

JÜRGEN HAMMERSTAEDT – MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH

DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: NEW DISCOVERIES OF 2012 (NF 206–212)
AND NEW LIGHT ON “OLD” FRAGMENTS

aus: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 45 (2012) 1–37

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: NEW DISCOVERIES OF 2012 (NF 206–212) AND NEW LIGHT ON “OLD” FRAGMENTS

This article presents the results, in the shape of new discoveries and research, of the sixth and last season of an archaeological and epigraphical survey of Oinoanda (northern Lycia) that began in 2007. Its focus is on the parts of the work concerned with the Greek inscription of the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes.¹

The 2012 season ran, after the assembly of the team in Seki and the completion of administrative formalities in Fethiye, from 25 September to 5 October 2012. It was again organised and directed by Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), Abteilung Istanbul. We should like to express our gratitude to him, not only for inviting us to participate again in the survey at Oinoanda and to publish the philosophical texts, but also for everything that he has done for Oinoanda and Diogenes during the past six years, assembling an effective and harmonious international team of researchers from different disciplines, formulating challenging questions and ideas that have led to new paradigms for present and future study of Diogenes' inscription, and erecting on the site a storehouse that will ensure the preservation of this unique cultural treasure. We are also grateful to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey for the permission for our work in 2012, to the Antiquities Authority in Ankara, and to İbrahim Malkoç, Director of Fethiye Museum, who visited the site on 2 October and gave us helpful advice and encouragement. Nilgün Şentürk, the representative of the Turkish Government, with her archaeological competence, keen interest, and fluency in modern languages, contributed substantially to the success of our investigations. Both of us thank her for this, and JH thanks her also for negotiating with great efficiency the timely treatment of his injured knee in a hospital in Fethiye.

Other members of the team were engaged as follows. Nicholas Milner (British Institute at Ankara) and Gregor Staab (Cologne University) continued their investigations concerning non-philosophical inscriptions. In-Yong Song (Cologne University) assisted them as well as participating in work connected with Diogenes' inscription. Sebastian Waniorek (University of Applied Sciences at Karlsruhe) continued the 3D-scanning of the Diogenes blocks and gave Bianca Hinzler (Frankfurt University) and Ebru Bağcı (Cologne University) instructions which enabled them to continue the work independently after his departure. The main responsibility for the 3D-scanning was again in the hands of Konrad Berner (University of Applied Sciences at Karlsruhe). He also revised and completed, together with the archaeologist Eric Laufer (Vienna), the digital mapping of many places on the site and at important locations in the neighbourhood of Oinoanda. The various aspects of Berner's activities on the site were closely connected with his tasks during his one-year term of employment at Cologne University. They comprised digital cartography, as well as several steps towards a virtual reconstruction of Diogenes' inscription. In the case of a number of Diogenes fragments which are now lost or whose condition has deteriorated since their first discovery, he also scanned the squeezes, made during previous campaigns, in l'École Française d'Athènes in Athens, in the archives of the Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österrei-

¹ For the work in previous years see Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007); Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011). The archaeological and architectonic aspects of the work at Oinoanda will be described by Martin Bachmann. The non-philosophical inscriptions will be published by Milner and Staab.

chischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, and in MFS's house on the small and remote island of Foula in Shetland.² Burcu Ölçer, Aysel Keçeli (both from Mimar Sinan University, İstanbul) and Tolga Şenol (Anadolu Üniversitesi, Eskişehir), Ulrike Herrmann (Vienna University of Technology), Nadine Diewald, Annika Zeitler, Burkhard Heberlein, Matthias Wittmann (all from Regensburg University of Applied Sciences), Jakobus von Geymüller and Nikolaus Koch (both from Karlsruhe Institute for Technology) completed the documentation of the Hellenistic wall at the south end of Oinoanda in sections and elevations. Andreas Richter (Düsseldorf) took part in the survey as a journalist and assisted with various tasks. MFS was assisted for some days by his daughter, Lucinda Ferguson Smith. Last, but not least, our friend Sedat Atçıl, the energetic watchman of Oinoanda, and our Turkish workmen deserve grateful mention for their hard work under difficult circumstances, as do the two (still nameless) successors of Feridon the donkey, who had not survived the previous winter.³

Konrad Berner's one-year post and his travels in 2012 were generously financed by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, while various aspects of our work at Oinoanda and the travel expenses of some team members were supported by Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste, Stiftung Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln, Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes, The Charlotte Bonham-Carter Charitable Trust, The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, the Kim Hee-Kyung Stiftung für europäische Kultur- und Geisteswissenschaften, and as well as by numerous friends of JH's colleague Markus Stein (Düsseldorf University), who made conspicuous gifts to Oinoanda on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday.

In 2012 we aimed to conclude the transport of pieces of Diogenes' inscription into the storehouse. So in winter 2011/12 a list of known blocks which we wanted to move was submitted to the Turkish authorities. Final decisions about individual stones were made on the site by the director of Fethiye Museum. Favoured by generally good weather, we were able to move 17 sizeable blocks⁴ and two small fragments⁵ into the storehouse, which now protects and renders acces-

² In l'École Française d'Athènes, Berner and JH received the valuable help and advice of Delphine Ackermann (Membre scientifique de l'ÉFA) and Katie Brzustowski-Vaisse (Conservator and Librarian), who also permitted them to make a scan of Georges Cousin's *cahier* of 1889 with its tiny and sometimes scarcely recognisable pencil writing and drawings. For the work in Vienna Georg Rehrenböck made arrangements, and Josef Fischer provided access to the items stored at the Kleinasiatische Kommission, while Petra Aigner, director of the Library of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, granted permission for making a scan of Gomperz's manuscript containing comments on a draft of Heberdey's and Kalinka's text of Diogenes – comments which were partially, but perhaps not extensively enough, incorporated into the published edition of the text, Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) (see Smith [1993] 67).

³ We also thank Jim Coulton, who during a private visit to Turkey with his wife in July 2012, stopped in the village of Kınık, a few kilometres north of Oinoanda, and relocated YF 182 (= fr. 24), which he had seen in the lower part of the wall of a house when he was a member of the British team at Oinoanda in 1983. Each year since 2007 members of our survey teams had tried to rediscover this stone without success. Thanks to Coulton's precise description, we were able to record the position of the stone by means of GPS on 4 October 2012.

⁴ YF 003 (fr. 143); YF 005 (fr. 112); YF 018 (fr. 12 I–IV); YF 035 (fr. 15); YF 38A (fr. 34 VI–VII); YF 044 (fr. 66); YF 073 (fr. 56); YF 100 (fr. 163); YF 174 (fr. 19); YF 217 (NF [= New Fragment] 157); YF 270 (NF 211); YF 271 (NF 207); YF 273 (NF 206); YF 274 (NF 209); YF 275 (NF 212); YF 276 (fr. 144); YF 277 (fr. 180). The reverse index in Smith (1996) 35–41 allows one to find quickly the YF (= Yazı Felsefi) numbers of fr. 1–182 and NF 1–136.

⁵ YF 272 (NF 210); YF 278 (NF 208).



Fig. 1: Diogenes blocks in the storehouse at the end of the 2012 season

sible to research 177 of the 299⁶ known fragments of the inscription.⁷ At the end of the season,

⁶ The six fragments YF 033, YF 037, YF 038, YF 052, YF 116, and YF 256 are broken, and their different parts appear (and are of course counted) separately in three of the lists that follow and in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 4 n. 10 (mentioned below in n. 9).

⁷ YF 001 (fr. 130); YF 003 (fr. 143); YF 005 (fr. 112); YF 010 (fr. 147.13–18); YF 011 (fr. 65); YF 012 (fr. 5); YF 013 (fr. 2); YF 014 (fr. 44); YF 017 (fr. 78); YF 018 (fr. 12 I–IV); YF 019A/B/C (fr. 6); YF 020A/B (fr. 137); YF 021 (fr. 123); YF 22 (fr. 10 III–V); YF 024 (fr. 51); YF 025 (fr. 120); YF 026 (fr. 18); YF 027 (fr. 119 III); YF 028 (fr. 3 I); YF 030 (fr. 119 I–II); YF 031 (fr. 13); YF 033A (fr. 39 V); YF 035 (fr. 15); YF 036 (fr. 12 V–VI); YF 037A (fr. 39 I–III); YF 38A (fr. 34 VI–VII); YF 040 (fr. 118); YF 041 (fr. 54 I–II); YF 042 (fr. 54 II–III); YF 043 (fr. 32 I–II); YF 044 (fr. 66); 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 III–V); YF 067 (fr. 152 II 7–11); YF 068 (fr. 152 III 6–13); YF 072 (fr. 9 V–VI); YF 073 (fr. 56); YF 074 (fr. 23); YF 077 (fr. 173); YF 078 (fr. 152 I–II 6–14); YF 079 (fr. 150); YF 080 A/B/C/D (fr. 121); YF 081 (fr. 127); YF 095 (fr. 159); YF 096 (fr. 47 I–II); YF 098 (fr. 103); YF 100 (fr. 163); YF 101 (fr. 14); YF 103 (fr. 4); YF 106 (fr. 36); YF 107 (fr. 86); YF 108 (fr. 107); YF 109 (fr. 83); YF 110 (fr. 81); YF 111 (fr. 60); YF 112 (fr. 27); YF 113 (fr. 25); YF 114 (fr. 140); YF 116A (fr. 133.9–10); YF 117 (fr. 90); YF 118 (fr. 97); YF 119 (fr. 41); YF 120 (fr. 68); YF 121 (fr. 50); YF 122 (fr. 139); YF 123 (fr. 148); YF 131 (fr. 88); YF 133 (fr. 38); YF 136 (fr. 102); YF 137 (fr. 45); YF 138 (fr. 1); YF 142 (fr. 170); YF 145 (fr. 8); YF 147 (fr. 171); YF 150 (fr. 135); YF 152 (fr. 31); YF 153 (fr. 87); YF 154 (fr. 59); YF 155 (fr. 82); YF 159 (fr. 126 I–II); YF 161 (fr. 162); YF 162 (fr. 161); YF 168 (fr. 111); YF 169 (fr. 147.6–12); YF 170 (fr. 57); YF 172 (fr. 131); YF 173 (fr. 115); YF 174 (fr. 19); YF 176 (fr. 93); YF 177 (fr. 94); YF 178 (fr. 96); YF 179 (fr. 95); YF 183 (fr. 182); YF 186 (NF 132); YF 187 (NF 134); YF 188 (NF 128); YF 189 (NF 131); YF 196 (NF 140); YF 197 (NF 139); YF 198 (NF 138); YF 201 (NF 159); YF 203 (NF 163); YF 204 (NF 152); YF 205 (NF 151); YF 207 (NF 144); NF 208 (NF 149); YF 209 (NF 164); YF 210 (NF 145); YF 211 (NF 165); YF 212 (NF 154); YF 213 (NF 156); YF 214 (NF 150); YF 217 (NF 157); YF 218 (NF 147); YF 219 (NF 158); YF 220 (NF 148); YF 222 (NF 153); YF 223 (fr. 110); YF 224 (NF 162); YF 225 (NF 160); YF 226 (NF 171); YF 228 (NF 175); YF 230 (NF 169); YF 231 (NF 176); YF 232 (NF 173); YF 233 (NF 179); YF 234A/B/C (NF 178); YF 235 (NF 172); YF 236 (fr. 125 III–V); YF 237 (NF 168); YF 238 (NF 170); YF 239 (NF 174); YF 241A/B/C (NF 177); YF 244 (NF 185); YF 246 (NF 189); YF 248 (NF 187); YF 249 (NF 188); YF 250 (NF 183); YF 251 (fr. 166); YF 253 (NF 203); YF 255 (NF 205); YF 256B/C (NF 192); YF 257 (NF 194); YF 258 (fr. 109B); 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); YF 269 (fr. 117); YF 270 (NF 211); YF 271 (NF 207); YF 272 (NF 210); YF 273 (NF 206); YF 274 (NF 209); YF 275 (NF 212); YF 276 (fr. 144); YF 277 (fr. 180); YF 278 (NF 208).

the place of each Diogenes fragment on the shelves was recorded on a plan of the storehouse, and copies were given to Fethiye Museum and the site's watchman.

What about the rest? Quite a number of stones, or parts of stones otherwise preserved, are still missing (22 since the French and Austrian work in the nineteenth century,⁸ 22 since the British investigations in 1968–1997).⁹ The position of 81 stones is known, but most of them are deeply embedded in earth or rubble, quite a number have been reused in later structures, and a few are simply too heavy and/or too distant to allow for their safe transport across the difficult terrain of the site, which is still inaccessible for tractors and other heavy machines.¹⁰ Of the three blocks which were found by the British team in 1983 in the village of Kınık two are still there,¹¹ but one was stolen in the winter of 2007/08.¹²

As in the two previous years, the storehouse was used to shelter also a limited number of non-philosophical inscriptions¹³ and small but significant architectural pieces from the site.¹⁴

In 2012 we did not have the stripe-line-scanner that was used during the previous four seasons. We did have a hand-held scanner, which is adequate for the uninscribed sides of the stones. The number of inscribed surfaces which we had planned to scan in 2012 was very small. They and the inscribed surfaces of the new finds were recorded with a photogrammetric camera. By this method the scans of 38 already published stones were completed or emended,¹⁵ and, in addi-

⁸ Nine of them were last seen during French work in 1885 and 1889: fr. 11 (HK 47); fr. 42 III (HK 76); fr. 52 (HK 79); fr. 67 (HK 44); fr. 73 (HK 51); fr. 76 (HK 87); fr. 77 (HK 88); fr. 113 (HK 27); fr. 165 (HK 11). Thirteen are missing since the Austrian expedition in 1895: fr. 7 (HK 43); fr. 10 I–III (HK 52); fr. 17 (HK 54); fr. 39 IV 1–4 (HK 74); fr. 39 V Maxim (HK 75 / YF 033B); fr. 40 (HK 72); fr. 42 IV–V (HK 77); fr. 53 (HK 78); fr. 55 (HK 84); fr. 58 (HK 86); fr. 64 (HK 85); fr. 109A (HK 35); fr. 146B (HK 19).

⁹ A list of the fourteen pieces which have not been rediscovered at the British burial point is given in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 4 n. 10–11. The eight pieces which have not been rediscovered elsewhere on the site are: YF 007 (fr. 106); YF 037B (fr. 39 II 10–14 and lower margin); YF 038B (fr. 34 VII 1–9); YF 039 (fr. 79); YF 051 (fr. 100); YF 090 (fr. 33 V–VI); YF 094 (fr. 132); YF 146 (fr. 104).

