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DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2011 (NF 191–205,  
AND ADDITIONS TO NF 127 AND 130)

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**DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2011  
(NF 191–205, AND ADDITIONS TO NF 127 AND 130)**

*For John Fraser*

Following the fifth season of the epigraphical and archaeological project at Oinoanda in northern Lycia we present, as we did after each of the preceding four seasons in 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010,<sup>1</sup> additions to the text of the Greek inscription of the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes of Oinoanda. Our article focuses on those aspects of our work that are directly concerned with the discovery and preservation of the fragments of the inscription.<sup>2</sup>

In 2011 the survey took place between 17 September and 14 October. Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), İstanbul, was again the director, and it is a pleasure as well as a duty to thank him for again inviting us to work with him at Oinoanda and to publish the new philosophical texts. Our latest work on the great philosophical inscription was much helped by the transport of more Diogenes stones to the new storehouse, which had been erected on the site under Bachmann's direction in 2010.<sup>3</sup> The conveyance of blocks weighing up to 500 kg. was again a very difficult task, which Bachmann organised and supervised with great skill and care. We also express our great gratitude to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey for granting permission for the work. As in the previous years, we could also count on the help of İbrahim Malkoç, Director of Fethiye Museum, who sent us from the Museum Hakkı Emirhan Süel, our representative of the Turkish Government in 2010, to specify the procedures for the transport of Diogenes blocks to the storehouse, and gave us his valuable advice on matters that needed special attention. We also thank the Antiquities Authority in Ankara and the authorities of the Monument Preservation Office in Muğla for examining and approving our applications for transporting stones to the storehouse. We are very grateful too to Mustafa Barış Harmankaya, representative of the Turkish Government in 2011, for his highly competent advice, for his lively and unwavering interest in all aspects of the exploration and preservation of the remains at Oinoanda, and for the learned and friendly exchanges of ideas which we had the privilege to share with him.

In addition to those already mentioned, the following participated in the 2011 survey. Veli Köse (Hacettepe University, Ankara) made archaeological explorations. Nicholas Milner (British Institute at Ankara) and Gregor Staab (Cologne University) worked on non-philosophical inscriptions, assisted by In-Yong Song (Cologne University), who was also involved in various other useful activities. Sebastian Waniorek and André Dittrich (both from the University of Applied Sciences at Karlsruhe, sent by our collaborator Tilman Müller) were occupied with the 3D-scanning of the Diogenes blocks. They worked under the supervision of Konrad Berner (University of Applied Sciences at Karlsruhe), who also continued, together with Eric Laufer (Vienna), recording GPS positions for the topographical mapping of Oinoanda and its surroundings. Before the season began, he prepared useful new maps showing the locations of Diogenes fragments and

<sup>1</sup> Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007); Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008, 2009, and 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Most of the other elements of the work at Oinoanda will be described by Martin Bachmann. The non-philosophical inscriptions will be published by Milner and Staab.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 2–4.

their find-spots, and after it ended he “stitched” together the scans of the Diogenes fragments. Esra Oktay and Burcu Ölçer (both from Mimar Sinan University, İstanbul), Ulrike Herrmann (Vienna University of Technology), Nadine Diewald, Verena Gneupel, Annika Zeitler, and Burkhard Heberlein (all from Regensburg University of Applied Sciences), Jakobus von Geymüller and Nikolaus Koch (both from Karlsruhe Institute for Technology) made detailed drawings of the Hellenistic wall at the south end of Oinoanda, basing their work on the point cloud model that had been prepared by means of terrestrial scanning in 2010, and made sectional drawings of the buildings of the Esplanade, the older Roman bathhouse, and the rock formations on Martin’s Hill, the rising ground between the older bathhouse and the large Byzantine church. Bianca Hinzer (Frankfurt University) and Ebru Bağcı (Cologne University) completed the squeeze collection for the Institut für Altertumskunde in Cologne and by their assistance accelerated the scanning work of the Karlsruhe team. Martin Wortmann (University of Applied Sciences, Pulheim) and Martin Lehrer (North Rhine-Westphalia Local Authorities Confederation) took excellent photographs of Diogenes stones which, when being transported to the storehouse, were temporarily exposed to different, and often very favourable, conditions of light. Martin Ferguson Smith was again assisted in his work by Sally Lovecy. The archaeologist Michael Heinzelmann (Cologne University) visited the site together with his wife, Dorothee, and discussed with us important perspectives of our archaeological and epigraphical work. During a one-day visit of the classical scholars Daniel Delattre (CNRS, IHRT) and Joëlle Delattre-Biencourt, the latter spotted YF 255 (NF 205), a very worn and previously unnoticed Diogenes fragment. Our final thanks go to Sedat Atçıl, watchman of Oinoanda, and to our Turkish workmen, who had the burdensome and delicate task of transporting the heavy Diogenes blocks to the storehouse, and to Feridon, the indefatigable donkey, which never failed to bring heavy items of equipment and the team’s lunches up the hill to the site.

Great gratitude is owed to those who funded the work in 2011. DAI made a substantial contribution. Other donors were: The Charlotte Bonham-Carter Trust, The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, Kim Hee-Kyung Foundation for Humanities, Stiftung Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln, Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes, the two authors of this article (mainly MFS), and John Fraser of Versoix, Switzerland. To Mr Fraser, in grateful recognition of his generous support of work at Oinoanda since 1997, we have pleasure in dedicating this article.

One of the main goals of the 2011 season was the transport of more Diogenes fragments to the storehouse. In the winter of 2010/2011 we submitted to the Turkish authorities a detailed request, illustrated with pictures, describing the situations of the stones which we proposed to move to the storehouse to add to the 93 mostly small blocks and fragments that had been placed safely inside it in 2010<sup>4</sup> and some other blocks whose removal had already been agreed in 2010. In 2011 the final decision about each block was made on the site by Emirhan Süel, representing the Fethiye Museum.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, we obtained permission to reopen the “Burial Place” in search of fourteen still-missing pieces which had been found, inventorised, and hidden there during the British investigations in the last decades of the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> In order to identify these rather small pieces in the large amount of debris, we had prepared in advance booklets containing

<sup>4</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 3.

<sup>5</sup> The relocation of so many relevant blocks during Süel’s visit in a single afternoon was significantly facilitated by the use of the GPS data collected in previous years and by the maps which had been extracted by Konrad Berner from our data collected in the Geographical Information System (GIS).

<sup>6</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 3–4 with n. 7, 10–11.

measurements, descriptions, and photographs of them. Unfortunately a careful search in 2011 did not bring to light any of the missing pieces, but, as last year,<sup>7</sup> we did find six unknown pieces of Diogenes.<sup>8</sup> Being a source of so many Diogenes fragments (all hitherto of a rather small size), the Burial Place and its surroundings certainly deserve further investigation, including excavation.

By the end of the 2011 season, 54 previously known blocks, some of them weighing up to 500 kg., had been brought into the storehouse.<sup>9</sup> Three of them had been missing for a long time – one since 1973,<sup>10</sup> the other two since the Austrian exploration in 1895.<sup>11</sup> They were relocated and easily identified with the help of the booklets that had been prepared in 2010.<sup>12</sup> We also rediscovered, after the “mother” block YF 080A (fr. 121) had been removed, the three small pieces YF 080 B/C/D broken off it. These three had been placed in front of the block by MFS after its discovery in 1972, but had not been seen since. Of the fifteen new fragments found in 2011, thirteen, together with some small pieces of a fourteenth, the large block YF 256 (NF 192), were brought into the storehouse.<sup>13</sup> To the eight non-philosophical inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions placed in the storehouse in 2010,<sup>14</sup> we added in 2011 three small new non-philosophical inscription fragments<sup>15</sup> as well as several pieces broken off from, but in part only now identified as belonging to, the large pedestal YÇ 1001 on the Esplanade,<sup>16</sup> and eleven small architectural fragments and other small noteworthy items.<sup>17</sup>

The removal operations afforded a unique opportunity to complete the hitherto partial documentation of the moved stones with 3D-scans, and in some cases with new squeezes, photographs, and measurements.<sup>18</sup> Of the already known stones, 37 were scanned on all sides,<sup>19</sup> 33 only

<sup>7</sup> Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 7.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> YF (= Yazı Felsefi) 010 (fr. 147.13–18); YF 011 (fr. 65); YF 012 (fr. 5); YF 013 (fr. 2); YF 014 (fr. 44); YF 019A (fr. 6); YF 022 (fr. 10 III–V); YF 031 (fr. 13); YF 033A (fr. 39 V); YF 036 (fr. 12 V–VI); YF 037A (fr. 39 I–III); YF 040 (fr. 118); YF 041 (fr. 54 I–II); YF 042 (fr. 54 II–III); YF 043 (fr. 32 I–II); YF 047 (fr. 126 III); YF 048 (fr. 125 I–III); YF 050 (fr. 167); YF 052A/B (fr. 37); YF 054 (fr. 149 I–II 14–18); YF 056 (fr. 62); YF 057 (fr. 141); YF 058 (fr. 138); YF 059 (fr. 142 I–II 14–18); YF 060 (fr. 142 II–III 1–5); YF 061 (fr. 146 I–II 1–5); YF 062 (fr. 155); YF 063 (fr. 108); YF 064 (fr. 63 II–III); YF 065 (fr. 63 II–III); YF 068 (fr. 152 III); YF 072 (fr. 9 V–VI); YF 074 (fr. 23); YF 077 (fr. 173); YF 078 (fr. 152 I–II); YF 079 (fr. 150); YF 080 A–D (fr. 121); YF 081 (fr. 127); YF 122 (fr. 139); YF 123 (fr. 148); YF 154 (fr. 59); YF 159 (fr. 126 I–II); YF 162 (fr. 161); YF 168 (fr. 111); YF 169 (fr. 147, 6–12); YF 172 (fr. 131); YF 173 (fr. 115); YF 186 (NF 132); YF 187 (NF 134); YF 188 (NF 128); YF 189 NF 131); YF 236 (fr. 125 III–V); YF 258 (fr. 109B); YF 269 (fr. 117).

<sup>10</sup> YF 050 (fr. 167).

<sup>11</sup> YF 258 (fr. 109B = HK 34), which was found beneath YF 062 (fr. 155), and YF 269 (fr. 117 = HK 2).

<sup>12</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 5.

<sup>13</sup> YF 253 (NF 203); YF 255 (NF 205); YF 256 (NF 192) B/C/D; YF 257 (NF 194); YF 259 (NF 202); YF 260 (NF 200); YF 261 (NF 197); YF 262 (NF 196); YF 263 (NF 193); YF 264 (NF 201); YF 265 (NF 199); YF 266 (NF 198); YF 267 (NF 191); YF 268 (NF 195).

<sup>14</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 4 n. 8 and 9.

<sup>15</sup> YÇ (= Yazı Çeşitli) 1001B and C (both formerly registered as YÇ 1002); YÇ 1001D (formerly YÇ 1240); YÇ 1001 E–H; YÇ 1001 I (formerly YÇ 1213).

<sup>16</sup> YÇ 1259; YÇ 1269; YÇ 1270.

<sup>17</sup> MP (= Mimarlık parça) 0001–0011.

<sup>18</sup> The depth of YF 081 (fr. 127) is 35.5 cm.; new measurements could also be taken of YF 199 (NF 137) which is part of a wall (ed. Hammerstaedt/Smith [2007] 5–7): D. at least 46 cm., upper margin 7.5 cm. maximum.

<sup>19</sup> YF 022 (fr. 10 III–V); YF 033A (fr. 39 V); YF 037A (fr. 39 I–III); YF 041 (fr. 54 I–II); YF 042 (fr. 54 II–III); YF 044 (fr. 66); YF 046 (fr. 34 I–III); YF 048 (fr. 125 I–III); YF 052A/B (fr. 37); YF 054 (fr. 149 I–II 14–18); YF 059 (fr. 142 I–II 14–18; in Hammerstaedt/Smith [2008] 2 n. 1 the stone was listed in error for YF 057, see below n.

on their visible surface,<sup>20</sup> and the incomplete or previously unsatisfactory scans of 21 blocks were completed or improved.<sup>21</sup> Of the eighteen fragments discovered or rediscovered in 2011, fifteen were scanned on all sides,<sup>22</sup> while in one case only the visible parts of the surface and some small pieces that had broken off could be scanned.<sup>23</sup>

#### NEW FRAGMENTS (NF) 191–205, 127, 130, 133<sup>24</sup>

Of the fifteen new fragments of Diogenes discovered in 2011 twelve contribute a tiny amount of text, either because they are very small or because they are severely weathered and worn. However, all new discoveries, no matter what their size or condition, have a value, and the case of YF 267 (NF 191) shows that the value of even a minute piece can be surprisingly great.

