

In praise of the simple life: a new fragment of Diogenes of Oinoanda

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Abstract

The article presents a new fragment (NF 136), discovered in June 2003, of the Greek inscription set up by the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes of Oinoanda. The text is part of Diogenes' writing *Old Age*. Although brief, it is interesting, not least on account of its similarity to a well known passage of Lucretius (2.20–36). It begins with mention of 'an elaborate house with fretted and gold-spangled ceilings', evidently as something to be avoided, and goes on to recommend simple clothing and food, specifically cabbage. Its interest and value are enhanced by the near certainty that it joins up with a fragment (NF 94 = fr. 161 Smith) discovered in 1976.

Özet

Makale Epikürcü filozof Oinoanda'lı Diogenes tarafından yazılan kitabenin Haziran 2003'te keşfedilen yeni bir parçasını (NF 136) sunmaktadır. Metin Diogenes'in Eski Çağ'a ait kitabesinin bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Kısa olmakla birlikte çok iyi bilinen Lucretius pasajına (2.20–36) olan benzerliği nedeniyle ilgi çekicidir. Bezemeli ve altın pullarla süslü tavanları olan özenli evlerden uzak durulması gerektiği konusu ile başlayan metin, basit giysiler ve özellikle de lahana gibi basit yemekler yenmesini tavsiye ederek devam eder. İlginçliği ve değeri 1976 yılında keşfedilen bir parçayla hemen hemen kesin olarak birleşiyor olması nedeni ile artmaktadır.

Oinoanda, in northern Lycia, is home to the largest Greek inscription known to us — the philosophical inscription set up by the Epicurean Diogenes with the aim of bringing moral enlightenment and salvation to Oinoanda's citizens and visitors both in his own time and in time to come. This article presents a new fragment of the inscription. It was discovered during a visit I made to Oinoanda on 20 and 21 June 2003 in company with Hugh Elton, director of the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), Angela Kalinowski of University of Saskatchewan and Jeremy Rossiter of University of Alberta. On 20 June we were accompanied by Hüseyin Köktürk of the Fethiye Museum and on both days by Oinoanda's two watchmen.

The new fragment was noticed by Rossiter on 20 June. I photographed it and copied part of it during my visit, and later Köktürk kindly made and sent me two excellent squeezes, one of which is illustrated in fig. 3. I am extremely grateful to him. I am equally grateful to the director of the Fethiye Museum, İbrahim Malkoç, for his generous assistance and encouragement in connection with

the visit to Oinoanda. For kind permission to publish the new text, I warmly thank both Malkoç and the relevant authorities in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, especially Melik Ayaz, head of Kazılar ve Örenyerleri Sube Müdürlüğü, a department in the Ministry's Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. I wish to record my gratitude also to Rossiter and my other colleagues; to Elton not only as colleague, but also in his capacity as director of BIAA; to Gülgün Girdivan, administrator of BIAA in Turkey, for her customary helpfulness and efficiency; and to David Sedley, Laurence Professor of Ancient Philosophy, University of Cambridge, for commenting helpfully on a draft of this article.

The new fragment of Diogenes is the first addition to the inscription since 1997, when, during a short season of excavation conducted by the Fethiye Museum and BIAA, I recorded ten new fragments. It receives the inventory number YF 194 and the NF (New Fragment) number 136. The total of known pieces of the inscription now stands at 224.

Location

NF 136 is in the *cavea* (auditorium) of the theatre (fig. 1), in the centre of the top row of the fourth *cuneus* (wedge shaped block) from the western *parodos* (side entrance), near the lower right corner of grid square Lj on the plan of Oinoanda produced during the British survey in 1974–1983.¹ Since the theatre probably dates from the time of Augustus² and Diogenes' inscription probably belongs to the first half of the second century AD, it must be assumed that our fragment was used when the top of the *cavea* was being repaired or extended.

The stone, placed with the inscribed face vertically exposed but upside down, apparently formed part of the back of the seating, but, like its neighbour on its east side, has slipped forward so that the front part of it rests on the horizontal part of the seat. See fig. 2, in which NF 136 is shown the right way up — that is to say, the right way up for reading the text.

This is the second fragment of Diogenes to have been discovered in the theatre. The first (NF 108 = fr. 74) is at the bottom of the most easterly *cuneus*, apparently having fallen from above, so that, like NF 136, it was probably used when the top of the *cavea* was repaired or extended. Five other fragments (NF 107 = fr. 63 I; NF 110 = fr. 128; NF 112 = fr. 158; NF 113 = fr. 160; NF 114 = fr. 172) are in a close cluster in a pile of rubble just a few metres east of the east *parodos*.

NF 136 replaces NF 108 as the Diogenes fragment found in the most northerly position on the site. I say 'most northerly position on the site' because in 1983 three fragments were discovered in the village of Kınık, which is several kilometres northeast of Oinoanda.³ If one asks why the fragment had not been noticed before, part of the answer is that its worn condition means that it is difficult to see the lettering unless sunlight strikes the face of the stone obliquely. But another consideration is that until recently the theatre contained much more vegetation than it does now, and it is very likely that NF 136 was hidden beneath a bush.

