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DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2009 (NF 167–181)

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ADIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2009 (NF 167–181)

As in the previous two seasons of 2007 and 2008,¹ during the third season of new archaeological and epigraphical work at Oinoanda in Northern Lycia we had the good fortune to discover more new fragments of the Greek inscription of the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes. In this article we present the new Diogenes finds and give an account of the archaeological work that is enabling us to gain a deeper understanding of this unique inscription.

The 2009 season at Oinoanda started on 15 July and ended on 15 August. Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director (Stellvertretender Direktor) of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (DAI), again directed the project. We are grateful to him for inviting us to continue our participation in the work on the site and to publish the new Diogenes fragments in this article. We also warmly thank the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey for renewing its permission for the work at Oinoanda and Bayan Zerrin Akdoğan, from the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums in Ankara, who accompanied us as the representative of the Turkish Government and gave us valuable advice and assistance. We also thank all our colleagues who contributed to the success of our work, and Ciara Barrett Smith who photographed our squeezes.²

The 2009 team consisted of: Christina Klein, Martin Proksch, and Karolin Dünnbier (all from Kiel University), who were sent by our collaborator Bernhard Stümpel and extended the geophysical prospection over the entire area of the Esplanade (ca. 25,000 sq. m.); Konrad Berner, Benjamin Fischer, and Matthias Guldenpfennig (all from the University of Applied Sciences at Karlsruhe, sent by our collaborator Tilman Müller), who continued the 3D scanning of the Diogenes fragments and gave the technical advice for the GPS plotting of the fragments and other important features on the site; Ertan Ilter and Vildan Inan (SEMA/ANKARA) extended the terrestrial scanning to some peripheral areas of the Esplanade, including the area, to the west of the late defensive wall, containing the older bath complex dating from the time of Vespasian; Dorothea Roos (Cottbus University), Ulrike Herrmann and Annika Zeitler (both from Karlsruhe University), Nikolaus Koch (Karlsruhe University at that time, now DAI Istanbul), and Ozan Ayaz (Akdeniz University, Antalya) made a detailed, hand-drawn structural record of the whole area of the Esplanade, comprising the Doric pseudo-peripteral building in the north-west corner, the late defensive wall (the so-called “Great Wall”), and the North and South Stoas, basing their work on the point cloud model which had been produced by means of terrestrial scanning in 2008; Veli Köse (Hacettepe University, Ankara), Nicholas Milner (British Institute at Ankara), Eric Laufer (Cologne University, now DAI Istanbul), Matylda Obryk, Anke Raßelberg, In-Yong Song, Gregor Staab, and Oliver Thiessen (all from Cologne University) made important contributions to the exploration and various kinds of documentation of the site, as did Smith’s three assistants, Sally Lovecy, Lucinda Ferguson Smith (daughter), and Ciara Barrett Smith (granddaughter). We also enjoyed the help of Sedat Atçı, who is employed by the Fethiye Museum as watchman of Oinoanda, and the nameless but energetic successor to Helmut, the likeable donkey which regrettably died during the winter of 2008–2009.

¹ See Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007); Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008).

² Jürgen Hammerstaedt thanks the participants in a seminar of doctorands in Classics at Udine University for a very fruitful discussion, and especially their professors Fabio Ventrusco and Augusto Guida for some important observations on the text of NF 167.

It would not have been possible to assemble this large team and to achieve the successful results of the 2009 season without the generous funding of the DAI, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Gesellschaft der Freunde und Förderer der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, the Verein der Freunde und Förderer der Universität zu Köln, the Stiftung Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln, and the Kim Hee-Kyung Scholarship-Foundation for European Humanities, Seoul. We take the opportunity to express our great gratitude to all these institutions and donors.

As in our report of the 2008 season, we describe here the work that is most closely connected with Diogenes' inscription. This comprises the 3D scanning of the inscription and the plotting of its fragments by means of GPS (Global Positioning System). Other work, such as the geophysical prospection and the structural survey, which both now cover the whole of the Esplanade and its close surroundings, and the terrestrial scanning, which has been extended to the areas west of the Esplanade, will be presented in a Web-based Geographical Information System (Web-GIS), and the archaeological results will be published separately.

In 2008 the results of the 3D scanning enabled us to improve in several places our readings of new Diogenes fragments, supplementing in a valuable way the traditional methods of recording inscriptions, namely drawings, photographs, and squeezes. In 2009 the Karlsruhe team followed up the good work of the previous year:³ of the already known fragments, 21 were scanned on all sides⁴ and 10 on the accessible surface;⁵ of the new fragments, 11 were scanned on all sides.⁶ Among the known fragments, we chose to scan this time all that belong to the beginning of the various writings of Diogenes.⁷ In this way we hope to obtain some insight into the structure of the left end of the wall of Diogenes' stoa.

In the 2009 season we finished, with the indefatigable assistance of the students of Cologne University and Smith's daughter and granddaughter, our systematic GPS plotting of the fragments of Diogenes. We also completed the painting and repainting of YF (inventory) numbers on them. In addition to the 160 already known pieces and new finds which we had located on the site and in Kınık during the previous season,⁸ in 2009 we relocated at Oinoanda 17 more known fragments, so reducing to 17 the number of fragments discovered or rediscovered since 1968 and not relocated during the new investigations. Another 26 fragments have not been seen since the nineteenth century, and of these 10 were seen only during the first investigations by French epig-

³ For a list of the scans of 2008 see Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 2 n. 1.

⁴ YF 009 (fr. 28); YF 013 (fr. 2); YF 015 (fr. 30); YF 021 (fr. 123); YF 028 (fr. 3 I); YF 098 (fr. 103); YF 101 (fr. 14); YF 106 (fr. 36); 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 163 (fr. 128); YF 164 (fr. 158); YF 166 (fr. 63 I); YF 169 (fr. 146.6–12); YF 171 (fr. 160).

⁵ YF 010 (fr. 147.13–18); YF 016 (fr. 29); YF 018 (fr. 12 I–IV); YF 020 (fr. 127); YF 047 (fr. 126 III); YF 053 (fr. 3 II–VI); YF 056 (fr. 62); YF 097 (fr. 21); YF 154 (fr. 159); YF 217 (NF 157).

⁶ YF 226 (NF 171); YF 228 (NF 175); YF 230 (NF 169); YF 231 (NF 176); YF 232 (NF 173); YF 235 (NF 172); YF 237 (NF 168); YF 238 (NF 170); YF 239 (NF 174); YF 240 (NF 167); YF 241 (NF 177).

⁷ From the top three courses (VII–V), which contained Diogenes' treatise on *Old Age*: (from left to right) fr. 137 (YF 020, a course B block), fr. 138 (YF 058, an A block), and fr. 147 (consisting of the B block YF 169 and the C block YF 010). From the next course (IV), which contained the *Ten-Line-Column Writings*: fr. 126 III (YF 047). From Course III the following fragments of the *Letter to Antipater* were scanned: fr. 62 (YF 056) and fr. 63 (YF 166+YF 064+YF 065; the last two blocks had already been scanned in 2008). From Course II (*Physics*): fr. 1 (YF 138), fr. 2 (YF 013), and fr. 3 (YF 028+YF 053). From Course I (*Ethics*): fr. 28 (YF 009), fr. 29 (YF 016), and fr. 30 (YF 015).

⁸ See Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 2.

raphists in the 1880s and were not relocated during the Austrian work in 1895. During the GPS plotting in 2009 we added a much smaller number of “old” fragments than in 2008. But since in 2009 we were dealing with the left-overs from 2008, and these pieces could be traced only with great difficulty, the season’s tally is a very satisfactory result. It is a result that could not have been achieved without the constant alertness and diligence of members of our numerous team and without the valuable assistance of Konrad Berner, who converted into GPS data the grid references that had been assigned to the fragment locations during the British survey of Oinoanda in the last quarter of the last century. His calculations sometimes gave very accurate indications of the locations of the stones. It is very likely that most of the 43 stones that are still missing cannot at present be found because they are buried in the numerous heaps of rubble produced by the French and Austrian epigraphists in the nineteenth century and by illegal excavators in recent decades. It should be mentioned that a group of 38 small fragments, which have been buried on the site at a location that is known only to those who are responsible for the work at Oinoanda, obviously did not need to be traced by GPS.⁹

NEW FRAGMENTS (NF) 167–181 AND 157

We start the presentation of our latest discoveries of Diogenes fragments with a confession and an apology. During the work at Oinoanda in 2009 we discovered that we had made an unfortunate and embarrassing mistake in our editing of the new pieces of Diogenes discovered in 2008. We were trying to relocate YF 099 = NF 51 = fr. 177, a very worn block of *Old Age* discovered in 1974, when it dawned on us that it was the same block that we presented as one of our 26 new finds in 2008, giving it the inventory number YF 202 and the NF (New Fragment) number 167. To explain rather than justify the error, we point out that, when Smith first recorded the block in 1974, it was still just possible to read some letters that are no longer legible today, and that the stone is now recognisable as a Diogenes fragment only by its scored margin. It may be added that the location of YF 099 had been recorded only by means of a grid number, which lacks the precision of a GPS reading. Nevertheless we should have realised in 2008 that the fragment was not a new one, and we much regret having failed to do so. So far as the numbering of the *Old Age* block is concerned, we have decided that it should retain the inventory number it was given in 2008, which means that it has two inventory numbers (YF 202 and YF 099), but that it should lose the number NF 167, which is now re-allocated to the first text in the present article.

⁹ Fr. 1 (YF 138), fr. 6 (YF 019B), fr. 8 (YF 145), fr. 25 (YF 113), fr. 27 (YF 112), fr. 31 (YF 152), fr. 36 (YF 106), fr. 41 (YF 119), fr. 46 (YF 160), fr. 57 (YF 170), fr. 60 (YF 111), fr. 80 (YF 143), fr. 81 (YF 110), fr. 83 (YF 109), fr. 84 (YF 132), fr. 85 (YF 140), fr. 86 (YF 107), fr. 87 (YF 153), fr. 88 (YF 131), fr. 89 (YF 139), fr. 90 (YF 117), fr. 91 (YF 144), fr. 92 (YF 149), fr. 93 (YF 174), fr. 94 (YF 177), fr. 95 (YF 179), fr. 97 (YF 118), fr. 101 (YF 128), fr. 103 (YF 98), fr. 107 (YF 108), fr. 124 (YF 141), fr. 133.1–3 (YF 115), fr. 133.9–10 (YF 116), fr. 134 (YF 158), fr. 135 (YF 150), fr. 181 (YF 148), fr. 182 (YF 183), NF 135 (YF 184). Moreover, the following new fragments found in 2007–2009 have been deposited in the burial place: NF 138 (YF 198), NF 144 (YF 207), NF 145 (YF 210), NF 147 (YF 218), NF 148 (YF 220), NF 149 (YF 208), NF 150 (YF 214), NF 151 (YF 205), NF 152 (YF 204), NF 153 (YF 222), NF 154 (YF 212), NF 156 (YF 213), NF 158 (YF 219), NF 159 (YF 201), NF 160 (YF 225), NF 162 (YF 224), NF 163 (YF 203), NF 164 (YF 209), NF 165 (YF 211), NF 168 (YF 237), NF 169 (YF 230), NF 170 (YF 238), NF 172 (YF 235), 173 (YF 232), NF 174 (YF 239), NF 175 (YF 228), NF 176 (YF 231), NF 178 (YF 234, piece C). Not until a secure storehouse has been constructed at Oinoanda will these buried pieces be available for further research. Such a storehouse is needed also to protect many other inscribed stones that are now lying around on the site, at risk of damage from the elements and vandals.

Regrettably, this was not our only mistake. We now realise that YF 223 = NF 161, a very small fragment located in 2008, had already been recorded by Georges Cousin in 1889 (Cousin [1892] p. 26, fr. D = HK fr. [36] = fr. 110). The fragment, of which Cousin did not publish either a drawing or measurements, carries only half a dozen letters and has been damaged on the left since its original discovery, but of course we should still have recognised it. Since this fragment did not have an inventory number before its rediscovery in 2008, it will obviously retain it (YF 223).

So the number of new fragments recovered in 2008 has to be adjusted from 26 to 24.

The new discoveries of 2009 were made over a wide area of the site. Three of the fragments were found on the north side of the Esplanade: YF 226 (NF 171) in the east part of the North Stoa, about 4 m. south of YF 133 (fr. 38); YF 227 (NF 180) at the western end of the same building; and YF 241 (NF 177) in rubble on the slope below the east side of the theatre, close to YF 165 (fr. 172).

Seven fragments came to light in or close to the South Stoa of the Esplanade: YF 233 (NF 179) in an illegally-dug hole at its eastern end, about 3.30 m. south of YC 1001; YF 234 (NF 178) near the east end of the stylobate whose foundations are visible in front of the South Stoa; YF 242 (NF 181) about 15 m. south-east of YF 234; YF 230 (NF 169) about 20 m. south-east of the west end of the South Stoa; YF 231 (NF 176) right up against the south side of YF 097 (fr. 28); YF 235 also on the south side of YF 097, just under 2 m. from it; and YF 232 about 1 m. east of the same block.

Four pieces were discovered on or near Martin's Hill. YF 228 (NF 175) was lying 2.5 m. from the south-west side of the Vespasianic bathhouse. Since during the previous two seasons many persons had passed this place many times without seeing the fragment, it probably came to the surface in an illegal excavation between the 2008 and 2009 seasons. Not so far away, on Martin's Hill itself, we found two pieces: YF 237 (NF 168) about 3 m. south-east of YF 174 (fr. 19); and YF 238 (NF 170) in a pile of rubble 5 m. east-south-east of the same stone. On the west slope of the same hill, 4 m. north-west of YF 080 (fr. 121), YF 239 (NF 174) was discovered lying face down.