Of the three new fragments that give us complete or nearly complete lines only one, YF 256 (NF 182), makes a really substantial addition to the text of the inscription. But a further substantial amount of new text came to light as a result of the operation to move previously known fragments to the storehouse. Among those moved were YF 186 (NF 132), YF 187 (NF 134), YF 188 (NF 128), and YF 189 (NF 131), which formed part of the north edge of the stylobate of the south stoa of the Esplanade.<sup>25</sup> These stylobate blocks, together with three Diogenes blocks in a step course below, were temporarily excavated in 1997,<sup>26</sup> but because the step-course blocks were partly covered by the stylobate ones, it was not possible to read their texts in their entirety. So the removal of the stylobate blocks in 2011 revealed the previously hidden parts of the texts for the first time. The step-course blocks are YF 190 (NF 127), YF 191 (NF 130), and YF 192 (NF 133), and the important new material derived from them is presented below together with the fifteen new fragments.

21); YF 068 (fr. 152 III); YF 072 (fr. 9 V–VI); YF 073 (fr. 56); YF 074 (fr. 23); YF 075 (fr. 178); YF 076 (fr. 174); YF 077 (fr. 173); YF 078 (fr. 152 I–II); YF 079 (fr. 150); YF 080A–D (fr. 121); YF 123 (fr. 148); YF 157 (fr. 26); YF 159 (fr. 126 I–II); YF 162 (fr. 161); YF 165 (fr. 172); YF 167 (fr. 16); YF 168 (fr. 111); YF 172 (fr. 131); YF 173 (fr. 115); YF 186 (NF 132); YF 187 (NF 134); YF 188 (NF 128); YF 189 (NF 131); YF 225 (NF 160); YF 227 (NF 180); YF 236 (fr. 125 III–V).

<sup>20</sup> YF 029 (fr. 157); YF 031 (fr. 13); YF 035 (fr. 15); YF 049 (fr. 32 II–IV); YF 052C (fr. 37); YF 055 (fr. 34 IV–V); YF 066 (fr. 153); YF 069 (fr. 156); YF 071 (fr. 70); YF 081 (fr. 127); YF 082 (fr. 49); YF 083 (fr. 71); YF 084 (fr. 69); YF 085 (fr. 47 III–IV); YF 086 (fr. 9 I–IV); YF 087 (fr. 43 II); YF 088 (fr. 43 I); YF 089 (fr. 48; inscribed face scanned from the squeeze, because it is directly above a large, deep hole made by illegal excavators); YF 092 (fr. 98); YF 102 (fr. 154); YF 104 (fr. 136); YF 105 (fr. 116); YF 127 (fr. 176); YF 129 (fr. 164); YF 156 (fr. 151); YF 174 (fr. 19); YF 175 (fr. 149 III 1–5); YF 185 (NF 129); YF 190 (NF 127); YF 191 (NF 130); YF 192 (NF 133); YF 194 (NF 136); YF 199 (NF 137).

<sup>21</sup> YF 010 (fr. 147.13–18); YF 011 (fr. 65); YF 012 (fr. 5); YF 014 (fr. 44); YF 025 (fr. 120); YF 036 (fr. 12 V–VI); YF 040 (fr. 118); YF 043 (fr. 32 I–II); YF 047 (fr. 126 III); YF 056 (fr. 62); YF 057 (fr. 141); YF 057 (fr. 141; in Hammerstaedt/Smith [2008] 2 n. 1 we gave this stone the number YF 059, because this had been painted on it by mistake; cf. above n. 19); YF 058 (fr. 138); YF 060 (fr. 142 II–III 1–5); YF 062 (fr. 155); YF 064 (fr. 63 II–III); YF 065 (fr. 63 III–V); YF 122 (fr. 139); YF 176 (fr. 93); YF 179 (fr. 95); YF 231 (NF 176).

<sup>22</sup> YF 050 (fr. 167); YF 253 (NF 203); YF 254 (NF 204); YF 257 (NF 194); YF 258 (fr. 109B); YF 259 (NF 202); YF 260 (NF 200); YF 261 (NF 197); YF 263 (NF 193); YF 264 (NF 201); YF 265 (NF 199); YF 266 (NF 198); YF 267 (NF 191); YF 268 (NF 195); YF 269 (fr. 117).

<sup>23</sup> YF 256 (NF 192).

<sup>24</sup> JH would like to express his thanks for helpful criticism and useful proposals formulated in the colloquium which he had the privilege to hold together with Rudolf Kassel at Cologne University.

<sup>25</sup> For plans, a drawing, and photographs of the whole situation, see Smith (1998) fig. 1–5 and (2003) fig. 1–3.

<sup>26</sup> See Smith (1998).

We now describe the find places of the new fragments. Six were found in the “Burial Place”, south of the southwest part of the Esplanade: YF 262 (NF 196); YF 263 (NF 193); YF 264 (NF 201); YF 265 (NF 199); YF 266 (NF 198); YF 267 (NF 191). We list the other nine fragments roughly from east to west. YF 253 (NF 203) was found about 30 m. southeast of the east entrance of the Esplanade, forming part of a structure at the west edge of a sizeable platform. YF 255 (NF 205) is about 15 m. east of the southeast corner of the south stoa of the Esplanade, near the south corner and doorway of a building. YF 256 (NF 192) is on the Esplanade itself, approximately 20 m. east of the storehouse. YF 260 (NF 200) was found 2.5 m. west of the southern end of the so-called “Great Wall”, about 1.5 m. west of YF 059 (fr. 142 I–II 14–18), and YF 257 (NF 194) nearby, about 1.5 m. east-north-east of YF 055 (fr. 34 IV–V). Also on the west side of the Great Wall, but further north, where the colonnaded street arrives, YF 261 (NF 197) was discovered about 1 m. east of YF 044 (fr. 66). Still further north YF 259 (NF 202) came to light beneath YF 037A (fr. 39 I–III), when we had taken away this block and were searching for its still missing part, YF 037B. YF 268 (NF 195) was discovered 1 m. west of the north side of the gateway of the Great Wall. YF 254 (NF 204) was spotted beside the colonnaded street, about two thirds of the way from the Great Wall to the paved Roman agora, between the east wall of the older bathhouse and the southeast corner of the courtyard of the later bathhouse.

Our method of arranging the fragments has been explained in earlier publications of our finds.<sup>27</sup> Here we just 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. These distinctions are rather broad, and we anticipate that the 3D-scans of the Diogenes stones will assist a fresh palaeographical and “bibliological” investigation of the various sections of the inscription and make possible more and narrower distinctions of the different kinds of lettering.

#### PHYSICS

NF 127 = YF 190

When this block was discovered during the British excavations in 1997, its top edge, lines 1–4 of each column, and parts of lines 5–6 were concealed beneath blocks above. During the 2011 season the block was fully exposed for the first time, or rather *almost* fully exposed, for it was not possible to move the block that covers the top left corner of NF 127, but the text occupying this corner (NF 127 I 1–5, the second half of NF 126/127 VI 1–5) was read with great difficulty (and in considerable discomfort!) by JH, who lay in the trench on his side wielding a small extending mirror and dictated the letters to MFS.

#### *Description*

Complete above and below; probably complete left, but the surface is broken off; broken right. Height 48 cm., width 109 cm. (surface 105.5 cm.), depth at least 26 cm. Upper margin 3 cm., lower margin 4.5 cm. Letters “small”.

#### *Position*

NF 127 is one of five blocks that carry the longest continuous passage of Diogenes’ inscription so

<sup>27</sup> Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 4 and (2009) 4–5.

far known. The five are, in order, with their dates of discovery: NF 167 (2009),<sup>28</sup> NF 126 (1997), NF 127 (1997),<sup>29</sup> NF 39 = fr. 20 (1974), NF 182 (2010).<sup>30</sup>



Fig. 1. The whole sequence of five *Physics* blocks (image composed by Konrad Berner)

The passage, part of the *Physics*, occupies sixteen complete or part-complete fourteen-line columns. A sixth block, NF 40 = fr. 21 (1974), carrying two complete columns and two incomplete ones, followed NF 182 after no great interval. The *Physics* was almost certainly in the second lowest course of the inscription, immediately above the *Ethics*.



Fig. 2: NF 127 = YF 190

#### Text

NF 126/127 V = NF 126 V

14 ὅτι δ' οὐ μόνον ὠφέλι-

NF 126/127 VI = NF 127 I

[μόν ἐστιν] τὸ δόγμα ἡμῶν  
(πρὸς τῷ καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι),  
κ[αὶ εὐσεβ]ῆς δέ ἐστιν, ἥ-  
δη [δηλω]μεν. <sup>ν</sup> φάσι καὶ  
5 οἱ [νομί]ζοντες τὴν  
πρ[όνοιαν] ποιητὴν τε  
ἄμ[α τοῦ] κόσμου καὶ προ-  
νοη[τικὸν] εἶναι τὸν θεόν,  
προν[οεῖν] δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν

<sup>28</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 5–12.

<sup>29</sup> Both fragments edited in Smith (1998) 131–146. Cf. Smith (2003) 74–84.

<sup>30</sup> See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 8–15.



- 10 τε ἄλλ[ω]ν καὶ τῶν ἀν-  
θρώπων]. πρῶτον οὖν ἐν-  
ταῦθ' ἤ[κο]μεν· ὃ πότερόν  
ποτε δι' ἐ[α]υτὸν ὃ δὴ θεὸς  
ἐδημιούρ[η]σεν τὸν κόσ-

NF 126/127 VII = NF 127 II

- μον ὃ ἢ διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους;  
(ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτό φακίν τι-  
νες.) εἰ μὲν δὴ δι' ἐαυτόν,  
τυχεῖν τινος βουλόμε-  
5 νος ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμη-  
σε τὴν πράξιν. πῶς γὰρ  
ἄλλως, εἴ γε χωρὶς αἰτίας  
οὐδὲν γίνεται καὶ ταῦ-  
θ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ; ὃ τί οὖν τοῦτο  
10 ἦν θεακόμεθα καὶ τί  
λέγουσιν οἱ Στωικοί. ὃ βου-  
λόμενος, φακίν, ὃ θεὸς  
πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ συνπο-  
λειτευτάς, ὃ ὥσπερ εἰ πό-

NF 126/127 VIII = NF 127 III

- λιν τὸν κόσμον ἐαυτῷ  
κατεσκεύαζεν, ὃ τοὺς δὲ  
ἀνθρώπους συνπολει-  
τευτάς. ὃ ὅτι μὲν οὖν τε-  
5 ρατολογία τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ  
μῦθος, ὃ εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν  
τῶν ἀκροωμένων πε-  
ποιημένος, οὐ φυσικὸς  
λόγος ἐρευνῶν τὴν  
10 ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰ-  
κότων τὰ ἄδηλα συν-  
λογιζόμενος, αὐτόθεν  
φαίνεται. ὃ οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ  
γε ὡς ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν

NF 126/127 IX = NF 127 IV

- ἐαυτῷ τὸν [κόσμον ἐ]-  
δημιούργη[σε, τί ἤργει]  
τὸν πρὸ τοῦ κ[όσμου χρό]-  
νον ἄπειρο[ν; τί δ' ἐν]-  
5 δεῆς ἦν τοῦ ἀ[γαθοῦ]  
τούτου καὶ ο[ὐ θεῷ γε ὅμοι]-

- 10    ός; θεὸς γὰρ [νοεῖται ὡς]  
       ζῶον ἄφθαρ[τον καὶ μα]-  
       κάριον ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς]  
       αἰῶνα, μηδ[ενὸς ἐνδεὲς]  
       ὄν. <sup>ν</sup> τίς δὲ κα[ὶ θεός, εἰ]  
       ἦν τὸν ἄπειρ[ον χρόνον],  
       ἡσυχάσας χι[λιάδας ἐτῶν],  
       οὕτως εἰς ἔν[νοιαν ἄν ἡλ]-

Fr. 20 I = NF 39 I

- 5    θεν τοῦ πόλεως αὐτῷ  
       χρεῖαν ὑπάρχειν καὶ συν-  
       πολιτευτῶν; <sup>ν</sup> – πρὸς τῷ  
       καὶ γελοῖον εἶναι θεὸν  
       ὄντα ζητεῖν συνπολι-  
       τευτὰς ἀνθρώπους ἔ-  
       χειν.

#### Translation

**(NF 126/127 VI)** *That our doctrine not only [is] helpful ([as well as] being true), but [even reverent], let us now [show].*

Another thing that those who believe in providence claim is that the god both is maker of [the] world and takes providential care of it, providing for all things, including human beings. Well, in the first place, we come to this question: was it, may I ask, for his own sake that the god created the world **(NF 126/127 VII)** or for the sake of human beings? (For some claim this too.) If indeed it was for himself, it was from a wish to gain something that he embarked on this undertaking. For how could it have been otherwise, if nothing is produced without a cause and these things are produced by a god? Let us then examine this view and what the Stoics mean.

It was, they claim, from a wish to have a city and fellow-citizens, as though **(NF 126/127 VIII)** he created for himself the world as a city and human beings as fellow-citizens. But that this supposition is a fairy tale and a fable, composed to gain the attention of an audience, not a natural philosopher's argument searching for the truth and inferring from probabilities things not palpable to sense, is self-evident. Yet even if it was with the intention of doing some good **(NF 126/127 IX)** to himself that he created the [world, why was he idle] for the infinite [period of time] before the [world existed? Why] was he [in need] of this [good] and [indeed not like a god]? For god [is perceived to be] a living being, indestructible [and] blessed from [age to] age, having [need of nothing]. Moreover, what [god, if] he had existed for infinite [time] and enjoyed tranquillity [for thousands of years, would] have [got this idea] **(Fr. 20 I)** that he needed a city and fellow-citizens? Add to this the absurdity that he, being a god, should seek to have human beings as fellow-citizens.

