

# TWO NEW FRAGMENTS OF DIOGENES OF OENOANDA

(PLATE XXIV)

## ABBREVIATIONS

HK = R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, 'Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda' in *BCH* xxi (1897) 346-443.

William = J. William, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig 1907).

Chilton = C. W. Chilton, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig 1967).

Smith A = M. F. Smith, 'Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda discovered and rediscovered' in *AJA* lxxiv (1970) 51-62.

Smith B = M. F. Smith, 'New fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda' in *AJA* lxxv (1971) 357-89.

*fr.* = fragment of Diogenes' inscription. Numbers are those of Chilton, unless otherwise indicated.<sup>1</sup>

NF = new fragment(s) of Diogenes' inscription. NF 1-4 are in Smith A; 5-16 in Smith B; 17-18 in this article.

IN May 1971 I revisited the Lycian city of Oenoanda, in search of fragments of the philosophical inscription of the Epicurean Diogenes.<sup>2</sup> In 1968-69-70 I had rediscovered forty-five of the fragments found in the nineteenth century, and discovered sixteen new stones bearing about 800 words of text.

My latest investigation of the site yielded just two more new fragments, the texts of which are given *infra*, and though it is possible that a few more blocks of the inscription may be found without excavation, I have now searched the central part of the city systematically and thoroughly, and I should be surprised if I have overlooked many fragments lying on the surface.<sup>3</sup> At the same time I am confident that a proper excavation of the site would be richly rewarded.

## NEW FRAGMENT 17 (PLATE XXIV I-II)<sup>4</sup>

### *Location and description*

The fragment is about 25 m. up the slope that rises south of NF 5, 12, 13, 8, 9 and 14, the location of which is described in Smith B 358. The stone, which is close to the edge of a precipitous rock face, stands upright and faces west. Its position is further south than that of any other fragment yet found.

It is of whitish limestone, but weathering has turned its surface bluish-grey. It is complete except for the loss of the top left corner and some chipping along the edges. The upper part of the stone is so badly weathered and worn that much of the text is illegible or

<sup>1</sup> Under NF 18, 'Position', I have used HK's numbers, not only because reference is made there to physical features of stones illustrated by HK, but also because Chilton's numbers relate not to individual stones, but to continuous passages which are sometimes inscribed on two or more blocks.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to record my gratitude to the University College of North Wales, Bangor, for allowing me to be absent for part of the Summer Term, 1971, and for making a generous grant towards the cost of the expedition.

<sup>3</sup> It may be pointed out, however, that the site is frequently visited by local people with their goats, sheep, cattle and camels, and by woodmen and hunters, and it is always possible for an inscribed block to be revealed through the moving of a stone or the removal of a bush or tree.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Mr D. Madge, Senior Technician in the Faculty of Arts at Bangor, for photographing the 'squeezes' of NF 17 and 18.

almost illegible, and a crack running obliquely across the centre of the block (from upper left to lower right) has wholly or partly obliterated several letters.

Height 0.61 m., width 0.455 m., depth 0.78 m. The stone bears the last letters of a column on the left, a complete second column, and the first letter or two of a third column. The columns contain (or contained) 14 lines of text. The letters average 1.7–1.8 cm. The margin above is about 6 cm. high; the margin below line 14 is 12.5 cm. high, and through it, 6 cm. below line 14, runs a continuous line 15 of letters 2–2.4 cm. high. There are *paragraphai* beneath col. II, 4 (unless damage to the stone has deceived me), 7, 10, 12, col. III, 6, 8.

#### *Position in the inscription*

That the fragment belongs to the ethical treatise is shown not only by its subject matter, but also by its height and fifteenth line: the ethical fragments are 0.56–0.62 m. high, and the continuous line 15 is a feature of no other section of Diogenes' work. Other characteristics of the ethical blocks are an upper margin about 5–6 cm. high and the presence of *paragraphai*.