YF 240 (the new NF 167), a substantial and well-preserved *Physics* block, now marks the southern limit of the distribution area of the Diogenes fragments. It was found in the top course of a wall of late construction about 20 m. east of, and downhill from, the colonnaded street that runs south from the Byzantine church, below the hill topped by ring-shaped Byzantine fortifications, to the south end of the late city wall.

Two blocks were relocated for the first time since the Austrian work in 1895. Both were found on the west side of the section of the late city wall often known as the "Great Wall": YF 229 (fr. 35) near YF 038A (fr. 34 V–VII), and YF 236 (fr. 125 III–V) 5 m. west of YF 122 (fr. 139).

Our method of arranging the latest Diogenes finds is unchanged from our previous practice, which we explained thus: "We have assigned the fragments, wherever possible, to the proper sections of the inscription, and we have placed them, wherever possible, in their likely order within each section. But some fragments cannot be assigned with certainty to one section; moreover, the order of fragments, especially the very small ones, within a section is often impossible to ascertain, and, when that is the case, our order is determined roughly by the quantity of text that survives, the most fragmentary fragments being placed last."¹⁰

¹⁰ Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 4.

With the fifteen new fragments found in 2009, we present the complete text of NF 157. This was discovered and published in 2008, but we were only able to record the last lines. In 2009 it was possible to record the whole of what turns out to be a particularly interesting addition to the monolithic *Maxims*.

Outside the titles of writings, the lettering in Diogenes' inscription comes in three sizes, which in the descriptions below we call "small" (average c. 1.8–1.9 cm.), "medium" (average c. 2.3–2.4 cm.), and "large" (average c. 2.9–3.0 cm.). The size of the lettering is determined mainly by the level at which writings were carved on the wall of the stoa, the writings at or near eye level having smaller letters than those higher up, although medium-sized letters are used both in the monolithic *Maxims* and in the maxims running through the lower margin of the *Ethics*, even though they were not high up on the wall, in order to make them more eye-catching.

NEW FRAGMENTS

PHYSICS

NF 167 = YF 240, preceding NF 126 = YF 193

Description

A complete block, excellently preserved, apart from some wear near the edges top left and especially upper right. Height 48.5 cm., width 61.5 cm., depth 27 cm. Upper margin 2.5 cm. high, lower margin 3.5 cm. Letters "small". The empty space in I 6 was clearly deliberate, for there is no sign of a deletion. The space before the last letter of I 14 is inappropriate.

Position in the inscription

The physical features of the block identify it as part of Diogenes' *Physics*, which occupied the second lowest course of the inscription. It is a particularly valuable addition to the treatise, for its incomplete col. III is the missing left part of NF 126 I.

For photographs of NF 126, see Smith (1998) 134–135.

NF 126, discovered in 1997, is the widest block of the inscription yet found and the only one to bear all or part of six columns. Its text is continued in NF 127, a four-column block also discovered in 1997, and NF 127 immediately precedes NF 39 = fr. 20, which was found in 1974 and carries three columns. These linking fragments already constituted the longest continuous passage of the inscription recovered so far, giving us, in a complete or near-complete state, 12 consecutive 14-line columns. With the discovery of NF 167, the length of the passage is now extended to 14 columns. In addition, we have NF 40 = fr. 21, found in 1974, which followed NF 39 = fr. 20 after a short gap and carries two complete columns and parts of two others. All five blocks (NF 167, 126, 127, 39, 40) are splendidly preserved, although the discovery place of NF 127 means that it has not yet been possible to read all of its text, because the block lies face-up in a step course and the upper parts of the columns are concealed under stylobate blocks, which in turn are under a large pedestal.

NF 167, like the other four fragments just mentioned, is part of Diogenes' discussion of theology and religion. Fr. 15–24 also belong to this evidently extensive section of the *Physics*, but it is unclear what positions they occupied in relation to NF 167+126/127+40+39.¹¹

¹¹ See Smith (1998) 131.

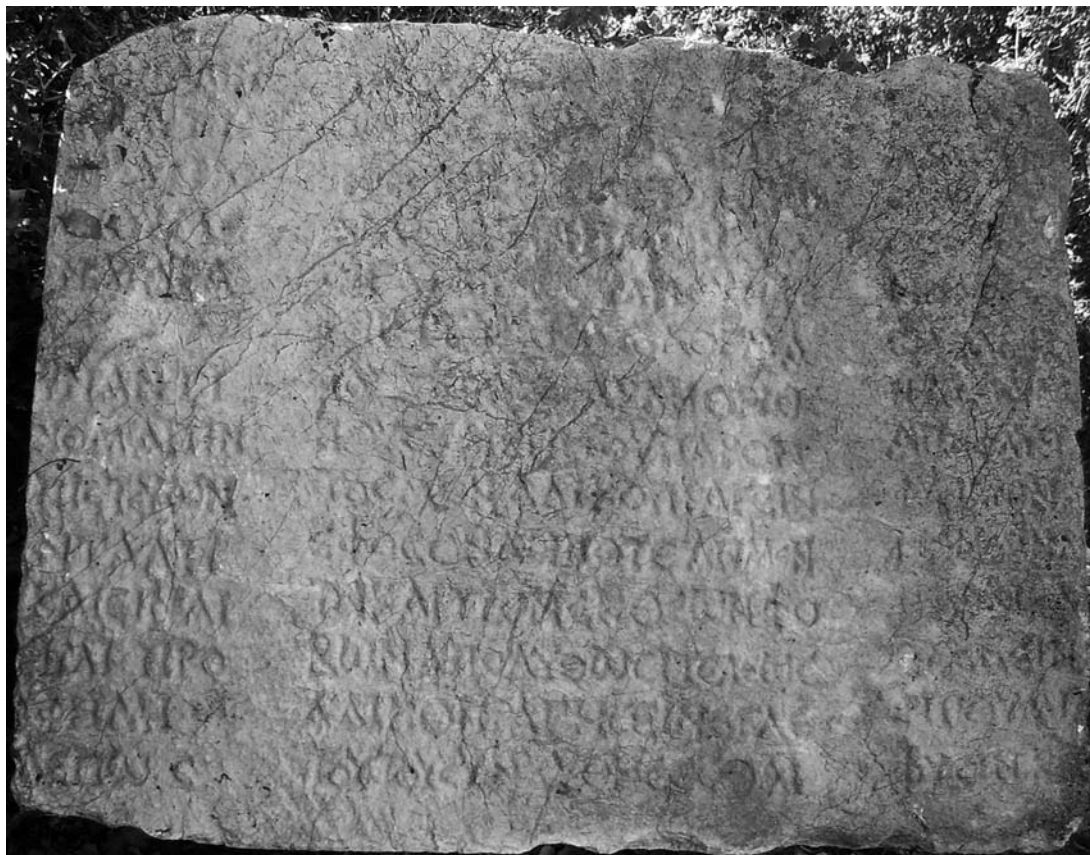


Fig. 1. NF 167 = YF 240

Text

NF 167 I

- [-----]ην πάλιν
 [-----]τ . σ αὐτοῖς
 [-----]ἡμα τῆς
 [-----]οιουμε-
 5 [-----]ναταρα-
 [-----] *vacat*
 [-----]υν ἀντι-
 [-----]νομαι τὴν
 [-----]πιστεύων
 10 [-----]νταλη-
 [-----] καὶ εἶναι
 [-----]ἡμι ὕ προ
 [-----]ο φημι
 [- - οὐ χα]λεπῶς

NF 167 II

παραστήσω, ὕ προαπο-
 κευασάμενος πρῶ-

- τον τὴν ἐπιφερομένην
 διαβολὴν ἡμεῖν· ὦ φα-
 5 κὶ γὰρ τινες ὦ μὴ συνφέ-
 ρειν τῷ βίῳ τὸ δόγμα
 τοῦτο. ὦ τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώ-
 πους καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόν-
 τος μὲν ἀδικοπραγεῖν
 10 ἐφ' ὅσον δήποτε· ὦ ἂν μὲν-
 τοι καὶ τῶν ἐκ θεῶν φό-
 βων ἀπολυθῶσι, τελέως
 ἀδικοπραγήσειν, ἐγὼ δὲ
 τούτου συνχυθήσεσθαι

NF 167 III + NF 126/127 I

- τὸν ὅλον // [βίον. τοιοῦτοι]
 μὲν καὶ ν[ῦ]/ν πε]φ[ύ]κασι[ν]
 οἱ μὴ [δ]ε[δ]//οικότες τοὺς
 θεοῦς ὦ(?) ([συ]/νκεχωρημέ-
 5 νον [εἴη τ]/οὔτο· εἰ γὰρ
 ἐδεδοίκε//σαν, οὐκ ἂν
 ἠδίκουν). ὦ [τ]/ῶν δ' ἄλλων
 ἀποφαίνο//μαι τοὺς μὲν
 φυσικῶν ἀ//πτομένου(ς) λό-
 10 γων ὦ μὴ δι//ἄ τοὺς θεοὺς εἶ-
 ναι δικαί//ους, διὰ δὲ τὸ
 βλέπειν [δ]//ρθῶς ὦ τάς τε
 ἐπιθυμίας//ς τίν' ἔχουσιν
 φύσιν ὦ κα[ὶ]// τὰς ἀλγηδό-

NF 126/127 II 1–10

- νας καὶ τὸν θάνατον
 (πάντη τε γὰρ πάντως
 ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ διὰ ἠδο-
 νὰς ἀδικοῦσιν ἄνθρω-
 5 ποι), τοὺς δ' αὖ χυδαίους διὰ
 τοὺς νόμους εἶναι δικαί-
 ους, ὦ ἐφ' ὅσον γέ εἰσιν δί-
 καιοι, ὦ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τού-
 των ἐπικρεμαμένας
 10 αὐτοῖς ζημίας.

Translation

(NF 167 I) ... again ... them (?) ... procuring ... tranquillity (?) ... against ... I reply (?) ... being convinced ... I say ... [without] difficulty (NF 167 II) I will present [...], initially disposing beforehand of the false accusation that is brought against us. For some say that this doctrine does

not benefit our life, for human beings even in the present situation act wrongly so far as they possibly can; that if however they are also released from their fears derived from the gods, they will act completely wrongly, and in consequence (NF 167 III+NF 126/127 I) the whole [of life] will be confounded. However, [people of such behaviour] are even now those who do not fear the gods ([let] this [be] agreed; for if they feared the gods, they would not do wrong). But, as for the others, I declare that those of them who grasp arguments based on nature are not righteous on account of the gods, but on account of their having a correct view of the nature of desires and pains (NF 126/127 II) and death (for indeed invariably and without exception human beings do wrong either on account of fear or on account of pleasures), and ordinary people on the other hand are righteous, in so far they are righteous, on account of the laws and the penalties, imposed by the laws, hanging over them.

Notes

NF 167 I

The restoration of this column, of which we have only the last letters (a minimum of five and a maximum of nine) of each line, has proved very difficult. Smith proposes the following very tentative reconstruction of I 3 – II 1: [τὸ κακὸν κείν]ημα τῆς | [ψυχῆς, - - - π]οιούμε[[- - αὐτοὶ τῆ]ν ἀταρα[ξί]αν]. *vacat* | [ἐκείνοις δ' οἷ]ν ἀντι|[λέγων ἀποκρί]νομαι, τὴν | [γνώμην ἡμῶν] πιστεύων | [σημαίνειν πά]ντ' ἀλη|[θῶς αὐτὴν δὲ] καὶ εἶναι | [ῥοφέλιμόν φ]ημι. ^v πρό|[τερον δὲ νῦν] ὁ φημι | [ύμειν οὐ χαλ]επῶς || παραστήσω. He translates: ... [the bad movement of the soul and ... ourselves] procuring [tranquillity. So I reply in contradiction to those theorists,] being convinced [that our opinion represents everything truly; and [again] I say that it is [beneficial. But first now, without] difficulty, ...

In the first place this restoration is intended only as something to discuss. Smith guesses that in the passage ending in line 6 Diogenes has been attacking rival philosophers and arguing that their doctrines cause *ταραχή*, but that he ends by referring to Epicurean *ἀταραξία*, the reading of which in 5–6 seems very plausible. If this is correct, this may be the passage to which Diogenes refers back in NF 126/127 V 9–13: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖται *ταραχάς*, τὸ δὲ προσδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ προενηπεφάνισται ταῦτα ὑμείν. Then in NF 167 I 7 ff., in reply to his opponents, he expresses his confidence in the truth and efficacy of Epicurean doctrine, but says that, before he elaborates on that, he will refute the false charge that Epicurean teaching is not beneficial to life (NF 167 I 14 – II 7), the teaching in question being that human beings are more just and moral if they do not fear the gods than if they do fear them. Diogenes' argument, which runs all the way from NF 167 II to NF 126/127 V 13, occupying six fourteen-line columns, is of great interest, but has been commented on elsewhere, especially in Smith (1998) 131, 137–143 and Hammerstaedt (2006) 17–23.

2. It is not clear whether we have:]c ^v ἔαντοῖς or]εc αὐτοῖς or]οc αὐτοῖς.

3. Smith's tentative restoration of lines 3–4 (see above) is based on the assumption that Diogenes is referring to mental *ταραχή*, either as something removed by the doctrines of the Epicureans or as something aggravated by the doctrines of their opponents.

4. Either]οισυ με- or]οισυμε-. If the latter, then a present participle, e.g. [- - - π]οιούμε[voc], or first person plural, e.g. [- - - π]οιούμε[θα]; perhaps a compound of ποιεῖσθαι.