#### Notes

NF 126 and 127 were first published, with English translation, detailed notes, and photographs in Smith (1998) 131–146, and republished, with some additional notes, in Smith (2003) 74–84. In the *editio princeps* MFS attempted to restore all the hidden lines of NF 127 except NF 126/127

IX 3–6. It was therefore with a mixture of trepidation and pleasurable excitement that he awaited and witnessed the exposure of the full text of the fragment. Given the extent of the lacunae, it was never to be expected that all his restorations would be right, and of course they were not. But some were on target or very near misses, and others gave the gist of what Diogenes said.

The following notes are mainly on the “new” parts of the text. For full commentary on the previously known parts, see especially Smith (1998), and for further discussion Hammerstaedt (2006) 18–23.

NF 126/127 VI = NF 127 I

2. Cf. e.g. fr. 20 I 3–4 πρὸς τῷ καὶ γελοῖον εἶναι.

3. [εὐ]κέβ]έ. Since the Epicureans did not believe that the gods either created the world or intervened in its affairs, they frequently had to defend themselves against charges of impiety (ἀσέβεια). They robustly maintained that those who deserved to be labelled impious were not themselves, but upholders of the traditional religion. Cf. Epic. *Ep. Men.* 123: ἀσεβῆς δὲ οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ’ ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προσάπτων. Likewise Lucretius forcefully makes the point that Epicureanism’s rejection of *religio*, “superstition” or false religion, is not impious; rather it is *religio* that is responsible for *scelerosa atque impia facta* (I 80–83) such as the sacrifice of Iphigenia by her father, Agamemnon (I 84–101). Diogenes follows his master in urging reverence for the gods (fr. 19 II 13–14), and in the present passage he wants his readers to understand that, in combating false views of the gods, he will be exhibiting piety.

4. We considered very carefully whether ἤδη looks back or forward and decided for the following reasons that it looks forward. In NF 126/127 V 13 there is a long space indicating a major division in the argument. The last words of the section that ends there are: ὥςπερ ἤδη προενπεράνιται ταῦτα ὑμεῖν. It would be very odd if Diogenes were then to start the new section with another reference to what he has already (ἤδη) demonstrated. One would expect him to be introducing the next stage of the argument. Moreover, if ἤδη looked back, one would have to ask why the long space occurs in NF 126/127 V 13 rather than in NF 126/127 VI 4, where all we have is a single letter-space. Since the new section, of which we have much but by no means all, refutes false opinions about the gods, and since combating false opinions about the gods is essential if one is to gain ἀταραξία and achieve piety (εὐσέβεια), it is perfectly in order to assume that Diogenes is referring to the demonstration to come. For ἤδη looking forward, cf. fr. 13 II 13; 32 I 6, III 10; 34 VI 2.

4–11. Most notable among those who believed in a providential god who created the world are Plato and the Stoics. Velleius, in Cicero’s *De Natura Deorum*, prefaces his exposition of Epicurean theology with the words: *Audite non futilis commenticiasque sententias, non opificem aedificatoremque mundi, Platonis de Timaeo deum, nec anum faticidam, Stoicorum πρόνοιαν, quam Latine licet providentiam dicere* (I 18). Plato describes how the world was providentially created by a divine craftsman (δημιουργός). See e.g. *Timaeus* 30b: δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννοον τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν. Although Diogenes devotes NF 155, one of the monolithic *Maxims*, to Plato’s views on the creation of the world and he will undoubtedly have had him in mind in the present passage, his main target, it soon emerges, is, as usual, the Stoics, whose conception of god is summarised by Diogenes Laertius VII 147 (*SVF* II 1021). The passage is quoted by Smith (1998) 143. For a brief and incompletely preserved

text, another of the *Maxims*, in which Diogenes almost certainly asserted the non-existence of divine providence, see NF 197 below.

6–9. The accumulation of “providence” words – the noun πρ[όνοιαν] (cf. NF 126/127 III 6), the adjective προνοη[τικό]ν (cf. perhaps fr. 21 IV 3), and the verb προν[οεῖ]ν – is striking.

NF 126/127 VII = YF 127 II

8–9. For a different interpretation of the syntax see Hammerstaedt (2006) 23.

NF 126/127 VIII = NF 127 III

4. μὲν οὖν indicates a correction.

4–5. τερατολογία, “fairy tale”. The noun seems to occur first in Isocrates 15.285, where it is plural. With τερατολογία ... καὶ μῦθος cf. Philodemus *De Piet.* I 2159–2161 Obbink μύθους καὶ ... τερατείας. Obbink 578 comments on τερατείας: “a familiar way of designating a false μῦθος”. He cites other instances of its use and quotes Epic. *Ep. Pyth.* 114 τοῖς τερατεύεσθαι τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς βουλομένοις, observing: “In all these cases τερατεία is something false, even absurd, than which intelligent persons such as the speaker know better”. Cf. also Cic. *Nat. D.* I 18: *portenta et miracula non disserentium philosophorum sed somniantium*.

4–11. Cf. Epic. *Ep. Pyth.* 87: ὅταν δέ τις τὸ μὲν ἀπολίπη, τὸ δ’ ἐκβάλη ὁμοίως κύμῳ φαινόμενῳ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπίπτει φυσιολογήματος, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μῦθον καταρρεῖ. That criticism of those who reject the Epicurean doctrine of plurality of causes when investigating celestial phenomena is echoed in fr. 13 III 1–9.

6. The last two letters of the line are in ligature.

NF 126/127 IX = NF 127 IV

2. τί ἥργει; “Why was he idle?” Alternative possibilities are ὥκνει (suggested by In-Yong Song) and ἔμελλε, but ἥργει is probably preferable in view of the closely parallel passage in Cic. *Nat. D.* I 22: *isto igitur tam immenso spatio quaero, Balbe, cur Pronoea vestra cessaverit? laboremne fugiebat?* For *cessare* of idle or inactive gods, see Pease’s note ad loc.

2–7. The questions are rhetorically effective and characteristic of Diogenes when he is being polemical (cf. e.g. NF 126/127 IX 11 – fr. 20 I 3). Cf. also Lucr. V 165–180 and Cic. *Nat. D.* I 19–23 (passages in which we have a series of questions in a similar context).

3–4. πρὸ τοῦ κ[όσμου]. Cf. fr. 20 I 11. It is equivalent to πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι (*Ev. Jo.* 17.5). τὸν ... χρόνον ἄπειρον: cf. fr. 20 II 2–3 τὸν ... ἄπειρον ἐκεῖνον χρόνον.

4–5. [ἐν]δεής lends support to the entirely restored [ἐνδεέ] (Smith [1998] 133) in line 10.

5–6. τοῦ ἀ[γαθοῦ] τούτου picks up ἀγαθόν τι in VIII 14.

6–7. A shorter restoration would be οὐκέτι θε[ός]. For the suggestion that the god who is supposed to have created the world does not meet the requirements of a god, cf. fr. 20 II 3–10: ἄπολις ἦν καὶ ἄο[ι]κος ὁ τούτων θεὸς καί, ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχής – οὐ λέγω θεός – μήτε πόλιν ἔχων μήτε συνπολιτευτάς, ἔρημος ἐπλανᾶτο ὅπουδῆποτε. Gregor Staab proposed οὐ μακάρι[ος] instead. This would fit quite well the definition of the following lines 7 ff.: θεὸς γάρ [...] | ζῶν ἄφθαρ[τον καὶ μα]κάριον ἐξ αἰ[ῶνος εἰς] | αἰῶνα, but not its word order, which seems to require some statement about the god himself.

7. We prefer θεὸς γάρ [νοεῖται ὡς] ζῶν ἄφθαρτον to MFS’ previous restoration [δὴ ἔστιν] because of the central role of the κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις (Epic. *Ep. Men.* 123) as a criterion for Epicurean theological beliefs which are indeed limited to ἀφθαρσία and μακαριότης.

## ETHICS

### NF 191 = YF 267

#### *Description*

Complete right and below, broken above and left. Height 7.5 cm., width 4.5 cm. (surface 3.5 cm.), depth 8.5 cm. Part of one line of text, with three letters completely or partly preserved. The only complete letter, the alpha, is 2.2 cm. high, which suggests “medium” rather than “small” lettering. Below the letters is a margin 4.5 cm. tall.

#### *Position in the inscription*

The “medium-sized” letters, which are at the lower end of the “medium” range, in combination with the height of the lower margin, make it most likely that they belong to one of the maxims that were carved in a continuous line running through the lower margin of the blocks of Diogenes’ *Ethics*, below the fourteen-line columns of the *Ethics* itself. The average size of the letters in the band of maxims is slightly higher than in the treatise above. The most compelling indication that our fragment is the bottom right corner of an *Ethics* block is that the height of the lower margin is just right for the space between a maxim and the bottom edge of the stone. It is true that a lower margin of this height is occasionally found in the *Physics*, but the lettering in that treatise is “small”. Such a margin is possible too for the monolithic *Maxims* and *Directions to Family and Friends*, but their lettering is larger than that of NF 191. As we shall see below, the fragment fits perfectly in front of fr. 30, in whose lower margin part of Epicurus’ *Principal Doctrine* (Κυρία δόξα) 2 is quoted. Fr. 30 is part of the introduction to the *Ethics*, and it can be calculated that it was separated from fr. 29 by three columns plus the missing parts of fr. 29 III and fr. 30 I.<sup>31</sup> We cannot know whether the missing passage was carved on one very large block or two smaller ones.

The *Ethics* almost certainly occupied the lowest course of the inscription.



Fig. 3: NF 191 = YF 267

#### *Text*

θ α ν  
vacat

#### *Notes*

The incomplete first letter was rounded – θ, omicron, or possibly ω. The third and last letter, at the right edge of the stone, is undoubtedly ν, although the second vertical, which will have been carved on the stucco that was applied at the joins between stones, is missing. The letters fit perfectly in front of the quotation of Epic. *Sent.* 2 in the lower margin of fr. 30. The quotation on fr. 30 begins ATOC, the last letters of ΘANATOC, and YF 267 can now supply the first three letters of the word: [ὁ] θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

<sup>31</sup> For the method of calculation, see e.g. Smith (1993) 82.

## NF 192 = YF 256

*Description*

A complete block, but by no means undamaged. Most of the left edge is broken off, as is most of the bottom edge on the left side of the stone. One piece of the lower left area has cracked away and, although not completely broken off, has slipped several centimetres. The greater part of the surface of the left half is badly weathered and worn. The block lies face up, but not flat, the top edge being at a lower level than the bottom edge. Height 61 cm., width 109.5 cm., depth at least 20 cm. Upper margin 5.5 cm., lower margin 12 cm. tall. The stone carried the last letters of a fourteen-line column on the left, two complete columns, and all but the last letters of a fourth column on the right. Letters “small”. Unfortunately little can be read in columns I and II. Columns III and IV are much better preserved, although even these are difficult to read in places. Punctuation is indicated by *paragraphoi* as well as by spaces. It is just possible to make out in places very faint traces of a continuous line of “medium-sized” letters that ran through the lower margin. The space between the bottom of this line and the bottom edge of the stone is 4 cm. tall.

*Position*

The physical and epigraphical features are those of Diogenes’ *Ethics*. The subject matter, an argument against the Stoics about the identity of the ethical end (τέλος) to be sought by human beings, shows that the fragment belongs to the same section of the treatise as fr. 32 and 33. In fr. 32 Diogenes, who in the introduction to the *Ethics* promised to explain the identity of “the end sought after by nature” (fr. 29 I 14–II 3: τὸ ἐπιζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ... τέλος), argues that virtue (ἀρετή) is not, as the Stoics believe, the moral end, but the means to the end, which is pleasure (ἡδονή). This argument continues in fr. 33, after a gap of probably nine or ten columns.<sup>32</sup> NF 192 is most likely to have occupied part of that gap. There can be little doubt that it came after fr. 32, in which the discussion of virtue and pleasure begins, and it is much more likely to have preceded fr. 33 than to have followed it. It is unfortunate that virtually nothing remains of the maxim quotation in the lower margin, for this could have settled the position of the fragment precisely in relation to fr. 32 and/or fr. 33, since fr. 32 carries in its lower margin parts of Epicurus *Sent.* 6 and 8, and fr. 33 parts of *Sent.* 10. Nevertheless the quotation of *Sent.* 10, which began below a missing column that followed fr. 32 VI after two columns (fr. 32 VII, of which we have just one or two letters from its last four lines, and the following column), may be relevant to the question of NF 192’s position. How so? In that there is often a relationship between the subject matter of the columns of the *Ethics* and that of the maxim or maxims carved in the margin below them. For examples, see Smith (1993) 471–472. *Sent.* 10 makes the point that, if the things that produce the pleasures of profligates (εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἁλώτους ἡδονῶν) were to dispel mental and physical pain, there would be no reason to avoid them. This would be a very suitable saying to place under the columns of NF 192, in which Diogenes forcefully makes the point, during his anti-Stoic polemic, that the pleasures recommended by the Epicureans are *not* the sensual pleasures favoured by the masses, and in the very poorly preserved col. II there is mention of “profligates” (τῶν ἁλώτων) in lines 3–4, echoing *Sent.* 10. The only letter traces that can be identified with reasonable certainty in NF 192 lower margin are CT under the third, fourth,

<sup>32</sup> The text of fr. 33 was augmented by the discovery in 1997 of NF 128, which carries the right half of col. IV and the first letters of col. V. See Smith (1998) 146–152, Smith (2003) 90–98. Our knowledge of the full course of Diogenes’ argument is limited by the loss of much of fr. 32 V–VI and the poor state of preservation of fr. 33 I–III.

and fifth letters of IV 14, and it is to be noted that there are four places in that part of *Sent.* 10 that precedes the part of it quoted in the lower margin of fr. 33 in which these letters occur together.



