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THE INSCRIPTION OF DIOGENES OF OINOANDA. NEW INVESTIGATIONS AND
DISCOVERIES (NF 137–141)

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THE INSCRIPTION OF DIOGENES OF OINOANDA NEW INVESTIGATIONS AND DISCOVERIES (NF 137–141)

Oinoanda, in the mountains of northern Lycia, is best known for its epigraphical treasures. Three of its inscriptions are particularly remarkable for their length and content. One is the genealogical inscription, or rather inscriptions, carved on the outer walls of a mausoleum in the second half of the second century AD and in the early years of the third century.¹ Another is the so-called Demostheneia inscription: 117-lines long and comprising five documents relating to the establishment of a musical festival at Oinoanda in the mid-120s AD, it provides a wealth of information not only about local affairs, but also about the way Greek cities were administered under the Roman Empire.² But long and important though the genealogical and Demostheneia inscriptions are, they are dwarfed in size and surpassed in fame by the philosophical inscription set up in a stoa, probably in the first half of the second century AD, by the Epicurean Diogenes. Although we do not know the precise extent of Diogenes' inscription in its complete state, it was undoubtedly far longer than any other Greek inscription known to us, and it is also unique, and uniquely important, in respect of its philosophical content.

The story of the discovery of Diogenes' inscription began in December 1884, when two young Frenchmen, Maurice Holleaux and Pierre Paris, found five blocks of it. During visits to Oinoanda in 1885, 1889, and 1895 French and Austrian epigraphists discovered 83 more pieces. Their discoveries were impressive, especially given the shortness of their visits, although success was achieved by methods that would not be considered acceptable today, for they employed workmen not only to move and dig out stones, but also to demolish walls, without troubling to record how they were before demolition. Substantial though the nineteenth-century discoveries were, it was recognised that they comprised only a fraction of the complete work, but no serious attempt to add to them was to be made for seventy years or so.

The second main chapter in the story of the search for Diogenes concerns the British investigations in the thirty years 1968–1997. It was in 1968 that Martin Ferguson Smith made the first of many visits to Oinoanda, working until 1973 by himself and afterwards as a member of survey-teams directed first by Alan Hall in 1974–1983, then by Stephen Mitchell in 1994. Prior to 1997, the teams were not authorised to excavate. Moreover, although Smith always focused his attention on Diogenes, others were very properly concerned with Oinoanda's other inscriptions and with its buildings. Nevertheless between 1968 and 1994 125 new fragments of Diogenes' inscription were found and 59 of the fragments found in the nineteenth century were rediscovered. Some of the new discoveries came to light as a result of illegal excavations by local treasure-hunters, who have been active for at least 40 years. The only legal excavation to have taken place at Oinoanda in the twentieth century, and the only scientific excavation ever to be carried out there, was in the autumn of 1997. It was a collaborative affair between the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA)³ and the Fethiye Museum, whose Director was named as Director of the excavation, while Smith was named as Scientific Director. Although

¹ *IGRR* III 500. See now especially A. S. Hall, N. P. Milner, J. J. Coulton, The Mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla and Flavianus Diogenes of Oinoanda, *Anatolian Studies* 46 (1996) 111–144.

² See M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (München 1988).

³ BIAA now stands for "British Institute at Ankara".

the season lasted only ten days and the team was tiny, the results were excellent, not least so far as Diogenes was concerned. Ten new fragments of his inscription were recorded, including eight that were found in the first of the three trenches that were opened.⁴

It was hoped and expected that excavation would continue in 1998 and the following years, but after the 1997 season Smith was obliged to resign as Director because of eye-problems. He also felt that it was more suitable for future work to be organised and directed by an archaeologist living and working in Ankara (such a person had been identified in the person of Dr. Julian Bennett, a part-time member of the 1997 team, who had undertaken to take over) than by a non-archaeologist living on a remote Scottish island. However, regrettably there was no work at Oinoanda in 1998, even though the Turkish Government actually issued an excavation-permit in the late summer. Applications, by another would-be Director, Dr. Hugh Elton, for work in 1999 and 2000 were unsuccessful. Smith visited Oinoanda in May 2002 and June 2003, on the second occasion with Elton in his new capacity as Director of BIAA, Prof. Jeremy Rossiter of the University of Alberta, and Prof. Angela Kalinowski of the University of Saskatchewan. The intention was that Rossiter, an experienced archaeologist who had joined the BIAA team at Oinoanda in 1994, would submit an application to the Turkish authorities for an excavation-project that he would direct. An application was submitted in December 2004 for a permit to work in the summer of 2005, but Rossiter withdrew it after failing to raise any funds. One will probably never know whether the permit would have been granted, but the informal indications that had been received were very promising, which made one's disappointment at this fiasco all the greater.

