NEW RESEARCH AT OINOANDA AND A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE EPICUREAN DIOGENES (NF 213)

In 2014 the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) generously undertook to fund a research project with the necessarily-lengthy title "Reconstruction of the Philosophical Monumental Inscription of Diogenes and Documentation of Its Archaeological Contexts by Means of the Web-enabled Research and Information Platform of an Oinoanda-GIS". Between 5 and 10 October 2015 four participants in the project carried out research in the Diogenes storehouse at Oinoanda and in the Fethiye Museum. This article presents the results of their work.

Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), Abteilung Istanbul, organised the visits, worked at Oinoanda for the first three days, and accompanied his colleagues to the Fethiye Museum before he was called away to duties in Istanbul. We thank him for his valuable contribution to the work and indeed to the whole DFG project. We are grateful also to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey for giving permission for the research; to the Antiquities Authority in Ankara; to Emel Özkan, who just before the visit took up her post as the Director of Fethiye Museum; to Ali Dervişagaoğlu of the Fethiye Museum, who on the first day of the visit swiftly found a replacement when the expected attendant of the work on the site was taken ill; and to Mutlu Temiz, also of the Fethiye Museum, who unhesitatingly packed his bag to accompany the team for the whole week and give it friendly help and advice.

Apart from Martin Bachmann, the members of the team were JH, Konrad Berner (University of Applied Sciences, Karlsruhe), who is employed in the DFG project, and Sophia Brockmann, an assistant of JH at Cologne University. At Oinoanda the team always had the vigorous assistance of the watchman, Sedat Atçı, and sometimes of his son Halil Atçı and a nameless female donkey.

The aims of the visit were to check measurements, to verify on the Diogenes blocks themselves some architectonic features previously observed on the 3D scans, and to improve the 3D documentation. For the first time detailed attention was given to pry-holes.² The uniformity of their appearance, their position, and their ninety-degree orientation to and distance from the inscribed faces of the stones strongly suggests that nearly all of them were created during the original construction of Diogenes' stoa³ rather than during re-use in later structures. The fact that some of the seven horizontal courses⁴ of the inscription exhibit more pry-holes than others⁵ will require careful consideration in the research into the structure of the wall. There may

¹ GIS = Geographical Information System. The German title of the project is: Rekonstruktion der philosophischen Monumentalinschrift des Diogenes und Dokumentation ihres archäologischen Kontexts durch die webfähige Forschungs- und Informationsplattform eines Oinoanda-GIS.

² Shallow depressions cut into the top surfaces of lower-course blocks for engaging levers used in manoeuvring upper-course blocks into their exact position.

³ As already suggested by Smith (1993) 106.

⁴ For the probable arrangement of the inscription on the wall of the stoa, see the detailed account in Smith (1993) 76–100, and the plan in fig. 6, reproduced in Smith (1996) fig. 6.

⁵ Very few pry-holes are present on the visible upper surfaces of the blocks in courses II (*Physics*) and VI (*Old Age B*). Not a single pry-hole is present on the visible upper surfaces of the blocks in course VII (*Old Age A*), but the extent of these surfaces is only a sixth of that of the visible upper surfaces in course II, so that course VII may well belong to a second group of courses, including course IV (*Ten-Line-Column Writings*) and course I (*Ethics*),

be some sort of correlation between the frequency of pry-holes and the uneven distribution of headers and stretchers⁶ or the evenness or unevenness of upper (and lower) surfaces, including notches.⁷ At any rate, each of these pry-holes indicates a join of two neighbouring blocks in the next upper course, and in some cases the position of the pry-hole close to the edge of a block suggests that the leverage was exerted in the direction leading away from the edge, so as to avoid creating vertically-aligned joins.⁸

The inspection of blocks by Martin Bachmann and JH also yielded some corrections to previous publications. It is to be noted that, since MFS was not present at Oinoanda in October 2015, he cannot independently confirm all his colleagues' corrections and observations.

Fr. 6 (YF 019, *Physics*). The right angle formed by the very worn top-left area of YF 019A, together with its position at the (calculated) left beginning of col. I, makes it very likely that part of the left edge of the block is preserved.⁹

Fr. 10 III-V (YF 022, Physics). The width of the block is 84.5 cm. 10

Fr. 119 I–II (YF 030, *Ten-Line-Column Writings*). The top edge is clearly preserved. In consequence, the line numbers of fr. 119 I–II have to be changed from those tentatively shown in Smith (1993) 305–306 and Smith (1996) 178–179, so that the first lines of preserved text (formerly I 2 and II 2) now become I 1 and II 1, and the last lines become I 9 (formerly I 10) and II 7 (formerly II 8). It is in fact a case of reverting to the line numbers given tentatively in the *editio princeps*: see Smith (1972) 178–179.¹¹

Fr. 123 (YF 021, *Ten-Line-Column Writings*). The upper surface is partly preserved, which means that the first preserved line is the first line of the column.¹²

Fr. 178 (YF 075). This damaged and severely weathered block, on which no writing is visible, was discovered by MFS in 1972 and, because of its height of 50 cm. and what he thought was a scored lower margin, 13 assigned by him to *Old Age* course C. It was lying on "Martin's Hill" among

which display a medium frequency of pry-holes. A third group, consisting of course V (*Old Age C*) and course III (*Fourteen-Line-Column Letters*) offers a rather dense succession of pry-holes. In the case of the *Maxims* (assigned by MFS to course III), the small number of visible upper surfaces does not allow for a certain attribution to either group two or group three. A possible explanation for the absence of pry-holes in course VII could be that it was the top course not only of the inscription, but also of the wall.

- 6 This uneven distribution was already observed by Smith (1993) 95 with fig. 7 and, as a result of the new finds and observations, it will be still more accentuated.
- 7 While the varying heights of upper margins, and of the margins between the first lines of columns and the lower edges of blocks, seem to indicate not only slight undulations of the upper and lower surfaces, but also some notches between horizontally neighbouring blocks, only in one case, YF 012 = fr. 5, a block of the *Physics* course (II), did Bachmann and JH find during their inspection a recess on the upper surface of a block which must correspond to a notch assumed to have been created by the join between two blocks in the course (III) above.
- 8 This criterion has already been used in working out the arrangement of Diogenes' *Old Age*. See Smith (1993) 90–91.
 - 9 This contradicts Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) 382 "links ... gebrochen" and Smith (1996) 55 "broken left".
- 10 The measurement (75.5 cm.) given by Smith (1996) 63 is mistaken, as MFS, having measured his squeeze, now agrees.
- 11 There and in later publications MFS describes the fragment as "broken on all sides". This must now be corrected to "complete above, broken below, left, and right".
- 12 The (tentative) numbering in Smith (1974a) 126 and Smith (1993) 311 is confirmed, while the description in Smith (1974a) 125 "broken on all sides" (cf. Smith [1996] 183) has to be corrected.
 - 13 Smith (1974) 44; (1993) 594; (1996) 231.

a dense cluster of Diogenes blocks that included other *Old Age* fragments, among which were three course-C blocks. ¹⁴ However, examination of a 3D scan of the block suggested that MFS was mistaken in identifying the piece as part of Diogenes' inscription, and this was confirmed by autopsy of the stone itself in October 2015. The scored margin turns out to be an illusion, and MFS agrees that the block must be removed from the inventory of Diogenes fragments.

