# DIOGENES OF OENOANDA, NEW FRAGMENTS 115-121\*

In the summer of 1981 the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara resumed the epigraphical and topographical survey of Oenoanda begun in 1974-1977. The season lasted for about three weeks, from 16th July to 4th August.

The team consisted of Mr. A. S. Hall (Director), Dr. J. J. Coulton, Mr. E. C. Stenton, and myself. I wish to thank my colleagues for their assistance. I am grateful to Mr. Hall for requesting and permitting me to publish the texts presented in this article.

It is a pleasure to record our sincere gratitude to the following: to the Turkish Government for renewing our permit to work at Oenoanda; to the authorities of the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara for their assistance; to Bay Mehmet Güven Güler, Director of the Fethiye Museum, for his warm interest and encouragement; to the local officials in Fethiye and Seki for their courteous attention and cooperation; and, not least, to the Turkish Government's representative, Bay Edip Özgür of the Antalya Museum, who not only took a keen interest in our work, but also made a valuable contribution to it by making himself one of the team.

I carried out the following work on the inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda:

1. I examined the 11 fragments (YF 162-169, 171-173 = NF 94, 107, 109-114, HK fr. 10, 30, 50) (1) discovered or rediscovered in 1976 and 1977, checking measurements and readings, taking photographs, and, in a few cases, making new squeezes.

2. I examined, photographed, and squeezed NF 108 - a block in the theatre recorded by R. Heberdey in 1902, but never published by him (2).

3. I examined a number of other already published fragments, checking measurements and readings.

(1) For NF 94, see Smith L; for the other fragments, see Smith M.

(2) See Smith M 74-78.

<sup>(\*)</sup> A list of abbreviations is given at the end of this article (before the indices).

4. I took new photographs of many fragments and of the areas in which they are located.

5. Following the clues (often very vague) given by Cousin and HK, I made a careful search for fragments found in the nineteenth century, but not rediscovered in recent years. The following pieces were located: (i) The major part of HK fr. 83 (YF 037A). A piece broken off this fragment (YF 037B) had been located by me in 1973 (Smith G 111). (ii) A small piece (YF 031C) broken off HK fr. 45, bearing the ends of III.13-14 and the beginnings of IV.13-14. This piece and another small piece (YF 031B) broken off the same fragment were fixed back on the "parent" block (YF 031A).

The cases of HK fr. 83 and 45 and some other fragments (e.g. HK fr. 65, on which see Smith A 53) demonstrate the urgent need to collect together all the pieces of Diogenes' inscription and afford them protection. So long as they remain scattered and exposed, it is almost inevitable that further breakages, as well as further deterioration due to atmospheric and other natural influences, will occur.

6. I repainted the inventory numbers on many of the stones, since the numbers painted four or six years ago were faded or, in some cases, obliterated.

7. I recorded the seven new fragments published in this article. The two most substantial of these fragments (NF 115 and 121) had been located in 1975, but it had not been possible to record them then; so only five small pieces were located in 1981, despite a widespread search, especially of the areas round the Esplanade, the area south-east of the theatre, the areas west and south of the Agora, and the areas east and south of the main church (Mm3 on the plan; see fig. 1). The poor gleanings resulting from this careful investigation suggest that few fragments remain to be found on the surface, though there is every reason to believe that an excavation and/or stone-moving operation in several areas would yield a rich harvest: elsewhere (Smith M 70) I have estimated that perhaps 20,000 words remain to be discovered and to be added to the 5,770 (3) words recovered so far.

8. With the kind assistance of Dr. Coulton and Mr. Stenton, the position of each fragment found since 1976 (4) was plotted.

At the time of writing, the prospects for further work at Oenoanda in the near future do not seem bright. I am therefore proceeding with the preparation of an edition of all the known fragments of Diogenes.

<sup>(3)</sup> This figure is approximate. NF 115-121 contribute about 100 words.

<sup>(4)</sup> Also NF 95 (YF 161) found at the very end of the 1975 season.

# Location of the fragments

With his kind permission, I am able to publish a plan (fig. 1), prepared by Dr. Coulton, of the central and northern parts of the site, showing the distribution of Diogenes fragments. The plan is an up-dated and improved version of the plan published by A. S. Hall, "AS" 26, 1976, 195. Reference is made to the squares of this plan in the descriptions that follow.

NF 116, 117, 118, 119, 120 were found south of the Esplanade, in



Fig. 1 : Plan of Oenoanda, showing the distribution of Diogenes' fragments.

the upper left part of square Nl. NF 115 is on the rising ground south of the south-west corner of the Esplanade and east of the Agora, in the lower right part of square Ml. NF 121 is located north-east of the northeast corner of the Esplanade, in square Nk. The major part of HK fr. 83 (YF 037A) and the piece (YF 031C) broken off HK fr. 45 were found on the west side of the so-called "Great Wall" (5), which bounds the west side of the Esplanade, in the bottom centre part of square Mk.

# NF 115 = YF 174 (fig. 2)

#### Description

A complete block of whitish limestone. Slight chipping along top, bottom, and left edges. The first eight lines of col. I are worn, but most of the text is splendidly preserved. H. 47 cm., W. 64 cm., D. at least 35 cm. Upper margin 2 cm. high, lower margin 3.5 cm. high. Letters average about 1.9 cm.