5. Smith's [τῆ]ν ἀταρα[ξί]αν is by no means certain. Another possible division is -να ταρα-, in which case there was probably a form of the noun τάρα|[χος] (used in the context of theology in fr. 18 III 14) or ταρα|[χή] (NF 126/127 V 10; cf. also fr. 112.7 and 113.9) or of the aorist

participle *ταράζω* (cf. fr. 42 III 5). Perhaps [δι' ἐκεῖ]να *ταρα*|[χά]ς ...]. But other divisions are not excluded: -*νατα* *ρά*- (e.g. - - - ἀδύ]νατα *ρά*|[δίο]ς/[ρά]|[δίου]ργεῖν] - - -, [περὶ τὰ ἀθά]νατα *ρά*|[θυ]μεῖν - - -) and -*να τα* *ρα*- (e.g. - - - ἴ]να τὰ *ρά*|[- - -).

6. Similar empty spaces, marking the end of an argument or section, occur in fr. 21 III 8, 108.5, 111.6, 117.3, 141.16, 145 I 9, NF 126/127 V 13.

7. Smith's restoration [ἐκείνο]ς δ' οἴ]ον would refer to rival theorists. This is highly speculative, although ἀντι- at the end of the line gives some support to the suggestion that the context is polemical. Other possibilities include [πρὸς ταῦτα - - -]. For [- - - οἴ]ον perhaps [- - - ν]ῶν.

9. Diogenes relates *πιτετεύω* to philosophy and philosophical opinions in fr. 12 III 10, 29 I 8, NF 158.1,¹² and to fate in fr. 54 III 10.

10. The letters can be divided either [- - -]να *λη*|[- - -] or [πά]ντ' ἀλη|[θῶ]ς or [- - -]ν τὰ *λη*|[θῆ].

13. Perhaps ω before φημι, but omikron seems to be more likely.

14. There is a letter-space between the penultimate and last letters of [χα]λεπῶς. This must be reckoned a stonemason's error. Erroneous mid-word spaces occur also in fr. 122 II 10 and NF 171.6.

NF 167 II

1. *παραστήσω*. The legal terminology at the end of the same sentence (see below on line 3–4) perhaps supports Smith's suggestion that the verb is used here as a legal term, “bring before (a judge)”, although, when it occurs in this sense, the middle is usual (cf. LSJ s.v. *παρίστημι* C.I.; Bauer/Aland s.v. *παρίστημι* 1.e.), while the active is only attested in papyri (LSJ s.v. A.II.8).

1–2. This seems to be much the earliest occurrence of *προαποσκευάζομαι*, “get rid of beforehand”, which is not in LSJ, but is cited by Lampe from Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis* (GregNyss-Op IX 50.8) and Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XII 3 (GCS Philostorg. 142.16), writing in the fourth and early fifth centuries AD respectively. A TLG search produced a third instance, Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* (PG LXIX 569A): ὄρα τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιτάττοντα τὸν ἱερέα *προαποσκευάζεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας*, where the verb is used in the same sense of “repelling” false accusations, as by Diogenes. Cf. LSJ s.v. *ἀποσκευάζομαι* II.3.

The prefix *προ-* is strictly redundant in our passage, in view of the immediately following *πρῶτον*. It may be noted that, like other Epicurean writers, Diogenes frequently refutes rival views before stating or restating his own position. On the polemical character of his work, see Smith (1993) 135–139.

3–4. τὴν ἐπιφερομένην *διαβολήν*. The verb *ἐπιφέρω* in the sense “bring (a charge) against” evokes legal terminology, cf. fr. 2 I 2; 47 III 11; 156 II 13. *διαβολή* occurs in fr. 69 II 4 ([ἐ]πὶ *διαβολῆ*).

5. *φατὶ γάρ* *τινες*. Diogenes' opponents would certainly include the Stoics, whom he goes straight on to refute in the passage beginning in NF 126/127 V 14,¹³ immediately after vigorously re-emphasising the beneficial effect of the Epicurean doctrine about *δικαιοσύνη* and the harmful effect of the rival doctrine.

7. The third last letter of the line is a clear omicron instead of the required θ.

8–9. ἐπὶ τοῦ *παρόντος*. Cf. fr. 23.12.

9, 13. ἀδικοπραγεῖν. An uncommon variant for ἀδικεῖν, attested several times in Philo, and in Plutarch, *Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 501A. ἀδικοπραγήμα is cited from

¹² Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 30.

¹³ Text in Smith (2003) 78–79, where the name of the Stoics is restored in VI 5 and entirely preserved in VII 11.

Philodemus, *De pietate*, PHerc. 1428 XII 19 (ed. A. Henrichs: *CErc* 4 [1974] 23); *SVF* III 502, quoted in Stobaeus II 7.11e (II 97.13 W./H.). ἀδικοπρηγής Periktione ap. Stob. IV 28.19. The verb δικαιοπραγέω, which occurs in NF 126/127 III 4, is more common; see Smith (1998) 140.

10. Cf. fr. 63 I 7 κἄν ὅσῳ δήποτε, fr. 48 II 9–10 (ἐφ’ ὅσον ... δύναται φυγεῖν), and NF 126/127 II 7–8 (ἐφ’ ὅσον γέ εἰσιν δίκαιοι).

11–12. Cf. fr. 3 VI 4–7 [τοὺς μὲν¹⁴] | γὰρ ... φόβους [ἀ]|πελυσάμεθα.

13. ἐγ. In Diogenes’ inscription ἐκ becomes ἐγ in compounds before β, δ, and λ.¹⁵ This is the only place where this happens to the preposition, but it is also the only place where the preposition is followed by one of the letters mentioned.

14 – NF 167 III + NF 126/127 I 1. συγχυθήσεσθαι τὸν ὄλον [βίον]. Cf. *Sent. Vat.* 57 ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ πᾶς δι’ ἀπιστίαν συγχυθήσεται καὶ ἀνακεχαιτισμένον ἔσται and Plutarch, *Adversus Colotem* 1108F, reporting Colotes’ charge against Democritus that, in asserting that “each thing is no more this than that”, συγκέχυκε τὸν βίον. The thought in Plutarch is reversed in *Men.* fr. 781 K.–A. συγκέχυκε νῦν τὴν πίστιν ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίος.

NF 167 III + NF 126/127 I

1–14. For attempts to restore this column before the discovery of NF 167, see Smith (1998) 132, with translation and commentary on pp. 137–139; Smith (2000b) 430–433; Smith (2003) 76–77, with translation and commentary on pp. 80, 82; Pace (2005) 202; Hammerstaedt (2006) 18–19. Although it can be fairly claimed that the attempts were successful in giving the correct sense of most of the passage, they were less successful in supplying Diogenes’ exact words. These were correctly conjectured in lines 4, 5 (in so far as the text is preserved), 7, and 11, with what might be called a near miss in 6, where the conjecture was synonymous with the true reading. The failure to restore correctly 8–9 turns out to be entirely excusable, for the discovery of NF 167 makes plain that the stonemason made a mistake in the part of line 9 carried by NF 126, omitting the third last letter, c, and leaving a space (sufficient for a small c) where the missing letter should have been. Since the space was naturally interpreted as indicating punctuation, the stonemason’s error was doubly misleading. It may be noted that the error was his third in three successive columns: see notes above on NF 167 I 14, II 7.

1–4. Since those who are mentioned in these lines are distinguished from “the others” (line 7: τῶν δ’ ἄλλων), who are those who do not commit crimes (lines 10–11 and NF 126/127 II 6–7), and ἡδίκουσι in line 7 refers to the deeds of the previously mentioned persons, it is clear that the lacunose beginning of the present column contained a reference to wrongdoers. We have arrived at our restoration after many different attempts (see below, note on line 2).

The whole argument may be summarised thus. Some critics say that Epicurean teaching is not beneficial because even now people act wrongly so far as they possibly can. The same critics point out that, if people were released from fear of the gods, they would act even more wrongly, and the result would be anarchy. Diogenes points out that such people, i.e. those who even now act wrongly as much as they can (clearly he agrees that such people exist) even now are the kind of people who do not fear the gods. We must agree that this is the case, for, if wrongdoers feared the gods, they would not do wrong. Having finished with those who act wrongly as much as they can, Diogenes then turns to “the others”, among whom he distinguishes two groups, neither of whom is influenced in its moral behaviour by fear of the gods. So Epicureanism’s critics are

¹⁴ Hammerstaedt follows Usener in adding μὲν for reasons of space.

¹⁵ Smith (1993) 118.

mistaken in thinking that people of any of the three sorts (those of a wrongdoing disposition, those who have a sound knowledge of Epicurean physics and ethics, and ordinary people) are so influenced, and therefore critics of Epicurean teaching are mistaken in thinking that the removal of fear of the gods would do any harm.

1. τοιοῦτοι, i.e. men of the kind who presently act wrongly so far as they possibly can (cf. NF 167 II 12–13). For the construction cf. Xen. *Cyr.* V 1.10 (τὸ πῦρ) πέφυκε ... τοιοῦτον. Hammerstaedt suggests that another possibility, although perhaps a bit long for the space, is ἀλλ' οὕτως (cf. Xen. *Hell.* VII 1.7 οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων) and notes that in this case the sentence would be marked more clearly as a reply of Diogenes to the critics of Epicurean theology.

2. καὶ ν[ὸν] deliberately and effectively echoes καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος in II 8–9. – [πε]φ[ύ]ξα[ι]ν. Of φ all that is visible is the “foot”, well below the line. The “scissors” of κ are very faintly visible on the squeeze. Theoretically, it would be possible to read [πεπρά]γα[ι]ν, but the only restoration which seemed to be possible in combination with this verb in line 1 was [τᾶ]δικα: “certainly even now the wrong deeds are committed by those who do not fear the gods”. Such a proposal does not fit well with line 7 (τῶν δ' ἄλλων) which requires a mention of the wrongdoers as persons in line 1. Another suggestion, ([ἀλλ' οὗτοι | ... γεγό]γα[ι]ν), which also assumes that Diogenes' reply started in line 1, is ruled out by the large distance between the vertical before α[ι] and those letters.

There was certainly no *v ephelkystikon* of a normal size, but it was probably added as a small letter above the line.¹⁶

4–7. Diogenes does not of course mean that all those who do not fear the gods act unjustly, but only that all those who are now criminals do not fear the gods.

8. ἀποφάινομαι. Cf. fr. 20 II 1.

8–10. “Those who grasp arguments based on nature” are those who have studied and followed the natural philosophy of Epicurus, i.e. the wise. Cf., a few columns ahead, NF 126/127 VIII 8–10,¹⁷ where Diogenes describes a Stoic view as *not* being a φυσικὸς λόγος ἐρευνῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. The middle of ἄπτω is used in fr. 147.9 of someone “attaining” an age.

9–10. The mason carved ΑΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΥ ὐ ΛΟ|ΓΩΝ ὐ κτλ. This strange error could only be detected with the help of the recently discovered left half of the column and has previously caused misinterpretations by both authors of this article.¹⁸

13–14. Cf. fr. 3 II 5: τίν' ἔχει φύσιν.

NF 126/127 II

2–5. Diogenes explains the preceding mention of desires and pains and death. In fr. 34 VII 1–12 he emphasises the need to eliminate four “roots of all evils” – fear of gods, fear of death, fear of pain, and excessive desires. Fear as a cause of κακοδαιμονεῖν is already mentioned in Epicur. fr. 485 Us. According to Lucretius III 59–86, fear of death is the root cause of much human wrongdoing. See also Cic. *off.* I 24: *atque illae quidem iniuriae, quae nocendi causa de industria inferuntur, saepe a metu proficiscuntur, cum is, qui nocere alteri cogitat, timet ne, nisi id fecerit, ipse aliquo adficiatur incommodo* and Dyck (1996) 117 ad loc.

¹⁶ On the stonemasons' practice of sometimes carving letters smaller than usual at a higher level than usual, see Smith (1993) 101.

¹⁷ Text in Smith (2003) 79.

¹⁸ Hammerstaedt (2006) 19.

Diogenes' analysis is rather simplified, in comparison with that of Plato *leg.* IX 863e: τὴν ... τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ φόβου καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ φθόνων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν ψυχῇ τυραννίδα ... πάντως ἀδικίαν προκαγορεύω) or Seneca, *ep.* 105, 1 *considera quae sint quae hominem in perniciem hominis instigent: invenies spem, invidiam, odium, metum, contemptum.*

ETHICS

NF 168 = YF 237

Description

Complete below and lower right; broken above and left. Height 27 cm. (surface 26 cm.), width 23 cm., depth 13 cm. Letters “small” in what will have been part of the last five lines of a fourteen-line column. There is a lower margin 13 cm. high, in which, 6 cm. below the last line of the column, is carved a line of “medium-sized” letters. The letters in the lower margin are preceded by an empty space of 4 cm., before which is a “large” (3 cm. high) asterisk. It is not what one might call a “proper” asterisk in the modern sense, like the one to the left of fr. 63 IV, but has the form as illustrated in LSJ s.v. ἀστερίσκος II, for the stonemason has carved a blob or “lozenge” in the middle of the entrance to each of the four V-sections. This sign is preceded by another empty space of 4 cm. that extends to the broken left edge of the stone. The empty space between the line in the margin and the bottom edge of the stone is 4.5 cm. high. It may be assumed that the purpose of the large X is to reinforce the division, already indicated by the generous empty space, between two maxims (see below, under *Position*), although no such sign is carved in the 13.5 cm. space left between two maxims in the lower margin of fr. 47 III–IV (= YF 085), which is the only other known fragment to display the division between one maxim and another.¹⁹ Twice in Diogenes' *Old Age* a simple X is carved before the beginning of a line (fr. 146 II 1; fr. 148 II 11), apparently to indicate punctuation.