The fragment does not join up with any other text yet discovered, and the fifteenth line cannot certainly fix its position in relation to any other fragment,<sup>5</sup> for the quotation in line 15 is not from an already known Epicurean saying and, so far as one can tell, no quotation from the same saying is made on any other fragment yet found.<sup>6</sup> However, the subject matter clearly shows to what part of the ethical treatise the fragment belongs. In the last lines of col. II Diogenes states that he has already discussed 'want' (*ἐνδεία*) and introduces a discussion of wounds and suchlike. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the passage belongs to the discussion of fear of pain which is promised in *fr.* 28, col. VII. For the position of this discussion within the ethical treatise, see Smith B 381. The only other known fragment which certainly belongs to the passage on fear of pain is NF 14. It is just possible that *fr.* 38 also should be assigned to it,<sup>7</sup> but since the probability is that *fr.* 38 belongs elsewhere in the ethical treatise, I shall consider here the position of NF 17 only in relation to NF 14.

NF 14 expounds the familiar Epicurean doctrine that severe pain is not to be feared, because either it is quickly relieved and health restored or it is soon ended by death. That this is a fundamental Epicurean doctrine is shown by the fact that it is the subject of Epicurus *Sent.* iv, one of the four sayings (*Sent.* i–iv) known as the *τετραφάρμακος*. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that NF 14 stood near the beginning of the discussion of fear of pain. NF 17, on the other hand, obviously does not belong to the beginning of the section: Diogenes is not now dealing with pain in general, but with specific examples of it; moreover, he refers, as we have seen, to the fact that 'want' has already been discussed, and when he writes 'concerning wounds and suchlike thus much is sufficient', his manner of introducing what is evidently to be a brief discussion of a straightforward matter suggests that he may be nearing the end of his treatment of pain.<sup>8</sup> But, whether NF 17 stood near the end of the discussion of fear of pain or not, there can be little doubt that it followed NF 14.

But how many columns separated the two fragments? It is impossible to say with certainty. NF 14, line 15 contains the end of an otherwise unknown maxim and the beginning (*οἱ λειποὶ*) of a second maxim. This second saying may well have been quoted from Epicurus *Ep. ad Men.* 130–1.<sup>9</sup> If so, at least five columns of text are missing between

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> I have explained elsewhere (Smith B 376) how Diogenes' quotation of already known Epicurean maxims is very useful in indicating the relative positions of ethical fragments and the extent of gaps in the text.

<sup>7</sup> See Smith B 381–2.

<sup>8</sup> For another possible indication that NF 17 stood near the end of the section on pain, see note *infra* on line 15.

<sup>9</sup> See Smith B 381, 384.

NF 14 and 17.<sup>10</sup> But there are several uncertainties. Is the maxim beginning on NF 14 quoted from *Ep. ad Men.*? Assuming that it is, how extensive was Diogenes' quotation?<sup>11</sup> Did the maxim quoted in NF 17, line 15 immediately follow the maxim that begins on NF 14, or were the two separated by a maxim or maxims? And even assuming that the two maxims were consecutive, is the line 15 quotation on NF 17 the beginning of a maxim?—probably it is, but we cannot be absolutely sure. Indeed, one of the few things that can be stated with almost complete certainty is that, even if the quotation that begins in NF 14, line 15 is not from *Ep. ad Men.* 130–1, it and the quotation in NF 17, line 15 are not from the same maxim: not only is the quotation on NF 17 probably itself the beginning of a new saying, but it seems to deal with longing for the past, and it is most unlikely that this subject and frugality were dealt with in the same maxim.