Fig. 2 : NF 115

(5) On the use of this term to describe that part of the late city-wall which bounds the west side of the Esplanade, see Smith L 41 n. 9.

# Position

Both the physical/epigraphical features and the subject-matter of the fragment prove that it belongs to Diogenes' treatise on physics. Only the fragments of this treatise have all the following characteristics: (a) a column or columns of 14 lines of small letters; (b) no line 15 of larger letters; (c) no *paragraphai*; (d) a height of 45-49 cm.; (e) little or no margin above or below. As for the content, the passage is part of a discussion of the gods, and in the Epicurean system theology comes under the heading of physics. Other physics fragments belonging to this discussion are mentioned below under *Notes*. It is impossible to be sure exactly where NF 115 stood in relation to any of these fragments, but, if my restoration of col. III is on the right lines, it is likely that the fragment stood close to NF 39-40 (probably preceding them) and/or NF 54 and perhaps also fr. 11.

Text

Col. I

	]ν πρὸς τὸν
	π]ερί αὐτῶν
	] λαλεῖ λα
	]μεν <b>α</b> υ
5	]ων μοι
	]ς χωλούς
	]τικους
	]ων <b>πα</b> ιο
	] πρὸς τῷ
10	]ς δημιουρ
	[γ]ρεπει. τà
	[μὲν οὖν ξόανα β]άλλει
	[βέλη καὶ γέγο]ựε τόξον
	[ἔχοντα, ποιο]ὑμενα ὡς

Col. II

ό Ἡρακλῆς παρὰ τῷ Ὁμή ρω, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ θηρίων δο ρυφορεῖται, τὰ δ' ὀργίζε ται τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν, ὥσ
5 περ ἡ Νέμεσις τοῖς πολ λοῖς δοκεῖ. δεῖ δ' ἱλα ρὰ τῶν θεῶν ποιεῖν ξόανα καὶ μειδιῶντα ἵν' ἀντιμειδιάσωμεν 10 μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ φο βηθῶμεν. vacat τί οὖν ἐστιν, ὦ ὑμεῖς; τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς εὐσε βῶμεν καὶ ἐν ἑορταῖς

Col. III

καὶ ἐν βε[βήλοις καὶ] κοινῆ κα[ὶ ἰδἰα ὁμοίως] καὶ τὰ πά[τρια πρὸς αὐ ] τοὺς ἐθη[μόνως ποιῶ ] 5 μεν·μη[δὲ οἱ ἄφθαρτοι] καταψευ[σθέντων τι] παρ' ἡμῶ[ν μάτην δεδιό ] των μὴ [τυνχάνουσι πα] σῶν αἴτι[οι συμφορῶν] 10 φέροντε[ς ἡμεῖν πράγ ] ματα καὶ [βαρεῖς ἀνἀν ] κας ἑαυτοῖ[ς βουλεὐ] οντες. κα[ - - - - δ' αὐτοὺς κ[ - - - - -

Translation

 ... about them ... talks ... lame ... [Some statues of the gods] cast [weapons and are produced holding] a bow, [represented] like
 Heracles in Homer; others are attended by a body-guard of wild beasts; others are angry with the prosperous, like Nemesis according to popular opinion; whereas we ought to make statues of the gods cheerful and smiling, so that we may smile back at them rather than be afraid of them.

Well, then, you people, let us reverence the gods both at festivals III and on [unhallowed occasions, both] publicly [and privately alike, and let us observe the practices of our fathers in relation to them (the gods) in the customary way; and let not the imperishable beings be falsely accused at all] by us [in our vain fear that they are responsible for all misfortunes,] bringing [trouble to us] and [contriving burdensome obligations] for themselves.

# Notes

One of the areas of Epicurean doctrine of which our knowledge is most imperfect is theology and religion, so that any new text relating to this subject is a particularly welcome find. In 1895 Heberdey and Kalinka found three fragments which deal with the gods - fr. 11 (HK

#### DIOGENES OF OENOANDA, NF 115-121

fr. 50) in which Diogenes asserts that the charge of atheism is to be levelled not against the Epicureans, but against certain other philosophers, and fr. 12 and 13 (HK fr. 53 and 54). However, only a few words of fr. 12 and 13 could be deciphered. Now we are much better off: a good part of fr. 12.111 has been deciphered (Smith D 160); 1974 brought the discovery of two substantial fragments (NF 39-40) in which Diogenes argues that the gods did not create the world either for themselves or for mankind; in 1975 NF 54 was brought to light – a fragment which is evidently part of an argument against the view that the gods are tyrannical beings, who are to be feared or appeased; and the latest acquisition is NF 115 – a very interesting text dealing with wrong and right attitudes to the gods.

In the last lines of col. I and in II.1-6 Diogenes is referring to the gods as usually conceived and portrayed – as formidable and irascible beings. Such conceptions and portrayals of the gods are quite wrong. Although Epicurus firmly believed that the gods exist, he rejected the popular conception of them (Epic., Men. 123-124). They live lives of perfect peace and happiness in the µετακόσµια; and they do not intervene in human affairs, as is explained in Epic., Sent. 1: το μακάριον και ἄφθαρτον οὕτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὕτε ἄλλω παρέχει, ὥστε οὕτε ὀρ γαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται έν άσθενεῖ γὰρ πῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον (6). Since the gods do not interest themselves in human affairs, can they be of any interest or value to us? Are men to worship them? One might suppose that the answer to these questions is "no". But NF 115 is one of several passages in Epicurean writers which show that the answer is "yes". In II.6-11 Diogenes does not ridicule the making of statues of the gods, but suggests that the gods be portrayed more appropriately and accurately; and he goes on (II.12 ff.) to assert explicitly that the gods are to be worshipped, evidently accepting his master's belief that worship of the gods, including participation in traditional acts of worship, is beneficial to the worshipper, provided that he is free of popular misconceptions about the gods and does not worship them in the hope of influencing them. The gods, being perfect, do not need us; but, because they are perfect, we need them. The perfect beauty and happiness of the gods make it natural for man to worship them, and his acts of worship enable him to get closer to them and to participate in their happiness (7).

