 1–2 (HK 63.I 1–2), fr. 37D/E/F (HK 65D/E/F), fr. 39.IV 1–4 (HK 74); fr. 39.V, maxim-line (HK 75 = YF 033B), fr. 40 (HK 72), fr. 42.III (HK 77), fr. 53 (HK 78), fr. 55 (HK 84), fr. 58 (HK 86), fr. 64 (HK 85), fr. 109A (HK 35), fr. 109B (HK 34), fr. 117 (HK 02), fr. 146B (HK 19), fr. 149 (HK 08, left upper corner).

<sup>15</sup> It now has the inventory number YF 251.

<sup>16</sup> 11 missing from the French, 15 from the Austrian, and 10 from the British investigations. Last year we calculated 43 stones (10 French, 16 Austrian, and 17 British fragments); cf. Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 2f. But the number of missing fragments from the French surveys is 11 instead of 10 (see above n. 14). In our two booklets we also included some small pieces which had broken off five located blocks: fr. 121 (YF 080 B/C/D), three pieces last seen in 1972 which until now have not been counted separately; fr. 34.I 1–2; fr. 37D/E/F; fr. 39.V (only the maxim-line); a corner of fr. 149 (all these pieces missing since the Austrian investigations in 1895).

<sup>17</sup> Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 25–29.

and squeezes, we declared ourselves only 99% sure about the join.<sup>18</sup> However, in 2010, when we were able to bring NF 174 to fr. 127, we put the two stones together and found that the fit was perfect (fig. 3).<sup>19</sup>



Fig. 3. Fr. 127 (below) and NF 174 fitted together

In 2010 the Karlsruhe scanning team was assisted by Anke Raßelberg, who recorded the uninscribed sides of many stones with a hand-scanner. This enabled many more pieces to be scanned than in 2009:<sup>20</sup> of the already known fragments, 42 were scanned on all sides,<sup>21</sup> 28 on the accessible surface;<sup>22</sup> and the scanning of one block, previously scanned incompletely, was completed;<sup>23</sup> of the ten fragments discovered or rediscovered in 2010, six were scanned on all sides,<sup>24</sup> four on parts of their surface.<sup>25</sup>

In 2010 our fieldwork was much assisted by the Global Positioning System (GPS). Since the location of the Diogenes stones and many other important objects and features at Oinoanda is now recorded by GPS,<sup>26</sup> it is much easier than before to locate them with the help of a small handheld Garmin navigator.

During the German survey not only GPS plotting but also terrestrial laser scanning and geophysical prospection have been employed to record areas of the site where their use was con-

<sup>18</sup> Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 26.

<sup>19</sup> The complete block, which is now broken into two pieces, fr. 127 (YF 081) and NF 174 (YF 239), has the following measurements: height 40.5 cm., width 85.5 cm., depth at least 34 cm.

<sup>20</sup> The fragments scanned in 2009 are listed in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 2 n. 4–6.

<sup>21</sup> YF 001; 019B; 023; 024; 025; 026; 027; 030; 067; 095; 096; 103; 107; 108; 109; 110; 111; 112; 113; 114; 116A; 117; 118; 119; 120; 121; 130; 131; 133; 153; 161; 170; 176; 177; 178; 179; 183; 197; 224; 226; 233; 234C.

<sup>22</sup> YF 002; 003; 004; 005; 006; 008; 011; 012; 014; 029; 031; 036; 038A; 040; 043; 091; 093; 122; 124; 125; 126; 135; 151; 193; 206; 234A; 234B; 242.

<sup>23</sup> YF 020A/B (fr. 137), which was probably part of the title of Diogenes' treatise on *Old Age*.

<sup>24</sup> YF 244; 246; 248; 249; 250; 251.

<sup>25</sup> YF 243; 245; 247; 252.

<sup>26</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 2.



sidered to be particularly desirable. Important archaeological plans of Oinoanda were produced by the surveyors who participated in the British work in the twentieth century, and the whole territory is of course covered in the Turkish cadastral maps. Thomas Götzelt has collected and combined all these different data into a Geographical Information System (GIS) which will serve as a common tool for all disciplines involved in research at Oinoanda.

#### NEW FRAGMENTS (NF) 182–190

Since the site was carefully explored by our teams in previous seasons, it is not surprising that this year the number of new Diogenes fragments found was smaller than in 2008 and 2009. The 2010 total was nine,<sup>27</sup> compared with 24 in 2008 and 15 in 2009. But four of the nine are almost complete blocks, and three of them bear substantial portions of new text.

Three small fragments, YF 248 (NF 187), YF 249 (NF 188) and YF 250 (NF 183), came to light during the search for known Diogenes fragments in and near the Burial Place. Two blocks, YF 243 (NF 190) and YF 245 (NF 184), form part of the southwest corner of a large quadrangular building south of the South Stoa of the Esplanade, YF 245 being directly beneath YF 243. Two small fragments were found near or inside the South Stoa: YF 244 (NF 185) north of the north side of the stoa, about 2.5 m west of YF 009 (fr. 28) and 1 m north of YF 097 (fr. 21); and YF 246 (NF 189) inside the stoa, about 5 m. southwest of YF 009. So seven of the new fragments were discovered on the south side of the Esplanade or south of its south side. This is an area in which many fragments have been found before. YF 251 (fr. 166), the fragment first found in 1895 and rediscovered in 2010, also came to light in an area that has yielded many Diogenes finds in the past: it was found, resting against YF 059 (fr. 142 I–II 14–18), a few metres west of the Great Wall, near a path which crosses the area towards the southern end of the wall. But the two most substantial and exciting Diogenes finds of 2010 were made in parts of the site where no fragments have been found before. One of the new blocks, YF 252 (NF 182), formed part of the upper layer of a short low wall, running west to east, which was probably part of a structure attached to the west analemma of the theatre. Although Diogenes blocks have previously come to light in the theatre itself and near its east analemma, no other piece has been found in the area west of the theatre. The other important new block, YF 247 (NF 186), was found in the middle of the Byzantine fort on the summit of a hill that rises steeply south of the later Agora. No other Diogenes fragment has ever been found here.

This is the fourth batch of new fragments of Diogenes inscription that we have presented in *Epigraphica Anatolica* in as many years, and there is no need to explain again the considerations that determine the order in which we place the fragments in each batch.<sup>28</sup> But it may be useful to remind readers that three sizes of lettering are to be distinguished, and that we call these “small”, “medium”, and “large”. “Small” letters have an average height of c. 1.8–1.9 cm., “medium” an average of c. 2.3–2.4 cm., “large” an average of c. 2.9–3.0 cm.

<sup>27</sup> A stone that may possibly be a piece of Diogenes’ inscription was noticed by Martin Bachmann near the top of “Martin’s Hill” on 3 August 2010. Height c. 41.5 cm. (surface 32.5 cm.), width 46 cm. (surface 43 cm.), depth at least 28.5 cm. Letters c. 2.5 cm. If indeed it is part of Diogenes’ inscription, it probably belonged to the *Ten-Line-Column Writings*, but it is so severely weathered and worn that only one or two letters can be read with certainty, and we do not feel that we can allocate it a YF-number. Squeezes were made by JH and MFS.

<sup>28</sup> Our method of arranging the fragments is explained in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 4 and (2009) 4–5.

## PHYSICS

NF 182 = YF 252, following NF 39 = YF 093 = fr. 20

*Description*

A complete block, carrying the last letters of a fourteen-line column on the left, a complete second column, and the left half of a third column on the right. For the most part the state of preservation is excellent, but the letters in the first two lines of the first column have been chipped off, and the first line of the second column has been considerably damaged. Height 48.5 cm., width 56.5 cm., depth 34 cm. Upper margin 3.5 cm. high, lower margin 3.5 cm. on the right, 4 cm. on the left. Letters “small”.

*Position in the inscription*

The physical features of the block are those of Diogenes’ *Physics*, which occupied the second lowest course of the inscription, above the *Ethics*. NF 182 immediately followed NF 39 = fr. 20, a three-column block found in 1974, the letters of NF 182 I being those missing from NF 39 III. During the excavation in 1997 NF 126 and 127, the two large blocks that preceded fr. 20, came to light, and in 2009 NF 167, which preceded NF 126, was found. The discovery of NF 182 extends what was already easily the longest continuous passage of the inscription so far known to sixteen complete or half-complete columns. The preserved width of the stones that carry these columns totals 4.85 metres. (We say “the preserved width”, because NF 127 is broken on the right, and the right half of its fourth and last column is missing.) Another significant point about the recovery of NF 182 is that it fills part of the gap between fr. 20 and fr. 21, in which Diogenes continues his argument, directed against the Stoics, that the world is so imperfect that it cannot have been created by the gods either for themselves or for human beings. On the likely size of the remaining gap before fr. 21, see below on NF 182 III 14.