Since 1 November 1997 BIAA had been paying the salary of a watchman at Oinoanda in the hope that further British work would be possible, but in March 2006, with the agreement of the Turkish authorities, the watchman's employment was terminated. This action reflected the reality that several attempts to get British work on the site restarted had failed, and that there was no likelihood of a new attempt being possible in the foreseeable future. Reporting this development shortly after it occurred, Smith welcomed it on the ground that the way now seemed open for non-British researchers to apply to work at Oinoanda (Smith [2006] 234). His positive interpretation of the situation turned out to be justified. In late May 2006 he sounded out Jürgen Hammerstaedt about the possibility of a German-led project at Oinoanda. Hammerstaedt promptly responded with enthusiasm and initiated enquiries and consultations. The upshot was that in December 2006 Dr.-Ing. Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (DAI), and an expert in ancient architecture, agreed to direct a new survey-project at Oinoanda, so making possible the start of another stage in the investigation of the site and in the search for Diogenes.

With the generous permission of the relevant authorities in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, to whom we are sincerely grateful, the first season of the new project took place in the autumn of 2007. The five members of the team were: Bachmann, Director; Dr. Peter Baumeister and Dr. Veli Köse, classical archaeologists; and, to take care of the philosophical inscription, Hammerstaedt and Smith. We worked on the site for nine days (25–28 September, 1–5 October), and Bachmann returned on 6 October to do some photography. The Turkish Government's representative was Sayın Fatih Özdel (Antalya Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürlüğü), who was unfailingly helpful and made an important contribution to the success of the season. We wish to record our gratitude to him, as well as to Bachmann and our other colleagues, for their enthusiastic interest in Diogenes' inscription and for their participa-

⁴ See Smith (1998); (2003).

tion in the search for more of it. We thank Bachmann also for entrusting us with the publication of any new material relating to Diogenes and for supplying four of the photographs with which the present article is illustrated. Thanks are due, too, to Sayın İbrahim Malkoç, Director of the Fethiye Museum, and his colleagues for their interest and support, and to Sedat Atçı, the watchman employed by the Museum, who accompanied us to the site each day, and whose donkey, previously nameless but known to us as Helmut, carried most of our equipment up and down the hill. Finally, it is a pleasure to thank the DAI for meeting the expenses of the campaign.

An important point to be noted is that the DAI project, although a new one, with its own agenda, has the blessing of BIAA and the collaboration of those who worked at Oinoanda in the past – not only Smith, but also the epigraphist Dr. Nicholas Milner. These elements of continuity and of collaboration between the two institutes are very desirable and reflect much credit on the director of the DAI project.

The first objectives of the short first season of the project were to enable those who had not worked on the site before to get to know it, and to discuss and agree on a programme of work in the years to come. These objectives were successfully achieved. It is proposed to focus most attention on the “Esplanade”, a flat area that was the city’s agora until about the middle of the second century AD. It is expected that the investigations will much increase our knowledge both of Oinoanda and of Diogenes’ inscription, many pieces of which have been discovered on and around the Esplanade. Much of the inscription, probably at least two thirds of it, still awaits discovery, as does the exact site of the stoa on whose wall or walls it was carved. The survey of the Esplanade will be carried out with the aid of the latest techniques and equipment, and in fact a start on this was made during the 2007 season. For two days (2–3 October) we were joined by a team of three from SEMA Proje, a company based in Ankara. They used 3D laser-scanning equipment to record part of the south side of the Esplanade, and it is hoped that they will be able to laser-scan the rest of the Esplanade in 2008. Another task for the second season will be the use of GPS (Global Positioning System) technology to determine the precise location of each Diogenes-fragment and so enable an accurate plan of the find-places to be produced. The fragments are scattered over a wide area of the site, and, although grid-references exist for the find-places of all those discovered or rediscovered between 1968 and 1994, relocating some of them is not easy, especially if the inscribed face is badly weathered and worn or is even invisible because the stone has been turned over or buried under other stones; moreover, the grid-references, which relate to the plan produced during the British survey of Oinoanda and place individual fragments within 1 x 1 metre squares, are not easily followed on the ground. Many of the inventory-numbers painted on Oinoanda’s inscriptions in the 1970s and early 1980s had been partly or wholly obliterated, and during the 2007 season Smith repainted the numbers on as many of them as he could manage in the limited time available.⁵ While he carried out this task, Hammerstaedt busied himself with examining, photographing, and making squeezes of known fragments of the inscription and with recording several non-philosophical inscriptions.

