

JÜRGEN HAMMERSTAEDT – MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH

DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2008 (NF 142–167)

aus: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 41 (2008) 1–37

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

DIOGENES OF OINOANDA: THE DISCOVERIES OF 2008 (NF 142–167)

In *Epigraphica Anatolica* 40 (2007) we reported the results of the first season of a new archaeological and epigraphical project at Oinoanda in the mountains of northern Lycia. One of the main concerns of the project is the Greek inscription of the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes, and in our article we focused our attention on that and presented the five new fragments of the inscription that came to light during the ten days we spent at Oinoanda.

The 2007 season laid an excellent foundation for further work in 2008. This second season was much longer than the first one, beginning on 5 July and ending on 10 August, and involved a much larger team. The work was again directed by Martin Bachmann, Deputy Director (*Stellvertretender Leiter*) of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (DAI). We thank him very warmly for inviting us to participate in the project and to publish the new material relating to Diogenes. We thank equally warmly the relevant authorities in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey for generously giving permission for our further work at Oinoanda, and Bayan Sena Mutlu of the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations (Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi), who accompanied us as the representative of the Turkish Government and made an outstanding contribution to the success of the season, not only by giving us advice and encouragement, but also by involving herself in the work and making several valuable discoveries. We thank all our colleagues for their contributions to the work, including the work of searching for and finding fragments of Diogenes' inscription, and Ciara Barrett Smith for photographing our squeezes.

The other members of the 2008 team were: Ercan Erkul, Christina Klein, Anke Neubert, and Christian Cajar (all from Kiel University), who joined us by arrangement with our collaborator Bernhard Stümpel and worked on the geophysical prospection of the Esplanade; Tilman Müller and his colleagues Konrad Berner and Benjamin Fischer (all from the University of Applied Sciences, Karlsruhe), who carried out the 3D-scanning of Diogenes fragments; Ertan İlter and Vildan Inan (SEMA/Ankara), who undertook the terrestrial scanning of the Esplanade; Esat Güldiken (SEMA/Ankara), Derya Altiner (Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul), and Kai Vogel (Karlsruhe University), who joined the authors of this article in the GPS plotting of fragments of Diogenes' inscription, while Vogel and Altiner also participated, together with Eric Laufer (Cologne University) and Dorothea Roos (Karlsruhe University), in the structural survey of the Esplanade and the large Byzantine church; Nicholas Milner (British Institute at Ankara), Peter Baumeister (DAI Zentrale), Veli Köse (Hacettepe University, Ankara), and Gregor Staab and Matylda Obryk (both from Cologne University), who contributed to the exploration of the site and the epigraphical survey. The journalists Michael Zick and Thomas Willke joined us for a few days, and Sedat Atçıl, the watchman employed by Fethiye Museum, accompanied us every day together with his tireless donkey, known since 2007 as Helmut.

The financial cost of the work was met by the DAI, the Thyssen Foundation, and the Gesellschaft der Freunde und Förderer der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Their generosity, for which we are most grateful, enabled us to achieve many remarkable results.

In this article we describe the work that is most relevant to Diogenes' inscription, including the 3D-scanning and the GPS (Global Positioning System) plotting of its fragments, although, for reasons of space, we do not describe it in full detail. Other work, such as the geophysical

prospection and the terrestrial scanning of 25,000 m² of the Esplanade and surrounding structures, is of great importance for the understanding of the inscription, but will be presented in a Web-based Geographical Information System (Web-GIS). The results of the structural survey of the Esplanade and Byzantine church and of further archaeological and epigraphical explorations will be published separately.

Drawings, photographs, and squeezes, which are the three traditional methods of recording inscriptions, are important and will remain so, but all three have their drawbacks: drawings, however skilful they may be, are inevitably subjective; the quality of photographs often varies according to the light; as for squeezes, they show only the inscribed surface of the stone, they are fragile, and the originals (as opposed to photographs of them) can be consulted only where they are stored. Now a new method is being pioneered at Oinoanda: in 2008 a start was made on a programme of creating 3D images of the fragments of Diogenes by means of laser line scanning. The first results are very promising. So far 32 fragments of widely varying sizes have been scanned and digitally enhanced.¹ The images are comparable to good squeezes in quality, but have several advantages over them: they show the whole stone, not just the inscribed surface; they are stored and shared electronically; and the 3D documentation makes it possible for the epigraphic record to be combined with the architectural record. We think that this innovative work at Oinoanda may be paradigmatic for future standards of epigraphical documentation, and it will be continued in future seasons.

The GPS plotting of Diogenes fragments furnishes for the first time precise information about their position on the site. Over the years some of them, especially smaller ones, have been placed face down, in order to protect them from vandalism and theft, and these are not always easily identifiable. Moreover, although the grid system used during the British survey in the late 1970s and early 1980s to indicate the find-spots² gives an orientation on the site-plan, on the site itself it gives only an approximate orientation, because the grid lines are obviously not visible on the ground. There is the further consideration that the ground varies considerably in altitude. The GPS plotting will make it much easier to relocate fragments on the site in future. Also, once the data have been added to the Web-GIS of Oinoanda, it should be possible to make deductions, based on the dispersal of the fragments, about the history of the destruction of the wall that carried the inscription and about the successive re-use of the inscribed stones in later structures. In 2008 we plotted 185 fragments of the inscription. We shall endeavour to add more in future seasons, including 29 that have not been seen since the nineteenth century.

During the past 40 years the surface of the site has been combed many times before in the search for Diogenes' inscription, and, given that no excavation was to be undertaken in 2008, it was not expected that many, if any, more pieces would come to light. It was therefore a very pleasant surprise that no fewer than 26 new fragments were discovered. The success is partly attributable to the increased number of participants in the work on the site.

¹ The following were scanned from all sides: fr. 78 (YF 17), a piece broken off fr. 6 (YF 19C), fr. 142 I-II 14–18 (YF 59), fr. 142 II–III 1–5 (YF 60), fr. 146 I–II 1–5 (YF 61), fr. 108 (YF 63), fr. 82 (YF 155), NF 140 (YF 196), NF 138 (YF 198), NF 159 (YF 201), NF 163 (YF 203), NF 152 (YF 204), NF 151 (YF 205), NF 144 (YF 207), NF 149 (YF 208), NF 164 (YF 209), NF 145 (YF 210), NF 165 (YF 211), NF 154 (YF 212), NF 156 (YF 213), NF 150 (YF 214), NF 147 (YF 218), NF 158 (YF 219), NF 148 (YF 220), NF 153 (YF 222), NF 161 (YF 223). In the case of the following large stones only the accessible surface was scanned: fr. 138 (YF 58), fr. 155 (YF 62), fr. 63 II–III (YF 64), fr. 63 III–V (YF 65), NF 155 (YF 200), NF 146 (YF 216).

² See Smith (1996) 19–20.

Most of the new pieces were found in one small area near the southwest corner of the so-called “Esplanade”, the earlier of the city’s two agoras. Projecting about 5 m. into the Esplanade from the east side of the “Great Wall” is a platform, which is the foundation of a structure of uncertain date and purpose. At the southeast corner of the platform is HK fr. 48 (fr. 12 I–IV), a four-column block of Diogenes’ *Physics*, which is one of the first five pieces of the inscription found by Maurice Holleaux and Pierre Paris in December 1884. NF 45 (fr. 98), one of the monolithic *Maxims*, was found in 1974 built into the edge of the platform near its northwest corner, about a metre from the Great Wall. Two other blocks, found in the nineteenth century and rediscovered near the platform, are likely to have come from it. One is HK fr. 42 (fr. 6), part of the *Physics*. The other is HK fr. 1 (fr. 137), the beginning of a title, probably the title of *Old Age*. Near the beginning of the 2008 season NF 155, a “new” addition to the monolithic *Maxims*, was noticed built into the east edge of the platform, about 3 m. north of HK fr. 48. It is set on its head and has another stone on top of it. The whole inscribed face was concealed. What attracted attention to it was the mason’s mark carved on its right side (see NF 155, *Description*). The discovery of NF 155 was followed by a careful search of the platform. The search yielded 16 more fragments: NF 142, 144–147, 149–154, 156–157, 164–166. All but one were lying upside down and/or concealed by other objects, the exception being NF 166.

Four new fragments came to light on the south side of the Esplanade, two (NF 160 and NF 162) close to HK fr. 55 (fr. 28), which carries the left part of the title of the *Ethics*, and two in the adjacent parts of the South Stoa – NF 158 about 20 m. southeast of HK fr. 55, NF 148 about 15 m. southwest of it. Three more were discovered west of the Great Wall: NF 159 and NF 161 quite close to it, and NF 163 between the Later Agora and building Mk1.

NF 143 is on “Martin’s Hill”, the rising ground south of the Esplanade and east of the Later Agora, where important finds of Diogenes fragments were made between 1970 and 1981. It was found buried virtually underneath NF 10 (fr. 70). Finally, NF 167 is down the eastern slope of Martin’s Hill, south of the Esplanade.

Most of the new fragments are small, and two (NF 166, 167), although not small, are so weathered and worn that all or almost all the letters have gone, but even small and poorly preserved pieces have value as parts of the wall of the stoa used by Diogenes for the inscription. Five of the new finds (NF 142, 143, 146, 155, 157) are substantial blocks whose texts are well preserved. Unfortunately, the only one of these five whose text could be read in its entirety was NF 200, parts of the other four being concealed under stones that could not be moved in 2008. It is hoped that it will be possible to expose them fully in a future season. Meanwhile we must be grateful for what we have recovered, which is of considerable interest and significance.

NF 142 and 143 usefully augment the *Physics*, the former being part of Diogenes’ survey of rival theories of matter, and the latter extending the discussion of oracles to which fr. 23 belongs. NF 146 is the widest block of the *Ethics* yet found, carrying three and a half columns of text, and there is the bonus that its incomplete col. IV joins up with col. I of NF 129, discovered in 1997. NF 155 and 157 are valuable additions to the series of *Maxims*. It is interesting and perhaps not fortuitous that the great majority of the maxim-bearing blocks to have come to light so far are concentrated along the south side of the Esplanade,³ although it is too early to say what the precise significance of this is.

³ Of the nine blocks that are known to be complete (fr. 98, 99, 105, 112, 113, NF 130–132, 155), eight are in this area. If NF 157 turns out to be complete, that will make the figure nine out of ten.

In our report of the 2007 season (*EA* 40, 2007, 4) we described a visit we made to the village Kınık, a few kilometres north of Oinoanda, where three blocks of Diogenes' inscription were found in 1983, two of them built into a public fountain. We mentioned our concern at the untidy and neglected state of the fountain and at the felling of the tree that used to shade it – concern that was conveyed to the Fethiye Museum and Oinoanda's watchman. Unfortunately, the concern turns out to have been all too justified, for, when the fountain was revisited on 27 July 2008, it was found that one of the two blocks there, NF 124 (fr. 129), has been stolen. The loss is a sad one, and we shall be fortunate if we ever see it again.

NEW FRAGMENTS (NF) 142–167

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.

The size of the lettering in Diogenes' inscription varies. The principal factor that determined it was the level at which the writing appeared on the wall of the stoa: those writings that were displayed at or near eye level were carved in smaller letters than those that were higher up. A second factor, which sometimes came into play, was the degree of emphasis that he wished to give to certain parts of the inscription: thus titles are carved in extra-large letters, and maxims – both the monolithic *Maxims* that probably occupied part of the third lowest course of the inscription, above the *Physics*, and the continuous line of maxims that underscored the whole inscription, running through the spacious margin below the columns of the *Ethics* – are carved in letters larger than those of the other writings that were displayed at or almost at the same level. If one disregards the titles, with their exceptionally large letters, one can broadly distinguish three sizes of lettering, which in the descriptions that follow we call “small” (average c. 1.8–1.9 cm.), “medium” (c. 2.3–2.4 cm.), and “large” (c. 2.9–3.0 cm.).

PHYSICS

NF 142 = YF 215

Description

Since it was not possible to expose the whole of this stone, a full description and complete measurements cannot be given. Complete below; partly complete right, but broken lower right. The top and left edges have not been seen. The last lines of the visible column have been removed by damage to the surface. The maximum height of the visible face is 33 cm., its maximum width 31 cm. Depth at least 15 cm. Letters “small”. The space between the last line preserved and the bottom edge of the stone is 9 cm. It is probable that two lines are lost there. Of the first of these, one or two letter-traces can perhaps be seen.

Position in the inscription

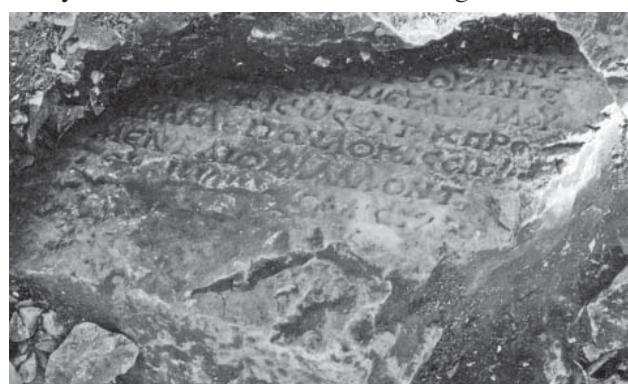
The subject-matter indicates Diogenes' *Physics*, and this is confirmed by something else: although the surface of the stone is broken off below the last line preserved, the space between that line and the bottom edge is unlikely to have been spacious enough to have accommodated the margin and maxim-quotation that ran beneath the columns of the *Ethics*.