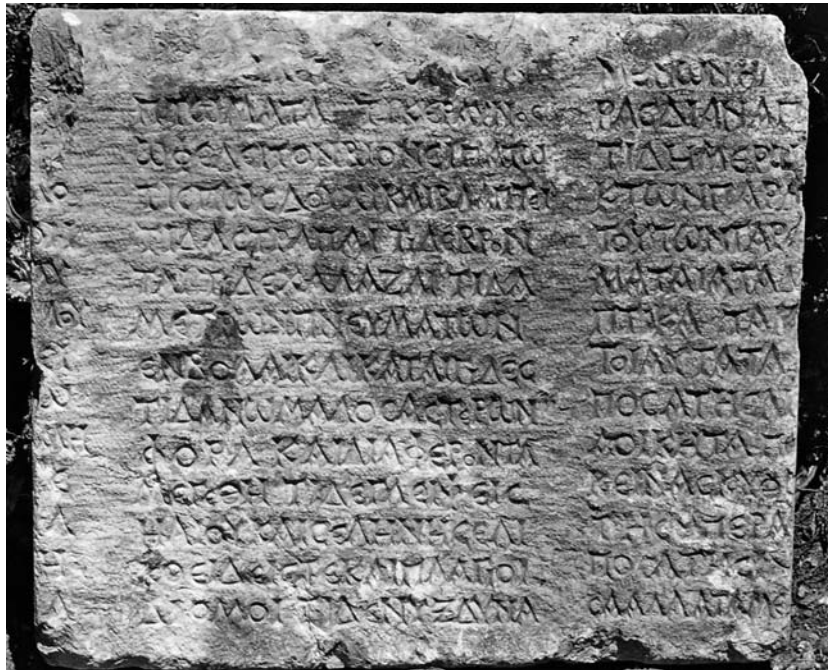


Fig. 4. NF 182 = YF 252

## Text

## Fr. 20 II

- 11 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτῆς χά-  
ριν ἢ θεία φύσις δεδη-  
μιουργηκέναι δόξει  
τὰ πράγματα, ταῦτα

## Fr. 20 III + NF 182 I

- πάντα τὰ ἄτοπα· ὦ εἰ [δὲ]  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὦ ἄλ[λα]  
πάλιν ἀτοπώτερα. ὦ τ[ῆ]-  
5 μωμεν δ' εἰς δύο τὸν // λό-  
γον ὦ (εἷς τε τὸν κόσμ[ο]ν  
καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους // αὐ-  
τούς) ὦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κόσ[μ]ου  
πρώτον εἴπωμεν, ὦ // εἰ  
10 πάντ' ἔχει τοῖς ἀνθρ[ώ]-  
ποις κατάλληλα κα[ὶ] // μη-  
δὲν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλεῖ(ν) ἔ-  
χομεν ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ [κ]//α-  
τεσκευασμένοις. ὦ ῥ[ῆ]-  
θήτω δὲ πρότερον // [τ]ὰ

## NF 182 II

- [ἐν] το[ῖ]ς μετε[ώ]ροις συγ-  
πτώματα· ὦ τί κεραυνὸς  
ὠφελεῖ τὸν βίον, εἰπάτω  
5 τις (πῶς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ βλάπτει),  
τί δ' ἀστραπαί, ὦ τί δὲ βρον-  
ταί, ὦ τί δὲ χάλαζαι, τί δ' ἀ-  
μέτρων πνευμάτων  
ἐμβολαὶ καὶ καταγίδες,  
10 τί δ' ἀνώμαλος ἀστέρων  
φορὰ ὦ καὶ διαφέροντα  
μεγέθη, ὦ τί δ' ἐγλείψει  
ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης (καὶ) ἐλι-  
κοειδεῖς τε καὶ πλάγιοι  
δρόμοι, ὦ τί δὲ νύξ, δυνα-

## NF 182 III

- μένων ἡμῶ[ν] εἰς δι' ἡμέ-  
ρας διαναπ[αύεσθαι],  
τί δ' ἡμερῶ[ν] μήκη καὶ νυ]-  
κτῶν παρα[λλάττοντα];  
5 τούτων γάρ ἐ[στι] τὰ μὲν]

μάταια τὰ δ[ὲ καὶ βλα]-  
 πτικά. ὦ τὰ μ[ὲν μετέωρα]  
 τοιαῦτα, τὰ [δ' ἐπὶ γῆς ποῖα;]  
 πόσα τῆς Λι[βύης ἐστὶν]  
 10 ἀοίκητα, ὦ πό[σα τῆς ἐπέ]-  
 κεινα Κυθῶ[ν γῆς, πόσα]  
 τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἀ[ίαν χώρας,]  
 πόσα τῆς Ἰν[δικῆς; πό]-  
 σα ἄλλα τὰ με[- - - -]

*Translation*

**(Fr. 20 II 11)** *If therefore the divine nature shall be deemed to have created things for its own sake, (fr. 20 III + NF 182 I) (there result) all these absurdities; and if for the sake of humans, there are yet other more absurd consequences. Let us divide the discussion into two (the world and humans themselves), and first let us speak about the world (and ask) whether it has all things well arranged for humans and (whether) we have nothing on which to fault them, as they have been prepared by a god. But first let mention be made of the (NF 182 II) occurrences [involving] celestial phenomena. Let anyone say in what way a thunderbolt benefits life (how does it not even harm?), in what way flashes of lightning do, in what way claps of thunder, in what way falls of hail, in what way blasts and gusts of violent winds, in what way the irregular orbits of the stars and their differing sizes, in what way eclipses of the sun and the moon <and> their spiral-shaped and oblique courses, in what way night, (NF 182 III) when we can [well rest throughout the] day, in what way the alternating [lengths] of days [and] nights? For of these phenomena some are useless, others even harmful. Celestial phenomena have that character. [But of what kind are matters on earth?] How much of Libya is uninhabitable? How much of the land beyond the Scythians, [how much] of the [region] beyond Asia, how much of India? How many other [...]?*

*Notes*

Given that much of NF 182 consists of a list of celestial and atmospheric phenomena, including thunderbolts, thunder, lightning, hail, and violent winds, weather conditions at Oinoanda in the days following its discovery were remarkably appropriate to its subject matter. The block was located in the late afternoon of 7 August, just before the team left the site, too late for it to be examined properly. In the afternoon of 8 August, a rest day, a violent storm erupted, with thunder, lightning, hail, heavy rain, and a high wind. Considerable damage was caused to the important apple crop in nearby Seki. On 9 August the work of recording NF 182 began, but in the afternoon work was cut short by another thunderstorm. Yet another thunderstorm occurred in the afternoon of 10 August, but by that time work on NF 182 had been completed.

We do not suggest that it was anything other than chance that the discovery of NF 182 coincided with storms of the kind it mentions, but we do suggest that Diogenes' interest in them would have seemed highly appropriate to inhabitants of a mountainous area that not infrequently experiences storms even in the summer months – even if they were not aware of the long tradition of these examples within the Epicurean school.

Fortunately the columns which we print here not only are preceded by a sequence of many columns, but also contain in fr. 20 III / NF 182 I 3–7 valuable programmatic information about the following argument – an argument continued in fr. 21 and beyond. The first section of this argument starts immediately in fr. 20 III / NF 182 I 7 and ends in fr. 21 III 9–10: τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κόσμου τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. The second section begins in fr. 21 III 10–13 with the words: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν νῦν ἴδωμεν εἰ κατάλληλά ἐστι θεία φροντίδι.

Throughout this part of his *Physics* treatise, Diogenes explicitly argues against the Stoic theory of divine providence and creation. At the beginning of his polemical argument he writes (NF 127 II 9–11): τί οὖν τοῦτο ἢ θεακώμεθα καὶ τί λέγουσιν οἱ Cτωϊκοί. One of the arguments of the Stoics concerned the beauty and perfection of the world as a whole and especially the regular disposition and movement of the celestial bodies (Philo *Spec. leg.* I 34 = SVF II 1010: τὸν ... θεακόμενον τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα βρίθουσαν ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ποταμῶν ἀύθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων φορὰς καὶ πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις καὶ εὐκρασίαν ἀέρος καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων τροπὰς, εἶτα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, τοὺς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων πλανητῶν τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν καὶ τοῦ κύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ περιπολήσεις καὶ χορείας, οὐκ εἰκότως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἐννοίαν λήψεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ προσέτι ἡγεμόνος; Cic. *Nat. deor.* II 16 = SVF II 1012; Aet. *Plac.* I 6.8 = SVF II 1009 [300.5–8 Arn.]).