Fig. 4: NF 192 = YF 256

### Text

The first two columns are almost illegible. Our readings disagree in many places, and each of us had difficulties in verifying them on his squeezes. As MFS's squeeze seems to be generally better, his readings of the first two columns are mostly preferred, with some occasional remark by JH in the notes. In column III, after many discussions, our readings and interpretations still differ in places and are therefore presented separately.

I    [-----]  
       [-----] . ὙΛ . ον *vac.*  
       [-----] . εἰρη-  
       [-----] τα . αυ *vac.*

5    [-----]ν -----

6–14 obliterated or broken off

II    κε[τ]μύν[α]ς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀ-  
       πατήσαντες ταῖς τοαύ-  
       τα[ι]ς ἡδοναῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀνώ-  
       των τὸ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας  
   5    ὄν[ο]μ[α] ἀληθές. <sup>ν</sup> εἰ δὲ με-  
       [τέχομεν] ἐκάστης ἡδο-  
       ν[ῆ]ς -----] αν *vac.*  
       [-----] ον *vac.*  
       τῶν . . . οφουγ . τ . . . εἰν *vac.*

10 [-----]ν  
 [-----]  
 [----- ὅταν οὖν]  
 [λέγωμεν τὴν ἡδ]ονή[ν]  
 [ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κατὰ φύ]-

(MFS)

III κιν, ὃ οὐκ ἐκείνας, ὃ οὐκ ἐ-  
 κείνας, ὃ ὦ Ζήνων καὶ Κλε-  
 ἄνθη, ὃ καὶ σὺ Χρύσιππε, ὃ καὶ  
 ὅσοι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμεῖν ἄ-  
 5 [γ]ο[ν]κιν, ὃ οὐκ ἐκείνας ἀπο-  
 φαινόμεθα τὰς ἡδονὰς  
 ὑπάρχειν τ[έ]λος τὰς τῶν  
 πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ ταύτας ἅς  
 ἀρτίως εἰρήκαμεν, ὃν τέ-  
 10 [λο]ς μόνας. ὃ εἰ γὰρ ἀρέσ-  
 κει γ' ὑμεῖν τὸ τῆς φύσεως  
 ἀγαθὸν κατὰστημά τι καὶ  
 [οἰκ]εῖον τοῦτ' εἶναι τέ-  
 λος κατὰ τὸν ἡμεῖν σύν-

(JH)

κιν, ὃ οὐκ ἐκείνας· ὃ οὐκ ἐ-  
 κείνας, ὃ ὦ Ζήνων καὶ Κλε-  
 ἄνθη, ὃ καὶ σὺ Χρύσιππε, ὃ καὶ  
 ὅσοι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμεῖν ἄ-  
 γουσιν, ὃ οὐκ ἐκείνας ἀπο-  
 φαινόμεθα τὰς ἡδονὰς  
 ὑπάρχειν τ[έ]λος τὰς τῶν  
 πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ ταύτας ἅς  
 ἀρτίως εἰρήκαμεν, ὃν τέ-  
 10 λος μόνας. ὃ εἰ γὰρ ἀρέσ-  
 κε[ι] χὺ]μεῖν τὸ τῆς φύσεως  
 ἄριστον κατὰστημά τι καὶ  
 ἐνάρετον ὃ τοῦτ' εἶναι τέ-  
 λος κατὰ τὸν ἡμεῖν σύν-

IV φωνον λόγον, ὃ τὸ δὲ τ[ῆς ἡ]-  
 δονῆς ὄνομα μεισε[ῖτε],  
τί οὐ πάλαι ἡμεῖν ἐλέ[ξα]-  
τε; – “τὸ μὲν δόγμα ὑμῶ[ν ἄ]-  
 5 ληθές, ἄνδρες, τῷ δὲ [τῆς]  
 ἡδονῆς ὀνόματι φα[ύλω]ς  
κέχρησθε”, ἵνα πρὸς [τοῦ]-  
το ὑμεῖν εἴπαμεν· ὃ “[καί]-  
 νὸν μὲν οὐδαμῶς ὑ[δὴν]  
 10 τάττομεν τόνδε τὸν [λό]-  
 γον κατὰ τοῦ προειρη[μέ]-  
νου καταστήματος, [ἀλ]-  
λ' ἄνωθεν ὠμειλη[μέ]-  
νον πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν [.]”

Lower margin (a maxim, perhaps – see *Position* – Epic. *Sent.* 10), partially visible beneath col. IV  
 [– –]τ[– – – – –]

## Translation

(according to MFS)

(II) ... pleasures, and having deceived ... through so many pleasures concerning profligates the  
 [true name (?)] of happiness. If [we partake] of each pleasure .....  
 [So when we say that pleasure is a good in accordance with nature], (III) it is not those, it is  
 not those, Zeno and Cleanthes and you, Chrysippus, and all who follow the same path as you,



*it is not those pleasures of the masses that we advocate as being an end, but only these which we have just mentioned are an end. For if it is your doctrine that the natural good is a kind of condition, and that this is an appropriate end in accordance with the (IV) argument that is in harmony with us, but you hate the name of pleasure, why did you not say to us long ago? – “Your doctrine is true, gentlemen, but you have misused the name of pleasure”, so that we might have said to you in opposition to this: “This argument we are now marshalling concerning the previously mentioned condition is by no means new, but from the beginning [Epicurus proclaimed it] in an address to all Greeks [...]”*

(according to JH)

*they ... (III), not those: it is not those, Zeno and Cleanthes and you, Chrysippus, and all who follow the same path as you, it is not those pleasures of the masses that we advocate as being an end, but only these which we have just mentioned are an end. If you share the doctrine that the best and virtuous state of our nature whatever it is, that this is the end in accordance with the (IV) argument that is in harmony with us, but you hate the name of pleasure, why did you not say to us long ago: “Your doctrine is true, gentlemen, but you have misused the name of pleasure”? So that we might have replied to you in opposition to this: “It is not now that we fashion this argument concerning the previously mentioned condition as a new one, but it is normal language from the beginning (of language) among all Greeks [...]”*

## Notes

### I

3. Perhaps μετριότης. The noun is not found in Epicurus’ extant writings, but occurs in Democritus fr. B 191 DK = 657, 739 Luria = D55 Taylor: ἀνθρώποι γὰρ εὐθυμῆ γίνεται μετριότητι τέρψιος καὶ βίου συμμετρίη. [με]τριότητος has been suggested as a possible alternative to [ἄλλο]τριότητος in fr. 127 I 1: see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 27.

### II

1. If κειμέναις is correct (we are both doubtful about it), restore before it something like τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει. Cf. Epic. *Ep. Men.* 131.

1–2. ἀπάτη and ἀπατάω are often used of deceit or delusion involving sensual desires and pleasures. See BDAG, Lampe.

3–4. τῶν ἀρώτων. Cf. Epic. *Ep. Men.* 131, *Sent.* 10.

5. The restoration of the first part of the line is extremely doubtful.

5–7. Although pleasure is the Epicurean *summum bonum*, not every pleasure is to be taken and not every pain avoided, because sometimes temporary pleasure is outweighed by subsequent pain, and sometimes temporary pain is outweighed by subsequent pleasure. See Epic. *Ep. Men.* 129–130.

9. Perhaps [c]οφοῦ.

12 – III 10. Cf. Epic. *Ep. Men.* 131 ὅταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονὴν τέλος ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀρώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμέναις λέγομεν, ὥς τινες ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἢ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν.

13. Instead of ]ονη[, JH reads in this line: [— — — — —]ομε | [. .].

## III

1. -ctv. If this is the ending of a verb rather than a noun, perhaps restore something παρ' ὃ τινες λέγουσιν.

1–2, 5. If there is a triple anaphora of οὐκ ἐκείναις (not agreed by JH, who takes the first οὐκ ἐκείναις with the previous sentence), it is remarkably emphatic, showing the great importance Diogenes attaches to refutation of the charges, often brought against the Epicureans, that they advocated pursuit of sensual pleasures.

2–3. Diogenes, in contrast to Lucretius, mentions many individual philosophers (Smith [1993] 137), and not infrequently apostrophises them: see fr. 6 III 9 (Heraclitus); 7 II 9 (Democritus); 39 III 7 (Plato); 42 II 8, V 10 (Empedocles).

Diogenes often mentions “the Stoics”, and probably (the text is very worn) names Zeno in fr. 33 II 2 (Smith [1993] 202). But this is the only place in the known parts of the inscription where Cleanthes and Chrysippus are mentioned. The latter’s doctrine of the fate of the soul (which differed from that of Cleanthes) is criticised in fr. 39 III 13–V 14, but Chrysippus is not named there. Zeno of Citium (c. 333 – c. 262 BC) founded the Stoic school and laid down the basic doctrines. Cleanthes (331–232 BC), from Assos, a man with a religious outlook, best known for his *Hymn to Zeus*, succeeded Zeno, and he in turn was succeeded by Chrysippus (c. 280 – c. 207 BC), from Soli in Cilicia, who did so much to strengthen the intellectual foundations of Stoicism that he became known as its second founder. So considerable was his contribution that it was said: “If there had been no Chrysippus, there would have been no Stoa” (εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στοά). The anonymous comment is quoted by Diog. Laert. 7.183). Although Chrysippus was a prolific writer, only fragments of his work survive, and the remains of his two predecessors’ writings are even more scanty.

Both Cleanthes and Chrysippus wrote *On Pleasure*, Περὶ ἡδονῆς (Diog. Laert. VII 175, 202). Although the Stoics, like the Epicureans, recommended “living in accordance with nature”, the two schools of philosophy interpreted this aim in very different ways. Whereas the Epicureans said that nature teaches us that pleasure is good, pain bad, so that pleasure is the end to be sought, the Stoics contended that infants and animals naturally seek not pleasure but self-preservation, and that as human beings grow up this instinct is replaced by reason, which they share with god. So for them living in accordance with nature means living in accordance with reason and, since the world is not only rational but also good, it also means living in accordance with virtue (ἀρετή). They regard virtue or wisdom as the only good, vice or folly as the only evil. All other things are “indifferent” (ἀδιάφορα), i.e. neither good nor bad, and these things include good and bad reputation, pleasure and pain, wealth and poverty, health and sickness, life and death. Although many Stoics divided the category of “things indifferent” into “things preferred” (προηγμένα) and “things not preferred” (ἀποπροηγμένα) and taught that the former are to be chosen and the latter avoided *provided that* the choice and avoidance are compatible with virtuous living, the attitude of Stoic philosophers to pleasure was, if not militantly hostile, unenthusiastic. Cleanthes was particularly scornful of it. In his lectures he would illustrate Epicurus’ hedonistic doctrine by inviting his audience to picture Pleasure as a queen on a throne, with the virtues attending her as maidservants and carrying out her instructions (Cic. *De Fin.* 3.69). He denied that pleasure is natural or has any worth (SVF III.155). As for Chrysippus, although he followed Zeno in placing pleasure in the sub-category of “things preferred”, he denied that it is a good (Diog. Laert. 7.102). Although the Epicureans disagreed with the Stoics that virtue is the end, they believed that the end, ἀταραξία, the static pleasure of the mind, cannot be achieved without it. See e.g.

Epic. *Ep. Men.* 132: συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῷ ζῆν ἡδέως, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως τούτων ἐστὶν ἀχώριστον. Also *Sent.* 5, which was quoted by Diogenes beneath his *Ethics* (fr. 37 lower margin).

5–6. ἀποφαινόμεθα. Cf. fr. 20 II 1; NF 167 III + 126/127 I 8.

6–7. Cf. Epic. *Ep. Men.* 131 ἡδονὴν τέλος ὑπάρχειν. Also fr. 32 II 10, 14 – III 1.

9–10. τέλος μόνας. This is probably correct, although we hesitated much before printing it, because: (1) the two-letter space after εἰρήκαμεν is inappropriate; (2) the letter at the end of the line, after τ, looks more like omicron than ε; (3) the repetition of τέλος, already in 7, is unnecessary. Moreover, according to MFS, the poor traces of the first two letters of 10 do not look like λ and omicron and the incomplete letter before ονας perhaps looks more like δ than μ (JH does not share this last view). But it is hard to see what else could be read *and* make sense.