One further point may be noted. It is that the saying that begins in NF 14, line 15, if indeed it is quoted from *Ep. ad Men.* 130–1, expounds the doctrine that a simple diet gives perfect pleasure, for perfect pleasure is attained when all the pain due to want (*ἄπαν τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἔνδειαν*) has been removed. Now, it is clear from NF 17 that Diogenes has recently dealt with *ἐνδεία* as part of his treatment of fear of pain, and we might therefore think it probable that the *Ep. ad Men.* quotation was inscribed beneath Diogenes' discussion of 'want', and that the number of columns separating NF 14 and 17 was no greater than the number of columns beneath which the *Ep. ad Men.* passage was carved. But once again we are treading on unsafe ground, not only because it is not certain that the maxim that begins on NF 14 is quoted from *Ep. ad Men.*, but also because, as I have pointed out elsewhere, 'it is not clear to what extent the choice and order of the maxims in the fifteenth line was determined by the subject matter of the passages beneath which they are inscribed'.<sup>12</sup>

## Text

Col. I 1–5 stone broken off 6 obliterated 7 ]οε 8 ]ν 9 ]νοι 10 ]ν 11 ]αι 12 ]μή  
13 ]έσ 14 ]ρ

## Col. II

.φ. .δητικατες.αγη  
. .ικον. καίτοι μὲν ε  
. . . .ρ. . . ο.υ.γ.αγ.γ  
..ομένη. του δ' ἀπο. .α  
5 . . .ων καὶ τῶν ο.εων  
εἴ[τ]ε κατὰ πληγὰς εἶτε ἀ-  
δηλ[ο]υς. ν του δ' ἀπόνο[υ τὸ]  
πάν ποτ' ἐστὶ διαφεύγειν,  
ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπου φύσις  
10 δύναιται φυγεῖν. ν περὶ μὲν  
οὖν ἐνδείας ἐπάνω λέ-  
λεκται. ν περὶ δὲ τραυμά-  
των καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀρ-  
κεῖ τοσοῦτον. ν τὰ μὲν

<sup>10</sup> See Smith B 381.

<sup>11</sup> See Smith B 381, 384.

<sup>12</sup> Smith B 382. In the same place I was perhaps a little rash to state that 'the maxim which begins on NF 14, whether quoted from *Ep. ad Men.* or not, dealt with frugality and therefore with desire', and to say that this might be taken as suggesting that the section on desires closely followed NF 14; for the *Ep. ad Men.* passage deals not only with desire, but also with pain: indeed, it well illustrates a point

which I made in the same section of the same article—that, for an Epicurean at any rate, discussion of pain almost inevitably involves discussion of desire, and vice versa. Since I wrote the article, K. Kleve, reviewing Chilton in *Gnomon* xlii (1970) 619, has argued that there seems to be a correspondence between the content of the maxims and that of the columns inscribed above them. But this is not invariably the case (see Smith B 382).

Col. III 1-5 stone broken off 6 π[ 7 τ[ 8 φ[ 9 τα[ 10 κε[ 11 το[ 12 εα[  
13-14 obliterated

15 εἴμε]ρος δὲ τοῦ προγεγονότος

### Notes

As I have said *supra* (under 'Position'), the fragment undoubtedly belongs to the discussion of fear of pain. In the passage that ends in col. II, 10, Diogenes has evidently been emphasising the importance of doing everything possible to avoid painful experiences, though, because of the illegibility of most of 1-5 and (see *infra*) the textual uncertainties in 7-8, it is not clear to what sort of painful experiences he is referring. The remainder of the passage (10-14) is transitional and, though it is in a way disappointing that the best preserved part of the text is of this character instead of giving us part of the argument, the lines are most useful and interesting in that they give some indication of the scope of Diogenes' discussion of pain, and of the order in which examples of it were considered.

### Col. I

13-14. Probably ἐστ|[τί.

14. γά]ρ?