¹⁰ YÇ 1062 (fr. 74); YF 002 (fr. 33 I–III); YF 004 (fr. 122); YF 006 (fr. 105); YF 008 (fr. 75); YF 009 (fr. 28); YF 015 (fr. 30); YF 016 (fr. 29); YF 023 (fr. 42 I–II); YF 029 (fr. 157); YF 032 (fr. 61); YF 034 (fr. 39 III–IV); YF 045 (fr. 33 VI–VIII); YF 046 (fr. 34 I–III); YF 049 (fr. 32 III–IV); YF 052C (fr. 37); YF 053 (fr. 3 II–VI); YF 055 (fr. 34 IV–V); YF 066 (fr. 153); YF 069 (fr. 156); YF 070 (fr. 72); YF 071 (fr. 70); YF 075 (fr. 178); YF 076 (fr. 174); 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); YF 091 (fr. 32 V–VI); YF 092 (fr. 98); YF 093 (fr. 20); YF 097 (fr. 21); YF 099 (fr. 177); YF 102 (fr. 154); YF 104 (fr. 136); YF 105 (fr. 116); YF 124 (fr. 99); YF 125 (fr. 169); YF 126 (fr. 175); YF 127 (fr. 176); YF 129 (fr. 164); YF 130 (fr. 168); YF 134 (fr. 22); YF 135 (fr. 145); YF 151 (fr. 179); YF 156 (fr. 151); YF 157 (fr. 26); YF 163 (fr. 128); YF 164 (fr. 158); YF 165 (fr. 172); YF 166 (fr. 63 I); YF 167 (fr. 16); YF 171 (fr. 160); YF 175 (fr. 149 III 1–5); YF 185 (NF 129); YF 190 (NF 127); YF 191 (NF 130); YF 192 (NF 133); YF 193 (NF 126); YF 194 (NF 136); YF 195 (NF 141); YF 199 (NF 137); YF 200 (NF 155); YF 206 (NF 166); YF 215 (NF 142); YF 216 (NF 146); YF 221 (NF 143); YF 227 (NF 180); YF 229 (fr. 35); YF 240 (NF 167); YF 242 (NF 181); YF 243 (NF 190); YF 245 (NF 184); YF 247 (NF 186); YF 252 (NF 182); YF 254 (NF 204); YF 256A (NF 192).

¹¹ YF 181 (fr. 114) and YF 182 (fr. 24), which we were able to record only this year, see above n. 3.

¹² YF 180 (fr. 129). See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 4.

¹³ Two more pieces were brought into the depot in 2012: YÇ (= Yazı Çeşitli) 1270 and YÇ 1279. For non-philosophical fragments collected there in 2010 see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 4 n. 8 and 9, and for 2011 see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 81 n. 15 and 16.

¹⁴ MP (= Mimarlık parça) 0012–0023.

¹⁵ YÇ 1062 (fr. 74); YF 003 (fr. 143); YF 010 (fr. 75); YF 014 (fr. 44); YF 018 (fr. 12 I–IV); YF 024 (fr. 51); YF 031 A/B+C (fr. 13); YF 035 (fr. 15); YF 038A (fr. 34 VI–VII); YF 042 (fr. 54 II–III); YF 043 (fr. 32 I–II); YF 044 (fr. 66); YF 048 (fr. 125 I–III); YF 071 (fr. 70); YF 072 (fr. 9 V–VI); YF 073 (fr. 56); YF 074 (fr. 23); YF 076 (fr. 174); YF 081 (fr. 127); YF 091 (fr. 32 V–VI); YF 104 (fr. 136); YF 135 (fr. 145); YF 162 (fr. 161); YF 168 (fr. 111); YF 170 (fr. 57); YF 172 (fr. 131); YF 173 (fr. 115); YF 174 (fr. 19); YF 183 (fr. 182); YF 185 (NF 129); YF 199 (NF

tion to the nine fragments discovered or rediscovered in 2012, five stones not previously scanned at all were scanned completely.¹⁶ 257 Diogenes fragments have now been scanned completely, or as completely as their location allows.¹⁷

The scans of the French, Austrian, and British squeezes which Berner made in 2012 in Athens,¹⁸ Vienna,¹⁹ and Foula,²⁰ and Cousin's drawings of some lost stones which were not recorded by squeezes, together with the known measurements, are being used by him to create three-dimensional reconstructions, by means of computer aided design (CAD), of the blocks which were not scanned or only partly scanned on the site. When this work is complete, we shall have for the first time a three-dimensional reconstruction (in virtual reality) of the inscribed wall of Diogenes' stoa.

NEW FRAGMENTS 206–212; RE-EDITION OF FR. 144, FR. 180, AND FR. 145 + NF 133

Seven previously unknown Diogenes fragments were found during the short season of 2012. They contribute a significant amount of new text, and one or two of them raise questions that prompt us to rethink matters to do with the composition of the inscription. One is a passage of a previously unknown letter – a salutary reminder of how incomplete our knowledge of the inscription still is. Indeed, the great majority of its blocks are still hidden on the site and await excavation.

In addition to the new fragments, we discovered two pieces which had been missing since 1889. They were never measured or recorded by squeezes before and are re-edited here. While we were preparing this article, we realised that fr. 145 and NF 133 of *Old Age* fit together, and we present an improved text of them as well.

137); YF 217 (NF 157); YF 243 (NF 190); YF 245 (NF 184); YF 260 (NF 200); YF 261 (NF 197); YF 263 (NF 193); YF 269 (fr. 117).

¹⁶ YF 099 (fr. 177); YF 100 (fr. 163); YF 134 (fr. 22); YF 195 (NF 141); YF 255 (NF 205).

¹⁷ Besides the 44 pieces missing on the site and the three blocks which were reused in Kınık (see above n. 8, 9, 11, and 12), no scans could be made of the eleven following fragments: YF 032 (fr. 61); YF 034 (fr. 39 III–IV); YF 045 (fr. 33 VI–VIII); YF 066 (fr. 153); YF 070 (fr. 72); YF 129 (fr. 164); YF 157 (fr. 26); YF 251 (NF 142); YF 221 (NF 143); YF 229 (fr. 35); YF 262 (NF 196).

¹⁸ HK 23 (fr. 126 I–II / YF 159); HK 27 (fr. 113); HK 42 (fr. 6 / YF 019); HK 43 (fr. 7); HK 44 (fr. 67); HK 45 (fr. 13 / YF 031); HK 51 (fr. 73); HK 52 (fr. 10 I–III); HK 54 (fr. 17); HK 57 (fr. 3 I / YF 028); HK 63 (fr. 34 VI–VII / YF 038A); HK 64 (fr. 44 / YF 014); HK 65 (fr. 37 / YF 052 A/B/C/D/E/F); HK 67 (fr. 32 II–IV / YF 049); HK 68 (fr. 33 I–III / YF 002); HK 70 (fr. 33 VI–VIII / YF 045); HK 71 (fr. 35 / YF 229); HK 75 (fr. 39 V maxim line / YF 033B); HK 76 (fr. 42 III); HK 77 (fr. 42 IV–V); HK 83 (fr. 39 I–III / YF 037A/B).

¹⁹ HK 1 (fr. 137 / YF 020); HK 4 (fr. 145 I 7–13 / YF 135); HK 10 (fr. 147.6–12 / YF 169); HK 16 (fr. 155 / YF 062); HK 17 (fr. 143 / YF 003); HK 26 (fr. 122 / YF 004); HK 29 (fr. 105 / YF 006); HK 39 (fr. 65 / YF 011); HK 40 (fr. 4 / YF 103); HK 42 I (fr. 6 II / YF 019); HK 43 I (fr. 7 I); HK 50 (fr. 16 / YF 167); HK 52 (fr. 10); HK 53 (fr. 15 / YF 035); HK 54 (fr. 17); HK 67 (fr. 32 II–IV / YF 049); HK 69 (fr. 33 V–VI / YF 090); HK 70 (fr. 33 VI–VIII / YF 045); HK 73 (fr. 39 II–IV / YF 034); HK 83 (Fr. 39 I–III / YF 037A/B).

²⁰ YÇ 1062 (fr. 74); YF 004 (fr. 122); YF 007 (fr. 106); YF 032 (fr. 61); YF 034 (fr. 39 III–IV); YF 037B (fr. 39 II 10–14 and maxim); YF 038B (fr. 34 VII 1–9); YF 039 (fr. 79); YF 045 (fr. 33 VI–VIII); YF 051 (fr. 100); YF 052C (fr. 37); YF 057 (fr. 141); YF 066 (fr. 153); YF 070 (fr. 72); YF 085 (fr. 48 III–IV); YF 090 (fr. 33 V–VI); YF 092 (fr. 98); YF 094 (fr. 132); YF 097 (fr. 21); YF 099 (fr. 177); YF 100 (fr. 163); YF 115 (fr. 133.1–3); YF 116B (fr. 133.9–10); YF 128 (fr. 101); YF 130 (fr. 168); YF 132 (fr. 84); YF 139 (fr. 89); YF 140 (fr. 85); YF 141 (fr. 124); YF 143 (fr. 80); YF 144 (fr. 99); YF 146 (fr. 104); YF 148 (fr. 181); YF 149 (fr. 92); YF 154 (fr. 177); YF 158 (fr. 143); YF 160 (fr. 46); YF 180 (fr. 129); YF 181 (fr. 114); YF 182 (fr. 24); YF 221 (NF 143).

The large *Ethics* block NF 207 (YF 271), the very small NF 210 (YF 272), and the title fragment NF 206 (YF 273) were found beneath YF 009 (fr. 28), which carries the left part of the title of Diogenes' *Ethics* and stands on the foundation of the north side of the South Stoa of the Esplanade. NF 211 (YF 270) came to light at the east end of the South Stoa, 1 m. south of fr. 169 (YF 125) and fr. 99 (YF 124). A surprising find on the Esplanade itself was NF 209 (YF 274). Despite its easily visible position close to the spot where the team has been accustomed to take lunch since 2010, it had not been noticed before, probably because its inscribed surface is darkened by fire. The stone, reused in the foundation of a late structure, was only 17 m. west of the northwest corner of the new storehouse.

Three more finds were made on the west side of the Late Antique wall which cuts off the Esplanade from the rest of the city. The rather worn stones fr. 144 (YF 276) and fr. 180 (YF 277) were rediscovered close together 15 m. west of the south end of the upper course of the Late Antique wall and about 8 m south of YF 055 (fr. 34 IV–V). NF 212 (YF 275) was found beside the colonnaded street which connected the Roman Agora and the Esplanade, about 15 m. north of the northwest corner of the Flavian bathhouse.²¹

NF 208 (YF 278), the last discovery of 2012, was made on the slope between the Roman Agora and the Byzantine hill, about 8 m. west of NF 137 (YF 199).

Our method of arranging the fragments has been explained in earlier publications of our finds.²² 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.

TITLE

NF 206 = YF 273

Description

Complete left and below; broken above and right. Height 33 cm., width 33 cm., depth 19 cm. The fragment carries only one complete letter, a theta 3.5 cm. high. The letter is carved inside a *tabula ansata*. The centimetre-wide border of the frame to the left of the text and below it is clearly visible, as is the lefthand dovetail “handle”. The border is 16 cm. from the left edge of the stone and 4 cm. from the bottom edge.

Position

The size of the surviving letter and the carving of the text inside a frame indicate a title. The fragment is to be compared with fr. 28 (YF 009), where we have the left part of the title of the *Ethics* carved in letters 3–3.5 cm. tall inside a similar frame. Much of the border of the frame on fr. 28 is less well preserved than the border on NF 206, and it was not noticed by Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka, who discovered the block in 1895 (HK fr. 55). And another feature of fr. 28, the

²¹ Known as MI 1 in accordance with the British grid number system which is explained in Smith (1996) 19–20.

²² Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 4 and (2009) 4–5.

dovetail “handle” on the left side of the frame was not noticed until 2012, when we re-examined the stone after the discovery of NF 206. The feature, distinct enough when one knows where to look, is visible in the photograph in Smith (1996) plate 17 fig. 47.

To the title of which of the writings in the inscription does NF 206 belong? The question cannot be answered with certainty, but the similarity of the fragment to the title block of the *Ethics* makes us think that it is most likely to belong to the *Physics* course. The surviving letter is of the same height, 3.5 cm., as the letters in the *Ethics* title (clearly different from the 5–6 cm. high letters of the title of *Old Age* in fr. 137). Also the proportions and position of the *tabula ansata* assign the block to the *Physics* course. In the *Ethics* title (fr. 28) the right edge of the dovetail “handle” meets the frame at a height of ca. 31 cm. from the lower edge of the stone, almost in the middle of the block, which is 61 cm. high. In NF 206 the same point of contact between “handle” and frame is at a height of about 23 cm. from the bottom edge. So it is likely that the block was originally about 46 cm. high. This is close to the average height of the blocks of the *Physics* course (and of the two blocks of *Directions to Family and Friends* which were however written in medium-sized letters).

To the *Physics* title MFS has previously assigned a fragment found in 1975 and first published as NF 52 in Smith (1978) 45–46 and Plate 1(a). This piece, fr. 1 (YF 138), carries the ends of the first two lines of what was clearly a title:

]vo
2]θη

The restoration [Διογένους τοῦ Οἰ]vo|[ανδέω] is uncontroversial, and, if MFS’s belief that fr. 1 (YF 138) is part of the *Physics* title were accepted, the restoration of [περὶ φύσεως ἐπιτομή] at its end would be a possibility.²³ However it is not clear what]θη would belong to.²⁴

JH believed that fr. 1 belonged to the title not of the *Physics*, but of Diogenes’ *Fourteen-Line-Column (FLC) Letters*, i.e. the letter to Antipater and the letter to Dionysios and Karos.²⁵ MFS questions whether the letters would have needed a title, given that the letter to Antipater at least begins with mention of the writer’s and addressee’s names (fr. 62 I 1–2).

Being part of a title, fr. 1 (YF 138) was probably framed by a *tabula ansata* too; and if it was part of the same title as NF 206, its text must have been carved inside the same *tabula ansata*. So is any sign of the frame’s border or dovetail “handle” visible on the stone? No such sign has been noticed before, but a new examination of photographs and squeezes reveals a faint but unmistakable chiselled border about 7 cm. above line 1 and about 4 cm. below the top edge of the stone. No such border and no “handle” is visible to the right of the text, but that is not surprising, because these features would have been beyond the right edge of the stone. Whether the right edge is complete or not is uncertain: MFS expressed uncertainty about the completeness of both the top and right edges in Smith (1978) 45. In Smith (1993) he called both edges “partly complete”. But, when Martin Bachmann, JH, and MFS examined the fragment at Oinoanda in 2012, Bachmann and JH were of the opinion that the top and the right edges are not complete, while MFS was undecided. However, in the present context the right edge is unimportant: it makes no difference whether the right border and right “handle” of the *tabula ansata* were carved on a missing part of fr. 1 (YF 138) or on another stone to the right of it.

²³ Not accepted by Hammerstaedt (2006) 3.

²⁴ For MFS’s suggestions, see Smith (1978) 46, repeated in Smith (1993) 147; and Smith (2003) 63–64, anticipating a longer discussion in Smith (2004).

²⁵ See Hammerstaedt (2006) 2–5.

JH rules out fr. 1 belonging to the same title as NF 206, calculating that for reasons of space (explained below) the one letter at the line beginning which is preserved in NF 206 belongs to line 3 and would have to follow immediately fr. 1, line 2, and pointing out that the letter sequence]θη|θ[hardly suits the title of a treatise of Diogenes. In view of the fragmentary state of both fr. 1 and NF 206, MFS hesitates to rule out completely the possibility that both belong to the same title, but is less confident than before that fr. 1 is part of the title of the *Physics*.