Col. I

1-11. I have not been able to produce a convincing restoration of these lines, although there can be little doubt that Diogenes is arguing against the traditional conception of the gods. It is likely that lines 5 and 6 refer to representations of the gods as adulterous and lame (see notes *ad loc*.).

2.  $a\dot{v}\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$  probably =  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ .

3-4. Perhaps  $[\pi o\lambda \lambda \eta \nu] \lambda a \lambda \epsilon \tilde{\iota} \lambda a / [\lambda \iota a \nu or [\pi o\lambda \lambda a] ... \lambda a / [\lambda \eta \mu a \tau a].$  $\Pi \rho o \sigma \lambda a \lambda \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$  occurs in NF 1.11.14 and may have been used here. The subject may have been Homer or Hesiod (see following notes).

5-6. Probably  $\mu ot / [\chi \tilde{\omega} \nu \text{ or } \mu ot / [\chi \tilde{\omega} \nu \text{ or } \mu ot / [\chi \tilde{\omega} \nu \tilde{\omega} \nu \omega \nu]$ . Xenophanes (fr. 11) lists adultery among the shameful practices which Homer and Hesiod attribute to the gods. Plato (Resp. 390c), in the course of his argument that the works of the poets, including Homer and Hesiod, contain much that is unsuitable for the young, refers to the story of Hephaestus trapping Ares and Aphrodite in the act of adultery (Od. 8. 266-366). Epicurus held that the gods are anthropomorphic, and he recognized both male and female deities (Cic., DND 1.95). But, although the Epicurean gods eat, drink, and talk (Phld., De Dis 3, fr. 77, p. 67 Diels; ibid. col. 13.36-40, pp. 36-37 Diels), it is most unlikely that Epicurus believed that these perfectly tranquil and happy beings, with their quasi-bodies (Cic., DND 1.49), engage in any sexual activity, particularly in view of his unfavourable comments on sexual love and intercourse (Diog. Laert. 10.118).

6.  $\chi\omega\lambda\omega\sigma$ . If Diogenes is referring to representations of gods as lame, he is presumably thinking primarily of Hephaestus, who is called 'Aµ $\varphi$ i- $\gamma\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  by Homer (e.g. Il. 1.607) and Hesiod (Theog. 571, 945) and described as  $\chi\omega\lambda\delta\varsigma$  in Od. 8.308.

7. Prominent possibilities include  $\sigma \omega \mu a ] \tau \kappa o \psi \varsigma$  and  $\pi o \iota \eta ] \tau \kappa o \psi \varsigma$ . It is just possible that there is an iota at the end of the line, but damage to the stone is much more likely.

8-9. Perhaps  $\pi a \omega / [\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \omega \nu]$  in reference to men being struck by the gods.

10-11. The verb  $\delta\eta\mu\omega\nu\rho\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\omega$  occurs in NF 39.I.10, II.12-13;  $\delta\eta\mu\omega\nu\rho[$ in fr. 12.III.14 (see Smith D 160) is probably  $\delta\eta\mu\omega\nu\rho[\gamma\dot{\delta}\nu$ . In each of these cases the reference is to a divine creator. In the present passage, too, the reference may be to a divine creator or creation, but, in view of the reference to statues in II.8, it is also possible that Diogenes is referring to a human craftsman or piece of workmanship.

11. Perhaps  $\tau$ ] $\rho \dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota$  (or a compound) or  $\pi$ ] $\rho \dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota$ . A slight space before  $\tau \dot{a}$ .

11-14. It is not certain that Diogenes is referring to statues here (II. 6-11 favour my restoration, but II.3-6 are perhaps slightly against it), but the matter is of no great importance: he is certainly referring to the way in which the gods are traditionally conceived and portrayed. Deities often or sometimes represented armed include Zeus, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis. Apollo and Artemis were often represented with a bow (cf. 13).

14-II.2. The passage foremost in Diogenes' mind is, presumably, Od. 11.601-627, especially 601-612. Diogenes quotes Homer in fr. 61 and probably fr. 60, and the name of the poet is probably rightly restored in fr. 61.II.6. It is worth recalling that Heracles was the mythical hero of the Stoics, whom Diogenes evidently regarded as his school's chief philosophical opponents (see Smith B 380, L 59), and that Lucretius, at the end of his argument (5.22-54) that Heracles' services to mankind were far inferior to those of Epicurus, points out that Epicurus conferred his benefits *dictis, non armis* (5.50).

Col. II

1.  $\pi a \rho \dot{a} + dative is used, like a pud, to mean "in" (i.e. in the writings of) an author. Cf. e.g. Polyb. 9.1.4.$ 

2-3. "Some are guarded by wild beasts" - e.g. Cybele by lions. A slight space after the second letter in 2.