The safety of the fragments of Diogenes’ inscription already discovered is a matter of obvious concern. Fortunately, despite many signs of continuing illegal excavations at Oinoanda, there is

⁵ Numbers were repainted on 82 fragments: YF 1–7, 9–16, 18, 19A, 20–22, 25, 27–29, 31, 35–36, 37A, 38, 40–44, 47–49, 52A–C, 53, 56, 58–69, 71–74, 76–79, 80A, 81, 95, 97, 120, 122, 124–126, 135, 142, 151, 174–175, 185–189, 196. The numbers on YF 34 and 64 did not require repainting. Most of these fragments are on or close to the Esplanade, along the west side of the Great Wall, and on “Martin’s Hill” (the rising ground south of the Esplanade and east of the later agora).

as yet no evidence that the robbers are interested in inscriptions, and the condition of most of the known fragments of Diogenes remains the same, or much the same, as it was when they were discovered or rediscovered during the British work in 1968–1997. But several blocks have been damaged over the years, and the latest casualty (*triste dictu*) is YF 20/fr. 137, which lies on the Esplanade a few metres from the so-called “Great Wall” and carries the beginning of what was probably the title of Diogenes’ treatise *Old Age*. The damage, inflicted since 2003, is so serious that the stone has almost broken in two. Many other pieces of the inscription are at risk of being harmed accidentally or deliberately, as long as they lie scattered about where they can be walked on and moved, and an operation to rescue them as soon as possible is highly desirable. The obvious place to collect them together is the Esplanade. Eventually it should be possible to attempt some sort of reconstruction of the wall on which Diogenes carved his inscription, but this should be undertaken only after further investigation of the site, preferably involving excavation, has been completed. It should be added that the task of collecting the fragments together would not be entirely straightforward. In the first place, it would be prudent not to assemble them until the chosen site had been excavated or at least examined by means of georadar. Secondly, the size of many of the fragments and the need to move them (those on the west side of the “Great Wall”, for example) from and across rubble-strewn areas are obvious difficulties. Thirdly, some blocks of the inscription were re-used in, and still form part of, buildings, and if (to give a notable example) the seven blocks that form part of the doorway of a building west of the later agora⁶ were to be moved, as they probably should be eventually, it would be necessary first to investigate and record carefully the structure to which they belong.

29 of the Diogenes fragments discovered in the 1880s and 1890s have yet to be relocated. All or almost all were found on the west side of the Great Wall and must be lying face down or buried under other blocks. It is likely that some of them would come to light during an operation to move the inscribed blocks that are visible. If all are to be recovered, a thorough cleaning of the area may be required.

Before leaving the subject of the fragments of Diogenes found in earlier years, we should mention a visit we made to the village of Kınık in the afternoon of 4 October, after we had ended work at Oinoanda early because a thunderstorm threatened. It was in Kınık that three fragments of Diogenes (YF 180–182/NF 122–124), said to have been brought from Kemerasası (below the north end of the hill of Oinoanda) in the early 1970s, were found in 1983. YF 182 soon disappeared under the floor of a building, but YF 180 and 181, which were used in the construction of a public fountain, remain visible. At the time of our visit the fountain presented a rather untidy and sad sight: it was waterless, and the large tree that had shaded it had been cut down in the mistaken belief that it had been “drinking” too much water. But the real reason for the lack of water was not the tree, but a prolonged drought. A local resident informed us that there is no plan to alter or remove the fountain, but we found the scene sufficiently worrying to agree that Sedat Atçı and the staff of the Fethiye Museum be asked to keep an eye on the situation.