In the programmatically important fr. 6, Diogenes, after stating that the elements of matter are uncreated and indestructible, informs us that, before explaining what they are, he will refute the monistic and pluralistic theories of others: Heraclitus, who made fire the primary element; Thales, who favoured water; Diogenes of Apollonia and Anaximenes, who chose air; Empedocles, with his four elements (fire, air, water, and earth); Anaxagoras, with his homoeomeries; the Stoics, who adopted matter and god; and Democritus, who, although right to postulate the existence of atoms, was in some respects mistaken in his conception of them. Diogenes goes on to say that he will deal with Heraclitus first, and we have the opening words of his refutation: "You are mistaken, Heraclitus, in saying that fire is an element, for neither is it indestructible, since we observe it being destroyed, nor can it generate things ..." (fr. 6 III 9–14: κακῶς, Ἡρά[κλει]τε, πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖ[ον λέγεις· οὔτε γὰρ ἄφθα[ρτόν] ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ φθειρόμ[ενον] δρῶμεν αὐτό, οὔτε δύν[α]ται γεννᾶν τὰ πράγμα[τα]). Diogenes' argument that fire cannot generate things may have begun with the point that fire can only produce fire, which would destroy things rather than create them.

NF 142 is part of this polemic against rival physicists. In lines 9–10 Diogenes mentions "the arguments against Heraclitus", which he began in fr. 6 III. He is now arguing against Empedocles or Anaxagoras (see comm. on lines 9 and 11–13). In any case, the fragment is to be placed after fr. 6 and before fr. 7, in which Diogenes ends (it seems) his refutation of the Stoics and starts to deal with Democritus.

Text

The numbering of the lines is provisional. It is based on the assumption, probably but not certainly correct, that two lines are missing below.



5 [c. 14]....
 [c. 11]. ν τὴν ἐ-
 [φεστηκυ]αν φθορὰν τε[λέ]-
 [ως ἀ]μύνειν μεταβάλλου-
 [c]ιν αὐτοῖς, ν ώς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ[c]
 10 Ἡράκλειτον λόγοις εἴπ[ο]-
 μεν, ν καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον τα[ῦ]-
 τ' ἐκείνων, ὃς μεταβ[...] -
 [.....]. [.....]
 [-----]

Translation

[... it is impossible] to ward off [completely] from them the destruction that [hangs over them] when they change, as we said in our arguments against Heraclitus, and these are not more [indestructible] than all those, which change [and are destroyed evidently].

Notes

The criticised theory does not save its primary elements from destruction (line 7: φθοράν), because it assumes that they change (lines 8–9: μεταβάλλουσιν). We learn that Diogenes had made the same observations against Heraclitus in a column missing after fr. 6 III.

6–7. ἐ[φεστηκυῖ]αν. Cf. e.g. Demosth. *Or.* 18.176 οἵμαι ... τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. Less probably ἐ[πεισιοῦ]αν. The verb ἐπείσειμι appears in Epicur. *Ep. Hdt.* 49 related to images which enter us and cause visual impression, and twice in *Nat.* XXV (PHerc. 697 corn. 4 pz. 1 z. 2, line 7f together with PHerc. 1056 corn. 7 z. 1, line 8, ed. S. Laursen, *CErc* 27, 1997, 35, related to atomistic ἀνάγκη; and PHerc. 1191 col. -3 sup. line 3, ed. Laursen loc. cit. 45).

6–9. Heraclitus' primary element (fire) indeed undergoes change (DK 22 B 84a: μεταβάλλον ἀναπάνεται) and some kind of “death” (DK 22 B 76). The criticism that the so-called primary substances of non-atomic physicists are assumed by them to undergo change is made by Lucretius: see I 665–671 (on Heraclitus), 782–797 (on Empedocles), and Epicurus himself in *Nat.* XIV col. XXXI 11 with G. Leone ad loc. (*CErc* 14, 1984, 58 and 85). What are needed, in the Epicurean view, are elements that are themselves indestructible and unchangeable, but can come together to produce temporary compounds. These elements are of course atoms. On the importance of the elements being indestructible and not changing, see also Epicur. *Ep. Hdt.* 54: ποιότης γὰρ πᾶσα μεταβάλλει· αἱ δὲ ἄτομοι οὐδὲν μεταβάλλουσιν ..., ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ μετατιθέμενα ἀφθαρτα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα.

7–8. τελέως. If the restoration is right, Diogenes insists that the elements of the criticised theory, in spite of being more resistant to destruction than the more volatile Heraclitean fire, are not completely indestructible. In the end, they meet the same destiny as Heraclitus' fire.

9. αὐτοῖς. The criticised theory assumed more than one element. This would be applicable to Empedocles, whose four elements (fire, air, water, and earth) are mentioned in fr. 6 II 2–4, and to Anaxagoras' homoeomeries of each thing (*ibid.* 4–7).

10–11. Probably εἴπ[ο]μεν rather than the koine form εἴπ[α]μεν, cf. fr. 33 III 1 εἰπ[ῖ]πον; 130 II 3–4 εἴπ[εῖ]πον. The photograph points to εἴγ[ῶ]μεν, but sense speaks in favour of our restoration.

11–13. The reading at the end of 11 and in the first half of 12 is uncertain. The comparision of ταῦτα, i.e. the elements mentioned in line 9, with ἐκεῖνα involves the fact that both change, and is very likely to refer to destruction which neither of them escapes. Since Heraclitus has only fire as an element, ἐκεῖνα cannot refer to comparison between his elements and those of the present opponent, but probably introduces the visible compounds which change and are destroyed, as we can see. Perhaps: το[ῦ]τ' ἐκείνων, ὅτα μεταβ[ο]λῆ φθειρόμενα | ὁρῶμεν]. Cf. Lucr. I 854–856 (against the indestructibility of Anaxagoras' homoeomeries): *ex aequo res funditus omnis / tam mortalis erit quam quae manifesta videmus / ex oculis nostris aliqua vi victa perire.*

NF 143 = YF 221

Description

NF 143 is a block of whitish limestone lying upside down and buried virtually underneath YF 071/NF 10/fr. 70, on the west side of it, and very close also to YF 072/ NF 6/fr. 9 V–VI. Because of its position, it was not possible to expose all of the text. Complete below and left, broken right; probably complete above, but this will have to be confirmed when the whole stone is visible. Height 44.5 cm. (to be confirmed), width 55 cm., depth at least 28 cm. Letters “small”. Height of lower margin 2.5 cm.

Position in the inscription

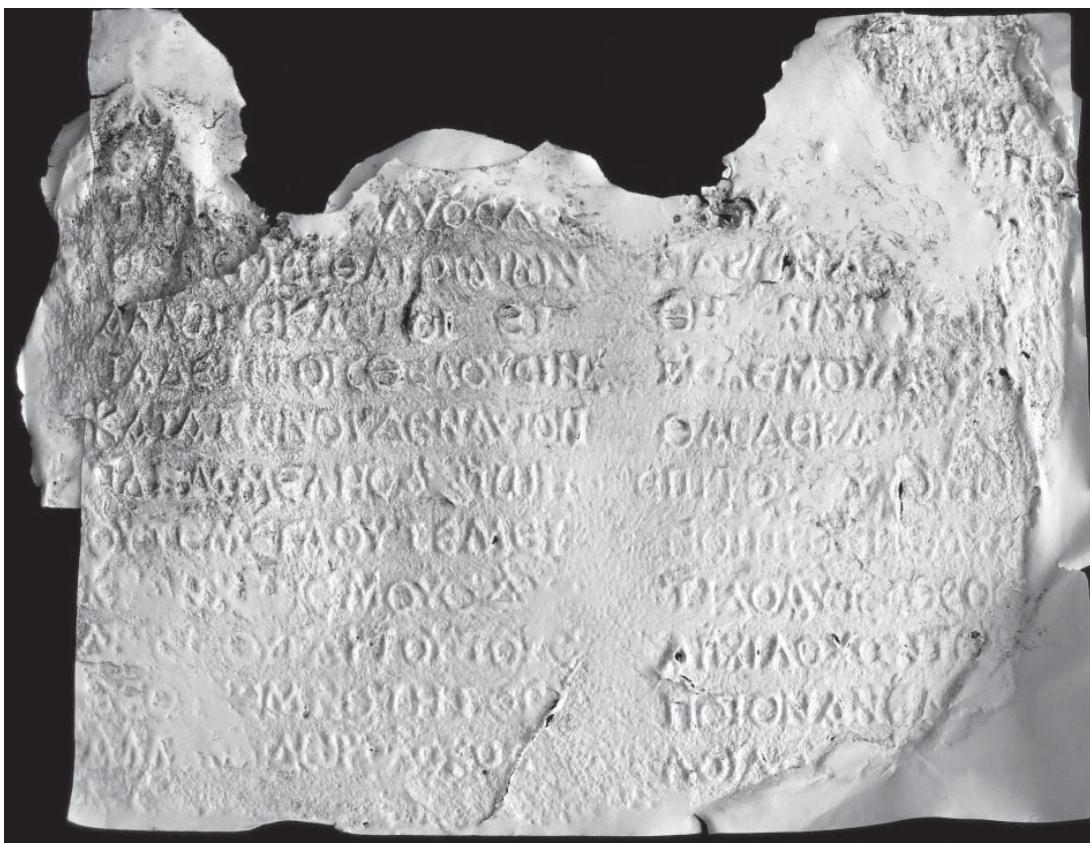
The fragment's physical features are those of the *Physics*, and its content shows that it stood very close to fr. 23 (YF 074/NF 19). Today it lies very near fr. 23, so that the two blocks are to be added to the list of neighbours in the inscription remaining neighbours in reuse.⁴

In fr. 23 the ambiguity of oracles and its disastrous consequences for their recipients appear to be introduced as a new aspect in the form of a *praeteritio*. NF 143 starts with the Croesus case, which is the best known example of such ambiguity. If Diogenes criticised this specific ambiguity of the misunderstood Halys-oracle (see note on col. I 4) in NF 143 or very shortly before, the more general mention of ambiguity in fr. 23 would be expected to precede. However, the preserved text of NF 143 does not mention ambiguity at all. So we cannot exclude the possibility that Diogenes concentrates on the moral shortcomings of the Delphic Oracle in the Croesus case. Then fr. 23 would follow NF 143 and introduce the notorious ambiguity of the oracles as a *praeteritio* without restating the treatment of Croesus.

Text

I	[- - - - -]
	.ο [.] τ[.] ε
	οια[c. 6] ἐπὶ Κύρου
	τὴν ἐκ[τὸς] Ἀλων, δέ-
5	ον νέμεσθαι οῖα τῶν
	ἄλλων ἔκαστοι. νν εἰ-
	τα δὲ τί τοῦ θέλουντιν
	κατὰ τῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸν
	πλημμελησάντων
10	ούτε μέγα ούτε μει-
	κρὸν χρηζουν δί-
	δωσι; ν οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε
	θεοῦν ζεμνότητος.
	ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκος
II	[.] καὶ κατ[. . .]
	[c. 7] νῷγς τυχ[. . .]
	ταῦταλογ . [. . .] γενο[. . .]
	ἡβούλετο τὰ Δελφι[κὰ]
5	παρ' ὃν ἐπ[αρθε]ὶς ὀ[νέ]-
	θηκεν αὐτῷ τῷγ ἐκ [τοῦ]
	πολέμου λαφύρω[ν ἐφ]-
	θὰς δεκάτας. [εὐθέως δὲ]
	ἐπὶ τὸν Κύρον ὥρ[μησεν, ὅ]-
10	ποι προέπεμψε[ν ὁ θεός.]
	τί δ' ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς [.]
	Ἄρχιλοχον τὸ[ν ἰαμβο]-
	ποιὸν ἀνελ[.]
	λοιδορ[.]

⁴ See Smith (1993) 98; (1998) 129.



Translation

(I) ... against Cyrus ... the land east of the Halys, while it was fitting to possess the same as each of the others. Next, why does he (Apollo) give oracles to any who want them against those who have committed no sin, either big or small, against him? For this is incompatible with the majesty of a god. Moreover, he also takes bribes (II) ...; [for Croesus] wanted [to receive] the Delphic Oracle's pronouncements, [spurred on] by which he dedicated to him the tithes of refined gold from the spoils of [the] war. And [straightaway he attacked] Cyrus, [going] where [the god] sent him forward. And why [did] the same god [...] the [iambic] poet Archilochus, [merciless lampooner ...?]

Notes

Col. I

1–6. The first lines criticise Apollo's Delphic oracle for instigating Croesus against Cyrus. The crucial point is not Croesus' well known defeat, but the fact that the oracle did not dissuade him from wanting someone else's empire. Nearly the same point was made against Apollo by the 2nd century Cynic Oenomaus of Gadara in his *Swindlers Unmasked* (fr. 5 Hammerstaedt)⁵: ὃς (scil. Κροῖς) μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τῇ πείραι ἡμελλεν ἀνερωτᾶν σε εἰ στρατεύοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ σύμβουλον ποιεῖθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ μανίας καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὃι οὐκ ὕκνησας εἰπεῖν ὅτι "Ἄλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι εὖ, ὅτι σοι οὐδὲν ἔμελεν εἴ τι ἄτοπον πείσεται νόπ' ἀμφιβόλου χρησμοῦ ἐπαρθεὶς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχήν. So Oenomaus criticises the

⁵ J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus von Gadara* (1988).

ambiguity in a sarcastic *praeteritio*. Likewise Diogenes apparently does not develop this possible criticism here, but seems to reserve it for a *praeteritio* in fr. 23 where he quotes at least one other case.

3. οια[perhaps οῖα: cf. fr. 23.13–14 (in the *praeteritio* concerning ambiguity of oracles): οῖα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κακὰ πεπόνθασιν.

4. The Halys, the longest river of Asia Minor, marked the border between the Kingdom of Lydia and the Persian Empire. The oracle declared: Κροῖσος "Αλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει. It is only indirectly reported in Hdt. I 53, but was contained in a collection of Delphic oracles of the Stoic Chrysippus, cf. Cic. *Div.* II 115 and Pease ad loc., also H. W. Parke / D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* II (1956) no. 53; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (1978) Q 100. Diogenes criticises the Delphic Oracle within the larger context of his polemics against the divine providence of the Stoics (NF 126/127 II–IX and fr. 20–24).