4. A very slight space between the second and third last letters.

6. A slight space after the ninth letter.

6-11. These lines are extremely interesting. It should not be supposed that Diogenes is writing jokingly or ironically. Epicurus seems to have recommended making obeisance to images of the gods and addressing prayers to them: cf. Plut., Mor. 1102b, Us. fr. 12 (perhaps) and 390, and see Smith L 49-50. However, the gods are not to be feared (10-11; cf. e.g. Lucr. 6.68-78), and therefore their statues should not inspire fear. The worshipper who encounters and prays to statues which represent the gods as tranquil and happy, as they actually are, instead of as irascible and formidable, will be helped to get closer to the divine beings: he will smile back, as Diogenes says, and no doubt his mind will the more readily receive the  $\epsilon l\delta \omega \lambda a$  (simulacra) that flow from their bodies (Lucr. 6.76-78).

9.  $d\nu\tau\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\iota d\omega$  seems to occur elsewhere only in Vita Aesopi (ex codice G) 32 Perry.

11. After the seventh letter the line is left empty. The space marks the transition from the criticism of erroneous conceptions and portray-

als of the gods to the exhortation to reverence the gods. Cf. e.g. NF 40. III.8 and see my note there (Smith H 294) for a list of other such lines.

13-14. Diogenes Laertius (10.10) says of Epicurus:  $\tau \eta \varsigma \mu e \nu \gamma a \rho \pi \rho \delta \varsigma$  $\theta \epsilon o \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$   $\dot{\upsilon} \sigma i \dot{\upsilon} \tau \eta \tau \sigma \varsigma$ ...  $\ddot{a} \lambda \epsilon \kappa \tau \sigma \varsigma \dot{\eta} \delta i \dot{a} \theta \epsilon \sigma i \varsigma$ . Epicurus wrote treatises  $\Pi \epsilon \rho \dot{i} \epsilon \dot{\upsilon}$ . σεβείας (Cic., DND 1.115) and Περί όσιότητος (Cic., DND 1.115, Diog. Laert. 10.27). These treatises do not survive, but there is ample evidence that, whilst he believed that  $\dot{a}\sigma\dot{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota a$  consists not in denving the gods of the many but in foisting on the gods the beliefs of the many (Epic., Men. 123), he piously performed the traditional acts of worship. See Us. fr. 13, 386, 387. He believed that it is at festivals (cf. 14) that the wise man can get closest to the gods:  $\pi \dot{a}\nu \tau a \gamma \dot{a}\rho \sigma \sigma [\rho \dot{\rho}\nu] \kappa a \theta a \rho \dot{a}\varsigma$ καὶ ἁ[ $\gamma \nu$ ]ὰς δόξας ἔχειν [ $\pi \epsilon \rho$ ὶ] τοῦ θείου καὶ [ $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ ]άλην τε καὶ σε[ $\mu \nu$ ]ὴν ύπειληφέ[ναι] ταύτην τὴν φύσιν έν δ[έ] ταῖς ἑορταῖς μ[ά]λιστ' ε[ί]ς ἐπί νοιαν αὐτῆς βαδίζοντα διὰ τὸ τοὕνομα πάντα ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχειν π[άθ]ει  $σφο\delta[ρo]τέρωι κατα[σχεῖ]ν τὴ[ν τῶν θεῶν ἀφ]θαρ[σίαν... (Us. fr. 386.)$ p. 258.6-10). According to Philodemus, Epicurus participated in all the traditional festivals and sacrifices, including, apparently (the text is not perfectly preserved), the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries (Us. fr. 169).

14. A slight space after the fifth letter.

Col. III

1-14 The restorations are *exempli gratia*.

1.  $\epsilon \nu \beta \epsilon [\beta \eta \lambda o \iota \varsigma]$ . Cf. e.g. Thuc. 4.97. Here the reference is perhaps to unhallowed "occasions" rather than "places".

3-5. Cf. Us. fr. 387:  $\eta\mu[\epsilon \epsilon \gamma o \tilde{\nu} \nu] \theta \dot{\nu} \omega \mu \epsilon \nu [\dot{o} \epsilon i] \omega \varsigma \kappa a \dot{\kappa} a \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma o \tilde{v} [\kappa a - \theta] \eta \kappa \epsilon \iota$ ,  $\kappa a [\dot{\iota} \tau] \dot{a} \lambda \lambda a \pi \dot{a} \nu \tau a \pi \rho \dot{a} \tau \tau \omega \mu \epsilon \nu [\kappa a] \tau a \tau o \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma \nu \delta \mu o \upsilon \varsigma ...$  For the wording of my restoration, cf. Isoc. 4.31:  $\pi o \iota \epsilon \tilde{\iota} \nu \pi \rho \dot{\delta} \varsigma \tau \eta \nu \pi \delta \lambda \iota \nu \tau \eta \nu \eta \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho a \nu \tau a \pi \dot{a} \tau \rho \iota a$ .

4.  $\dot{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\dot{\delta}\nu\omega\varsigma$ . The adverb does not seem to occur elsewhere, and the adjective is quoted only from the late epic poets Musaeus and Nonnus. The latter writer uses the adjective 39 times (see W. Peek, Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos, Hildesheim 1968-1975).