Over the past forty years or so the ruins of Oinoanda have been searched many, many times for inscriptions. Therefore, given that there was no excavation in 2007, we did not really expect to make any new finds. In fact, we made several. The most surprising discovery perhaps was of two fragmentary inscriptions carved on the south wall of a tower in the Hellenistic city-walls: it seems extraordinary that they had not been noticed before. They and the other non-philosophical

⁶ For photographs of the doorway, see Smith (1971) pl. 81 figs 1–2. See also the Oinoanda-project website (details below in the Bibliography) fig. 4.

inscriptions located in 2007 will be published in due course by Nicholas Milner. Our concern is with Diogenes' work.

Five new fragments of Diogenes came to light. One of these (NF 139/YF 197), found beside HK fr. 31/YF 63 (fr. 108 Smith) on the west side of the "Great Wall", bears just two letters. Another (NF 141/YF 195), located among rubble in the street south of the church in grid square Mm, no longer carries any text, but is identifiable by its distinctive scored margin and height as a block of Diogenes' *Old Age*. It is one of the two most southerly pieces of the inscription to have been found on the site, the other being NF 95/YF 162 (fr. 161 Smith), a block of *Old Age* discovered in 1976. Although none of the three other new fragments gives us any complete lines, they are worthwhile additions to the text. One, NF 140/YF 196, was found in an illegally-dug pit in the Severan courtyard of the Antonine bathhouse (building Mk1), about 10 m east of NF 129/YF 185. The others are south of the south-west corner of the later agora. NF 137/YF 199 lies on its left side in a wall, at the back of and below NF 20/YF 82 (fr. 49), an *Ethics* block found by Smith in 1972. NF 138/YF 198 was found about 20 m west-north-west of NF 137.

To the 88 fragments of Diogenes' inscription found in the nineteenth century, 141 have now been added since 1968, making a total of 229. As the latest discoveries show, searching the surface of the site can still bring results, but two observations need to be made: the first is that, until excavation takes place, substantial new finds are very improbable; the second is that, if excavation takes place, substantial new finds are highly probable, as the small excavation on the south side of the Esplanade in 1997 showed.

NF 137 = YF 199

Description

Whitish limestone. Complete above on right, although the surface has broken away; complete right; broken left and below. Height 47 cm. (surface 38 cm.), width 25 cm., depth at least 37 cm. Upper margin 6 cm. high, on the (probably correct) assumption that the first line preserved was the first on the complete stone; left margin 3.7 cm. wide. Twelve incomplete lines are preserved. The letters are "small", which, in the context of Diogenes' inscription, means about 1.8 cm. on average. There are *paragraphai*, to indicate punctuation, beneath the beginnings of lines 1, 5, 10. The exact position of the punctuation in lines 5 and 10 is indicated by empty spaces. The complete column will have contained fourteen lines. On the assumption that the fragment belongs to the *Ethics*, there will have been a spacious lower margin, through which will have run a continuous line of letters, averaging about 2.3 cm. and giving part of an Epicurean maxim (see *Position*).