10. After having stated that the Stoics were wrong to connect with the Epicureans the popular concept of ἡδονή as their telos, while the Kepos really accepted only a sublime form of ἡδονή, Diogenes now sustains (γάρ) his defence by showing that the sublime Epicurean ἡδονή is substantially identical with the Stoic telos, but that the Stoics avoid this word.

11–12. τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθόν (MFS). Cf. e. g. Epic. *Sent.* 7. – JH believes that the combination of the definite with the indefinite (cf. LSJ s.v. τις A.II.10.a. and b.) in the expression τὸ ἄριστον κατάστημά τι κτλ. aims to reconcile the Stoic adversaries to the use of an exclusively Epicurean term for a condition which they would rather have denominated as διάθεσις. Several ancient testimonies confirm that the Epicureans defined the telos as εὐταθὲς καρκὸς κατάστημα (Usener fr. 68).

13. For [οἰκ]εῖον, which he considers too short, JH prefers ἐνάρετον, or σεβαστόν, μέγιστον, or the noun βραβεῖον (proposals in order of diminishing probability). Other proposals which have been made by us and by several colleagues do not have the right length. We both agree that the last four letters are CTON, EGON, ETON, CTON, CION, or EION. JH believes that the first letter of the line is likely to be curved on its left side.

#### IV

13–14. MFS compares fr. 32 II 9–III 8: [τ]ὴν μὲν [ἡ]δονὴν λ[έγ]ω καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις μέγα ἐνβ[ο]ῶν τῆς ἀρίστης δια[γ]ωγῆς ὑπάρχειν τέλος, τὰς δὲ ἀρετὰς ... τέλος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ποιητικὰς δὲ τοῦ τέλους εἶναι. He tentatively proposes that after Ἑλλήσιν in IV 14 the text continued: [Ἐπί]κουρος αὐτὸν ἐκήρυξεν]. Whether his suggested restoration of Epicurus' name is correct or not, ἄνωθεν suggests to him that Epicurus made a similar statement to the one of Diogenes in fr. 32. If so, it would be interesting to know whether he mentioned just the Greeks, or non-Greeks as well (Ἑλλήσιν καὶ βαρβάροις). The common view is that Diogenes' outlook was more cosmopolitan than that of his master, although it is not certain what Epicurus' position was. See Smith (1993) 139–140. For [ἐκήρυξεν] cf. fr. 32 II 12–13 μέγα ἐνβοῶν, an expression appropriate in reference to making a proclamation to a large assembly. Epicurus is described in fr. 72 III 12–13 as ὑμέτ[ερος] κῆρυξ ὃς διέκωκε[ν ὑμᾶς]. Fr. 72 describes his experience of being shipwrecked and seems to follow closely the wording of his own account of the event. He may well have described himself as κῆρυξ. The likelihood of this is perhaps supported by *Sent. Vat.* 52 ἡ φιλία περιχορεύει τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύττουσα δὴ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐγείρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριστόν, although it is not certain that this is a quotation from Epicurus himself. If it is, MFS sees it as lending support to the view that the founder of the school, like his Oinoandan follower, had a cosmopolitan outlook.

JH instead regards ἄνωθεν ὁμειλη[μέ]νον πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν as part of a reference to the normal and genuine meaning of the word ἡδονή (continuing the terminological discussion of IV 2–3 and 5–7), suggesting that the Stoics are in disagreement with this use. An appeal to barbarians as well as the Greeks would not stand up well in such an argument.

NF 193 = YF 263

### Description

Complete above, although the surface is broken off; broken below, left, right. Height 55 cm. (surface 22 cm.), width 35 cm. (surface 16 cm.), depth 29.5 cm. upper margin 4 cm. Letters “small”. We have the ends of the first six lines of a fourteen-line column.

### Position

The height of the stone is too great for the *Physics* (46–49 cm.),<sup>33</sup> and the height of the upper margin is too little for the *Fourteen-Line-Column Letters* (7–9 cm.). It follows that we have a fragment of the *Ethics*. The meagreness of the surviving text and the loss of the maxim-bearing line that will have run through the lower margin mean that we cannot be sure to what part of the treatise the fragment belongs. For discussion of the possible subject matter, see *Notes*.

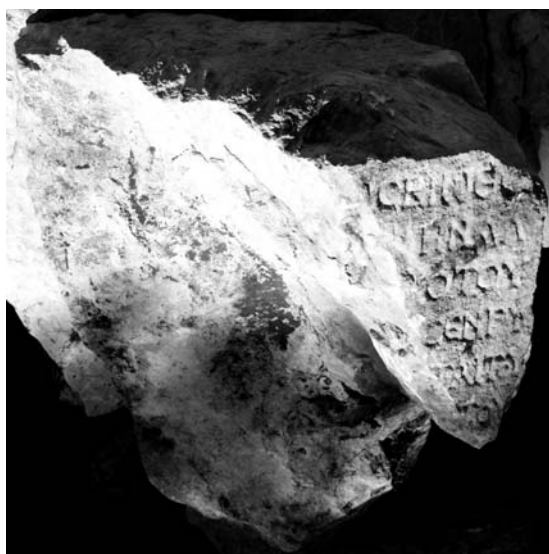


Fig. 5: NF 193 = YF 263

### Text

ἵως βίῃ θε-  
λήμην αλ-  
γοτου  
ἵκεν γυ  
5 ἵται του  
ἵτου

### Notes

This is the text of MFS, while JH believes that at the end of line 1, after the θ, the surface is broken off and that there are no remains of a letter. According to MFS, the best clue to the subject matter is here, there being a probable

comparison with “a life of a god”. The well-known Epicurean view that human beings, despite their mortality, can live lives as peaceful and happy as those of the immortal gods, is found elsewhere in Diogenes’ inscription. See fr. 56 I 4–6 and fr. 125 III 9–IV 10. The second of these passages is part of the *Letter to Mother*. But even if the suggestion about the content of line 1 is correct, it is not possible to be sure exactly what the context is, or to what section of the *Ethics* NF 193 belongs. One possibility is that Diogenes is making precisely the point that our mortality does not prevent us from attaining godlike happiness, in which case the fragment may belong to

<sup>33</sup> It is possible that the height of NF 143 (YF 221) is only 44.5 cm., but this block, found in 2008, could not be completely exposed, and the measurement is not certain. See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 6.

the section in which he attempts to dispel fear of death – a section to which fr. 37–42, NF 168, and possibly fr. 43 and NF 137 are to be assigned.<sup>34</sup>

The following partial reconstruction of the fragment is very tentatively offered by MFS:

[- - - - - ὁμοί]ως βίῳ θε-  
[οῦ μακαρίου. οὐ] μὴν ἀλ-  
[λὰ καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖ]νο τοῦ  
[καιροῦ θάνατο]ς ἐνγύ-  
5 [τατος εὐρίσκει]ται τοῦ  
[ἀνθρώπου - - -]του

“... as a life of a blessed god. Yet even if at that time death is found to be very near the person ...”. The context of this would most likely be illness: there is no reason why a person taken ill should not continue to enjoy godlike happiness, and the same is true even if someone contracts a terminal illness. In the Epicurean view, any physical pain can be outweighed by mental pleasure, and Epicurus himself, dying of a painful illness, told Idomeneus of his great happiness (Usener fr. 138).

1–2. The first letter seems to be the slightly inclined right upright of ω. – Cf. fr. 125 IV 9–10 ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ζῶμεν, ὁμοίως τοῖς θεοῖς χαίρομεν (MFS). – If there is no ε (JH), there could also be a passive aorist or future of βιώω.

2. [οὐ] μὴν ἀλ[λὰ ... εἰ]. Cf. NF 126/127 VIII 13 and see Denniston, *Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954<sup>2</sup>) 30. Here in NF 193, unlike in NF 126/127, the argument which the words introduce is not necessarily assumed to represent, as it sometimes does, the writer’s “second line of defence, or reserve position” (Denniston). – Other possibilities would be a form of ἀλγηδών at the line end, preceded by [γνώ]μην, [ἐπιτή]μην, or a verb form of the first person in a secondary tense, for example [ἐρό]μην (JH).

3–4. [κατ' ἐκεῖ]νο τοῦ [καιροῦ]. Cf. e.g. Justin *Apol.* 26.3, 33.5, 60.2; *Dial.* 117.5; Aelian. *NA* XVII 37. Phryn. *Ecl.* 244 Fischer discusses the use of the article in this expression. – Other possibilities: ]ν ὁ τοῦ, [ἐκεῖ]νο του[τ - -], and [ἐκεῖ]νο τὸ ὑ[.

4. Besides a form or derivative of ἐνγύς (cf. fr. 21 II 14) or ἐνγύη (like προενγυάομαι), other possibilities are [- - -]εν γυ|[v - - -] and [- - -]εν γυ|[vαι - - -] (the same syllable γυ at the end of the line in fr. 122 I 5 [*TLC Writings*]).

#### SMALL-LETTER FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN POSITION

NF 194 = YF 257

##### *Description*

Complete right, but with the surface broken off all along the right edge; broken above, below, left. Height 20 cm. (surface 19.5 cm.), width 19.5 cm. (surface 18 cm.), depth 10.5 cm. Part of six lines of “small” letters. Above the first line is what appears to be part of an upper margin that was at least 2.5 cm. tall: there is no sign of any letter-traces in the space there, although admittedly the space is not broad. So we almost certainly have the first lines of a column.

<sup>34</sup> NF 129 was confidently placed in the same section by Smith (1998) 153 and (2004) 101, but the discovery, in 2008, of NF 146, which immediately preceded NF 129, revealed that the confidence was misplaced.

### Position

Since the stone is broken above, one cannot know how generous the margin was, which is a pity because that information can often tell one to which writing a fragment belongs. As for the content, with only one word that is not a definite article preserved, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusion. For the possibility that Diogenes mentions an “aggregation” or “compound”, see notes below on lines 3 and 5. The indications, meagre and inconclusive though they are, seem to point more to physics than to ethics.



Fig. 6: NF 194 = YF 257

### Text

] . ος ηδ[  
 ]οις ἐπιϰυν[  
 τ]ὸ σύνολον δο[  
 ο]ύκουν τῆς ὕ[  
 5       ]ης συνκ[  
           ]Cυ | [

### Notes

1. First letter τ or υ or perhaps ρ. A slight space before ηδ, probably indicating punctuation. After the stop or pause, ἡ δ[- - -] or ἡδ[η] or ἡ δ[- - -] is perhaps more likely than a noun, verb, adjective, or adverb expressing pleasure (ἡδονή).

2. Either ἐπὶ συν- or ἐπιϰυν-. If the former, perhaps συνκ-, as in line 5; if the

latter, perhaps ἡ δ[ἐ ἐν αὐτ]οῖς ἐπιϰυν[αγωγή] or ἐπιϰύν[κρισις], “the accumulation in them”. The latter noun is a restoration of Usener accepted by Obbink in Philodemus *De Piet.* I 374–375 p. 130, but is not found elsewhere.

3. τὸ σύνολον is often adverbial (“on the whole”, “in general”) and is so in its only other occurrence in Diogenes (fr. 32 VI 13). But it could be non-adverbial here: “the whole”, or possibly [τ]ὸ σύνολον δό[γμα], “the whole doctrine”. But at the end other possibilities of word division exist, for example δ’ ὁ[- - -] or δ’ ο[ὐ - - -] or δ’ ο[ἰ - - -].

4. Either ούκοῦν (cf. NF 126/127 IV 12) or οὔκουν (cf. fr. 10 IV 7–8; 126 III 7). In these three other occurrences in Diogenes the word forms the beginning of a sentence.

5. συνκ-. The most common word beginning with these letters in both Epicurus and Diogenes (fr. 10 II 13; 13 IV 9; 121 I 8) is σύνκρισις, “combination”, “compound”, “constitution”. That does not mean that this or συνκρίνω is the right word here, but it does suggest that it is a prominent candidate. It may be noted that a mention of a “compound” here might tie up well with a mention of “the whole” in line 3, given that the Epicureans believed that every visible thing, including our whole world, is a compound of atoms and void; that every living creature is a compound of body and soul; and that the soul is a compound of four material elements. So there were plenty of opportunities to mention “whole” and “compound” together.

6. One can see the top half of the first letter, which was either ε or c.

NF 195 = YF 268

*Description*

Complete right; broken above, below, left. Height 21 cm. (surface 19.5 cm.), width 10.5 cm. (surface 10 cm.), depth 7.5 cm. Upper margin at least 4.5 cm. Letters “small”. Part of the first five lines of a column.

*Position*

The height of the upper margin is too great for the *Physics*, so the fragment belongs either to the *Ethics* or to the *Fourteen-Line-Column Letters*. The mention of ἀφθαρσία in line 2 suggests that Diogenes is talking either about the gods or about the fate of the soul, in which case NF 195 is likely to be part of Diogenes’ argument against fear of the gods or his argument against fear of death, both in the *Ethics*.