5. νέμεσθαι. Cf. fr. 21 III 1.

9. πλημμελησάντων. A metaphor from “hitting a false note” in music, often used of religious or legal violation: “sin”, “trespass”. Cf. e.g. Phld. *Piet.* PHerc. 1428 XI 5–8 ed. A. Henrichs, *CErc* 4 (1974) 21: ἔγωγε [κ]ἄγ τεθαρ[ρ]ηκότων εἴπαιμι τούτους Διαγόρου [μ]ᾶλλον πληνμελεῖν. It is rare in Diogenes’ inscription to have a single word occupying a full line of normal length, but cf. e.g. NF 126/127 III 14 and see Smith (1998) 142 there.

12–13. Cf. fr. 71 I 9–13: ἵταμὸν γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐ φιλοσόφου σεμνότητος οὕτω φανεροῦ καταψύξασθαι πράγματος.

14. For allegations that the Delphic Oracle could be bribed, see Cic. *Div.* II 118 and Pease ad loc. The next column shows that Diogenes is thinking of Croesus’ dedications to the Delphic Oracle (cf. Hdt. I 50–51). In Pl. *Alc.* 2.150a it is argued that the gods are *not* δωροδόκοι.

Col. II

1. κατ: could also be ψαρ.

3. γενό or μενό.

5. ἐπ[αρθε]ίς. The restoration is perhaps too long for the lacuna but is adopted *faute de mieux*.

In this case the preposition παρά is used as in Kühner/Gerth I 510.

5–8. Diogenes seems to allude to the description of Croesus’ dedications to Delphi (Hdt. I 50–51, esp. 50.2: καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε ... καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθον χρυσοῦ τέccερα). However, these offerings came from his own property, not from loot (Hdt. I 92.2). In alleging the provenance of the δεκάται from war, Diogenes further undermines the morality of the Delphic Oracle.

7–8. [έφ]ιθάς. Since the verb ἔψω and its derivates are used to indicate the refinement of gold by continuous melting (cf. H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* IV 1887, 109 and 130), the expression ἐφθαὶ δεκάται underscores the extraordinary value of Croesus’ gift which contained refined gold (see note on lines 5–8). Although the expression “refined tithes” is an abbreviated one, it could be easily understood, because the ancient practice (already attested by the dedication of Mantiklos in the early 7th century, cf. CEG I 326) of melting and forming looted metals into objects before dedicating them as δεκάται to some sanctuary is reported many times in Herodotus and was so obvious that no more than the verb ποιεῖν was needed to describe the process (Hdt. II 135.4; IV 152. 4; V 77.4; cf. also VIII 27.5; IX 81.1–2).

8. [εύθέως δέ]. Hammerstaedt believes that he can see some letter traces, and that a possible reading is: ... δεκάτας. ν κα[ὶ εῖτα] | κτλ.

9. The first letter of the line is carved *extra marginem*. Cf. fr. 32 I 11, 47 I 11, 51 II 4, 93 II 3 (where three letters are so carved), 117.4.

11. ὁ αὐτὸς θεός: Apollo.

11–14. Several Delphic oracles concerning Archilochus were exposed to ancient criticism. In one of them Telesicles was told that his son would be immortal and well known (Parke/Wormell no. 231; Fontenrose Q 56), in another the person who killed Archilochus in battle was banned from the Delphic precinct for having killed a servant of the Muses (Parke/Wormell no. 4; Fontenrose Q 58). Both oracles are criticised by Oenomaus (fr. 1.1–2 and 1.34–39 Hammerstaedt) because they praise a poet whose verses were of a low moral value. Oenom. fr. 1.23–26 explains ironically Archilochus' merits: λοιδορῆσαι μὲν πικρῶς τὰς οὐκ ἐθελούσας ἡμῖν γαμεῖσθαι, ἄψασθαι δὲ τῶν κιναίδων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων πονηρῶν πολὺ πονηρότεροί εἰσιν. Two other oracles are concerned with the Parian settlement in Thasos. The first advises Telesicles to make a foundation at Ἡερία (Parke/Wormell no. 230; Fontenrose Q 55, cf. Oenom. fr. 16.37f Hammerstaedt) which only his son Archilochus understood to be an earlier name of Thasos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάρος; Plin. *Nat.* IV 73; Oenom. fr. 16.40–43); the second, which unambiguously orders Archilochus to settle in Thasos (Parke/Wormell no. 232; Fontenrose Q 57), appears only in Oenom. fr. 11 C 45. The Cynic states that Archilochus rather needed to be told by the oracle that he should not complain in his poverty. This criticism would be on the same lines as Diogenes' observations regarding Croesus (NF 143 I 1–6).

NF 143 II 12 and 14 allude to Archilochus as a poet of scorn (ἰαμβοποιός) and of lampoons (λοιδορός). Therefore it is likely that Diogenes referred to one or both of the first two Delphic oracles mentioned above. In spite of the poor preservation of the column end, it can be seen that NF 143 shares some remarkable features with passages of Oenomaus.

The text may have run something like this: τί δ' ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς [ῦμνησεν] | Ἀρχίλοχον τὸ[ν ἰαμβο]ποιόν, ἀνελ[έητον ὄντα] | λοιδορ[όν, ως Μουσῶν] || θεράποντα καὶ ἀθάνατον;. Another possibility is to read τί δ' ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς [ῦμνησεν] | Ἀρχίλοχον τὸ[ν ἰαμβο]ποιόν ἀνελ[έητον καὶ] | λοιδορ[όν κτλ]. “Why did the same god sing the praise of Archilochus, the pitiless and abusive iambic poet, as a servant of the Muses and immortal?”

NF 144 = YF 207

Description

Complete below; broken above, left, right. Height 12.5 cm., width 11 cm. (surface 9.8 cm.), depth 9 cm. Lower margin 5 cm. tall. The space between the last letter and the broken edge of the stone is 2.5 cm. in line 13, 3.5 cm. in line 14. Letters “small”.

Position in the inscription

This small piece does not join up with any other known fragment. The height of the lower margin, combined with the small size of the letters, indicates the *Physics*. Although the lower margin is taller than the average for the epitome, it is the same as that of fr. 20 (YF 93/NF 39).

*Text*

13]αλ
14]Ιεκει

Notes

13. The numerous possibilities include ἀλ|[λά], ἄλ|[λοc], [μ]ἄλ|[λοv], [β]άλ|[λειv], ἀλ|[γεῖv].

14. Again there are many possibilities, including ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖ||[voc], ἐκεῖ|[το] (fr. 72 III 2), ἐκεῖ|[νηcε]. Before εκει is the bottom of a vertical stroke.

NF 145 = YF 210

Description

Complete above; broken below, left, right. Height 12.3 cm. (surface 11 cm.), width 13.5 cm., depth 7 cm. Upper margin 3 cm. Letters “small”.

Position in the inscription

The height of the upper margin, combined with the small size of the letters, strongly indicates the *Physics*. Since there is one *Ethics* fragment (HK fr. 62) that has an upper margin of only 3 cm.,

one cannot say that it is 100% certain that NF 145 does not belong to the *Ethics*, but it is very unlikely, for no other known *Ethics* fragment has an upper margin under 4 cm. and the average is about 5 cm.

*Text*

I]τεc
]και διo
]. ομεI
 11 lines missing

II γ[

Notes

Col. I

2. Probably, but not necessarily, και. After that, possibilities include part of διo|[ρίζω] (Epicur. *Ep. Hdt.* 44). δ' ὅ or διo (fr. 48 II 1) and διo|[τι] (fr. 33 VIII 2) are unlikely if και is και.

3. First letter τ or γ. If the letter at the right edge of the stone was iota, perhaps το μει|[κρόν] or μει|[ζοv]. If it was not, perhaps το μέν.

Col. II

1. The letter is either γ or π.

ETHICS

NF 146 = YF 216, preceding NF 129 = YF 185

Description

When NF 146 was discovered, it was possible to examine most of the inscribed face, but the bottom part of it was concealed by large stones, so that it was not possible to see the last lines of what will have been fourteen-line columns or the lower margin, let alone the bottom edge.

Complete above, left, and right. Maximum height of the visible surface 50 cm., width 122 cm., depth unknown. Upper margin 6.5 cm. high, left margin 6 cm. wide. Letters “small”. *Paragraphai* are present. Most of the text is well or quite well preserved, but there are places where the surface is worn and/or cracked or more seriously damaged. The damage is particularly severe on the right, especially upper right.

Position in the inscription

The fragment belongs to Diogenes’ *Ethics*, of which it is the widest block yet found, its nearest rival being YF 52A–C/HK fr. 65/fr. 37 at 117.5 cm. The *Physics* is ruled out both by the content and by the physical and epigraphical features, including the height of the upper margin and the presence of *paragraphai*. With the bottom part of the stone invisible, one might have hesitated to say that it is absolutely impossible that the text is part of Diogenes’ *Letter to Dionysius*, which contains discussions of ethical matters as well as of epistemological ones, but that col. IV carries the line-beginnings of NF 129, an *Ethics* block found in 1997.

When the bottom part of the stone is exposed, we can expect to see a spacious lower margin and, running through that, a continuous fifteenth line of letters larger than those in the columns above, giving us part of an Epicurean maxim. If the maxim were one already known from Diogenes Laertius, it might help us to determine the position of NF 146 + NF 129 in the *Ethics*. It will of course be of interest to see what the maxim-bearing band of NF 146 reads, not least because there is quite often a relationship between a maxim and the columns carved above it, but the likelihood is that it will *not* give us part of a known pronouncement of Epicurus, for the surviving letters in the lower margin of NF 129 do not seem to belong to a known saying.

In fr. 34 VI–VII Diogenes announces an investigation into the means of making our life pleasurable both in states and in actions ($\pi\hat{\omega}\kappa \delta\beta\circ\kappa \eta\mu\epsilon\hat{\nu}\eta\delta\hat{\nu}\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\mu\alpha\kappa\eta\delta\hat{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa\pi\rho\alpha\xi\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa$). He starts with “states” and first of all draws attention to the need to eradicate four disturbances that prevent the tranquillity of mind in which true pleasure is found. These are fear of the gods, fear of death, fear of pain, and immoderate desires. Hitherto NF 129 has been assigned to the discussion of fear of death, to which fr. 37–42 and perhaps also fr. 43 belong. See Smith (1998) 153 and (2003) 101. But the discovery of NF 146 alters the picture. Although the importance of freedom from fear of death seems to be the subject of NF 129 II, NF 146 I–III is concerned not with fear of death, but with the wisdom of living a simple and wholesome life, enjoying simple food, sleeping on a bed that is not too hard, wearing clothes that are neither soft nor uncomfortably coarse, helping others in their difficulties, sharing one’s possessions with them, and always behaving in a civilised manner. This passage contains some echoes of fr. 29, part of the introduction to the *Ethics*, in which Diogenes tells his readers that the goal of happiness ($\epsilon\nu\delta\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$) is achieved through philosophy alone and is not to be found in wealth or political fame or royal power or luxurious living and eating or the pleasures of sex. It is likely

to be part of his demonstration of how life is made pleasant “in actions”, and may have stood towards the end of the *Ethics*, though probably not as near the end as fr. 56, the famous “Golden Age” passage, in which we are offered the prospect of a godlike life on earth.

Text

- [παρέχει γὰρ ὁ βίος ἡμεῖν εἰς τροφήν, καίπερ ἀρκούση]
- I τῇ φύσει μάζης, πο[λλὰ]
 τὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς προσαγω-
 γαῖς ἀηδίαν οὐκ ἔχον-
 τα ν καὶ κοίτην μὴ μαχο-
 5 μένην τῷ σώματι διὰ
 κληρότητα ν καὶ ἐκθῆ-
 τα μαλακὴν μὲν οὐ αφό-
 δρα οὐδ' ἀπηνῆ δέ, ὥστ' ἀ-
 ποστραφῆναι τὴν φ[ύ]-
 10 civ, καθάπερ εἰ συ[. . .]
 περιβαλοίμεθ[α . . .]
 . . . (.) ημων τ[- - - -]
 [- - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - τὸ τῆς civ]-
- II κρίσεως ἡμῶν ξαγῆτι-
 κόν. ν καὶ ταῦτα οὖν εὐπό-
 ριστα καὶ τὰ τούτων δὲ
 ἔτι μείζω καὶ πολλῷ τι-
 5 νι, ν ὥστε καὶ ἀβροδίαιτον
 συνεχῶς γενέσθαι, καὶ
 ἔτεροις δέ που χρήσιμον,
 λυτρωτὴν τε γεινόμε-
 νον ἐν ταῖς ἀνάνκαις
 10 [κ]αὶ παρέ[. (?)]κτην εἰς . . .
 . . .]. καὶ α . (.) α . . α[. . .]
 [τ]ην τῶν πεπηρωμέ-
 [νω]ν ἐν ἐνδείαις καὶ ὅσα
 [. . .] . . [. . .]
- III ΓΑΙ . . ΟΙΩΔΙΛ[. . .]ΟΥ[. . .]Ε.
 κτήσαςθαι καὶ δ[ιὰ τὴν ᾧ]-
 δεισαν τῶν ὄρ[θῶ]γ λό-
 γωγ, ἀγωγὸν οὗσαν μά-
 5 λιστα τῶν ἡδέως κοι-
 νωσομένων ἢ κέκτην-
 ται, ν καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄλλον
 βίον ἄριστον ὄντα μό-
 νον ἀστεῖος ἔστω. νν

10 π[. . . .] ὄποιον μ(?) | . . . ω
δε[.]τω[. . .]ανον
τι[c. 8] ἐπιλιπη
[-----]
[-----]

