

A Lost Epicurean Community

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Οινόανδα· πόλις Λυκίας.
Stephanus of Byzantium

I. Survival

The Epicureans were a long-lived philosophical community and they might have lived longer than Epicurean philosophy itself.¹ But because of the apparent lack of change and innovation in their thinking, and because relatively few documents of their thinking—and living—have come down to us since the first generation of the Epicurean school in Athens, the conservative history of the Epicurean movement has been difficult reading and even more difficult writing. The longevity of this school already seemed remarkable to an historian of philosophy in the age of Augustus, who could record that the school was already 227 years old at the date of the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.² Thus, reckoning backwards, we understand that the school was dated not from the year of its founding when Epicurus returned to Athens in 304 B.C., but from the year of his death and the beginning of the succession (*diadoche*) of his school from head to head when Hermarchus became scholarch in 270 B.C.

Diogenes Laertius (10.9f), writing in the third century, speaks of

¹ The following will be cited in short form: A. CASANOVA, *I frammenti di Diogene d'Enoanda* (Florence 1984); C. W. CHILTON, *Diogenes Oenoandensis Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1967); *Diogenes of Oenoanda: The Fragments* (Oxford 1971); G. ARRIGHETTI, *Epicuro, Opere*² (Turin 1973); M. F. SMITH, "Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda Discovered and Rediscovered," *AJA* 74 (1970) 51–62; "New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda," *AJA* 75 (1971) 357–89; *Thirteen New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda* (= *DenkschrWien* 177 [1974]); "More New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda," in J. Bollack and A. Laks, edd., *Etudes sur l'épicurisme antique* (= *Cahiers de Philologie* 1 [Lille 1976]) 278–318; "Fifty-five New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda," *AnatSt* 28 (1978) 39–92; "Eight New Fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda," *AnatSt* 29 (1979) 69–89; "Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragments 122–24," *AnatSt* 34 (1984) 43–57; H. USENER, *Epicurea* (Leipzig 1887).

² His chronology is preserved in *Suda s.v.* "Epicurus," the text of which may be found in Usener p.373.

the school as surviving to his day, "without interruption, with one Epicurean (γνώριμος) succeeding another in the headship of the school, when almost all the other schools had ceased to exist." This is of course an exceedingly narrow view of the history of the Epicurean movement, since it focuses exclusively on Athens and the *diadoche* of the school there. Diogenes (10.25f) gives an almost biblical list of the successors: Polystratus, who succeeded Hermarchus, Dionysius, who succeeded Polystratus, Basileides, who succeeded Dionysius, and Apollodorus, the "tyrant of the garden"; but there were other Epicurean "notables" (ἐλλόγιμοι): the Ptolemies, "black" and "white," from Alexandria, Zeno of Sidon, Demetrius of Laconia, Diogenes of Tarsus, Orion, and "others to whom the genuine Epicureans give the name 'sophists.'"³

The omissions in this list are notable: Diogenes says nothing of Carneiscus, Philonides, Phaedrus of Athens, Diogenianus, or the Celsus to whom Lucian dedicated his *Alexander*. He has no word for the Epicureans to the west who "took Italy by storm" (*totam Italiam occupaverunt*), or Philodemus or Siro or Lucretius.⁴ And he seems unaware of the existence of the Epicurean who was Diogenes' namesake, Diogenes of Oenoanda. At the end of his biography of Diogenes of Sinope, Diogenes Laertius (6.81) lists five notable men by the name of Diogenes; our Diogenes is not one of them.⁵ But then we know of no one who had heard of Diogenes of Oenoanda until a century ago when his name was discovered on an inscribed block in the mountain city of Oenoanda in Lycia: ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟ[.⁶ And then it became apparent that Diogenes of Oenoanda was well known to a large group of fellow Epicureans or

³ F. Sbordone, in his edition of Philodemus' *Adversus [Sophistas]* (Naples 1947) xiif, connects Diogenes' Epicurean "sophists" with the rhetoricians who antagonized Philodemus; but Diogenes might have had in mind a figure like Timocrates, who assumed the ambiguous rôle of both rhetorician and philosopher; cf. n.53 *infra*.

⁴ That the Epicureans "took Italy by storm" is the exaggerated description of Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.3.7. The number and importance of the Romans who professed Epicureanism over four centuries can be gathered from C. J. Castner, *Prosopography of the Roman Epicureans from the Second Century B.C. to the Second Century A.D.* (= *Stud.z.kl.Phil.* 34 [Frankfurt a.M.] 1988); cf. n.10 *infra*.

⁵ He was destined to figure as "Diogenes" 47a in *RE Suppl.* 5 (1931) 153-70 (R. Philippson).

⁶ Fr.54 Chilton (1971)=fr.1 Casanova, first published by G. Cousin, "Inscriptions d'Oenoanda," *BCH* 16 (1892) 1-70.

“friends” (φίλοι), who were equally unknown to Diogenes Laertius and to posterity.