### Col. II

2. Between ν and κ there is a vertical stroke which is probably damage to the stone, in which case there is a space between the two letters. It is just possible, however, that ν and the vertical stroke were joined by a horizontal stroke, so that the reading was νη (*cf.* 4).
4. νη. The letters are joined in ligature.
5. At the end of the line, the reading may be ὀξέων.
6. πληγὰς. The reference is uncertain. Does Diogenes mean 'blows' in the ordinary, literal sense? or 'blows' in the figurative sense (= 'strokes of calamity')? or is he using the word technically of the 'impacts' of bodies or atoms? If my reading and restoration of the text at the beginning of 7 is on the right lines, there seems to have been a reference there to painful experiences brought about by imperceptible causes, in which case κατὰ πληγὰς probably refers to physical blows or impacts.
7. After the first two letters there is much superficial damage to the stone, and the reading is uncertain. The sixth letter could be epsilon rather than sigma. Again the reading at the end of the line is doubtful: πο could be γω, and the reading ἀγῶνο[ς τὸ].
8. After the fourth letter the stone is damaged, and ποτ' is doubtful. διαφεύγειν occurs in *fr.* 32, col. I, 5, but is not used by Epicurus in his extant writings.
- 7-10. If the text printed *supra* is correct, the meaning is: 'It is the part of the man free from pain to avoid them (i.e. the happenings mentioned earlier in the column) completely, as far as man's nature is able to avoid them'. In the Epicurean view, perfect pleasure consists in the attainment of freedom from trouble (ἀταραξία) in the mind and freedom from pain (ἀπονία) in the body: *cf.* e.g. Diog. Laert. x 136. On the avoidance of pain, see Epicurus *Ep. ad Men.* 128-30.
9. φύσις. The third and last letters are carved unusually small (1 cm. and 1.2 cm. respectively).

- 9-10. Some pains, such as those caused by illness or accident, cannot be avoided. However, the Epicureans taught that even these pains are not to be feared, because acute pain is short-lived, leading either to recovery or to death (*cf.* e.g. NF 14, col. I), and long-lasting pain is not severe and can be outweighed by pleasure (*cf.* Epicurus *Sent.* iv).
11. ἐνδείας. The limit of bodily pleasure is reached when 'the pain due to want' (τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἐνδειαν) has been removed: *cf.* Epicurus *Ep. ad Men.* 130, *Sent.* xviii, xxi.  
ἐπάνω, 'above', i.e. earlier in the ethical treatise. The whole ethical treatise was inscribed at the same level, and Diogenes is certainly not referring to a passage inscribed in a higher course of the inscription. On the other hand, in *fr.* 49, lines 6-7, the words ἐν ταῖς ὑποκάτω χώραις undoubtedly refer to lower courses of the inscription. The treatment of want must have formed part of the discussion of pain: the discussion of desire, to which it might otherwise have been assigned, apparently followed the discussion of pain (*cf.* *fr.* 28, col. VII). But the present passage implies that the treatment of want did not immediately precede.
12. No discussion of wounds is to be found in Epicurus' extant writings. However, he would certainly have had the same attitude to them as to illnesses: if they cause severe pain, that pain will soon be relieved through death or recovery; if the pain is not acute, it can easily be endured and exceeded by pleasure; therefore wounds are not to be feared, though naturally they should be avoided if possible. Seeing that Epicurus' attitude to wounds was undoubtedly consistent with his attitude to other causes of pain, we would not expect Diogenes to devote much space to the subject, and, as I have pointed out *supra* (under 'Position'), the phrase ἀρκεῖ τοσοῦτον (13-14) suggests that the matter is straightforward and can be treated briefly.
14. τὰ μὲν (*sc.* τραύματα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια) was perhaps immediately followed by οὖν (= 'well', 'now') and probably answered by τὰ δέ (*cf.* note *infra* on col. III, 9). The argument may have gone something like this: 'Some are serious, but the acute pain is quickly relieved through death or recovery; others are not serious and so cause little pain. Therefore wounds are not to be feared.'

## Col. III

8. The line may have begun with some part of φεύγω or one of its compounds. *Cf.* col. II, 8, 10.
9. Probably τὰ [δέ] correlative with τὰ μὲν in col. II, 14 (*cf.* note on col. II, 14). In this connexion, it should be noted that there is a *paragraphe* beneath the beginning of 8, indicating a stop or pause which may have been at the end of that line.