¹ For plans of Oinoanda, see Smith 1993: figs 3–4; 1996: figs 3–4; 1998: fig. 1. For a list of the grid numbers of Diogenes fragments discovered up to 1994, with an explanation of them, see Smith 1996: 19–23.

² De Bernardi Ferrero 1969: 87–95, at 94, dates the theatre to the second half of the first century BC. An Augustan date is strongly indicated by an unpublished inscription (inventory number YÇ 1129) found in the theatre and apparently part of its structure. I am grateful to Nicholas P. Milner for this information.

³ See Smith 1984; 1993: 73–74. On Kınık being the name of the village, see Smith 1996: 84. Zorban, the name previously given, is a district of Kınık.

Description

NF 136 (see fig. 2) is a block of whitish limestone, whose surface has been turned bluish-grey by weathering. All the edges are complete, but the surface is broken off lower left, upper right, lower right and all along the bottom edge. Height 37cm, width 72cm, depth at least 24cm. The letters average about 3cm. The text is divided between two columns. In column I we have complete lines, in column II just the first letters. The stone carried all or part of eight lines — the lower part of a line at the top and seven more lines. These will have been lines 6–13 of 18-line columns (see below, under 'Position in the inscription'), which means that ten lines are missing between I 13 and II 6. There is a *paragraphe* beneath the beginning of II 10.

The damage noted above has removed parts of the text, including the whole of line 13. Elsewhere the weathered and worn condition of the surface means that the letters are often difficult to read. Although the full depth of the block could not be ascertained, it is unlikely that it was as great as its width, course B of *Old Age*, to which (see below) it belongs, being composed predominantly of stretchers.⁴

Position in the inscription

The physical and epigraphical features of NF 136 show that it is part of Diogenes' writing *Old Age*, which was carved in 18-line columns occupying the top three courses of the inscription. The blocks in the topmost course (A) have a height of 31.5–34cm, five lines, an upper margin 7–9cm tall and no lower margin; those in the second course (B) have a height of 36–39cm, seven or eight lines and no margin above or below; and those in the third and lowest course (C) have a height of 45–50cm, between four and six lines, no margin above, but a lower margin, 21–25cm tall, that includes, at the bottom, a scored band 10.5–14cm tall. The lettering of *Old Age* averages about 2.9cm, which is significantly larger than that in other sections of the inscription and is to be explained by its position well above eye level. The height of NF 136, the number of lines it carries, the absence of an upper margin and the lack of sufficient space for a tall lower margin show that it belongs to course B.

Where exactly in *Old Age* is NF 136 to be placed? Its argument, that we do not need luxurious housing, clothing or food, prompted me to try to link it first to frs 152–55, all four of which deal with the inability of wealth to give us satisfaction and happiness. But, although it is unlikely to have been far separated from those fragments, it does not actually join up with any of them.

⁴ See Smith 1993: 94–96, fig. 7; 1998: 163; 2003: 144.



Fig. 1. Theatre at Oinoanda: west side of the cavea. Diogenes NF 136 is at the top of the fourth cuneus from the left, just to the right of the dead branches of a tree (photo: M.F. Smith)



Fig. 2. Diogenes NF 136 (photo: M.F. Smith)



Fig. 3. Diogenes NF 136: squeeze by Hüseyin Köktürk (photo: Neil Aiken)

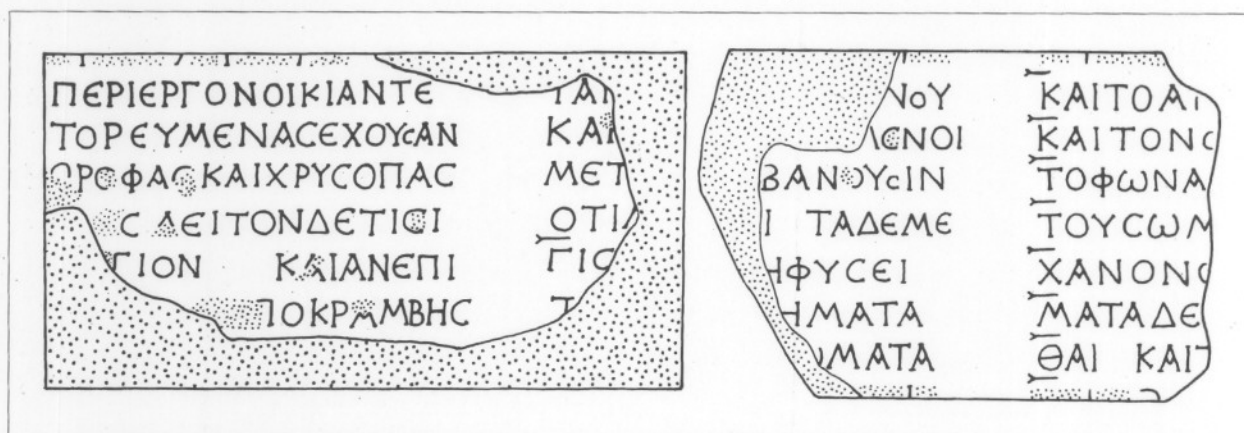


Fig. 4. Drawing of Diogenes NF 136 (left) and fr. 161/NF 94 (right). Scale 12:100 (M.F. Smith and Yvonne Beadnell)

However, NF 136 almost certainly does join up with fr. 161, a piece that at first sight seemed a less likely candidate for union than frs 152–55.