With Diogenes of Oenoanda we come to the last chapter of the history of Epicureanism in antiquity, and, despite the fragmentary character of our evidence, it is a chapter that can still be written. After Diogenes, whose date remains a problem, we have only the meager and unedifying record of hostility to Epicurus and Epicureanism in pagan, Christian, and Jewish sources.⁷

The beginnings of the history of Epicureanism as a community—even before it had developed into a philosophy—reach back to Epicurus’ activities in Lampsacus and they can be taken back as far as Epicurus’ early years as a teacher in Mytilene.⁸ Epicurus’ school—if that is the name for it—continued, as we have seen, until the time of Diogenes Laertius; and we have a very partial record of those who served as its head (ἡγεμῶν τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων, D.L. 10.20) until the age of Hadrian, when we know that Heliodorus was able to succeed Popillius Theotimus, although he was a *peregrinus* and not a Roman citizen, just as nearly four centuries before Hermarchus of Mytilene succeeded Epicurus, although he was not an Athenian citizen (*IG II*² 1099.1–3 with *SEG III* 226). In 178 the Emperor Marcus Aurelius renewed the imperial and philhellenic interest in the Epicurean school in Athens. This at least is a plausible inference from Aurelius Victor’s few words on the emperor’s visit to Athens before his campaign against the Marcomanni, when a crowd of philosophers representing the sects of Athens pressed him to decide on the difficult and recondite matters that most concerned them. *Ardua ac peroculta*: these might not have been matters of philosophical doctrine but questions of the legal standing of the schools in Athens and their headships and property.⁹

Beyond Athens, we know of the spread of Epicureanism through-

⁷ For a brief statement of the sequence see H. Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans: ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae im Principat* (Berlin 1978) 166; a thorough history of the anti-Epicureanism in Christian writings may be found in W. Schmid, “Epikur,” *RAC* 5 (1961) 744–803 (= *Ausgewählte philologische Schriften* [Berlin 1984] 228–52).

⁸ The best account of the very sparse evidence for Epicurus’ early years is still A. Momigliano, “Su alcuni dati della vita di Epicuro,” *RivFil* 13 (1935) 302–16.

⁹ *Caes.* 16.9. J. H. Oliver saw in this phrase a legal and sectarian rather than a philosophical problem: “Marcus Aurelius and the Philosophical Schools of Athens,” *AJP* 102 (1981) 213–25 (= *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens* [Baltimore 1983] 85–96).

out Italy in the second century B.C.,¹⁰ and to the east there are traces of its taking root in Syria.¹¹ In Egypt, a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus reveals an interest in Epicurean theology, as does a letter requesting Epicurean books.¹² Philodemus gives us evidence for the presence of Epicureans in Rhodes, as does Diogenes of Oenoanda.¹³ They are spotted in Rhodiapolis in southern Lycia, and as far north as Amastris on the south coast of the Black Sea, where we meet Tiberius Claudius Lepidus—the Epicurean who opposed the influence of Alexander of Abonouteichos and at the same time served as the high priest of the imperial cult.¹⁴ And we finally discover Lucian in Amastris at the head of an indignant crowd of philosophers protesting to the imperial *legatus* the attempt Alexander had made on Lucian's life. The date of this visit is *ca* 165.¹⁵

But we cannot date the philosophical inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda. This monumental advertisement for the healing power

¹⁰ The testimonia for individuals are presented in Castner (*supra* n.4), but the movement—if it was that—as a whole still needs its history: an initial contribution in Momigliano, review of B. Farrington, *Science and Politics in the Ancient World*, in *JRS* 31 (1941) 149–57; E. Paratore mainly treats Lucretius in *L'epicureismo e la sua diffusa nel mondo latino* (Rome 1960) and “La problematica sull' epicureismo a Roma,” *ANRW* I.4 (Berlin 1973) 116–204.

¹¹ Documented by W. Crönert, “Die Epikureer in Syrien,” *ÖJh* 10 (1907) 145–52.

¹² *P.Oxy.* II 215, edited with a full commentary by H. Diels, “Ein epikureisches Fragment über Götterverehrung,” *SBBerl* (1916) 886–909 (= *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* [Darmstadt 1969] 288–311); and D. Obbink, “*POxy.* 215 and Epicurean Religious $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$,” in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* II (Naples 1984) 607–19. Epicurus' attempt to attract followers from Egypt is already attested in Plutarch's *Live Unknown* (*Mor.* 1129A), which Usener took to be evidence for a letter “To the Friends in Egypt,” *frr.*106f Us. The letter requesting Epicurean books comes from Egypt and in the view of its editor might come from the second half of the second century: J. G. Keenan, “A Papyrus Letter about Epicurean Philosophy Books,” *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977) 91–94.

¹³ *Rhetorica* I cols. LII.11–17, LIII.1–6 Sudhaus; Diogenes *frr.*15f Chilton=*frr.*63f Casanova (the letter to Antipater). There is also the inscription honoring the Epicurean Eucratides of Rhodes, *IG* XIV 674 (*IGR* I 466); *cf.* M. N. Todd, “Side-lights on Greek Philosophers,” *JHS* 77 (1957) 136 n.72.