Line 15 εἰμε]πος. It is Diogenes' practice to use epsilon iota for long iota. If indeed my restoration is correct and the maxim deals with yearning for the past, this might be taken as suggesting that NF 17 stood near the end of the discussion of pain and was closely followed by the passage on desires; but, as I have pointed out *supra* (under 'Position'), we cannot be sure to what extent the subject matter of the maxims in the fifteenth line was related to the subject matter of the passages inscribed above. It is of course impossible to tell how the quotation in NF 17, line 15 continued, but it is worth considering whether an Epicurean would have regarded yearning for the past as desirable or undesirable. I do not know of any passage that gives an explicit answer to this question. In *Ep.*

*ad Men.* 122 Epicurus emphasises the need to study philosophy, so that a man, as he grows old, may be rich in blessings *διὰ τὴν χάριν τῶν γεγονότων* (cf. *Sent. Vat.* lv; also *Sent. Vat.* xix *τοῦ γεγονότος ἀμνήμων ἀγαθοῦ γέρον τήμερον γεγένηται*). But to be grateful for past blessings is one thing; to yearn for the past is another thing, and I have no doubt that Epicurus would have disapproved of it, for longing for the past, like longing for the future, implies dissatisfaction with the present. Although it does seem most likely that the quotation in NF 17, line 15 is from a maxim condemning longing for the past as foolish, another possibility is that it is part of a passage relating to the situation in death—a passage which may have gone something like this: ‘Yearning for the past does not affect us in death, since at death the soul is dispersed and sensation ceases at once’. Cf. *Lucr.* iii 901, 918, 922.

#### NEW FRAGMENT 18 (PLATE XXIV III–IV)

##### *Location and description*

The fragment is well down the slope below the south-east corner of the ‘esplanade’, at least 100 m. from the east end of the ‘great wall’.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, its position is further east than that of any other fragment yet found. It was discovered lying face up, embedded in the ground.

The block is of white limestone, but its surface is now grey on account of weathering. It is broken on all sides. The text is mostly well preserved.

Height 0·32 m., width 0·43 m., depth 0·29 m. The stone bears part of the right half of a column on the left, and the first letters of part of a second column on the right: col. I contains part of 9 lines, col. II part of 7 lines. The letters are 2–2·5 cm.

##### *Position in the inscription*

The fragment’s position in the inscription would be easier to determine if the block were complete. As it is, we cannot tell what its height was, how many lines there were in each column, or how spacious its margins were above and below. Moreover, the smallness of the fragment and the fact that the text is divided between two incomplete columns make it difficult to reconstruct the argument. However, the subject matter is not entirely unhelpful, and the size of the letters is an important clue. Let us consider the letters first.

As I have already stated, the height of the letters is 2–2·5 cm., the average height being about 2·2–2·3 cm. This in itself proves that the fragment could not belong to the ethical treatise, the physics treatise, or the Letter to Antipater, all of which are inscribed in letters averaging about 1·7–1·8 cm., or to the treatise on old age, which is inscribed in letters whose usual height is 2·5–3·1 cm.<sup>14</sup> We are left with a choice between the ethical maxims (i.e. the maxims inscribed on separate stones, as distinct from the maxims in line 15 of the ethical fragments) and the group of writings which William<sup>15</sup> calls *scripta privata*; and in view of the address *ὦ φίλτατοι* (col. I, 6), there can be no doubt that it is to the latter that NF 18 should be assigned.

The *scripta privata* comprise HK *fr.* 3 (=Chilton *fr.* 49), HK *fr.* 2 (=Chilton *fr.* 50), HK *fr.* 26 (=Chilton *fr.* 51), HK *fr.* 21–4 (=Chilton *fr.* 52–3),\* and NF 3. To which, if any, of these writings is NF 18 to be joined?

<sup>13</sup> For the ‘esplanade’ and ‘great wall’, see Smith A 52, Smith B 357–8.

<sup>14</sup> In the old age treatise, as in other sections of the inscription, the stonemasons carve the occasional

letter unusually small. For the reason (or reasons) for these unusually small letters, see Smith B 361, under NF 5, col. I, 10.