JH, in view of his interpretation, which is not shared by MFS, of NF 207 I 10–13 (see below) does not exclude the possibility that both NF 206 and fr. 1 were parts of two different titles belonging to two different writings which were situated in the course containing the *Physics* blocks.

Text

The number of lines of the title is not known. The *Ethics* title is four lines long, but it does not necessarily follow that this title was of the same length. There is no sign of any letter in the space below the theta, but this does not mean that another line did not follow, because the beginning of this may have been indented: in the *Ethics* title the beginning of the last line is indented 5 cm. Nevertheless, we can make quite a confident guess about the position of the one extant line of the title. In fr. 28 the four lines of writing cover a height of 21.5 cm.²⁶ The maximum height of the letters in each line is 3.5 cm. and the height of each interlinear space is 2.5 cm., so that there is an interval of 6 cm. between the top of one line and the top of the next. In NF 206 the distance between the bottom of the one extant letter and the lower edge of the block is 21 cm. If one assumes a distance of 6 cm. between the top of this letter, 24.5 cm. above the lower edge of the stone, and the top of the lost next line above, the latter would have been ca. 30.5 cm. from the lower edge of the block. The top of a further line above this would have been ca. 36.5 cm. from the bottom edge. Since the block was probably ca. 46 cm. high, the upper void margin would have been ca. 9.5 high.

A further line would have left a margin of only ca. 3.5 cm. above it – an improbably small one on a title block, and impossibly small given that it would have had to accommodate the top line of the frame.



Fig. 2: NF 206 = YF 273

3 θϛ[

Notes

MFS tentatively conjectures [Διογένους τοῦ Οἰνολανδέως περὶ φύσεως καὶ | θϛ[ῶν ἐπιτομή]. The known parts of the *Physics* include extensive discussions of theology and religion (fr. 15–19, NF 167 + NF 126 + NF 127 + fr. 20 + NF 182, fr. 21–24). JH objects that this would make line 2 very long in comparison with line 1.

²⁶ Upper (17 cm.) and lower (22.5 cm.) margins subtracted from the height of the block (61 cm.).

ETHICS

Fr. 29 + NF 207 = YF 271

Description

A complete block, with the whole text superbly preserved. Height 61.5 cm., width 81 cm., depth 35 cm. Three columns of fourteen lines of “small” letters – the central and right parts of a column on the left, a complete column in the centre, and an almost but not quite complete column on the right. The height of the upper margin varies from 5.5 cm. on the left to 4.5 cm. on the right. The lower margin is 11 cm. tall, and through it, 4.5 cm. below the last line of the columns and 4 cm. above the bottom edge of the stone, runs a continuous line of “medium-sized” letters, about 2.5 cm. high. Punctuation is indicated not only by spaces, but also by *paragraphoi*.

Position

The block belongs to Diogenes’ *Ethics*, and its text is an immediate continuation of fr. 29: fr. 29 III and NF 207 I belong to the same column, which is now complete, and the letters in the lower margin of NF 207 are a continuation of the quotation, in the lower margin of fr. 29, of Epic. *Sent.* 1. The passage carried by the two blocks, five consecutive columns long, is part of the preface to the *Ethics*. The number of letters missing from *Sent.* 1 before that part of it quoted in the lower margin of fr. 29 suggests that only one column of the treatise preceded fr. 29 + NF 207, although the possibility that *Sent.* 1 was preceded by a short title cannot be ruled out.²⁷

The substantial extension of the text of fr. 29 means that the size of the gap before fr. 30, which also belongs to the preface to the *Ethics*, has been much reduced. Fr. 30 carries most of the first half of *Sent.* 2 in its lower margin, and the number of letters in *Sent.* 1 after the quotation in NF 207, added to the number in *Sent.* 2 before the quotation in fr. 30, shows that all that is missing between NF 207 and fr. 30 is the last letter or two of NF 207 III, one complete column, and the line-beginnings of fr. 30 I. The missing text was almost certainly accommodated on a single block. It is to be hoped that the block will be found sometime, and found in a good state of preservation. Meanwhile it is to be noted that its lower right corner, bearing three letters completely or partly preserved from the beginning of *Sent.* 2, was discovered in 2011 and published by us as NF 191 (YF 267) in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 89.

NF 207 contains important confirmation that the *Ethics* was intended to be read after the *Physics*: see fr. 29 III + NF 207 I 9–13 and our note there. We have no doubt that the treatise occupied the lowest course of the inscription, with the *Physics* immediately above.

Text

Fr. 29 I

[πολλοὶ γὰρ πλούτου καὶ δό]-
 1 [ξης] ἔ[νε]κεν τὸ φιλο-
 [σο]φεῖν μεταδιώκου-
 [ς]ιν, ὡς ἦτοι παρ’ ἰδι-
 ῶτων ποριούμενοι
 5 ταῦτα ἢ βασιλέων, οἷς
 μέγα τι καὶ τεῖμιον
 κτῆμα φιλοσοφία

²⁷ Usener (1892) 440 suggests Ἐπικούρου δόξα.

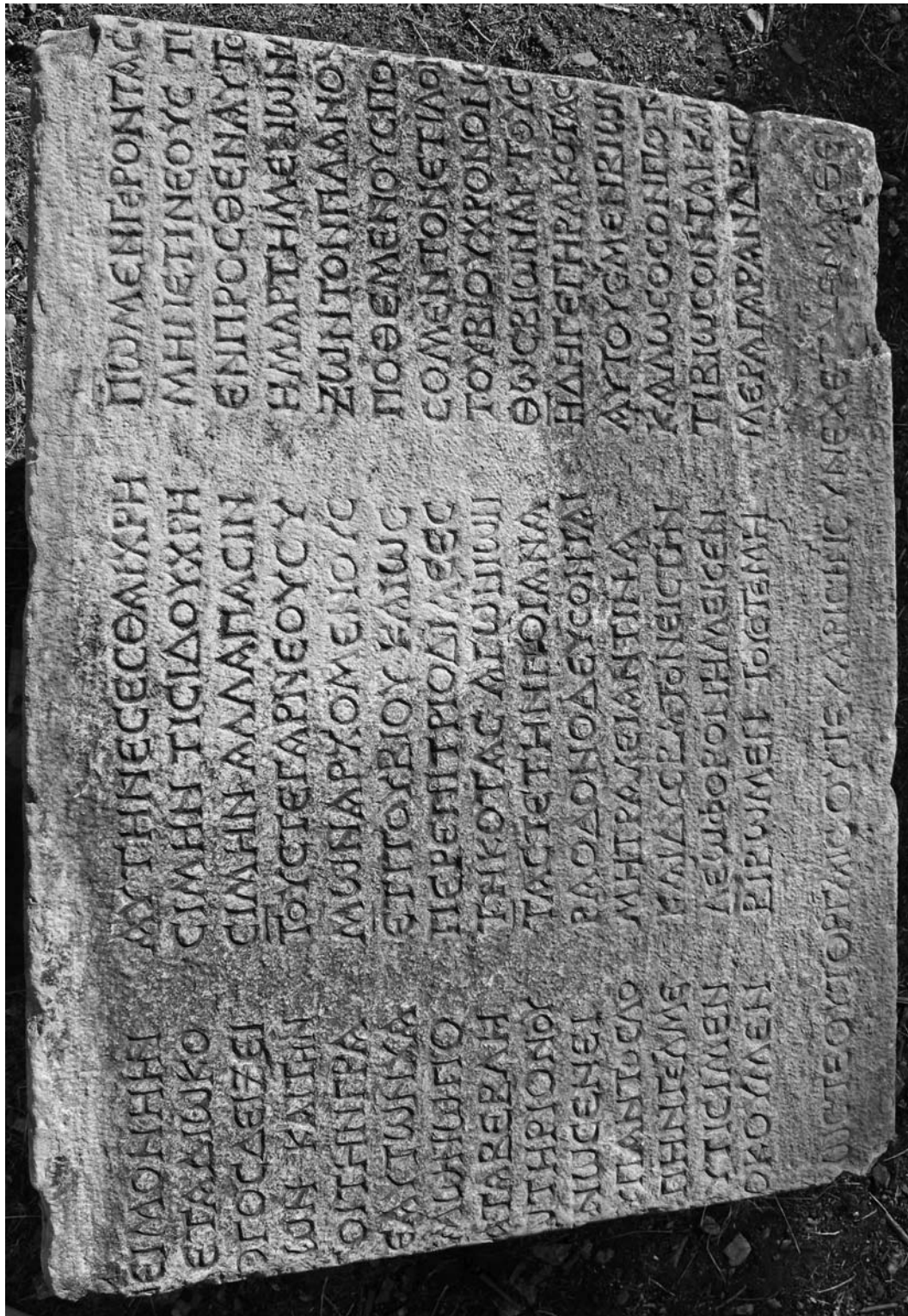


Fig. 3: NF 207 = YF 271

- 10 πεπίστευται. ὡ οὐχ ἴ-
να οὖν τι τῶν εἰρη-
 μένων καὶ ἡμεῖν γέ-
 νηται, πρὸς τὴν αὐ-
 τὴν ὠρμήσαμεν πρῶ-
 ζιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως εὐδαι-
 μονήσωμεν τὸ ἐπι-

Fr. 29 II

- ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς
 φύσεως κτηράμενοι
τέλος. ὡ τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ-
 5 το, ὡ ὅτι τε ὡ μήτε πλοῦ-
 τος αὐτὸ δύναται
παρασχεῖν, μήτε δό-
ξα πολιτικῆ, ὡ μήτε
βασιλεία, ὡ μήθ' ἀβρο-
 δίατος βίος καὶ τρα-
 10 πεζῶν πολυτέλεια,
 μήτ' ἀφορδεικίων
ἐγλελεγμένων ἡδο-
 ναί, ὡ μήτ' ἄλλο μη-
 δέν, ὡ φιλοσοφία δὲ

Fr. 29 III + NF 207 I

- περιπο//ιεῖ μόνη, ἦν
 ἡμεῖς μ//εταδιώκο-
 5 μεν, ὡ ὁ λ//όγος δείξει
προβαί//γων. ὡ καὶ τὴν-
 δε μέν//τοι τὴν γρα-
 φὴν οὐχ // εαυτῶν χά-
 ριν, ἀλλ' ὑ//μῶν, ὡ πο-
 λεῖται, κ//αταβεβλή-
 10 μεθα, c//ωτήριον οὐ-
 καν ὑμε//[τ]ιν, ὡς ἐν εἰ-
 κόδω τ[ο]//ῦ παντὸς λό-
 γου κατ//επηνγέλε-
μεθα, ὡ καὶ // οὐ τιεὶ μὲν
 ὑμῶν δ//οκοῦμεν

NF 207 II

αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι χρη-
 σίμην, ὡ τιεὶ δ' οὐ χρη-
 σίμην, ὡ ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν·
τοὺς τε γὰρ νέους ὑ-

- 5 μῶν, ἀρχομένους
 ἔτι τοῦ βίου καὶ ὡς-
 περ ἐπὶ τριοδίασ ἐς-
 τηκότας ὡ ἀγωνίων-
 τάς τε τὴν ποίαν ἄ-
 10 ρα ὁδὸν ὁδεύονται,
 μὴ τραχεῖάν τινα
 καὶ δύσβατον, εἰς τὴν
 λεωφόρον ἡμεῖς ἐν-
 βιβῶμεν, τοὺς τε μή-

NF 207 III

- πῶ μὲν γέροντας οὐδὲ
 μὴν ἔτι νέους ὡ τῶ[ν]
 ἐνπροσθεν αὐτοῖ[ς]
 ἡμαρτημένων δι[ο]-
 5 ξῶν τὸν πλάνον [ἀ]-
 ποθεμένους πο[ιή]-
 σομεν τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν
 τοῦ βίου χρόνον ὅ[ρ]-
 θῶς βιῶναι, ὡ τοὺς [τε]
 10 ἤδη γεγηρακότας [καὶ]
 αὐτοὺς μὲν βιῶν[αι]
 καλῶς ὅσον ποτ' ἔ-
 τι βιώσονται. ὡ καὶ [ἡ]-
 μέρα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ σπ[ουλιδαίῳ – – –]

Lower margin (Epicurus *Sent.* 1)

[τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρ]τον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχ[ε//ι], ὥστε οὔτ' ὀργαῖς
 ὡ οὔτε χάρισιν συνέχεται ἐν ἀσθεν[εῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον].

Translation

(Fr. 29 I) [There are many who] pursue philosophy for the sake of [wealth and fame,] with the aim of procuring these either from private individuals or from kings, by whom philosophy is deemed to be some great and precious possession.

Well, it is not in order that we too might gain any of the above-mentioned objectives that we have embarked upon the same undertaking, but so that we may enjoy happiness **(Fr. 29 II)** through attainment of the goal craved by nature.

The identity of this goal, and that neither wealth can furnish it, nor political fame, nor royal office, nor a life of luxury and sumptuous banquets, nor pleasures of choice love-affairs, nor anything else, but philosophy **(Fr. 29 III + NF 207 I)** alone, the one which we pursue, secures it, the developing argument will demonstrate.

Moreover, we have set down this inscription not for our own sake, but for your sake, citizens, as a means of salvation for you, as we announced at the opening of the whole discourse. And we do not consider **(NF 207 II)** that it (the inscription) will be useful to certain people and not

useful to certain people, but (that it will be useful) to all. To explain: those of you who are young, still at the beginning of your lives and as it were standing at a crossroads, being apprehensive about what kind of road they will travel, in case it is one that is rough and hard to traverse,²⁸ we will put on the highway; while both those who are not yet (NF 207 III) old, but not indeed young either, we will make lay aside the error of the opinions wrongly held by them before, and live correctly for the rest of their lives, and as for those who are already old (we will make) them also live well, so long as ever they will still live. For even a day for a good man ...

Lower margin (Epic. Sent. 1)

[The blessed and imperishable being] neither experiences trouble itself nor causes it to another, so that it is not affected by feelings either of anger or of favour; [for] it is to the weak [that such emotions belong.]

Notes

Fr. 29 III + NF 207 I

Attempts to restore this column prior to the discovery of NF 207 are seen to have had only limited success. In fact, not one editor managed to restore one complete line absolutely correctly, although by no means all the reconstruction was off target, and the gist of much of the passage was understood. Admittedly, the task was not easy, because less than half of each line was known, and MFS regards his suggestion in Smith (1993) that in lines 11–12 Diogenes is echoing a thought in Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 83 as a creditable failure!

1. περιποιεῖ μόνῃ was conjectured by Usener (1892). Cf. [Philodemus] [*On Choices and Avoidances*] (*PHerc.* 1251) XIII 5–6: τὰς ἀρχὰς ... τὰς φιλοσοφίας δι' ἧς μόνῃς ἔστιν ὀρθοπραγεῖν. When Diogenes says that philosophy alone can secure the end sought by nature, undoubtedly he means Epicurean philosophy (fr. 62 I 9–10 and fr. 127 I 9–10), and not least Epicurean physics. This is the only effective “medicine” with which to combat the moral “diseases” that afflict most people, namely unnecessary fears and desires, especially fear of the gods and of death. Diogenes has mentioned these diseases and their remedies in fr. 3.