¹⁴ From Rhodiapolis comes the inscription honoring the physician and philosopher Heraclitus—if not an Epicurean at least connected with the Epicureans of Athens: *TAM* III 910 (*IGR* III 733).

¹⁵ For the date of Lucian's visit to Abonouteichos, as well as the cultural context of the oracle at Abonouteichos, see C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1986) 133–48. Since Lucian speaks of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius as $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, he must have written this memoir after 180: *Alex.* 48; Jones 168.

of Epicurean philosophy provides us with new evidence for the Epicurean community in Oenoanda and Diogenes' associates in Rhodes, Athens, Chalcis on Euboea, and Thebes in Boeotia; the names of Diogenes and his fellow Epicureans were all equally unknown when the first inscribed blocks from the wall of Diogenes' stoa came to light. Heberdey and Kalinka, who published the 88 fragments of the inscription discovered in the nineteenth century, put it at the end of the second century.¹⁶ The evidence to go on is slight: the epigraphic features of the inscription, its language and style, the prosopography of Oenoanda, the contemporaries named by Diogenes have all been interrogated.

Martin Ferguson Smith, whose work on the site of Oenoanda has led to the discovery of 124 new blocks and fragments from Diogenes' inscription, suggested a Hadrianic date for the monument on the basis of its letter forms, which closely resemble those of an inscription from Kemerası at the foot of Oenoanda, bearing a letter from Hadrian that can be dated to 125 and the record of a new religious festival established by the Council of Oenoanda on 25 July 124.¹⁷ He has also detected what might be a reference to the plague of 165/6 in NF 54, where Diogenes refers to the "destruction of certain tribes and plagues that have [occurred] in our generation."¹⁸

An even later date has been the more common suggestion. It depends on the prosopography of Oenoanda and its fundamental document, the funerary inscription of Licinnia Flavilla. If our Diogenes is the Flavianus Diogenes of this monument, he and his inscription can be dated to "about A.D. 200" (by the estimate of Chilton [1971] xx). Alan Hall, who has made the latest attempt to discover Diogenes in the civic inscriptions of Oenoanda, offers two possible identifications and two possible dates. If Flavianus Diogenes was responsible for the inscription, Hall would put the date of his inscription "between A.D. 200 and 230"; but if Diogenes,

¹⁶ "Die philosophische Inschrift von Oinoanda," *BCH* 21 (1897) 442f.

¹⁷ "Oenoanda: the Epicurean Inscription," in *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (Ankara 1978) 846f. The inscription from the ancient settlement at the foot of the mountain site of Oenoanda is now published by M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Feste im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (= *Vestigia* 10 [1988]), who approves Smith's suggestion (72 n.131). See also Smith, in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) 73–87, who suggests that the Διογένης τῆς τοῦ Μόλητος mentioned in the Hadrianic inscription is our Diogenes.

¹⁸ Smith (1978) 50f.

son of Marcus (*bis*), otherwise Sosicus, is our Diogenes, this identification would allow for a date in the early Severan period.¹⁹

The third possibility is that Diogenes is known only from his inscription. Nevertheless, Diogenes might have inadvertently given us an approximate date for himself and his inscription. And Smith's discovery in 1970 of a series of fragments that prove to come from Diogenes' epistolary provides us with another clue. In NF 10 we find Diogenes lecturing a group of his fellow Epicureans; in col. 1.6f he recalls the ethical doctrine he had expounded to someone whose name is not complete, but its first four letters are clearly ABEI[(Smith [1971] 373–75=fr.71 Casanova). Smith suggested Abeirkios, and George Hoffman followed with the better suggestion of Avitianus.²⁰ Avitus is clearly also a possibility and the Avitus who was consul in 209 has been proposed as a candidate for the honor of being lectured to by Diogenes (Casanova 74). What brought Avitus and Diogenes together we do not know.

My candidate is another Avitus who is better known to the Epicureans of Amastris; he was also well known to Apuleius.²¹ This Avitus, L. Hediuf Rufus Lollianuf Avitus, was the Roman legate to Bithynia and Pontus in 165, when Lucian descended on Abonouteichos to expose the fraud of Alexander and his bogus oracle. It was to Avitus that Lucian (*Alex.* 57) protested the attempt that Alexander had made on his life as he was traveling from Abonouteichos to Amastris by sea. Safe in Amastris, Lucian gathered supporters in the large Epicurean community there to endorse him in his complaints to the legate. But Lucian and his supporters could have no influence over Avitus, since Alexander had powerful Roman protection in the person of Alexander's aged son-in-law, the consular P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus. Avitus convinced Lucian to let the matter go. This civilized and eloquent Roman obviously had contacts among the Epicureans of Amastris and he provides a possible date for Diogenes of Oenoanda, just as Lucian provides us with a cultural context in his *Alexander*. Like the Epi-

¹⁹ "Who was Diogenes of Oenoanda?" *JHS* 99 (1979) 160–64.