IV+NF 129.I

[. . . ε]ιρημ[. // . . .]επι
[. . . .]ΛΙΙ[//]ναν
[. . . . ενεχ[. . / . . .]τὸ φυ-
σικὸν δε . [. /]θαι,
5 . | . ιοδε[. . / . . .]νκαι
αιομη[.] . [. / . . .]αις, ἀλ-
λὰ ὅμως [. () / . .]ις διὰ τί
θ Ι τευκα[. / . . ο]ύκ οἶδα.
[i]δοὺ γὰρ . [. / . . .]ε τὸν ν-
10 π|ερβάλλο[ν//τα τ]ὴν φύ-
σιν . . . [/ . . .] . ε οὐ-
κ ὅν εδ[. . / . . . ()]αι κε-
νὸν ο[-----]αι πρα-
[-----]νε

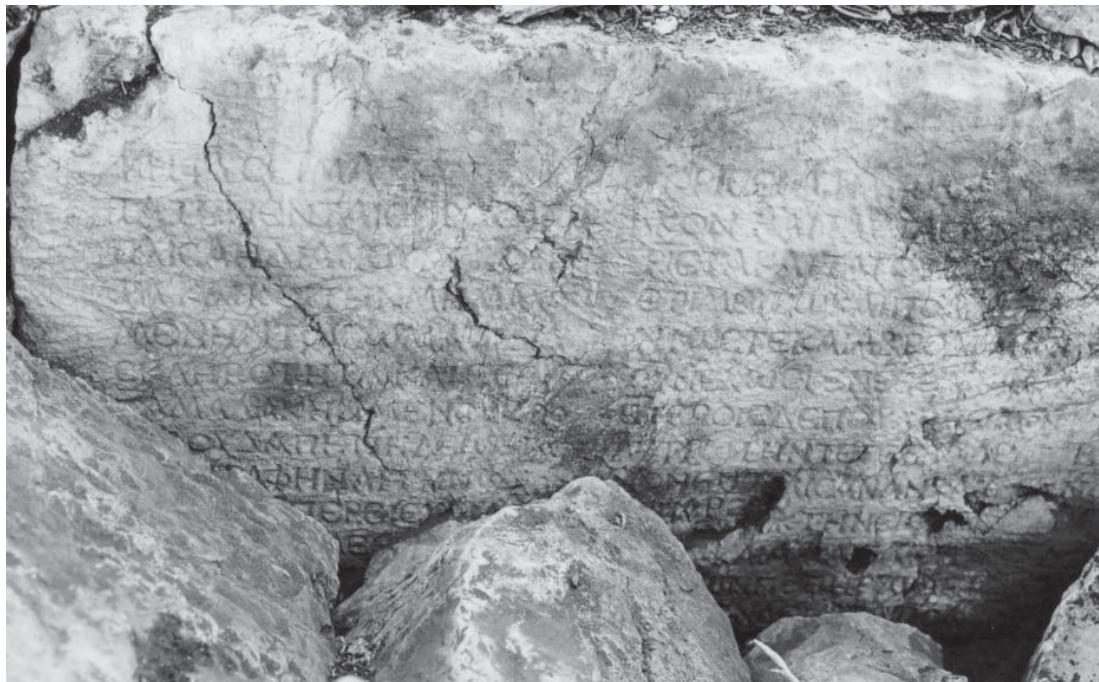
Translation

[Life offers us for our nutrition, although] (I) barley-bread [is sufficient] for our nature, many (foods) that do not involve unpleasantness when they are taken, and a bed that does not fight against the body because of hardness, and clothes that are indeed not extremely soft, but also not so extremely rough that our nature is repelled, just as if we were clothing ourselves [...] what] (II) pricks our [constitution]. And in fact these things and those much greater than these are easily obtained, so that it (life) becomes one of continual luxury, and to others perhaps both a beneficial redeemer in their necessity, and ----- [a supporter(?)] of the incapacitated in need, and whatever ... (III) ... to acquire ... and [because of an] abundance of the [correct] arguments, which is a guide especially of those who will gladly share what they have acquired, and because of his other (Epicurean) way of life, which alone is best, let him be a refined man. ... (IV + NF 129 I) ... what is natural (or “physics”) ... but nevertheless ... why ... I do not know. For see, ... that exceeds the bounds of nature ... would not ... vain ...

Notes

Col. I

Before 1. With the restored text here, ἀβροδίαιτος in col. II 5 is related to βίος and there is presumed to be a change of subject in col. II 14 or III 1 which introduces the person who lives according to these precepts. We preferred this proposal to the following one: [αἱρείθω δ' οὖν λειτὰ βρώματα, ὃν ἔστιν, μὴ ἀρκούσῃ] (“[So let him [i.e. the Epicurean] choose simple foods, of which there are, if] bread [is not sufficient for] our nature ...”). For λειτά cf. NF 136 I 10, Epicur. *Ep. Men.* 130, the latter probably quoted in Diog. fr. 47 lower margin. Contrast πολυτελῆ βρώματα (fr. 109.1–2).



NF 146 = YF 216 Col. I-II



NF 146 = YF 216 Col. III-IV

1. φύσις is our human nature, which has only few needs (cf. e.g. fr. 2 II 3; 3 I 9; 29 II 2 with Smith [1993] ad loc.). In the Epicurean way of life it is satisfied by simple means, like frugal food (Epicur. *Ep. Men.* 130–131 τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν πᾶν εὐπόριστόν ἔστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν δυσπόριστον, ὅτι τε λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἵçην πολυτελεῖ διαίτῃ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν ... ὅταν ... μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀποδίδωσιν ἡδονήν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδέων τις αὐτὰ προσενέγκηται). The praise of barley bread⁶ by Epicurus is well known (Epicur. fr. 466 Us., from Porphyrius *Abst.* 1.48.3–49.1 τῶν γὰρ Ἐπικουρείων οἱ πλείουσι ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κορυφαίου ἀρξάμενοι μάζη καὶ τοῖς ἀκροδρύοις ἀρκούμενοι φαίνονται τά τε συγγράμματα ἐμπεπλήκασι τὸ ὀλιγοδεὲς τῆς φύσεως ἀφηγούμενοι καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λιτῶν καὶ εὐπορίστων ἰκανῶς αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἴώμενον παριστάντες. ὕρισται γάρ, φησίν, ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ἔστιν εὐπόριστος; Epicur. fr. 267 Us., from Plut. *Non posse* 16.1097d: ἐν μάζῃ καὶ φάκῃ τὸ ἡδιστον). The most significant terms in the two quotations (φυσικός/φύσις, εὐπόριστος, ἡδονή, μᾶζα) recur in NF 146 (col. I 1 φύσει μάζης; 3–4 ἀηδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα; col. II 2–3 εὐπορίστα). This may also be the case with the verb ἀρκεῖθαι (Epicur. fr. 466 Us.) which we have supplied before col. I (cf. Epicur. fr. 202 Us. τὸ τῇ φύσει ἀρκοῦν; Epicur. fr. 466 Us. *naturae satis factum*, see note on lines 6–8; fr. 470 Us. ἀρκεῖθαι ... τοῖς εὐπορίστοις; fr. 471 Us. οὐδεὶς ... τῶν ἀφρόνων οἵς ἔχει ἀρκεῖται).

2–3. προσαγωγαῖς belongs to the medical sphere (cf. LSJ s.v. I.4. and II.5.), but there is little doubt that it, rather than προσφοραῖς, which one might have expected (see LSJ s.v. III.), is the right reading.

3. ἀηδία is opposed to ἡδονή in Phld. *Rh.* IV/2, PHerc. 1007 col. 2.7 (I 163 Sudh.); cf. Phld. *Oec.* PHerc. 1424 col. 23.13 Jensen.

4–6. κοίτη. The requirements for the second need, a place to sleep, are also given in the form of litotes. In Pl. *Lg.* XII 942d καρτερήσεις ... κοίτης εκληρός, alongside the enduring of hunger and thirst, are part of military training. For Diogenes' pleasant life it is sufficient that the bed is not so hard as to harm the body. So the Epicurean brand of hedonism involves simplicity and avoidance of luxury, but not asceticism. In his treatise *Old Age Diogenes* (fr. 141.14–15) quotes the *Odyssey* (XXIV 255) with the verse “to sleep softly; for that is the way of the aged”.

6–10. For the undisputed need for (simple) clothes alongside (simple) food cf. Epicur. fr. 456 Us. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιθυμία καὶ τῆς ἐκθῆτος ἀναγκαία ... ἡ δὲ τῶν τοιῶνδες σιτίων ἥτιοι ἐκθῆτος οὔτε φυσικὴ οὔτε ἀναγκαίος; Epicur. fr. 466 Us. (from Hieron. *adv. Iovin.* II 11, ed. E. Bickel, *Diatribe in Seneca philosophi fragmenta* [1915] 411.13 and 412.7) *ubi aqua et panis sit et cetera his similia, ibi naturae satisfactum ... frigus et fames simplici vestitu et cibo expelli potest*; Epicur. fr. 471 Us. ὁ κατὰ φύσιν πλοῦτος ἄρτω καὶ ὕδατι καὶ τῇ τυχούσῃ τοῦ σώματος σκέπη συμπεπλήρωται. Diogenes describes in fr. 12 I 10 how mankind first came εἰς ἐνθύμησιν ἐκθήτων. Cf. also NF 136 I 10–12: λειτὸν δ' ἔτι εἰς|[μά]τιον [ἔχει] καὶ ἀνεπί|[φαντον] or ἀνεπί|[φθονον]: “Moreover, [wear] clothing that is simple and [unostentatious or does not excite envy]”. (On NF 136, see Smith [2004].) For the recommendation to wear simple clothing, cf. Smith's reconstruction of NF 157.1–6 and the relevant notes there.

7. Cf. Hom. *Od.* XXIII 290 ἐκθῆτος μαλακῆς.

10–14. Smith reconstructs these lines as follows: καθάπερ εἰς σὺ[ν]|περιβαλοίμεθ[α τῷ κώματι] ἡμῶν τὸν χιτῶνα| φό δό Ἡρακλῆς ἀπώλετο, | ἐνδύοντές τι τῆς συν]|κρίεως ἡμῶν ξαντικόν, translating: “... just as if we were clothing our [body with the garment that killed

⁶ Cf. the proverbial expression ἀγαθὴ καὶ μᾶζα μετ' ἄρτον. M. Spyridonidou-Skarsouli, *Der erste Teil der fünften Athosammlung griechischer Sprichwörter* (1995) 88–91; H. Herter, Die kulturhistorische Theorie der hippokratischen Schrift von der Alten Medizin: *Maia* N.S. 15 (1963) 465–483, esp. 467–469.

Heracles, putting on something] that lacerates our [constitution].” He comments: “A reference to the garment that caused Heracles’ death seems highly plausible. It was a gift from his wife, Deianeira, who, under the misapprehension that the blood of Nessus was a potent love-charm rather than a deadly poison, smeared it on the article, causing Heracles an agonising death. The story is told by Sophocles, *Trachiniae*. A possible alternative is that Diogenes referred to the equally deadly robe given to Jason’s new bride by Medea in the Euripidean play of that name, but mention of the unendurable pain of Heracles, famous for his endurance of hardships, is much more likely. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* II 20–22.”

11. περιβαλοίμεθ[α]. In the context of clothes Diogenes writes in fr. 12 I 4–5 [δ]ιὰ δὲ τῶν περιβολῶν | ὃς ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς σώμασιν.

Col. II

1. [cov]||κρίσεως. The Epicurean term for an atomic compound, which is one of two sorts of σώματα, the other being an atom (Epicur. *Ep. Hdt.* 40). So at the end of his statement about the simple needs of our body Diogenes turns to technical terminology. The noun occurs also in Diog. fr. 10 II 13; 13 IV 9; 121 I 8.

1–2. ξαντικόν, a striking word. ξαίνω, which is used in Diogenes’ *Letter to Dionysius* (fr. 72 II 2) of the shipwrecked Epicurus being lacerated by the rocks, is especially used of “carding” wool.

2. καὶ ... οὖν: “a very rare combination” (J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*² [1950] 445). For εὐπόριστα cf. Diog. fr. 2 I 10, and our note on NF 146 col. I 1.

3–5. Cf. fr. 47.7–9: καὶ τὰ ὑποκάτω δ’ αὐτῶν οὐ πολλῷ τ[ι]νι.

5–7. The goods which life offers are more than Epicureans need. So their life becomes one of continuous luxury and grants them even some form of wealth. Cf. Epicur. fr. 202 Us. πρὸς τὸ τῇ φύσει ἀρκοῦν πᾶσα κτῆσίς ἔστι πλοῦτος. Diogenes notes the social utility of this Epicurean lifestyle for others, who can derive some help from the savings. It is noteworthy that Diogenes Laertius defends Epicurus’ φιλανθρωπία and εὐποίησις against the false opinions of the ancient biographical tradition (cf. M. Erler, Epikur, in H. Flashar [ed.], *Die hellenistische Philosophie* [1994] 62).

8. This is the earliest and, besides Hesych. p 531 and c 3100, the only occurrence of λυτρωτής outside biblical and patristic literature.

10. Since λυτρωτήν (line 8) is accompanied by τε, we expect after καί in this line a similar noun revealing some aspect of the social usefulness of the Epicurean lifestyle. Hammerstaedt would like to adopt παρέλκτην, which is a suggestion made by Gregor Staab. The interpretation of this hapax is difficult. If the next word is correctly read as εἰς, the sense of παρέλκτης may be derived from one of the special uses of παρέλκω, as in LSJ s.v. I.2. “lead alongside” or ibid. I.4. “drag in, bring in” (e.g. in Phld. *Mus.* IV col. 140.9–10 Delattre). But if there is no letter missing, one could consider (with Smith) παρέκ τήν.

11. The reading is uncertain. Smith reads . . . λυτρωτή (?) καὶ . . . Ιον.

11–12. Perhaps something like παραστάτην or προηγητήν, but neither word fits the letter traces at the end of line 11.