Fr. 161, discovered in 1976, was first published as NF 94 in Smith 1978 (81–82, with a photograph in pl XIb). It was re-edited, with some improvements, by Casanova (1984: 418–21, his fr. 146) and by me in Smith 1993 (348–49 text and apparatus criticus, 422 translation, 588 notes). See also Smith 1996: 219–20, where the text of Smith 1993 is reproduced and there is a scale drawing (220), and Smith 1996: pl. 61, fig. 204 for a photograph of a squeeze. The drawing of fr. 161/NF 94 in Smith 1996 is reproduced alongside a drawing of NF 136 in the present article (fig. 4). Like NF 136, fr. 161/NF 94 is a

B block. It is complete above and below, broken left and right. Its measurements are: height 38cm, width 58cm (51cm where the surface is preserved), depth 31cm, letters 2.9cm. It carries the last letters of a column on the left and the first letters of a second column on the right. There are nine lines of text, to be numbered 6–14, but the stone bore only the letter bottoms of line 6 and only the letter tops of line 14.

Although restoration of fr. 161 I was uncertain, that of column II seemed (and still seems) reasonably secure and suggested that Diogenes is defending the body against those who belittle it and is pointing out that without it sensation, thought and speech are impossible. As I have indicated above, if one looks at the content of

Translation

... (I) an elaborate house with fretted and gold-spangled ceilings. Moreover, [wear (?)] clothing that is simple and [unostentatious (?)]. ... from cabbage
 (II)they receive a share of (?) whatever (?) the greatest against nature
 (III) and and the body

Notes

According to the Epicureans, pleasure is good and pain bad, but not every pleasure is to be chosen and not every pain avoided, because temporary pleasure is sometimes outweighed by subsequent pain and temporary pain is sometimes outweighed by subsequent pleasure (Epicurus *Men* 129–30). Another doctrine, central to their ethical system, is that pleasure is limited. The limit of bodily pleasure (a pleasure in which the mind can share) is achieved once desire is satisfied and the pain of want is removed. Thereafter pleasure can be varied, but not increased (Epicurus *Sent* 18). One achieves most bodily pleasure if one leads a simple life, satisfying those desires that are both natural and necessary and eliminating those desires that are unnecessary and, because they are difficult to satisfy, likely to involve pain.

Desires that are natural and necessary include those for essential shelter, essential clothing, and essential food and drink. All of these can be satisfied easily and cheaply. As Diogenes makes clear in column I, one should not live in an elaborate and luxurious house, and one should wear simple clothing and eat simple food. Although the Epicurean view is not fully explained in our very brief text, it was that luxurious and expensive houses, clothes, foods and drinks not only do not satisfy our desires any better than simple ones and bring us more pleasure, but actually bring us less satisfaction and pleasure, because, like wealth itself, they involve unnatural and unnecessary desires — desires that cannot easily be satisfied because there tends always to be a gulf between what we want and what we have. Moreover, such luxuries involve various worries and problems that inevitably interfere with our pleasure. For example, in the case of a luxurious house, there will be worry resulting from its cost, from the troublesome business of maintaining it, from the envy it attracts and from possible or actual loss through theft, fire, etc. There will be similar worries in the case of luxurious clothing — hence Diogenes' advice to wear a cloak that is simple and unostentatious (I 10–12). As for luxurious foods and drinks, they not only involve extra cost (with the likelihood of dissatisfaction that the extra cost does not give extra pleasure), but also may well be less digestible

and healthy. According to Epicurus, a simple diet is most healthy and enhances our appreciation of occasional luxuries (*Men* 131), and 'it is better to recline on a straw mattress and have no worries than to have a golden couch and luxurious table (πολυτελῆ τράπεζαν)' (Us fr. 207 = Arr fr. 126). The unhealthiness of a luxurious diet is the subject of Diogenes fr. 109 (see below on I 12–13) and also of Cicero *TD* 5.99–100 (reporting the Epicurean view):

Adde siccitatem, quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu; adde integritatem valetudinis. Confer sudantes, ructantes, refertos epulis tamquam opimos boves, tum intelliges, qui voluptatem maxime sequantur, eos minime consequi, iucunditatemque victus esse in desiderio, non in satietate.

On the simplicity of the body's needs, and on the way in which our natural and necessary desires are easily satisfied, while our unnecessary desires are either difficult or impossible to satisfy, see, for example, Epicurus *Men* 130–31; *Sent* 15; *Sent Vat* 33; Us fr. 469 = Arr fr. 240; Diogenes fr. 2 I–II 4. In fr. 2 Diogenes claims that it is the soul rather than the body that is responsible for creating unnecessary desires, and it would appear that in columns II–III of 'our' passage he is again speaking up for the body, defending it against those who disparage it. He may have drawn attention to the simplicity of its needs, as in fr. 2, before going on to point out (column III) that without the body perception, thought and speech would be impossible.