Fig. 7: NF 195 = YF 268

*Text*

]δειξιν[  
ἀφθ]αρσία Λ[  
]ναχρ[  
]υα[  
5 ]ειΛ[

*Notes*

1. Probably [ἀπό]δειξιν, “demonstration”, or [ἐπί]δειξιν, “display”. The verb ἀποδείκνυμι has been restored in fr. 32 VI 10 and 111.3; ἐπιδείκνυμι was conjectured in fr. 49 I 3–4 (ἐπέ[[δειξα]), while the uncompounded δείκνυμι is up to now attested three times in Diogenes (fr. 3 I 7; 54 III 9; 125 IV 8).

2. All that survives of the first letter is the end of an oblique descending stroke. ἀφθαρσία, “incorruptibility”, “imperishability”, is a word found in Epicurus, but not earlier. It occurs

in Plutarch, *Adversus Colotem* 1111D in reference to Epicurean atoms (Usener fr. 288 p. 205.8). But it is more often used of the gods (e.g. Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 76, *Ep. Men.* 123; Philodemus *De Piet.* I 263 p. 124 Obbink). Its only other occurrence in Diogenes is in fr. 39 III 8, where he is refuting Plato’s doctrine of the soul: [π]ῶς οὖν, ὦ Πλ[άτω]ν, [γε]νήεταί [c]οι ἀφ[θαρσί]α; Given that the present passage does not belong to the *Physics*, he is more likely to be discussing the gods or denying the indestructibility of the soul than talking about atoms, although the last cannot be ruled out. The imperfectly preserved letter at the right edge of the stone may well be μ. If so, possibilities include a word beginning μακαρ and something like [ἡ μετ’ ἀφθα]ρσίας μ[ακαριότη] (cf. Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 76).

3. ναχρ. It is unlikely that these letters all belonged to one word. Three divisions are possible: -ν ἄχρ-, -ν ἄ χρ-, -να χρ-, and each division offers numerous possibilities, especially as the con-

text is unclear. If  $\alpha\chi\rho$ - begins an adjective with negative meaning, the most obvious candidate is  $\alpha\chi\rho[\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma]$ , “useless” (cf. fr. 4 II 7). However, the uninscribed space after  $\rho$  does not seem to allow for a complete vertical, but rather for  $\alpha$  or perhaps  $\upsilon$ .

5. The last letter was probably rest of a  $\mu$ .

NF 196 = YF 262

*Description and position in the inscription*

Complete right; broken above, below, left. Height 18.5 cm. (surface 13.5 cm.), width 5.5 cm., depth 8 cm. The fragment carries just two “small” letters, which may have ended what may have been the last line of a column. Certainly there are no traces of any letters in the tall but narrow space below. But if the letters are from the last line of a column, the fragment had a lower margin of at least 14.5 cm., which would be taller than the lower margin of any other small-letter-fragment. The small-letter writing with the most spacious lower margin is the *Ethics*. Its lower margin is 10.5–14 cm., with a continuous line of maxims running through it. Although it is not impossible that NF 196 is part of an *Ethics* block with a lower margin of at least 14.5 cm., it is perhaps more probable that the line of which two letters remain was longer than the line(s) below, in which case the fragment could belong to any of the writings carved in “small” letters.



*Text*

]ov[  
vac. ?

MAXIMS

NF 197 = YF 261

*Description*

Broken above; complete below, left, right. Height 46 cm. (surface 41 cm.), width 36 cm., depth 74.5 cm. Lower margin 17 cm. The last six lines of a column. The first of these lines is broken off or partly broken off at the beginning. Letters “medium”. The first and last strokes of M are vertical, not, as is usual in the inscription, oblique. For the significance of this, see below under *Position*.

*Position*

The physical and epigraphical features of the stone, including the style of lettering, identify it as one of the monolithic *Maxims* – short sayings, probably composed by Diogenes himself, on a variety of topics. They were most probably in the third lowest course of the inscription, immediately above the *Physics*. Several styles of lettering are to be seen in this section of the inscription. The most obvious difference, although not the only one, concerns the way M is carved. NF 197 is one of several fragments in which the letter is carved with the first and fourth strokes vertical rather than oblique or even widely splayed. With the exception of NF 184, all the other such fragments whose subject matter can be certainly ascertained are concerned with physics. If our interpretation and reconstruction of NF 197 are on the right lines, its

Fig. 8: NF 196 =  
YF 262



message is that divine providence does not exist, in which case it too relates to physics, theology being regarded by the Epicureans as belonging to that part of their system.

The order of the *Maxims* cannot be ascertained, but, since the Epicureans regularly treated physics before ethics, and Diogenes intended his *Physics* to be read before his *Ethics*, it is likely that the sayings about physics came before those about ethical matters. The texts in this section of the inscription that are nearest to NF 197 in content are: NF 155, in which we are told that Plato was right to say that the world had a beginning, but wrong to say that it was created by a divine craftsman rather than by nature and is imperishable; and the very fragmentary fr. 100, which seems to have begun with a statement rejecting the Stoic view that the elements of the universe are god and matter.<sup>35</sup> It is natural to group NF 155, fr. 100, and NF 197 together.

### Text

Of the twelve *Maxims* whose texts are complete, seven contain eleven lines, two ten, and two nine. Its very tall lower margin suggests that NF 197 occupied no more than nine.



Fig. 9: NF 197 = YF 261

[εἰ ἢ πρόνοια]  
[τοῖς θεοῖς ἦν]  
[οἰκεία, πῶς ἂν]  
[οὐ] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπε-  
5 θυμούμεν αὐ-  
τήν ὑπάρχειν;  
ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔστι  
εἰσάγειν οὐ δυνά-  
μεθα.

### Translation

[If providence were suited to the nature of the gods, how] could [not] we too desire its reality? But since it is not so suited, we cannot introduce it.

### Notes

The restoration of lines 1–3 is unlikely to be one hundred percent correct, but we have little doubt that it gives the gist of the original text.<sup>36</sup> We thought long and hard about the identity of the missing feminine noun to which αὐτήν (5–6) and οὐκ ἔστι (7) refer. The realisation that εἰσάγειν (8), “introduce”, is appropriate for an abstract theory but not for a physical reality enabled us to narrow down the field of candidates. We considered ἀνάγκη, “necessity” (see note on 8), but, given that the Epicureans reacted sharply against Democritean determinism (see fr. 54), it is impossible to think of any circumstances in which they could be spoken of as desiring it, even hypothetically. The case of πρόνοια, “providence”, is different. Although the Epicureans contended that there is no divine providence, pointing above all to the imperfections of the world and human beings, it would be perfectly reasonable for them to say that, if divine providence were to exist, they would want to acknowledge it and benefit from

<sup>35</sup> On fr. 100, see Smith (2000) and (2003) 118–119.

<sup>36</sup> Concerning the word order of the restored text, we have accepted a proposal of Graziano Ranocchia.

it. Given the likelihood the many of Diogenes' readers would have been brought up to regard a belief in divine providence as an essential element of *pietas*, our new maxim can be seen as exhibiting a certain sympathy with them. On Plato's and the Stoics' belief in and the Epicureans' rejection of providence, see above on NF 126/127 VI 4–11.

2. For [τοῖς θεοῖς] perhaps [τῶν θεῶν].

3. [οἰκεία]. The adjective is defined by Cicero *Acad. Pr.* II 38 as *accommodatum ad naturam*, “suited to (something's) nature”. It occurs, partly restored, in this sense in fr. 72 III 10–11. Its opposite, ἀνοίκειον, is used by Epic. *Ep. Men.* 123, in a passage concerned, like NF 197, with the nature of the gods: μηθὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ θεῷ) πρόσκαπτε.

4–5. ἐπε|θυμοῦμεν. As the Stoics do: *ex quo efficitur id quod volumus, deorum providentia mundum administrari* (Cic. *Nat. D.* II 77).<sup>37</sup>

5–6. αὐ|τὴν ὑπάρχειν. Cf. fr. 5 II 12.

8. εἰσάγειν. Cf. fr. 66 II 12, in reference to the movements of the sun; Epic. *Ep. Men.* 133, in reference to fate (εἰμαρμένη): τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τινων δεσπότην εἰσαγομένην πάντων.<sup>38</sup>

NF 130 = YF 191

This fragment, like NF 127 and 133, was discovered in 1997, but the lower half of the stone was at that time hidden under other blocks. It was first published in Smith (1998) 156–158 and republished in Smith (2003) 119–120. It was possible to expose the whole stone for the first time during the 2011 season, and we are now able to present the complete text.

### Description

A complete block. Some damage to the top edge, but this does not interfere with the text. Height 57 cm., width 49.5 cm., depth at least 30 cm. Upper margin 8.5 cm., lower margin 12.5 cm., left margin 6 cm. Nine lines of “medium-sized” letters. There is damage to the surface, perhaps caused by tree roots, that badly affects the second half of line 3, line 4, and parts of lines 5–6. Elsewhere the text is well preserved.

### Position

NF 130, another of the monolithic *Maxims*, is carved in a much different style from NF 197. For one thing, the first and last strokes of M are oblique, as usual in the inscription, not vertical. A combination of the fragment's style of lettering and its content led Smith (2003) 119 to place it provisionally between fr. 104 and fr. 105, but no certainty is possible.

<sup>37</sup> We owe this hint to Jens Janissen (doctorand of JH and member of his and Kassel's colloquium).

<sup>38</sup> Janissen brought striking parallels from Cic. *Nat. D.* II 73 (*dictumst anum fatidicam Pronoean a Stoicis induci, id est Providentiam*) and Origen, *Contra Celsum*: I 8.21–22 (ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι ὁμολογῶν ἐπικούρειος εἶναι οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τὸ ἀξιόπιστον ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὅπως ποτε πρόνοιαν εἰσαγόντων καὶ θεὸν ἐφιστάντων τοῖς οὐσι); cf. *ibid.* I 13.16; II 35.4; II 42.22; IV 81.1; V 7.27.



Fig. 10: NF 130 = YF 191

## Text

ἡδὺ γίνεται τὸ ζῆν  
 ὅταν ἀπὴ θανάτου φό-  
 βος· ὁ γὰρ [μ]ῦθος [τοῦ]  
 Τ[αρ]τάρου κενός ἐ[στιν].  
 5 ὁ θάνατος [γελ]ακτέος, ἐοι-  
 κῶς προσ[ωπ]εῖω τῷ τὰ  
 παιδία [ἐκ]φοβοῦντι· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δῆξεσθαι  
 μὲν δοκεῖ, δάκνει δὲ οὔ.

## Translation

*Life becomes pleasurable when fear of death is absent. For [the Tartarus fable is vain]. Death is to be laughed at, being like a mask that frightens small children; for indeed they believe that that will bite, but it does not bite.*

## Notes

On the importance of eliminating fear of death, in order to achieve ἀταραξία, the supreme mental pleasure, see e.g. Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 81, *Ep. Men.* 124–127, *Sent.* 2; Lucr. III 37–93, 830–1094; also the passages of Diogenes cited below on lines 1–3, 3–4, 5. For the Epicureans, fear of death often meant above all fear of punishment after death, what Lucretius calls *metus ... Acheruntis* (III 37), and that fear is certainly in Diogenes' mind in the present passage.

Comparison of adults' fear of death to the irrational fears of children is a commonplace in the writings of ancient philosophers. Among those who make it are Plato, Lucretius, and Seneca. On Plato and Seneca, see below on 5–9. Lucretius compares the needless fear of death to children's fear of the dark (III 87–93 = II 55–61 and VI 35–41).

1–3. Cf. fr. 34 VI–VII, where, after saying ἡμ[εῖς] δὲ ζῆτωμεν ἤδη πῶς ὁ βίος ἡμεῖν ἡδὺς γένηται (VI 2–4), Diogenes lists four disturbances, which when eradicated are replaced by pleasure. One of the four is fear of death. For the fragments that belong, or may belong, to his discussion of fear of death in the *Ethics*, see NF 193, *Notes*.

3–4. ὁ γὰρ [μ]ῦθος [τοῦ] Τ[αρ]τάρου.<sup>39</sup> The alternative would be to read [περὶ] Τ[αρ]τάρου] (MFS, who points out that Τάρταρος is normally used without the definite article and refers to Epic. *Ep. Men.* 134 τῷ περὶ θεῶν μύθῳ). For the general meaning cf. Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 81: τάραχος ὁ κυριώτατος ... γίνεται ... ἐν τῷ αἰώνιον τι δεινὸν ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν ἢ ὑποπεύειν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους. Lucretius asserts that Tartarus does not exist as a place of punishment after death (III 966, 1012), but argues (III 978–1023) that the torments of hell, such as were suffered, according to legend, by the likes of Tantalus, Tityos, and Sisyphus, are found in this life: *hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique vita* (III 1023). In fr. 73 I 3–8, lines that immediately follow those quoted

<sup>39</sup> For a similar use of articles cf. fr. 9 V 10–11 (οἱ ... ἔλεγχον τῆς δόξης) and fr. 112.1–2 (τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας). For the connection with μῦθος cf. Max. Tyr. 5.1 ἐπαινῶ τὸν μῦθον τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς πρὸς τάληθες ὁδοῦ, Longus III 22.4 ἤρξατο αὐτῇ μυθολογεῖν τὸν μῦθον τῆς Ἥχους.

below on line 5, Diogenes declares: φοβοῦμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ τοὺς Τιτυοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ταντάλους, οὓς ἀναγράφουσι ἐν ᾿Αἴδου τινές.