5. A slight space after the third letter.

8. The slight space after the third letter perhaps tells against my restoration.

10-13. Cf. Epic., Sent. 1 quoted above.

13. A slight space after the fifth letter. In view of  $\delta$ ' in 14, which probably answers  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$  in II.13,  $\kappa a$  may begin a longish word which occupied the rest of the line, e.g.  $\kappa a \tau a \iota \delta \dot{\omega} \mu \epsilon \theta a$ . But  $\kappa a [\iota ... \delta' a \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \dot{\upsilon} \varsigma$  is possible.

NF 116 = YF 170(8) (fig. 3)

Description

Whitish limestone. Complete above; broken below, left, and right. H. 17.5 cm., W. 14 cm., D. 13 cm. Upper margin 4.5 cm. high. Letters average about 1.9 cm.

# Position

The height of the upper margin (too tall for the physics treatise, insufficiently spacious for the Letter to Antipater or Letter to Dionysius) (9) indicates that the fragment belongs to the ethical treatise. The column, of which we have part of the first 4 lines, will have contained 14 lines, and a continuous line of larger letters will have run through a spacious lower margin. The absence of the fifteenth line, which contains quotations of  $\kappa \nu \rho \iota a \iota \delta \delta \xi a \iota$  and other ethical maxims, makes the placing of this very small fragment, which does not bear a single complete word, impossible.

Text

# παράδ]ειγμά ἐσ[τι ]ησθαι δ[ -ελκε[ αυτ[



# Fig. 3 : NF 116

Fig. 4 : NF 117

(8) In 1977, when I was not invited to participate in work at Oenoanda, an initial error of identification resulted in the number YF 170 being allocated to a stone and then withdrawn. So, although the YF-inventory advanced to 173 in 1977, the number 170 remained unallocated. Thus the first fragment recorded in 1981 received the number 170, the second 174.

(9) On the Letter to Dionysius, see Smith L 53-54.

Notes

1. Or read  $\delta \epsilon \tilde{i} \gamma \mu a$ , which, unlike  $\pi a \rho \dot{a} \delta \epsilon i \gamma \mu a$ , is found in Epicurus' extant writings, though not in an ethical context:  $\tau \dot{a} \dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{i} \tau o \tilde{v} \dot{o} \rho \gamma \dot{a} \nu o v$  $\delta \epsilon i \gamma \mu a \tau a$  (Arrigh. fr. 26.39.3-4).

E.g. χρ]ησθαι.

3. Probably part of  $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omega$  (or a compound). The letter-trace before the first epsilon could be the end of a horizontal stroke (e.g. part of T or  $\Gamma$ ) or the end of a curve (e.g. part of C).

NF 117 = YF 176 (fig. 4)

### Description

Whitish limestone. Broken all sides. H. 14.5 cm. (surface 13 cm.), W. 28.5 cm. (surface 22.5 cm.), D. 10.5 cm. Letters average about 1.9 cm., though exceptions are the three letters carved *extra marginem* in II.3 (see note *ad loc.*).

# Position

The fragment does not link up with any other known fragment. Although it may be part of the physics treatise, the context is more likely to be ethical (see note on II.1-2). It is probable, therefore, that it belongs either to the ethical treatise or to the Letter to Dionysius.

### Text

There is no certainty that the first line preserved was the first line on the complete stone. 9 lines separated I.5 and II.1.

Col. I

5

5

[ċ.]

 $]\tau\omega\varsigma$ 

]ι ]\τa ]μνο μ]ενοι

Col. II

πὶ Υ಼ήρως [ τις οὐδὲ μει[ ἀπεχοι[ ψυχ[

Notes

Col. I

3. Perhaps  $[\sigma \epsilon]\mu\nu \dot{o}/[\tau \epsilon \rho o \varsigma \text{ (cf. fr. 34.II.10-11) or } [\sigma \epsilon]\mu\nu \dot{o}/[\tau \eta \varsigma \text{ (cf. NF 8.I.11).}]$ 

5. [οΰ]τως ?

Col. II

1-2 What is the context of this reference to "in old age"? In II.5 there is mention of the soul, and in II.3-4 there is a possible reference to not abstaining or desisting from something. It is probable that the context is ethical, and Diogenes may be suggesting that in old age one does not stop enjoying the pleasures of the soul. However, another possibility is that he is discussing the nature of the soul and its relationship to the body: Lucretius (3.445-458) points out that, just as the mind is born and develops with the body, so it grows old with it. If Diogenes is making a similar point in NF 117, the fragment may belong either to the ethics treatise (cf. fr. 37) or to the physics.

3. Perhaps [ $\delta\sigma$ ] $\tau\iota\varsigma$  rather than  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ . After  $\upsilon\delta\delta\epsilon$  perhaps  $\mu\epsilon\nu[\tau\sigma\iota$ : for this combination cf. e.g. Xen., Hell. 4.1.36; Phld., Rhet. 4.xxxvi.6 (Sudhaus I p. 217).

The first three letters of the line are carved *extra marginem* and unusually small, their heights being (in order) 1.3 cm., 0.9 cm., 1.0 cm. It is evident that the letters were omitted accidentally, and that the error could not be corrected by inserting them at the end of the previous line without making the end of that line run into or nearly into the following column. Cf. HK fr. 66.I.11 (Chilton fr. 26), where the first letter of  $\epsilon\beta\sigma\vartheta\lambda\sigma\nu\tau\sigma$  was carved *extra marginem* after the correction of an error at the end of the previous line. For a photograph of HK fr. 66, see Smith A fig. 9.