²⁰ *Diogenes of Oenoanda: a Commentary* (diss. Univ. of Minnesota 1976) 289f. Hoffman thinks the name Avitus is too short to fill the space available, but a possible supplement to line 7 is [... προσ]ειρήκαμεν; cf. προσλαλέω, 10 x.14; προσομιλέω, 74.3; and προσφω[νέω, 120 I.1 Casanova; as well as the title of the *Sententiae Vaticanae*, Προσφώνησις Ἐπικούρου.

²¹ Apul. *Apol.* 24, 94 (*vir bonus, dicendi peritus*), 95f; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II (Princeton 1950) 1533; *PIR*² H 40.

curean Celsus, who wrote a treatise against the magicians,²² and Lucian, who attempted to expose the fraud of Alexander, Diogenes of Oenoanda waged from the mountain fastness of Oenoanda his own war against the superstitions of his age: the base popular conceptions of the gods, oracles, dreams, and the philosophers' belief in the transmigration of the soul.

II. *Diogenes paene alter Epicurus*

Diogenes' conception of himself and his rôle in making public the healing word of Epicurus is fully expressed in the introduction he provides for his inscription as a whole. He sees humankind afflicted with a kind of spiritual plague (καθάπερ ἐν λοιμῶ) and is moved to come to their aid.²³ A single verb captures his conception of himself, ἐπικουρεῖν: "It is just to help those who come after us; for these too belong to us, even if they have not yet been born. And it is an act of humanity to come to the aid (ἐπικουρεῖν) of the strangers who visit our city as well."²⁴

Clearly Epicurus' name was meaningful to Diogenes;²⁵ he was the helper who came to succor struggling mankind. In his 'helps' to those who would stop in the shelter of his stoa to read his inscription, where they would find displayed on its wall "remedies that bring salvation,"²⁶ Diogenes was consciously imitating Epicurus; and he can be described in the language Cicero chose to describe one of Epicurus' oldest and closest associates, Metrodorus of

²² *Alex.* 21. He cannot, I think, be the pagan opponent of Origen's *Contra Celsum*, but rather the Celsus known from Lucian and Galen. For arguments in either direction see H. Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge 1953) xxv, and R. J. Hoffman, *Celsus: On the True Doctrine* (Oxford 1987) 30–33.

²³ Fr.2 iv.4–13 Chilton=fr.3 Casanova. Marcello Gigante provides a context for Diogenes' conception of philosophy as therapy in "*Philosophia medicans* in Filodemo," *CronErcol* 5 (1975) 53–61.

²⁴ Fr.2 v.7 Chilton=fr.3 Casanova. Diogenes' philanthropy had its origin and model in that of Epicurus: D.L. 10.10; cf. fr.49 Chilton=fr.121 Casanova. Hoffman's comments (*supra* n.20:165f) on the word φιλόανθρωπον in Diogenes' introduction are valuable for placing the word in its context.

²⁵ As Hoffman seems to have been the first to notice (*supra* n.20: 166).

²⁶ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας προθεῖναι φάρμακα, in Gomperz's much admired supplement.

Lampsacus: *paene alter Epicurus*.²⁷ His choice of the means to his philanthropy is the intelligent response of a wealthy and prominent Epicurean to Epicurus' injunction $\mu\eta\ \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ —"Keep away from political life." "In taking this course and not becoming involved in political life I make these statements as if I were actually present."²⁸ Diogenes' term $\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron[\lambda\epsilon\iota]\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ reflects his respect for Epicurus' wisdom, but it has a very distinct and contemporary application in Lycia where inscriptions commemorated the philanthropy of the unphilosophical Opramoas, who was "active in the political life" of his own city (Rhodiapolis) and the cities of Lycia ($\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \Lambda\upsilon\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$).²⁹ In offering an eloquent and sometimes prolix stoa to his native city Diogenes was more philanthropic than Opramoas, who could only offer a bath building.³⁰ And he was true to Epicurus.

The very philological problems that have invested Diogenes' inscription attest to the difficulties of distinguishing Epicurus from the Epicureans who were his followers. Does the *Letter to Mother* which Diogenes displayed on the wall of his stoa belong to Diogenes or to Epicurus? (It belongs to Epicurus.) Do the maxims displayed on the lowest inscribed course of this inscription belong to Epicurus, to a "very competent Ionian disciple," or do they belong to Diogenes? (They belong to Diogenes.)³¹ Does the text of the last

²⁷ *Fin.* 2.28, 92. I give a justification of this characterization in "Individual and Community in the First Generation of the Epicurean School," in *Συζήτησις: Studi ... Marcello Gigante I* (Naples 1983) 255–79.

²⁸ Fr.2 l.3–7 Chilton=fr.3 Casanova; cf. D.L. 10.119 and its echoes collected in fr.8 Us.

²⁹ Particularly the inscription carved on the walls of his heroon at Rhodiapolis: *IGR III 739.xviii.48 and xx.50 (TAM II.3 905)*. The key term $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ occurs in an honorary inscription (on a statue base) from the Letoon in Xanthos, published by A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII* (Paris 1986) no. 66. The interpretation of this term is still not certain, despite the discussions of Ballard (177–80) and J. A. O. Larsen, *SymbOslo* 33 (1957) 5–26. Whether Opramoas was made a citizen of the cities listed in the inscriptions honoring his charities to the cities of Lycia, or was only active in the civic affairs of these cities—or acted in his official capacity as a Lysiarch—his activity was not that of the Epicurean Diogenes.