4. Or perhaps, after Τὰ[ρτάρου: [ἐνοχ]λε[ῖ πολὺ]. The hiatus would be admissible with a proper name: see Smith (1993) 112.

5. Cf. fr. 73 I 1–3, where Diogenes is evidently addressing Epicurus: [κατακολουθῶ δέ σοι ταῦτα] περὶ τοῦ θανάτου λέγοντι καὶ πέπεικάς με καταγελᾶν αὐτοῦ.

5–9. The comparison of death to a mask that frightens children is interesting. It may well go back to Plato *Phaedo* 77e, where, after Socrates has suggested that Cebes and Simmias have the childish fear (δεδιέναι τὸ τῶν παίδων) that the soul will *not* survive death (77d), Cebes tells Socrates: ἔως ἔνι τις καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν παῖς, ὅστις τὰ τοιαῦτα φοβεῖται. τοῦτον οὖν πειρώμεθα πείθειν μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον ὥσπερ τὰ μορμολυκεῖα. Mormo was a female bogey-monster reputed to devour children. Her name was sometimes used to frighten them when they were naughty. Timaeus, *Lexicon Platonis* 288 Bonelli, explains μορμολυκεῖα as “masks that are frightening to children”: τὰ φοβερὰ τοῖς παισὶ προσωπεῖα. For the identification of μορμολυκεῖα with theatre masks cf. Aristoph. fr. 31 and 130.2 with notes of K.–A. It is not quite certain that Plato means masks, but it is probable that he is thinking partly, if not primarily, of them. So at any rate thought Epictetus, when discussing fear of death: ταῦτα δ’ ὁ Σωκράτης καλῶς ποιῶν μορμολυκεῖα ἐκάλει. ὥς γὰρ τοῖς παιδίοις τὰ προσωπεῖα φαίνεται δεινὰ καὶ φοβερὰ δι’ ἀπειρίαν, τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα δι’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ παιδιά πρὸς τὰς μορμολυκεῖας (Arrian *Epict.* II 1.15). Seneca, in a letter devoted to combating fear, especially fear of death, writes: *quod vides accidere pueris, hoc nobis quoque maiusculis pueris evenit: illi quos amant, quibus adsueverunt, cum quibus ludunt, si personatos vident, expavescunt* (*Ep.* 24.13). Cf. Sen. *Constant.* 5.2; *De Ira* II 11.2; Plutarch *De exilio* 3.600E and especially *De Stoicorum repugnantibus* 15.1040B where Chrysippus (SVF III 313) compares the punishments from the gods mentioned by Plato with formidable figures by which mothers scare their children. On children being scared of masks, see also Callimachus *Dian.* 70–71; Juvenal III 175–176 *cum personae pallentis hiatum / in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans*; Martial XIV 176 *sum figuli lusus russi persona Batavi. / quae tu derides, haec timet ora puer*; Strabo I 2.8 p. 19.15 (use of φοβεροὶ μῦθοι, including Mormolyce, in education of children). This method was still in use in the time of John Chrysostom, cf. *Hom. in Mt.* 10.7 (PG 57.191–192).

6. ἐοικώς. The participle has causal force.

9. δοκεῖ, δάκνει. Note the artful juxtaposition and jingle. For δάκνει of Μορμώ, see Theodorus Hyrtacenus, *Ep.* 28, cited by Gow on Theocritus 15.40.

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

NF 198 = YF 266

### *Description and position in the inscription*

Broken all sides. Height 20 cm. (surface 10 cm.), width 11 cm. (surface 8.5 cm.), depth 16 cm. Part of two lines of “medium-sized” letters.

### *Position in the inscription and authorship*

With no margin(s) preserved, and with no clue as to the content, one can only say that the fragment belongs to one of the groups of writings carved in “medium-sized” lettering – the *Maxims*,

*Ten-Line-Column (TLC) Writings*, and Diogenes’ *Directions to Family and Friends*; and since some of the *TLC Writings* may be the work of Epicurus rather than Diogenes, one cannot even be certain of the authorship.

*Text*

The true line numbers are unknown. The first letters in each line are not in vertical alignment, so we do not have line beginnings.



]νο[  
]τοιϸ[

*Note*

2. ]τοιϸ[ or ]τοιο[.

Fig. 11: NF 198 = YF 266

TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS OR DIRECTIONS TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS  
NF 199 = YF 265

*Description*

Complete left, almost certainly; broken above, below, right. Height 14.5 cm (surface 10 cm.), width 9.5 cm. (surface 7 cm.), depth 6.5 cm. Part of three lines of “medium” letters (about 2.5 cm.).

*Position in the inscription and authorship*

If, as is almost certain, the left edge is complete, NF 199 cannot be one of the *Maxims*, for its lines were begun on the neighbouring stone, whereas the text of each maxim occupies a single stone. In that case the fragment will belong either to the *TLC Writings* or to *Directions to Family and Friends*, and, if to the former, one cannot be certain of its authorship (see NF 198, *Position*).



*Text*

The true line numbers are not known.

]ι ιο[  
]αλλα[  
]α[

Fig. 12: NF 199 = YF 265

*Notes*

1. The large space between the first two verticals shows that they are not parts of one letter, while the generous space before the omicron suggests that the letter before it was γ or τ.
2. First letter: lower half of a descending oblique. Perhaps ὀλλά or ὄλλα.

OLD AGE  
NF 200 = YF 260

*Description*

Complete above; broken below, left, right. Height 19.5 cm (surface 18 cm.), width 33.5 cm. (surface 19 cm.), depth 26 cm. Upper margin 8 cm. Part of the first three lines of a column, but with only some letter-tops of the third line preserved. Letters “large”.

*Position*

The large letters indicate Diogenes’ *Old Age*. The treatise was carved in eighteen-line columns that occupied the top three courses of the inscription. The spacious upper margin shows that NF 200 was in course A, the topmost course, whose blocks are 31.5–34 cm. high and carry five lines of text.



Fig. 13: NF 200 = YF 260

*Text*

ωνηδη | [  
μεκουν[  
3 .[. .] . [

*Notes*

- 1–2. The first letters of these lines are in exact vertical alignment, and in line 1, where the surface is preserved before omega, there is no trace of a letter. So we probably, although not certainly, have line beginnings. Although ων could of course be the end of a word, it could also be ὦν, in reference to Diogenes himself, in which case perhaps ὦν ἥδη γ[έρων]. In line 2 possibilities include μέκου ν[, μεκοῦν, ]μεκ οῦ ν[, and [ἄτρε]μὲς οῦν.

3. The second letter in the line may have been omicron. Only the top of it is preserved. Under the υ in line 2 is the top of what was probably a vertical stroke.

NF 201 = YF 264

*Description*

Complete above; broken below, left, right. Height 14.5 cm. (surface 9.5 cm.), width 10 cm. (surface 4 cm.), depth 16.5 cm. Upper margin 8 cm. Parts of three “large” letters in two lines.

*Position*

The combination of large letters and spacious upper margin identifies the fragment as belonging to course A of *Old Age*.

*Text*

1      ]ωϣ[  
2      ] . [

*Note*

Fig. 14: NF 201 = YF 264      1. First vertical and part of the oblique stroke of ν.

NF 202 = YF 259

*Description*

Partly complete right; broken above, below, left. Height 17.5 cm., width 19 cm., depth 4 cm. Part of three lines of “large” letters.

*Position*

The size of the letters indicates *Old Age*, but, with the stone broken above and below and with no upper or lower margin preserved, it is impossible to say to which of the three courses that carried the treatise the fragment belongs.



Fig. 15: NF 202 = YF 259

*Text*

]ευκα[  
]αλλα[  
]υμω[

*Notes*

1. ευ may be the adverb, or the beginning of one of a great possible number of compound words, as for example εὐκα[ιρ - - - ], or εὐκα[ρπ - - - ], or ευκα may come from the middle of a word, as in [τρίχες λ]ευκα[ί.

2. Probably, but not necessarily, ἀλλά or ἄλλα.

3. The υ is complete but very faint.

NF 203 = YF 253

*Description*

A complete block, but the surface is broken off left. Even where the surface is preserved, it is very worn on the left half of the stone, and many of the letters there have been obliterated. Height 45.5 cm., width 52 cm. (surface 44.5 cm.), depth 42 cm. Five lines of “large” letters. Lower margin 21.5 cm., including at the bottom a scored band 14.5 cm. tall.

*Position*

The physical and epigraphical features of the stone, including its height and its spacious lower margin containing the distinctive scored band, show that it belongs to course C of *Old Age*, which means that its five lines are the last of an eighteen-line column.

The new text is part of Diogenes’ argument that, although old age brings a decline in physical activity, the mind remains active and strong. This point is made in fr. 141. Then in fr. 142 Diogenes twice quotes Homer (*Il.* II 53, III 150–151) in support of his contention that the old are good speakers, and it is highly probable that he named Nestor in one of the gaps in the text. It is natural to suppose that Nestor will again have been in Diogenes’ mind in fr. 143 I 15–18, where he says that weapons were not adequate to deal with the wrath of Achilles. No doubt he pointed out, like Iuncus in his similar defence of old age (Stobaeus IV 50.9 p. 1064.4 ff. Hense), that Nestor’s verbal skills were more effective in that situation. For Nestor’s advice to Agamemnon, see *Il.* I 254 ff., IX 96 ff. One cannot be sure exactly where NF 203 stood in relation to fr. 142 and fr. 143, but undoubtedly it belongs closely with them.



Fig. 16: NF 203 = YF 253



*Text*

MFS: 14	[ ca. 6/7 ] ἐχθαι, <sup>ν</sup> διὰ τοῦ-	JH: . . . . .] ἐχθαι, <sup>ν</sup> διὰ τοῦ-
15	[τ' αὐτὸ] καὶ Ὅμηρος ποι-	[τ' αὐτὸ] καὶ Ὅμηρος ποι-
16	[ητικ]ῶς αὐτὴν, πρὸς Εἰ-	[ητικ]ῶς αὐτὴν προσει-
17	[λίφ] χόλον, μέλιτος	[. . (.)] ἰ . ὀλον μέλιτος
18	[ρεῖ]ν ἔφησεν γλυκυτέ[[ραν]	[ρεῖ]ν ἔφησεν γλυκυτέ[[ραν]

*Translation*

(according to MFS)

...for this [very] reason Homer also [poetically] said that it (Nestor's voice), in response to anger at Troy, flowed sweeter than honey.

(according to JH)

...for this [very] reason Homer also [poetically] said that it (Nestor's voice) [...] flowed sweeter than honey.

*Notes*

14–15. διὰ τοῦ|[τ' αὐτό]. Other possibilities include διὰ τοῦ|[το οὖν]

15. κ: vertical bar, far enough from the following letter to be part of kappa.

16. αὐτὴν, sc. Nestor's voice (αὐδήν/φωνήν). See on 17–18.

17. JH notes: “Before MFS's χ I see the upper part of a vertical; χ, or perhaps the letter is δ, λ, α, is very uncertain; as for the next two letters, omicron is more likely than θ, and λ is more likely than α.”

17–18. See Hom. *Il.* I 247–249: τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ / ἠδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε, λιγυρὲς Πυλίων ἀγορητής, / τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. The passage is referred to by many other writers, including Cicero *Sen.* 31; Pliny *Ep.* IV 3.2–3; Lucian *Imag.* 13, *Parasitus* 44;<sup>40</sup> Jerome *Ep.* 52.3.6 (CSEL 54.418.14–15).

NF 133 = YF 192

Like NF 127 and NF 130, this block was discovered in 1997 but first exposed in its entirety during the 2011 season. It was first published in Smith (1998) 162–165. See also Smith (2003) 133–134.

*Description and position in the inscription*

A complete block, with some damage at the edges bottom left, top right, and lower right. Height 50 cm., width 110 cm., depth at least 28 cm. Five lines in two columns. The lower part of the letters of another line must have appeared at the top edge of the stone, but no certain traces can be seen. The “large” letters show that the text belongs to *Old Age*, and its subject matter, a defence against the charge that the old suffer impairment of vision and hearing, shows that it belongs after fr. 145. In 1997 the lower part of the stone – all of it below the fifth line – was invisible, being buried under other stones. It was therefore impossible to be sure whether there were more lines of text or a spacious margin and scored band, i.e. whether the block belonged to course B or course C. Smith (1998) 163 did not rule out the possibility of C, but decided in favour of B for what seemed at the time to be a convincing reason. This was that the block, at 110 cm., is

<sup>40</sup> Exhaustive note on Nestor: Nesselrath (1985) 433–434.

far wider than any other course C block, its nearest rival, YF 151 (fr. 179), having a width of 78 cm., whereas course B, which is composed predominantly of stretchers (while course C contains more headers), contains four wide blocks, including two that are wider than NF 133. MFS was therefore considerably surprised when NF 133 turned out to belong to course C. He was disappointed too, since it meant that our gain was not the expected extra three lines of text, but merely an empty space (11 cm.) and a scored band (12 cm.)!