Position in the inscription

The line of “medium-sized” letters running through the spacious lower margin shows that NF 168 belongs to Diogenes' *Ethics*, which occupied the lowest course of the inscription. Only the *Ethics* blocks have this line, which was continuous and contains ethical maxims, many of them *Principal Doctrines* (Κύρια Δόξαι) and other sayings of Epicurus. When a fragment of Diogenes bears part of a known maxim in its lower margin, and another bears fragment part of the same maxim, that enables us to know the order of the passages in the columns above and to calculate the length of the gap between them. However, the maxim, whose first letters are seen in the lower margin of NF 168, is not one of the *Principal Doctrines* or, it seems, part of any other known saying of Epicurus. The quotation is of negative help, in that it shows that NF 168 cannot have stood very close to any of the *Ethics* fragments that carry part of a known maxim, *unless* it is the case of a fragment carrying letters from near the end of a known maxim.

The content of NF 168 suggests that it relates to the nature and fate of the soul and is therefore part of the discussion of fear of death promised by Diogenes in fr. 34 VI–VII. To this section are assigned fr. 37–42 and perhaps NF 137.²⁰ In fr. 38 Diogenes states, in opposition to the opinions

¹⁹ The division between *Principal Doctrines* 6 and 8, which occurred in the lower margin of fr. 32 II–IV (= YF 049), is not visible because of damage to the stone.

²⁰ Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007) 5–7.

of Plato and the Stoics, the Epicurean view that the soul cannot survive without the body, and his fr. 39 is directed first against Plato's belief in the imperishability of the soul, then against the Stoic theory, specifically that of Chrysippus, according to which the souls of *κλυδαῖοι* survive after death for a long period, while those of others perish with their bodies. It is possible that fr. 93 (a small-letter fragment of uncertain position, where *ψυχή* appears in col. II 5, together with mention of old age in col. II 2) belongs to a similar context.

Not enough text survives to allow certainty about the argument of NF 168, but, for Smith's tentative reconstruction of the text, see *Notes*. Here it is worth noting that the unfinished part of the quotation of *Principal Doctrine* 29 in the lower margin of fr. 39 would have run under only one more column of the *Ethics*, so that, if the maxim that begins in the lower margin of NF 168, were the one that followed *Principal Doctrine* 29, just 23 lines would be missing between fr. 39 V 14 and NF 168.10. It is also worth noting that the maxim quoted in the lower margin of fr. 42 is otherwise unknown, so that we cannot tell how much is missing before or after the words that are preserved.²¹



Fig. 2. NF 168

Text

10]ΙϚ[
]τι ψυχη[
 πε]ρὶ τουτο[
]ντες, ^ν ἡμᾶς δ[
]ων ἐῶσι φθείρε[σθαι

Lower margin]^{νν} * ^{ννν} εἰ θέλε[

Translation

... soul ... about this/these ..., but us ... they allow to perish ...

Notes

10. Before *ς*, or *ε*, there seem to be visible the two serifs of the lower end of a vertical.

11. Possibilities include [ε]τι (not necessarily [έ]τί), τι, τί, [ό]τι, [έ]τι, or the end of an active participle in the dative.

12. [πε]ρὶ τούτο[υ], [πε]ρὶ τούτο[υς], [πε]ρὶ τούτο[υ] or [πε]ρὶ τούτο [...].

13–14. The participle ---]ντες probably refers to the persons mentioned in line 14, where the subject of ἐῶσι is probably the representatives of some philosophical school. It seems clear that the passage is polemical, and it is to be noted that Diogenes is arguing against opponents rather than an opponent. His complaint is likely to be that belief that the human soul has some kind of existence after death is inconsistent with allowing the body to die, for, in the Epicurean view, we are composed of body and soul, which cannot be separated without both being destroyed, the soul being corporeal and a part of the body.

²¹ However, Hammerstaedt (2006) 40–41 argues for a combination with the end of *Principal Doctrine* 4 beneath fr. 44.

According to Hammerstaedt, Diogenes' targets are most likely to be the Stoics, who are criticised in fr. 39 III–V.

Smith believes Diogenes is arguing principally against Plato and his followers, or possibly also Pythagoras and Empedocles, whom Plato followed in believing in the reincarnation of the soul, and thinks it likely that the first two letters preserved in line 14 are the last two letters of Plato's name. If so, this is the fifth mention of him in the known fragments, the others being in fr. 38.6, fr. 39 III 7, NF 126/127 IV 6, NF 155.1.

Lines 10–14, according to Smith, perhaps went something like this:

10 [λέγου]ς[ιν ὅτι ἀθά]-
 [νατός ἐς]τι ψυχὴ [πάσα],
 [ὄλωσ πε]ρὶ τοῦτο[υ δια]-
 [σφαλέ]ντες. ὦ ἡμᾶς δ[έ, ὦ]
 [Πλάτ]ων, ἐὼσι φθείρε[σθαι οἱ περί σε]

Smith's translation:

*They say that every soul is deathless, being completely mistaken about this. But you and your followers, Plato, allow us to be destroyed ...*²²

Lower margin

The words themselves cannot be identified with the beginning of any known saying ascribed to Epicurus. Probably εἰ θέλε[ις], in which case cf. Epicur. fr. 135 Us.: εἰ βούλει Πυθοκλέα ποιῆσαι, ... , but there is no way of knowing the subject of the maxim.

SMALL-LETTER FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN POSITION

NF 169 = YF 230



Fig. 3. NF 169

Description

Complete lower right; broken above, below, left, and upper right. Height 19.5 cm., width 13 cm., depth 19.5 cm. Part of six lines of what will have been a fourteen-line column. The margin on the left (at least 2.5 cm. in line 2) shows that we have line beginnings.

Position in the inscription

We cannot tell to which of Diogenes' small-letter writings the fragment belongs.

Text

ε . [
 καθ[
 τα ἐκφ[

²² In the Epicurean view, the soul and the body are inextricably connected, and indeed the soul is part of the body, so, if the body is destroyed at death, as Plato also believed, the soul too is destroyed.

θα δρε . [
 5]οντα[
]αΓ[

Notes

Unfortunately too little survives to permit any certainty about the content.

1. Of ε the lower curve is preserved; if the next letter, represented by a horizontal stroke on the bottom of the line, is either ξ or ζ, and not just a result of damage, the first letter has to be a vowel, and not c.

3. One might restore τὰ or [τὰ ὀχλοῦν]|τα (cf. fr. 34 VI 10, 14) ἐκ φ[όβου] or φ[όβων], but there are many other possibilities, e.g. ἐκφ[εύγειν] (fr. 5 II 7; 10 II 14; 16 II 8), ἐκφ[υσις] (fr. 34 IV 13), and]τα ἐκ φ[ανεροῦ] (fr. 35 II 6).

4. The first two letters are either θ' ᾶ, or a middle verb ending of the first person plural [-με]|θα, or the end of ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα etc. or of some adjective or noun like ἀκόλουθα or ἀγαθά. The editors disagree about the last letter. While Hammerstaedt interprets the beginning of a horizontal stroke as part of π, Smith regards this as part of a serif on the top of an ι. According to Hammerstaedt, a noun, like ἀγαθά, could be the object of δρέπειν, used in a metaphorical sense mostly in poetical contexts (LSJ s.v. δρέπω I). Smith prefers to suppose part of δρειμύς (or a derivative adverb, verb, or noun). Since δριμύς, “bitter”, “sharp”, “keen”, can be used in so many different ways, it is not a reliable guide to the context: Diogenes might be discussing ethics, epistemology, or something else.

5. The first letter, of which just the top of what will have been its second vertical is visible, is most likely to have been π or v. There are numerous possibilities, including [θερά]|πνοντα[(c) ...] and [μέ]|γοντα[(c) ...]. The word division may have been . ον τα[...]

NF 170 = YF 238



Fig. 4. NF 170

Description

Broken all sides. Height 23 cm. (surface 21 cm.), width 19 cm. (surface 16 cm.), depth 10.5 cm. Part of five lines. In lines 3–5 we have line endings.

Position in the inscription

Either *Physics*, or *Ethics*, or *Fourteen-Line-Column Letters*.

Text

]ωκτ[c. 4]
]η ουκε[
]αι η ου
]πιμα
 5]Ικα

Notes

1. Of τ only the lower end of the upright survives, but its distance from κ makes the identification very likely.

2–3. Possibilities in 2 include οὐκ εἶ[[ναί], οὐκ εἶ[[τιν], and οὐ κει-, in 3 -αι ἢ οὐ[[εία] and -αι ἢ οὐ[[χί] (cf. fr. 70 II 13). The frequency of hiatus here would find some parallel in fr. 16 II–III, where Diogenes tries to show that Protagoras’ agnosticism was equivalent to denial of the existence of gods by Diagoras. Hiatus involving ἦ also occurs twice in fr. 3 III 8.

4. Possibilities include [ἐ]πὶ μὲ[[κρόν].

MAXIMS

NF 171 = YF 226

Description

Broken above; complete below and right; partly complete left, but much damaged there. Height 32 cm., width 25 cm., depth 28 cm. Lower margin 8 cm. The last six lines of a narrow column. There was virtually no left margin, while the right margin is about 3 cm. (as in line 10), except in line 6. Letters “medium”. The first and last strokes of M are vertical, not, as is usual in the inscription, oblique. For the significance of this, see below under *Position*. The three letters in the last line are indented three letter-spaces, so that they are nearly central between the left and right edges of the stone. The stonemason, who does the same with the five letters in the last line of NF 155,²³ presumably thought this centring aesthetically pleasing. In contrast, the three-letter overflow into the last line of NF 132²⁴ is not centred, but, although NF 132 belongs to the same section of the inscription as NF 171 and NF 155, the style of its lettering is so strikingly different that it cannot be the work of the same stonemason.

Position in the inscription

The medium-sized letters and the way the text ends on the stone, instead of overflowing onto another one, are clear indications that we have the lower part of one of the monolithic *Maxims*, which were probably composed by Diogenes himself. Carved on stones 57–59 cm. high, they were almost certainly in the third lowest course of the inscription, immediately above the *Physics*, sharing the course with Diogenes’ *Letter to Antipater* and *Letter to Dionysius*. Although the order of the *Maxims* is not known, it is likely that those concerned with physics preceded those concerned with ethics, this being the orthodox Epicurean order. Smith thinks it most likely that the subject matter of NF 171 is epistemological. In the Epicurean system epistemology or Canonics (τὸ κανονικόν) is bound up with physics and often treated as part of it. It is so treated both by Lucretius and by Diogenes in his *Physics*.

Not all the maxims display the same style of lettering. In fact, three different styles can be distinguished.²⁵ The differences are most obviously exemplified by the treatment of μ. In some maxims it is carved, as in other sections of the inscription, with the first and last strokes somewhat oblique. In two (fr. 112, NF 132²⁶) the strokes of the letter are exceptionally splayed. In

²³ Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 25.

²⁴ Cf. Smith (2003) 122–123.

²⁵ Smith (1993) 534; cf. Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 24.

²⁶ Cf. Smith (2003) 122–123.

others the first and last strokes are vertical (fr. 97–104, NF 155, 156²⁷). NF 171 is one of this last group. According to Smith's opinion of the content, this would be no surprise, because the other members of the group whose subject matter can be ascertained resemble it in dealing with problems of physics. They are: fr. 98, on thunderbolts and earthquakes; fr. 99, on the formation of hail in summer; NF 155, on Plato's view of the creation of our world, and his belief that it is indestructible; fr. 156, which, though only a tiny fragment, was evidently concerned with physics and, perhaps, epistemology. Fr. 100, in which Diogenes dismissed the doctrines of the Stoics and probably other theorists on the identity of the elements,²⁸ is probably to be included in the same group, because, although the surviving text does not contain a μ , the general style of lettering is the same as that of the four fragments just mentioned.

Hammerstaedt proposes a different interpretation. He believes that the repeated mention of the body indicates that in the missing beginning it was contrasted with the soul. The circumstance that something which is achieved on behalf of the body is also brought about through the body drives him to the conclusion that Diogenes in the previous lines spoke about pleasure or about agents of pleasure. In this case the argument would be an echo of the contrast between soul and body which is made in the introductory columns of the *Physics*, where Diogenes attaches more importance to the (natural and limited) needs of the body than to the (often unnatural and unlimited) requirements of the soul (cf. fr. 2 I). The same contrast is made also in passages of the *Ethics* (as in fr. 44 and 49).

Text

Of the ten *Maxims* that are complete, one occupies nine lines, two occupy ten, and seven occupy eleven. The height of the lower margin (cf. fr. 98) has led us to assume eleven lines in the case of NF 171, but the assumption is not necessarily correct.



Fig. 5. NF 171

	(according to Smith)	(according to Hammerstaedt)
	[φαίνεται]	[αίθθανόμε]-
	[τὸ ἐκάκτου]	[θα τὸ τῆς ἡ]-
	[ἐνάργημα],	[δονῆς ποιη]-
	[ὁ ταῖς αἰς]-	[τικόν, ὃ διὰ]
5	[θήσει κα]-	[τὴν ψυχὴν πα]-
	[τα]λημ ^ν πτόν	[ρα]λημ ^ν πτόν
	[ὕ]πὲρ τοῦ σώ-	[ὕ]πὲρ τοῦ σώ-
	[μ]ατός ἐστι,	[μ]ατός ἐστι,
	καὶ διὰ τὸ σώ-	καὶ διὰ τὸ σώ-
10	μα γεινόμε-	μα γεινόμε-
	ννν νον. ννν	ννν νον. ννν

²⁷ Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 24–27.