ἦν. The letters are in ligature. The hiatus after μόνῃ, which would not otherwise be in accordance with Diogenes' normal practice, is presumably permissible because there is a slight pause before the start of the relative clause. For a summary of the rules of hiatus in the inscription, see Smith (1993) 111–112.

2. ἡμεῖς: perhaps “we Epicureans”, but in the following passage Diogenes several times uses the first person plural in reference to himself (e.g. lines 8–9, 12–13).

2–3. μεταδιώκομεν. Cf. fr. 29 I 2–3; 112.9. Fr. 112 is one of the monolithic *Maxims*, and, discussing the authorship of that collection, Smith (1993) 534 n. 1 gives the occurrence of the verb there as an example of a word that occurs in Diogenes' work outside the *Maxims*, but not in Epicurus' extant writings.

4. προβαίνων. Cf. fr. 12 I 4, 14, of advancing time (χρόνος); 125 III 9 (*Letter to Mother*), of advancing in happiness; 138 II 2, of advancing in culture.

4–5. καὶ ... μέντοι is, as usual, progressive in sense. See Denniston (1954) 413–415. He remarks: “μέντοι gives liveliness and force to the addition”.

²⁸ JH prefers a different translation: “struggling with the decision about what kind of road they will travel, whether they should not take one which is rough and hard to traverse”.

5–6. γραφήν. Hitherto there was doubt as to whether this (or the conjectural [συγγρα]φήν) refers to the whole inscription or to the *Ethics*. We now see that the reference is to the former, as in fr. 2 III 1, 3 I 6, and (if correctly restored there) 119 I 7. On the other hand, in fr. 43 I 10 Diogenes means a section of the inscription, the *Physics*. In fr. 121 I 4 the word is *in lacuna*. In fr. 3 V 1 and 11 σύνγραμμα is used of the whole inscription.

6–7. In the opening passage of the inscription (fr. 2–3), too, as Diogenes is about to point out, he explains that the purpose of his inscription is to help others. Oinoanda’s citizens and visitors would have been familiar with inscriptions honouring individuals for their philanthropic benefactions, but an inscription that is itself a philanthropic benefaction, because its sole purpose is to enable its readers to live better and happier lives, would have been something quite new to them.

7–8. Comparing these lines, Smith (1993) conjectures [ὦ] πο[λειται] in fr. 3 I 3–4. Diogenes makes clear, both in the first introduction (fr. 2–3) and in the present one, that he is addressing not only Oinoanda’s citizens, but also the foreigners who visit it (fr. 3 V 4–8), or rather so-called foreigners, for in reality human beings share a single home and a single country, the world (fr. 30 I 12 – II 11).

8–9. καταβεβλήμεθα, “laid down” or “established” (as a foundation). The word implies firmness and durability. It is used metaphorically of, for example, the founding of a philosophical school (Strabo XVII 3.22; Plutarch, *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute oratio prima* 6, 329A) and the formulation of a new system of law (Diod. Sic. XII 20.1) as well of the production of written works (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I 1.3; Diog. Laert. IX 13). Its use is particularly appropriate here, given that Diogenes is having his writing inscribed on the wall of a building.

9–13. This is an interesting programmatic passage. It confirms that the *Physics* was meant to be read before the *Ethics*. There was already an overwhelming case for this order. The arguments for it are set out in Smith (1993) 84–85, where it is pointed out Diogenes in a passage of the *Ethics* (fr. 43 I 8–10) calls the *Physics* “the writing before this one” ([τῆ] πρὸ ταύτης ... [γ]ραφή). In fr. 3 V 12 – VI 2 Diogenes declares: ἠθέλησα τῆ στοᾶ ταύτῃ καταχρησάμενος ἐν κοινῷ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας προθεῖν[αι φάρμα]κα, and it is to this declaration that he is referring in lines 9–10 of the present passage, as the phrase σωτήριον οὐδὲν ὑμε[τε]ρῶν shows.

The new passage reopens an earlier controversy on fr. 2–3. Philippson, Chilton, and Hoffman regarded them as introductory to both *Physics* and *Ethics*,²⁹ Grilli and Casanova to the whole inscription,³⁰ while MFS considered them part of the introduction to the *Physics* – a passage which also introduced the whole work.³¹

JH previously shared MFS’s view, but, in the light of the new passage of the *Ethics*, now rejects it. For him εἰσοδος τοῦ παντὸς λόγου indicates that fr. 2–3 are an entrance to the whole inscription which precedes *Physics* in the same course of the wall, without belonging to it. He sees in the choice of these words, and their word order,³² a clear distinction between the whole discourse (πᾶς λόγος) and single treatises of the inscription, like *Physics* and *Ethics*. Here, in the

²⁹ Philippson (1931) 156; Chilton (1967) X–XI and (1971) 26–27; Hoffman (1976) 145–146.

³⁰ Grilli (1950) 269; Casanova (1984) 50.

³¹ Doxography and arguments in Smith (1993) 432; cf. *ibid.* 84–85. He points out (*ibid.* 432) that one of the considerations that prompted some earlier scholars to separate fr. 2–3 from the *Physics* – the belief that they, unlike the *Physics*, are punctuated with *paragraphoi* – is incorrect.

³² See Kühner/Gerth I (1898) 632: “Wenn das mit πᾶς, πάντες, ὅλος verbundene Substantiv als ein Ganzes im Gegensatz zu seinen einzelnen Teilen bezeichnet werden soll, so nimmt es den Artikel in der attributiven Stellung an.”

entrance (εἴσοδος) of *Ethics*, which was a separate γραφή of Diogenes' inscription with its own title (fr. 28), such an expression cannot refer the readers to the entrance of *Physics*, which was the previous γραφή³³ and obviously preceded by a title which did not announce the whole inscription, but just, as fr. 28 does for *Ethics*, the content of *Physics*.

MFS on the other hand sees no reason to change his view in the light of the new passage. εἴσοδος is a word seemingly never used elsewhere to denote the introduction of a literary work.³⁴ ἐν εἰσόδῳ τ[ο]ῦ παντὸς λόγου may be translated “at the opening of the whole discourse” or “in the introduction to the whole discourse”, but in either case there is no reason why fr. 2–3 should not have introduced the *Physics* as well as the whole inscription. Moreover, there are excellent reasons for supposing that they do precisely that. In the Epicurean view it is physics that provides τὰ τῆς ζωτηρίας φάρμακα (fr. 3 V 14–VI 2) and makes ἀταραξία (fr. 3 I 11) possible, above all by dispelling our unnecessary fears of the gods and of death (fr. 2 III 4–7; fr. 3 VI 4–7). For φυσιολογία being the essential means and medicine to achieve moral well-being and happiness, see e.g. Epic. *Sent.* 11–12, Lucr. III 1068–1075, [Philod.] *On Choices and Avoidances* XIII 13–17 Indelli/Tsouana-McKirahan. JH's belief that Diogenes' first main treatise, the *Physics*, in the second lowest course of the inscription, was preceded by an introductory passage that was quite separate from the treatise, seems to MFS highly unlikely. For one thing, it would involve an arrangement inconsistent with that in the course below, which was occupied by the second main treatise, the *Ethics*. That course began with the title of the *Ethics* and was followed immediately by the treatise, whose introduction, it is very important to note, contains material that is not only prefatory to the *Ethics*, but also applicable to the whole inscription as Diogenes reiterates and supplements points made in the earlier introductory passage about his mission and purpose and urges his readers to study his work with care. The fact (and it is a fact, not a mere supposition) that this second introduction, containing many similarities to the first one and saying things that are relevant to the inscription as a whole, follows the title of the *Ethics* and is part of that treatise strongly supports the view that the first introduction is introductory to the *Physics* as well as to the whole inscription, at the opening (ἐν εἰσόδῳ) of which it was carved. JH's theory presumably necessitates the assumption of two titles in the second lowest course – one at the beginning for the introductory passage separate from the treatise, and another, after at least a dozen columns, at the beginning of the *Physics*; certainly it means that the beginning of the *Physics* was not immediately above the beginning of the *Ethics*. MFS finds it hard to believe that Diogenes devised what seems to him a rather untidy as well as inconsistent arrangement.

9. ζωτήριον. In addition to fr. 3 V 14 – VI 2, cf. fr. 116.6–8: τὸ γὰρ ζωτήριον[ν] ἐνταῦθα ἐστιν. Also fr. 72 III 12–13: ὑμέτ[ερος] κήρυξ ὃς διέσωσε[ν ὑμᾶς], of Epicurus, for whom as ζωτήρ see also *PHerc.* 346 VII 24, XII 27 Capasso; Plotina in her letter to the Epicureans in Athens (*IG* II² 1099 = Dittenberger *SIG* 834.21).

10–12. ἐν εἰσόδῳ τ[ο]ῦ παντὸς λόγου. The use of εἴσοδος for the beginning of, or the introduction to, a written work is highly unusual, if not unparalleled. Elsewhere Diogenes uses the

³³ *Physics* is explicitly, and *Ethics* implicitly, referred to as a single γραφή in fr. 43 I 8–10 (quoted earlier in this note). In other places, as here in line 5–6, Diogenes uses γραφή of the whole inscription as well as of an individual treatise.

³⁴ MFS compares Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VI 141, where *introitu operis* refers the reader back to *NH* III 1, a passage which, without being marked off as a separate preface, introduces the account of geography that occupies books III–VI.

word, in a letter, of the “entrances” to the Epicurean community or gathering. He hopes that his addressee will want to enter these and “knock at the doors of philosophy” (fr. 127 + NF 174 I).

12–13. κατ[ε]πηγγέλμεθα, “proclaimed”, as when making a public pronouncement, which is what Diogenes is doing: cf. fr. 3 V 14 – VI 1 ἐν κοινῷ ... προθεῖν[αι] and fr. 32 II 10–13. In Oinoanda’s Demostheneia inscription, which consists of documents dated AD 124 and 125, the simpler verbal form ἐπανγγέλλομαι and noun ἐπανγγελία occur four times (lines 12, 18, 51, 107) and three times (lines 38, 94, 97) respectively in reference to the public announcement of the promise of C. Iulius Demosthenes to establish a quadrennial agonistic music festival. For the text of the inscription and very full discussion of it, see Wörrle (1988).

NF 207 II

3. ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν. Diogenes makes clear in the opening passage of the inscription and later in this introduction to the *Ethics* that his Epicurean message is not in fact addressed to everyone, but “to those who (by nature and education) are well constituted” (τοῖς εὐκονκρίτοις, fr. 2 II 14; 3 III 4–5), and “civil-spoken” (τοῖς ... [c]τόμα κομί[οις], fr. 30 I 10–12). What “all” means in the present passage is, as the context shows, people of all ages – the young, the old, and those neither young nor old. For the idea that philosophy is beneficial to young and old alike, compare the introduction to Epicurus’ *Letter to Menoeceus* (*Ep. Men.* 122). Later in the same letter Epicurus declares: ὁ δὲ παραγγέλλων τὸν μὲν νέον καλῶς ζῆν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα καλῶς κατατρέφειν εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπακτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μελέτην τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν (*Ep. Men.* 126). Diogenes’ concern with the happiness of the old, as well as being asserted in the present passage, is abundantly demonstrated in his treatise *Old Age*.

6–12. In Plato’s *Republic* Socrates, after telling Cephalus that he likes talking to the very old, explains why: δοκεῖ γάρ μοι χρῆναι παρ’ αὐτῶν πυθάνεσθαι, ὡς περ τινα ὁδὸν προεληλυθότων, ἦν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἴσως δεῖσει πορεύεσθαι, ποία τίς ἐστι, τραχεῖα καὶ χαλεπή, ἢ ῥαδία καὶ εὐπορος (*Resp.* I 328e).³⁵ Plato is certainly influenced by the *locus classicus* of distinction between an easy and a difficult way of life in Hesiod *Op.* 287–292, but he does not adopt Hesiod’s moralism and his preference for the difficult life. Later, in his *Laws*, Plato uses the following metaphor to illustrate the difficulty a person has in coming to a decision in circumstances that are unusual: πᾶς που νέος, μὴ ὅτι πρεσβύτης ... τὰς δ’ ἄν, καθάπερ ἐν τριόδῳ γενόμενος καὶ μὴ σφόδρα κατειδῶς ὁδόν, εἴτε μόνος εἴτε μετ’ ἄλλων τύχοι πορευόμενος, ἀνέροιτ’ ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ ἀπορούμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πρότερον ὀρμήσειεν, πρὶν πῃ βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν σκέψιν τῆς πορείας ὅπῃ ποτὲ φέροι (*Leg.* VII 799 c–d). It is clear that Diogenes’ text combines the description of young men’s wish to know whether their future way of life will be easy or difficult in *Republic* and the description of the anxiety of the wanderer at a crossroads in *Laws*. However, the moralistic intention of Hesiod’s two-ways-of-life metaphor was revitalised by Xenophon, *Memorabilia* II 1.20–34, when he linked it closely with Prodicus’ tale of the choice of Heracles. Under Xenophon’s influence the choice of the difficult way of life became *de rigueur* for many philosophers, and especially appealed to the Cynics in their emulation of Heracles. See Oinomaos fr. 14, 10–11 and Hammerstaedt (1988) 134–135 ad loc.

7. ἐπὶ τριοδίας, “at a crossroads”. τριοδία is a rare variant for τρίοδος. The typical crossroads in the ancient world was a meeting of three ways rather than of four (τετράοδος, τετραοδία).

³⁵ Echoed in Cicero, *De senectute* 6.

8–12. ἀγωνιῶντας τὴν ποίαν ... ὁδὸν ὀδεύονται ... μὴ τραχεῖάν τινα καὶ δύσβατον. MFS (referring to his translation, which differs from JH’s) takes μὴ after ἀγωνιῶντας, with ὀδεύονται understood: “being apprehensive lest they should travel ...”, the construction being a regular one in an expression of fear for the future. μὴ after ἀγωνιάω is particularly common in Polybius (III 97.3 and eighteen other occurrences). A verb of fearing can be constructed with an indirect question when, as here, the verb expresses doubt as well as fear. Cf. e.g. Plato, *Tht.* 195c: δέδοικα ὅτι ἀποκρινοῦμαι.

JH is aware that his preferred translation³⁶ “struggling with the decision” for ἀγωνιῶντας is not attested in the lexica, but points out that Diogenes’ use of ἀγωνιάω with an indirect question (τὴν ποίαν ... ὁδὸν ὀδεύονται) is not attested either. The interrogative pronoun ποῖος preceded by definite article in reference to what follows (and not, as normal, to what precedes), is attested in Kühner/Gerth II (1904) 626 by rare examples, such as Demosth. or. 18.64: ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ’ ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κακῶν ἢ τῆς περιεορακίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι. Likewise, JH interprets μὴ in line 11 as an indirect question in the sense of “whether ... not”. For this use in later Greek see LSJ s.v. μὴ C.II.1. (one example from Antoninus Liberalis) and Kühner/Gerth II (1904) 394 n. 3 with several examples in Plutarch. Besides the need of a further question after τὴν ποίαν, JH sees in his proposed interpretation³⁷ the advantage that ἀγωνιῶντας can be understood in the same sense “struggling with the decision” in connection with both dependent clauses (τὴν ποίαν ἄρα ὁδὸν ὀδεύονται and μὴ τραχεῖάν τινα καὶ δύσβατον) and that the sense of this second dependent clause is more sharply opposed to the advice of Diogenes himself. He prevents young men from their unrealistic intention of choosing a Stoicising hard way of life by conducting them on the easy road of Epicureanism.