Position in the inscription

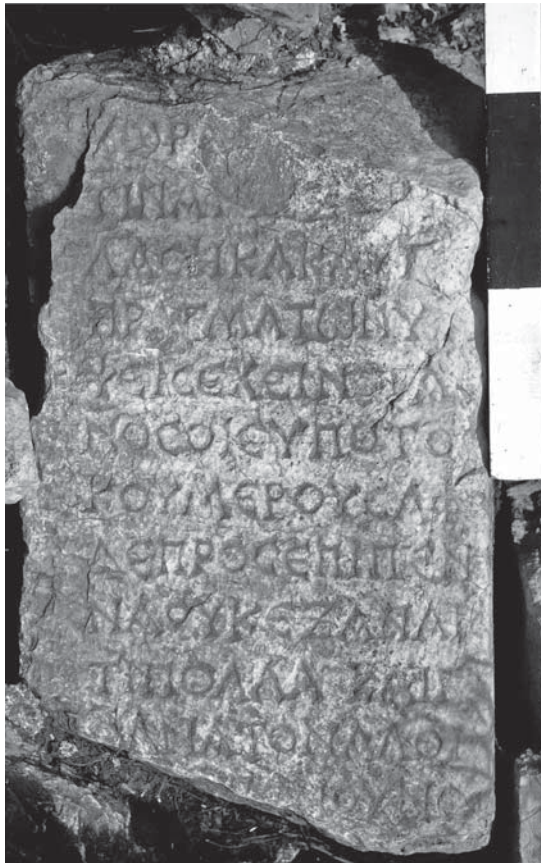
The fragment is almost certainly part of Diogenes' *Ethics*, as is shown by its physical and epigraphical features. That it does not belong to *Physics* is shown both by the height of its upper margin and by the presence of *paragraphai*. In *Physics* the upper margin is only 1–3.5 cm. high, and *paragraphai* are never found. Diogenes' *Letter to Antipater* and *Letter to Dionysius* can be ruled out with a high degree of confidence, because, although they are carved in small letters and exhibit *paragraphai* as well as spaces, they have an upper margin 7–9 cm. high. It may be added that the subject-matter of NF 137 does not suit the *Letter to Antipater*.

NF 137 does not link up with any other fragment, and its exact position in *Ethics* cannot be determined. It is unfortunate that its lower margin, in which part of an Epicurean maxim will

have been displayed, does not survive, for if the quotation were, as is often the case, of a maxim already known to us from Diogenes Laertius, and if part of the same maxim appeared on another stone, it would be possible to establish the relative positions of the two fragments and to calculate the extent of the gap between them.

As it is, the only indicator of NF 137's position in *Ethics* is its subject-matter. Clearly it belongs to the discussion, introduced by Diogenes in fr. 34, of the four disturbances that must be removed if we are to achieve pleasure – fear of the gods (fr. 34 VII 12 – fr. 36), fear of death (fr. 37–43, NF 129), fear of pain (fr. 44–48), and excessive desires (fr. 49–51). In fr. 48 Diogenes mentions three kinds of pains and opens the discussion about the last of them, which derives from diseases. The mention of illnesses in line 6 of NF 137 and of death in line 11 indicates that the passage belongs either to this subsection on fear of pain derived from diseases or to the section on fear of death.

If our reconstruction of lines 5–12 is on the right track, Diogenes first refers to the worries that our soul may add when we are physically ill, but insists that they are not many, and then points out that death, in the eyes of the Epicureans, is not a concomitant cause of irrational fears. However, the restoration of lines 11–13 seems less secure than that of 5–10.



NF 137 = YF 199

χώρα, χωρῖς (cf. fr. 67 II 11 and NF 126/127 VII 7), part of χωρίζω (cf. fr. 37 IV 12) or ἀχώριστος (cf. fr. 33 I 11 as read by Sedley), συνχωρέω, [οὐ]χ ὄρ[ιζόμενα] (cf. fr. 74.15).

Text

χωρ[(+ ca. 12)]
 τῖνα ἰ. εἰ. ρ[- c. 4. - κα]-
 λά. ἢ κακὰ περὶ τῶν
 πραγμάτων ὑπολήμ]-
 5 μεις ἔχειν. ὦ τὰ [δὲ ταῖς]
 νόσοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχι]-
 κοῦ μέρους ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὧ]-
 δε προσεπιπεν[πόμε]-
 να οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐς]-
 10 τι πολλά. ὦ καὶ γὰρ τὸν
 θάνατον ἀλόγῳ με]-
 [ταί]τιον οὐ νομίζοι]-
 [μεν φόβων - - - -]

Translation

... to have [good] or bad [assumptions about] matters. The additional things that are sent [in this way] from [us] to the illnesses by the part belonging to [the soul] are not of necessity numerous. For indeed [we do] not [believe] that death [is a contributory cause] of irrational [fears]

Notes

1. χωρ[. There are many possibilities, including

2. The words at the line beginning may be divided $\tau\nu\alpha$ or $[\acute{\epsilon}\kappa]\tau\nu\alpha$. After alpha there is the lower part of a vertical stroke and perhaps a trace of the following letter. After these two letters, perhaps $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $[\acute{\alpha}]\rho[\chi\eta\varsigma]$ (cf. fr. 6 I 4–5).