²⁸ Smith (2000a); Smith (2003) 118–119.

Translation

(according to Smith)

[It is obvious that the clear view of each thing, which] is apprehensible [by our senses] for the sake of the body, also comes about through the body.

(according to Hammerstaedt)

[We observe that what causes pleasure, which] is admissible [through our soul] on behalf of the body, comes about also through the body.

Notes

6. The mid-word letter space between μ and π is inappropriate. Cf. NF 167 I 14.²⁹ A consequence of the stonemason's error here is that line 6 ends very close to the right edge – significantly closer than the lines below. [πε|ρι]λημπτόν would be another possible restoration, but much less probable than [πα|ρα]λημπτόν or [κα|τα]λημπτόν (see below). Cf. fr. 14.5; 67 II 5.

Further notes on Smith's text

Restoration of the first lines of the maxim is bound to be speculative. Diogenes' point seems to be that knowledge gained by sensation is for the benefit of the body, but also is achieved because of the body. The whole Epicurean system is founded on the validity of sensation. Lucretius argues that, if we were not to trust the senses, not only reasoning but even life itself would be impossible, since, for example, we would not be able to avoid precipices and other dangers (IV 507–510).³⁰ All sensation is explained as being due to contact between our bodies and external objects – direct contact in the case of touch and taste, indirect contact, effected by emanations from objects impinging on the relevant sense organ, in the case of sight, sound, and smell.

3. Epicurus taught that, in investigating the world about us, our aim should be to obtain, whenever possible, ἐνάργημα, “a distinct view”, “a clear perception”.

4–6. Cf. fr. 5 II 13 – III 1: τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν καταλημπτὴν αἰσθή[ε]ιν].

Further notes on Hammerstaedt's text

Epicur. [22, 1] Arr.² = fr. 67 Us. states that pleasure can only be achieved through the body and its perceptive organs, cf. Cic. *or. in Pison.* 69: (*Epicurus*) *dicit, ut opinor, se nullum bonum intellegere posse demptis corporis voluptatibus.*

2–4. For the restoration cf. fr. 32 VIII 5–6 ὁμοῦς τὸ ποιητικὸν τῆς | ἡδονῆς αὐθις γέινεται.

6–7. [πα|ρα]λημπτόν. Cf. fr. 9 III 2–6 [κατ']| ἐνπτ[ώ]σεις μὲ]ν οἴ[ον] τὰ | ὑπὸ τῶν ὄψεων βλέπο[με]να ἢ ψυχὴ παραλαμ[β]άνει; also in fr. 49 I 10 the verb occurs in a context of contrast between soul and body (further instances of the verb in fr. 12 II 7; III 4).

NF 157 = YF 217

Description

Complete except upper right, where the stone is broken and the break has caused the loss of the last letters of line 1 and the upper parts of the last letters of line 2. Height 57 cm., width 39.5 cm., depth 76 cm. Upper margin 8.5 cm., lower margin 5.5 cm. Eleven lines of “medium-sized”

²⁹ See above p. 9.

³⁰ Cf. fr. 33 IV + NF 128 I 12 – fr. 33 V + NF 128 II 2 in Smith (1998) 147–148, 151, Smith (2003) 95–96.

letters. It is noteworthy that M is carved with the first and fourth strokes oblique in lines 4 and 9, but vertical in line 10. See below on 10–11.

It was possible in 2009 to read the parts of the text that were concealed in 2008.³¹ We are now able to present the whole of this remarkably interesting text.

Position in the inscription

In our publication of the parts of the text that were visible in 2008, we identified NF 157 as one of the monolithic Maxims. No other text in this section of the inscription is wholly devoted to the subject of sex, but fr. 107, of which we have just part of the first three lines, mentions τρία τῶν ἀπολαυμάτων (1–2), the reference almost certainly being to the enjoyments of food, drink, and sex.³² So NF 157 may have been close to fr. 107 and also to other texts that are concerned with the desires, pleasures, and pains of the body, including fr. 109, on [πολυ]τελή βρώμα|[τα καὶ π]ώματα (1–2).



Fig. 6. NF 157

Text

ἀτυχὲς ἀγνοεῖν [τοῦς]
τὸ ἐρωτικὸν νοσοῦν-
τας πάθος ὅτι τὴν
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως
5 ἡδονὴν καὶ δίχα συν-
πλοκῆς ἔχουσιν τε-
λείαν, ὃ τὸ δ' ἀφροδεί-
[ς]ιον αὐτὸ ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ
[β]ελτεῖονος μορφῆς
10 [κ]αὶ ἐπὶ χείρονος ὁμοι-
[όν] ἔστιν. *vacat*
vacat

Translation

It is unfortunate that those who are sick with the passion of love do not realise that they derive pleasure to the highest degree from looking even without copulation,³³ while the sexual act itself, whether one's partner has a superior or inferior figure, is the same.

Notes

This text is of considerable interest – a welcome addition to our sources of information about the Epicurean attitude to sexual love. The most detailed source by far is Lucretius, who devotes the

³¹ Cf. Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 27–29.

³² Smith (1978) 74–75; Smith (1993) 539.

³³ For “even without copulation”, Smith prefers “and not from copulation” (literally: “and without copulation”).

last 250 lines of Book IV (1037–1287) to the subject. But the Greek sources are scanty. Epicurus' treatise *περὶ ἔρωτος* (Diogenes Laertius X 27) does not survive, nor, except for the most meagre traces, does a work Philodemus wrote on the same subject.³⁴ The few surviving pronouncements of Epicurus on sexual activity and love, and the reports of his views by Diogenes Laertius and in other Greek sources, present a generally unfavourable picture. Epicurus considered sexual desire natural, but not necessary (Epicur. fr. 456 p. 295.12–17 Us.: ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀφροδισίων [scil. ἐπιθυμία] φυσικὴ μὲν, οὐκ ἀναγκαία δέ). He could not deny that satisfying it brings physical pleasure, which has to be reckoned a good (Epicur. fr. 67 Us.), but pleasure is not to be taken when it leads to pain that will outweigh it, and there are times when the good is regarded as bad, and vice versa (*Ep. Men.* 129–130). Sex is such a “good”. That is to say, it is often bad. Sexual intercourse, according to the Epicureans, is never of benefit, and it is a blessing if it does not do harm (Epicur. fr. 62 Us.; *Sent. Vat.* 51; Diogenes Laertius X 118 = Epicur. fr. 574 Us.). It is best to suppress sexual desire altogether, but, if one cannot do that, the next best thing is to satisfy it in the least disturbing way possible by having casual sex with prostitutes (Lucretius IV 1069–1072). What one must most definitely avoid is having passionate love affairs, because their irrational and tempestuous nature makes ἀταραξία impossible.

Generally speaking, our Diogenes' attitude to sex and the passion of love is, as one would expect, in line with that of the Epicurean school. Thus in the preface to his *Ethics* he says that what brings happiness is not wealth or political fame or power or a life of luxury or pleasures of choice love affairs (ἀφροδισίων ἐγγλελεγμένων ἡδοναί), but philosophy (fr. 29 II), and this is to be compared with Epicurus' statement that what produces a life of true pleasure is not continuous drinking and partying or enjoyment of boys and women (ἀπολαύσεις παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν) or of luxurious food, but study of philosophy (*Ep. Men.* 132). Diogenes' orthodoxy is manifested also in NF 157, when he calls those in the grip of the passion of love “sick” (see note on 2–3).

One point that needs to be borne in mind is that Diogenes, like Epicurus and Lucretius, treats sexual passion from the male point of view, although Lucretius does acknowledge that sexual pleasure is often shared by the woman (IV 1192–1208).

Despite the absence of any textual problems, the editors have been unable to reach full agreement about the interpretation of the maxim, especially with respect to Diogenes' statement in lines 3–7 about the pleasure obtained from looking at a person. In view of the importance of that statement for the understanding of the whole maxim, it seems best to set out our separate opinions at the outset. *Judicent lectores!*

Hammerstaedt's views

Diogenes takes a position which is different from that of Lucretius, and perhaps closer to Epicurus' thoughts, in his positive attitude to the pleasure obtained from looking at an attractive person (NB without love!). Drawing on a statement of Epicurus who differentiates between pleasures obtained διὰ χυλῶν, δι' ἀφροδισίων, δι' ἀκροαμάτων and διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὄψιν (fr. 67 Us.), Diogenes distinguishes the pleasure of looking at an attractive person from the pleasure of sexual intercourse itself (συμπλοκή, ἀφροδίσιον).

³⁴ See Philodemus, *De ira* VII.16–20 with the note in Indelli (1988) 155.

It is a common thought in Epicureanism that intercourse with easily available persons has the same quality as sex with the beloved one. Besides *Lucr.* IV 1171–1174 (see below), cf. the abstract formulation in *Epicur.* fr. 456 Us. (ἡ δὲ ... τοιῶνδε ἀφροδισίων [scil. ἐπιθυμία] οὔτε φυσικὴ οὔτε ἀναγκαία), the more concrete example in *Epicur.* fr. 583 Us., and *Hor. serm.* I 2, 119–122 who quotes *Philodemus*. The thought itself became proverbial (*Zenob.* II 9 ἄπανθ' ὁμοία· καὶ Ῥοδῶπις ἡ καλή).³⁵

Diogenes is well aware of the connection which exists between the two feelings in the eyes of those who suffer from the passion of love, and in this respect he is close to the Epicurean statement of *Sent. Vat.* 18 that, once sight, intercourse, and association are ended, the passion of love evaporates (ἀφαιρουμένης προκόψεως καὶ ὁμιλίας καὶ συναναστροφῆς ἐκλύεται τὸ ἐρωτικὸν πάθος) and to *Lucretius* who offers a detailed description of how an attractive figure arouses sexual desire (IV 1032–1038), which we call *Venus* or *love* (IV 1058–1060: *haec Venus est nobis; hinc autemst nomen amoris, / hinc illaec primum Veneris dulcedinis in cor / stillavit gutta et successit frigida cura*).

Lucretius' advice is to avoid such love by having sexual intercourse with anybody without insisting on the one which has been the cause of the erotic desire (IV 1063–1066: *sed fugitare decet simulacra et pabula amoris / abstertere sibi atque alio convertere mentem / et iacere umorem collectum in corpora quaeque / nec retinere, semel conversum unius amore*). The woman may be as attractive as you want, but there is no difference between her and an uglier woman (IV 1171–1174 *sed tamen esto iam quantovis oris honore, / cui Veneris membris vis omnibus exoriatur: / nempe aliae quoque sunt; nempe hac sine viximus ante; / nempe eadem facit, et scimus facere, omnia turpi*). Since, unlike eating and drinking, the sexual act does not satisfy the desire, but increases it (IV 1086ff.), *Lucretius* rejects the pleasure deriving from the sight of an attractive person – sight which fuels the passion of love.

In NF 157 *Diogenes* starts from *Epicurus'* statements on sex and on pleasure derived from a beautiful figure, but arrives at different advice from that given by *Lucretius*.

On the one hand, he is positive about pleasure deriving from beauty by stating that such a pleasure can arrive at the peak even without having sexual intercourse with the attractive person. In contrast, *Lucretius* connects the pleasure which derives from beauty strictly with erotic feeling and desire (IV 1057 *namque voluptatem praesagit muta cupido; 1094–1096 ex hominis vero facie pulchroque colore / nil datur in corpus praeter simulacra fruendum / tenuia*). *Lucretius* does not see any fulfilment of pleasure in watching (IV 1101–1102 *sic in amore Venus simulacris ludit amantes / nec satiari queunt spectando corpora coram*). Concerning *Diogenes*, one is reminded of *Friedrich Schiller's* “interesseloses Wohlgefallen”.

On the other hand, *Diogenes* does not explicitly advocate “easy sex” as an immediate and necessary substitute for the desire which arises from looking at a beautiful person, as *Lucretius* does, but the ductus of his reasoning rather aims at discouraging sex with the attractive-looking person by implying that sex can be had with the same pleasure on some other, easier occasion.

Smith's views

It is unlikely that *Diogenes'* attitude was significantly different from that of *Lucretius*. Both regard those affected by sexual passion as “sick” (see below on 2–3). When *Diogenes* says that it is unfortunate that the love-sick do not understand that they derive the full measure of their pleasure from just looking at the beloved, he certainly follows *Epicurus* in recognising that the

³⁵ Cf. W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi proverbia* IV (1982) 98–102, especially 101, for the ancient tradition of thought.

sight of an attractive figure gives pleasure to the viewer. But there is no reason to suppose that Lucretius denied this. The important question is not whether the experience is pleasurable, but whether the pleasure is a worthwhile one. Although Epicurus states in fr. 67 Us. that the pleasure of seeing a beautiful figure, like the pleasures of taste, sex, and hearing, has to be taken into the reckoning when considering “the good”, he does not say that it is desirable, let alone always desirable. Pleasures that are likely to lead to physical or mental pain and be outweighed by it are to be avoided. This is true of sex: if sexual desire cannot be suppressed, it is to be satisfied in the least disturbing way possible, which means avoiding any relationship that involves emotional entanglement. As for the pleasure derived from the sight of a beautiful figure, it would not be unwholesome if it did not involve sexual desire or the passion of love, but, where it does involve them, it is not wholesome.