9–10. On ἄρα following the interrogative in a direct or indirect question, see Denniston (1954) 39–40. He comments that “in effect, the particle does little more than add liveliness to the question”.

10. ὁδὸν ὀδεύονται. The idea that life is a “journey” along a “road” is very common in Greek and Latin literature, including philosophical literature. Lucretius describes those who go astray in search of the way of life (II 10: *errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae*), and how Epicurus, having defined the limits of fear and desire and revealed the nature of the supreme good, pointed out the way that leads to our goal: *veridicis igitur purgavit pectora dictis / et finem statuit cuppedinis atque timoris / exposuitque bonum summum quo tendimus omnes / quid foret, atque viam monstravit, tramite parvo / qua possemus ad id recto contendere cursu* (VI 24–28). Cf. Cicero, *Fin.* I 57, where Torquatus, the Epicurean spokesman, after setting out the School’s ethical doctrines, exclaims: *O praeclaram beate vivendi et apertam et simplicem et directam viam!*

12. The last two letters are in ligature.

13. λεωφόρον. The word would have come as a surprise and challenge to readers familiar with the imagery used by most philosophical writers and teachers: instead of the difficult path of life conventionally offered in Cynic and Stoic popular philosophy, Diogenes promises young people an easy and well-paved “highway”, “main road”. His λεωφόρος may be inconsistent with Lucretius’ *trames parvus*, but is not too far from Torquatus’ *aperta et simplex ... via*. To achieve the pleasure of an Epicurean life, one does not have to travel a difficult and long road, as for instance the eponymous student of philosophy in Lucian’s *Hermotimus* does.

³⁶ See above, n. 28.

³⁷ An idea originated by his colleague Markus Stein.

13–14. ἐμβιβάζω is often used of putting people on board ship. Here “put on” or “guide on to” the highway.

II 14 – III 9. Middle age is not mentioned in Epicurus’ *Letter to Menoecus* (122), where the practice of philosophy is recommended to both young and old people. It was quite common in the ancient world to distinguish just young and old and not to refer to the middle-aged as well, although this does not mean that there was no concept of middle age. The Roman position is discussed by Parkin (2003) 20–22. Seneca (*Ep. Mor.* 70.2) distinguishes childhood, youth, middle age, and old age.³⁸

NF 207 III

1. ο[ὐδέ] rather than ο[ὐ] (for οὐδὲ μὴν cf. fr. 12 IV 12; Denniston [21954] 339–340) is required to balance μέν and provide connection.

5. πλάνον. Cf. fr. 33 V 6. The text of fr. 33 V in Smith (1993) is out of date, because the second column of NF 128, discovered in 1997, provides the beginnings of its lines. For the complete text, see Smith (1998) 147; (2003) 95–96; and the proposals in Hammerstaedt (1996) 37–38. πλάνη occurs in fr. 34 III 1 (largely restored) and 54 I 6; πλανόομαι (passive), “go astray”, “am mistaken”, in fr. 10 V 7–8; 20 II 9–10 (of the Stoic god “wandering about” aimlessly); 34 II 2–3; 43 I 2.

5–6. [ἀ]ποθεμένους. ἀποτίθημι is often used figuratively of “laying aside” undesirable things like mistakes and vices. See Bauer/Aland (1998) s.v. 1.b.

12. ὅσον, sc. χρόνον

13–14 and what follows. Perhaps something like (καὶ [ἡ]/μέρα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ π[ρο]σ[ου]δαίω γε αὐξήσιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας παρέχει): “(For even a day grants a good man increase of happiness)”. One indication that there is a parenthesis here is that μέν in line 11 has not yet been answered. For αὐξήσιν perhaps πλήρωμα, “fullness” (cf. fr. 3 III 1). For ἀνὴρ π[ρο]σ[ου]δαίος, cf. fr. 39 IV 9–11; 74.4. Practising the Epicurean lifestyle adds to happiness every single day: cf. fr. 125 III 3–9: τίθει δ’ ... καθ’ ἡμέραν [ἀγαθ]όν τι ἡμᾶς π[ρο]σ[ου]δαίοντες εἰς [τὸ μακρ]οτέρω τῆς εὐδαιμ[ον]ίας προβαίνειν. See also Phld. *De morte* IV, PHerc. 1050 XXXVIII 14–19 Henry: ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων, ἀπειληφῶς ὃ δύναται πᾶν περιποιῆσαι [τ]ὸ πρὸς εὐδαιμόνα βίον αὐταρκές, εὐθὺς ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεταφιασμένον περιπατεῖ κα[ὶ] τὴν μίαν ἡμέραν ὡς αἰῶνα κερδα[ί]νει.

Lower margin

It is to be noted that Diogenes has οὐτ’ ὀργαῖς and χάρις, not οὐτε ὀργαῖς and χάρις, which are the readings of the manuscripts of Diogenes Laertius at X 139 and of Codex Vaticanus gr. 1950 f. 401v. It is to be noted too that the stonemason has inappropriately left wider than normal spaces between the fifth and sixth letters of χάρις and the first and second letters of συνέχεται.

SMALL-LETTER FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN POSITION

NF 208 = YF 278

Description

Broken all sides. Height 10 cm. (surface 6 cm.), width 14 cm. (surface 10 cm.), depth 7.5 cm. Part of three lines of letters about 1.5 cm. That we have line-beginnings is indicated by the

³⁸ *primum pueritiam ..., deinde adulescentiam, deinde quidquid est illud inter iuvenem et senem medium, in utriusque confinio positum, deinde ipsius senectutis optimos annos.*

empty space, at least 4 cm. wide, before the first letter in line 2.

Position

The “small” letters indicate the *Physics*, *Ethics*, or *Fourteen-Line-Column Letters* of Diogenes. The smaller-than-usual small letters suggest the *Physics*, in which such letters are most common: see e.g. fr. 8.³⁹

Text

The true line numbers are unknown.



Fig. 4: NF 208 = YF 278

ϛ[
αχο/[
3 . . Ι τ[

Notes

1. The first letter is the lower part of C.
2. The last letter may be λ, α, or μ, and a word division between αc and χο (or, less probably, between α and cχο) cannot completely be ruled out. For ἀχολία see e.g. Epic. *Ep. Pyth.* 85, and for ἀχολέω Epic. fr. 204 p. 162.7 Us. For discussion of a letter περιὶ τῶν ἀχολιῶν, mentioned twice by Philodemus (*PHerc.* 1418 col. XXV 2 and 8), see Militello (1997) 257–258.

3. Before τ is the upper part of at least one vertical (with serifs).

A “NEW” LETTER

NF 209 = YF 274

Description

Complete above and below, broken left and right. Height 61 cm., width 48 cm. (surface 45 cm.), depth 35.5 cm. One complete column of thirteen lines is visible, starting 14 cm. from the left edge. Most of the letters in lines 1–12 are “small”, about 2 cm., some “small medium”, while those in line 13 are smaller than average (about 1.7 cm.). The stone was found lying on its left edge with two thirds of its face buried. The third, on the right, that had been exposed to the elements has been turned from white to grey and black by weathering and fire, but, although the text there is somewhat worn, it is not illegible. Although one might expect the part of the stone near the left edge, which was buried, to have been better preserved than the part near the right edge, which was not, this is not the case. Just a few letters, belonging to line-endings of a column, can be made out with difficulty. The upper margin is 5.5 cm. tall, the lower margin 11 cm.

Position and authorship

The block has a height that suits Diogenes’ *Ethics*, but it does not belong to it. The *Ethics* is carved in fourteen-line columns of “small” letters with a continuous line of sayings of Epicurus

³⁹ Photograph in Smith (1978) pl. Ic.

running through the lower margin. But the preserved column of NF 209 (column II), contains thirteen lines,⁴⁰ all but the last of which contain letters which, in spite of falling within our class of “small”, are slightly taller than the average in the *Ethics*, and the lines are inscribed with slightly larger interlinear spaces (the area occupied by the thirteen lines of NF 209 II is almost equivalent to that occupied by a fourteen-line column of the *Ethics*). Moreover, there is no quotation of a maxim in the lower margin, and ἔppωcθe in line 13 shows that we have the closing passage of a letter.⁴¹

The inscription contains several letters of Diogenes and also, it seems, one or two by, or purporting to be by, Epicurus. Two letters of Diogenes – one addressed to Antipater, the other to Dionysios and Karos – are carved on blocks slightly less tall (56–59 cm.) than those of the *Ethics* (59–62 cm.). But, like the *Ethics*, they are set out in fourteen-line columns of small letters, and they also differ from NF 209 in respect of the height of their upper margin. The other letters previously identified occupy columns of ten lines of “medium-sized” letters on blocks 38–41.5 cm. tall. They include Diogenes’ letter to Menneas about the writer’s convalescence in Rhodes (fr. 122), his letter to the son of Mettios Phantias about his hope that the young man will turn from rhetoric to Epicurean philosophy (fr. 127 + NF 174), and the *Letter to Mother* usually attributed to Epicurus (fr. 125–126). NF 209 cannot be placed with any of these letters or, so far as we can see, with any other known fragment(s) of the inscription. The uniqueness (so far) of the block means that its discovery is a great surprise. It also means that placing it in the inscription is problematical. There seem to be two main possibilities: one is that the “new” letter was in the same course as the *Ethics* (the lowest course) and followed it; the other is that it was in the third lowest course with Diogenes’ *FLC* (*Fourteen-Line-Column*) *Letters* and the monolithic *Maxims*, which are probably also the work of Diogenes. Despite it being slightly taller than any block of the *FLC Letters* or *Maxims* found so far, it is perhaps more natural and plausible to associate it with them than with the *Ethics*, partly because it is a letter and, to judge from the closing passage, a letter with a gnomic character (as in the *Maxims*, the sentences are short and particles lacking), partly because the surviving fragments of the continuous line of sayings of Epicurus that ran through the margin below the columns of the *Ethics* indicates that that treatise alone was up to 80 m. long), and we hesitate to place another writing of unknown length in the same course.

Since some of the letters in the inscription are apparently presented as being the work of Epicurus, the possibility that he, rather than Diogenes, is the (pseudepigraphic?) author of the new letter must be borne in mind.

Text

I	
3]τ̣α
5]Ị /]ç̣ Ị Ị
8] . . τ] . . †

⁴⁰ It is not known if there were the same number of lines in the first column, of which only a few letters survive.

⁴¹ Although NF 209 cannot belong to the *Ethics*, it is worth noting that its thirteen-line second column occupies approximately the same position on the block, and has nearly the same width, as a fourteen-line column of the *Ethics* – as, for example, NF 207 II.



Fig. 5: NF 209 = YF 274

II
 καθαι παρελ-
 θοντα. *vacat*
 ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν
 δις ἀποθανεῖν,
 5 οὕτως οὐδὲ δις
 ζῆσαι. *vacat*
 εὐθυμητέον
 τελευτῶντα[ς]
 οὐ γὰρ ἀγαθῶν
 10 μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ κακῶν ἀπο-
 ττηρόμεθα.
 ἔρρωθε.

Translation[...] (II) *passed.*

As it is not possible to die twice, so it is not possible to live twice either.

We should be cheerful when we die, for we shall give up not only good things but also bad ones.

*Farewell.**Notes*

1–2 and what preceded. MFS conjectures something like [οὐκ ἔστιν βίον ἀνακτή]||καθαι παρελθοντα: “It is not possible to restore a life once it has passed away”. Such a statement would be closely (and plausibly) connected to the following one (lines 3–6).

3–6. This is a true statement of the Epicurean view, which ruled out reincarnation or any life after death. But it is worth noting that Lucretius mentions, and not just as a possibility but as a certainty, that the very same atoms that compose us now were often in the past combined in exactly the same way, and that they will come together again to form an identical compound at some time in the future. For his exposition of this remarkable idea, see III 847–861, and compare Usener fr. 283a p. 352.2–5. But Lucretius argues that in these circumstances there could never be recollection of an earlier existence, because the chain of consciousness would have been broken by death.

5–6. Cf. Epic. fr. 204 p. 162.4 Usener: γεγόναμεν ἅπαξ, δις δὲ οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι.

7–12. At first sight, εὐθυμητέον has rather a Pauline ring to it, in view of *Act.* 27.22 παραίνω ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν and *Act.* 27.25 διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἄνδρες. However, there the advice is not to be cheerful when you die, but to be cheerful because, whereas you are expecting to die, you are not going to die. There are some conceptual and, to a certain extent, linguistic parallels for εὐθυμητέον τελευτῶντα, which include the reasoning about the loss of good things as well as of bad ones, in Xenophon, *Apology of Socrates* 27 at the point where the condemned philosopher

addresses those who bewail his imminent death: οὐ γὰρ πάλαί ἴστε ὅτι ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγενόμην κατεψηφισμένος ἦν μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρεόντων προαπόλλυμαι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς εὔνοις λυπητέον· εἰ δὲ χαλεπῶν προσδοκωμένων καταλύω τὸν βίον, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὡς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εὐθυμητέον εἶναι.

εὐθυμία was Democritus' moral ideal. The word is not found in Epicurus' extant writings, but occurs in Diogenes' monolithic *Maxims* (fr. 113.1–2). The Epicurean view is that death is nothing to us (Epic. *Sent.* 2 ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Lucr. III 830 *nil ... mors est ad nos*), because when we exist, death is not present, and, when death is present, we do not exist (Epic. *Ep. Men.* 125). The wise do not seek to end their lives, but, when death comes, they do not complain (*Ep. Men.* 126); instead, they depart from life like satisfied guests who have enjoyed a good meal (Lucr. III 938–939). Like Lucretius (III 950–951), Diogenes says that there can be no complaint against nature when death comes (fr. 47 III 10 – IV 2). For him (Diogenes) death is to be laughed at, being as harmless as a mask that frightens small children: see NF 132.5–9 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 103 and compare fr. 73 I 1–3.

Worthy of notice in the present passage is the statement that death will terminate bad things as well as good. Certainly if one has lived one's life badly, continuation of it will bring no benefit (Lucr. III 940–949; cf. Philodemus *De Morte* XIX 33 – XX 1), and death will bring release from trouble and unhappiness. But the wise are capable of achieving in their lifetime a happiness that is godlike (Epic. *Ep. Men.* 135; Lucr. III 322; fr. 125 III 9 – IV 10), and, even if they suffer physical illness and pain, such as Epicurus himself did towards the end of his life, this pain can be outweighed, as it was in his case, by mental pleasure, including the pleasure involved in recollecting the good things enjoyed in the past (Diog. Laert. X 22 = Usener fr. 138 p. 143.16–23). So the emphasis is very much on Epicureans, when they die, contentedly leaving good things behind rather than on their being released from bad things; but any pain is bad, and Epicurus would have been justified in regarding the termination of the excruciating pain connected with his prostate problem as a benefit of death.