On the Epicurean attitude to wealth and poverty, see, for example, *Sent Vat* 25, 81; Us fr. 135, 202 = Arr fr. 53, 216; numerous passages in Usener 1887: 294–305; Lucretius 2.7–54, 3.59–73, 5.1113–35, 1423–35, 6.9–23; Philodemus *De Oeconomia* passim; the same author's very fragmentary *De Divitiis* (see Tepedino Guerra 1978); Diogenes fr. 29, 108, 129,⁶ 152–55.

For what Diogenes says in what survives of column I and for what he may be assumed to have said in the lines that preceded and followed, a particularly interesting parallel is Lucretius 2.20–36, a passage which it is worth quoting in full. I reproduce the text given in my Loeb edition (Smith 1992) and my translation (Smith 2001).

Ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca videmus 20
 esse opus omnino, quae demant cumque dolorem,
 delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint;
 gratius interdum neque natura ipsa requirit,
 si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes
 lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris, 25
 lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,

⁶ For the extended text of fr. 129, see Smith 1996: 189–92; 2003: 128–30.

nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
 nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa,
 cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
 propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae 30
 non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant,
 praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni
 tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas.
 nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres,
 textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti 35
 iacteris, quam si in plebeia veste cubandum est.

And so we see that the nature of the body is such that it needs few things, namely those that banish pain and, in so doing, succeed in bestowing pleasures in plenty. Even if the halls contain no golden figures of youths, clasping flaring torches in their right hands to supply light for banquets after dark, even if the house lacks the lustre of silver and the glitter of gold, even if no gold-fretted ceiling rings to the sound of the lyre, those who follow their true nature never feel cheated of enjoyment when they lie in friendly company on velvety turf near a running brook beneath the branches of a tall tree and provide their bodies with simple but agreeable refreshment, especially when the weather smiles and the season of the year spangles the green grass with flowers. Fiery fevers quit your body no quicker, if you toss in embroidered attire of blushing crimson, than if you must lie sick in a common garment.

Although the passage of Lucretius is much more detailed and elaborate than that of Diogenes, the essential points they make are the same: both writers agree in rejecting a luxurious house as unnecessary and undesirable, and in recommending simple clothing and food. It is striking that each mentions a house with 'fretted and gilded ceilings'. There is no evidence that Diogenes knew Lucretius' work (see Smith 1986; 1993a; 1997: especially 72–78), and here, as in other places where the two say similar things, the similarity can be explained by their independent use of Epicurean sources. The only element common to the Lucretian and Diogenic passages presently under consideration that may not be derived, directly or indirectly, from Epicurus himself is the reference to gilded ceilings (see below on I 7–10). But such references are so frequent in later writers, Latin and Greek, Epicurean and non-Epicurean, that there is no justification for supposing that Diogenes has taken this detail from Lucretius. In fact, the two writers' sermonising about the undesirability of luxurious houses, clothes, food and drink, although authentically Epicurean, is not exclusively Epicurean, but quite commonplace: see, for example, Philo *Somn* 2.48–57 and (Pseudo-)Lucian *Cyn* 8–9.

Column I

6 (and the preceding lines). It is not possible to know exactly how the sentence began. Possibilities include: 'Do not occupy'; 'There is no need to possess'; 'Occupy a modest dwelling, not'; 'Happiness is not produced by possession of'.

7–10. Ornamented ceilings are mentioned by many ancient writers as a manifestation of extravagance and luxury. Although archaeological evidence is almost completely lacking,⁷ literary references prove that ceiling decoration was a feature of private houses of wealthy Greeks from at least the late fifth century BC onwards. See Aristophanes *Vesp* 1215; Plato *Resp* 7.529b; Diphilus fr. 61.1–2. Ennius' reference (*Andromacha* 90 Jocelyn) to *tectis caelatis laqueatis*, 'embossed and fretted ceilings', may have been derived or adapted from an Euripidean original or may be his own addition. It is not known when the gilding of ceilings of private homes (as opposed to temples, public buildings, and palaces) was introduced, but references (usually disapproving) in many Greek and Latin writers show that the gilding, as well as the panelling, of ceilings was common in the Roman period. See, for example, Lucretius 2.28 (quoted above); Virgil *Aen* 1.726 (of Dido's palace); Horace *Carm* 2.18.1–2; *Culex* 63–64; Philo *Somn* 2.55; Seneca *Ep* 90.9, 115.9; *Helv* 10.7; Pliny *NH* 33.57; Musonius fr. 19 p. 108.6 Hense; Statius *Silv* 1.3.35, 3.3.103; *Theb* 1.144; (Pseudo-)Lucian *Cyn* 9; Prudentius *Perist.* 12.49–51.

I have already commented on the parallelism between Lucretius 2.20–36 and NF 136. Whether the detail in both about fretted and gilded ceilings is taken from Epicurus one cannot tell. On the one hand, Epicurus will have known of houses with ceiling decorations; on the other hand, the literature suggests that the gilding of ceilings in private houses was predominantly a Roman-period extravagance.