Diogenes in fr. 20 III / NF 182 I 13 – NF 182 III 8 first rejects the celestial phenomena as a proof for divine creation. Their control (and previous creation) by a divine individual is denied, albeit for another reason, in Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 76–77: καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φορὰν καὶ τροπὴν καὶ ἔκλειψιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν καὶ τὰ κύτοιχα τούτοις μήτε λειτουργούντος τινος νομίζειν δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ διατάττοντος ἢ διατάξαντος καὶ ἅμα τὴν πᾶσαν μακαριότητα ἔχοντος μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας κτλ. In NF 182 III 8 – fr. 21 III 8 Diogenes switches his attention from celestial phenomena to conditions on earth. It is remarkable that his examples of celestial phenomena all appear in the Epicurean *Letter to Pythocles*. As “an abridged and concise consideration of celestial things” (*Ep. Pyth.* 84), the letter explains by natural causes not only the astronomical observations mentioned in the second part of the Diogenes passage, including ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἡλίου (*Ep. Pyth.* 92, cf. NF 182 II 14 – III 2), τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ... ὡς οἷόν τιν' ἔλικα κινεῖσθαι (*Ep. Pyth.* 93, cf. NF 182 II 12–13), ἐκλείψεις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης (*Ep. Pyth.* 96, cf. NF 182 II 11–12), μήκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν παραλλάττοντα (*Ep. Pyth.* 98, cf. NF 182 III 3–4), but also threatening meteorological phenomena, which in Diogenes' account are mentioned at the beginning – βρονταί, ἀστραπαί and κεραυνοί (*Ep. Pyth.* 100–103, cf. NF 182 II 2–6), πρηστῆρες and στρόβιλοι (*Ep. Pyth.* 104–105, cf. NF 182 II 6–8), and χάλαζα (*Ep. Pyth.* 106, cf. NF 182 II 6). In the *Letter to Pythocles* the reasons for the irregular courses of the planets are treated after the threatening meteorological phenomena, as in Diogenes (*Ep. Pyth.* 112–113, cf. NF 182 II 9–10). But Diogenes links the mention of the stars up with the other celestial phenomena, which he has placed after it.

Already in Lucretius the imperfections of our world are part of his arguments against divine creation and providence (V 156–234).<sup>29</sup> He rejects the idea that the world was created for the god's own sake in V 168–173 with arguments that closely resemble<sup>30</sup> those of Diogenes on the same subject (NF 126/127 VI 12 – VII 1 πότερον ἢ ποτε δι' ἐ[α]υτὸν ὁ δὴ θεὸς ἔδημοῦ[ρ]γησε τὸν κόσμ[ον] κτλ.), which are found in NF 126/127 VII 9 – fr. 20 II 10, the passage that immediately precedes the text which we print above. Lucretius also argues against a divine creation

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also Lact. *Opif. dei* 2.10 (Epic. fr. 372 Us.).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also Cic. *Nat. deor.* I 21–22 (Epic. fr. 367\* Us.).

of the world for the sake of human beings (Lucr. V 156–167 and 174–194)<sup>31</sup> and starts his list of imperfections unworthy of divine creation with a general mention of celestial phenomena.<sup>32</sup> However, he limits himself to damage caused by bad weather, pointing out that agricultural crops are sometimes ruined by excessive heat or cold or rains, or by violent winds (*flabraque ventorum violento turbine vexant*, V 217; cf. NF 182 II 6–8). His mention of phenomena that damage crops is preceded by a passage in which he complains that most parts of the world are uninhabitable and the rest only offer the means for surviving through hard work (V 200–214, a passage which has parallels in NF 182 III 8 – fr. 21 III 8).

#### Fr. 20 III + NF 182 I

1. Smith (1993) accepted, and he still prefers, Sandbach's exclusion of τὰ as a dittography, translating: "If therefore the divine nature shall be deemed to have created things for its own sake, all this is absurd." Hammerstaedt (2006) 23 defended the text printed here.

3–14. Smith's restorations of the line endings, long predating the discovery of NF 182, are shown to have been correct, except in 8, where he conjectured εἰ μὲν instead of just εἰ, and in 13, where he proposed συν[τε]||θήτω. For the difficulties arising with line 11, see our following note.

7–13. Hammerstaedt (2006) 23–25 discussed this passage, proposing a different syntax and punctuation, changing the word division in line 13 and supplying line ends in 8, 10, 11, and 13 differently from Smith. The supplements have not been confirmed by the letters on the stone which are much closer to Smith's proposals. The second half of line 11 reads: ἐγκαλεῖ ὕ ε. If this reading were accepted, the space would mark the end of a conditional protasis, which would start a new sentence with εἰ in line 8, and the beginning of an apodosis starting with ἔχομεν. This latter verb would connect with the participle read as a nominative plural κατεσκευασμένοι in lines 12–13. However, this text, which is that of Smith (1976 and 1993), involves a series of linguistic and logical problems, including the absence of a particle after εἰ in line 8 at the supposed beginning of a new sentence, the dubious sense of μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλεῖ, and the hiatus created by the ending of the verb.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the participle in lines 12–13 seems to be dative plural, κατεσκευασμένοις. So we assume in line 11 a stonemason's error,<sup>34</sup> which may have been caused by his (or the copyist's) failure to understand the change of subject between ἔχει (κόσμος) and ἔχομεν (we who judge the usefulness of the resources which the κόσμος offers), so that he converted ἐγκαλεῖν into a finite form in accordance with ἔχει, separating it syntactically from ἔχομεν with an empty space. According to our punctuation, the εἰ clause in line 8 is now subordinated as an indirect question after εἴπωμεν. The slight ellipse of a verbal expression indicating the question is easily intellegible.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The topic follows the rejection of a creation for the gods' sake in Cic. *Nat. deor.* I 23.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Lucr. V 196–199 *hoc tamen ex ipsis caeli rationibus ausim / confirmare ... / nequaquam nobis divinitus esse paratam / naturam rerum: tanta stat praedita culpa.*

<sup>33</sup> See Hammerstaedt (2006) 24.

<sup>34</sup> The discovery of NF 167 in 2009 revealed a similar error in a hitherto highly controversial passage in the *Physics* just a few columns ahead of the present passage. This is at NF 167 III / NF 126/127 I 9–10 ἀπτομένου(ς) λόγῳ, where too the stonemason left an empty space instead of carving a sigma. See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 10–11.

<sup>35</sup> A much heavier use of such ellipses in the case of εἰ-questions dependent on verbs describing an action is observed in Kühner/Gerth II 584 A 16.

## NF 182 II

1–2. *συμπτώματα*. Epicurus often uses the word in a technical sense, “accidents”,<sup>36</sup> as opposed to *συμβεβηκότα*, “properties” or “essential qualities” (cf. *Ep. Hdt.* 68–71), but here the meaning is relatively non-technical, “happenings” (cf. fr. 9 V 1; 47 II 6).

2. Diogenes gives a very brief explanation of the causes of thunderbolts in fr. 98.1–7. Epicurus discusses them in *Ep. Pyth.* 103–104 and Lucretius, in much more detail, in VI 219–422.

2–4. *πῶς δ’ οὐχὶ καὶ βλάπτει*. This rhetorical question is obviously a parenthesis. However, the words somewhat spoil the rhetorical flow and force of the passage at its beginning. The use of such parentheses is a characteristic feature of Diogenes’ style.<sup>37</sup> For *ὠφελεῖ ... βλάπτει*, cf. NF 126/127 V 1–2, 5–6, 8.

5–6. On lightning, see *Ep. Pyth.* 101–102, *Lucr.* VI 160–218; on thunder, see *Ep. Pyth.* 100, *Lucr.* VI 96–159.

6. On hail, see *Ep. Pyth.* 106–107. Diogenes explained it elsewhere in his *Physics*, part of his explanation being preserved in fr. 14. In fr. 99, one of the monolithic *Maxims*, he explains how it can be formed in summer.

6–8. The mention of these violent blasts of wind seems to correspond in substance, although not in terminology, to *Ep. Pyth.* 104–105 where the different possible causes of *πρηκτῆρες* and *τροβίλοι* are all connected with the action of strong *ἄνεμοι*.

6–7. *ἀμέτρων πνευμάτων*. Cf. (Pseudo-)Plato *Epin.* 979a: *ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὑετῶν γιγνομένων οὐκ ἐξαιτίων οὐδὲ ἀμέτρων*.

8. *ἐνβολαί* is common in reference to violent actions of natural phenomena, especially to “blasts” of winds. Cf. e.g. *ἀνέμων τινὰς ἐμβολὰς* in *Ael. Hist. an.* VII 7 (= Aristotle fr. 253.12 Rose = fr. 270.21 [467b 33] Gigon); Pausanias VII 24.8; Ptolemaeus *Apotelesmatika* IV 8.5.

*καταιγίδες*, “gusts”. Connected with *ἐμβολαί* in *Ps. Longinus* 20.3: *εἶτ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἄλλιν ὡς αἱ καταιγίδες ἄλλην ποιούμενος ἐμβολήν*. *Aristid. Panath.* 251 *ὥσπερ καταιγίδος ἢ τροβίλου τινὸς ἐμβολῆ καθάπαξ ἀναρπασθῆναι*. In *Hesych.* ε 4085 (from Apollonius Sophista) *καταιγίδες* are explained as *αἱ τῶν ἀνέμων ἐμβολαί*. In Epicurus fr. 413 *Usener καταιγιμοί* are not only gusts of wind that disturb the sea, but also gusts of passion that disturb the human body.

9–10. *ἀνώμαλος ἀστέρων φορὰ*. Cf. *Ep. Pyth.* 113, where it is explained that some stars move in regular orbits, others in irregular ones: *ὥστε τὰ μὲν (scil. ἄστρα) κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δῖναν φέρεσθαι ὁμαλῆν οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄμα τισὶν ἀνωμαλίαις χρωμένῃν*.

10–11. According to the Epicureans, the size of the sun, moon, and other stars cannot be much larger or smaller than what it appears to us to be. See *Ep. Pyth.* 91, *Lucr.* V 564–591, *Cicero Fin.* I 20.