11–12. Although the sense is not in doubt, the reading of the verb is doubtful. At the end of line 12 we believe that we see the shape of π, and then a round letter. At the beginning of line 12 there appears to be a curved letter, partly preserved, followed by the lower ends of three vertical strokes. For the resulting verb, cf. fr. 130 II 8, although there too the reading is uncertain.

13. The letter is addressed to a group of people: cf. the formula that ends the letter in fr. 122 III 7–8 (ἔρρωθε πάλι). It is to be noted that the lines of both fr. 122 III and NF 209 II contain unusually few letters. The obvious explanation of this is that, since they form the closing passages of letters, so that there was no question of the columns being continued, the stonemason(s), having more than enough space, preferred to make the columns of normal or near-normal height rather than carve less tall columns containing more letters and leave very large spaces below.

MEDIUM-SIZED-LETTER FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN POSITION

Fr. 180 = YF 277

History

Fr. 180 (YF 277) and fr. 144 (YF 276) (on the latter see below) were found by Georges Cousin of l'École Française d'Athènes on 7 October 1889. They were not rediscovered by Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka in 1895 or during the British work at Oinoanda in 1968–2003. So,

when they were rediscovered on 28 September 2012, they were seen for the first time for 123 years.

Cousin made rough sketches of the fragments in his *Cahier 76*^v, reproduced in Smith (1977) 364 fig. 1, and published mausculè transcripts of them in Cousin (1892) 27. He did not measure either the stones or the letters.

Description

Cousin’s description, both in his *Cahier* and in his article, is ‘cassé partout; vide à gauche’. This is correct, except that the stone is complete left, although not at the surface, where the edge has broken off. Height 38 cm. (surface 19 cm.), width 27.5 cm. (surface 24 cm.), depth 41.5 cm. Cousin records the beginnings of three lines, but a partly preserved letter at the bottom edge of the preserved surface shows that there were at least five lines, with the fourth line apparently left empty. The letters are “medium-sized”, about 2.5 cm.

Position

For a tentative suggestion about the content, see note below on 1–2. The size of the letters rules out *Old Age*, to which three editors of *Diogenes* (Grilli, Chilton, and Casanova) assigned the fragment, but it is not possible to be sure to which writing it *does* belong. The most likely candidate is the monolithic *Maxims*. Other possibilities are the *Ten-Line-Column Writings* and *Diogenes’ Directions to Family and Friends*.

Text



Fig. 6: Fr. 180 = YF 277

There is no certainty that the first line preserved was the first on the stone.

οὐκ ἔc[τιν ---]

ωc ζῆν [---]

δοιc[---]

vacat

4 ο . [

Translation

[...] *it is not (possible?)* [...] *to live* [...]

Notes

1–2. At the beginning of 2 Cousin misread ωc as αιc. Smith (1993) 363 tentatively conjectured (“something like”) οὐκ ἔc[τιν ἠδέωc ἀδικί]αιc ζῆν, comparing Epic. *Sent.* 5: οὐκ ἔcτιν ἠδέωc ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμωc καὶ καλῶc καὶ δικαίωc ... ὅτῳ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ὑπάρχει, ... οὐκ ἔcτι τοῦτον ἠδέωc ζῆν. This could still be approximately on the right lines, although ἀδικί]αιc is now ruled out. The likelihood is that ζῆν was preceded by an adverb, e.g. [ἠδέ]ωc, [δικαί]ωc, or [μακαρί]ωc.

3. δοιc. Smith (1993) tentatively suggested three possibilities, but others can be added, including δ’ οἱ c[.

Empty line after 3. Cf. the empty line after fr. 98.7.

4. The letter trace after the omicron is probably part of an ypsilon: οὐ(κ)? Several *Diogenes maxims* (fr. 99, 111.7, 113, and perhaps fr. 100, 108 and, according to Hammerstaedt, NF 131.7)

start with a negative (cf. also *Epic. Sent.* 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 18, 33, 35, and *Sent. Vat.* 16, 17, 21, 28, 34, 35, 39, 45, 53, 54, 68, 70, and 81).

NF 210 = YF 272

Description

Broken all sides. Height 9 cm., width 5 cm. (surface 4 cm.), depth 3 cm. Part of two lines. Letters about 2.2 cm., which can be described as “small medium”.

Position

With no margin(s) preserved, and with no clue as to the content, one can only say that this tiny fragment belongs to one of the groups of writings carved in “medium-sized” lettering. These are listed above, under fr. 180, Position.

Text



The true line numbers are unknown.

]δç[
]ç δ[

Notes

1. The incomplete second letter was almost certainly omicron.

Fig. 7: NF 210
= YF 272

OLD AGE

NF 211 = YF 270 + fr. 151

Description

Complete above, right, and probably left; broken below. Height 28.5 cm. (surface 26 cm.), width 25.5 cm., depth 40.5 cm. The beginnings of five lines of “large” letters. The lines start 8.5 cm. from the edge of the stone. On MFS’s belief that some letters near the left edge have disappeared, see below under Text.

Position

The size of the letters points to Diogenes’ *Old Age*, and the fragment joins up with fr. 151 (YF 156), which was discovered during British work at Oinoanda in 1975 and first published in Smith (1978) 84–85 as NF 97. The new fragment provides the line-beginnings missing from fr. 151. Unlike NF 211, fr. 151 is a complete block and is seen to belong to course C of *Old Age*. The distinctive features of this course are a generous empty space below the last line, and below that a deeply scored band. Because NF 211 is broken below, these features are no longer present, and it is only because of the join with fr. 151 that it can be securely assigned to course C; without this there would be no way of knowing whether it belonged to course C or course B.

Smith (1993) 567, 581–582 placed fr. 151 in the section of *Old Age* in which Diogenes refutes a complaint that old age lacks pleasures (fr. 149–156). This may be correct, even though the argument is not what he thought it was. But another possibility is that the passage is, as Clay (1990)

2524 suggests, part of the section in which Diogenes answers a complaint that old age brings impairment of physical and mental capacities (see fr. 144, fr. 145 + NF 133, fr. 146 + NF 177 + NF 134, fr. 147–148). There is in any case a close relationship, involving a significant overlap, between these two sections.

Text

MFS thinks it very likely that the last letters of lines of another column appeared near the left edge of NF 211, but no certain traces of them survive and at present there are no reliable data concerning the average width of the empty spaces between *Old Age* columns.⁴²

MFS	JH
<p>10 [εἰ δ' οἱ γέροντες τε]- [ρεὰ τροφεία ἐσθίειν] [μηκέτι δύνανται, οὐκ] [ἀγανακτοῦσιν, ἐπι]- τάμει//[ν]οἱ διαλείμ[α]-</p> <p>15 τα τῶν // [ὀδ]όντων, αὐτό- θεν ᾗ//[τα] προφανῆ, βλά- πτοντ//[α μ]ηδὲν τὴν φύ- σιν. ὃ δ[έ]//[ω]ς γὰρ ὑγρὰ τρο- φ[εῖα λαμβάνουσιν]</p>	<p>τὰ μέν//[τ]οἱ διαλείμ[α]- τα τῶν // [ὀδ]όντων αὐτό- θεν ἐκ//[τὶ] προφανῆ βλά- πτοντ//[α μ]ηδὲν τὴν φύ- σιν. ὃ δ[έ]//[ω]ς γὰρ ὑγρὰ τρο- φ[εῖα λαμβάνουσιν]</p>



Fig. 8: NF 211 = YF 270

Translation

MFS: *[If the old are no longer able to eat solid foods, they are not upset, knowing] that gaps in their teeth, although immediately conspicuous, do no harm to their nature. For [they derive pleasure from taking] liquid foods [...]*

JH: *As far as the gaps in the teeth are concerned, it is immediately clear that they do not harm their (i.e. the old men's) nature in any way. For [they derive pleasure from taking] liquid foods [...]*

Notes

The texts and interpretation offered by Smith (1978) 84–85 and Smith (1993) turn out to require substantial revision. In his reconstructions the “gaps” mentioned in line 14 are the interstices that are created in the body through loss of substance and filled when food and drink are consumed (cf. *Lucr.* IV 858–876). The discovery of NF 211 disproves

⁴² Such data will be more easily available when Konrad Berner has completed the work of combining all the scans of Diogenes fragments made from squeezes and from the stones themselves.

his interpretation and vindicates that of Diskin Clay, who is to be congratulated on correctly conjecturing διαλείμματ[α | ὀδ]όντων αὐτό[θεν] in 14–16, and on reading προφανῆ (adjective) in 16 in place of Smith’s προφανῆ (verb). For his discussions and emendations, see Clay (1990) 2524 and n. 240; and especially Clay (2004).

14 and what precedes. MFS’s suggested restoration, except of [ἐπι]στάμε[νο]ι, is *exempli gratia*. Cf. his restoration at the beginning of fr. 146: [οἱ δὲ γέροντες οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦσι πρὸς τὴν παραβολὴν ἐκ τοῦ] ἐλέφαντος.⁴³

14. JH and MFS disagree about the number of missing letters in the lacuna in this line between NF 211 and fr. 151. Concerning his reading μέντοι, JH remarks that this particle follows an article at the beginning of a sentence in fr. 13 III 9–10 τὸ μέντοι λέγειν κτλ., fr. 21 II 10–11 ἡ μέντοι καλουμένη νεκρὰ θάλασσα κτλ., and fr. 126 I 10 – II 2 τῶν ἢ μ[έν]τοι χορηγιῶν φείδου. 15–16. The adverb αὐτόθεν occurs also in fr. 24 II 7–8 and, with φαίνεται, in NF 127 III 12–13.⁴⁴ Cf. Polyb. IV 39.7 αἰτίαι διτταί, μία μὲν αὐτόθεν καὶ πᾶσι προφανής; Sext. Emp. *Pyg.* II 164 πρόδηλον αὐτόθεν. JH urges in support of his construction that αὐτόθεν in connection with such terms denoting evidence is used when an abstract understanding is achieved without the need of further logical steps (unlike in MFS’s construction, which would focus on the immediate visibility of the gaps between the teeth).

16. προφανῆ. Cf. Philodemus, *De signis* fr. 8.4 De Lacy/De Lacy (προφανῶς), and *De Musica* IV, PHerc. col. 137.3 (here not evoking Epicurean but rather Stoic vocabulary: cf. Delattre (2007) ad loc.

16–17. βλά[πτοντα] was tentatively suggested by Frassinetti (1986) 384. The negative μηδέν (instead of classical οὐδέν) with a participle is not surprising in Diogenes: see Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) 440. JH constructs the participle personally with προφανῆ – a construction attested with similar adjectives like φανερός or δηλός in Kühner/Gerth II (1904) 53 n. 2.

18. See fr. 33 VI 12–13 and VII 1–5, where liquid nourishment, like wine, as well as solid food, is mentioned as being a coincident cause of pleasure.

NF 212 = YF 275

Description

A complete block bearing five lines. Most of the text is well preserved, but wear to the surface on the left affects the beginning of line 1 especially, and damage to the right edge affects the ends of lines 1, 2, and 5. Height 34 cm., width 51 cm., depth 35 cm. Upper margin 8 cm., left margin 5.5 cm. Letters “large” (3 cm.).

Position

The physical features of the block, including its height and the height of its upper margin, show that it belongs to course A of Diogenes’ *Old Age*, the topmost of the three courses on which this treatise was carved in eighteen-line columns, and the topmost course of the whole inscription.

Although the text is mostly well preserved, its brevity and the lack of a complete sentence make it difficult to determine the exact context.

⁴³ Smith (1993) 334.

⁴⁴ Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 85.

Text

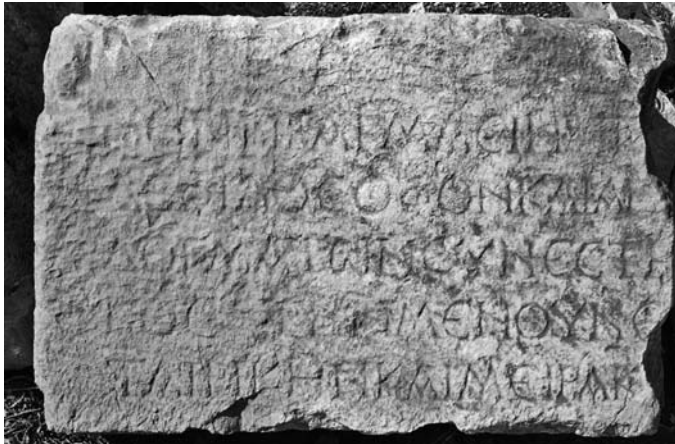


Fig. 9: NF 212 = YF 275

Πον πράγμασιν, ὦ τ[ὸ]
 δὲ φιλόσοφον καὶ ἀπ[ὸ]
 δογμάτων συνεστη-
 κός. ὦ τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐ-
 5 ταιρικὴν καὶ μειρακ[ιώ]-
 [δη -----]

Translation

[...] affairs, the other philo-
 sophical and derived from doctrines.

Now, (according to MFS:) [inter-

course (?)] with courtesans and boys [...] (or, according to JH:) the partial and juvenile [opinion ...]

Notes

In the sentence of which we have the end in lines 1–4 Diogenes is likely to have contrasted attitudes that are based on (Epicurean) philosophy with those that are not.

MFS suggests that the passage may belong to the section of *Old Age* in which Diogenes deals with desires and pleasures (fr. 149–156) and argues that the old do not experience less pleasure than the young and, because their sensual desires are much diminished, actually have an advantage over the young. The pleasures derived from philosophy are available to young and old alike (see e.g. NF 207 II–III, above). In the following sentence, of which we have the first words, the subject switches, it seems,⁴⁵ to sexual activity with female prostitutes and boys – activity which Diogenes would not have recommended to anyone, and which, as he may have pointed out, old men, to their benefit, are unlikely to desire.

JH does not exclude another possibility: that the lines contain methodological reflections which may have had their place after fr. 143, where Diogenes' criticism of poetical judgements on old age comes to an end, and before the concrete observations concerning the illnesses and shortcomings of the body (fr. 144 ff.). In this case, the text might imply a contrast between philosophical and juvenile reasoning: cf. Plato, *Republic* VI 498 a–b.

1 and what preceded. MFS tentatively suggests something like [τὸ μὲν (sc. e.g. ἦθος or χῆμα) ἄτακτον καὶ ἐπίδοξον ἐπιβάλλειν ἄνθρωπῳ] πον πράγμασιν, τὸ δὲ κτλ.: "... the one character/attitude undisciplined and likely to involve a person in troubles, the other ...". At the beginning of the line only the lower parts of two verticals are visible, the surface of the stone above them being worn away. The second letter is also uncertain. Other possibilities besides]πον include -πεν, -ριον or -γιον.

2. The use of the preposition ἀπό instead of ἐκ can be first observed in the Greek of the New Testament,⁴⁶ and has become the rule in modern Greek. In Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Euno-*

⁴⁵ In this case μὲν οὖν in line 3 would be transitional.