Although this is not the place for a full-scale discussion of the text of Lucretius 2.28, I take the opportunity to express agreement with those scholars, past and present, who have doubted the soundness of *templa*, the reading of the Lucretian manuscripts, and have preferred *tecta*.⁸

⁷ House ceilings were usually made of wood, which helps to explain why they do not survive. I am very grateful to J.J. Coulton for archaeological and architectural information about Greek ornamented ceilings. I have also consulted Walter-Karydi 1994: 44; 1998: 54–55.

⁸ The only manuscript of Lucretius that reads *tecta* rather than *templa* seems to be Codex Vaticanus Latinus 1569, written in 1483. The first editor of Lucretius to record *tecta* as the reading given by Macrobius was Pius (1511). *Tecta* was favoured by Bentley, Lachmann, Bernays, Munro and Brieger (among others). Recent editors to have printed it are K. Müller (1975) and E. Flores (2002). For arguments for it and against *templa*, see especially: Olivier 1953: 43–45; Flores 1965: 120–21, n. 11 reprinted in Flores 1973: 33, n. 14; Calboli 1980–1982.

Templum is common in Lucretius (there are 25 occurrences elsewhere in the poem), usually in the plural and in the sense 'regions', 'precincts'. In 2.28, unless one follows Ernout in making the improbable supposition that *laqueata ... templa* is a periphrasis for *laquearia*, one has to suppose, with the majority of editors, that here and here alone Lucretius uses *templa* to mean 'cross-beams', 'purlins', a technical usage known from Vitruvius (4.2.1, 4.2.5, 4.7.5) and Paulus Diaconus *Fest* p. 367M. But the word is not at all appropriate in this non-technical context, and one is bound to ask *inter alia* why only crossbeams should have been gilded.

Whereas there is little to be said for *templa*, there is much to be said for *tecta*. The reading is given by Macrobius in one of the two places where he quotes Lucretius 2.28 (*Sat* 6.4.21). In the other place (*Sat* 6.2.5) the manuscripts give *tempe*, which might seem to point to *templa*, but the matter is complicated by Macrobius' quotation, just a few lines above, of Virgil *G* 2.469. That line ends with *Tempe*, which no doubt explains the corruption in the quotation of Lucretius 2.28, and it is not safe to assume that *tempe* has replaced *templa* rather than *tecta*. The substitution of *templa* for *tecta* in Lucretius 2.28, if that is what happened, may have been influenced by the occurrence of *templa* in 2.8. In any case, confusion of the two words is by no means unparalleled. In Martial 12.2(3).8 Heinsius' *tecta* is clearly right for *templa*, which has come in under the influence of *templi* at the end of the previous line. There is probably a similar confusion in a poem in the *Anthologia Latina*, no. 115 in Shackleton Bailey's edition, no. 126 in Riese's, where Shackleton Bailey reads *templa* for *tecta* in line 2, the supposition being that *tecta* there is due to *tecta* in line 1. *Tecta*, as well as being intrinsically more plausible than *templa* in Lucretius 2.28, in that it is the word that better suits the context, is strongly supported by passages in earlier and later writers, including Lucretius' chief Latin model Ennius, whose *tectis caelatis laqueatis* (*Andromacha* 90 Jocelyn) has been mentioned above, and Horace in his obvious imitation of the Lucretian passage: *non enim gazae neque consularis | summovet lictor miseros tumultus | mentis et curas laqueata circum | tecta volantes* (*Carm* 2.16.9–12). To the passages that support gilded ceilings in Lucretius 2.28, Diogenes' mention of ὀροφαὶ χρυσόπαστοι is now to be added.

7. περιέργον. The adjective is not found elsewhere in Diogenes or in Epicurus' extant writings. The noun περιεργία occurs in Epicurus *Nat* 14 XXIV 3, ed. Leone 1984: 56 (= Arr fr. 29.3.3), where it is plural and means 'trifles'. περιέργος occurs in Philodemus *De Oeconomia* VII 45 Jensen in the sense 'irrelevant' and in the same writer's *Syntaxis* as a solitary word in a lacuna

(*PHerc* 1508 III 8.15: see Crönert 1906: 131). In the present passage the word means 'elaborate', conveying the ideas of the excess, superfluity and vanity involved in a display of ostentatious luxury.

6–7. τετορευμένας. τορεύω, cognate with τορέω, 'bore through', 'pierce', is often used of working materials, especially metals, to mean 'chase', 'engrave', 'fret', 'emboss', with the implication of a high degree of finish. (διατορεύω is similarly used.) See, for example, Callixenus fr. 2.29 Jacoby; Strabo 13.4.17; *Anacreonta* 4.1 and 5.1 Preisendanz; Plutarch *Aem* 37.4; *Demetr* 20.1; *Mor* 204f; *Periplus Maris Rubri* 24 Casson; Pausanias 1.28.2, 5.17.4. The word is used by Aristophanes *Thesm* 986 of the piercing sound of a song and Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Thuc* 24.3, metaphorically, of literary style.