Although Epicurus, Lucretius, and Diogenes say things in their different ways, they are united in regarding the passion of love as unhealthy, and any pleasure involved in it, even the pleasure a lover gets from looking at his beloved, as not worthwhile, because the pleasure is outweighed by pain. Thus Epicurus, who believed that the wise man will not fall in love (Diog. Laert. X 118), says that the way to end the passion of love is to avoid the sight and company of the beloved (*Sent. Vat.* 18). Lucretius too urges the lover to avoid the sight of the woman with whom he is infatuated (IV 1063–1064). Although Diogenes does not do that, there is nothing in NF 157 that is inconsistent with the views of Epicurus and Lucretius on sexual love. His attitude to it is hostile, like theirs. Hammerstaedt refers to Diogenes’ “positive attitude to the pleasure obtained from looking at an attractive person (NB without love!)”, but in fact Diogenes is, as he tells us in lines 1–3, talking about those who *are* in love. Such people are “diseased” (lines 2–3), and any pleasure they get from looking at the objects of their love is outweighed by the pain of their disease, which leads one to conclude that Diogenes, so far from recommending that they continue looking, would have urged them to stop doing so. Although he believed that any significant pleasure in a love affair comes from looking, the main message of NF 157 is emphatically negative: it is not a good thing to be in love; if you are in love, you will not enjoy worthwhile pleasure; and if you have sex, it makes no difference what your partner looks like. The last statement reflects the view that the pleasure of sexual intercourse is limited to the ejaculation of semen. Compare fr. 33 VII, where eating, drinking, and ejaculating semen are mentioned as coincident causes of pleasure: they give pleasure only at the time, not afterwards. Diogenes might well have approved of the way in which Lucretius satirically associates *amor* with the *umor* the man longs to cast into the woman’s body (IV 1054, 1056). No doubt he would also have agreed with Lucretius (IV 1073–1076) that those who derive most pleasure from sexual intercourse are those who are not in love.

One may speculate that NF 157 was not the only one of the monolithic *Maxims* in which Diogenes set out the Epicurean views on love and sex. As parallels for the inclusion of more than one maxim on one subject, one can point to the similarity of content between fr. 111 and NF 131, and between fr. 112 and NF 132.³⁶

Further notes

2–3. τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ... πάθος. The Epicurean doctrine considers the passion of love as suffering and pain, cf. *Sent. Vat.* 18; Philodemus, *De musica* IV col. CXIX 42–43 Delattre (ἐρωτικὸν πάθo[ς]). – vocoῦντας. The idea that the lover is wounded and sick or even mad is common in Greek and Roman erotic poetry, and is prominent in Lucretius’ treatment of sex and the passion

³⁶ See Smith (1998) 158–161; (2003) 121–123.

of love (IV 1037–1287). But the Epicureans regarded not just those in the grip of sexual love, but also those in the grip of any false opinions as sick or plague-stricken. See, for example, fr. 3 IV 4–8: οἱ πλείστοι καθάπερ ἐν λοιμῶ τῇ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ψευδοδοξία νοσοῦσι κοινῶς. Through his inscription Diogenes hopes to help those who are morally diseased by giving them “the medicines that bring salvation” (fr. 3 V 14 – VI 2: τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ... [φάρμα]κα).

3–5. Cf. Epicur. fr. 67 Us. τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ’ ὄψιν ἡδείας κινήσει.

9. In fr. 43 II 5–9 Diogenes uses μορφή in connection with pleasure derived from images “seen” in sleep: τοιούτων μὲν ἄ[ν] ἔχη μορφήν πραγμά[των] οἷς ἡ φύσις χαίρει, κατευφραίνει μάλιστα τὴν [ψυ]χήν.

9–10. μορφῆς ... ἐπὶ χεῖρονος. Cf. Lucretius IV 1279: *deteriore ... forma muliercula*.

10–11. ὅμοι[ov]. As we have pointed out above, under *Description*, the μ is carved with the first and last strokes vertical, instead of oblique as in lines 4 and 9. The letter is also rather cramped. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the stonemason had to correct a mistake. The likelihood is that he first carved ONO for OMO perhaps after his eye slipped back to XEIPONOC.

NF 172 = YF 235

Description

Complete below; broken above, left, and right. Height 24.5 cm. (surface 21 cm.), width 16 cm. (surface 13.5 cm.), depth 24.5 cm. Letters “medium”. The first and last strokes of μ are oblique. Lower margin 7 cm. high.

Position in the inscription

Although much of the surface between the last line and the bottom edge is broken off, it is preserved on the left, and there is no trace of lettering there, so it is almost certain that there is a spacious margin, such is never found in the *Ten-Line-Column Writings*, one of the two main groups of writings inscribed in medium-sized letters. The assumption that NF 172 is one of the monolithic *Maxims*, the other main medium-lettered group, is confirmed by what can be read in the last two lines. See *Notes* below.



Fig. 7. NF 172

Text

We have provisionally assumed that the column contained eleven lines. See NF 171, Text.

10]|ορ[
]ενειρω[
]ζμω^ν κα[
]|πε . [
vac.

Notes

With so few letters preserved, certainty about the subject matter is impossible, but it seems very likely that the passage ended in a similar fashion to NF 155, a finely-pre-

served monolithic maxim found in 2008.³⁷ In NF 155 Diogenes says: “Although Plato was right (καλῶς Πλάτων) to acknowledge that the world had an origin, even if he was not right (εἰ καὶ μὴ καλῶς) to introduce a divine craftsman of it, instead of employing nature as its craftsman, he was wrong to say that it is imperishable.” The closing words in the Greek (lines 9–11) go like this:

^v κα-
κῶς ἄφθαρτον
^{vvv} εἶπεν.

Likewise, in NF 172 we have κα after a punctuation space in line 10 and a word that is likely to be [ε]ἶπεν in 11. It is tempting to think of restoring κα[κῶς], or possibly κα[κῶς], in 10, and to guess that the maxim, like NF 155, had a polemical character, perhaps partly commending as well as criticising a non-Epicurean thinker.³⁸

Smith suggests that a possible clue to the identity of that thinker lies in what remains of lines 9–10. Although other reconstructions can be suggested, one possibility is [εν εἰρω[νικῶ λογι]σμῶ. If this tentative proposal is correct, the obvious target of Diogenes’ criticism is Socrates, whose employment of irony was considered by Epicurus and his followers to be unhelpful, dishonest, and hypocritical. They contrasted εἰρωνεία with παρρησία, “frankness”, which they recommended. For their criticisms of irony, see e.g. Cicero, *Brutus* 292 (Epicur. fr. 231 Us.); Philodemus, *De vitiis* X, col. XXI 37–38; *De libertate dicendi* fr. 26 (misinterpreted by M. Gigante, *Ricerche filodemeae* [Napoli, 1983²] 81, as “forse una consapevole valutazione positiva dell’ironia socratica”). On the whole subject of the Epicureans’ attitude to Socrates, including his εἰρωνικὸς λογισμὸς, see M. T. Riley, *The Epicurean Criticism of Socrates*, *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 55–68.

8. Smith, on the basis of his interpretation (see above), considers the possibility of restoring [ἀ]πορ[ία].

9. There are several possible readings with the root εἰρων-, including ἐν εἰρω[νεΐα]. Cf. Flav. Jos. *Ant. Jud.* XV 279 and many later authors and scholia.

10. In addition to [λογι]σμῶ mentioned above (cf. fr. 10 IV 13; 39 V 5), there are numerous possibilities, including [συν]λογι]σμῶ (cf. probably fr. 30 III 5), [ἐπι]λογι]σμῶ, [κό]σμῶ (cf. fr. 13 IV 12, [χρη]σμῶ, [συν]δέ]σμῶ. With the reading]εμῶ, possibilities include [πολ]έμῶ, [(--)]τ]εμῶ (cf. τέμωμεν fr. 20 III 3; τέμωσιν fr. 21 III 8; τεμείν fr. 33 VIII 8, and ὑποτέμωμεν fr. 34 VII 10), [(--)]ν]έμῶ.

11. After πε top of a vertical.

NF 173 = YF 232

Description

Broken all sides. Height 27 cm. (surface 17 cm.), width 24.5 cm. (surface 13 cm.), depth 8.5 cm. Three line beginnings. Letters “medium”. A *paragraphus* under the beginning of line 1. The margin on the left was at least 7.5 cm. wide.

³⁷ Hammerstaedt/Smith (2008) 24–26.

³⁸ Cf. also another maxim, fr. 100, which dismisses the Stoic view that the elements of the universe are god and matter: κα[κῶς γὰρ ἀρχὰς] οἱ τρωϊκ[οὶ ταῦθ’ ἡγοῦν]ται.

Position in the inscription

The size of the letters and the presence of a *paragraphus* together show that we have part of one of the *Maxims*. It is to be noted that the first stroke of the incomplete μ in line 1 is oblique, not vertical. On the different letter styles in the *Maxims*, see NF 171, *Position*.



Fig. 8. NF 173

Text

The true line numbers are not known. In view of the *paragraphus* beneath line 1, it is very unlikely that that was actually the first line of the maxim.

μ
κᾶ[
πρα[

Notes

2. After κ either α or λ, but more probably α.
3. Probably some form of πρᾶγμα, πρᾶξις, or πρᾶττω.

TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS

Fr. 127 (YF 081) + NF 174 (YF 239)

Description of NF 174

Complete above and right; broken below and left. Height 24.5 cm., width 42 cm., depth 18 cm. Letters “medium”. Upper margin 1 cm. The first six lines of a column and traces of some letter tops from a seventh line.

Position of NF 174 in the inscription

The size of the letters combined with the absence of a significant upper margin indicates one of the *Ten-Line-Column (TLC) Writings*, which are believed to have occupied the central course of the inscription, that is to say the fourth from the bottom and the fourth from the top. The blocks on which the *TLC Writings* were carved are 38–41.5 cm. high.

The text of NF 174 closely resembles that of fr. 127. In each the letter writer addresses a younger person. In fr. 127 he attempts to divert the addressee from his rhetorical studies and persuade him to embrace his own philosophical beliefs. In NF 174 he appeals to the sympathy which the addressee’s father had already shown for his community, which is undoubtedly an Epicurean one.

A further point in favour of a close connection between the two fragments is that NF 174 was found near where fr. 127 was discovered in 1972. It sometimes happened that blocks that were neighbours in the inscribed wall remained close together in re-use.³⁹ But we are convinced that in this case the two fragments were not just neighbours in the inscription, but are actually parts of the same block.

³⁹ See Smith (1993) 98; Smith (1998) 129.

Fr. 127 originally carried two ten-line columns. The first column is preserved, but the right part of the stone, which carried the second column, is, as fig. 9 shows, broken to a considerable depth,⁴⁰ leaving only a few letters at the beginning of lines 9–10. Although 100% proof will not be attainable before the next Oinoanda season, when we hope to be able to measure accurately the depth of the break to fr. 127, make a three-dimensional scan of the fragment, and, if possible, combine NF 174 with it physically,⁴¹ we are already 99% sure that NF 174 carries the first lines of fr. 127 II.

Why are we so confident? There are two reasons. The first is that the proposed join perfectly fits the text of the two fragments. The preserved text of NF 174 line 1 starts with ϵ , followed by a punctuation space and preceded by a space for two lost letters. This space allows us to restore $\theta\acute{\upsilon}[[\rho\alpha]\epsilon$.⁴² The second reason for our confidence is that NF 174, as well as almost certainly being shallow enough to fit where the surface of fr. 127 is deeply broken, appears, from the three-dimensional scan of it made in 2009 (fig. 10), to have the right shape at the back.



Fig. 9. Fr. 127

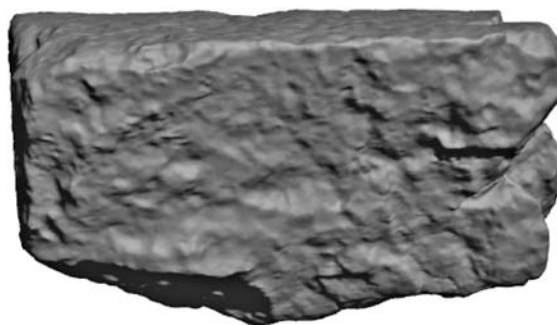


Fig. 10. 3D scan of back of NF 174

⁴⁰ Martin Smith wrote about fr. 127 in his 1972 notebook: “almost the whole of col. 2 is deeply broken away ...”.

⁴¹ NF 174 is now buried (see above n. 9).

⁴² The sequence $\rho\alpha\epsilon$ in NF 174 line 4 occupies exactly the same space.

Authorship of fr. 127 + NF 174

If fr. 127 belongs to the same letter as NF 174, the general opinion of its authorship has to be discarded. Hitherto most scholars have thought it most likely to be part of a letter of Epicurus. After its discovery in 1972, Smith assigned it to the *Letter to Mother*, but later agreed with Diskin Clay⁴³ and Angelo Casanova⁴⁴ that the addressee was more likely to be Hermarchus, who as a young man studied rhetoric. However, if fr. 127 belongs with NF 174, the author cannot be Epicurus, although it is possible that Diogenes' letter is modelled on one that Epicurus wrote, perhaps to Hermarchus. Diogenes' mention of a contemporary Mettios (see below, note on NF 174.4–5) is potentially important as an indicator of the date of his inscription. If Mettios Phantias was, like Diogenes, from Lycia, he might have been granted Roman citizenship by C. Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus (*PIR* M 568), who was governor of Lycia-Pamphylia in AD 99–102, or by this man's grandson, also Mettius Modestus, who held the same position about AD 130–133.⁴⁵ If he received his Roman citizenship from the elder Mettius Modestus, this would tie in particularly well with Smith's long-held belief that Diogenes' inscription is close in date to Oinoanda's Demostheneia inscription, which records proposals and decisions made in AD 124–125.⁴⁶

Text

Fr. 127 I

I [τῆς ἄλλο]- or: [τῆς με]-
 τριότητος οἶξαι τὰ[ε εἰς]
 τὸ συνελθὸν ἡμῶν [συν]-
 παθεῖς εἰκόδους, ὕ καὶ
 τῶν ῥητορικῶν ἀπο-
 5 κάμψεις λόγων ὅπως
 ἀκούσης τι τῶν ἡμῶν
 ἀρεσκόντων. ὕ ἔνθεν
 σε καὶ κατελπίζομεν
 τὴν ταχίστην τὰς φι-
 10 λοσοφίας κρούσειν θύ-

fr. 127 II 9–10 + NF 174 1–7

[ρα]ς. ὕ οἱ μὲν οὖν λοιποὶ τῶν
 [φ]ίλων, δι' ἃς αἰτίας εἶπα,
 στέργουσί σε, ὕ ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ
 διὰ τὸν πατέρα σου Μέττι-
 5 ον Φανίαν, πάνυ προσπα-
 θῶς ἡμῶν ἔχοντα διο .
] . . . [

ὑ[
 10 σοι καὶ [

⁴³ Clay (1983) 262–263.