4. The verb may be middle (e.g.  $d\pi \epsilon \chi o \iota [\tau o]$ ) or active. The middle occurs in Us. fr. 442 (p. 289.11-12):  $\sigma \upsilon \mu \varphi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \tau \omega \nu \delta \epsilon \tau \iota \nu \omega \nu d\pi \epsilon \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \tau \omega \nu \eta \delta o \nu \omega \nu$ ,  $\iota \nu a \mu \eta d \lambda \gamma \omega \mu \epsilon \nu d \lambda \gamma \eta \delta \delta \nu a \varsigma \chi a \lambda \epsilon \pi \omega \tau \epsilon \rho a \varsigma$ . Here Diogenes may have written something like:

τις οὐδὲ μέν[τοι τότ᾽ ἂν] ἀπέχοι[τό τι ἡδονῶν] ψυχ[ικῶν

In this tentative reconstruction  $\tau \delta \tau' = \epsilon \pi i \gamma \eta \rho \omega \varsigma$ .

NF 118 = YF 177 (fig. 5)

### Description

A piece of limestone whose surface is greyish. Broken all sides. H. 21 cm. (surface 18.5 cm.), W. 10.5 cm. (surface 9.3 cm.), D. 16.5 cm. Letters average about 2 cm., but small omikron in line 4 is 1.2 cm.

## Position

The size of the letters indicates that the fragment belongs to one of the writings presented in 14-line columns - the physics treatise, the ethical treatise, Letter to Antipater, Letter to Dionysius.

Text

There is no certainty that the first line preserved was the first line of the column. In view of the empty space after the letters in line 5, the lines probably ended not far to the right of the preserved text, though considerable spaces follow the sixth letter in (e.g.) HK fr. 45.II.12 (Chilton fr. 8) and HK fr. 48.II.11 (Chilton fr. 10) and the seventh letter in NF 40.III.8 and NF 115.II.11.

U.I.			
$]\pi\omega$			
]\ηκ[			
]τος δε			
]ov vacat			
]vµ[			

Notes

2. Perhaps  $d\nu\theta\rho\omega$ ] $\pi\omega$ , but there are of course numerous other possibilities.

3. The partly preserved letter is  $\Lambda$  or M.

4. oų ]τος δέ?

5





Fig. 6 : NF 119

Fig. 5 : NF 118 (squeeze)

NF 119 = YF 179 (fig. 6)

Description

Whitish limestone. Broken all sides. H. 7.5 cm. (surface 6 cm.), W. 24 cm. (surface 19 cm.), D. 23.5 cm. Letters about 1.9 cm.

# Position

As with NF 118, it can only be said of NF 119 that it belongs to one of the writings inscribed in 14-line columns (see NF 118, Position).

### Text

If indeed there is an empty space before  $\tau \omega \nu$  in line 1, those letters are probably the beginning of the line, but there is no way of knowing whether the lines belong to the top, bottom, or middle of a column.

# vac.? των αλιιι . αρτους ιι

Notes

2.  $[\gamma] \dot{a} \rho \tau o \dot{v} \varsigma$  or (e.g.)  $[\dot{a} \varphi \theta] \dot{a} \rho \tau o v \varsigma$ ?

### NF 120 = YF 178 (fig. 7)

#### Description

A severely weathered piece of limestone, whose surface is grey or bluish-grey. Complete left; broken above, below, right. H. 33.5 cm. (surface 28 cm.), W. 24 cm. (surface 23 cm.), D. 18 cm. Letters about 1.9 cm. The text is extremely worn and in many places obliterated. There are *paragraphai* beneath the beginnings of II.1, 2.

### Position

*Paragraphai* do not occur in the physics treatise. Therefore the fragment must belong either to the ethical treatise or to the Letter to Antipater or to the Letter to Dionysius. It does not appear to link up with any other fragment yet discovered, though only in I.7 is the text sufficiently well preserved to provide any real guidance.

# Text

There is no certainty that the first line preserved was the first line on the complete stone. Five lines are missing between I.9 and II.1.



Fig. 7 : NF 120 (squeeze)

Col.	I	
		ovv.ov
		οΓΛην
	5	$v\tau \overset{c}{-} \overset{+}{-} v$
		IAII
		περί τοῦ
		$C \upsilon \pi \frac{c.4}{c.4}$
		$-\pi \frac{c.4}{\pi}$

Col. II

	<u>то</u> џ кај
	11
5	au
	arphi
	T

NF 121 = YF 175 (fig. 8)

Description

A block of whitish limestone embedded in the ground on its left side. Although it was not possible to expose the left edge, the ease with which the stone could be rocked showed that very little of it remained buried, and it may be regarded as certain that the left edge is not far to the left of the line-beginnings. The top, bottom, and right edges are complete, though the top edge is chipped. H. 33 cm., W. at least 45 cm., D. at least 27 cm. Upper margin 7 cm. Letters about 3 cm.

# Position

The height of the block and its spacious upper margin show that it stood in the topmost course of the inscription. The text is probably (see *Notes*) a continuation of HK fr. 8 = Chilton fr. 58.6-10 and part of Diogenes' treatise on old age — a treatise which was almost certainly inscribed in 18-line columns extending down three courses of stones (10). The stones in the topmost course (A) have a height of 31.5-

(10) See J. Irigoin, Le De Senectute de Diogène d'Oenoanda: principes d'une reconstitution, 'Studi in onore di Vittorio De Falco', Napoli 1971, 477-485, Smith B 385, Smith F 36-37, Smith L 45.