12–13. τῶν πεπηρωμέ|[νω]ν ἐν ἔνδειοις. The exact meaning is doubtful. While ἔνδεια is clearly an Epicurean term (Epicur. *Ep. Men.* 130) which suits well the content of the first two columns of NF 146 (moreover fr. 48 II 3 and 11 contains a reference back to Diogenes’ discourse on pain caused by ἔνδεια), without a reliable reading of the previous line it is difficult to decide

whether the πεπτηρωμένοι are maimed or blind, or whether one has to understand the word in a metaphorical sense.

Col. III

1. Reading very uncertain. Smith reads .οΙ ν (?) καὶ δια . . ΟΥ . . εΤι.
- 2–3. Abundance (ἀδεια) of right considerations, not of material goods, makes the wise Epicurean an elegant and urbane person.
4. ὀγωγόν (as a noun), or ὀρωγόν (as an adjective with genitive, cf. LSJ s.v. I.2.).
- 5–7. During the siege of Athens by Demetrios Poliorketes Epicurus shared all his food with his associates (Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 34.2: τότε καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἐπίκουρον ιστοροῦσι διαθρέψαι τοὺς συνήθεις κυάμους πρὸς ἀριθμὸν μετ' αὐτῶν διανεμόμενον).
- 7–9. According to Diogenes, the simple and useful life of an Epicurean philosopher is sufficient, without requiring the possession and the consumption of luxury-goods, for becoming a refined person.
11. Instead of καὶ α[perhaps (e.g.) [ἀνα]γκαῖα.

Col. IV, combined with NF 129 (YF 185) col. I

The combination with NF 129 confirms that NF 146 is part of Diogenes' *Ethics*. Unfortunately, there is not much intellegible text. We hope to give a more complete text as soon as NF 146 has been uncovered completely. The topic is still behaviour in accordance with the requirements of our φύσις.

1. [ώc ε]ἰρημ[αι] or [ώc ε]ἰρημ[ένοv]?
2. [.]ΛΙΙ[// or [.]. cη[//
3. or ενεχ[or ονεχ[(with a small omikron).
4. Perhaps δέο[v], and afterwards a passive verb in the infinitive.
5. . | . ιοδε[or τ . ιc δε[
- 5–6. [- - - ἀνα]νκαί|αις?
7. ὅμως. Cf. Diog. fr. 33 VIII 5; 37 II 13.
8. θ I τευca[or . . τουc iδ[.
- 9–12. Perhaps [i]δοὺ γάρ, ε[ι μή τι]c τὸν ύπερβάλλοντα τὴν φύσιν φόβον [εἰχε .] . c οὐκ ἀν εδ[ει - - -].

This column is followed by NF 129 (YF 185) col. II, which is edited in Smith (2003) 102.

NF 147 = YF 218

Description

Broken all sides. Height 16 cm. (surface 15 cm.), width 15.5 cm. (surface 14 cm.), depth 5.2 cm. The fragment carries the beginnings of three lines of “small” letters. The 5 cm. empty space below the third line shows that it is the last line of a column. Beneath the empty space the tops of two letters are partly preserved at the broken lower edge of the stone.

Location in the inscription

The “small” letters indicate a 14-line-column writing, and the two letter-tops 5 cm. below the last line can only belong to the continuous line of maxims that runs through the spacious lower

margin of the *Ethics*. Unfortunately the surviving text does not enable us to be sure of the subject-matter of the column, let alone to identify the maxim.



Text

- 12 γη^{αν} . [
νωται κο[
14 τομη^η[

Lower margin (unidentified maxim)

[- - -]Io[- - -]

Notes

12. There are many possibilities, including γῆς, [φυ] | γῆς (fr. 70 I 12), [ἥλ] | γη^{αν}. After ν there is the bottom of a forward-leaning oblique stroke (e.g. α).

12–13. [δύ] | νωται?

14. Again, many possibilities, including τομῆς (fr. 33 VI 6), [ἐκ] | τομῆς, [ἀπο] | τομῆς (fr. 30 II 4, NF 126/127 III 2), [ἐπι] | τομῆς (fr. 28.4), τὸ μὴ
cη[μαίνειν] or cη[μειοῦθαι].

NF 148 = YF 220

Description

Complete above, left; broken below, right. Height 22 cm., width 31.5 cm., depth 15 cm. Upper margin 4 cm. Letters “small” and very worn.

Position in the inscription

The size of the lettering, in combination with the height of the upper margin, indicates the *Ethics* rather than the *Physics*. Although the average height of the upper margin in the *Ethics* is about 5 cm., several of its fragments have an upper margin 4 cm. tall.⁷ No known *Physics* fragment has an upper margin as tall as this, but, since several have one 3.5 cm. tall, one cannot absolutely rule out the possibility that NF 148 belongs to the *Physics*.



Text

-]Λ^αμος ἐπιδιαγιε[
τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις
]ὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν . . . [
]Ι αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχ[
5] ἡ Δία, τὴν . [
]λ[

Translation

... the substances ... and those things which ... exist in(?) them ... by Jove ...

⁷ The upper margin of one is only 3 cm. tall. See NF 145, *Position*.

Notes

1. -αξιμος, -λειμος (but this only allows for the highly poetical ὄφέλειμος), or perhaps λειμός (cf. fr. 72 III 7). For -αξιμος there would be numerous possibilities, including [(-)θαν]άξιμος, [(-)β]άξιμος, [ι]άξιμος, and [ct]άξιμος. To read [(ἀ-)δ]όκιμος appears to be less probable. At the end of the line, too, the reading is very uncertain, and we cannot agree what the letter after δια is. At first sight it seems to be a φ, and Smith continues to favour this, but Hammerstaedt suspects that it is ν, rejecting φ on the ground that it would be too close to the preceding α and too far from the stroke which he now interprets as the right vertical of ν. He hesitantly proposes ἐπιδιαγιε[ι], which could be either ἐπ' ιδίαν ιετ- or a form of a hapax ἐπιδιανίημι. Cf. at least the occurrence of διανίημι in the description of Thales' primary element, i.e. water, in Hippol. *Haer.* I 1.2 (GCS Hippol. III 4.15): ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα συνίστασθαι πηγγυμένου καὶ πάλιν διανιεμένου. Smith tentatively suggests ἐπιδιαφθείς, preferring this to his previous suggestion ἐπιδιαφθεί|[ρει]. He hesitantly proposes this reconstruction: [...]Λξιμος ἐπιδιαφθείς | [γε τ]οῖς ὑποκειμένοις, | [οῖ]ς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ι[δ]ίω[ν | ε]γ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχ[οντα] | γὴ Δία, τὴν [φύσιν (?)] - - -]. “... having received a thorough impression from the external realities, to which in turn the attributes of their components, by Jove, [contribute (?) their nature/presence (?) ...]”. For δὲ κοί see Denniston, *Greek Particles*² (1950) 305. ἐπιδιάπτω too would be a hapax (διάπτω, in the sense of “kindling”, occurs once in commentaries, which were attributed to Origen, on the Psalms: PG 12.1617B: ... διάπτοντά τε καὶ ἔνθερμον, καὶ αὐτοχρῆμα καῦσιν). The earliest attestation of ἐπιδιαφθείρω is Philo Judaeus, *De providentia* II 32 Hadas-Lebel (ap. Eus. *P.E.* VIII 14.40 [GCS Eus. VIII/1, 472.16]), the active use occurs in Gal. *Loc. aff.* I 4 (VIII 41.4 Kühn).

2. [τ]οῖς ὑποκειμένοις. Twice in Diogenes: τὰ ὑποκείμενα in the context of sense perception in fr. 9 II 13, and the participle, related to αἱ ἄτομοι φύσεις, in fr. 67 I 13.

4. ὑπάρχ[ι]. The verb ὑπάρχω appears in Diogenes in finite and infinite forms, but up to now not as a participle. It is mostly used in a non-technical sense, as in fr. 5 II 11 – III 1 (οὗτως ὀξεῖσαν αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν ὥστε μηδενὶ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν καταλημπτήν αἰσθήσ[ειν εἶναι]), 20 I 2 (πόλεως αὐτῷ χρείαν ὑπάρχειν), 32 II 14, 35 II 12, 42 V 11, 54 III 7, 117.6, 149 II 14, and perhaps 129 I 1. The two cases in which it appears as a philosophical term both belong to the *Physics*: 7 II 4–7 (τὰς ἀτόμους μόνας κατ' ἀλήθειαν ... ὑπάρχειν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι), 9 I 6–7 (φάσματα [φύσεις ἀλη]θεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν).

5. γὴ Δία, τὴν. Or -νη διὰ τὴν. In the first case cf. exclamations like fr. 126 II 2 πρὸς Διός. 153 II 12–13 ὁ Ζεῦς π[ά]τερ. Cf. fr. 138 I 2 γὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, and probably fr. 128 II 2–3 [γὴ | τὸ]ν Διόνυσον. Dionysius bishop of Alexandria remarks on Epicurus (ap. Eus. *P.E.* XIV 27.10 = Epicur. fr. 389 Us.): κατ' ἐκείνων τῶν μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅρκους τε καὶ ὄρκιμοὺς μυρίους τοῖς ἔαντοῦ βιβλίοις ἐγγράφει, ὁμνύς τε συνεχῶς “μὰ Δία” καὶ “γὴ Δία” κτλ. See D. Obbink, *Philodemus On Piety* (1996) 426–427.

SMALL-LETTER FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN POSITION

The small-letter writings, all carved in 14-line columns, are *Physics*, *Ethics*, *Letter to Antipater*, and *Letter to Dionysius*. NF 149 is placed first in the present group of six small fragments, because it has a feature that excludes *Physics*. The other five offer no sure indication of where they belong or do not belong, and are arranged roughly in order of fragmentariness, the ones bearing the most letters being placed first.

NF 149 = YF 208

Description

Broken all sides. Height 16.5 cm. (surface 13.5 cm.), width 11 cm., depth 7 cm. Above the first letter in line 3 is part of a *paragraphe*, showing that there is a line-beginning there.

Position in the inscription

Since *paragraphai* do not occur in *Physics*, that can be ruled out. If, as is likely, there was a mention of pleasure, *Letter to Antipater* is highly improbable, since its subject-matter is the infinite number of worlds in the universe. *Ethics* is most likely, but *Letter to Dionysius* is also possible, since it discusses ethical as well as epistemological questions.

*Text*

The true line-numbers are unknown.

[.] . θ . [
νην ν ω[
μσκαι[
4 . ω ν κ[

Notes

1. θ is followed either by ρ or by η. Before θ, but separated from it by a short space, is a short oblique stroke, leaning to the left, but perhaps it is just damage to the stone. If this is an α, the line probably started with a short letter, like ι, ρ or γ.

1–2. The most likely candidate is [ήδο]νήν.

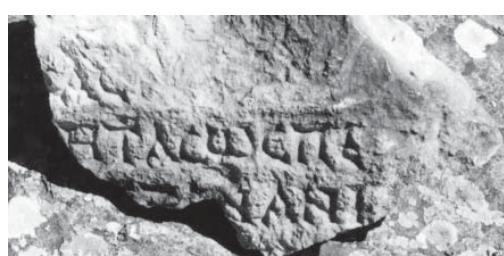
4. The letter before ω was probably γ or τ.

1–4. This passage may have gone something like this: [τὴν ἡδο]νήν, ω[ς [ῆδεθαι τό τε σῶ]μα καὶ [τὴν διάνοιαν λέ]γω “... pleasure, since I say that pleasure is experienced by both the body and the mind”. But the suggestion, which was made by Smith, is very tentative.

NF 150 = YF 214

Description

Broken all sides. Height 14 cm. (surface 10 cm.), width 22 cm. (surface 15 cm.), depth 8.5 cm. Below the α in line 3 the top of a letter of uncertain identity may be visible, but damage is also possible.

*Text*

There is no way of knowing what the true line-numbers are, or whether the preserved letters in 1 are a line-beginning.

] . α[
]ητας ωπε[
3]έξ ἀνάνκη[
] . [

Notes

1. First letter φ or ρ, according to Smith, or κ, χ or c, according to Hammerstaedt, who believes he sees the right ends of two diagonals. If φ, not necessarily φαςί(v). Other possibilities include ἀντίφασις (fr. 63 III 8), ἀπόφασις (fr. 13 II 8, 39 V 7), ἔνφασις (= ἔμφασις), ἀφασία, σοφὰς ι[.]
2. ητας: many possibilities, including διανοητάς (fr. 125 II 4) and ποιητάς. ώσπε: either ώσπε[ρ] or ώς πε[- - -].
3. Cf. fr. 147.18 (ἐξ ἀν[όνκης]), NF 137.9 (in EA 40, 2007, 6).

NF 151 = YF 205

Description

Complete left; broken above, below, right. Height 11.5 cm., width 10 cm., depth 4 cm.

Text



The true line-numbers are not known. Although the left edge is preserved, we do not have line-beginnings, but a continuation of lines that began on another stone.

]γΙΙ[
]τηςC[
]χη ḥ το[
 4]ιιμει[

Notes

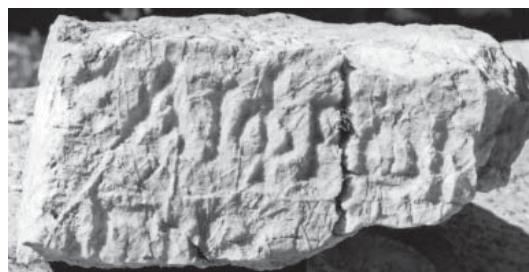
3. There is a slight space between the two etas. The second one could be ḥ, ḥ̄, or ḥ̄̄, but the space perhaps favours disjunctive ḥ̄: cf. e.g. fr. 3 III 6–8, NF126/127 IV 4. Smith suggests as a possible restoration: [ἥ τύ]χη ḥ̄ τὸ [αὐτόμα-
τον] “chance or the accidental”. For the Epicureans the two terms are synonymous. In his discussion of chance in *Letter to Dionysius* Diogenes uses τύχη four times (fr. 71 I 1, 8, II 9, 72 III 14) and τὸ αὐτόματον twice (fr. 71 II 3, 72 III 9), and in NF 132, a monolithic maxim, he mentions τὸ αὐτόματον, ὃ δὴ τύχην ὄνομάζομεν. If indeed NF 154 did mention chance, it may well belong to the discussion of it in *Letter to Dionysius*. Another possible restoration proposed by Smith is: [ἥ ἀρ]χὴ ḥ̄ τὸ [στοιχεῖον] “the first principle or the element”, in which case the fragment would probably belong to *Physics* and be part of the refutation of monistic theories of matter that begins in fr. 6 (see above under NF 142). Cf. e.g. H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* 476.3–5: Ἀναξίμανδρος ... ἀρχήν τε καὶ στοιχεῖον εἴρηκε τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον.