11–14. In the light of the parallels from Diogenes and other Epicurean writers, there are strong reasons to refer the phenomena mentioned in these lines to both sun and moon. We therefore believe that *καί*, connecting *ἐγλείψει* with *ἐλικοειδεῖς τε καὶ πλάγιοι δρόμοι*, has been omitted after *κελήνης*. However, in a résumé of Stoic astronomical doctrines a distinction is made between observations relating to sun and moon: *Diog. Laert.* VII 144–145 (SVF II 650) *τῶν δὲ*

<sup>36</sup> For the use of the word related to celestial phenomena cf. *Dionys. Alex.* 2 Feltoe (*Epic. fr.* 383 *Us.*) in *Eus. Praep. ev.* XIV 24.1: *πῶς αὐτῶν (scil. τῶν περὶ Ἐπίκουρον) ἀναρχώμεθα τυχηρὰ λεγόντων εἶναι συμπτώματα τὰ κοφὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ καλὰ δημιουργήματα;*

<sup>37</sup> Cf., only in the *Physics* treatise, fr. 2 I 8 – II 4; II 5–6; fr. 3 IV 9–13; V 2–4; fr. 12 I 11–13; II 12 – III 3; III 7–8; IV 10 – V 4); NF 167 III + 126 I 4–7; NF 126/127 II 2–5. Hammerstaedt (2006) 20–22 proposed to distinguish some more parentheses in NF 126/127 II 13 – III 3, IV 4–5 and 8.

ἀστρῶν τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ κυμαπεριφέρεσθαι τῷ ὄλῳ οὐρανῷ, τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα κατ' ἰδίαν κινήσει κινεῖσθαι. τὸν δὲ ἥλιον λοξὴν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου· ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σεληνὴν ἐλικοειδῆ. ... ἐκλείπειν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐπιπροσθούσης αὐτῷ σεληνῆς κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μέρος.

11. ἐγλείπει: ἐκ in Diogenes' inscription before β, δ, λ becomes ἐγ. Cf. fr. 34 II 1 ἐγλογὴν, NF 167 II 13 ἐγ δὲ τούτου. See Smith (1993) 118. On solar and lunar eclipses, see *Ep. Pyth.* 96, Lucretius V 751–770, 776–779.

12–13. Cf. *Ep. Pyth.* 93 on the spiral movements of the sun and moon: ὡςθ' οἶόν τιν' ἔλικοι κινεῖσθαι. For ἐλικοειδῆς of movements of celestial bodies, cf. e.g. Cleomedes I 2.61 πλάνητες ... ἐλικοειδῶς ἐν αὐτῷ (scil. τῷ ζῳδιακῷ) κινούμενοι and I 2.64 ἐλικοειδῆ τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ (scil. τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ) ποιῶνται κίνησιν. As for πλάγιοι δρόμοι, the obliqueness of the courses of the sun and moon is mentioned by Diogenes also in fr. 13 I 5–9: καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν ὀρθὸν ἕως τινὸς περαιούσιν δρόμον, λοξὸν δ' ἔτεροι, ὡςπερ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σεληνὴ. In *Ep. Pyth.* 93 the obliqueness of the courses of the sun and moon is attributed to the obliqueness of the sky (κατὰ λόξωσιν οὐρανοῦ). The obliqueness of the sun's course is implied by Lucr. V 692–693: *sol ... / obliquo terras et caelum lumine lustrans.*

14 – NF 182 III 2. Diogenes is the only Epicurean writer to suggest that night is unnecessary because we can easily rest in daylight. The Stoics and others who believed in divine providence took a different view, regarding night and the wonders of the night sky – the moon and stars and planets – as divine, and the alternation of day and night as indicative of divine purpose. See e.g. Cic. *Nat. deor.* II 95 and passages cited by Pease II p. 786, including Aug. *Civ. dei* XXII 24: *quam grata vicissitudo diei alternantis et noctis!*

### NF 182 III

The right half of this column is missing. But the left half offers many valuable clues that have enabled us to restore all but line 14 with a high degree of probability. The participle δυναμένων (II 14 – III 1) needs an infinitive, which can easily be supplied in III 2 (διαναπαύεσθαι), while the mention of νύξ (II 14) leads one to expect a contrast with ἡμέρα, the end of which is preserved in III 2, allowing the restoration of [ἡμέ]ρα. Lines 3–4 contain another contrast between days and nights which seems to echo closely the *Letter to Pythocles*. In lines 5–7, the mention of μάταια prompts the restoration of [βλα]πτικά, and the context shows that ταδ[ must be τὰ δ[έ - - -], in opposition to [- - - τὰ μὲν] before μάταια. After that, ἐ[τσι - - -] is an easy conjecture in line 5.

As for lines 9–14, the keyword ἀοίκητα (line 10) and the unequivocally geographical indication Κυθῶ[ (line 11) show clearly that previously, i.e. in lines 7–8, Diogenes turned from the celestial phenomena to the situation on the earth itself. Lines 7–8 evidently contain an opposition between τὰ μὲν - - -] and τὰ [δὲ - - -], and in line 7 [- - - μετέωρα] is the obvious word (cf. NF 182 II 1) for the phenomena which Diogenes has just described, while line 8 must have contained mention of the earth.

The mention of Scythia assists the “discovery” of three other countries in the last lines of the column. There can be little doubt that the word beginnings ΛΙ (line 9), ΑÇ (line 12), and ΙΝ (line 13) belong to Libya, Asia, and India.

In lines 9–14 there appears to be a sequence of anaphoric exclamations in interrogative form, all starting with πόσα.

1–2. As another possibility, we considered supplying ἡμῶ[ν ῥαδίως ἡμέ]ρα or perhaps, for reasons of space, ἡμῶ[ν εὖ ἡμέ]ρα (which would however involve a hiatus).



3–4. Cf. *Ep. Pyth.* 98: μήκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμέρων παραλλάττοντα κτλ. On the causes of the alternating lengths of days and nights, see also *Lucretius* V 680–704.

5–7. Diogenes does not regard any of the phenomena he has listed as desirable and beneficial, but recognises that some are merely useless, while others are positively harmful to us.

6–7. Another possibility would be to supply τὰ δ[ὲ] ἡμῶν βλα[β]πτικά. Cf. e.g. *Philodemus, Piet.* I 1470 and 1552 Obbink.

8. Another possibility would be τὰ [δ' ἐνθάδε ὠδε], or some mixture involving ἐπὶ γῆς and ἐνθάδε on one side and ποῖα and ὠδε on the other. ὠδε is used in the same way, to point to what follows, although not in the same position, in fr. 21 III 13. Both ὠδε and ποῖα would well account for the absence of a particle in line 9.

9. By Libya Diogenes probably means either the continent of Africa or a large part of it. In ancient writers it quite often represents the remote south, while Scythia, mentioned in line 11, represents the remote north or north-east. Cf. e.g. *Verg. Georg.* 240–241. In *Verg. Ecl.* 64–65, Africa is named instead of Libya.

10. ἀοίκητα: much more probably “uninhabitable” than “uninhabited”, as Michael Erler has convincingly pointed out in a private communication. The impossibility of a land being inhabited is a much stronger argument against providence than the mere fact that it has not been inhabited for whatever reasons. For the application of this adjective to Libya, cf. *Herodotus* II 34: ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημός ἐστι ἡ Λιβύη.

11. See note above on line 9. Another possibility would be to restore Κυθῶ[v ἔρημα, ἦ]. “Scythian *desert*” seems to have been proverbial. See *Aesch. Prom.* 2, *Aristoph. Ach.* 704. But although ἔρημα would well suit such a concept, in this case, instead of [- - - ἐπέ]κεινα, one would require a restoration that introduced the Scythians themselves. Another, tentative proposal we have considered is πό[α καὶ ἐ]κεῖνα Κυθῶ[v ἔρημα ἦ]: “How much of that (infamous) desert region of Scythia (is inhabited) ...?”

12. This is obviously not the Roman province called *Asia*, but rather the Eratosthenian region. Scythia, Asia, and India represent respectively the far north-east, the far east, and the far south-east.

13. τῆς Ἰν[δικῆς]. *Herodotus* III 98.2 mentions the Indians as occupying the most easterly inhabited country: πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί.

14. In the lacuna after the first half of the line, Smith tentatively suggests something like: τὰ με[τέωρα ἄρχρηστα (or ἔρημα) ποιεῖ; “How many other parts do celestial phenomena render useless (or ‘desolate’)?” Hammerstaedt, on the other hand, believes that με[τέωρα] are not the issue at stake. He wonders whether τὰ με[v - - -] in III 14 is followed by [- - - τὰ δέ]. He points out that the beginning of the second antithetical clause might even be preserved in the letters at the end of fr. 21 I 1, where αδε could be [τ]ὰ δέ. His (speculative) translation would run: “How many others are in one aspect ... and in the other aspect ...?” In any case, it is likely that Diogenes went on to mention various faults in the parts of the world that are land, probably including excessive heat and cold. Cf. *Lucretius* V 200–221. One may conjecture that only one block is missing between NF 182 and fr. 21, which begins with Diogenes switching his attention from the inconveniences of the land to those of the sea.