The scans of twelve fragments in the storehouse were completed or improved.¹⁵ In the case of inscribed surfaces, the scanning was done with a stripe light scanner, otherwise with a hand scanner. YF 157 (fr. 26), which was wrongly listed among already scanned pieces in Hammer-staedt/Smith (2011) 82 n. 19, was now recorded by means of photogrammetry. A scan was also made of YF 182 (fr. 24), found in 1983 in a modern building in the village of Kınık, relocated by the Oinoanda team in 2012 with help from J. J. Coulton,¹⁶ and afterwards removed by the Fethiye Museum to the yard of Sedat Atçı's house in incealiler, where it remains. JH was able to inspect it there during a private visit on 10 June 2014.¹⁷

YF 180 (fr. 129), another Diogenes block found in Kınık in 1983 and stolen between Autumn 2007 and Summer 2008 from the public fountain into which it was built, ¹⁸ has been recovered and placed in the storeroom of the Fethiye Museum. On 8 October 2015 it was scanned. On the same occasion what survives of the Demostheneia inscription, ¹⁹ exhibited in the garden of the Museum, was recorded by means of scanning and photogrammetry. These records, together with the many scans of the Diogenes fragments, will be a solid basis for a closer study of the remarkable similarity of the style of lettering in this text, which dates from the mid-120s (AD), to that in Diogenes' inscription.

During five years of survey (2008–2012) large areas of Oinoanda were documented by means of geophysical prospection, terrestrial scanning, and GPS plotting. On 7 October 2015, a day of fine weather and excellent visibility, the documentation of Oinoanda was extended and enhanced, when a programmed drone, equipped with a camera, was launched to fly over the city. The digital imagery thereby obtained will be processed in order to generate a detailed digital terrain model and an orthophoto of the whole site.

Further work was done to improve the storage and findability of the Diogenes fragments in the storehouse. The cardboard labels were replaced with more durable plastic ones. Some minor errors and contradictions in the 2012 plan of the fragments in the storehouse were investigated and eliminated. Moreover, a more detailed plan of the locations of larger blocks on the shelves was made. It marks the position and alignment of the inscribed surfaces. This will make it easier to investigate those blocks which are not directly visible from the aisle, by avoiding, or at least minimising, the need to move the blocks in front of them.²⁰ Outside the storehouse,

¹⁴ YF 076 (fr. 174), YF 077 (fr. 173), YF 079 (fr. 150).

¹⁵ YF 019A (fr. 6), YF 057 (fr. 141), YF 100 (fr. 163), YF 173 (fr. 115), YF 234 (NF 178), YF 262 (NF 196), YF 270 (NF 211), YF 273 (NF 206), YF 274 (NF 209), YF 275 (NF 212), YF 276 (fr. 144), YF 277 (fr. 180).

¹⁶ Hammerstaedt/Smith (2012) 2 n. 3 (= 2014, 176 n. 3).

¹⁷ For the complete measurements, two photographs, and some further remarks, see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2014) 271–273.

¹⁸ Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007) 4 (= Hammerstaedt/Smith 2014, 24) and Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 4 (= 2014, 36).

¹⁹ First edited by Wörrle (1988); English translation in the review of Mitchell (1990); new readings and photographs in Smith (1994).

²⁰ Copies of both plans were given to Fethiye Museum and to watchman Sedat Atçı.

the inventory numbers written on Diogenes fragments in oil-based white paint were inspected and, where seen to be faded, touched up. In the course of this work, the team came across three new non-philosophical inscriptions. One, found on the Esplanade, is part of an already known Hellenistic text, YÇ 1131. Of the two others, both small pieces, one, YÇ 1293, was discovered in the paved area that was the later agora, the other, YÇ 1294, in a new area of illegal digging east of the southeast corner of the Esplanade. 21

This new area of illegal digging, near the point where the path from incealiler arrives close to the Esplanade, had already been observed and recorded by JH when he made his private visit to Oinoanda in June 2014. But between then and October 2015 erosion at the edge of the excavated area had exposed a new Diogenes block, YF 279 (NF 213), which we present below. Its find-spot is about 25 m. east of YF 253 (NF 203), which was discovered in 2011 in a structure about 30 m. southeast of the east entrance of the Esplanade. The find-spot of YF 279 is further east than that of any other Diogenes fragment yet discovered on the site. The block was found buried about 20 cm. beneath ground-level and did not seem to belong in this position to any architectonic structure. This purely casual find is another powerful reminder of how many Diogenes blocks are still awaiting discovery in the ruins and rubble of Oinoanda.

The heavy block was carried to the storehouse by the small team with great effort. Had it not been necessary (see above) to expel YF 075 (fr. 178) from the inventory of Diogenes fragments, the new find would have been the three-hundredth known piece of the inscription. However, we can be sure that the total of three hundred will be reached on the next occasion when work at Oinoanda is possible, for another Diogenes block was located on the team's last morning on the site, but could not be examined properly or included in the inventory. It was seen when the numbers painted on Diogenes fragments on Martin's Hill were being checked and touched up. Less than a metre north of YF 221 (NF 143), which we were looking for, it lies largely buried. It has the epigraphical features of Diogenes' Fourteen-Line-Column Letters, and the small amount of visible text strongly suggests that we have the passage that immediately precedes YF 070 (fr. 72), the famous description of Epicurus' shipwreck. That makes it a particularly exciting and important discovery. It is the first identifiable fragment of the FLC Letters to have come to light since 1977.²³ It is interesting to note that it lies close to where YF 070 was found in 1970, so that we have an addition to the already significant number of cases where neighbouring blocks in the inscription remained near neighbours in re-use.²⁴

²¹ These fragments were brought into the storehouse. Not realising that one of the pieces is part of the already known YÇ 1131, the team wrongly painted on it the number YÇ 1294 and, as a consequence, the wrong number YÇ 1295 on what is actually YÇ 1294. These errors will need to be corrected on the next visit to the storehouse. A corpus of all the non-philosophical inscriptions of Oinoanda is planned by Nicholas Milner (London) and Gregor Staab (Köln).

²² Hammerstaedt/Smith (2011) 83 (description of find-place) and 108–109 (= 2014, 143 and 168–169). For an improved text of the fragment, see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2014) 274–275.

²³ Fr. 63 I (YF 166). See also Smith (2014) 182.

²⁴ See Smith (1993) 98; (1998) 129.