4. If Smith’s first tentative proposal for restoring line 3 is correct, the reading here might be [ε]ἰς μει[κρόν] (cf. fr. 3 VI 11). In fr. 3 Diogenes is saying that Epicureanism has enabled us to minimise the harmful effects of natural pain, and he might well have wanted to stress here that it also enables us to minimise the harmful effects of chance (cf. fr. 71). But many other restorations are possible, including ἵκεν and [το]ῖς μει[- - -].

NF 152 = YF 204

Description

Complete left; broken above, below, right. Height 6 cm., width 14.5 cm. (surface 11 cm.), depth 20 cm.

*Text*

The true line-numbers are not known. As in the case of NF 151, the text is a continuation of lines that began on another stone.

]καὶ φρον[
λ]ογικ[

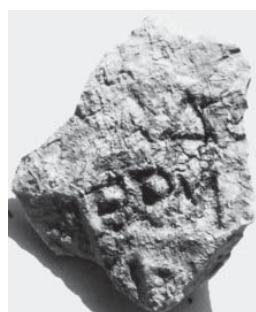
Notes

1–2. Probably καὶ, followed by some part of φρόνησις, φρόνιμος, or φρονεῖν, or by φρονίμως. Perhaps something like: [- - -] καὶ φρον[ίμως μετὰ τοῦ λ]ογικ[οῦ μέρους] “... and prudently, with the rational part”. Cf. fr. 37 I 5–6: μετὰ ... τοῦ λογικοῦ ... μέρους. For the way in which one cannot live pleasurably (ἡδέως) without living prudently and honourably and justly (φρονίμως καὶ κολῶς καὶ δικαίως), see Epicur. *Ep. Men.* 132 and *Sent.* 5. Part of *Sent.* 5 is quoted in the lower margin of fr. 37, a passage of the *Ethics* that explains the relationship between the soul (with its rational and irrational parts) and the body. If our tentative restoration of NF 152 is on the right lines, the fragment probably belongs to the *Ethics* and perhaps was close to fr. 37.

NF 153 = YF 222

Description

Broken all sides. Height 11 cm. (surface 8.5 cm.), width 9.2 cm., depth 4 cm.

*Text*

There is no way of knowing what position the text occupied in the column of which it is a fragment.

3]νδ . [
]ερμα[
] \ [

Notes

1. δ is followed by c or perhaps ε.

NF 154 = YF 212

Description

A tiny piece, broken all sides. Height 3.3 cm., width 6.5 cm. (surface 6 cm.), depth 5.5 cm. Only upper parts of the letters are preserved.

*Text*

One cannot know what the true line-number is.

]τινλ[

Notes

First letter perhaps ζ . Instead of γ , perhaps λ , but its left stroke would be much less oblique than in the following letter.

MAXIMS

NF 155 = YF 200

Description

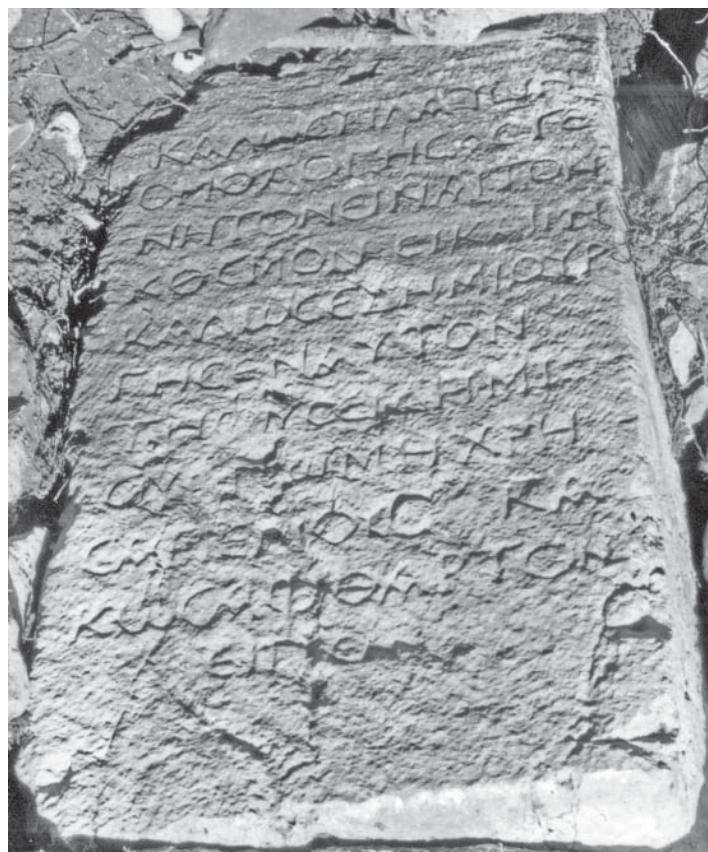
A complete block. Height 58 cm., width 28 cm., depth 75 cm. Upper margin 8 cm., lower margin 8 cm., left margin 1.8 cm. Letters “medium”. A notable feature of the lettering is that the first and fourth strokes of μ are vertical, not, as is usual in the inscription, oblique. At the end of line 4 μ and η are joined in ligature. Elsewhere in the known parts of the inscription the only letters carved in ligature are v and η , μ with oblique strokes probably having been thought unsuitable for this treatment. On the right side of the stone is a mason’s mark – a Δ 6 cm. high with a base 13 cm. long. Other Diogenes blocks that carry mason’s marks are HK fr. 77 (= fr. 42 IV–V), not yet rediscovered, and NF 13/YF 088 (= fr. 43 I). See Smith (1993) 106, Smith (1996) 113, 116.

Position in the inscription

This splendidly preserved text is one of the monolithic *Maxims*. Probably composed by Diogenes himself, they almost certainly stood in the third course from the bottom of the inscription, immediately above the *Physics*, sharing the course with the *Letter to Antipater* and *Letter to Dionysius* (see Smith [1993] 87–89).

The order of the *Maxims* is uncertain. Unlike in other sections of the inscription, there is no overflow of text from one stone to another. All we can do is arrange the texts according to their content and style of lettering. Although most of those that have come to light so far are concerned with ethical matters, several have to do with physics. NF 155 and 156 belong to the latter group, as do fr. 98, on the causes of thunderbolts and earthquakes, and fr. 99, on how hail is formed in summer. In all four of these fragments μ is carved with the first and last strokes vertical rather than oblique – a feature that sets them apart not only from the majority of known *Maxims*, but also from the rest of the inscription. Two fragmentary maxims have the same feature – fr. 97, which may have been introductory, and fr. 101, whose subject-matter is uncertain –, and another four fragments (100, 102–104) look to be carved in the same style as the straight- μ maxims, although none of them carries a μ . At least one of the four, fr. 100, is to be included in the physics group: see Smith (2000), where the text is interpreted and reconstructed as beginning with a statement that the Stoics are wrong in supposing that the elements of the universe are god and matter. That the text did indeed begin thus seems almost certain. It is less certain how it continued, but it may have been with a brief dismissal of other non-atomic views and a statement of the Epicurean theory of elements. It is argued in Smith (2000) that fr. 100, being concerned with basic theories of physics, preceded fr. 98–99. Until the results of the recently started architectonic

research at Oinoanda are available, we may reasonably assume that NF 155 also preceded fr. 98–99 and stood very close to, perhaps even next to, fr. 100. Although Plato is chronologically earlier than the Stoics, NF 155 may well have followed fr. 100.



Notes

For the Epicureans our world, like each of the infinite number of worlds in the infinite universe, is a temporary structure, formed by a purely natural process when a great quantity of suitable atoms came together in a great area of void. As well as having a beginning, it will have an end, which will come about when internal or external forces cause it to be dissolved into its component atoms. Plato's view was very different. Like Epicurus, he believed that the world had a beginning – a belief for which Diogenes commends him. But that was the only important point about which the two philosophers agreed. Plato describes in the *Timaeus* how the world was created by a divine craftsman (*δημιουργός*), and how, although material, it will last as long as god wills, which, since god will not destroy his good creation, means that it will last for ever.

1. This is the fourth mention of Plato in the known fragments of the inscription. One of the other three passages is in the *Physics*: in NF 126/127 IV 2–8 Diogenes says that it is not the prospect of facing “Plato's and Socrates' judges in Hades” that makes people just. Then, in his discussion of fear of death in the *Ethics*, he mentions him twice in arguing that the soul cannot survive separation from the body, let alone be imperishable (fr. 38.6; 39 III 7). For *καλῶς* in a commendation of a philosophical opponent, in advance of criticism of him, cf. fr. 6 II 11 (*καλῶς γε ποιῶν*), where the opponent is Democritus.

Text

καλῶς Πλάτων
όμολογής ας γε-
νητὸν εἶναι τὸν
κόσμον, ν εἰ καὶ μὴ
5 καλῶς ἐδημιούρ-
γησεν αὐτόν,
τῇ φύσει δημι-
ουργῷ μὴ χρη-
σάμενο{ι}ς, ν κα-
10 κῶς ἄφθαρτον
ννν εἰπεν.
vacat

Translation

Although Plato was right to acknowledge that the world had an origin, even if he was not right to introduce a divine craftsman of it, instead of employing nature as its craftsman, he was wrong to say that it is imperishable.

5–6. δημιουργέω is used three times by Diogenes in his polemic in the *Physics* against those who believe that god created the cosmos for his own sake or for that of human beings. See NF 126/127 VI 14, fr. 20 I 10, II 12. His opponents in that passage are his favourite ones, the Stoics. He could not have named the Stoics instead of Plato in NF 155 because they did not believe that the world is imperishable. The noun δημιουργός occurs in fr. 15 III 14 in reference to a divine creator, and in fr. 19 I 10 of a human craftsman. (In each case only δημιούρ is preserved, but there is little doubt that we have the noun.)

7. The suggestion that nature be regarded as δημιουργός reminds one of Lucretius' references to *rerum natura creatrix* (I 629, II 1117, V 1362) and *natura ... daedala rerum* (V 234).

9. The stonemason mistakenly carved -μένοις instead of -μένος.

9–10. For κακῶς in reference to the mistaken theorising of a philosophical opponent, cf. fr. 6 III 9 (κακῶς ... [λέ]γεις), where Diogenes is addressing Heraclitus, and perhaps the *Maxim* fr. 100 with its new text (see Smith [2003] 118). For quotation of fr. 6 III 9–14, see above, p. 5.

NF 156 = YF 213

Description

Perhaps complete left; broken above, below, right. Height 7 cm. (surface 5.5 cm.), width 19.5 cm. (surface 14.5 cm.), depth 15 cm. Letters “medium”. There is a space of 1.7 cm. before the first letter of line 2, so that we probably have a line-beginning there. The letters are carved in the same style as those of NF 155. The first and last strokes of μ are straight, not oblique.

Position in the inscription

The carving of μ with its first and last strokes vertical rather than oblique indicates one of the monolithic *Maxims*.

Because the Epicureans often dealt with epistemology before physics, while at the same time regarding it as part of physics, not as something separate from it, one might argue that NF 156 should be placed before NF 155, but this is not the order adopted by Diogenes in his *Physics*. There is really no way of knowing what the order of these two texts was, and what determines our provisional order is simply that NF 155 is by far the better preserved.



Text

The true numbers of the two lines partly preserved are not known, but, if Smith's *exempli gratia* restoration of the maxim (see *Notes*) is approximately on target, the lines are from the middle of the column.

[. .] . ἵξε[- - - - - ó]-
μοιοι[

Notes

1. The first letter is ο, ε, or ς. Perhaps [τ]οιχε[ι-].

1–2. Hammerstaedt thinks ὁμοιομ[ερ] a possibility: cf. 6 II 6, where τὰς ὁμοιομερέας ἐκάστου πρόγματος appears in the context of *ctoicheia*, as does ὁμοιομέρεια in Epicur. *Nat.* XIV col. 39.6 (in a polemic against Plato's *Timaeus*, cf. G. Leone, *Cerc* 14 [1984] 98), while Smith considers a refutation of Anaxagoras rather unlikely in the *Maxims* and prefers ὁμοιομ[ορφ]-, “similar in form”, in reference to the “images” (*τύποι* or *εἴδωλα*) that are continually discharged from the surfaces of things in consequence of the vibration of the component atoms; see fr. 43 I 5, Epicur. *Ep. Hdt.* 49, fr. 319 p. 220.25 Us. Twice Epicurus calls them *τύποι ὁμοιοχήμονες* (*Ep. Hdt.* 46, Epicur. fr. 35.10.4 Arrighetti; the second passage, coming from *Nat.* XXV, has been re-edited by S. Laursen, *Cerc* 25 [1995] 91). When the filmy images strike our eyes, they cause vision; when they enter our minds, they cause thought or, if we are asleep, dreams.

Smith's restoration of the whole maxim (just below) is closely based on the passages in which Epicurus (especially *Ep. Hdt.* 49–50) and Diogenes (especially fr. 9, 43) describe how the images cause vision, thought, and dreams, but of course he does not claim to show how the text went, only how it might have gone. In his version Diogenes explains vision, but he may have explained thought and/or dreams instead or as well.