NF 183 = YF 250

*Description*

Complete below; broken above, left, right. Height 9.5 cm. (surface 7.5 cm.), width 9.5 cm. (surface 6.5 cm.), depth 7 cm. Lower margin 4.5 cm. Letters “small”.

*Position in the inscription*

Although there are only three wholly or partly preserved letters, their size, combined with the height of the lower margin, enables us to assign the fragment with confidence to the *Physics*. Of the other small-letter writings, the *Fourteen-Line-Column Letters* have a lower margin that is 8–11.5 cm. tall, and the *Ethics* has a lower margin 10.5–14 cm. tall. Admittedly the lower margin of the *Ethics* has a continuous band of ethical maxims running through it, but the letters in this band are not “small”, but “medium-sized”, and the letters carried by NF 183 are too small to belong to it. The height of the lower margin in the *Physics* varies from 1 cm. in HK fr. 57 = YF 028 (fr. 3 I) to 5 cm. in NF 39 = YF 093 (fr. 20) and NF 144 = YF 207.

*Text*

14       ]οκκ[

Fig. 5. NF 183 = YF 250

## MAXIMS

NF 184 = YF 245

*Description*

A complete block, but by no means undamaged. A deep crack near the top right corner affects lines 1–2 (see *Notes* below ad loc.), and the right edge has broken off at the ends of lines 2–4. Otherwise the upper part of the stone is generally well preserved, the stone having been set on its head when it was reused. On the other hand, the lower part of the block (the upper part in reuse), which, unlike the upper part (the lower part in reuse) was exposed to the elements, has suffered significant damage: there are several cracks; the surface is broken off lower left, lower right, and along virtually the whole of the bottom edge. Where the surface is preserved, it is weathered and worn. Some of the text has disappeared altogether, and much of what survives is difficult to read. Height 57.5 cm., width 37 cm. (but 46 cm. at the back of the stone), depth 78.5 cm. Upper margin 8.3 cm. The height of the lower margin is uncertain: the space between line 9 and the bottom edge is 14 cm., but it is unlikely that line 9 was the last of the column. Letters “medium”. μ is carved with the first and fourth strokes vertical rather than oblique as is usual in the inscription. ρ too is carved in an unusual way: the lower part of its “head” does not touch the vertical, but stops short of it and curves up and back so that there is a curl.

*Position in the inscription*

NF 184 is one of the monolithic *Maxims*, probably composed by Diogenes himself. Carved in medium-sized letters on stones 57–59 cm. high, they were almost certainly in the third lowest

course of the inscription, immediately above the *Physics*. Their order is very uncertain, but, since physics before ethics was the orthodox Epicurean order, it is likely that those concerned with physics preceded those concerned with ethics. Despite the damage to the last lines of NF 184, there can be no doubt that the message is ethical, stressing the importance of making full use of the present, not living for an uncertain future. This *carpe diem* theme probably links the new text most closely to two of the previously known *Maxims*. These are: NF 132, whose message is that chance rarely interferes with our life, and that we are usually in control;<sup>38</sup> and fr. 112, which begins with the assertion that “the sum of happiness consists in our disposition, of which we have control”.

In considering the likely position of NF 184, we need to consider not only its content, but also the style of its lettering. For a reason that is not known, the *Maxims* exhibit a greater variety of style than any other part of the inscription. At least three different hands can be distinguished, perhaps more. The letters whose forms vary most significantly are  $\mu$  and  $\rho$ . The unusual way in which these letters are carved in NF 184 is described above, under *Description*. To take  $\rho$  first, the other known *Maxims* in which it is carved in a similar style are fr. 111, fr. 112, and NF 132, although in NF 132 and sometimes in fr. 112 the curl is absent. So it is tempting to group NF 184 with these three texts, and indeed we have already suggested a link between NF 184, NF 132, and fr. 112 in respect of their content. But when we turn from  $\rho$  to  $\mu$ , we get a different signal, for, whereas in NF 184 the first and last strokes of the letter are vertical, in fr. 111, 112, and NF 132 they are oblique and in fr. 112 and NF 132, which are manifestly the work of the same stonemason,  $\mu$  is carved in an exceptionally splayed fashion. Of the other texts in the *Maxims* that have  $\mu$  with the first and last strokes vertical, some deal with, and others may deal with, matters of physics. Those that certainly do are fr. 98, fr. 99, and NF 155. But the case of NF 184 shows that not all the texts in which  $\mu$  has vertical strokes relate to physics.



Fig. 6. NF 184 = YF 245

*Text*

τὸ παρὸν δε[ . ]ῖ  
 ποιεῖν τέλε[ . ]ι-  
 [ο]ν, <sup>v</sup> οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἀ-  
 πολειπόμενον  
 5 ζῆν λέγοντα· «ἔ[ω]ς  
 ἄν ἔτι μοι γένηται  
 τόδε <sup>v</sup> καὶ τόδε.» <sup>vv</sup>  
 [τί] γὰρ ἐνλείψει δ[ε]-  
 [ό]μεν[ο]ν τούτο[υ]  
 10 [τοῦ ἐπιθυμήμα]-  
 [τος;]

<sup>38</sup> See Smith (1998) 160–162; (2003) 122–123.

### Translation

One must make the present perfect, and not live with an orientation to the future, saying: “Until such and such a thing still happens to me”. For [what] will be lacking that needs this [yearning]?

### Notes

Epicurus did not agree with Aristippus that “only the present is ours” (fr. 208 Mannebach, in Aelian *Var. hist.* XIV 6: μόνον γὰρ ἔφασκεν ἡμέτερον εἶναι τὸ παρόν, μήτε δὲ τὸ φθάνον μήτε τὸ προδοκώμενον). His attitude to the future is set out in *Ep. Men.* 127: μνημονευτέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε ἡμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἵνα μήτε πάντως προσιόμενοι ὡς ἐκόμενον μήτε ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐκόμενον. As for the present, it is important to make it as pleasurable as possible, although we derive pleasure not only from present experiences, but also from the recollection of past ones and the anticipation of future ones, and not all pleasures are to be taken and not all pains avoided, because sometimes pleasure leads to pain that outweighs it and sometimes pain must be endured in order to secure future pleasure. Diogenes’ message in NF 184 is that one must concentrate on attaining perfect pleasure now and not postpone the attainment of it to an uncertain future, when one’s hopes and ambitions may not be fulfilled. According to Epicurus, someone who does that is most likely to find the future, as well as the present, pleasurable: ὁ τῆς αὔριον ἥκιστα δεόμενος ἥδιστα πρόκειται πρὸς τὴν αὔριον (fr. 490 Usener). We only live once, and those who postpone their happiness instead of enjoying it now risk never attaining it (*Sent. Vat.* 14 = fr. 204 Usener). The idea goes back to Democritus: ἀνοήμονες τῶν ἀπεόντων ὀρέγονται, τὰ δὲ παρόντα καὶ παρωιχημένων κερδαλεώτερα ἔοντα ἀμαλδύνουσιν (DK 68 B 202). Lucretius makes the same point in III 956–960. In Philodemus *De morte* IV col. 38, 15–25 the idea is transformed into the somewhat more extreme notion that “the sensible man, having received that which can secure the whole of what is sufficient for a happy life, immediately then for the rest (of his life) goes about laid out for burial ...”.<sup>39</sup> A similar idea is also expressed by Horace under Epicurean influence in *Ep.* I 4.13–14: *omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum: / grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.*<sup>40</sup>

1–2. The last letter of each line is far separated from the penultimate letter. In between there is a deep hole whose exact nature could not be closely examined *in situ*. But the hole cannot be explained as a wide crack that would have caused the part of the stone carrying the last letters to shift to the right. As far as we can judge from our squeezes and photos, the right end of lines 1 and 2 seems at its bottom to be closely connected with the surface of the whole block, without any signs of a crack in between. A wedge-shaped piece of the stone has broken away and is missing. Even if we accepted that the ends of lines 1–2 were carved on a piece that has cracked away from the rest of the block, it would not be possible for this piece to be fitted into the wedge-shaped hole in such a way that the last letters of lines 1–2 came into the right position: they would be seen to lean over to the left.

So, to explain the position of the last letters of lines 1–2, there is a choice between two odd happenings. One of them is that the stonemason for some reason carved the last letter of each line unusually far from the penultimate letter. A possible explanation for this is that the block was already slightly cracked here when the stonemason was carving the text, and that he decided

<sup>39</sup> The passage is partially quoted from the translation of Henry (2009) 89.

<sup>40</sup> Two lines later he characterises himself as *Epicuri de grege porcum*. See also Hor. *Carm.* I 11.8: *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero*.

that it was best to avoid it, but such a scenario seems very unlikely, because the stone was beyond doubt part of the stoa wall on which Diogenes had his inscription carved (cf. fr. 3 V 12–13), and if it was in some way damaged before the stonemason started inscribing the letters, it would have been easy to repair this defect with some stucco.

The other possibility is that the damage to the stone has destroyed part of its text. But, if this is the case, our attempts to fill the two lacunae have not arrived at satisfactory conclusions. In both lines, the width of the lacuna and the fact that the two last letters are indisputably iota, and not verticals forming the right part of a larger letter, only allow one to supply a single letter.