<sup>15</sup> 56.

HK *fr.* 21–4 and almost certainly NF 3 belong to the Letter to Mother, which is now generally agreed to be the work not of Diogenes himself, but of Epicurus.<sup>16</sup> In view of the address in col. I, 6, NF 18 cannot be part of this letter.

HK *fr.* 26 is the closing passage of what William and subsequent editors call *epistula ad amicos data*: Diogenes addresses a friend, a certain Menneas, and mentions how well he was looked after by Karos and Dionysios on previous visits to Rhodes, but the fact that he ends ἔρρωσθε πάλιν suggests that the entire letter was addressed not merely to Menneas, but to other friends as well. It is possible, therefore, that NF 18 belongs to the same letter, especially as HK *fr.* 26, col. I, of which very little is preserved, seems to refer to the setting up of the inscription.

Another possibility is HK *fr.* 2, the beginning of Diogenes' will, in which he announces that he is giving instructions τοῖς συγγενέσι καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις (1–2). The actual instructions are not given in the extant passage, but presumably related to the setting up of the inscription in the event of the sick and aged<sup>17</sup> Diogenes dying before it was completed.

However, it is much more probable that NF 18 belongs to the same writing as HK *fr.* 3, a short introductory fragment in which Diogenes mentions philanthropy towards foreigners, and refers to the demonstrations of physical and ethical matters which he has given 'in the places below'. Not only is it evident that NF 18, like HK *fr.* 3, is introductory, but the two fragments, if my restoration of NF 18 is on the right lines, have a common similarity to HK *fr.* 58 (=Chilton *fr.* 2, cols. II–VI), part of the introductory passage that preceded the physics treatise.<sup>18</sup> In HK *fr.* 58 Diogenes explains that the purpose of his inscription is to help suffering mankind, including generations still unborn; and in col. IV, 5–8, as in HK *fr.* 3, lines 1–3, he refers to philanthropy as the motive 'for helping the foreigners in our midst'. Indeed, in HK *fr.* 58 he keeps emphasising the help which he can give: *cf.* col. II, 3–4 (βοηθεῖν), col. IV, 1–2 (βοηθῆσαι), 7 (ἐπικουρεῖν), 10 (τὰ βοηθήματα); and since in NF 18 he seems to be reiterating the same point, it is natural to link the passage with HK *fr.* 3, which, as we have seen, is clearly related to HK *fr.* 58. A close relationship between NF 18 and HK *fr.* 3 is also suggested by the fact that their lettering is very similar in size and style (for an illustration of HK *fr.* 3, see Smith B, pl. 81, fig. 16), and it should be noted that neither stone bears any unusually small letters, whereas, according to HK's drawings,<sup>19</sup> such letters do occur in HK *fr.* 2, 26.

If NF 18 belongs to the same introductory passage as HK *fr.* 3, it almost certainly preceded it, and probably stood very close to it: indeed, it is not improbable that NF 18, col. II immediately preceded HK *fr.* 3.

<sup>16</sup> The statement in *OCD*<sup>2</sup> (1970) 348 that the letter 'is now accepted as Diogenes' own' is incorrect: *cf.* Chilton 79, and to his list of those who have favoured the Epicurean authorship of the letter add K. O. Brink in *OCD*<sup>1</sup> (1949) 285.

<sup>17</sup> *Cf.* *fr.* 2, col. II, 7–12, *fr.* 16, col. I, 3–4, *fr.* 50, lines 4–8.