[τὸ δόραν γείνεται | κατὰ συνεχῆ πάλι|civ τῶν ἀτόμων | ct]οιχε[ίων, δι' ἣν ὁ]|⁵μοιόμ[ορφοί τε καὶ | ὁμόχροοι τύποι ὡ|πὸ τῶν πραγμάτων | ρέοντες ἐνπείπτον|civ ήμῶν ταῖς ὄψε|¹⁰civ.]
“[Vision is caused through the indivisible] elements' [continual vibration, in consequence of which impressions] of similar form [and colour flow from the objects and impinge on our eyes.]”

NF 157 = YF 217

Description

Complete below, left, right. It was not possible to ascertain whether it is complete above. Height at least 52 cm., width 37 cm., depth 76 cm. The last seven lines are partly or wholly visible, but the first lines of the column are hidden from view. Letters “medium”. Lower margin 4 cm.

Position in the inscription

A combination of the medium-sized letters, the content, and the way in which the text clearly did not continue on another stone shows that we have another of the monolithic *Maxims*. The first and last strokes of μ are oblique. According to Smith's reconstruction, the content is ethical, being concerned with simplicity of dress and avoidance of bodily adornment. In this case the text is likely to have occupied a position not far from fr. 108, which stresses the futility of excessive wealth and the ability of Epicureans to regard the wealth of others without envy, and particularly close to fr. 109, which, although only fragmentarily preserved, evidently emphasised the disadvantages of luxurious food and drink.

Text

The line numbers are provisional. Of the nine *Maxims* that are complete, one runs to nine lines, two to ten, and six, including NF 155, to eleven.



(according to Hammerstaedt)

	ἡδο[(ca. 10) συν]-	(according to Smith)
	πλοκῆς ἔχ[. . . .]	[τὴν μὲν ἐκθῆτα, δ]-
5	λειαν, [*] τὸ δ' α[. . . . (.)]-	[πως τὴν μεγίστην]
	[.]ιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ	ἡδο[νὴν εὔρης, ἀνευ]
	[β]ελτείονος μορφῆς	πλοκῆς ἔχ[ε ἀπλῶς]
	[κ]αὶ ἐπὶ χείρονος ὄποι[ι]-	λείαν, [*] τὸ δ' α[ν] σωμά]-
	[ον] ἔστιν. <i>vacat</i>	[τ]ιον αὐτόν, [*] καὶ ἐπ[ι]
	<i>vacat</i>	[β]ελτείονος μορφῆς
		[κ]αὶ ἐπὶ χείρονος, ὄποι[ι]-
		[όν] ἔστιν. <i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>

Translation

(according to Hammerstaedt)

... pleasure ... accordance ... , both in the case of a better figure and in the case of a worse one, of what quality it is.

(according to Smith)

[With clothing, in order that you may discover the greatest pleasure,] keep [it absolutely] plain, [without] braiding, and again the [body] itself, both in the case of a better figure and in the case of a worse one, as it is.

Notes

4. The second letter in the line is clearly δ, not λ.

5. Since Diogenes always writes ει for long ι, one has to consider whether the first word, if it is a complete word, is the adverb λειαν (λίαν), “exceedingly”, as in fr. 13 I 3 (partly restored by Smith), 16 I 3 (partly restored by J. William), II 7, or the adjective “smooth”, “plain”, “unembroidered”. For the latter, cf. Th. II 97.3 ὅσα νέφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα, Pl. *Plt.* 310e λεῖον ... νέφαμα. But there are many other possibilities, e.g. ὡφέ]||λειαν or ἀσφά]||λειαν.

8–9. ὄποι[ι]ον ἔ]στιν or ὄποι[ι]όν ἔ]στιν. Cf. fr. 3 II 4–6 ὄποιόν | ἔ]στιν καὶ τίν' ἔχει φύ|[civ].

Further notes on Hammerstaedt's text

In central Epicurean texts συμπλοκή, and more often the verb συμπλέκω, appear in the context of ἐπιλογισμός. If this is the context, ὅποιον ἔστιν may refer to observation too. With this interpretation, μορφή is the object of such sense perception (cf. note on line 7).

3–4. [εὐν] πλοκήc. Cf. Epicur. *Nat.* XXV (PHerc. 1191 corn. 6 pz. 1 z. 5, col. 2 together with PHerc. 1420 corn. 2 z. 4, line 6, ed. S. Laursen, *CErc* 25 [1995] 93). This context is lacunary, but the verb συμπλέκω refers later on in the same book to beliefs which we connect with our observations (the text is extant in three different papyri which are edited by Laursen, *CErc* 27 [1997] 31 and offered as combined text by J. Hammerstaedt, *CErc* 33 [2003] 153 C. 2.).

7. Cf. perhaps Epicur. fr. 67 Us. τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὄψιν ἡδείας κινήσεις. The term μορφή appears also in Diog. fr. 43 II 5–9 in connection with pleasure derived from visual perception: τοιούτων μὲν ὡς[ν] ἔχῃ μορφὴν πραγμάτων οἵς ἡ φύσις χαίρει, κατευφραίνει μάλιστα τὴν [ψυ]χήν.

Further notes on Smith's text:

3. Perhaps λάβηc for εὔρηc.

4. Cf. Lampe s.v. πλοκή 2.

4–6. Cf. NF 136 I 10–12: λειτὸν δ' ἔτι εἰ[μό]τιον [ἔχε] καὶ ἀνεπί[φαντον] or ἀνεπί[φθονον]: “Moreover, [wear] clothing that is simple and [unostentatious or does not excite envy]”. (On NF 136, see Smith [2004].) See also NF 146 I 6 ff., where Diogenes recommends the avoidance of extremely soft clothing, although he adds that one should not wear uncomfortably rough clothing either.

5–6. τὸ ... [κωμά|τ]ιον αὐτό. The diminutive is somewhat derogatory, not indicating that Diogenes is contemptuous of the body and its natural and necessary pleasures, but reflecting his view that adornment of it is unnatural and unnecessary. αὐτό confirms, if confirmation is needed, that he has been talking about clothing just above.

8–9. ὅποιον ἔστιν, “as it is”, i.e. without adornment or application of cosmetics (or, in the 21st century, surgical enhancement of one's appearance).

TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS

NF 158 = YF 219

Description

Complete above; broken below, left, right. Height 17 cm., width 23 cm. (surface 22.5 cm.), depth 10.5 cm. Letters “medium”. Upper margin 1.7 cm.

Position in the inscription and authorship

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 carved on blocks 38–41.5 cm. high and occupied the central course of the inscription, that is to say the fourth from the top and fourth from the bottom, with the three courses carrying *Old Age* above and the *Fourteen-line-column Letters* (to Antipater and Dionysius), *Maxims*, *Physics*, and *Ethics* below. Some of the *TLC Writings* are the work of Diogenes, others are attributed to Epicurus. NF 158 does not seem to be closely related to any other known text in the group, and it is not possible to be sure of its authorship.



Text

[.]αι ἐπίστευαμ[εν παι]-
δίον μὲν δυç[γενὲς]
ὑπάρχειν, γενέ[cθαι]
4 δ' εύγενῆ [τὸν ὄνδρα]

Translation

... we believed that [a child] is originally low-born,
but that [the man] becomes high-born [through his
virtuous character and behaviour (?)] ...

Notes

The idea that nobility is not an accident of birth, but something attained through virtuous actions and dispositions is the subject of the second of the two maxims in fr. 111: οὐχ ἡ φύσις, μία γε οὐνα τῶν πάντων, εὐγενεῖς ἢ δυσγενεῖς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' αἱ πράξεις καὶ διαθέσεις (lines 7–11). It is an idea that goes back at least as far as Democritus, who says that εὐγένεια in farm-animals is a matter of good physical condition, but in human beings of good character (DK 68 B 57). The Stoics counted εὐγένεια and δυσγένεια indifferent (ἀδιάφορα). According to Seneca, *nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui rectius ingenium et artibus bonis aptius* (*Ben.* III 28.1). So the Epicureans and the Stoics were substantially in agreement on this point.

1. The first letter shoud be a narrow one, like [κ], [ρ], [γ]. The following ἐπίστευαμ[- - - -] is either ἐπίστευα μ[- - - -] or ἐπίστεύαμ[εν- - -]. The verb already occurs three times in Diogenes, once related to a generic first person plural in an exhortation (fr. 12 III 10). Other historical tenses in the *TLC Writings*: fr. 119 II 3–4 [ἐ]|ποίησα and III 8–9 ἐδήλωσα in reference to Diogenes' writings, and in a narrative context διατριβὰς ἐποιούμεθα in the *Letter to Menneas* fr. 122 III 4–6. But also in the letter *Letter to Mother*, usually attributed to Epicurus, the letter-writer refers to himself in the plural (fr. 126 I 10). For the aorist in Diogenes' *Letter to Antipater*, cf. fr. 63 II 6, 63 IV 1, 67 II 1.

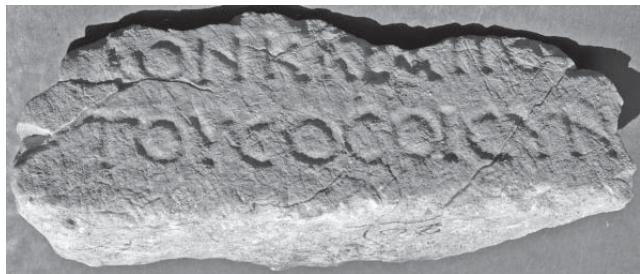
NF 159 = YF 201

Description

Complete left and below; broken above and right. Height 10 cm., width 26.4 cm., depth 9 cm. Letters "medium". Lower margin 2–2.5 cm. (taller on the left). Left margin 2.5 cm. before the penultimate line, 3 cm. before the last line.

Position in the inscription and authorship

The combination of the medium-sized letters and the meagre lower margin indicate the *TLC Writings*. Only two words are preserved in their entirety. One of these is καί, and neither the other one nor any of the four partly preserved words gives a clue as to the subject-matter. The authorship is equally uncertain.

*Text*

δον, καὶ ἀπο[
10 τους, ὅσι ουν[

Notes

9. The first letter is probably Δ, but the horizontal stroke, if indeed there is one, merges with a crack that extends on either side of the letter. So the letter could be Λ. However, it is possible that the crack opened there precisely because of the letter-cutting, and Δ looks more likely than Λ. If -δον is right, the numerous possibilities include εἶδον and ὁδόν or a compound, e.g. εἴσοδον (fr. 127 I 3), πάροδον (fr. 34 IV 5?), περίοδον (fr. 68.3), πρόσοδον. There is a slight space before καὶ.

- 9–10. [τοκού]|τους or [τού]|τους or [αὐ]|τούς.
10. There is a hint of a space before ὅσι.

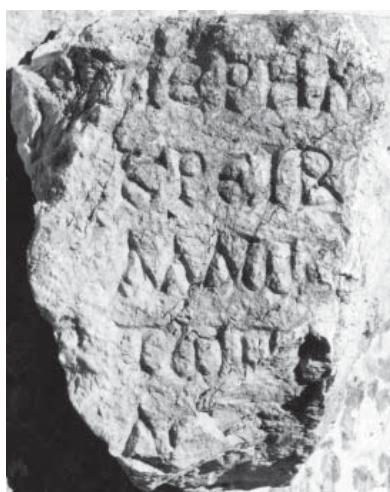
NF 160 = YF 225

Description

Complete above; broken below, left, right. Height 24 cm. (surface 19 cm.), width 18 cm. (surface 14.5 cm.), depth 22 cm. Letters “medium”. Upper margin 1.5 cm. Left margin 3.5 cm.

Position in the inscription and authorship

The meagreness of the upper margin and the medium-sized letters combine to show that the fragment belongs to the *TLC Writings*. Unfortunately, as with NF 158 and 159, not enough is preserved to reveal the subject-matter, let alone the authorship.

*Text*

περ ημ[- - - - - ᾳ]-
κρειβ[
αλλωc[
τω π[
5 λο[

Notes

1. Probably [καθά]|περ, [ῶc]|περ, [ὅ]|περ, or [ἄ]|περ. After that perhaps ἡμ[εῖc] or ἡ μ[- -].
1–2. ἀκρειβήc occurs in fr. 63 III 9, in the comparative, ἀκρειβῶc in fr. 16 III 7 (?), 72 II 14, 119 III 5, 125 I 9 (?).
4. Very likely, but by no means certainly, τῷ.

MAXIMS OR TEN-LINE-COLUMN WRITINGS

NF 161 = YF 223

Description

Broken all sides. Height 10 cm. (surface 8.5 cm.), width 9.5 cm. (width 8.5 cm.), depth 7 cm. Letters “medium”.

Position in the inscription

With so few letters and no upper or lower margin preserved, one cannot say whether the fragment belongs to the *Maxims* or to the *TLC Writings*.

*Text*

The true line numbers are not known.

λοτη̄ . [
]ερσαν Λ[
] .. [

Notes

2. Many possibilities, including [ώσπ]ερ or [καθάπ]ερ or [όσπ]ερ ὥν.

The last letter is either λ or μ.

3. One or two letter-tops.

NF 162 = YF 224

Description

Partly preserved above, although not on the surface. Broken below, left, and right. Height 21 cm. (surface 9.5 cm.), width 16.5 cm. (surface 7 cm.), depth 13 cm. Letters “medium”. 13.5 cm. separate the surviving letters from the top edge of the stone. No block that does not carry a title has an upper margin anything like as tall as this, and the letters of NF 162 seem too small to be part of a title. So it seems safe to assume that some text has been broken off or worn away.

Position in the inscription

The medium-sized letters point to the *Maxims* or *TLC Writings*.

*Text*

It is not known what the true line-number is. We may have a line-beginning, but this is not certain.

]οια[

OLD AGE

NF 163 = YF 203

Description

Complete above; broken below, left, right. Height 12.5 cm., width 21 cm. (surface 20 cm.), depth 6 cm. Letters “large”. There is a *paragraphe* below the beginning of the first line. The empty space between the broken left edge of the stone and the first letter of line 2 is 11.5 cm.