NF 213 = YF 279

Description

A block of whitish limestone. Complete above, below, and left; broken right. Height 58 cm., width 37 cm. (surface 33 cm.), depth 41 cm. Upper margin 8 cm., lower margin 13 cm., left margin 7.5 cm. Ten lines of "medium-sized" letters (2.5 cm.).

The style of lettering is distinctive, and some of the letter-forms exhibit features that are unusual in Diogenes' inscription. B (twice in line 7) is carved in a very full shape, almost but not quite as two squares.²⁵ In H (lines 2, 3, 7) the horizontal stroke is not joined to the verticals. Likewise in Θ (line 6) the horizontal stroke does not touch the $O.^{26}$ In K in line 4 the oblique strokes are not joined to the vertical (contrast line 2). M has the first and last strokes vertical, not, as is usually the case in the inscription and in many Maxims, oblique (see below, under Position in the inscription). In N the middle stroke starts some way below the top of the left vertical (lines 2 and 9)²⁷ and meets the right vertical some way above its base (lines 2, 5, 9, and 10).²⁸ Ξ (line 4) is carved, uniquely in the inscription, as three horizontal strokes with a vertical passing through the middle of them. 29 In Π the horizontal extends significantly beyond the verticals, especially in line 3.30 As a whole, the writing is less homogeneous than in many other parts of the inscription: some verticals are slanted backwards (the two iotas in line 1, right verticals of H and N in line 2), while the left vertical of N in line 10 is very much slanted forward; some strokes are seen to descend below the baseline (as in Δ line 1, and in Π line 2). A noticeable feature of line 1 is the uneven baseline, which rises from left to right, whereas the letter-tops are better aligned. There is also some irregularity of letter-spacing, as between the first and second letters of line 3.

Position in the inscription

NF 213 is one of Diogenes' monolithic *Maxims* – monolithic in the sense that each maxim is presented in a single column on one stone. The *Maxims*, which have been assigned to the third lowest course of the inscription with the *Fourteen-Line-Column Letters* (*Letter to Antipater* and *Letter to Dionysius*),³¹ are carved in medium-sized letters on stones 57–59 cm. high. The number of lines in a column varies from nine to eleven,³² the upper margin from 6 cm. to 9 cm., the lower margin from 4.5 cm. to 22.5 cm.

Because there is never an overflow of text from one stone to another, and because the content of the *Maxims* is very varied, there are many uncertainties about their order, but it is natural to separate those that deal with physics from those that relate to matters of ethics, and sometimes one can identify a sub-group within one of these broad groups: for example, fr. 98, on the causes of thunderbolts and earthquakes, and fr. 99, which explains how hail can occur in summer, are

²⁵ Cf. fr. 108 (YF 063), line 6.

²⁶ Also in fr. 98 (YF 092), line 7, where M is vertically shaped too.

²⁷ Cf. fr. 98 (YF 092), lines 5, 8, 9, 10; fr. 102 (YF 136), line 4.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. fr. 97 (YF 118), line 3; fr. 99, line 4 (first N); fr. 102 (YF 136), line 4; NF 171 (YF 226), lines 6, 11 (first N).

²⁹ The Maxims exhibiting M with the first and last strokes vertical do not contain any further example of Ξ .

³⁰ Cf. e.g. fr. 97 (YF 118), lines 2, 3, 7 (twice); fr. 98 (YF 092) 2, 4, 6, 9; fr. 102 (YF 136), line 9; NF 171 (YF 226), line 6; NF 197 (YF 261), lines 4, 6.

³¹ Smith (1993) 89.

³² With the almost certain exception of fr. 114 (YF 181), which was probably only six or seven lines long. See Smith (1993) 543–544.

naturally placed together. Likewise, similarity of subject matter makes it natural to associate fr. 111 with NF 131,33 and fr. 112 with NF 132.34

Similarities of subject matter are not the only consideration to be taken into account in attempts to determine the order of the texts in the *Maxims*. Another important consideration is the similarities and differences in the style of lettering. So far as the whole inscription is concerned, there is a need for a close palaeographical investigation to be undertaken, to study the lettering and identify the different hands of the stonemasons. The investigation should be based on autopsy of the stones and examination of the different sorts of documentation now available – photographs, squeezes, and 3D scans. But even without such an investigation it is plain to see that not all the *Maxims* were carved by the same stonemason. At least two and probably three different hands were distinguished by Smith (1993) 534–535,³⁵ who drew particular attention to the variation in the carving of M. In some *Maxims* the first and last strokes are oblique, as in other sections of the inscription, in others they are vertical. In two of the texts, fr. 112 and NF 132, M is carved in an exceptionally splayed fashion, and this is not the only epigraphical feature that sets these two apart from other *Maxims*.³⁶ So the distinctive manner in which they are carved powerfully reinforces the conclusion, already deduced from the similarity of their content (see above), that they were neighbours in the row of *Maxims*.

The fragments of the *Maxims* in which M has the first and last strokes vertical, or which, if they do not contain a M, are carved in a similar style are fr. 97–104, 110 (YF 223),³⁷ NF 155 (YF 200), 156 (YF 213), 171 (YF 226), 184 (YF 245), 197 (YF 261).³⁸

As has been mentioned above (under *Description*), NF 213 has M carved with the first and last strokes vertical, and many of its other letter-forms are shared with the fragments just listed. Most of these fragments deal with matters of physics.³⁹ MFS sees this as perhaps lending extra plausibility to his text and interpretation of NF 213, lines 7–8: if, as he argues, the second maxim (lines 6–10) is concerned with storms, which are often responsible for damage to farming, but not for anxieties and fears, it would be not unnatural for it to have been close to fr. 98–99, which give scientific explanations of thunderbolts, earthquakes, and the formation of hail in summer – three other potentially-damaging phenomena that might give rise to fear of the gods.

³³ Smith (1998) 158; (2003) 121, where it is suggested that NF 131 preceded fr. 111.

³⁴ Smith (1998) 161; 2003 (122). In both places it is argued that NF 132 immediately preceded fr. 112.

³⁵ Smith (1993) 534–535; cf. Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 24–25 (= 2014, 56–57).

³⁶ See Smith (1998) 160.

³⁷ See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 32 (= 2014, 64), where the small fragment, first recorded by Georges Cousin in 1889, was erroneously presented as a new fragment (NF 161). We corrected the mistake in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 4 (= 2014, 74). We assigned the fragment to *Maxims* or *Ten-Line-Column Writings*, but the style of lettering strongly favours the former.

³⁸ Both M-styles occur in NF 157 (YF 217), but see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 19 and 23 (= 2014, 89 and 93): the stonemason seems to have carved the M in line 10 with vertical first and last strokes only because he mistakenly carved a N and wanted to correct it with the minimum of disturbance.

³⁹ An exception is NF 184 (YF 245): see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2010) 17 (= 2014, 125). Another exception, depending on the choice of different restorations of the text proposed by Hammerstaedt and Smith, is NF 171 (YF 226): see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2009) 17 (= 2014, 87).