<sup>18</sup> This is not the place to discuss in detail the controversy as to whether the passage is, as William (xvi–xvii) supposes, an introduction to the physics treatise, or, as others assume, to the physics and ethical treatises or the entire inscription. One point, however, may be noted. This is that R. E. Philippson ('Diogenes von Oinoanda' in *PW Suppl.* v [1931] 156) rejects William's theory on the ground that the fragments of the passage (HK *fr.* 57–9), unlike the physics fragments, are punctuated with *paragraphai*. But no *paragraphai* are visible on HK *fr.* 58, which bears 5 columns (one incomplete) of

generally well preserved text, whereas in those parts of the inscription where *paragraphai* certainly occur we never find even two consecutive columns without a single *paragraphe*; as for HK *fr.* 59, which is a 3-column block, the one *paragraphe* recorded by HK is drawn only tentatively, and damage to the stone may have misled them; again, HK *fr.* 57, on which HK record three *paragraphai*, has much superficial damage (see my photograph in *Hermathena* cx [1970] 64), and HK may well have been deceived. The height of HK *fr.* 57–9 shows that they were in the same course as the physics treatise, and it is natural to assume that they were meant to introduce it, although Diogenes does explain in them the purpose of the whole inscription. It is improbable that they were intended to introduce the ethical treatise as well as the physics, for the ethical treatise has its own introductory passage (*fr.* 24–5).

<sup>19</sup> I have not rediscovered HK *fr.* 2, 26.

The position of NF 18 in relation to other sections of Diogenes' work remains to be considered. We have already seen that the block is inscribed with largish letters, and, assuming that it belongs to the same writing as HK *fr.* 3, it will have been about 0·38–0·39 m. high and almost certainly<sup>20</sup> had 10 lines of text and little or no margin above or below. A block with these features will have stood high up in the inscription, but not at the very highest level, for, although its lowness and largish letters are indicative of a position high up on the wall of the stoa,<sup>21</sup> there are stones which are less tall (0·335–0·34 m.) and bear larger letters, and a fragment with no upper margin is unlikely to have stood in the topmost course. Almost certainly, then, NF 18 was in the third course of the inscription, immediately above the course containing the physics treatise. In this connexion, it should be remembered that in HK *fr.* 3, lines 6–7 Diogenes refers to the proofs of physical and ethical matters which he has given 'in the places below'.

### Text

Although the lines have been numbered for convenience of reference, it should be noted that, since the block is broken both above and below, there can be no certainty that the first line preserved was the first line on the stone. There were almost certainly 10 lines of text (see *supra* under 'Position'), in which case there is one line missing between col. I, 9 and col. II, 1.

#### Col. I

c. 11  
[----- προ]σφω-  
                  c. 9  
[νῶ ----- ὦ] φίλοι  
                  c. 8  
[----- λαμ]βάνειν  
                  c. 7  
[----- εἰ]στω. νν τί πο-  
5 [τε οὐτω μ]έγα ἐστίν; ν ἦ  
[οὐν γραφή], ὦ φίλτατοι,  
                  c. 8  
[-----] ἡμεῖν καὶ  
[ἄλλοις βοη]θήμα[τα]  
[παρέξει ---]υπ. . . .

#### Col. II

οσ[  
ζε. τ[ὸ δὲ σύνγραμμα εἰ]-  
ποίησα, [ὦ φίλτατοι, μά]-  
λιστα εἰ[θέλων καὶ βοη]-  
5 θεῖν τρ[ῖς ἐσομένοις],  
εἰ τὴν σ[τοὰν ταύτην]  
πολλ[άκις

### Notes

#### Col. I

1–9. After *προσφωνῶ* perhaps read *ὑμᾶς* or *ὑμεῖν*. Diogenes may be appealing to his fellow-citizens to pay close attention to his work (cf. *fr.* 25, col. III); or he may

<sup>20</sup> See Smith B 389.

<sup>21</sup> It is natural that the lowest stones should have stood at the top of the inscription, the tallest at the

bottom; it is natural, too, that stones placed well above eye level should have been inscribed with larger letters than those placed at or near eye level.



be asking personal friends to help him in his task. In 4–5 he asks: ‘Why in the world is it so important?’ and answers (5–9): ‘Well, my dearest friends, the inscription will afford help both to us and to others’.