⁴⁴ Casanova (1983) 132.

⁴⁵ Suggestion kindly communicated by Nicholas Milner.

⁴⁶ See especially Smith (1993) 37–48.

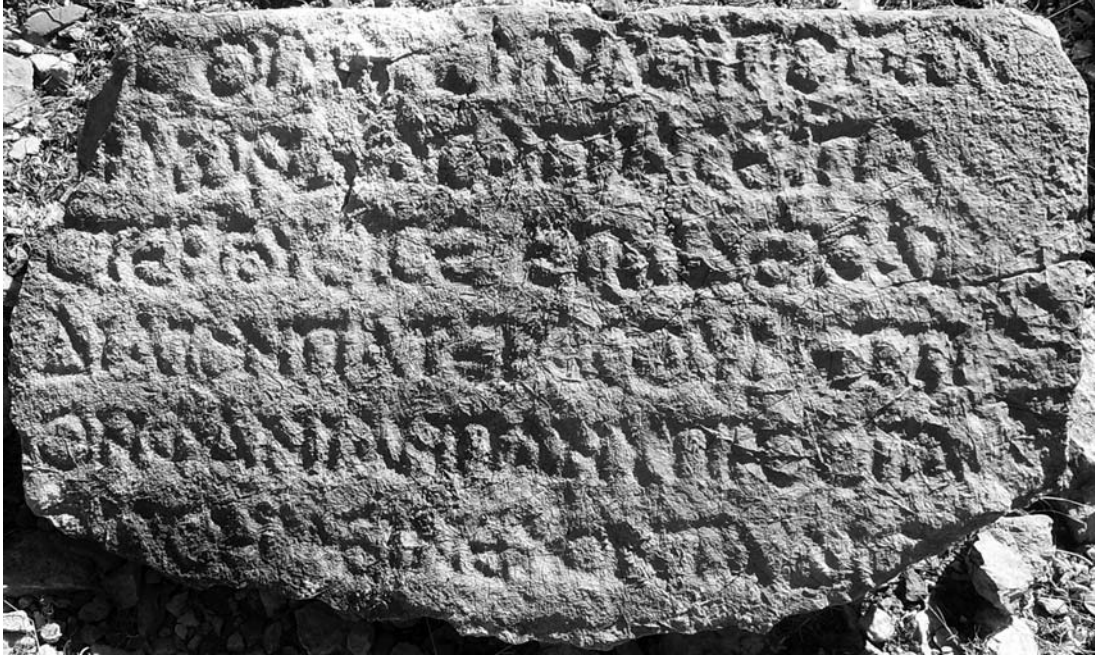


Fig. 11. NF 174

Translation

[...] (fr. 127 I) to open the congenial entrances to our community, and you will turn away from the speeches of the rhetoricians, in order that you may hear something of our tenets. Consequently, we even hope confidently that you will knock very soon at the doors of philosophy. (NF 174) Well, the other friends love you for the reasons which I mentioned, but I (love you) also because of your father Mettios Phantias, with his great sympathy for us, ...

Notes

Fr. 127 I

1. Very likely is [ἄλλοι]||τριότητος, printed in Smith (1974 and 1993). The other possibility would be [με]||τριότητος. Without the context of the previous column, one can only speculate about the syntactical function of the genitive.

2–3. [εἰς] | τὸ συνελθὸν ἡμῶν. Hammerstaedt prefers to translate this “to our (i.e. the Epicureans’) gathering”, trying to render more closely the force of the verb *συνέρχεσθαι*. For the use of the neuter participle as an abstract substantive, sometimes accompanied by a partitive genitive to express the agent, cf. Kühner/Gerth I 267–268; J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien* (1955) 171; J. S. Rusten, *Thucydides. The Peloponnesian War. Book II* (1989) 22; C. Scardino, *Gestaltung und Funktion der Reden bei Herodot und Thukydides*, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 250 (2007) 452 n. 166.

NF 174

2. φίλων. By “friends” the writer almost certainly means “members of the Epicurean community”. – εἶπα. For the form cf. προεἶπα fr. 3 IV 4, Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) 433.

3. κτέργω is usually used, as here, of feeling non-sexual affection. Our punctuation, with a comma before ἐγώ, and translation assume that the same verb κτέργω is predicate of ἐγὼ δέ.

Another possibility is that a new sentence begins here, with the verb following after the end of the preserved text.

4–5. Μέττιον Φανίαν. This is the only place in the known parts of Diogenes’ inscription where an individual is given two names. Phantias is a well-known Greek name,⁴⁷ but Mettios/Mettius is Roman, and its presence here is proof that Diogenes is not quoting a letter of Epicurus, as he is perhaps doing in the case of *Letter to Mother* (fr. 125–126), but presumably a writing of his own. The presence of Mettii in Lycia is attested by C. Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus (cos. AD 103) who was *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Lyciae et Pamphyliae* between AD 99 and AD 102 (*PIR* M 568). For other members of this family cf. *ibid.* M 565–568, 571, 572. Eck’s conjecture that the family perhaps originated from Lycia⁴⁸ derives some added plausibility from this new text. Mettios Phantias, the father of the addressee, could have been a learned *libertus*,⁴⁹ but the solemn mention of him in NF 174, in a manner that seems intended to bestow credit on Diogenes himself, makes it much more likely that Mettios Phantias was an ordinary member of this family with a Greek cognomen.⁵⁰

Our new fragment provides our first evidence of Diogenes’ connection with members of a family which around AD 100 had some importance in Lycia.⁵¹ It raises hopes that future discoveries of his letters will reveal more information about his social status and connections both with other important persons in Oinoanda and with the Lycian aristocracy.

5–6. προσπαθῶς ἡμεῖν ἔχοντα. Like the adjective from which it is derived, προσπαθής, and προσπάθεια, προσπαθῶς came often to be used in a bad sense, referring to passionate desire for bad things, but of course that is not the case here. For προσπάθεια cf. Philodemus, *De Dis* I 14 (pl.). For the construction cf. Eust. in *Hom.* II. I 4 (I 18.41) λούτροις προσπαθῶς εἶχε. The verb προσπαθῶ takes a dative, cf. e.g. Epict. IV 1.77.

6. Perhaps δι’ ὅ[[λου]. This might either refer to Mettios and his sympathy for the Epicureans, “during his whole lifetime”, or go with some verb governed by ἐγώ, in the event that such a verb followed in the lacuna (see above on line 3), meaning e.g.: “I [am] thoroughly (δι’ ὅ[[λου]) [well-disposed to you]”.

7. The letter tops, starting under the first letter of ἔχοντα in line 6 and finishing under its third and fourth letters, are hard to identify. Perhaps ο or θ, followed by ε or ς, followed again by ε or ς.

MAXIMS OR TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS

NF 175 = YF 228

Description

Broken all sides. Height 18 cm. (surface 14 cm.), width 19 cm. (surface 14.5 cm.), depth 26.5 cm. Letters “medium”.

⁴⁷ Cf. *LGPN* I 453–454; II 440–441; IIIA 443; IIIB 416; IV 339–440.

⁴⁸ Eck (1980) 59.

⁴⁹ As M. Mettius Epaphroditus (*PIR* M 563).

⁵⁰ Two early 3rd cent. AD inscriptions on the mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla and Flavius Diogenes at Oinoanda mention some members of the Mettii within the genealogy of Flavius Diogenes’ first wife Claudia Androbiane who had her roots in Xanthos and Kadyanda (east face inscription col. V lines 13–14, and lines 5–11; west face inscription block (d) lines 10–14). Cf. Hall/Milner/Coulton (1996) 138–139, and for Mettia [Pto]lemas see *PIR* M 573.

⁵¹ This has a considerable relevance for the date of the inscription (see above).

Position in the inscription

Neither the epigraphical features nor the remains of the text itself enable us to decide whether the fragment belongs to the *Maxims* or to the *TLC Writings*.



Fig. 12. NF 175

Text

The true line numbers are not known.

]ορωσ , [
]ζητων[
]εκτηκεν[
4] . ρονος II[

Notes

1. After ς there seems to be the lower end of a diagonal stroke. Among many possibilities, one can mention [εὐ/ἀ-π]όρωσ, [συμ/δια/ἀδια/προσφ]όρωσ, [τ]ορῶσ, ὀρωσ[α(ν/ς/ε-)], and [λοιδορωσ[α(ν/ς/ε-)]].
2. [---]ς ἡ τῶν, [---]ς ἦ τῶν, [---]ζη τῶν, [---]ζη τῶν or [---]ζητων (for example μεικτητῶν). The vertical after ν displays on its right side some traces which may indicate that the letter is κ or ρ . If it is ρ , perhaps τῶν ῥητόρων] or (cf. fr. 127 I 4) τῶν ῥητορικῶν].
3. -έτηκεν or -ετηκέναί, very likely a compound. The most common compound of ἕτημι in the inscription consists of forms of ὑφετηκέναί (fr. 6 I 5; 53.5, 8; 125 II 9).
4. Either [χ]ρόνος or [χε]ίρονος. If the latter, cf. NF 157.10 (see above p. 19), fr. 47 III 1 (ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον), NF 133 I 11,⁵² and perhaps fr. 144.1.

NF 176 = YF 231

Description

Broken all sides. Height 25 cm. (surface 13 cm.), width 25.5 cm. (surface 15.5 cm.), depth 19 cm. Letters “medium”. Part of three lines and one letter top from a fourth line.



Fig. 13. NF 176

Position in the inscription

The medium-sized letters point to the *Maxims* or *TLC Writings*. If the very tentative suggestion for restoring lines 2–3 (see *Notes*) is on the right lines, the subject matter is ethical.

Text

The true line numbers are not known.

]. γενι[
]α τοcάδε ||
]εταc ψυ[
4] τ . . [

⁵² Smith (2003) 134.

Notes

1. Before γ is the curve of a letter that will have been ο or ω.

2. τοκάδε occurs in fr. 12 IV 9 and 47 III 12, and in other genders in 47 III 13–14. Perhaps something like [τ]ὸ τοκάδε π[άθη διετάρρατ]ε τὰς ψυ[χά]ς, “such great emotions were throwing their souls into confusion”. Cf. fr. 34 VI 9–11: τῶν ὀχλούντων τὴν ψυχὴν παθῶν.

OLD AGE

NF 177 = YF 241, its col. II following fr. 146 (YF 061) I 1–5

Description

A complete block, but the surface is broken off near the left edge, especially top left, and bottom right. Much of the surface is worn, and there are three cracks, the two most serious of which affect the right part of the stone, running obliquely from the top edge to the right edge. Height 37.5 cm., width 70 cm., depth 36 cm. Letters “large”. No margin above or below. Eight lines, which will have been the middle lines (6–13) of eighteen-line columns. The upper part of the first line (6) was carved on the stone(s) above. The block carried the line endings of a column on the left, but only one letter, in line 13, has survived. There were probably *paragraphi* beneath the beginnings of lines 7 and 11, but the surface is so worn and damaged that certainty is impossible.

Position in the inscription

The physical and epigraphical features of NF 177 show that it is part of Diogenes’ treatise *Old Age*, and this is confirmed by its content. The treatise was carved in eighteen-line columns that occupied the top three courses of the inscription. The blocks in the topmost course (A) have a height of 31.5–34 cm., five lines, an upper margin 7–9 cm. tall, and no lower margin; those in the middle course (B) have a height of 36–39 cm., seven or eight lines, and no margin above or below; and those in the third and lowest course (C) have a height of 45–50 cm., four to six lines, no margin above, but a spacious lower margin (21–25 cm. tall), including, at the bottom, a scored band 10–14 cm. tall. NF 177 is a B-block. It belongs to a section in which Diogenes deals with the complaint that old age brings physical and mental illnesses and weaknesses. The other fragments assigned to this section are fr. 144–148, NF 133, and NF 134,⁵³ the last of these supplying the right half of fr. 146 II 1–5. Fr. 146 I, like NF 177, discusses the physical slowness of the elderly, and, although complete proof is lacking, we believe that NF 177 II 6–13 are an immediate continuation of fr. 146 I 1–5. Certainly the two passages cannot have been far separated, and, if our belief that NF 177 II 6–13 immediately followed fr. 146 I 1–5 is incorrect, the former passage must have preceded rather than followed the latter, for in fr. 146 II 1 + NF 134.1 Diogenes moves on to the attacks of madness experienced by some old people.

Text

NF 177 I

Lines 1–5 missing; ends of 6–12 worn away or broken off.

13]ο

Lines 14–18 missing.

⁵³ Smith (2003) 133–135.