6–7. In fr. 37 III 9–10 Diogenes mentions $\tau\acute{o}$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ $\eta\acute{\mu}\omega\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, opposing it to our body. The other possibility would be to read $\tau\omicron$ $[\upsilon$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota]$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\sigma}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, as opposed to $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$, and to see here some contrast between the rational and irrational parts of the soul (cf. fr. 37 I 5–7).

7–8. Another possibility would be an adverb before $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$. For such combinations cf. Plat. *Soph.* 262b $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ $\kappa\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\iota$ $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, or Appian. *BC* IV 14.112 $\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\nu$. With the reading $\acute{\alpha}\phi$ $[\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma]$, the $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\lambda\eta\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ would be added to the diseases in a simple, straightforward way (without taking account of other reasons, like fear of death); reading $\acute{\alpha}\phi$ $[\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma]$, the additions to the illnesses would be sent without being subjected to rational control; another possibility is $\acute{\alpha}\phi$ $[\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma]$, in response to the imperceptible manner in which complications caused by the mind are added to illnesses.

8–9. This seems to be much the earliest extant occurrence of the rare verb $\rho\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omega$, the next being in the sixth century AD, in Procopius, *Historia arcana* 18.15. A *TLG* word-search reveals three further instances between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\omega$ for $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omega$ does not occur elsewhere in Diogenes' inscription, but see e.g. *SEG* 51 (2001) 1798.4: $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\psi\alpha\nu$. That inscription is a Christian funerary epigram from Midaion in Phrygia.

11–13. Cf. fr. 83 II 2: $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\nu$ ϕ $[\acute{\omicron}\beta\omega\nu]$.

12. As a possible alternative to $\nu\omicron$ $[\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu]$ or another form of this verb, one might consider another mention of $\nu\acute{o}$ $[\kappa\omicron\iota]$ (cf. line 6). The editors thank Mauro Bonazzi for both suggestions, the second of which also occurred to Smith.

NF 138 = YF 198

Description

Whitish limestone. Complete right; broken above, below, left. Height 20.5 cm. (surface 19.8 cm.), width 17.2 cm. (surface 16 cm.), depth 12.5 cm. Letters “small”. The stone carries the beginnings of the last six lines of what will have been a fourteen-line column. What survives of the margin below the last line is 3.5 cm. high. Before the first letter of line 11 is a short, slightly right-slanting stroke, carved *extra marginem*. It seems to be accidental.



NF 138 = YF 198

Position in the inscription

The subject-matter of NF 138 is uncertain, and with no *paragraphai* visible and the full height of the lower margin unknown, it might belong to any of the following fourteen-line-column writings of Diogenes: *Physics*, *Ethics*, *Letter to Antipater*, *Letter to Dionysius*.

Text

$\eta\delta\eta\kappa$. . \downarrow
 10 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon$
 $\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ Υ
 $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ $\alpha\pi$
 $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ $\delta\upsilon$
 $\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau$

Translation

... already ... and ... to us ... to say ... things

Notes

9. Either ἤδη κ[or ἡ δ' ἡ/ἡκ[or ἡ δὴ κ[. For δὴ after a relative pronoun cf. fr. 3 VI 2; 5 III 14; 10 II 6; 32 I 12; 47 II 9; 72 II 10; NF 132.5.

10. Possibilities include ἐντεῦθεν and part of ἐντυγχάνω or ἐντευξίς.

10–11. Possibly [βοηθη]μάτων, in view of the dative in 12, or [μαθη]μάτων, but conjecture is almost futile, and the words may be divided]μα τῶν ὦ[. Since we have πραγματ[in 14, it may be worth making the negative point that Diogenes' rules of syllable-division at the end of lines would not permit [πραγ]μάτων.