#### DIOGENES OF OENOANDA, NF 115-121

34 cm., 5 lines of large letters, a spacious upper margin, no lower margin; the blocks in the second course (B) have a height of 37-39 cm., 7-8 lines of large letters, and no margin above or below; while the stones in the third course (C) have a height of 45-50 cm.,  $4-5^{1}/_{2}$  lines of large letters, no margin above, and a scored frieze at the bottom separated from the text by an empty space. Since HK fr. 8 is a group-C block and NF 121 belongs to group A, it can be seen how the two can be linked up.

### Text

Seeing that the lines in HK fr. 8 are almost certainly the last lines of 18-line columns (see *Position*), I have numbered them 14-18.

HK fr. 8.II

15

5

[τ]ῷν γερόντων ὑπάρ <u>χε</u>ι λόγος, <u>ν</u> καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ῶν οὔκ εἰσιν ὀρέξεις πραγμάτων, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲ λῦ

NF 121

[π]αι τυνχάνουσιν, [ε]ἰ μή τις ὡς ἀληθῶς παρακόπτει τοῦτ' α[ὐ] τὸ λυπεῖσθαι θέλων [ὅ]τι τοῦ τῆς ἐπ[ιθυμί] [ας πάθους στερεῖται.]



#### Fig. 8 : NF 121 (squeeze)

## Translation

[In no way] is [the diminution of the desires] of the old an argument (against old age). For in general, where there are no desires for things, there are no feelings of distress concerning them either, unless someone is truly out of his mind, being disposed to be distressed about this very thing — that [he is deprived of the feeling of desire.]

### Notes

The link-up between HK fr. 8 and NF 121 is highly probable, but not certain: it is unfortunate that the first letter of NF 121.1 is missing. HK fr. 8 is evidently part of a passage in which Diogenes dealt with the charge that old age is undesirable because of the weakening of physical desires. In NF 121 he appears to be saying that, when one does not desire a thing, one is not distressed about it, unless one is so insane as to regard absence of desire *per se* as a distressing thing.

## HK fr. 8.II

HK, followed by William, Grilli, and Chilton, thought it probable that HK fr. 8 stood immediately below HK fr. 7, an A-block. However, their attempts to join the texts of the two fragments are unconvincing (see Hoffman 461), and the supposition that the C-blocks occupied the course immediately below the A-blocks, and that the columns contained only 10 lines instead of 18, is very unlikely to be correct (see *Position*).

15. HK fail to record the *paragraphe* beneath the beginning of the line.

# NF 121

2.  $\dot{\omega}_{\varsigma} \dot{a}_{\lambda \eta} \theta \tilde{\omega}_{\varsigma}$ . Cf. NF 21.I.4.

3.  $\pi a \rho a \kappa \delta \pi \tau \epsilon \iota$  is intransitive here = "is out of his mind", as in (e.g.) Us. fr. 87, which records that Epicurus said that Prodicus, Diagoras, Critias, and others  $\pi a [\rho a] \kappa \delta \pi \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \kappa a \iota [\mu a \iota \nu \epsilon \sigma] \theta a \iota$ . Cf. e.g. Plut., Mor. 963e, 1123f.

4 ff. Cf. fr. 14.11.1-4 (Grilli fr. 15) as restored by Grilli (11):  $\delta \tilde{\eta} [\lambda o\nu \gamma \dot{a}\rho \ \ddot{o}\tau\iota ] / \tau a\dot{v}\tau\eta \mu [\dot{\eta} \lambda \upsilon \pi o \tilde{\upsilon} \mu a\iota ] / \delta \dot{\eta} \ \ddot{o}\tau\iota \sigma \tau \epsilon [\rho \dot{\eta} \sigma o \mu a\iota \tau o \tilde{\upsilon}] / \zeta \tilde{\eta}\nu \kappa a \dot{\iota} \tau [o \tilde{\upsilon} \ \ddot{\eta} \delta \epsilon \sigma \theta a\iota].$ 

## Bangor,

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(11) The restoration in line 3 is that of H. Usener, Epikureische Schriften auf Stein, "RhM" 47, 1892, 428.

#### ABBREVIATIONS IN THIS ARTICLE

Arrigh. = G. Arrighetti, Epicuro: Opere, 2nd ed., Torino 1973.

Chilton = C. W. Chilton, Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta, Leipzig 1967.

Cousin = G. Cousin, Inscriptions d'Oenoanda, "BCH" 16, 1892, 1-70.

Grilli = A. Grilli, Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta, Milano 1960.

- HK = R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda, "BCH" 21, 1897, 346-443.
- Hoffman = G. N. Hoffman, Diogenes of Oenoanda: A Commentary, Dissertation, Univ. of Minnesota 1976.

Smith A = M. F. Smith, Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda Discovered and Rediscovered, "AJA" 74, 1970, 51-62.

Smith B = M. F. Smith, New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, "AJA" 75, 1971, 357-389.

Smith D = M. F. Smith, New Readings in the Text of Diogenes of Oenoanda, "CQ" N.S. 22, 1972, 159-162.