³⁰ *IGR III 739.xix.28*. Diogenes helps us with this contrast: fr.2 iii.11 Chilton=fr.3 Casanova. The baths of "the self-advertising Antonine plutocrat Opramoas of Rhodiapolis" are now plausibly located among the buildings of Oenoanda by J. J. Coulton, "The Buildings of Oenoanda," *PCPS NS.* 29 (1983) 10.

³¹ Chilton (1971) 97. The word 'turn to stone' ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$) in NF 81 (Smith [1978] 69–71) would seem to decide the question unexpectedly in Diogenes' favor.

of the new fragments to be discovered in this century (NF 124) belong to Epicurus or to Diogenes? (The answer to this question is still in doubt: cf. Smith [1984] 52–55.) These doubts are a tribute to Epicurus. What is remarkable is the fact that at the end of the legible history of Epicureanism—some four and a half centuries after Epicurus' death—these questions of attribution still arise.

Diogenes' stoa did not stand long on the southern border of the 'Esplanade' of his native city. It was soon dismantled, and the fine ashlar blocks of its wall and its very foundations were used to build a shortened defensive wall protecting the city to the north. The stoa wall has been reconstructed in so many ways that one can say of it *quot editores tot parietes*. I offer here (fig. 1) one possible reconstruction of the wall and the inscription it carried.

The inscribed wall articulates clearly into three registers. And Diogenes' plan for the display of the texts that make up his γραφή reflects his relation to Epicurus. The lowest inscribed course (above the orthostate blocks) carries Diogenes' *Ethical Treatise* and continues with his *Maxims* and *Epistolary*. This entire course seems to belong to Diogenes himself, but it is underwritten by Epicurus. His *Ethical Treatise* is evolved, as if it were a papyrus, in columns fourteen lines deep. Running below them in somewhat larger letters is a nearly continuous taenia carrying Epicurus' Κύρια δόξαι and a few ethical sayings of Epicurus that are known to us only from Diogenes' inscription. In the case of the *Ethical Treatise* one can properly speak of Epicurus as underwriting Diogenes. In some clear cases at least, Epicurus' maxims actually support Diogenes' own argument above, as is the case in NF 21, where a new but not unfamiliar maxim, [πᾶν ζῶ]ον οὐ δύναται συνθήκην [ποιεῖσθαι] ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι], supports Diogenes' prophecy of a golden age of justice, "when the world will be filled with justice and neighborly love" above it (NF 21 1.6–8 [Smith (1974) 21–25]=fr.57 Casanova). As Smith noted when he published the new fragment, "the maxim relates to the Epicurean conception of justice, and the passage above describes how justice will prevail throughout the world when all mankind has been converted to the true philosophy."³²

Following the *Ethical Treatise* comes a series of maxims generously and handsomely inscribed in large letters, which are now

³² Smith (1974) 25. Chilton (1971: 66) also noticed the occasional and intended connection between the arguments of Diogenes above and Epicurus below.

recognized as the work of Diogenes. They are, indeed, the record of his own attempt to provide his readers with a version of the *Κύρια δόξαι* of Epicurus—Epicurean wisdom to master and meditate. And there is on this same course (I of *fig. 1*) a display of the letters of Diogenes of Oenoanda. The best known of Diogenes' letters is his letter to Antipater, and, in both its subject (the Epicurean theory of an infinite universe and the infinite worlds forming and dispersing within it) and in the attitude Diogenes adopts to his correspondent, Diogenes is clearly imitating Epicurus and his *Letter to Pythocles*. Both recognize the zeal of the pupil and the newcomer to Epicurean philosophy, and both answer his request for further instruction in one of the most abstruse aspects of Epicurean philosophy.³³ But Diogenes' letter is also a dialogue and a record for Antipater of the conversation he had in Rhodes with his fellow Epicurean, Theodoridas of Lindos. In adopting the combined philosophical form of letter and dialogue Diogenes is also imitating Epicurus' *Symposium*, which is a dialogue between Epicurus and Polyaeus.³⁴ Epicurus' *Symposium* begins with Polyaeus' question to Epicurus: "Do you deny, Epicurus, the heating properties of wine?"; the dialogue within Diogenes' letter begins with Theodoridas' question to Diogenes: "Diogenes, that the doctrine Epicurus has established concerning the infinity of worlds is true..." (fr.16 III.10–IV.1 Chilton=fr.64 IV.10–v1 Casanova).