11. On the edge of the stone, after ω, there is a short stroke that might be part of the left “arm” of υ, in which case we could read ὦ υ̣[μεῖς], as in fr. 19 II 12. But the stroke may be damage to the stone. If it is damage, it is still possible, but far from certain, that there was a vocative here.

12. Perhaps ἄπ[ασι].

13. The letter partly preserved at the edge of the stone was probably round. If it was omikron, the reading may be δύο πράγματα. If it was sigma, possible candidates include δυσπόριστα (cf. fr. 2 II 1, NF 131.6) and δυσεπιλόγιστα (cf. fr. 44 I 8, III 11).

NF 139 = YF 197

Description

A piece of whitish limestone, broken all sides. Height 6.5 cm. (surface 5 cm.), width 9 cm. (surface 7.5 cm.), depth 3.5 cm. It carries just two letters about 2 cm. high. Before the first letter, the surface of the stone is preserved to a width of 2.2 cm. and is empty, and below the first letter the surface is preserved to a height of 3 cm. and is empty. So what we have is the beginning of the last line of what will have been a fourteen-line column.

Position in the inscription

The fragment does not appear to be a piece of any fragment already known to us. One can only say that the size of its letters means that it belongs to one of the writings of Diogenes carved in fourteen-line columns (*Physics, Ethics, Letter to Antipater, Letter to Dionysius*).



NF 139 = YF 197

Text

14 ως[
 vacat

Notes

14. Perhaps ὦς.

NF 140 = YF 196

Description

The top-left corner of a block of whitish limestone. Complete above, left; broken below, right. Height 25 cm., width 32 cm. (surface 28 cm.), depth 24 cm. Letters average 3 cm. Upper margin 8 cm. high. Part of three lines of text, and one letter-top from a fourth line.

Position in the inscription

The height of the letters, “large” in the context of Diogenes’ inscription, shows that the fragment is part of his treatise *Old Age*, whose eighteen-line columns occupied the top three courses of the inscription, and its spacious upper margin indicates an “A block”, i.e. a block from the topmost course. The common features of the A blocks are: a height of 31.5–34 cm. (average 33 cm.), five lines, letters averaging about 3 cm., punctuation indicated by spaces and *paragraphai*, and an upper margin 7–9 cm. high.

The new text does not join up directly with any fragment previously found, and it is not obvious that it stood close to any known passage of *Old Age*,



NF 140 = YF 196

although simplicity in respect of funeral arrangements, if indeed that is the theme, might have been mentioned not far away from simplicity in respect of houses, clothes, and food, recommended by Diogenes in NF 136 I.

Text

- 1 [. . πε]ρὶ τῆς κορ[οῦ] ---
- 2 [χρ]ησιμεύει ὕ[] ---
- 3 [. . .]το παρ[] ---
- 4 [ca. 6] []

Translation

... about the grave ... is useful ...

Notes

1–2. One cannot be sure precisely what point Diogenes is making, but it is likely to have been related to a belief that graves should not be elaborate and expensive, but simple and ordinary, just as houses should be (NF 136 I 6–10; Smith [2004]). Another Epicurean writer, Philodemus, condemns the utter vanity of being pained at the thought of having a tomb that is not costly and impressive: κενότατον τοίνυν ἔστιν τὸ λυπεῖσθαι προορωμένους τὴν οὐ πολυτελεῖ ταφὴν καὶ περίβλεπτον, ἀλλὰ λιτὴν καὶ προκτυχοῦσαν (*De morte* 30.8–11 Kuiper⁷). The rejection of such a form of luxury is not far from Diogenes’ other considerations about wealth, which he considers useless for happiness (fr. 152–155). Cf. also Epic. fr. 458 Us. (from Porph. *Abst.* I 54): τίς ... χρεία πλούτου ἀργοῦ εἰς μηδὲν ἡμῖν χρησιμεύοντος ἀλλὰ μόνον βαρήγοντος; Inscriptions very often mention the κορός itself and the persons who had to care about it. Our sentence may have run something like this: [τὸ δὲ πεφροντικέναι τοῖς γέρονσι πε]ρὶ τῆς κορ[οῦ] τί χρ]ησιμεύει; For the use of φροντίζειν in this context cf. G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna Teil I* (1982) nr. 205, ll. 9–10 (Imperial period).