- Smith E = M. F. Smith, Two New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, "JHS" 92, 1972, 147-155.
- Smith F = M. F. Smith, Thirteen New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, Denkschriften der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 117; Wien 1974.
- Smith G = M. F. Smith, Seven New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, "Hermathena" 118, 1974, 110-129.

Smith H = M. F. Smith, More New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, in: J. Bollack and A. Laks (editors), Etudes sur l'Epicurisme antique, Lille 1976, 279-318.

Smith L = M. F. Smith, Fifty-five New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, "AS" 28, 1978, 39-92.

Smith M = M. F. Smith, Eight New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda, "AS" 29, 1979, 69-89.

Us. = H. Usener, Epicurea, Leipzig 1887.

William = J. William, Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta, Leipzig 1907.

fr. = fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription, unless otherwise indicated. Numbers are those of Chilton, unless otherwise indicated.

- NF = new fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription. NF 1-4 are in Smith A; 5-16 in Smith B; 17-18 in Smith E; 19-31 in Smith F; 32-38 in Smith G; 39-51 in Smith H; 52-106 in Smith L; 107-114 in Smith M; 115-121 in the present article.
- YF = Yazı Felsefi (Philosophical Inscription). The YF-numbers are the inventory numbers, which have been painted on the stones.

#### INDICES

All words except the definite article are listed. Doubtful occurrences are indicated by a question mark. Conventional orthography is used.

1. Index of Names <sup>4</sup>Ηρακλής 115.ΙΙ.1 Νέμεσις 115.ΙΙ.5 <sup>7</sup>Ομηρος 115.ΙΙ.1-2 2. Index of Words aïti os 115.111.9?  $d\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma$  121.2 ( $\dot{\omega}\varsigma \dot{a}$ .) åνάγκη 115.III.11-12? dντωειδιάω 115.11.9  $d\pi\epsilon\chi\omega$  117.II.4  $a\dot{v}\tau \dot{o}\varsigma = is 115.1.2, 11.10, 111.3-4?, 14.$ = ipse 121.3-4? βάλλω 115.Ι.12?  $\beta \epsilon [\beta \eta \lambda 0 \varsigma \ 115.111.1?$ γάρ 119.2? γῆρας 117.11.2 γίνομαι 115.I.13? δέ 115.II.2, 3, 6, III.14; 118.4?  $\delta \epsilon \tilde{\iota} 115.11.6$ δημιουργ[? 115.I.9-10 δοκέω 115.11.6 δορυφορέω 115.11.2-3 έαυτοῦ 115.111.12  $\epsilon\theta\eta[\mu\delta\nu\omega\varsigma 115.111.4?]$ ei 121.2 eiui 115.11.12; 116.1 έλκω 116.3? έν 115.II.14, III.1 έορτή 115.11.14  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi i$  + gen. 117.11.1-2  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi i\theta \nu\mu ia 121.5-6?$ εύσεβέω 115.ΙΙ.13-14  $\epsilon \dot{\upsilon} \tau \upsilon \chi \dot{\epsilon} \omega 115.11.4$  $\ddot{\eta} = quam \ 115.11.10$ ήμεις 115.111.7 θέλω 121.4 θεός 115.ΙΙ.7, 13  $\theta \eta \rho i o \nu 115. II.2$ ίλαρός 115.11.6-7 "va conj. 115.II.9 каі 115.11.8, 14, 111.1, 2?, 3, 11, 13?; 120.II.3 καταψεύ[δομαι 115.III.6 κοινός 115.III.2 (κοινη)  $\lambda a$  [? 115.1.3

 $\lambda a \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \omega$  (or compound) 115.1.3 λυπέω 121.4 λύπη 121.1 μãλλον 115.11.10  $\mu \epsilon$  ? 117.11.3 μειδιάω 115.11.8 μέν 115.II.13  $\mu\eta$  115.III.5?, 8?; 121.2  $\mu oi [? 115.1.5]$ ξόανον 115.11.8 οργίζω 115.11.3-4 öτι 121.5? οὐδέ 117.11.3 ovv 115.11.12 ούτος 121.3  $\pi a \iota [? 115.I.8]$  $\pi a \rho \dot{a} + \text{gen. 115.III.7.}$ + dat. 115.11.1 παράδειγμα 116.1? παρακόπτω 121.3  $\pi \dot{a} [\tau \rho \iota o \varsigma? 115.111.3]$  $\pi\epsilon\rho i$  + gen 115.1.2; 120.1.7 ποιέω 115.Ι.14?, ΙΙ.7 πολύς 115.11.5-6 (οί πολλοί) πρãγμα 115.111.11  $\pi \rho \delta \varsigma + dat. 115.1.9.$ + acc. 115.1.1 τις 117.11.3?; 121.2  $\tau$ is 115.11.12 τόξον 115.1.13 τυγχάνω 121.1 ύμεῖς 115.11.12  $b\pi \dot{o} + \text{gen. 115.II.2}$ φέρω 115.ΙΙΙ.10 φοβέω 115.II.10-11 χωλός 115.Ι.6  $\psi v \chi$  [? 117.11.5  $\dot{\omega}$  115 II.12  $\dot{\omega}_{S}$  adv. of manner 115.I.14; 121.2 ( $\dot{\omega}_{\varsigma} \dot{a} \lambda \eta \theta \tilde{\omega}_{\varsigma}$ )