In line 1 we considered writing δέ[ε]ι. In fr. 12 IV 11 Smith reads the uncontracted form βασιλέεε.<sup>41</sup> Kühner/Blass I (1890) 449 n. 5, Meisterhans/Schwyzler (1900) 140 n. 1219, and also Crönert (1903) 171 n. 1 can be quoted in support of this. In the *Res gestae divi Augusti* 31 on the Monumentum Ancyranum we find Μήδων βασιλέεε, and there are further instances in Appian, *Bellum civile* I 457 and 479.<sup>42</sup> Regarding δεῖ/δεῖσθαι, a note of Lobeck on Phrynichus<sup>43</sup> arrives at the conclusion that uncontracted forms have to be emended if they are found in the manuscripts of classical Greek authors, but should be accepted in later authors. In line 2 the space seems only to allow for τελέε[ε]ι. This word is only attested in Hesych. τ 415: τελέεσιος ἡμέρα.<sup>44</sup> The same combination occurs in Hesych. τ 404 in the form τέλειος ἡμέρα, suggesting that the adjective τελέεσιος was synonymous with at least one meaning of τέλειος. However, it seems to us incredible that Diogenes would begin one of his maxims, a text in one of the less esoteric sections of the inscription, with a form of δεῖ that he nowhere else uses. And we do not see why he should have wanted to puzzle his readers by using τελέεσιος rather than the normal, familiar τέλειος. We therefore prefer to suppose that the stonemason has written these two lines, for whatever reason, in a very strange manner. Other places where the stonemason leaves an empty space within a word are fr. 122 II 10 ἡμετέ<sup>ν</sup> ρου, NF 167 I 14 [χα]λεπῶ<sup>ν</sup> ς, NF 171.6 -λημ<sup>ν</sup> πτόν.<sup>45</sup> NF 171, like NF 184, is one of the *Maxims*.

3–5. τὸ ἀπολείπομενον: “the future”. For this sense of ἀπολείπομαι, cf. Polybius III 39.12.

5–7. Cf. fr. 74.4–10: καὶ λέγειν ταῦτα· «ἄνθρωπος εἶμι καὶ ἐνδέχεταιί με παθεῖν, | ὥς δὴ ἀρκινον, τόδε τι | καὶ τόδε καὶ τόδε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὧν ἀδύνατον | οὐδὲν γενέσθαι.» Despite the differences of content, there are certainly some similarities of expression between the two passages.

5–6. ἕως ἄν. Cf. fr. 121 II 3–4: ἕως [ἄν] | ἀναφραλῶμ[εν].

8. ἐνλείψει. This reading is uncertain, especially the second letter, in identifying which as ν we interpret a puzzling trace as damage to the surface.

9–11. Exact reconstruction of the ending is impossible. One problem is that we do not even know how much text is missing. The number of lines in the *Maxims* varies: of the ten that have a complete column preserved, one contains nine lines, two contain ten, and seven contain eleven. On the basis of these statistics, NF 184 is most likely to have run to eleven lines.

<sup>41</sup> On uncontracted forms in Diogenes, see Smith (1993) 116.

<sup>42</sup> See also Viereck’s remark on the first of these two places in the apparatus criticus of his recension of Ludwig Mendelssohn’s Appian text, vol. I (Leipzig 1905) 108, line 4–5.

<sup>43</sup> Lobeck (1820) 220. Cf. Kühner/Blass II (1892) 138 n. 1.

<sup>44</sup> This combination could perhaps echo the advice to regard every day as the last of one’s life, as expressed by Philodemus and Horace (see above p. 18). On the other hand, the verb τελειοῦργεῖν is used in Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 36 to denote the complete accomplishing of the study of the Epicurean doctrine, cf. Verde in Spinelli/Verde (2010) 74.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. our remarks in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 9.

10–11. ἐπιθυμήματος. For this exempli gratia restoration cf. Epic. fr. 141 Usener. Other possibilities include εἰμέρου (“yearning”), προλήματος (“anticipation”, which might be the sense in fr. 63 I 6 also), προσδοκήματος (“expectation”) or simply φρονήματος (“way of thinking, aspiration”).

NF 185 = YF 244

#### *Description*

The top right corner of a block, seriously damaged and, where the surface is preserved, weathered and worn. The stone is broken left and below, and although it is complete above and right, the surface is deeply broken off above and top right. Height 27 cm. (surface 18 cm.), width 30.5 cm. (surface 20 cm.), depth 23 cm. Letters “medium”. Part of two lines of text is visible. These were almost certainly the first lines on the stone, for the surface is partly preserved above line 1, and there is no sign of any lettering there. So it can be assumed that there was an upper margin 8 cm. tall.

#### *Position in the inscription*

The size of the letters combined with the spacious upper margin indicates that the fragment is one of the monolithic *Maxims*, the only group to display both medium-sized lettering and an upper margin 6–9 cm. tall. The preserved letters do not give any clue as to the subject matter, but it is to be noted that μ is carved with the first and last strokes oblique. On the variations in the way in which this letter is carved in the *Maxims*, see NF 184, *Position*.



*Text*

2

] \ . ςμενη  
]κου<sup>vv</sup>

Fig. 7. NF 185 = YF 244

#### *Notes*

1. The partly preserved η may or may not have been the last letter of the line.
2. There is no sign of a letter after the iota, so it was almost certainly the last letter in the line.

## TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS

NF 186 = YF 247

*Description*

A complete block, carrying the whole of a ten-line column on the left and the left half of a column on the right. Height 41 cm., width 58 cm., depth 34 cm. Upper margin 1.2 cm., lower margin 2.5 cm. Letters “medium”. The second and third last letters of I 3 are in ligature. The first column is beautifully preserved, except where damage to the stone lower left and lower centre has affected the beginning of line 10 and ends of lines 9 and 10. But the second column has fared much less well, the right part of the stone, unlike the rest of it, having been exposed to the elements and other harmful influences. The surface there is weathered and worn, and significant parts of it are broken off, especially top right, but also centre right and bottom right.

*Position in the inscription*

The *Ten-Line-Column (TLC) Writings*, to which NF 186 belongs, are believed to have been in the central course of the seven-course inscription, that is to say in the fourth course from the bottom and from the top. The fragment does not join up with any other known one. It might belong to the same letter as fr. 127 + NF 174, but probably does not, because Diogenes’ words in NF 186 I 2–5, and especially  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\theta\alpha$ , seem to suggest that he is writing to a fellow Epicurean, whereas the addressee of fr. 127 + NF 174 has yet to be converted.<sup>46</sup> A more plausible possibility is Diogenes’ *Letter to Menneas*, the closing section of which is preserved in fr. 122. NF 186 might be linked also to fr. 120 and/or fr. 121, fragments that may or may not belong to *Letter to Menneas*.

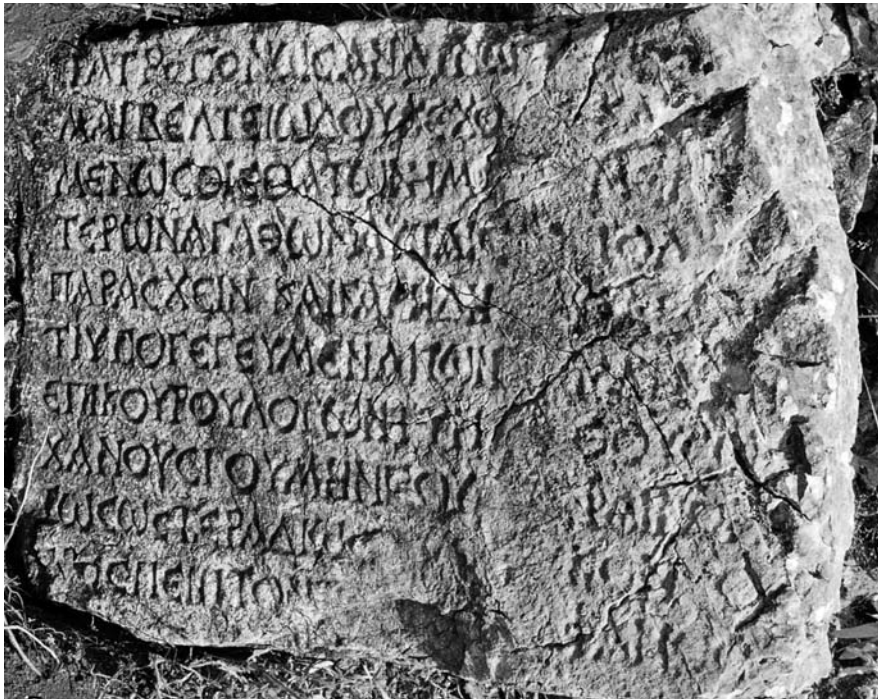


Fig. 8. NF 186 = YF 247

<sup>46</sup> Text in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 27.