⁷ Several letters which Kuiper had to restore have now been read by Ben Henry.

3. Because of damage at the left edge of the stone, it is not certain whether there is a letter-trace or a space before $\tau\omicron$. If the former, the letter was probably omega, possibly omicron. The incomplete letter after ρ may have been epsilon, theta, omicron, or sigma. The numerous possibilities include $\tau\omicron$ $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ or some form of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$.

NF 141 = YF 195

Description and position in the inscription

A severely weathered, worn, and damaged block of limestone, mostly (except top left) turned bluish-grey by weathering. Complete above, below, and right; broken left. Height 48 cm., width 80 cm. (surface 76 cm.), depth at least 23 cm. The damage to the surface is so serious that no letters are visible, but the stone is identifiable



NF 141 = YF 195

as a block of Diogenes' inscription by the distinctive scored band, 10 cm. high, above what must be assumed to have been the bottom edge. Such a band, hitherto varying between 10.5 and 14 cm. high, is a feature of the "C blocks", i.e. third-course blocks, of *Old Age*. It is to be noted that NF 141 also meets the height-requirement for such a block, which is 45–50 cm., average 47 cm. Other features of the C blocks include

4–6 lines of text, letters averaging about 2.9 cm., no upper margin, and a lower margin 21–25 cm. high, including the scored band.

Abbreviations

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

NF = new fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription. NF 1–124 were first published by Smith between 1970 and 1984 and have been re-edited in Smith (1993) and, with drawings and photographs, in Smith (1996). NF 125 was first published in Smith (1996), NF 126–135 in Smith (1998), NF 136 in Smith (2004), NF 137–141 in the present article. NF 125–135 were republished, with revisions, in Smith (2003).

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

Zusammenfassung

Nach einem Rückblick auf die bisherige Erforschung der epikureischen Inschrift des Diogenes von Oinoanda werden die Umstände geschildert, die zu einer neuen internationalen Initiative von Epigraphikern und Archäologen unter der Gesamtleitung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Istanbul führten. In einer im Herbst 2007 mit Martin Bachmann, Peter Baumeister, Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Veli Köse, und Martin Ferguson Smith in Begleitung von Sayın Fatih Özdel, des Vertreters der Türkischen Regierung, durchgeführten Vorkampagne wurde der derzeitige Zustand des Ruinengeländes von Oinoanda und die Situation der Inschriftenfragmente erfaßt und damit die Grundlage für die in den kommenden Jahren geplanten weiteren Untersuchungen geschaffen. Dabei stieß man auf bisher unentdeckte Inschriftenblöcke und -fragmente. Fünf dieser Fragmente gehören zur Diogenesinschrift und werden hier zum ersten Mal publiziert (YF 195–199 = NF 137–141).

Özet

Makalede, günümüze kadar bulunmuş en uzun en ünlü yazıt olarak bilinen ve Epikouros'çu filozof Diogenes'in felsefî düşüncelerini kaydeden yazıt hakkında genel bilgiler verilmekte ve bu metne ait bazı yeni fragmentler tanıtılmaktadır.

Kuzey Lykia'daki Oinoanda kentinde ortaya çıkan ve İ.S. 2. yüzyıl başlarına tarihlenen Diogenes Yazıtı'nı kaydeden bloklardan 5 tanesi ilk kez 1884 yılında M. Holleaux ve P. Paris tarafından saptandı. Daha sonraları, 1885, 1889 ve 1895 yıllarında Oinoanda'da araştırmalar yapan Fransız ve Avusturyalı bilim adamları 83 yeni parça daha buldular. Ancak bu bilim adamları modern yöntemlerle çalışmadıklarından, bazı verilerin yok olmasına da yol açtılar. Oinoanda'daki modern araştırmalar 1968 yılında M. Ferguson Smith tarafından başlatıldı ve 1994 yılına kadar geçen süre içinde Diogenes Yazıtı'na ait 125 yeni parça daha bulundu. Yüzey araştırması niteliğindeki tüm bu çalışmalar 1997 yılında yerini bilimsel kazılara bıraktı.

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