Fig. 14. NF 177

Fr. 146 I + NF 177 II

	(according to Smith)	(according to Hammerstaedt)
	οἱ δὲ γέροντες οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦσι πρὸς τὴν παραβολή-	[οὐδεὶς καταφρονή]-
1	[λὴν ἐκ τοῦ] ἐλέφαντος [διὰ τὴν ὑπε]ρβραδυκει-	[σει τοῦ] ἐλέφαντος [διὰ τὴν ὑπε]ρβραδυκει-
	[νησίαν το]ῦ ζώματος, [ὡς οἶμαι ἔ]γωγε, εἰ καὶ κα-	[νησίαν το]ῦ ζώματος, [ὡς οἶμαι ἔ]γωγε, εἰ καὶ κά-
5	[τὰ πᾶν ἀκο]ύουσι μοχθη-	[μηλοὶ γ' ἀκο]ύουσι μοχθη-
6	ροῖ [βραδύνοντες μει]- κρον ἢ μειζον. ὦ τί [γὰρ]	ροῖ [βραδύνοντες μει]- κρον ἢ μειζον. ὦ τί γὰρ [ρ]
	ἡμεῖν συμβαίνει κα]- κόν, ἂν βραδύτερον [εἰς]	ἡμεῖν συμβαίνει κα]- κόν, ἂν βραδύτερον <εἰς>
10	τόπον ἐκ τόπου [με]- τακεινώμεθα; ὦ οὐ γάρ], νὴ Δία, εἰς τὸν ἐν [Ῥολυμ]- πίᾳ δρόμον εἰσερχό]- [μεθα]	τόπον ἐκ τόπου με- τακεινώμεθα [καὶ μ]ή, νὴ Δία, εἰς τὸν ἐν [Ῥολυμ]- πίᾳ δρόμον . . [

Lines 14–18 missing⁵⁴*Translation*

(according to Smith)

(fr. 146 I) *[The aged are not displeased at the comparison with the] elephant on account of the very slow movement of the body, [in my opinion at any rate], even though they are [generally called] (NF 177 II) wretched when they are slightly or more seriously [slow. For] what harm*

⁵⁴ The first five lines of the following column (fr. 146 II + NF 134) are edited in Smith (1998) 165 and (2003) 135.

befalls us if we move more slowly from place [to] place? [For], by Zeus, [we are not entering] the foot race at Olympia ...

(according to Hammerstaedt)

(fr. 146 I) *[No one will despise the] elephant [on account of the] very slow movement of his body, [in my opinion at any rate], even if camels are called (NF 177 II) rogue [when they are] slightly or more seriously [slow. For] what harm befalls us if we move more slowly from place <to> place [and if], by Zeus, [we] are not [fit] for the foot race at Olympia?*

Notes

6. [βραδύνοντες]. Since the elephant (line 1) is mentioned on account of its slowness, and later on (line 9) Diogenes states that it does not matter if we move more slowly from one place to another, we assume that the reason for being called wretched, or rogue (line 5), is connected with lack of speed too. The slowness of the old in body as well as in mind is mentioned by Iuncus apud Stob. IV 85 (1049.16–1050.1 W/H.).

7–9. τί ... ἡμῶν συμβαίνει κ[α]κόν ...; cf. Lucretius V 174: *quidve mali fuerat nobis ...?* For the thought see Cic. *senect.* 34: *non sunt in senectute vires? Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute.*

10–11. μετακινώμεθα. The verb is new in Diogenes. For its meaning in the middle cf. Hdt. 9.51.3.

11–13. On Diogenes' sense of humour, see Smith (1993) 142–143.

12. νῆ Δία occurs also (probably) in NF 148.5. For the use of this and similar oaths by Diogenes and Epicurus, see Hammerstaedt / Smith (2008) 20, on NF 148.5.

12–13. Cicero (*senect.* 27–38) discusses the physical infirmity of the old and makes unfavourable remarks about the athlete Milo who showed off his incredible powers at Olympia (§§ 27 and 33). The Olympic Games are also mentioned in fr. 24 II 1–2.⁵⁵

13–18. Smith (1993) 334 suggests that Diogenes closed his argument about physical weakness with some words like this: [περὶ μὲν τῆς τοῦ | σώματος ἀσθενείας | οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐξαρκεῖ]. This suggestion still looks plausible. Cf. fr. 48 II 12–14: *περὶ δὲ τραυμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀρκεῖ τοιοῦτον.* For the first lines (fr. 146 II 1–5 + NF 134) of the following argument, concerning attacks of madness, see Smith (1998) 165 and Smith (2003) 135. It is introduced with the words *καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν παρακοπῶν δέ ... τοιοῦτος λόγος.*

Further note on Smith's text

13–14. Diogenes may have gone on to say that the old therefore (because they are not entering the Olympic Games) have no need to hurry (e.g. ὥστε οὐ δεῖ πρῆσθαι).

Further notes on Hammerstaedt's text

According to Diogenes, the serviceability and good reputation of the elephant are not adversely affected by its slowness, even if one criticises camels if they are not fast enough. He compares two different species of animals in order to show that one is expected to be fast, while the other is not. The same distinction is made between runners who compete in the Olympic foot race and old men. The latter move more slowly than once upon a time, but this does not harm them.

4–5. κά[[μηλοῖ]. The camel was appreciated and used as a long distance runner. Among numerous ancient testimonies offered by Keller (1887) 21 there are several which mention run-

⁵⁵ See also Hammerstaedt (2006) 28–32.

ning competitions for camels (e.g. Suet. *Ner.* 11.1).⁵⁶ Camels were also used for the postal service (Keller loc. cit. 33). See also Herodotus' remarks about camels in India: οἱ γὰρ αἱ κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἦσαν ἐς ταχυτήτά εἰσι· χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατώτεροι πολλὸν φέρειν (III 102.3).

NF 178 = YF 234



Fig. 15. NF 178

Description

A complete block, in the sense that all four edges are mostly intact, but the stone is broken in two, the break running across it from just below the first letter of line 3 to just below the end of line 5. This break is ancient, but there is also a small break, evidently recent, on the left, just above the main break. The whole surface of the stone is severely weathered and worn, although a few letters can still be read with difficulty. Height 46 cm., width 30 cm., depth 39.5 cm. Letters “large”. At the bottom of the stone, 11 cm. below the last line, is a scored band 11.5 cm. tall.

Position in the inscription

The scored band at the bottom of the stone identifies it as belonging to Course C of *Old Age*. This means that its five lines are to be numbered 14–18. The meagre remains of the text do not yield any firm clue about the subject matter.

Text

15 οὐ]δὲν γὰρ ε . [] - ca.6 - το | []γαπηΛ - - -] ca.4 ον - - -]δεκ | - - - - - vacat

⁵⁶ O. Schuegraf, Art. Kamel B. II.c., *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 19 (2001) 1230.

Notes

16. One of many possibilities that should be considered is a mention of Achilles, as in another passage of *Old Age*, fr. 143 I 16–17: Πη|[λείδου πά]θη.

NF 179 = YF 233

Description

Complete below and left, broken above and right. Height 27 cm., width 31 cm. (surface 28 cm.), depth 35 cm. Part of one line of “large” letters. Below that is an empty space 11 cm. high, and below that is a scored band 12 cm. high.



Fig. 16. NF 179

Position in the inscription

The scored band shows that NF 179 was in course C. The surviving line will have been the last of an eighteen-line column.

Text

]ς τοιουτο[

NF 180 = YF 227



Fig. 17. NF 180

Description and position in the inscription

Complete below and left, broken right. It is not certain whether the stone is broken above or not. It probably is broken there. If it were not, its height would be significantly (2.5 cm.) lower than that of any other block in its group.⁵⁷ Height 42.5 cm. (surface 39 cm.), width 51.5 cm. (surface 49 cm.), depth 34.5 cm. The surface is so seriously weathered and worn that no letters have survived, but the scored margin, 12 cm. tall, identifies the block as belonging to course C of *Old Age*.

⁵⁷ Heberdey/Kalinka (1897) 364 give the height of fr. 143 (HK fr. 17, YF 003) as 43 cm., but see Smith (1996) 201.

NF 181 = YF 242



Fig. 18. NF 181

Description and position in the inscription

Complete below, left, and right, broken above. Height 42 cm., width 24.5 cm., depth 41 cm. At the bottom there is a scored band 12 cm. tall. The surface is so weathered and worn that not a single letter survives, but the scored band shows that NF 181 was in course C of *Old Age*.

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).

LGPN = P. M. Fraser / E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I–IV* (Oxford 1987–2005).

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

PIR = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.

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

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

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The attention of readers is drawn to the Oinoanda project's website: www.dainst.de/index_8097_de.html. The text is available in German, Turkish, and English.

Özet

2007 ve 2008 yıllarındaki çalışmalardan sonra 2009 yılı yazında Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü İstanbul şubesi ikinci müdürü Martin Bachmann başkanlığında üçüncü bir arkeolojik ve epigrafik Oinoanda çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Etrafa dağılmış durumdaki parçaların GPS ile belgelenmesi çalışmaları tamamlanmıştır. Jeofizik çalışmaları tüm Esplanade'ye yayılmıştır. Terrestik scan çalışması Esplanade'nin batısında sürdürülmüştür. Öncek yıl terrestik scan yöntemiyle yapılmış olan Esplanade'nin ve yakın çevresinin taş planı oluşturuldu. Diogenes yazıtının 31 bilinen ve 11 yeni parçası üç boyutlu scan edildi. (Ayrıntılı liste için bkz. Dipnotlar 4–6.)

Birçok filozofik nitelikli olmayan yazıt yanında Diogenes yazıtından 15 adet yeni parça bulundu ve 2008 yılında sadece kısmen okunabilen NF 157 numaralı yazıtın metninin tamamını okuyabilme imkanı doğdu. Buna karşın EA 41 (2008) de yayınlanan iki parçanın yanlışlıkla yeni buluntu olarak tanıtıldığı anlaşıldı NF 167/YF 202 numaralı yeni buluntu 1974 yılında daha iyi durumda bulunmuştu (NF 51/YF 099). NF 161/YF 223 numaralı buluntu ise bugüne değin sadece 1889 yılında Cousin tarafından görülmüştü ve 1892'de çizimi yapılmaksızın yayınlandı. Bu nedenle bu makalede yeni buluntu sayımı NF 167 numara ile başlamaktadır.

Yeni metin parçalarından NF 167 (YF 240) Diogenes'in *Fizik* ile ilgilidir. Bu metin tümüyle korunmuş bir şekilde bulunan bir blok taş üzerinde iki yarım ve bir tam metin kolonu şeklinde yazılmış olup buna NF 126 ve NF 127 ile 20 numaralı parça eklenmektedir. Böylece toplam 14 sütuna yazılmış ve birbirini takip eden bir metin ortaya çıkmaktadır. NF 167 numaralı parçada Diogenes Epikuros'çu din bilimi öğretisini tanrılardan korkmanın ortadan kalkmasıyla suç işleme oranının artacağı ve uygarlığın batacağı nedeniyle eleştirenlerin ithamlarına karşı çıkmaktadır.

NF 168 Diogenes'in *Etik* içermektedir. NF 169 ve NF 170 numaralı yazıtlar parçalardaki küçük harfli bölümlerden dolayı *Fizik* ya da *Etik* anlatıldığı metinlere ya da Diogenes'in 14 satırlık sütunlu mektuplarına aittirler.

Orta büyüklükteki harflerle yazılmış olan ve Diogenes'in kısa özdeyişlerini içeren yeni buluntular dikkate alınmalıdır. NF 171 böyle bir özdeyişin alt kısmına ait parçadır. Bu metinde vücudumuzun anlamı henüz tam olarak birbiriyle bağlantısı anlaşılammış bir şekilde vurgulanmaktadır. NF 157 numarayla günümüze tüm olarak ulaşabilmiş olan metin (çekici) bir kişiye karşı ilk bakışta aşk ile cinsel ilişki ile tatmin arasında çok açık bir şekilde ayırım yapmaktadır. NF 172 ve 173' ün içerikleri hakkında henüz birşey söylemek mümkün değildir.

NF 174 Diogenes'in 10 satırlık sütunlu yazılarına dahildir ve 127 numaralı parçaya eklenebilir. M. S. 1. yy. ın sonlarında Lykia'da büyük saygınlığı olan Mettii ailesinin bir ferdinden bahsedilmesi Diogenes yazıtının M. S. 2. yy. başlarına tarihlenmesini bir kez daha onaylamaktadır.

NF 175 ve NF 176 orta büyüklükteki harflerinden dolayı Diogenes'in ya 10 satırlık sütunlu yazılarına ya da özdeyişler kısmına tarihlenmektedir.

Diogenes'in yaşlılık üzerine yazdığı yazı da yeni buluntularla zenginleşmiştir. NF 177 numaralı metin 146 I numaralı parçaya eklenmektedir. Diogenes şaka yoluyla yaşlı insanların yavaş hareket etmelerinin kötü bir şey olmadığını çünkü onların Olympia'da koşu yarışlarına katılmak zorunda olmadıkları gerekçesini göstermektedir. 4 parçadan sadece NF 178 ve NF 179 çok az metin içermektedirler. NF 180 ve NF 181 numaralı parçaların görünümülerinden dolayı Diogenes yazıtının parçaları oldukları belirlenmiştir.

Oinoanda'daki tüm çalışmalara genel bir bakış Türkçe olarak <http://www.dainst.de/index.php?id=8097&sessionLanguage=tr> adresinde ulaşılabilir. Aynı adresten Almanca ve İngilizce metne de ulaşılabilir.