The new investigations at Oenoanda initiated by Smith in 1968 have led to the discovery of two new letters from Diogenes' epistolary: a letter to Dionysius of Rhodes (NF 58), who was already known (fr.51 Chilton),³⁵ and a long letter Diogenes addressed to his associates in Rhodes concerning an Epicurean by the name of Niceratus. Here Diogenes adduces the authority of a letter of Epicurus, who had written to his followers in Lampsacus, to describe his narrow escape from shipwreck (NF 7, a block preceded by NF 10 and followed by Diogenes' own reflections on Epicurus' reflec-

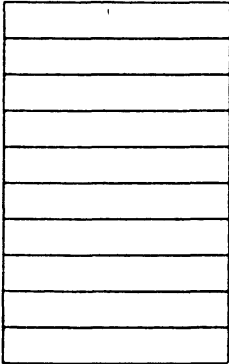
³³ *Ep. ad Pyth.* 84 (φιλοφρονούμενός τε ... περί ἡμᾶς διετέλεις ἀξίως τῆς ἡμετέρας περί σεαυτὸν σπουδῆς) is answered by Diogenes' recognition of Antipater's serious concern for Epicurean philosophy ([Σπουδῆς] σημεῖα, fr.16 I.3 Chilton=fr.129 Casanova). And like Epicurus, Diogenes is addressing a newcomer to his philosophy.

³⁴ [21] Arrighetti=Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1109E. The unusual combination of a letter introducing a dialogue is as old as Aristotle's *Protrepticus*, with what must have been its prefatory letter to Themison of Cyprus: Arist. fr.50 Rose.

³⁵ Published in Smith (1978) 53f=fr.69 Casanova.

The Inscribed Courses of the Stoa Wall (or Walls): Total Height 2.37 m

Fig.1: The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda

III A 31.5-35 cm	Fr.54	The Old Age treatise		A			
B 37-41 cm			B	Fr. 49		Epicurus' Letter to Mother. frs. 52-53 NF 3, 2-4 (to Hermarchus) NF 110 (to Dositheus)	
C 46-50 cm			C			Frs. 50, 51	
scored margin							
II 45-49 cm	NF 52	Introduction	The Physics Treatise			Fr. 14	
I 58-62 cm	Fr. 23	The Ethics Treatise					<i>Sententiae Variac</i> Diogenes' Epistolary fr. 15 NF 107 fr. 16 (to Antipater) NFF 10, 7, 8 NF 58 (to Dionvsius)
62 cm							

tions in NF 8).³⁶ Diogenes addresses his friends as μακάριοι, just as Epicurus once addressed Pythocles as μακάριε ([89] Ar.). As we have seen, Diogenes reminds his friends in Rhodes of the doctrine he had once expounded to Avitus (I.6f) and expresses his displeasure at his friends' decision to send Niceratus "to us" (πρὸς ἡμᾶς, II.12f). We cannot be sure if Diogenes is using the personal pronoun as did Epicurus in his *Letter to Mother* or if he had also in mind a group of Epicureans in Oenoanda.³⁷ But it is likely that his use of the first person plural reflects Epicurus' own practice of writing letters first to an individual and then to a group of friends associated with the individual, κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ. Such was the practice of St Paul.³⁸

The importance of the letter as a means to maintaining a community of attitudes and actions for Epicureans established in small communities in cities throughout the Greek world is reflected in the very title of Philodemus' Πραγματεῖαι, the acts of the epistle. And it is manifest in Diogenes' decision to display his own epistolary under the letters of Epicurus which he displays in the upper register of his inscription (III B of fig. 1).

Another sign of Diogenes' studied imitation of Epicurus is his decision to have his own last will and testament inscribed on the wall of his stoa (fr.50 Chilton, course C). It begins: "These are the instructions that I, Diogenes, give my relatives, familiars, and friends":

Διογένης τοῖς συγγένεσι
καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις τά-
δε ἐντέλλομαι.

In making this very public record of his last will and testament

³⁶ Smith (1971) 365–71, 373ff. I give my version of the syntax and argument of these three fragments in "The Means to Epicurus' Salvation: the 'Crux' at Diogenes of Oenoanda, NF 7 II 12," *Sileno* 10 (1984) 169–75 (= *Studi in onore di Adelmo Barigazzi*). Casanova's sequence differs: 10 (fr.71), 8 (fr.72), 7 (fr.73).

³⁷ Cf. fr.52 III.3, 6; IV.3, 7–10 Chilton=fr.122 Casanova, and Smith's remarks on NF 24 in (1974) 34f.

³⁸ Clearly from [59] 3f Ar. (Epicurus' letter to Idomeneus) and *Ep. ad Pyth.* 85, Epicurus expects that his letters will be circulated and that Pythocles will have his own copy of the letter to Herodotus. The importance of letters in the mission and expansion of Christianity is well documented in A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*⁴ (Leipzig 1924) I 382–86.