Text

(according to MFS) (different text proposed by JH)⁴⁰ δικαίως ἐπ' ἤ[νομα ἀν]ῆκεν ὁ ςπουδ[αῖος καὶ] προςηγορίας [πάντως] προςηγορίας [τοιᾶςδε] ήξίωται· ν κ[αὶ γὰρ δή] 5 έςτιν ώς ἀλ[ηθῶς ἀγα]θός. νν πολλά[κις μὲν] βλάβης αἴτ[ιός ἐςτι] βλάβης αἴτ[ιόν ἐςτι] τῷ γεωργεῖν [χειμών], τὸ γεωργεῖν [ςώματι], οὖ μέντοι [καὶ κενῶν] λυπῶν κα[ὶ φόβων]. 10

Translation

(according to MFS)

It is right that the virtuous person has achieved [renown] and is considered [wholly] deserving of the appellation (virtuous); [for indeed] he is truly good.

[Stormy weather] is often a cause of damage [to] farming, but not [also] of [groundless] feelings of distress and [fears].

(according to JH)

It is right that the virtuous person has achieved [renown] and is considered deserving of [such] an appellation; [for indeed] he is truly good.

Farming often is a cause of damage [to the body], 41 but certainly not of [groundless] feelings [of] distress and [fears].

Notes

1. δικαίως. This is the only occurrence of the adverb in the known fragments. For the adjective, see fr. 47 III 10–12 ἢ τί δίκαιον ἔνκλημα | ἐπενενκεῖν ἔχομεν | τῆ φύςει; 2 I 1–3 [τοῦ cώματος ἐνκλήςεις] || τῆ ψυχῆ δι[α]φ[ό]ρους | ἐπιφέροντος καὶ δι|καίας; 3 IV 13 – V 2 δίκαιον | [δ' ἐςτὶ καὶ] τοῖς μ[εθ' ἡ]||μᾶς ἐςομένοις βοηθῆςαι; 18 III 13; Theol. III 11, IV 6, 7, VI 4. Two other maxims start with an adverb expressing a judgment: NF 155.1 καλῶς and NF 157.1 ἀτυχές.

The letter after $\delta \iota \kappa \alpha i \omega c$ is nearly obliterated by superficial damage, including a diagonal stroke which is not part of a letter. What is part of a letter is a regularly-shaped curve, which is most likely to be the upper-left part of epsilon or omikron.

2. ηκεν. Either aorist of ἵημι (simple or compound) or a perfect form of ἥκω (simple or compound) or of (παρ-, cuv-, ἐξ-, κατ-)ἐρρύηκε, κεκύηκε, πεποίηκε, ἠγνόηκε, (κατα-, ἐπι-)νενόηκε, νενεύηκε. However, Diogenes' *Maxims*, in accordance with their generalising tone, normally use the present tense, with the sole exception of fr. 111.7–11 (οὐχ ἡ φύcιc ... εὐγενεῖc ἢ δυcγενεῖc ἐποίηcεν, ἀλλ' αἱ πράξειc καὶ διαθέcειc), an aorist interpreted as past tense by Casanova (1984)

⁴⁰ We propose to cite this text in the places where we disagree in the following way: "NF 213.8 (text Smith)" or "NF 213.8 (text Hammerstaedt)". For further recommendations about how to cite Diogenes fragments, see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2014) 5–6.

⁴¹ Or: "to our physical condition".

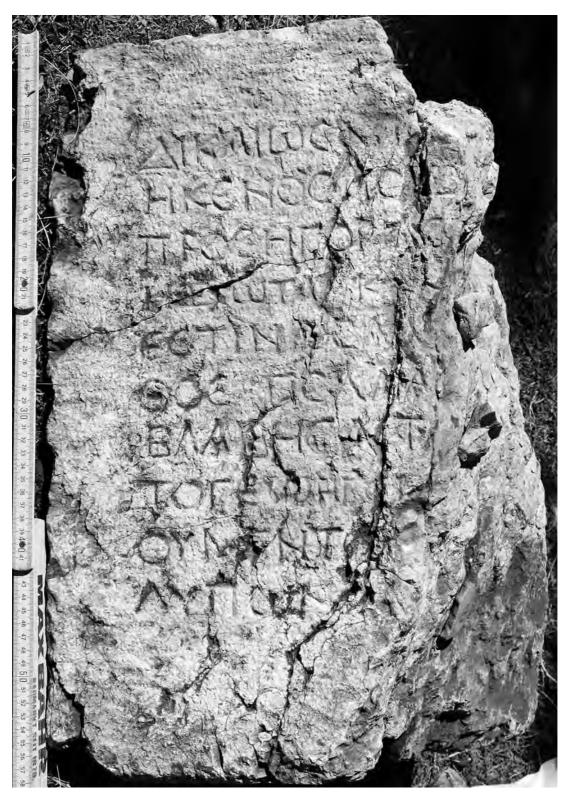


Fig. 1: NF 213 = YF 279 (stone)

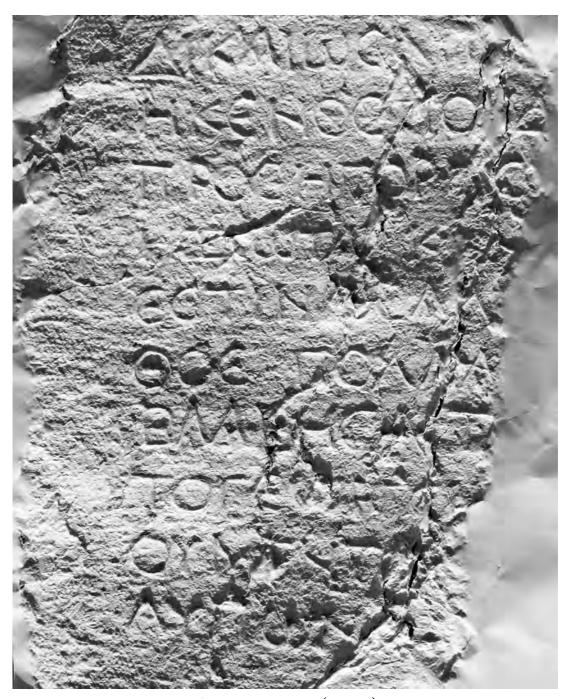


Fig. 2: NF 213 = YF 279 (squeeze)

2-3. [καὶ] was proposed by Gregor Staab. 2-3. MFS suggests as a possible alternative ὁ cπουδ[αῖος τῆς τε] | προςηγορίας [ταύτης]. For the single connective τε, cf. fr. 3 VI 7.