9–10. χρυσόπαστος, 'gold-spangled', from χρυσός and πάσσω, 'sprinkle', is not uncommon, but usually in reference to clothing. See, for example, Alcaeus fr. 329.1 Lobel-Page (κυνία); Aeschylus *Ag* 776 (ἔδεθλα?); Herodotus 8.120 (τιήρης); Eubulus fr. 132 Kassel-Austin (ξυστίς); Demosthenes 50.34 (κόσμος); Duris of Samos fr. 14 Jacoby (μίτρα); Strabo 4.4.5 and 15.1.69 (ἔσθής in each case); Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant Rom* 19.12.6 (χλαμύς); Philo *Somn* 2.57 (στρωμνή); Plutarch *Mor* 672a (νεβρίς); Polyaeus *Strat* 8.43 (άλουργίς); Lucian *Ind* 8 (ἔσθής); *Icar* 29 (στολή); *Gall* 26 (χλαμύς); Clement of Alexandria *Paed* 3.2.4.2 Stählin (πέπλος); Dio Cassius 59.17.5 (χιτών), 62.20.3 (άλουργίς); Heliodorus *Aeth* 7.19.1 (ἔσθής). In a search that was extensive, but admittedly not exhaustive, the only other place where I found the adjective applied to ceilings is Asterius Amasenus *Homiliae* 3: *Adversus Avaritiam* (Migne 40.209B): οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ὀρόφοις χρυσοπάστοις κατακεῖνται, καὶ ὡς μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦσι τὰς οἰκίας, ... Asterius died in AD 410. χρυσόροφος occurs in, for example, Philoxenus fr. 14; Philo *Somn* 2.55; Musonius fr. 19 p 108.6 Hense; Plutarch *Luc* 7.5; (Pseudo-)Lucian *Cyn* 9 and *Philopat* 23; Nonnus *Dion* 13.517; *SEG* 36 (1986): 331, no. 1099 (line 9), an inscription of the fifth or sixth century AD at Sardis.⁹

10–12. Compare Lucretius 2.34–36 (see quotation above) and especially 5.1418–29. In the second passage Lucretius conjectures that, when primitive human beings first used animal skins as clothing, the first

⁹ The inscription is also given, but in a less complete form, in *SEG* 26 (1976–1977): 315, no. 1316. Although χρυσόροφ[ος] is correctly given in *SEG* 36 (1986): 331, the word is corrupted to χρυσοφόρος both in the indices to that volume (534) and in *SEG Consolidated Index for Volumes XXXVI–XLV* (1986–1995), Amsterdam, 1999: 540.

wearer attracted so much envy (*invidia*, 5.1419) that he was killed. Now, he says, it is gold and purple that cause trouble and conflict, and he goes on to explain that our behaviour is less justified than that of our primitive ancestors:

frigus enim nudos sine pellibus excruciat
terrigenas; at nos nil laedit veste carere
purpurea atque auro signisque ingentibus apta,
dum plebeia tamen sit quae defendere possit.
(5.1426–29)

Similarly, Diogenes recommends simple clothing that is unostentatious and does not attract envy, his λειτὸν ... εἰ[μά]τιον corresponding to Lucretius' *veste ... plebeia* (5.1427, 1429; compare 2.36 in *plebeia veste*). Avoiding luxurious and ostentatious clothing, as well as a luxurious and ostentatious house, is in accordance with Epicurus' advice λάθε βιώσας (Us fr. 551), 'live in obscurity'.

For λ(ε)ιτός compare fr. 47.15, a maxim carved in the margin below Diogenes' *Ethics*, probably a quotation of Epicurus *Men* 130. For the adjective used in reference to the way one dresses, compare Polybius 11.10.3 κατὰ ... τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν σίτησιν ἀφελῆς καὶ λιτὸς ἦν. (ε)ἰμάτιον may be either 'clothing' in general or outer clothing, 'cloak'.

Between εἰ[μά]τιον and καί there is space for three letters. Either there is a mistake by the stonemason (an erasure he corrected or an inappropriate space he created) or the letters have been obliterated by natural forces. The former alternative cannot be completely ruled out. If it were correct, we should have a comma rather than a full stop in line 10 and εἰμάτιον would be object of the same verb as οἰκίαν in line 7: '[Have a modest dwelling, not] an elaborate house with fretted and gold-spangled ceilings, and also a cloak that is simple and ...'. But such a supposition, when the very worn state of the text makes natural damage an entirely plausible explanation, is extremely unlikely to be correct, and [ἔχε] suits the space and the context. ἔχω is frequently used of clothes or armour. See, for example, Homer *Il* 18.538; *Od* 17.24 (αἰνῶς γὰρ τάδε εἶματα ἔχω κακά); Euripides *Hel* 554 (στολήν γ' ἄμορφον ἀμφὶ σῶμ' ἔχεις); Aristophanes *Pl* 540 (ἀνθ' ἱματίου μὲν ἔχειν ῥάκος); Polybius 6.7.7 (ἐσθῆτας ... ἔχειν); NT *Mat* 3.4, 22.12.