Diogenes was imitating Epicurus. Epicurus' own last will and testament (D.L. 10.16–21) is one of the most important documents of his philosophical career, if philosophy is understood—as he understood it in his will—as a common and principled way of life. He preserved his will in the Metroon or Public Records Office of Athens and thereby made it as public and secure as the *psephismata* and other public documents of Athens.³⁹ It is a pity that only the first block on which Diogenes' will was inscribed has survived, for its sequel would preserve evidence for the Epicurean community in Oenoanda, whose survival Diogenes, in his own extreme old age, wanted to insure by his last act as an Epicurean philosopher. The word “friends” in line 2 is striking. By φίλοις Diogenes means his fellow Epicureans. Strictly comparable is the language of Pompeia Plotina in her letter to the Epicurean community in Athens: Πλωτεινα Σεβαστή πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις χαίρειν.⁴⁰

III. Diogenes in Context

As he concludes his biographical memoir on Alexander of Abonouteichos, Lucian turns to his friend and companion Celsus, and presents the document to him as an act of revenge on behalf of Epicurus, “a holy man in the true sense of this word, and a natural oracle of the divine, a man who has come to know with the aid of truth what is good, and one who has handed the heritage of this discovery down to posterity, and become the liberator of those who were his associates” (*Alex.* 61). Diogenes employs similar language to describe Epicurus to his fellow Epicureans in Rhodes, calling him “the herald who saved you” (NF 7 III.12f [Smith (1971) 365–71]=fr.73 Casanova). The conception of Epicurus as a savior is of course not unique to Diogenes; we find it in Pompeia Plotina's letter to the Epicureans of Athens, and elsewhere among Epicureans both Greek and Roman.⁴¹ But the term κήρυξ is neither

³⁹ As I argue in “Epicurus in the Archives of Athens,” in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (=Hesperia Suppl. 19 [Princeton 1982]) 17–26.

⁴⁰ *IG* II² 1099.16. The best case for the committed Epicureanism of this letter is made by Temporini (*supra* n.7) 162–67.

⁴¹ *IG* II² 1099.35. The beginning of the concept of Epicurus as σωτήρ is *P.Hercul.* 346 (fr.3 iv.b.7) in M. Capasso, *Trattato etico epicureo (PHerc. 346)* (Naples 1982); cf. vii.24 and iv.24–28 with Capasso's note. Significantly, Diogenes uses the term σωτήριον in NF 101.7 Casanova (Smith [1978] 69–71).

common nor orthodox. Epicurus had, it seems, used the verb κηρύττειν in his enthusiastic description of friendship “dancing about all of the inhabited world, heralding the call to us all: Awake to proclaim blessedness!”⁴² Diogenes speaks of “salvation” when he states his motives for displaying on the wall of his stoa the gospel of Epicurean philosophy. The philosopher as a σωτήρ is not a commonplace in the philosophical literature of the second century. And Diogenes’ description of Epicurus as a herald (κῆρυξ) is even less common. Both terms, savior and herald, remained us rather of the language of the New Testament. The language of I Timothy 2.7 combines the terms ‘herald’ and ‘apostle’, and ‘savior’ is the word for Christ in II Timothy 1.10.⁴³ The κήρυγμα of the New Testament is of course the coming of Christ as the Messiah and savior.

But, as Epictetus said of a herald from the pagan world, the words for the self-proclaimed hierophant, herald, and torchbearer of a new philosophy are the same (αἱ φωναὶ αἱ αὐταί) as those of the mysteries of Eleusis, but in Eleusis they have a different spiritual meaning.⁴⁴ So too in Oenoanda. In the Greek context, the herald was a public official who made proclamations at the Olympic games or the Eleusinian mysteries or negotiated the barriers between city and city. Alexander of Abonouteichos had his own herald to make the proclamation of the opening of his mysteries (*Alex.* 46), and in a new fragment of Diogenes’ inscription it seems that Epicurus invited Hermarchus to enter the mysteries of his own philosophy (NF 24 [Smith (1974) 31–35]=fr.124 Casanova). We do not know exactly when Christianity reached Oenoanda, but its way was well prepared by Diogenes.

Neither Epicurus nor Diogenes were heralds of the state or the religion of the state. They proclaimed the salvation of their philosophy as private individuals, whose mission it was to attract others from the primacy of the ties of their cities to the alternative communities of ‘friends’—[εἰς] τὸ συνελθὸν ἡμῶν, as Epicurus put

⁴² SV 52: ἡ φιλία περιχορεύει τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύττουσα δὴ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐγείρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν μακαρισμόν.

⁴³ Cf. the description of Paul in II Timothy 1.11 and I Clement 5.6. The pagan *praeparatio evangelica* for the announcement of Christ as savior is well described by A. D. Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background* (New York 1964) 35–46, and “Soter and Euergetes,” *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World II* (Oxford 1972) 720–35.

⁴⁴ Epict. *Diss.* 3.21.13f; cf. his description of the cynic philosopher in 1.13.3, 3.22.69.

it in a letter.⁴⁵ It is true that Diogenes speaks of himself as Οἰνοανδέυς and of Oenoanda as his native city; and in his introduction he makes the primacy of his concern for his fellow citizens clear to all.⁴⁶ But he also proclaims himself as a citizen of the world, as had Democritus long before him: "Throughout the entire enclosure of this our world all the earth is a single country and the world a single dwelling."⁴⁷

Diogenes' intellectual world seems a large one: of the Presocratics he names Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Diogenes of Apollonia, and Heraclitus; he engages Pythagoras and Empedocles (son of Acragas!) and their theories of metempsychosis (which he terms μετάβασις); the triad of ancient atheists appear in his inscription (Diagoras, Theodorus, and Protagoras); he engages Aristippus and his conception of pleasure and mentions Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle (the Heraclitean!); Democritus is an important figure in his polemics, as are the Stoics in general (though he never names an individual Stoic). And as one would expect, the name of Epicurus appears often on the wall of his stoa.