3. προcηγορίας, sc. cπουδαίου. In fr. 6 I 4 προcαγορεύω refers to atomistic terminology, while in NF 203.16–17 (new text in Hammerstaedt/Smith 2014, 274) the subject of προcει[πών] is Homer in the context of quotation of a poetic expression of his. Epicurus and his followers were much interested in analysis of language as a criterion of truth. As a result, they paid attention to mistaken beliefs of their opponents derived from a careless use of terms. Thus in NF 192 Diogenes engages in a polemic against the Stoics' mistaken concept of ἡδονή, telling them (IV 5–7): τῷ δὲ [τῆς] | ἡδονῆς ὀνόματι φα[ύλως] | κέχρηςθε. Earlier in the same passage (II 4–5) he seems to accuse them of not having taken proper account of τὸ τῆς εὐδαμονίας | ὄγ[ο]μ[α ἀλ]ηθές. So it is likely (see also note below on 5) that in the present maxim προcηγορία hints at some controversy concerning the correct use of a term. If so, Diogenes is probably thinking of the Stoics, who used cπουδαῖος and coφός interchangeably to describe the person who has attained (perfect) virtue and wisdom. In contrast with the Stoics, whose ideal of perfect wisdom was in practice unobtainable, except perhaps for a Socrates or Cato, the Epicureans offered normal people a realistic route to virtue and to happiness comparable to that experienced by the gods.

3–4. The connection of ἠξίωται with a genitive προςηγορίας is very likely, cf. Phil. spec. leg. III 198 διὰ τοῦτο ταύτης τῆς προςηγορίας ἀξιωθέντες; Hypothetica sive Apologia pro Judaeis (Eus. praep. ev. VIII 11.1 [455.4–5 Mras]) παρὰ τὴν ὁςιότητά μοι δοκῶ τῆς προςηγορίας ἀξιωθέντες; Plut. vit. Pomp. 12.3 αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Πομπήϊον ἠςπάςαντο. φήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου μὴ δέχεςθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἕως ὀρθὸν ἕςτηκε τὸ ςτρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦςι ταύτης τῆς προςηγορίας, ἐκεῖνο χρῆναι πρότερον καταβαλεῖν, ὥρμηςαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα; Athen. XIV 652B ταύτης τῆς προςηγορίας ἠξιώθηςαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαςτοῦ αὐτοκράτορος; Galen De constitutione artis medicae ad Patrophilum 14.2 (CMG V 1.3 p. 98.5–6) ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀξιοῦται etc. However, the dative προσηγορίας cannot be excluded completely.

4. ἠξίωται. The uncompounded verb is, for reasons of word division, most likely. In Diogenes it occurs in the active in fr. 4 II 8, 10 I 7 (ὡc ἀξιοῦςιν οἱ Στωικοί), 30 III 6 ([εν] μόνον δ' ἀξιῶ), 63 II 5 (ὡc ἠξίωςας), 66 I 8 (restored), and in the middle or passive, probably with a following genitive, in fr. 158 I 4.

For $\kappa[\alpha]$ [yàp δ ή] see Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 244. For the admissibility of the hiatus after δ ή in Diogenes, see Smith (1993) 112.

5. $\dot{\omega} c~ \dot{\alpha} \lambda [\eta \theta \tilde{\omega} c]$. This expression is found also in fr. 56 I 4. The stress on truth confirms the impression given by $\pi \rho o c \eta \gamma o \rho i \alpha c$ (see note above on 3) that this maxim touches a concrete

⁴² As well as cases where *irrealis* is expressed in Epicurus *Sent.* 9, 10 (cf. fr. 33 lower margin), 12, and 13 (cf. fr. 35 lower margin), past (i.e. aorist or imperfect) tenses occur also in *Sent.* 7, 20, 28, 32 (cf. 43 lower margin), 33, 38, 39, 40. Gnomic aorists are found in *Sent. Vat.* 16, 24, 69, 74, and past tense aorist in *Sent. Vat.* 44.

⁴³ Perfect tense also in Sent. Vat. 17, 19, 23.

⁴⁴ Striker (1974) 22–24; Asmis (1984) 24–34.

⁴⁵ See SVF III 657 (Sext. Emp.), 658 (Alex. Aphr.), and 662 (Plutarch, using the term $c\pi o \nu \delta \alpha \tilde{i} o c$).

terminological controversy in which Epicurean doctrine is presented as upholding the truth against other philosophies. In fr. 30 II 11 – III 2 Diogenes declares that he does not want to force his readers to admit without careful consideration that his statements are true (ἔcτ' ἀληθῆ), while in fr. 32, after stating the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the end, and that the virtues are not (as the Stoics supposed) the end, but the means to the end, he declares that the starting point of his discussion of the subject (virtue and pleasure) is that this is true: τοῦτο τοίνυν ὅτι ἔcτ' ἀληθέc (fr. 32 III 9–10). In the Letter to Antipater his discussion with the Epicurean learner Theodoridas of Lindos about the infinite number of worlds starts with the latter saying: ὅτι μὲν ἀληθέc ἐcτιν | τὸ Ἐπικούρῳ περὶ ἀ|πειρίας κόςμων κα||[ταβεβλημένον δόγμα] (fr. 63 IV 11 – V 1). Cf. Theol. VII 14 – VIII 2 οὐ μόνον ἀφέλι||[μόν ἐcτιν] τὸ δόγμα ἡμῶν | (π[ρὸς τῷ κα]ὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι) κτλ., and later on in Theol. X 4–13 the critical remark that Stoic theology falls short of the postulate of ἀλήθεια in philosophical and/or scientific discourse. The concept of truth is also involved in the choice of appellations, as we see in fr. 21 II 11–12, where the name "Dead Sea" is justified with καὶ ἀληθῶς οὖςα νεκρά (for its localisation, see MFS below in his note on his text lines 6–10; cf. Smith [1993] 462).

5–6. The lacuna in these two lines has been helpful for establishing the approximate number of letters lost in each line of the column: $\dot{\omega}\varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha}\lambda[\eta\theta\tilde{\omega}c]$ is as good as certain, and none of the alternative restorations to $[\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha]|\theta\dot{o}c$, such as $[\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon]|\theta oc$, $[\beta o\eta]|\theta oc$, $[\mu\dot{o}\chi]|\theta oc$, $[(-)\alpha\kappa\dot{o}\lambda\upsilon]|\theta oc$, $[\mu\tilde{\omega}]|\theta oc$, $[\mu\dot{c}\chi]|\theta oc$, or $[\dot{c}\rho]|\theta\dot{c}c$, has any plausibility. It is true that elsewhere in Diogenes $\dot{c}\chi\alpha\theta\dot{c}c$ is not used to characterise a person, but only of abstracts: cf. fr. 21 IV 6–7 $[\dot{c}\chi\alpha]|\theta\dot{c}c$... $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\dot{c}c\epsilon\iota c$, 30 I 7 $[\tau\dot{c}\chi\alpha]|\theta\dot{c}c$ $\dot{c}\chi\alpha\eta\alpha|[\theta\dot{c}\alpha]$, 33 VIII 3–4 $\dot{c}c\tau\alpha\iota$ τις $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\dot{\omega}\nu$ μετ' $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}|\tau\dot{c}\upsilon\dot{c}c\dot{c}\alpha'$ $\dot{c}\chi\alpha\theta\ddot{\omega}$ μνήμη, 63 II 8 $c\upsilon\nu\tau\upsilon\chi(\dot{c}\alpha)$... $\dot{c}\chi\alpha\theta\ddot{\omega}$, 125 III 5 (restored), 126 I 6, NF 186 I 4, 192 III 12 MFS, 209.9, Theol. X 14, XI 5 (restored). But the equivalent use of $\dot{c}\chi\alpha\theta\dot{c}c$ and $c\pi\upsilon\delta\alpha\ddot{c}c$ in Arist. EN V 11, 1137b 1 and 4 sufficiently justifies the application of $\dot{c}\chi\alpha\theta\dot{c}c$ to a person here.