A *paragraphos* below the beginning of II 17, and perhaps also II 14, is noted in Smith (1998) 163, and the marginal sign before 10 is discussed in the same place. He gives the following description: “Before the beginning of II 10, and at a slightly lower level than its letters, is a  $\Lambda$  2.5 cm. high, the bottom of the second stroke of which merges into the upper ‘prong’ of the bifurcation at the left end of the *paragraphe*.” But we now believe that we can see a complete *asteriskos* preceding at the same level and touching a *diplè obelismene*.<sup>41</sup> A similar X-sign accompanies a *diplè obelismene* before fr. 146 II 1, another *Old Age* block.<sup>42</sup>

### Text

Since the full exposure of NF 133 did not result in any addition to the text, it is sufficient to refer readers to Smith (1998) 163–164 and (2003) 134. But it should be noted that the lines numbered there 7–11 should be renumbered 14–18, and that the dots under certain letters in I 18 – letters which were partly hidden from view before – should be removed.

NF 204 = YF 254

### Description and position in the inscription

A complete block, but deeply broken off above and over a wide area upper left. Where the surface is preserved, it is severely weathered and worn, and there is a crack running across the stone from about half way down the left side to about two thirds of the way down the right side. Height 46.5 cm., width 42 cm., depth 67 cm. Near the right edge a few traces of “large” letters are faintly visible. By far the best-preserved feature of the block, and the only one that enables us to identify it as part of Diogenes’ inscription, is the 14 cm.-tall scored band at the bottom. This shows that the stone belongs to course C of *Old Age*. There will have been five lines of text, the last lines of a column or columns of eighteen lines. The height of the empty space between the last line and the scored band is about 8.5 cm.

### Text

The few letters and letter-traces that can be read are near the right edge.

<sup>41</sup> What MFS originally interpreted as the first stroke of  $\Lambda$  is in fact the upper right part of the asterisk. We also see a point between the two upper obliques which, together with three other points which are less visible, qualifies the X as an asterisk.

<sup>42</sup> Without *diplè* also before fr. 148 II 11 and in the maxim line in the lower margin of NF 168.



Fig. 17: NF 204 = YF 254

14     [— — —]  
          ||.  
          /  
          Ο . μϸ  
 18     Λ . . . ||

NF 205 = YF 255

*Description and position in the inscription*

Complete above and below, broken left and right. The surface is deeply broken off top right. Height 24 cm., width 51 cm., depth 30 cm. The whole preserved surface is severely weathered and worn. The distinctive scored band, 12 cm. tall, at the bottom is indicative of course C of *Old Age*, but the block is only about half the height of other blocks in this course (45–50 cm.). The surface of the top side of the block is smooth, and, if indeed YF 255 was part of the wall of the stoa that carried Diogenes' inscription, there seem to be three possible explanations. The first is that the stone was recut in re-use. The second is that we have a so far unique case of two blocks set one on top of the other in a course otherwise composed of single blocks. The third is that the part of the wall where the stone stood was uninscribed at the level occupied by *Old Age*, and that there was an architectural feature such as a niche or window. At this stage one cannot say which explanation is correct. Although we now have nearly three hundred pieces of the inscribed wall, ranging in size from complete blocks more than 1.5 m. wide to tiny fragments carrying just one or



Fig. 18: NF 205 = YF 255

two letters, there are many unanswered questions about Diogenes' stoa, the foundations of which have not been located. One thing we do not yet know is whether the inscription was carved on the interior or exterior wall.

Since NF 205 is only 24 cm. high, and since course C blocks of *Old Age* have a lower margin (including the scored band) 21–25 cm. tall, little or no part of any text would have appeared on it.

## 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 (2004), 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 Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010), NF 191–205 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 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. Mention should be made too of MFS's annual surveys of work at Oinoanda and on Diogenes in *Cronache Ercolanesi*.

### Özet

Makalede, kuzey Lykia'daki Oinoanda kentinde bulunan ve Epikuros'çu filozof Diogenes tarafından dikilmiş olan yazıtın ortaya çıkarılması ve korunmasına ilişkin arkeolojik ve epigrafik projenin 5. yılına ilişkin sonuçlar sunulmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın başkanlığı yine, İstanbul'daki Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'nün 2. başkanı tarafından yürütüldü.

Bu çalışmadaki ana amaçlardan biri, Diogenes'in felsefi yazıtının 2010 yılında ören yerinde ayağa kaldırılan bir kısmını daha depoya nakletmekti. 2011 sezonunda, kiminin ağırlığı 500 kg.'a varan 54 blok ile, yeni bulunan 15 parçadan 13 tanesi yeni depoya yerleştirildi. Bu nakil çalışmaları bize hem nakledilen taşların bugüne kadar kısmen yapılmış olan belgeleme çalışmalarını üç boyutlu (3D) tarama tekniği kullanarak tamamlama ve hem de gerekli hallerde yeni estampaj, fotoğraf ve ölçü alma imkanı verdi.

Diogenes'in eserinin 2011 yılında bulunan 15 yeni parçası dışında, Meydan'ın (Esplanade) güney stoasına ait kaide (stylobat) blokunun kuzey ucunu oluşturan ve varlığı önceden bilinen fragmentlerin nakli sırasında önemli miktarda yeni metinler ortaya çıktı. Stylobat blokların taşınması, bu blokların önceden göremediğimiz kısımlarını da ortaya çıkardı. Öyle ki, bu yeni malzemeden elde ettiğimiz önemli veriler de bu makalede sunulmaktadır.

Bu blokların en önemlisi olan NF 127 kodlu yeni fragment, Diogenes'in ana eseri olan *Fizik*'e aittir. Bu blokun üzerinde 14'er satırlık üç tam ve bir de yarım sütunluk yazı bulunmaktadır. Bu blok 1997 yılındaki İngiliz kazıları sırasında bulunduğu zaman, taşın üst ucu, yani her sütunun ilk 4 satırı ve 5-6. satırların bazı kısımları diğer blokların altında kaldıkları için görünmez durumdaydılar. Bu, orijinalde yanyana duran 5 bloktan üçüncüsü olup, Diogenes yazıtına ilişkin bugüne kadar ele geçen en uzun metni kaydeden bloktur (bk. Fig. 1). Burada saptanan yeni satırlar, Diogenes'in "dünyanın bir tanrının takdiri ile kurulduğuna ilişkin yanlış fikirlerle" karşı geliştirdiği tezini tam olarak anlamamızı sağlamaktadır.

2011 yılında, Diogenes'in ikinci önemli eseri olan *Ethik*'e ait olan üç fragment bulundu. NF 191 kodlu yeni parçanın üzerinde her ne kadar sadece üç harf bulunmaktaysa da, bunların, *Ethik*'e ait olan sütunların altında yer alan ve Epikuros'un Prensipler'ini kaydeden kesintisiz satıra ait olmaları mümkündür ve spesifik olarak bunlar Epikuros'un Prensipler'inin zikredildiği 30 no.'lu fragmentten önce yer almaktadır. NF 192 kodlu blok noksansız olup, *Ethik*'e ait üç buçuk sütunluk bir metni kaydetmektedir. I ve II no.'lu sütunların üzerinde maalesef çok az şey okunabilmektedir. Ama III ve IV no.'lu sütunlar çok daha iyi korunmuş olup, Diogenes'e göre benzeri düşüncelere sahip olan ama "zevk" terimini kullanmayı reddeden Stoiklerin eleştirilerine karşı Epikuros'un ahlaki tükenişe ilişkin doktrininin Diogenes tarafından yapılan güçlü bir savunmasını kaydetmektedir.

NF 193 kodlu buluntu çok küçük olduğu için, üzerindeki yazının mahiyeti hakkında kesin birşey söylemek mümkün değildir.

Yazıtın bütünü üzerindeki konumu belirsiz olan, küçük boydaki harflerle yazılmış üç parça (NF 194, 195 ve 196) Diogenes'in *Fizik* ya da *Ethik* adlı eserlerinden birine veya *14 Satırlık Sütun*'a ait olmalıdır. NF 195 kodlu parçanın üzerinde "ölümsüzlük"ten söz edilmesi, Diogenes'in

burada tanrıları veya ruhun akibetini tartıştığını ve eğer böyleyse burada tanrı korkusu ya da ölüm korkusu karşıtı düşüncelerin dile getirildiğini düşündürmektedir, ki bu nedenle fragmentin *Ethik* adlı esere ait olması pek mümkündür.

NF 197 olarak kodlanmış olan parça muhtemelen Diogenes'in kendisi tarafından yazılmış olan "Yekpare Taş Prensipleri"nden birini kaydetmektedir. Bunların "Yekpare Taş Prensipleri" diye nitelendirilmelerinin nedeni, her birinin ayrı bir taş üzerine yazılmış olduğunu vurgulamak ve onları *Ethik*'in altına yazılmış olan Prensipler'den ayırmaktır. İlk satırı noksan olmakla birlikte, yeni bulunan Prensipte Diogenes muhtemelen, ilahî takdir'in (kader) tanrıların doğasına uygun olmadığını, eğer olsaydı bundan Epikuros'cuların memnun olacaklarını, ama bunun kabul edilemeyeceğini belirtmektedir. 1997 yılında bulunan ve Diogenes'in diğer bir "Yekpare Taş Prensipi"ni kaydeden NF 130 kodlu buluntu 2011 yılında ilk kez tümüyle açığa çıkarıldı. Bugüne kadar yalnızca başlangıç kısmı bilinen bu metnin tamamı şöyledir: "*Ölüm korkusu olmadıkça yaşam zevk verir. Çünkü [Tartaros mythosu bir uydurmadır]. Ölüm küçük çocukları korkutan bir maske olup, gülünecek birşeydir; çünkü çocuklar onun ısıracağını sanırlar, ama o ısırmaz*".

Orta boydaki harflerle yazılmış birkaç harf içeren NF 198 kodlu parçanın "Prensipler"e ya da "On Satırlık Yazı Sütunu"na veya "Aile Bireylerine ve Arkadaşlara Öğütler"e ait olması gerekir. Aynı şey NF 199 kodlu parça için de geçerlidir ama bu parça "Prensipler"e ait değildir.

Diogenes'in, yaşlı bir insanın da mutlu ve sağlıklı yaşayabileceğini ileri sürdüğü *Yaşlılık* konulu eserine ait parçalara 2011 yılında 6 yeni buluntu daha eklendi. Ama maalesef bunlardan yalnızca bir tanesinde tatmin edici miktarda yazı bulunmaktadır. Yazıdaki her biri bir tek taş dizisi üzerine yazılan diğer metinlerden farklı olarak, *Yaşlılık* adlı eser, farklı yükseklikteki üç taş dizisi üzerinde ve büyük boy harflerden oluşan 18'er satırlık sütunlar halinde yazılmıştır. Yeni parçalardan ikisi (NF 200 ve NF 201) küçük olup en üstteki taş dizisine (A) aittir. Bir diğer parça (NF 202) yine küçüktür ve ait olduğu yer belli değildir. *Yaşlılık*'a ait olan diğer üç yeni parçanın üzerinde derince kazınmış bir bant bulunmaktadır, ki bu üçüncü ve en aşağıdaki dizinin (C) karakteristik bir özelliğidir. Bunlardan biri (NF 203), Homeros'un, Troia'daki en yaşlı Yunanlı lider olan Nestor'un sesini "*balda daha tatlı*" diye tanımlamasını andırmaktadır. Diğer parçalardan NF 204 kodlu parça neredeyse okunamaz durumdadır. Sonuncu parça (NF 205) ise, eğer sonraki bir kullanım için kesilmediyse, aynı dizideki diğer blokların yarısı kadar bir yükseklikte (45-50cm.) olup, herhangi bir metin içermemektedir. Bu taşın problemlili durumu Martin Bachmann tarafından mimari olarak incelenecektir.

*Yaşlılık* adlı eserin diğer bir parçası da, 1997 yılındaki kazılarda bulunan ve 2011 yılında tümüyle ortaya çıkarılan NF 133 kodlu diğer bir bloktur. Bulunduğu tarihte bu bloğun orta sıraya (B) ait olduğu düşünülmüştü. Ama onun alt kısmını örten stylobat blokların kaldırılması sonucunda bu bloğun çizgili kenarları ortaya çıktı ve bunun C dizisine ait olduğu anlaşıldı. Aslında Diogenes'in eserinden umut edilen parçaları bulamamak belki biraz hayal kırıklığı yarattı, ama blokların hangi diziyeye ait olduklarını saptamakla da iyi bir aşama kaydedilmiş oldu.

Oinoanda projesi hakkında daha kapsamlı bilgi için şu Web sayfasına bakınız: [www.dainst.de/index\\_8097\\_de.html](http://www.dainst.de/index_8097_de.html) (Almanca, Türkçe ve İngilizce).