3. Perhaps read παραλαμ]βάνειν or ἀναλαμ]βάνειν, ‘undertake’, ‘take upon oneself’.
6. Diogenes calls his inscription γραφή in *fr.* 1, col. III, 3, *fr.* 2, col. I, 6, NF 13, line 10. In *fr.* 2, col. II, 1–2, col. V, 11 he refers to it as σύνγραμμα.
8. βοηθήματα. Cf. *fr.* 2, col. V. 10.

## Col. II

- 1–2. Perhaps [ἔσω]|ζε but there are many other possibilities (e.g. ἐνόμιζε). After ζε there is a very slight space, probably indicating a stop or pause.  
σύνγραμμα. Cf. note on col. I, 6. For the spelling, see Smith B 362, on NF 5, col. II, 4–5.
- 4–5. Cf. *fr.* 2, col. IV, 13—col. V, 4: δίκαιο[ν δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ] τοῖς μ[εθ’ ἡ]μᾶς ἐσομένοις βοηθήσαι — κακέεινοι γὰρ εἰσιν ἡμέτεροι καὶ εἰ μὴ γεγόνασί πω. The passage continues (col. V, 4–8) πρὸς δὲ δὴ φιλόανθρωπον καὶ τοῖς παραγεινομένοις ἐπικουρεῖν ξένοις (cf. *fr.* 25, col. I, 12—col. II, 3), and there could have been a reference to foreigners here in NF 18, but, since they are mentioned in HK *fr.* 3, it is more likely that Diogenes is here speaking of posterity.
6. Cf. *fr.* 2, col. V, 12–13: ἠθέλησα τῇ στοᾷ ταύτῃ καταχρησάμενος . . . For a photograph of the paved court which almost certainly contained Diogenes’ stoa, see Smith A, pl. 11, fig. 2. The fact that Diogenes, an Epicurean, decided to have his work inscribed in a stoa must have greatly amused his contemporaries. But, although Diogenes, whose work is not without touches of humour (cf. e.g. *fr.* 10, col. V), no doubt shared their amusement, he may have had a serious propagandist motive in choosing the stoa; for, although he must have decided upon it primarily because it just happened to contain the wall (or walls)<sup>22</sup> best suited for the carving of the inscription, being spacious and in a public place (cf. *fr.* 2, col. V, 14), it is possible that his choice was influenced partly by a desire to emphasise the anti-Stoic character of his work<sup>23</sup> by having it inscribed in a building of the same kind as that in which Zeno and his successors taught and from which their school derived its name: his verbal attacks on his chief philosophical opponents might seem all the more stinging and effective for being made almost literally on the Stoics’ own ground. Moreover, he must have foreseen that news of an Epicurean stoa would spread far and wide, and that many ξένοι would thus be attracted to Oenoanda to see and read his work.
- 6–7. εἰ . . . πολλάκις = *si forte*. Diogenes perhaps said that he has set up the inscription in the hope that people will visit the stoa, read his work, and be converted to the true philosophy.

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<sup>22</sup> For the possibility that the inscription was carved on two walls, see Smith B 366.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Smith B 380.



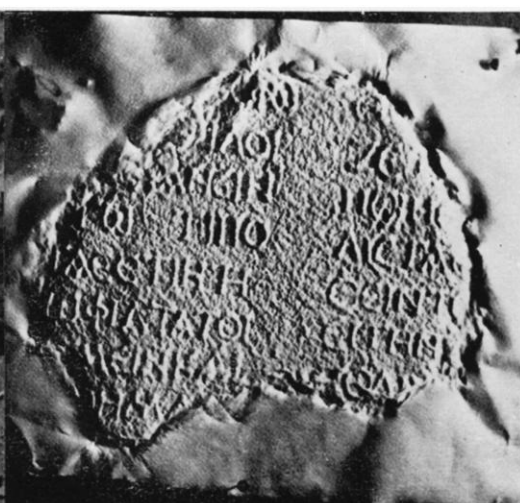
I. NF17



II. 'Squeeze' of NF17



III. NF18



IV. 'Squeeze' of NF18