6. The large space after the third letter evidently marks the start of a new maxim on a different subject. Three other blocks of the *Maxims* carry two pronouncements – fr. 98, 108, and 111. But in each of these cases there is, especially in the first two, a closer relationship between the two pronouncements than there is in the case of NF 213, and the division between them is more clearly indicated by the stonemason in all three. The first pronouncement in fr. 98 explains thunderbolts, the second explains earthquakes, and the division between them is marked not only by a generous space at the end of line 7, but also by an empty line between lines 7 and 8. The maxims in fr. 108, both incomplete, are concerned with the unnatural and unnecessary desire for wealth and possessions. They are separated by a line (5), which, after five letters, is left empty. There is also a *paragraphus*. In fr. 111, the link between the two maxims is less close than in fr. 108, the first being concerned with natural and vain desires, the second stating that nobility is a matter of personal behaviour and disposition. Exactly as in fr. 108, the division between the two maxims is indicated by a line (6) which, after the fifth letter, is left empty, and also by a *paragraphus*. It is certainly rather surprising that the stonemason who carved NF 213 did not mark off the second maxim more clearly from the first.

6. π o $\lambda\lambda$ á[kic. The adverb also occurs at the beginning of a sentence or clause in fr. 37 II 2, III 5, 138 I 1, 152 III 13.

- 7. βλάβηc. The noun is not found elsewhere in Diogenes, but βλάπτω occurs in Theol. VII 1, 6, 8, XV 4 (this last occurrence unfortunately omitted from our index in Hammerstaedt/Smith 2014, 281), and NF 211 + fr. 151.16–17; ἀβλάβεια in fr. 109.4 (*Maxims*); βλαπτικός in Theol. XVI 6–7.
- 9. ουμέντο . [. Better οὐ μέντοι than] οῦμέν το κτλ. For the sequence [μέν] (line 6) ..., οὐ μέντοι [καί] cf. fr. 5 II 9-11.

[κενῶν]. This adjective is applied to $\lambda \tilde{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\iota$ in fr. 3 VI 8 (see following note), and in fr. 2 III 4, if rightly restored, to ϕ 6βοc. It is used of desires in fr. 111.6, 153 I 5, 155.14, NF 131.1, 5 (twice).

10. λυπων could be either genitive plural or active participle in the nominative or part of a larger participle form in the masculine. However, βλάβης (line 7) together with οὐ μέντοι (line 9) works out well with λυπῶν. The noun occurs in fr. 3 VI 8 τῶν τε λυπῶν τὰς μὲν κενὰς ἐξεκόψαμεν εἰς τέλειον, τὰς δὲ φυςικὰς συνεςτείλαμεν and fr. 149 II 18 ὧν οὔκ εἰςιν ὀρέξεις πραγμάτων, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲ λῦ[π]αι τυνχάνουςιν. The verb is found in fr. 22.13 and 149 III 4, and is restored in fr. 46.1, 47 IV 14, 126 I 1.

Further notes on Smith's text

3. [πάντωc], "wholly". Cf. fr. 3 VI 3 (mostly restored); Theol. IV 2 (πάντη ... πάντωc, as in Epic. *Hdt*. 58); Epic. *Men*. 127.

6–10. MFS thinks it highly unlikely that JH is right in making Diogenes declare that farming often harms the body. Of course accidents and injuries can occur in farming, as in other occupations, but farming is not an obviously dangerous profession in the way that soldiering is (fr. 112.4). The overwhelming consensus of ancient opinion was that farming, so far from being often harmful to the body, is a physically healthy occupation: see e.g. Xenophon *Oec.* V 4, 8; pseudo-Aristotle (= Theophrastus, according to Philodemus) *Oec.* I 2, 1343b; Cato *Agr.* praef. 4; Lucretius V 933, VI 1253 *robustus ... curvi moderator aratri*, echoed by Virgil *Ecl.* 4.41, *Georg.* II 264; Columella *Rust.* I praef. 1.7; Musonius 11 p. 59.6–9 Hense. If Diogenes said that farming is often physically harmful, his statement is perhaps unparalleled. In his defence of his text and interpretation below (on lines 7–8), JH writes: "The hardness and difficulty of the work of the farmer were well known to ancient readers". This is true, but hard work is not the same as physical harm.

On the question of whether farming is a suitable occupation for those of a philosophical bent, opinion was divided. Some writers, including Cicero Off. I 151 and Musonius 11, thought that it is. Others, including Plato Resp. III 415b-c and Aristotle Pol. VII 11, 1331a 31–36, disagreed. Some writers made a distinction between doing farmwork with one's own hands, which they condemned, and owning farmland but employing others to work it, which they applauded. One who took this view was Philodemus Oec. col. 23.7–11: he calls the former "wretched" $(\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha(\pi\omega\rho\sigma\nu))$, the latter "suited to a virtuous man" $(\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\ c\pi\sigma\nu\delta\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\nu)$. But neither he nor any other critic of farming as a profession suggests that it is harmful to the body. Diogenes' opinion differed from that of Philodemus. In fr. 56, where he describes how society will be when, thanks to the influence of Epicurus' teachings, human beings are living like gods on earth, he states that everyone will participate in the farming activities that will ensure a supply of the necessities of life. At the same time, unlike Musonius, who regarded farming and philosophy as the ideal combination, and farming as enhancing the benefits of philosophy, Diogenes envisages that in the new age farming will interrupt the shared study of philosophy (fr. 56 II 10–12).

The damage which Epicurean writers *do* emphasise in connection with farming is that caused to crops by storms and other natural conditions and events. Lucretius, arguing against the view that the gods created the world for the benefit of human beings, points to its faultiness, including to the difficulties facing those who wish to cultivate it. Large parts of it are occupied by mountains, by forests teeming with wild animals, by rocks and marshes, and by the sea. Some areas are too hot, others too cold. As for the remaining land, farmers have a constant battle to prevent it from reverting to a wilderness (V 200–212). Then sometimes, just when crops are coming on nicely, they are ruined by bad weather: *et tamen interdum magno quaesita labore / cum*

iam per terras frondent atque omnia florent, / aut nimiis torret fervoribus aetherius sol / aut subiti peremunt imbres gelidaeque pruinae, / flabraque ventorum violento turbine vexant (V 213–217).