Position in the inscription

The size of the letters indicates Diogenes’ treatise *Old Age*, which was carved in 18-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 second 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., between four and six lines, no margin above, but a lower margin, 21–25 cm. tall, that includes, at the bottom, a scored band 10–14 cm tall. Since NF 163 has no margin above, it belongs either to course B or to course C.

Text

Although we have numbered the lines 1–3, these cannot be their true numbers. If NF 163 was in course B, the numbers will have been 6–8. If it was in course C, they will have been either 13–15 or 14–16 or 15–17.



καὶ δ[
ζῆν[
3 μι[

Notes

3. After μ top of an upright.

NF 164 = YF 209

Description

Broken all sides. Height 10 cm. (surface 9 cm.), width 18.5 cm. (surface 16 cm.), depth 5.5 cm. Letters “large”.

Position in the inscription

The size of the letters shows that the fragment is part of *Old Age*, but one cannot say to which of the three courses it belongs.

*Text*

The true line-numbers are not known.

λυ ν ὁδί[
]ζεοατ[

Notes

1. The empty space left between ν and ω is 3.8 cm., more than sufficient for one letter. The vertical stroke, the lower part of which is preserved, after c is too close to that to be part of τ.
2. Perhaps a noun, e.g. [φά]ζμα, [φά]ζματ[α] but there are many other possibilities, including something like [τοὺς] ματ[αίους φόβους]. Cf. fr. 3 VI 4–6: [τοὺς] ... ματαίως [κ]ατ[έχον]τας ἡμᾶς φόβους.

NF 165 = YF 211

Description

Complete left; broken above, below, right. Height 14.5 cm. (surface 11.5 cm.), width 13.5 cm., depth 8.3 cm. Letters “large”. After the last letter was a space of at least 5 cm., and below the letters there was an empty space at least 6.8 cm. high.



Position in the inscription

The “large” letters indicate *Old Age*, and the spaces described above show that we have the last letters of the last line of a C block, i.e. the last letters of an 18-line column.

Text

18 ΙΙπαν vacat
vacat

NF 166 = YF 206

Description and position in the inscription

Complete, but the surface is broken off on the right. The whole face of the stone is extremely weathered and worn, and almost all the text has been obliterated. Just a few letters are preserved in the top left corner. But the distinctive scored band at the bottom shows that the block is from course C of *Old Age*. Height 45 cm., width 59 cm. (surface 55 cm.), depth 47 cm. It looks as though there were five lines – lines that began on the stone’s left-hand neighbour. One cannot see where the division between columns occurred. The height of the scored band is 14 cm. About 7 cm. probably separated it from the last line.



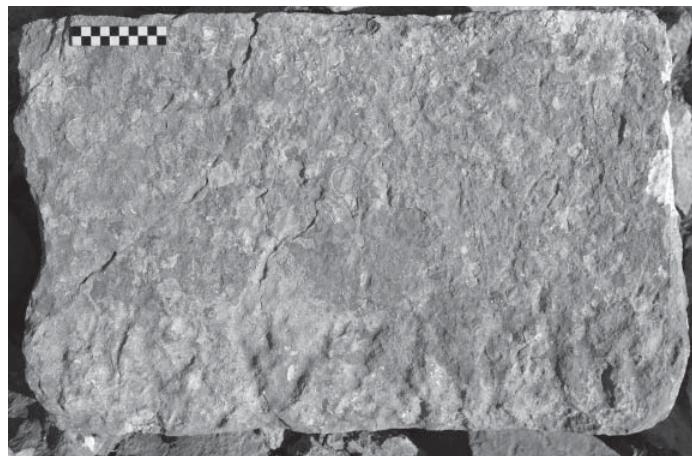
Text

14]\|. O./[
].. OI[
]... I[
]. II[
18 [- - -]

NF 167 = YF 202

Description and position in the inscription

Complete above, below, left; probably broken right. Height 45 cm., width 73 cm. (surface 70.5 cm.), depth at least 41 cm. The block is so severely weathered and worn that no letters can



be read with certainty, but, like NF 166, it is identifiable by the scored band (14 cm. high) at the bottom as part of course C of *Old Age*. There seem to have been five lines, to be numbered 14–18, probably the right half of a column on the left and complete lines of a second column on the right. The space between the last line and the scored band was probably about 8 cm.

Abbreviations

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

HK = R. Heberdey & E. Kalinka, Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 21 (1897) 346–443.

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 are in the present article.

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

Bibliography

Hammerstaedt (2006) = J. Hammerstaedt, Zum Text der epikureischen Inschrift von Oinoanda, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 39 (2006) 1–48.

Hammerstaedt (2007) = J. Hammerstaedt, Review of Smith (2003), *Gnomon* 79 (2007) 30–34.

Smith (1993) = M. F. Smith, *Diogenes of Oinoanda. The Epicurean Inscription*, La scuola di Epicuro, Supplemento 1 (Napoli 1993).

Smith (1996) = M. F. Smith, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda*, Ergänzungsbände zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* 20 (Wien 1996).

Smith (1998) = M. F. Smith, Excavations at Oinoanda 1997. The New Epicurean Texts, *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998) 125–170.

Smith (2000) = M. F. Smith, Elementary, my Dear Lycians. A Pronouncement on Physics from Diogenes of Oinoanda, *Anatolian Studies* 50 (2000) 133–137.

Smith (2003) = M. F. Smith, *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda, The Epicurean Inscription*, La scuola di Epicuro, Supplemento 3 (Napoli 2003).

Smith (2004) = M. F. Smith, In Praise of the Simple Life. A New Fragment of Diogenes of Oinoanda, *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004) 35–46.

Smith/Hammerstaedt (2007) = M. F. Smith / J. Hammerstaedt, The Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda. New Investigations and Discoveries (NF 137–141), *Epigraphica Anatolica* 40 (2007) 1–11.

Attention 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

Epigraphica Anatolica 40, 2007, s. 1-11'de raporu sunulan 2007 yılı Oinoanda çalışmaları, 2008 yılında Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü İstanbul Şubesi başkanvekili Martin Bachmann başkanlığında bir ekip tarafından sürdürdü ve Alman, İngiliz ve Türk meslektaşların katılımıyla Oinoanda ve yakın çevresinde arkeolojik ve epigrafik yüzey araştırmaları yapıldı. Bu çalışmalar kapsamında Esplanade (“meydan”) adı verilen bölümün terrestrik scan işlemi gerçekleştirildi. Bu dijital belgeleme yaklaşık 25.000 metrekarelik bir alanı kapsamaktadır. Diogenes yazıtının kısmen bilinen ve kısmen yeni bulunan 32 adet parçasının scanner ile üç boyutlu belgelemesi yapıldı (bunların dökümü yukarıda 1 numaralı dipnota verilmektedir) ve 185 parçanın konumu GPS ile belirlendi. Sayısal ortamda bu bilgilerin Web destekli coğrafî bilgi sistemi (Web-GIS) kapsamında kullanılabilir duruma getirilmeleri öngörmektedir.

Çalışmalar sırasında felsefî metinler içermeyen yeni yazıtların yanısıra, Epikurosçu filozof Oinoanda'lı Diogenes'in ünlü felsefî yazıtına ait 26 adet yeni parçanın bulunmuş olması da memnuniyet vericidir. Makale, bu yeni buluntuların ilk yorumlarını ve çevirilerini içermektedir. Yeni parçalar (NF 142-167) ait oldukları yerlere göre metnin farklı bölümlerine uyarlanmıştır.

Yeni parçalardan 142-145 arasındaki Diogenes'in *Fizik* ile ilgili çalışmalarını içeren bölüm eklenebilmektedir. Yeni buluntular arasındaki 142 numaralı parçada Diogenes, kendisinden önceki bir dönemde yaşamış olan Empedokles ya da Anaksagoras'ın doğayı oluşturan temel öğeler öğretisini bu konuda doğa filozoflarından Herakleitos'a karşı yapılan polemikler ışığında ayrıntılı olarak değerlendirmektedirken, 143 no.'lu yeni parça üzerinde iki sütun halinde yazılmış olan metnin Delphoi'daki Bilici Tanrı'nın işlevinin bir eleştirisi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Burada özellikle Apollon'un tavrı ve öğütleri, Lydia kralı Kroisos'a olan tavrı ve Paros adası kökenli şair Arkhilokhos'un ahlaken mahkum edildiği bölümler büyük ilgi uyandıracak niteliktedir.

146 ve 157 numaralı parçalar gibi 142 ve 143 numaralı parçalar da, yazılı yüzlerinin henüz büyük ölçüde kapalı olmaları nedeniyle tam olarak okunamamaktadır. Bunların tümüyle ortaya çıkarılarak yazılı yüzlerinin okunabilir hale gelmeleriyle daha önemli metinlerin sayılarının artması olasıdır.

Yeni yazıt parçalarından 146-148 numaralı olanlar Diogenes'in *Ethik*larındaki görüşlerini içerirken, 149-154 numaralar arasındaki yeni parçalar herseyden önce onların yazıt büyülüklükleri nedeniyle ya *Fizik* ya da *Ethik* ya da herhalde sondan üçüncü taş dizisi üzerine yazdırılmış olan filozof mektupları metinlerine aittirler. Bunların bazıları bizzat Diogenes tarafından, bazıları da

Epikuros'un adı altında kaleme alınmış metinlerdir. Yeni parçalardan 146 numaralı olanı 1.22 metre genişlikte olup, üzerindeki 3.5 sütuna yayılan metniyle 2008 yılı çalışmasının en kapsamlı buluntusu niteliğini taşımakta ve Diogenes'in *Ethik*larındaki metninden parçalar içermektedir. Bu parça, sağ tarafında bulunan ve 1997'den beri varlığı bilinen 129 numaralı yeni parça ile birleşmektedir. İçerik olarak en basit şekilde beslenme ve çok sınırlı uyku mekanı ve giyim talepleri şeklindeki en alt düzeye indirilmiş gereksinimlere odaklı olan Epikurosu yaşam tarzı, diğer her türlü talebi lüks olarak tanımlamaktadır. Epikuroşuların kendi kararlarıyla inzivaya çekilerek yaşamalarına yönelik geleneksel eleştiri nedeniyle, Diogenes böyle bir yaşam tarzının sosyal yararlarını vurgulayan bir gerekçelendirmeyi ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Diogenes bu yaşam tarzını, bu şekilde elde edilen kazanımların zor durumda olan insanlara yardım olarak kullandığını belirterek savunmaktadır. Diogenes'e göre Epikuroşular diğerlerinin mallarından pay almalarından memnuniyet duymaktadırlar.

Yeni bulunan parçalardan 155-157 numaralı olanların üzerinde orta büyülüklükte yazı ile Diogenes'in çeşitli konular hakkında tek tek yaptığı sentezlerin metinleri bulunmaktadır. 155 numaralı yeni buluntu tümüyle korunmuş olup, Platon'un dünyanın oluşumu öğretisini (Kosmogoni) Epikurosu temel ögeler doğrultusunda irdelemektedir. Diogenes Platon'u dünyanın ebediyyen var olmadığı, belli bir zaman diliminde olduğu görüşünden dolayı överken, onun herşeyin doğa kanunları ile olduğu tezini eleştirmekte, Platon'un dünyanın bir yaratıcı tarafından oluşturulduğu ve sonsuza kadar var olacağı yaklaşımını reddetmektedir. 157 numaralı parçanın metni, yazılı yüzün tam olarak açılmasına kadar tartışmalı kalmaya mahkumdur. Çünkü bu haliyle metinde güzel ve cirkin oluşumlardan hangi bağamlarda söz edildiği anlaşılamamaktadır.

158-160 numaralı parçalar üzerindeki orta büyülüklükte harflerle yazılı olan metin Diogenes'in kendisi gibi epikurosu öğretilere bağlı düşünce içinde olduğu filozoflara yazdığı mektuplardır. Bunların içerikleri hakkında herhangi bir değerlendirme yapmak bu parçaların çok küçük olmaları nedeniyle mümkün değildir. Yeni parçalardan 158 numaralı olanın üzerinde büyük bir ihtimalle "soyluluğun doğuştan değil, buna uygun yaşam tarzı sürdürmekle kazanılacağı" görüşünü içeren metin bulunmaktadır.

Yeni buluntulardan 161-162 numaralı olanlar orta büyülüklükte harflerle yazılmış çok küçük parçalardır. Bunların Diogenes tarafından yapılmış olan sentezlerle ilgili metinlere ait olup olmadıklarını belirlemek mümkün olamamaktadır.

163-167 numaralı olan yeni parçaların harflerinin daha büyük olmaları ve taşın dış görünümü nedeniyle Diogenes anıtına ait oldukları düşünülebilir. Ancak çok parçalı olmaları nedeniyle bunların içerikleri hakkında herhangi bir yorum yapmak mümkün olamamaktadır.

Özetlenecek olursa; 2008 yılı çalışmaları beklenenin de ötesinde metnin saptandığı bir dönem olmuştur. Bu durum gelecek yıllarda yapılması öngörülen çalışmaların da başarılı olmaya devam edeceği yönündeki umutlarımızı güçlendirmektedir. Arkeolojik ve epigrafik çalışmalarımız çok sıkı bir ilişki içinde yürütüldüğünden, yazılı küçük parçaların bulunarak en kapsamlı şekilde belgelenmesi sonucunda, bunlarla ilgili diğer yazıt parçalarının birleştirilmesi henüz mümkün olmasa da, Diogenes yazıtının taşa işlenmesi, üzerinde bulunduğu stoanın yapımı ve tahrif edilmesi hakkında önemli ipuçları elde edilmiştir.

Oinoanda'da yapılan çalışmalara ilişkin Türkçe ve İngilizce her türlü bilgiyi, www.dainst.de/index_8097_de.html adresinde bulmak mümkündür.

Köln
Isle of Foula, Shetland

Jürgen Hammerstaedt
Martin Ferguson Smith