⁴⁶ Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1990) § 209.

mium I 1.561 the use of the two prepositions seems to be interchangeable: ὡςπερ ἂν εἴ τις δύο ἐννοίας περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου μαθῶν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κύτου συνέστηκε καὶ ὅτι τροφή τῷ χρωμένῳ γίνεται, μάχοιτο πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα ... ὅτι ἄλλος λόγος ἔστι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κύτου συστάσεως καὶ ὁ τῆς τροφῆς πάλιν ἕτερος. However, our impression is that even in later Greek ἀπό is used with συνεστηκέναι mainly to denote the primary causes of existence. Galen, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* VIII 6.13 (CMG V 4.1.2 p. 514.35 De Lacy) ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης πάντα συνέστηκε καὶ τρέφεται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων; Aristotle, *De sensu* 438b 27–29 καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὄμματος γένεσις τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου γὰρ συνέστηκεν; Origen, *Contra Celsum* III 25 (I 222.3–4 Koetschau) τὸ γὰρ γεγεννημένον ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ὕλης συνεστηκός.

4–5. In fr. 29 II 11–13 (see above) Diogenes includes ἀφροδεικίων ἐγλελεγμένων ἡδοναί in his list of the things that do not produce true happiness. For mention of sex with boys as well as women in Epicurus' similar list, cf. *Ep. Men.* 132: ἀπολάσσεισ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν. After μειρακ[ιώδη], MFS proposes to supply συνουσίαν. The same noun is used for sexual intercourse in fr. 10 III 14. He considers ἐπιθυμίαν a possible alternative. Nevertheless, a problem which remains with MFS's interpretation is that the adjective μειρακιώδης is never elsewhere attested in connection with sexual intercourse.

In the context which JH believes to be possible (see above) the two adjectives would refer to a substantive like δόξαν (cf. Plato, *Republic* V 466 b ἀνόητός τε καὶ μειρακιώδης δόξα ... εὐδαιμονίασ πέρι), or perhaps to ἔξις, διαγωγήν, or διάθεσις. JH recognises that in this case it is not easy to establish the meaning of ἑταιρικός, but suggests that alongside μειρακιώδης it would probably express a negative judgement about some kind of reasoning. In this case the underlying term would be ἑταιρεία (as in LSJ s.v. ἑταιρικός I.2.), so that the criticised opinion would be characterised as being not only juvenile but also a partial, or even sectarian, conviction shared by some radical group.⁴⁷

Fr. 144 = YF 276

History

YF 276 was discovered by Cousin in 1889. See above, under fr. 180.

Description

Cousin (1892) 27 describes YF 276 as 'complet en haut et sur les côtés; vide au dessus'.⁴⁸ This is not entirely accurate. Although the stone is complete above and right, it is broken left as well as below. Height 27.5 cm. (surface 26 cm.), width 51 cm., depth 37 cm. Letters "large". Contrary to what Cousin says, there is no margin above: he records the remains of four lines, the first of which is our line 2, but he has overlooked our line 1. It is likely that the bottom of another line was carved along the top edge of the stone, but the surface is much damaged there, and no certain traces are visible.

⁴⁷ JH thanks Matylda Obryk for this suggestion.

⁴⁸ Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) 56 misquote Cousin as having written "vide au dessous" and so misled some later editors into believing that the stone is complete below. The mistake was first pointed out by Smith (1970) 75.

Position

William (1907) assigned YF 276 to the *Ethics*, but the “large” letters confirm that later editors were correct to place it in *Old Age*. However, the discovery that Cousin was mistaken in thinking that there is a spacious upper margin means that the fragment cannot belong, as Smith (1996) 202 said it does, to course A, the topmost of the three courses on which the treatise was carved in eighteen-line columns. It must belong either to course B, which carried the middle seven or eight lines of the columns, or to course C, which carried the last four, five, or six lines and exhibited below them a generous empty space and, below that, a deeply scored band.

The subject matter indicates that the fragment is part of a discussion of the physical weaknesses and illnesses of the aged. The fragments that belong to this section are listed above, under NF 211, Position.

Text

Although the lines have been numbered 1–5, they are not the first of a column, but are from either the middle or the bottom of one – a column that contained eighteen lines. See above, under Position.



Fig. 10: Fr. 144 = YF 276

[. . .] τῶν πολλῶν διάγον-
τα χεῖρον. ^{vacat}
[τ]ὰ δὲ βηκικὰ πάθη με-
[τ]έχει μὲν τινο[. . . (.)]
5 [. . .] τ . μα[.]

Translation

[...] living [not (?)] worse than the many.

As for coughing complaints, it is true that they share in a certain [...]

Notes

1 and what preceded. Perhaps a thought like [οὐχ ὀρωμεν γέροντά τινα διὰ τοῦτο] τῶν πολλῶν διάγοντα χεῖρον. The letters γπ are in ligature.

1–2. διάγοντα. The verb is used also in connection with old men in fr. 147.14–15 (*Old Age*): ἀρτίουσι | ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι [μέχρι] | τῆς ἐσχάτης δια[γα]γεῖν τοῦ ζῆν ἡμ[έρα]. Also in fr. 2 I 13 (specified by καλῶς); in another sense the verb is perhaps used in fr. 72 III 2–3, and in fr. 126 II 10 in a letter attributed to Epicurus. For χεῖρον⁴⁹ in a comparison between younger and older men cf. NF 133 I 17–18 (see below p. 32): οὐχ ἦττον ἢ ἔτι χεῖρον. See also NF 133 II 16–17 εἰ καὶ βραχεῖ ἦττον οἱ γεγηρακότες, where the comparison stands at the conclusion of the section on bad eyesight. The long empty space after χεῖρον (it seems that the rest of the line was left uninscribed) suggests a significant change of topic or argument. In *Old Age* cf. fr. 141.16, 145 I 9.

⁴⁹ William (1907) proposed [ἄπ]ειρον, Casanova (1984) [ἐπ' ἄπ]ειρον or [τᾶπ]ειρον, Smith (1993) [ἐπὶ τὸ χ]εῖρον.

3. Usener (1892) 456 “corrected” Cousin’s BHKIKA to βηκικά,⁵⁰ and was followed by Grilli (1960) and Smith (1993), but Cousin’s reading is right. The *Diccionario Griego-Español* IV (1994) s.v. βηκικός accepted Diogenes’ βηκικά,⁵¹ as Chilton (1971) 20 did under certain conditions. The late antique recensio RV of Dioscorides, *De materia medica* III 112 (124.14 Wellmann) adds immediately after the *lemma* βήκιον, a plant which was considered to be efficacious against coughing, the alternative spelling βήκιον.⁵² Cf. Erotianus, *Vocum Hippocraticarum collectio* β 6 (28.8 Nachmannson): βηχίου· βοτάνης εἶδος. ὃ βηκίαν καὶ βήκιον καλοῦμεν.

Cough has already been connected with old age in Hippocr. *Aph.* III 31 (quoted below in the note on fr. 145 I 9–10): τοῖσι δὲ πρεσβύτησι ... κατάρροισι βηχώδεσσι.

3–4. Or perhaps μετέχει μὲν τι νό[ου]: “it is true that they have some involvement in illness”. In any case it is likely that Diogenes argued that coughing problems are by no means confined to the aged, and that the illnesses of which coughing is a symptom are usually chronic ones, which permit a preponderance of pleasure over pain (*Epic. Sent.* 4.).

4–5. [ἐλάτ]τῶμα[τος]? The substantive is used several times by Philodemus: *De oeconomia* XIV 33 Jensen; *Rhetorica*, lib. inc. II 29.6 and 10 Sudhaus; *De ira* XXIV 18, XXXVII 37, and XXXIX 6 Indelli. The second example in *De ira* is interesting for the context of wise calculation of real (and only imagined) disadvantages (*loc. cit.*, lines 33–39): καὶ μηδὲν ψευδοδοξεῖν ἐν ταῖς [ε]μμετρήσει τῶν ἐλά[τ]τῶμάτων καὶ ταῖς κολάσει τῶν βλαπτόντων.

Fr. 145 = YF 135 + NF 133 = YF 192

History

During our work on the new *Old Age* fragments found in 2012 we realised that the text of the second column of fr. 145 (YF 135), which belongs to course B of *Old Age*, is continued in the first column of NF 133 (YF 192). NF 133 was discovered during the excavation of 1997 in the step-course of the South Stoa of the Esplanade, but at that time its lower part remained covered by blocks in the stylobate course above it. It was therefore impossible to be sure whether the block belonged to course B or course C of *Old Age*. Smith (1998) 163 did not rule out the possibility of C, but decided in favour of B because NF 133 was far wider than any previously known course C block, whereas course B is composed predominantly of stretchers. He reiterated his conclusion and also mentioned a new reading in fr. 145 I 12–13⁵³ in Smith (2003) 133. Hammerstaedt (2007) 34 proposed a new restoration of a word in fr. 145 II 8. It was only after three Diogenes blocks in the stylobate course of the South Stoa were removed in 2011 and taken to safety in the new storehouse that NF 133 was completely exposed and revealed as a C course block,⁵⁴ whose first column, we now see, is a continuation of the second column of fr. 145.

⁵⁰ For the medical term βηκικός cf. Durling (1990) 63 and Panayiotou (1990) 306.

⁵¹ This volume appeared very shortly after Smith (1993), and so the fragment is cited with the number of the edition of Casanova (1984).

⁵² The recensio RV mentions βήκιον also in Diosc. III 32 (43.12 and 44.10 Wellmann).

⁵³ Already printed in Smith (1996).

⁵⁴ See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 109–110.

- συντελουντ[.]
 εἰ συμβαίν[ε]ι πο[τὲ κα]-
 τὰ τὸ σπάνιον δ[ιορᾶν]
 τι βουλομένου[ς οὐ δύ]-
 10 γασθαί· ὡ κοινὸν [γὰρ]
 πρὸς τοὺς νέο[υς ἐς]-
 τί. καὶ γὰρ οὐ εἰ[σανίως]
 [οὐτοὶ ὁρᾶν τι σφόδρα]
 σπουδάζαντες οὐκ εἰ-
 15 δον διὰ τινὰς αἰτίας ἐν-
 πεσοῦσας καὶ ἠχθέε-
 θησαν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ
 καὶ ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν παλλ[λαιῶν]

NF 133 II

(lines 1–13 missing)

- οὐτ' ἐκείνουσ. οἱ κυ[ν]-
 15 αμφοτέροι γὰρ ὁρῶσιν
 τὸ φῶς, εἰ καὶ βραχεῖ ἥτ-
 τον οἱ γεγηρακότες.
 καὶ ταῖς δυσηκοῖαις

Translation

[Such matters] (**fr. 145 I**) are [now] the subject of my [investigation], and my very first point is this.

If anyone calls the dimming experienced by the aged blindness, he is being overhasty [...]

(**fr. 145 II + NF 133 I**) [It is not old age which] accomplishes [this], if it happens on rare occasions that they (the elderly) want [to see] something clearly and are not able to do that. [As a matter of fact], this problem is shared with young people. For indeed [not uncommonly these], although [exceedingly] eager [to see something,] do not see on account of the impact of certain causes and are not less, or even still more, annoyed than the aged.

(**NF 133 II**) [... neither the latter group] nor the former. For both groups (i.e. both young and old) see the light, even if the old do slightly less.

And to the hardness of hearing [...]

Notes

Fr. 145 I

9–10. τὰς ἀμαυρώσεις. Galen, *In Hippocratis prorrheticum I comm.* (XVI 754.3 Kühn); on the aphorism of Hippocrates (*Aph.* III 31 ed. Jones τοῖσι δὲ πρεσβύτησι δύσπνοια καὶ κατάρροια βηχῶδες, στραγγουρία, δυσουρία, ἄρθρων πόνοι, νεφρίτιδες, ἴλιγγοι, ἀποπληξίαι, καχεξίαι, ξυσμοὶ τοῦ σώματος ὅλου, ἀγρυπνίαι, κοιλίης καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ῥινῶν ὑγρότητες, ἀμβλυωπία, γλαυκώσιες, βαρυηκοῖαι) he observes *In Hippocratis aphorismos commentarii* (XVII/2 651.7–8 Kühn): αἱ δ' ἀμβλωπία καὶ αἱ βαρυηκοῖαι διὰ τὴν τῆς αἰσθητικῆς δυνάμεως ἀμαύρωσιν αὐτοῖς γίνονται. Aetius, *Iatrica* VII 50 περὶ ἀμαυρώσεως (CMG VIII 2,

p. 304.6–306.28 Olivieri); Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium* VIII 50 (CMG VI 3, p. 267.5–20 Raeder).

11–12. The reading differs from that of Smith (1993); it is first printed in Smith (1996) 203 and explained in Smith (2003) 133.

Fr. 145 II + NF 133 I

5. The lower parts of the letters of this line were carved at the very top of the stone. The upper parts will have been carved on the missing stone above. All that survives is the bottoms of three vertical strokes. One of these is above the first letter of line 6, the other two above the fourth letter of line 6.

6. JH tentatively suggests [οὐ γὰρ τὸ γήρωσ ἐπὶ τὸ] | συντελοῦν τ[οῦτο].

7. π[ο]τέ. Smith (1993) and (1996) suggested π[ο]τέ.

8. δ[ι]ορῶν. Hammerstaedt (2007) 34. Smith (1993) and (1996) suggested λ[α]βεῖν].

13. κφόδρα occurs in fr. 47 III 2 and NF 146 I 7.

14–15. εἶδον. Probably a gnomic aorist (as Markus Stein has pointed out).

16–17. ἡχθέθησαν. Probably a gnomic aorist too.

NF 133 II

17–18. The transition to a new argument in 18 is marked by an *asteriskos* in the *intercolumnium* before these two lines. See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 110.

Abbreviations

Fr. = Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription, unless otherwise indicated. The numbering is that of Smith (1993), unless otherwise indicated.

HK = Fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription, quoted from the edition of Heberdey/Kalinka (1897).

NF = New Fragments of Diogenes' inscription. NF 1–124 were first published by Smith between 1970 and 1984 and were re-edited in Smith (1993) and, with drawings and photographs, in Smith (1996). NF 125 was first published in Smith (1996). NF 126–135 were first published in Smith (1998) and republished, with revisions, in Smith (2003). NF 136 was first published in Smith (2004a), NF 137–141 in Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007), NF 142–166 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008), NF 167–181 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009), NF 182–190 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010), NF 191–205 in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011), NF 206–212 in the present article.

YÇ = Yazı Çeşitli (Various Inscriptions). The YÇ numbers are the inventory numbers of Oinoanda inscriptions that are not part of Diogenes' work.

YF = Yazı Felsefi (Philosophical Inscription). The YF numbers are the inventory numbers of the fragments of Diogenes' inscription.

Bibliography

Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1990) = F. Blass / A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, bearb. v. F. Rehkopf (Göttingen 171990).

Casanova (1984) = A. Casanova, *I frammenti di Diogene d'Enoanda* (Firenze 1984).