Diogenes takes the same line of argument in the theological section of his *Physics*. He starts by drawing attention to celestial phenomena that either are not beneficial or are actually damaging ([βλαπ]τικά, *Theol.* XVI 6–7). They include the thunderbolt (πῶc δ' οὐχὶ καὶ βλάπτει; XV 4), lightning, thunderclaps, hailstorms, and violent winds (XV 2–8). Such phenomena often do significant damage to crops. Diogenes then comes down to earth and mentions areas of the world that are uninhabitable (XVI 8–14). After a gap in the text, but continuing the same line of argument, he follows Lucretius in complaining about the huge areas of the world occupied by the sea (fr. 21 I 13 – II 10), and goes on to point out how "the so-called Dead Sea" (ἡ ... καλουμένη νεκρὰ θάλαccα, fr. 21 II 10–11), by which he means not the lake in Palestine, but part of the northern ocean, floods the land of local inhabitants and prevents them from cultivating it.

Epicurus and his followers were very much aware that those irregular celestial and terrestrial phenomena which cause damage – thunderbolts, violent storms, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions – are precisely those that are most likely to be regarded as manifestations of divine interference and anger. Therefore they were concerned to demonstrate that they have purely natural explanations and should not give rise to anxiety or fear. It is to free the mind from superstition and give it tranquillity that the explanations of phenomena in the *Letter to Pythocles* are presented (*Pyth.* 85 and 116). Lucretius has the same purpose in his sixth book, which is devoted to explanations of irregular phenomena, with a view to eliminating fear that they are the work of the gods. He makes this purpose clear in a prefatory passage. He says that he will explain fierce storms (VI 48–49) and cetera quae fieri in terris caeloque tuentur / mortales, pavidis cum pendent mentibu' saepe, / et faciunt animos humilis formidine divom / depressosque premunt ad terram propterea quod / ignorantia causarum conferre deorum / cogit ad imperium res et concedere regnum (VI 50–55).

Diogenes too makes it his business to give natural explanations of celestial and terrestrial phenomena as part of his attempt to give Oinoanda's citizens and visitors tranquillity of mind by ridding them of their unnecessary fears and desires. He does this in the *Physics* concerning the movements of the heavenly bodies (fr. 13) and the formation of hail (fr. 14) and in the *Maxims* concerning the causes of thunderbolts and earthquakes (fr. 98) and the formation of hail in summer (fr. 99).

The second maxim in NF 213 is to be read and interpreted in the context of the Epicurean teachings described above. Storms are purely natural events and have nothing to do with the gods. We cannot prevent them from causing material damage, but we can prevent them from causing moral damage: if, in our response to them, we are afflicted with mental pains and fears, that is our fault.

8. So powerful is the case for Diogenes having attributed harm to storms rather than to farming that the assumption of a stonemason's error, or of an error in the mason's copy, $\tau \delta$ for $\tau \tilde{\phi}$, seems fully justified. It could only be avoided by reading, in 7–8, something like $\beta \lambda \delta \beta \eta c \alpha \tilde{t} \tau [\text{ioc} \tilde{\epsilon} \text{ct'} \tilde{\epsilon} \text{ic}] | \tau \delta \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \epsilon \tilde{t} v [\chi \epsilon \text{im} \omega v]$, but the dative is more natural and likely than $\epsilon \tilde{t} c$. Diogenes' inscription is, for the most part, carefully carved, and uncorrected errors are not very common. But they do occur, and there are seven elsewhere in the monolithic Maxims. Two of these involve the omission of letters or the inclusion of an unwanted letter: NF 131.10, 155.9. The other five involve inappropriate mid-word letter-spaces: fr. 113.9; NF 132.6–7 (twice), 171.6, 184.1–2.

χειμών is not necessarily right. Perhaps instead a word for "whirlwind", e.g. cτρόβιλος or πρηςτήρ (Epic. *Pyth.* 105) or καταιγίς (Theol. XV 8).

Further notes on Hammerstaedt's text

3. [τοιᾶςδε]. The pronoun does not always point to what follows, e.g. Jos. Ant. Jud. XVIII 328–329 ἐπεὶ δὲ πυνθάνεται αὐτὸν δείςαντα ἐν τῷ ἕλει ὑπομένειν, ὁ δὲ τούς τε πατρώους θεοὺς ἐπώμνυτο μηδὲν κακὸν δράςειν αὐτοὺς πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ προςκεχωρηκότας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου, ὅπερ μέγιςτον παρὰ πᾶςιν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις παράδειγμα τοῦ θαρςεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὁμιλοῦςιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ψεύςαιτό τις δεξιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόςεων γενομένων οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐνδοιάςειεν, εἰ τοιᾶςδε ἀσφαλείας δόσις γίνοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἀδικήςειν καθεστηκότων; Plut. def. orac. 24, 423Ε οὐδὲ τυγχάνει τῆς τοιᾶςδε προσηγορίας ὃ μὴ κοινῶς ποιὸν <ἢ> ἰδίως ἐςτίν; Galenus, De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis VII 6.11 (CMG V 4.1.2 p. 464.22) δύο δὲ τημαινούσης ἁπάςης τῆς τοιαύτης λέξεως ... ἑν μὲν ὅτι δι' ὀργάνου τοιοῦδε, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι διὰ δυνάμεως τοιᾶςδε, τὸ μὲν ὡς δι' ὀργάνου συγχωρητέον ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὡς διὰ δυνάμεως οὐκέτι; Appian, Punica 183 καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας· οἱ δ' ἐν μέςῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιᾶσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὁπλίσεως καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ δυναμένους.

Another possibility would be to restore $[\dot{\nu}\phi'\,\dot{\eta}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu]$ (referring to the Epicureans or to the whole community which shares the Epicurean judgment based on evidence and common sense, while the Stoics would be clearly excluded by such an expression).

In the unlikely event that the faint curved trace visible in photographs of the stone and of the squeeze at the edge of the stone, after $\pi\rho$ ochyopíac, is, in spite of its very close position to the preceding sigma, actually part of a letter rather than damage to the surface, the restoration c[oφoῦ], as well as creating hiatus before ἠξίωται, seems too short, and c[ώφρονοc] (In-Yong Song) too long. At any rate, the clear relation between ὁ cπουδαῖοc and ὡc ἀληθῶc ἀγαθόc makes the restoration of a third, different term in this place highly improbable.

6–10. While the maxim in lines 1–6 appreciates the βίος θεωρητικός of the Epicurean cπουδαῖος, this second maxim seems to justify farming as a sort of βίος πρακτικός (an observation which JH owes to Gregor Staab). If this is right, the two pronouncements would present the Epicurean way of life as a feasible and realistic choice for the people of Oinoanda, many of whom were certainly involved in farming.