## Text

- [- - - - - κατὰ πᾶν]]-  
 I τα τρόπον ὡς ἂν δύνω-  
 μαι. ὕ βελτεῖω δ' οὐκ ἔχο-  
 μεν, ὡς οἶσθα, τῶν ἡμε-  
 5 τέρων ἀγαθῶν αὐταῖς  
 παρασχεῖν. ὕ καὶ γὰρ ἤδη  
 τι ὑπογεγευμένα τῶν  
 Ἐπικούρου λόγων τυν-  
 χάνουσι, ὕ οὐ μὴν γε οὐ-  
 10 τως, ὥστε ῥαδίως τ[οὺς]  
 προσπεύπτοντα[ς αὐ]-
- II [ταῖς ταραχὰς λελύσθαι]  
 και[  
 μεν[  
 τολι[  
 5 γαρ / II  
 μαῖΛ[  
 θους ω[  
 φαίνογ[ται  
 κον. ὕ οἱ[  
 10 φανος[

## Translation

... [I shall try to help them (?) ] **(I)** [in every] way, when I can. As you know, we do not have better things to offer them (N.B. “them” is feminine) than our own good fare. For indeed they happen already to have done some tasting of the doctrines of Epicurus, but to be sure not in such a way that [the disturbances] that strike **(II)** [them have been removed]. ..... For ..... they appear .....

## Notes

## Col. I

3. ὡς οἶσθα. The identity of Diogenes’ addressee is not known, but he or she seems to be an Epicurean or Epicurean sympathiser. See above, *Position*.

3–4. τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν. If this is a genitive of comparison, Epicurean philosophy is meant. If the genitive is partitive, Diogenes means all his goods, of which his ideal Epicurean goods, however, constitute the most valuable part. But addressing his probably Epicurean friend, he says “our goods”, and in this context this seems to mean “your and mine”, so that the interpretation as a partitive genitive is less natural and gives inferior sense.

4. αὐταῖς. Although the identity of “them” is not revealed in the surviving text, the mention of women who, as we learn in the second half of the column, have already had some experience of Epicureanism, and whom Diogenes wishes to assist, is of exceptional interest and importance, although we should not be very surprised that the Epicurean circles in which Diogenes moved, whether at Oinoanda or in Rhodes or elsewhere in Greece, included women. Women had played



a significant part in the Epicurean School in the time of Epicurus himself. Although Diogenes does not explicitly mention them in the prefatory passages in which he explains his philanthropic and cosmopolitan outlook and mission (see especially fr. 3, 2, 30), there was never any reason to suppose that he excluded them, and if he set up his inscription, as we believe is the case, in the first quarter of the second century AD or very soon after that, he did it at a time when no less a personage than Plotina, widow of Trajan and revered adoptive mother and supporter of Hadrian, had embraced Epicurean philosophy. Her support of the Epicurean School boosted its fortunes, and it would be surprising if it did not encourage educated women to take a greater interest in Epicurean doctrines and become more involved in Epicurean circles. In fr. 122 Diogenes mentions that he owes his recovery from illness in Rhodes to the care of an unnamed woman with whom he stayed. No indication is given that she was a member of an Epicurean circle, although this is not impossible.

6. ὑπογεύομαι seems to be a hapax legomenon. The force of ὑπο- is presumably “a little” rather than “secretly”, although the former sense is also expressed by τι. For the former concept the words of the Epicurean Velleius in Cic. *Nat. deor.* I 20 can be compared: *hunc censes primis ut dicitur labris gustasse physiologiam, id est naturae rationem, qui quicquam quod ortum sit putet aeternum esse posse?*

7. Ἐπικούρου. This is the sixth occurrence of the name in the known parts of the inscription, the others being in fr. 54 III 5, 63 IV 13, V 13, 71 I 6, 173 I 15. In fr. 71 II 8 Epicurus appears as “son of Neokles” (Νεοκλείδης), and perhaps also in fr. 72 III 14.<sup>47</sup>

8. οὐ μὴν γε. Cf. fr. 30 II 2.

## Col. II

6–7. Many possibilities, including [ἀγα]|θούς, [ὄρ]|θούς, [ἀκολού]|θους, [μύ]|θους, θ' οὐς.

9–10. Not many nouns and adjectives end -φανος. They include ὑπερήφανος, ὀρφανός, and κτέφανος. The possibility of a proper name, Κτέφανος, cannot be ruled out. But a different division of the surviving letters in 10 is also possible, and Diogenes may have written [εἴλη]|φανα νόσο[ν], “I have caught an illness”. For λαμβάνειν νόσον cf. Plato, *Resp.* 610c–d. For Diogenes' references to his poor health, see fr. 117, 120 (?), 121, 122. If indeed he mentioned ill health here, this may support the tentatively suggested link of NF 186 to one or more of fr. 120, 121, 122 (see above, *Position*).

NF 187 = YF 248

## Description

Partly complete above; broken left, right, and below. Height 12.5 cm. (surface 8 cm.), width 32 cm. (surface 19 cm.), depth 30 cm. Part of three lines of “medium-sized” letters. Upper margin 1.5 cm.

## Position in the inscription and authorship

The combination of the “medium” letter size and the narrow upper margin indicates the *TLC Writings*. Some of the *TLC Writings* have been attributed to Epicurus or Pseudo-Epicurus rather than to Diogenes. Until 2009 these included fr. 127, in which the writer urges the addressee to abandon rhetoric and turn to philosophy, but the discovery of NF 174, which is actually part of

<sup>47</sup> On this passage, see Smith (2003) 115; (2004b) 255.

fr. 127 II, proved that the writer is Diogenes.<sup>48</sup> But it remains possible, if not probable, that Diogenes is not the author of the *Letter to Mother* (fr. 125–126) and *Letter to Dositheus* (fr. 128). The scanty remains of NF 187, which do not include a single complete word, do not throw light on the subject matter, let alone on the authorship.



Fig. 9. NF 187 = YF 248

*Text*

]CII[ . ] . μ[  
 ]άττωσιν . [  
 3 ]ο . . [

*Notes*

1. The letter before the two verticals is ε or c. The letter trace before μ is clearly the foot of a vertical, with small serifs.

2. Prominent possibilities are [πρ]άττωσιν, [τ]άττωσιν, and [φυλ]άττωσιν. All three verbs (and παραφυλάττω) occur in the inscription, πράττω being much the commonest. Another possibility would be [ἐλ]άττωσιν: cf. *Letter to Mother* fr. 126 I 3. For the predominance of the Attic -ττ- forms instead of -cc- in the inscription, see Smith (1993) 117 and 543.

3. The first letter is probably omicron, possibly θ. After it, almost on the broken bottom edge, are one or two possible letter tops, but distinguishing them from marks caused by damage is almost impossible.

MAXIMS OR TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS OR DIRECTIONS TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS

NF 188 = YF 249

*Description*

Broken all sides. Height 19 cm. (surface 13 cm.), width 13 cm. (surface 7 cm.), depth 18.5 cm. Part of three lines. Letters “medium”.

*Position in the inscription and authorship*

The size of the lettering suits the *Maxims*, *TLC Writings*, and *Directions to Family and Friends*, to the last of which fr. 117–118 are assigned. In the absence either of any indication of content or of any distinctive epigraphical feature such as a spacious or narrow upper or lower margin, it is impossible to say to which of the three groups of writings the fragment belongs; and since some of the *TLC Writings* may be the work of Epicurus rather than Diogenes, one must keep an open mind about the authorship as well.

<sup>48</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 25–29.



Fig. 10. NF 188 = YF 249

*Text*

The true line numbers are not known.

          ]τ . [  
          ]ενα[  
3       ]τηϚ[

*Notes*

1. After τ the lower left curve of omicron, ε, or ω is visible.

2. εὐῶ α- and εὐῶ α- are possibilities, although neither occurs in the known parts of the inscription. A third possibility, and statistically more probable, is that ενα is from the middle of a word: κατασκευάζω occurs four times (fr. 17 III 12, 20 III 12, 21 II 8, probably 29 III 12) and προαποσκευάζω once (NF 167 II 1).

3. The third letter was c or, less probably, omicron.

## TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS OR DIRECTIONS TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS

NF 189 = YF 246

*Description*

Broken on all sides. Height 10.5 cm, width 17.5 cm., depth 7 cm. Letters “medium”. Part of three lines of text, divided between two columns.

*Position in the inscription and authorship*

The presence of two columns rules out the *Maxims*. The remaining possibilities are the *TLC Writings* and *Directions to Family and Friends*. The remains are too scanty to reveal the subject matter, let alone to establish the authorship.



Fig. 11. NF 189 = YF 246

*Text*

The true line numbers are not known.

Col. I

          ]κ  
          ]με  
3       ]Ϛ

## Col. II

.. [ ]  
 το ε[ ]  
 3 εἰρημ[ ]

*Notes*

## Col. I

2. The stroke before μ is so short that it is difficult to decide whether it is horizontal or slightly curved.

## Col. II

1. There are “stubs” of two letter-strokes at the beginning of the line. The first looks to be a right-sloping oblique stroke, the second a slightly left-sloping oblique stroke, so perhaps we have the first two strokes of μ.