- Chilton (1967) = C. W. Chilton, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig 1967).
- Chilton (1971) = C. W. Chilton, *Diogenes of Oenoanda. The Fragments. A Translation and Commentary* (London etc. 1971).
- Clay (1990) = D. Clay, The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda: New Discoveries 1969–1983, in: *ANRW II* 36.4 (1990) 2446–2559, 3231–3232.
- Clay (2004), review of Smith (2003), in: *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* at <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2004/2004-12-28.html>.
- Cousin (1892) = G. Cousin, Inscriptions d'Oenoanda, in: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 16 (1892) 1–70.
- Delattre (2007) = D. Delattre, *Philodème de Gadara. Sur la Musique livre IV, texte établi, traduit et annoté*, tome I–II (Paris 2007).
- Denniston (1954) = J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954).
- Durling (1992) = R. J. Durling, The Language of Galenic Pharmacy, in: *Glotta* 70 (1992) 62–70.
- Frassinetti (1986) = P. Frassinetti, Note a Diogene di Enoanda, in: *Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere 1984* (Genova 1986) 379–386.
- Grilli (1950) = A. Grilli, I frammenti dell'epicureo Diogene di Enoanda, in: V. E. Alfieri / M. Untersteiner (eds.), *Studi di Filosofia Greca in onore di R. Mondolfo* (Bari 1950) 347–435.
- Grilli (1960) = A. Grilli, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Milano 1960).
- Hammerstaedt (1988) = J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus* = Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 188 (Frankfurt am Main 1988).
- Hammerstaedt (2006) = J. Hammerstaedt, Zum Text der epikureischen Inschrift des Diogenes von Oinoanda, in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 39 (2006) 1–48.
- Hammerstaedt (2007) = review of Smith (2003), in: *Gnomon* 79 (2007) 30–34.
- Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) = J. Hammerstaedt / M. F. Smith, Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Discoveries of 2008 (NF 142–167), in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 41 (2008) 1–37.
- Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) = J. Hammerstaedt / M. F. Smith, Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Discoveries of 2009 (NF 167–181), in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 42 (2009) 1–38.
- Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) = J. Hammerstaedt / M. F. Smith, Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Discoveries of 2010 (NF 182–190), in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 43 (2010) 1–29.
- Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) = J. Hammerstaedt / M. F. Smith, Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Discoveries of 2011 (NF 191–205, and Additions to NF 127 and 130), in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 44 (2011) 79–114.
- Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) = R. Heberdey / E. Kalinka, Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda, in: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 21 (1897) 346–443.
- Hoffman (1976) = G. N. Hoffman, *Diogenes of Oenoanda. A Commentary*, Diss. Univ. Minnesota (1976).
- Kühner/Gerth (1898/1904) = R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Teil 2. Satzlehre*, bearb. v. B. Gerth, 2 Bde. (Hannover 1898/1904).
- Militello (1997) = C. Militello, *Memorie Epicuree (PHerc. 1418 e 310)* = La Scuola di Epicuro 16 (Napoli 1997).
- Panayiotou (1990) = G. Panayiotou, Paralipomena Lexicographica Cyranidea, in: *Illinois Classical Studies* 15 (1990) 295–338.
- Parkin (2003) = T. G. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World* (Baltimore/London, 2003).
- Philippson (1931) = R. Philippson, *Diogenes von Oinoanda*, in: *RE Suppl.* 5 (1931) 153–170.

- Smith (1970) = M. F. Smith, Observations on the Text of Diogenes of Oenoanda, in: *Hermathena* 110 (1970) 52–78.
- Smith (1977) = M. F. Smith, Diogenes of Oenoanda and l'École française d'Athènes, in: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 101 (1977) 353–381.
- Smith (1978) = M. F. Smith, Fifty-five New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, in: *Anatolian Studies* 28 (1978) 39–92.
- Smith (1993) = M. F. Smith, *Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Epicurean Inscription* = La Scuola di Epicuro, Supplemento 1 (Napoli 1993).
- Smith (1996) = M. F. Smith, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda* = Ergänzungsbände zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* 20 (Wien 1996).
- Smith (1998) = M. F. Smith, Excavations at Oinoanda 1997. The New Epicurean Texts, in: *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998) 125–170.
- Smith (2003) = M. F. Smith, *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda, The Epicurean Inscription* = La Scuola di Epicuro, Supplemento 3 (Napoli 2003).
- Smith (2004a) = M. F. Smith, In Praise of the Simple Life. A New Fragment of Diogenes of Oinoanda, in: *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004) 35–46.
- Smith (2004b) = M. F. Smith, The Title of Diogenes' Physics, in: H. Heftner / K. Tomaschitz (eds.), *Ad Fontes. Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch* (Wien 2004) 431–434.
- Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007) = M. F. Smith / J. Hammerstaedt, The Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda. New Investigations and Discoveries (NF 137–141), in: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 40 (2007) 1–11.
- Usener (1892) = H. Usener, Epikureische Schriften auf Stein, in: *Rheinisches Museum* 47 (1892) 414–456.
- William (1907) = J. William, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig 1907).
- Wörrle (1988) = M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Lykien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* = *Vestigia* 39 (München 1988).

Attention is drawn to the Oinoanda project's website: <http://www.dainst.org/de/project/oinoanda?ft=all>. The text is available in German, Turkish, and English.

Özet

Bu makalede, epikürosçu filozof Diogenes tarafından eski Yunanca yazılmış yazıtla ilişkin yeni buluntular ve bunların üzerine yapılan araştırmalar tanıtılmaktadır. Söz konusu araştırmalar ve yeni buluntular 2007 yılında Kuzey Likya ören yeri Oinoanda'da başlatılan arkeolojik ve epigrafik çalışmalar çerçevesindeki altıncı ve son yüzey araştırmasının sonuçlarıdır. Altıncı yüzey araştırması da diğer yüzey araştırmaları gibi İstanbul Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü ikinci müdürü tarafından yönetilmiştir.

Deniz seviyesinden yaklaşık 1450 metre yükseklikte yer alan, vadiden 350 metre yükseklikte bir tepenin üzerinde bulunan Oinoanda Antik Kenti'nde, Esplanade adı verilen terasta 2010 yılında ekibimiz tarafından bir depo yaptırılmış, Diogenes yazıtının bu depoya taşınma işlemi, yazıtın 17 bloğu ve iki küçük parçasının depodaki raflara koyulmasıyla bitirilmiştir. Bilinen 299 Diogenes yazıt parçasından 177'si depoya taşınmış durumdadır. İleride araştırma yapmak isteyenler, bu yazıtların raflardaki yerlerini Oinoanda'da görevli bekçiye ve Fethiye Müzesi'ne veril-

miş olan kroki vasıtasıyla kolayca bulabilirler. Geri kalan 84 parça zeminde gömülü ya da daha sonra yaptırılmış duvar içinde inşa edilmiş durumdadır ya da taşıtılmaları büyüklüklerinden ve uzakta olmalarından ötürü çok risklidir. Bu parçalar bu nedenle GPS ile belirlenen yerlerinde bırakılmışlardır. Diğer 44 yazıtlı blok ise 19. yy. da Fransız ve Avusturyalılar tarafından yapılmış olan araştırma seyahatlerinde ve 20. yy. da İngiliz araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan yüzey araştırmaları sırasında görülmüşler, daha sonra kaybolmuşlardır.

Tamamen veya kısmen üç boyutlu taranmış Diogenes yazıtı fragmanlarının sayısı 257'ye yükselmiştir. Buna ilaveten 2012 yılı yazında, yıllar önce kaybolmuş veya estampajların yapıldığı dönemlerdeki durumlarına göre yıpranmış olan Diogenes bloklarının Atina, Viyana ve Shetland Adası Foula'da saklanan estampajları da taranmıştır. Bu estampajların taramaları computer aided design (CAD) programı vasıtasıyla, üzerinde Diogenes yazıtının bulunduğu stoa duvarının şu anda ancak hazırlanabilmiş üç boyutlu sanal modelinin üzerine yapıştırılacaktır.

Bunlara ilaveten 7 adet daha önce bilinmeyen Diogenes yazıtı parçası ve 1889 yılında görüldükten sonra kaybolmuş olan iki adet yazıtlı blok yeniden bulunmuştur. Bu iki parça üzerindeki metin ne estampajlar arasında bulunabilmiş ne de daha önceden ölçüleri alınmıştır. Bu nedenle, beraberliklerini makalenin hazırlama aşamasında tespit ettiğimiz fr. 145 ve fr. 133 kodlu bloklar gibi bu iki parça da bu makalede yeniden yayınlanmaktadır.

NF 206 (YF 273) kodlu fragman gerçi sadece bir adet tümüyle korunmuş harf içermektedir, ancak Diogenes yazıtının günümüze ulaşmış başlıklarıyla uyum göstermektedir (fr. 1, fr. 28, ve fr. 137). Böylece Diogenes yazıtının başlığı olarak sınıflandırılabilir. Bu başlığın üzerinde tıpkı fr. 28 kodlu parçada olduğu gibi sadece bir dörtgenin hafif derinleşen çerçevesi değil, aynı zamanda çerçevenin sol kenarında bir tabula ansatayı biçimlendiren küçük bir üçgen şekil de teşhis edilebilmektedir. Karşılaştırıldığında fr. 28 kodlu parçanın da bugüne değin gözden kaçmış bir tabula ansata olduğu görülmektedir. NF 206 kodlu blok üzerindeki tabula ansatanın konumundan bu taşın Diogenes yazıtında alttan ikinci sırada üzerinde *Fizik* yazılı bulunan bölümde bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

NF 207 (YF 271) tümüyle korunmuş bir blok olup üç sütun halinde Diogenes'in *Ethik* öğretisinin metnini içermektedir. En alt taş sırasında bulunan bu blok üzerindeki metnin alt çerçevesinde Epikuros'un ana öğretisinin özlü sözleri yer almaktadır. İlk sütun fr. 29 kodlu parçaya eklenmektedir ve böylece beş birbirini takip eden metin sütunu üzerinde Epikuros'un *Ethik* öğretisinin giriş bölümündeki cümleleri hemen hemen tümüyle korunmuş durumdadır. Diogenes başlangıçta kendini felsefeye zenginliğini veya prestijini arttırmaya ve lüks hayat yaşamaya olana düşkünlüğünden dolayı değil, mutlu olduğu için adadığını ve yazıtı vatandaşlarının mutluluğu için buraya yazdırdığını anlatmaktadır. Her yaş grubu bu yazıttan bir şeyler öğrenebilir: Genç insanlara hayat yolunu belirlemede karar vermeyi, yetişkin insanları o ana kadar gittikleri yanlış yoldan doğru yola döndürmeyi, yaşlılara ise geri kalan hayatlarını dürüst bir şekilde geçirmeyi öğretmektedir; çünkü her bir düzgün yaşanmış gün bir kazançtır. Fr. 2 ve fr. 3 kodlu parçalar üzerindeki tüm yazıtın girişine yapılan bir atıf, Martin Ferguson Smith tarafından öne sürülmüş, *Fizik* bölümünün bulunduğu taş sırasının *Ethik* bölümünden önce okunması gerektiği tezinin doğruluğunu onaylamaktadır.

NF 208 (YF 278) kodlu parçanın da küçük harfler halinde yazılmış metinlere (14 satırlık sütunlar halinde *Fizik*, *Ethik* ve *Mektuplar*) ait olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

NF 209 (YF 274) kodlu parça bir metnin son sütununu içermektedir. Bu bölümün son kısmındaki selamlama ifadesi nedeniyle bir mektup olduğu anlaşılmakta ve mektup özellikle bir kez öldüğünü gibi, bir kez de yaşanıldığını vurgulamaktadır. Sadece iyi şeyleri değil, aynı zamanda

kötü şeyleri de arkada bırakıp öbür dünyaya gideceğimizden huzur içinde ölmeli. İçeriğindeki özelliklerden dolayı bu metin Diogenes yazıtının bugüne değin bilinen metinleriyle ilişkilendirilememektedir. Bu blok ya *Ethik* öğretisini içeren en alt taş sırasına aittir ya da – büyük bir olasılıkla – *14 satırlık sütunlar halindeki mektupların* bulunduğu bölüme ve yekpare taş üzerindeki Diogenes’in özlü sözlerine ait olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Orta büyüklükte harflerden oluşan yazılara (Diogenes’in yekpare taş üzerindeki *özlü sözleri* ve *10 satırlık sütunlar üzerindeki metinleri*) çok küçük bir NF 210 (YF 272) kodlu parça da dahil edilebilir. Yeniden bulunmuş fr. 180 kodlu parça üzerindeki, bu makalede yeniden yayınlanmış metin Diogenes’in yekpare taş üzerindeki *özlü sözleri* grubuna tahminen dahil edilebilir.

Değerlendirmesi yapılan son grup ise *Yaşlılık* üzerine yazılmış yazıların olduğu bölümdür.

NF 211 (YF 270) kodlu taş, fr. 151 kodlu parça üzerindeki sütunun alt kısmındaki metnin sol tarafına aittir ve *Yaşlılık* hakkındaki öğretinin bir parçası olup, Diskin Clay’in bu metnin yaşlıların dış boşlukları hakkında yazılmış olduğu tezini doğrulamaktadır. Diogenes bu durumu yaşlılar lezzetinin tadına vararak sıvıyla beslendiklerinden zararsız olarak nitelendirmektedir.

Diğer bir yeni buluntu olan NF 212 (YF 275) kodlu blok bir sütunun üst tarafına ait olup neredeyse tümüyle korunagelmıştır ve okunaklıdır. Ancak bu beş satırlık metnin içeriğini anlamak kolay değildir. Metnin başlangıcında Diogenes felsefi düşünceleri diğerleri ile karşılaştırmakta ve olumsuzluğa eğilim gösteren sıfatlarla belirsiz bir şeyi karakterize etmektedir. Bunların kombinasyonu bahsedilen konuyla bu metnin ilişkisi hakkında bizlere herhangi bir bağlantı kurma olanağı tanımamaktadır.

Fr. 144 kodlu parça – ki tıpkı fr. 180 kodlu parça gibi 1889 yılından beri ilk defa tekrar görülmüştür – *Yaşlılık* hakkındaki öğretinin en üst taş sırasına aittir. Diogenes bu metin bölümünde bir konuya ilişkin görüşlerini bitirmektedir. Ancak metin tekrar okunmasına rağmen konunun içeriği anlaşılammamaktadır. Daha sonra Diogenes (sözümona) bir yaşlılık belirtisi olarak yaşlıların öksürük şikayetlerini ele almaktadır.

NF 133 (YF 192) kodlu fragmanın 2011 yılında *Yaşlılık* hakkındaki öğretinin alt kesimine ait bir parça olduğu anlaşılınca fragmanın ilk sütununun orta bölümdeki fr. 145 II kodlu parça üzerindeki metnin devamı olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Diogenes bu şekilde bir araya getirilmiş metinde görme kabiliyetinin kötüleşmesinin bir yaşlılık belirtisi olduğu yönündeki iddiaları geri çevirmektedir. Çünkü Diogenes’e göre genç insanlar da iyi görebilmek için genelde boşuna çok çaba göstermekte ve bu duruma yaşlılar gibi hatta daha fazla kızmaktaydılar. NF 133 II kodlu fragmanın son sütununda kötü görme üzerine olan bölüm bitirilmekte, *asteriskos* ile işaretlenmiş olan işitme zorluğuna ilişkin bölüme geçilmekte ve burada da mutlaka bu bozukluğun sadece yaşlılık göstergesi bir şikayet olarak algılanmaması gerektiği belirtilmektedir.