ἀνεπι- almost certainly belongs to a compound adjective qualifying εἰμάτιον. Unfortunately the text in the first half of line 12 is completely obliterated, but by far the most likely candidates are ἀνεπί[φαντον] and ἀνεπί[φθονον], both of which fit both the context and the space. For ἀνεπίφαντος, 'unostentatious', compare Philo *Ios* 249; *Flacc* 110; M. Aurelius 1.9.3 (adv. ἀνεπίφάντως). For ἀνεπίφθονος, 'not exciting

envy', compare Thucydides 6.54.5 (adv. ἀνεπιφθόνως); Isocrates 15.8 (adv.), 15.100 (comparative adj.); Polybius 11.10.3; Plutarch *Cam* 1.3 (adv.); Lucian *Pr Im* 23. Since what is unostentatious tends not to excite envy, and since what does not excite envy tends to be unostentatious, there is really nothing to choose between the two words here.

12–13. Cabbage (Greek κράμβη or ῥάφανος, the latter being the regular Attic word;¹⁰ Latin *brassica*, *crambe*, *caulis*), although often highly regarded for its medical properties (see, for example, Cato *Agr* 156–57; Pliny *NH* 20.78–96), was usually inexpensive (but see Pliny *NH* 19.54) and therefore affordable for those of modest means. Juvenal (1.134; 5.87) contrasts the *caulis* eaten by the clients of a great man with the luxurious food he consumes. I suggest that our passage may have gone something like this:

[ἀ]πὸ κράμβης
[δὲ καὶ πολυτελέων βρω-
[μάτων ἴσην λαμβάνο]-
15 [μεν τὴν ἡδονήν, ὅταν]
[ἅπαξ τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἕν]-
[δειαν ἐξαιρεθῆ]

Cabbage gives us as much pleasure as luxurious foods, once the pain due to want has been removed

Compare Epicurus *Men* 130 οἷ τε λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἴσην πολυτελεῖ διαίτη τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅταν ἅπαξ (Usener 1887 [compare Epicurus *Men* 128; *Sent* 18]: ἅπαν manuscripts) τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἕνδειαν ἐξαιρεθῆ. Diogenes may also have mentioned that simple food benefits our health as well as our happiness, as probably in fr. 109.1–7: [πολυ]τελεῖ βρώμα[τα καὶ π]ρώματα [- - - - - οὐ]δὲν [ἐν]ποιεῖ τῆ]ν ἀβλά[βειαν καὶ ἔ]ξιν [ύ]γεινήν τῆ] σαρκί]. On the inability of a luxurious diet to bring us health and happiness, see also the introductory notes above. To the passages cited there, add fr. 29 II 8–10, where in a list of things that do not bring us true pleasure and happiness Diogenes mentions 'a life of luxury and sumptuous meals' (ἀβροδίαίτος βίος καὶ τραπεζῶν πολυτέλεια).

¹⁰ For ῥάφανος being the Attic word, κράμβη the word used by non-Attic-speaking Greeks, see especially Apollodorus of Carystus fr. 32 Kassel-Austin (fr. 27 Kock). Galen (roughly contemporary with Diogenes) *De Alimentorum Facultatibus* 2.44.5 criticises the perversity of pedants who think it clever to resurrect the Attic term, which, he says, is now applied by his contemporaries to a different vegetable (the radish). Grant (2000: 141) seriously mistranslates part of the passage.

Column II

With so little text preserved, and with there being a lacuna of 11 lines between I 12 and II 6 and another of 10 lines between II 13 and III 6, restoration of column II is bound to be difficult and uncertain, and I offer no reconstruction of II 6–8. So far as the content of the column is concerned, the only thing about which one can be reasonably confident is that between the end of line 10 and line 14 reference is made to those who bring very serious charges against nature when they disparage the body — charges that are answered in column III, whose restoration presents fewer problems.

The following reconstruction is tentatively suggested:

μετ[αλαμ]βάνουσι
 10 ὄτι ἄ[ν δέ]η. ἢ τὰ δὲ μέ-
 γιστὰ γε τ]ῆ φύσει
 τ[ινὲς ἐνκλ]ήματα
 [φέρουσι, τὸ σ]ῶμα τα-
 [πεινοῦντες]

9. If, as seems almost certain, μετ[αλαμ]βάνουσι is correct, it is a very useful indicator of approximately how many letters are missing in the middle of the other lines in this column. But, since the verb is the sole significant survivor of the sentence that ended in line 10, neither its exact meaning nor its subject can be determined. Perhaps: 'They (i.e. those who, understanding what the body needs for its satisfaction, lead a simple life?) receive a share of whatever is necessary'.

11–14. The reconstruction printed in Smith 1993 and 1996 has been modified because the new reading in 9 indicates that the lines are shorter than I previously supposed.