3. Probably εἴρημαι or εἰρημένoc. Cf. fr. 6 III 2, 29 I 9, and perhaps NF 146 IV / NF 129 I 1.<sup>49</sup>

## OLD AGE

NF 190 = YF 243

*Description and position in the inscription*

A complete block, apart from the loss of the top left and top right corners, but severely weathered and worn. Height 45 cm., width 37 cm., depth 76 cm. Five lines of text, but the tops of the letters of the first line did not appear on the stone. The scored band, 13 cm. tall, at the bottom of the stone is a distinctive mark of the third and lowest course (course C) of Diogenes’ *Old Age*, which carried the last lines of the treatise’s eighteen-line columns. There is a space of 8 cm. between the last line of NF 190 and the scored band. Because the surface is so worn, one cannot be sure



where any intercolumnar space occurred, but the probability is that the lines began near the right edge of the neighbouring stone and continued about two thirds of the way across NF 190.

*Text*

14 ] . C[ ]  
 ] . ντ̣ . . . εϋ[ ]  
 ] . α<sup>ν</sup> τoτ̣ . Ι[ . . . ]ϋ  
 ]πρ̣ . Ι . . . ρ̣ϋ  
 18 ] . . εἰ[ ]

Fig. 12. NF 190 = YF 243

<sup>49</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 14 and 18.

## Notes

14. Before sigma, only the base line of  $\delta$  or  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$  is preserved.  
 16. Perhaps  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau[\epsilon]$ .

## Abbreviations

- Fr. = Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription, unless otherwise indicated. The numbering is that of Smith (1993), unless otherwise indicated.  
 HK = Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription, quoted from the edition of Heberdey/Kalinka (1897).  
 NF = New Fragments of Diogenes' inscription. NF 1–124 were first published by Smith between 1970 and 1984 and were re-edited in Smith (1993) and, with drawings and photographs, in Smith (1996). NF 125 was first published in Smith (1996). NF 126–135 were first published in Smith (1998) and republished, with revisions, in Smith (2003). NF 136 was first published in Smith (2004a), NF 137–141 in Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007). NF 142–166 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008), NF 167–181 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009), NF 182–190 in the present article.  
 YÇ = Yazı Çeşitli (Various Inscriptions). The YÇ numbers are the inventory numbers of Oinoanda inscriptions that are not part of Diogenes' work.  
 YF = Yazı Felsefi (Philosophical Inscription). The YF numbers are the inventory numbers of the fragments of Diogenes' inscription.

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Attention is drawn to the Oinoanda project's website: [www.dainst.de/index\\_8097\\_de.html](http://www.dainst.de/index_8097_de.html). The text is available in German, Turkish, and English.

### Özet

2007, 2008 ve 2009 yıllarından sonra 2010 yılı yazında Oinoanda'da dördüncü arkeolojik ve epigrafik yüzey araştırması dönemi Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü İstanbul şubesi Müdür Vekili Martin Bachmann başkanlığında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu makale sadece Diogenes yazıtı ile yakın bağlantısı bulunan çalışmaları tanıtmaktadır. Önceki yıl yapılan arazinin scan edilmesi temel alınarak geç antik devir savunma duvarları ve bunun batısında bulunan daha sonraki dönemin Agora yapısı arasındaki alanın rölevesi çıkarıldı. Bu çalışmaya Vespasian döneminden kalmış olan eski hamam ve bunun güneyinde ‚Martin'in Tepesi‘ olarak bilinen çok sayıda kayalara oyulmuş ya da taşlarla oluşturulmuş temellerin bulunduğu yer de dahildi. Kamu ve özel sektör tarafından yapılan cömert yardımlar sayesinde özellikle The Gilbert de Botton Memorial Foundation tarafından sağlanan kaynakla Oinoanda Esplanade'si olarakta bilinen alanda Diogenes yazıtının blokları ve parçaları için çelikten bir depo yapıldı (res. 2). Sadece 2010 yılında 93 Diogenes yazıtı parçası bu depoya konulabilmiştir (res. 3). Bunlardan 36'sı bugüne kadar arazide herhangi bir koruma önlemi olmaksızın yayılmış bulunmaktadır. Geri kalan 57 adedi yeraltında yakma noktası olarak tanımlanan çukurun içinde durmaktaydılar. 2011 yılında diğer yazıtlı blokların ve halen kayıp olan 14 parça yakma noktası çukurunda bulunup depoya nakledilebileceklerdir. Diogenes yazıtından 70 adet bilinen parça, 1895'ten beri kayıp olup 2010 yılında yeniden bulunmuş bir parça ile 9 adet yeni bulunmuş parça üç boyutlu olarak scanner ile taranmışlardır. (Bunların ayrıntılı dökümü için bkz. yuk. Dip not 21–25.) Bu üç boyutlu scanner sayesinde makalenin yazarları *Epigraphica Anatolica* 42 (2009)'da iki Diogenes yazıtı parçasını birleştirebildiler. 2010 yazında yerinde yapılan inceleme bu sonucu onaylanmasını sağlamıştır (res. 3). Çok sayıda çeşitli ve çeşitli zamanlarda farklı yöntemlerle coğrafi haritalama ve konum

verileri GIS (Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemi) içinde birleştirilerek Oinoanda yüzey araştırmalarına katılan bilimsel disiplinlerin hizmetine ortaklaşa sunulmaktadır.

2010 yazında Oinoanda Diogenes yazıtının felsefi metin içermeyen şimdiye değin bilinmeyen dokuz adet parçası daha bulundu. Bunlardan üç adedi kapsamlı bir metin bölümü içermektedir. Bu blokların ikisi bugüne değin Diogenes yazıtlarının bulunduğu alanların dışında bulunmuştur. (Tiyatro'nun batısı ve Bizans kalesinin ortasında daha geç döneme yarıhlenen Agora'nın güneyinde bir tepe üzerinde.)

Yeni metinlerimizden NF 182 (YF 252) ve küçük NF 183 (YF 250) Diogenes'in *Fizik* öğretisiyle ilgilidirler. NF 182 bir sütun ile tüm blok olup iki sütunun kalıntılarıyla çevrelenmiştir. Onun sol tarafı bir sütunun sağ bitimini içeriyordu ve bu kısım bilinen NF 39 (YF 093 = fr. 20) numaralı parçayı tamamlamaktadır. 20 numaralı parça NF 167, 126 ve 127'ye eklenir ve böylece ilk kez birbirine eklenen hemen hemen 16 sütunluk bir metin ortaya çıkmaktadır. NF 182 numaralı parçada Diogenes stoa'nın dünyamızın kusursuzluğunun tanrıların yaratıcılığı ve yönlendirmesi ile oluştuğu teorisiyle mücadele etmektedir. Önce stoacıların hava olayları (gök gürültüsü, şimşek, dolu, hortum) ve gökyüzü hareketleri (gezegenlerin farklı büyüklükleri, güneş ve ay tutulmaları, gün ve gece ve onların değişken büyüklük orantıları) ile ilgili öngörülerini işler ve bu olağanüstü olayların insanlara bir faydası olmadığını tam taersine insanlara zarar verdiklerini iddia eder. Daha sonra yerküreyi gözlemler ve büyük bölgelerin insanların iskan edilmelerine uygun olmadığını saptar. Bundan hemen sonra takip etmesi zorunlu olan gerekçe 21 numaralı parçada devam etmektedir. NF 184 (YF 245) ve küçük NF 185 (YF 244) üzerindeki metinler Diogenes'in *Sentezler* bölümüne aittir. NF 184 hemen hemen tümüyle korunmuş durumda ancak üzerindeki yazıt artık tümüyle okunabilecek durumda değildir. Diogenes içinde yaşanan hayatı mükemmelleştirmeyi ve bir sonrakini bekleyerek yaşamamayı tavsiye eder. Çünkü (eğer içinde halen yaşanan hayat kusursuz ise), artık ümit etmeyi gerektirecek herhangi bir şey yoktur.

NF 186 (YF 247) ve küçük NF 187 (YF 248) 10 satırlık sütunlar halindeki Diogenes yazıtlarına atıfta bulunmaktadır. NF 186 numaralı parçada Diogenes kendisini dinleyenlere ilk ama yetersiz deneyimleri bununla yapmış olan kadınlara da aktarmaya söz verir. Diogenes'in tıpkı bir zamanlar Epikuros'un yaptığı gibi kadınları da felsefeye yönlendirdiği şeklindeki ilginç haber dışında yeni metin Diogenes'in kendisini felsefi içerikli yazıtında görüşlerinin propogandasını yapmakla sınırlamadığını göstermektedir.

Küçük NF 188 (YF 249) parçasının orta büyüklükteki harfleri ya *Sentezler* ya da 10 satırlık sütunlardaki yazılar ya da Aile ve Arkadaşlara yönelik istekleri içermektedir. NF 189 (YF 246) iki adet birbirini takip eden sütunun metninden kalmış az sayıdaki metin parçaları oldukları için bunlar sadece 10 satırlık sütunlar ya da aile ve arkadaşlardan talepler bölümüne ait olabilir.

Diogenes'in *Yaşlılığa dair* adlı yazısı NF 190 (YF 243) ile tamamlandı. Burada tüm olarak ele geçen ve alttan üçüncü konumda olan bir blok (course C) söz konusu olmakla birlikte mevcut harfler herhangi bir anlaşılabilir metin sunmamaktadırlar.

Oinoanda'daki çalışmaların durumu hakkında Türkçe <http://www.dainst.de/index.php?id=8097&sessionLanguage=tr> Sitesinden bilgi alınabilir. (Oradan Almanca ya da İngilizce metinlere ulaşılabilir.)