The right choice of activities is also an issue in the maxim fr. 112.

7-8. βλάβης αἴτ[ιόν ἐςτι] | τὸ γεωργεῖν κτλ. The hardness and difficulty of the work of the farmer were well known to ancient readers. While Hesiod in his description of the Golden Age (Works and Days 106–119) counts among the advantages of the godlike life conditions (112 ὥcτε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον) unaffected by soil and misery (113 ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ ὀιζύος) of men in that period that they did not have to do farming (117–118 καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα | αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον), our present Iron Age is characterised by hard work (176-178 οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ / παύςονται καμάτου καὶ ὀιζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ / φθειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώςουςι μερίμνας). It is in this worst of all periods that Hesiod exhorts his brother Perses to do farm work (299-302). Also for Roman authors, like Horace, Epodes 16.41-52, Virgil, Ecl. IV 40-45, Ovid, Met. I 101–112, needlessness of farming figures among the positive features of the Golden Age, and at the same time Ovid (Met. I 123-124) mentions agriculture as one of the deteriorations of the human condition brought by the Silver Age. Certainly most people in Oinoanda would have been aware, from their own experience, of the hardness of farming. But, in addition, Diogenes himself shows in fr. 56, which includes clear references to Hesiod's Golden Age (as in I 4-6 τότε ώς ἀληθῶς ὁ τῶν θεῶν βίος εἰς ἀνθρώπους μεταβήςεται, and in I 6-8 the mention of justice and mutual love, which, according to Hesiod, got lost in later ages), that in the Epicurean ideal life a certain amount of farming will have to be done as a sort of necessary evil. His words in I 12-14

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ γεωργίας ἀνανκαίων and II 13–14 [- - -] γὰρ γεωργη[- - -] | φύσις χρήζει [- - -] seem to contain the advice to practise agriculture just to meet the (limited and few) needs of our nature, leaving aside the production of luxury goods. 46

- 8. $[c\omega\mu\alpha\tau_l]$. The restoration evokes a context well known from Diogenes the contrast between idle pains and fears produced by the soul on the one hand and the limited and acceptable needs and pains felt by the body on the other (fr. 2 II–III, 44, 49). Rural life may occasionally have brought about some injuries through accidents, but the most frequent $\beta\lambda\alpha\beta\eta$ will certainly have been the fatigue and resulting physical wear and tear and bad consequences for health. As an alternative, one might consider $[\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \phi\acute{\upsilon}c\epsilon I]$, i.e. our human (somatic) nature, as in e.g. NF 146 I 1 (see Hammerstaedt/Smith [2008] 16 = [2014] 48) and fr. 29 II 2 (with Smith [1993] 477 note 3).
- 9. If the restoration μέντοι [καὶ κενῶν] seems too long, one might think of reading μέντοι [ματαίων]. Cf. fr. 3 VI 5 (ματαίως in connection with φόβους).

Abbreviations

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

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 by Smith in 2004, and NF 137–212 by Smith and Hammerstaedt in a series of articles from 2007 to 2012. NF 136–212 are collected in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2014) 9–211.

Theol. = Theological Physics-Sequence, in Hammerstaedt/Smith (2014) 263-270.

 $Y\zeta = Yazı \zetaeşitli$ (Various Inscriptions). The $Y\zeta$ numbers are the inventory numbers of Oinoanda inscriptions that are not part of Diogenes' work.

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

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⁴⁶ Ancient (and Epicurean) judgments about agriculture are collected in the *editio princeps* of fr. 56 in Smith (1974) 21–25.

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Özet

Bu makalede, Epikürosçu Oinoandalı Diogenes'in felsefî eseri ile ilgili olarak Oinoanda'da ve Fethiye Müzesi'ndeki depolarda 5-10 Ekim 2015 tarihleri arasında yapılmış olan araştırma ziyaretinde varılan sonuçlar anlatılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Diogenes'in eserinin yazılı olduğu bloklar kontrol edildi; blokların 3D taramaları üzerinde daha önceden görülen mimarî (arkhitektonik) özellikleri doğrulandı ve taşların 3D belgelenmesi geliştirildi. Yine bu çalışmada, blokların üst

yüzeylerindeki manivela delikleri (pry-holes) incelendi. Kuşku yok ki, bu deliklerin tümü taşların daha sonraki kullanımları sırasında değil, stoanın orijinal yapımı sırasında açılmışlardı.

Bloklardan bazılarının (Diog. fr. 6 = Y[azı] F[elsefi] 019; fr. 10 III-V = YF 022; fr. 119 = YF 030, ve fr. 123 = YF 021) incelenmesi sırasında önceki ölçü ve gözlemler üzerinde düzeltmeler yapıldı. Ayrıca, daha önce *Yaşlılık* adlı eserin C bölümüne atfedilen ve fr. 178 = YF 075 diye numaralanmış olan yazıtsız blok, Diogenes ile ilgili fragmentlerin kayıtlı olduğu envanterden çıkarıldı. Bunun yanısıra deponun düzeni ve Diogenes fragmentlerinin daha kolay bulunmasının sağlanması konusunda çalışmalar da yapıldı. Ören yerindeki deponun dışındaki eserlerin envanter numaraları incelendi ve gerekli hallerde yeniden yazıldı.

Bu çalışmalar sırasında ekip, felsefî olmayan ve Y(azı) Ç(eşitli) 1131, YÇ 1293 ve YÇ 1294 no.'lu eski buluntulara ait üç yeni fragment daha buldu. Bu arada, felsefî esere ait olup da önceden bilmediğimiz bir blok (YF 279 = NF 213) daha saptandı. Bu makalede Grekçe metni, çevirisi ve yorumu ile birlikte ilk kez yayınlanmakta olan bu 10 satırlık metin, Diogenes'in her biri birer mstakil blok üzerine yazılmış (monolithik) *Özdeyişler*'inden olup, alışıldığı gibi tek değil, iki özdeyiş içermektedir. Birinci özdeyişte "erdemli (*spoudaios*) insan böyle nitelenmeyi hak eder, çünkü o gerçekten iyi biridir" denmektedir. Bu saptama, sıradan insanların erdem ve mutluluğa Stoik bilgelik ideali ile ulaşabildikleri şeklindeki Epikürosçu inanışla dolaylı olarak çelişmektedir. İkinci özdeyiş ise tarımla ilişkidir ve bu mesleğin bazı fiziksel zararları olsa da zihinsel acı ve korkular vermediği belirtilmektedir. Ama metindeki tamamlamalar kesin değildir: M. F. Smith'e göre tarımdaki zarar fırtınaların ekine verdiği zarardır; J. Hammerstaedt'e göre ise bu, yaptıkları ağır işin çiftçilerin bünyesine yaptığı olumsuz etkidir.