12. τινὲς. Prominent among Greek philosophers who disparage the body is Plato (see *Phaedo*, for example), but Diogenes may also have in mind the Stoics, several of whom expressed their contempt for the body: see, for example, Seneca *Ep* 92.10 (with a citation of Posidonius); Epictetus *Diss* 1.3.5–7, 1.23.1 (criticising Epicurus), 4.1.79–80; M. Aurelius 2.2, 4.41 (quoting Epictetus).

Column III

The reconstruction printed here is identical to that in Smith 1993 and 1996, except in line 6 (see below).

[κα]ἰ [γὰρ τὸ γείνεσθαι],
 καὶ τὸ αἰ[σθάνεσθαι],
 καὶ τὸ νο[εῖν τι, καί]
 τὸ φωνά[ς ἰέναι, ἄνευ]
 10 τοῦ σώμ[ατός γε ἀμή]-
 χανόν ἐ[στιν. τὰ οὖν σώ]-
 ματα δε[ῖ, φημί, τειμᾶσ]-
 θαι. ἢ καὶ

6. In Smith 1978 (82) I proposed [κα]ἰ [τὸ] and in Smith 1993 (349) tentatively suggested (in the critical notes) [τὸ] γ[ὰρ κεινεῖσθαι]. My suggestion here of [κα]ἰ [γὰρ (or perhaps [κα]ἰ | γὰρ) τὸ γείνεσθαι] is new. It is possible that Diogenes pointed out that both birth and movement are impossible without the body:

5 [καὶ γὰρ τὸ γείνεσθαι],
 [κα]ἰ [τὸ κεινεῖσθαι],
 καὶ τὸ αἰ[σθάνεσθαι],

Conclusion

I conclude with a translation of NF 136 + fr. 161/NF 94 that includes not only restorations suggested above, but also a conjectural reconstruction of what is missing between columns II and III. The column-linking reconstruction is *exempli gratia* only and must be treated with appropriate caution.

[Occupy a modest dwelling, not] an elaborate house with fretted and gold-spangled ceilings. Also [wear] clothing that is simple and unostentatious. Cabbage gives [us as much pleasure as luxurious foods] they receive a share of whatever [is necessary].

But [some people bring] the most serious [accusations against] nature [when they belittle the] body [and regard it as something worthless compared with the soul. These accusations are unjust. In fact, the body is indispensable and deserving of respect. For indeed being born is impossible without] the body, as is [experiencing sensation] and [thinking of anything and uttering] words. [So, as I say, our bodies ought to be treated with respect]. And ...

Greek index

Only 'new' words, i.e. those contributed by NF 136, are included. Words wholly contained in fr. 161, with which NF 136 links up, have already been included in the indices in Smith 1993.¹¹ But it is to be noted that the discovery of NF 136 necessitates the following alterations to the index record, in Smith 1993, of words in fr. 161:

Στωικός (632). *Delete* 161 I 10?
 λαμβάνω (647). *Add* 161 I 9?
 μέγας (648). *After* 161 I 10 (superl.) *delete the question mark*
 ὑπολαμβάνω (658). *Delete* 161 I 9?
 ὡς adv. of manner (660). *Delete* 161 I 9?

¹¹ For additions and corrections to the Greek indices in Smith 1993: 631–60, see those in Smith 2003: 147–56.

It is worthy of remark that, of the 18 words and word-beginnings listed below, nine (those marked with the sign ^x) do not occur elsewhere in the known parts of the inscription. It may be further noted that the only other occurrence of λιτός in the inscription is in fr. 47.15, in a maxim whose author is almost certainly Epicurus, not Diogenes.

A question mark indicates that a word is doubtful.

Conventional orthography is followed: for example, λιτός, not λειτός.

άν particle II 10?

^xάνεπί[φαντος] or ^xάνεπί[φθονος] I 11

ἀπό I 12?

δέ I 10

ἔτι I 10

ἔχω I 8, 11?

^xίμάτιον I 10

καί I 9, 11, II 8?

^xκράμβη I 12

λιτός I 10

^xμεταλαμβάνω II 9

^xοικία I 7

^xόροφή I 9

ὅτι (ὄ τι?) II 10?

^xπερίεργος I 7

^xτορεύω I 7

τ[II 12

^xχρυσόπαστος I 9

Bibliography

Abbreviations

I. References to passages of Diogenes of Oinoanda

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

NF = new fragment of Diogenes' inscription. NF 1–124 were first published by me between 1970 and 1984 and have been re-edited in Smith 1993 and, with drawings and photographs, in Smith 1996. NF 125 was first published in Smith 1996, NF 126–35 in Smith 1998. NF 125–35 have been republished, with revisions, in Smith 2003.

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

YÇ = Yazı Çeşitli (Various Inscriptions). The YÇ numbers are the inventory numbers of inscriptions that have been found at Oinoanda but do not belong to Diogenes' work.

II. References to works of other ancient authors

Abbreviations are generally those of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (Oxford, 1996). The following abbreviations are used for works of Epicurus:

Men = *Epistula ad Menoeceum*

Sent = *Sententiae* (Κύρια Δόξα)

Sent Vat = *Sententiae Vaticanae*

Us fr. = fragment in Usener 1887

Arr fr. = fragment in Arrighetti 1973

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