But the horizons of his knowledge of philosophy are narrow. He knew Epicurus directly and well and was in possession of many of his writings; even his occasional and inadvertent misquotations from Epicurus' ethical sayings would seem to indicate that he knew some of Epicurus' δόξαι by heart. All of the other philosophers he names and sometimes addresses in a dialogue (which is a tandem

⁴⁵ To Hermarchus, NF 24: οἴξαι τὰ[ς εἰς] τὸ συνελθὸν ἡμῶν [.] παθεῖς εἰσόδου, 1.1–3=fr.124 Casanova. I would supplement line 2 by [ὅμοιο]παθεῖς on the strength of Metrodorus of Lampsacus' appeal to his brother Timocrates: ποιήσωμέν τι καλὸν ἐπὶ καλοῖς, μόνον οὐ καταδύντες ταῖς ὁμοιοπαθείαις καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐκ τοῦ χαμαὶ βίου εἰς τὰ Ἐπικούρου ὡς ἀληθῶς θεόφαντα ὄργια (fr.38 Koerte=Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1117B). This fraternal appeal was rejected by Timocrates, who betrays the representation of Epicurus' philosophy as a mystery when he says that he barely managed to escape from "those nocturnal sessions and that mystic confraternity" (D.L. 10.6).

⁴⁶ Thus, it is the extension of his healing message to the strangers who would visit his stoa in Oenoanda that characterizes his 'philanthropy'; cf. fr.2 v.5 Chilton=fr.3 Casanova and fr.49.2 Chilton=fr.121.3 Casanova. The pride of being a citizen of Oenoanda is eloquently expressed by C. Julius Demosthenes (Wörle [*supra*] n.17: 4) who speaks of the love he had for his sweetest country from his earliest years: [ἀπὸ] πρώτης ἡλικίας τὴν γλυκντάτην μου πατρίδα πεφιληκῶς (line 8). Diogenes speaks of Oenoanda simply as his πατρίς: fr.15 ll.14 Chilton=fr.63 Casanova.

⁴⁷ Fr.25 ll.6–11 Chilton=fr.30 Casanova. Cf. Democritus 68B247 D.–K.

soliloquy) are rivals to his own philosophy and mistaken; these he seems to know from the doxography and not from their writings.

To the Epicurean philosophy was also a common way of life, and in this sense of the word the horizons of Diogenes' philosophy were more generous. Before his inscription came to light, he himself was completely unknown; of all the contemporaries he names in his epistolary perhaps only one, L. Hediis Rufus Lollianus Avitus (cos. A.D. 144), was known. Diogenes' inscription has now given us the names of Epicureans active in Rhodes and in mainland Greece: Antipater (of Athens); Theodoridas of Lindos; and Menneas, Carus, Dionysius, and Niceratus of Rhodes. In addressing Antipater Diogenes calls Theodoridas "our companion" (ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν, fr.16 I.12 Chilton=fr.64 II.12 Casanova); and in addressing Menneas, he speaks of "our" Dionysius (Διονυσίου τοῦ ἡμετέρου, fr.51 II.9f Chilton=fr.129 Casanova). In this same letter he speaks of a woman with whom he stayed in Rhodes and her contribution to his recovery; and the supervision of "the amazing Carus."

The formula of his conclusion to this letter is Epicurean, for it was Epicurus' habit to wish his correspondents health. But the plural ἔρρωσθε πάλιν is also a sign that Diogenes' *Letter to Menneas* was meant for a larger group and that it is a response to a letter that concluded ἔρρωσο.⁴⁸ Fragments of still another letter reveal that a diet of curdled milk was responsible for rebuilding Diogenes' health, and we know from his last will and testament that he was suffering from a stomach disorder.⁴⁹

The concerns of these letters to the Epicureans in Rhodes seem personal, provincial, and far removed from the kind of large philosophical concerns that occupied Epicurus in the three major letters reproduced in Diogenes Laertius (Book 10) or the pastoral concerns of the letters of the Christians who were Diogenes' contemporaries. But perhaps what was most important to Diogenes and his friends was the disposition that bound one Epicurean to another—the διάθεσις he commends in Menneas who was concerned for the

⁴⁸ For ὑγιαίνειν as a salutation of Epicurus' letters, cf. [40] Ar. and my remarks on fr.51 Chilton in *AJP* 99 (1978) 120–23.

⁴⁹ For the diet of curdled milk, NF 23 (Smith [1974] 26–31)=fr.128 Casanova; in his last will and testament (which is his imitation of Epicurus' letter to Idomeneus: [52] Ar.) Diogenes speaks of suffering from a severe stomach disorder (καρδιακὸν πάθος): fr.50.7 Chilton=fr.136 Casanova.

health of his fellow philosopher (fr.51 II.6 Chilton=fr.129 Casanova). Like the early Christians, the Epicureans recognized one another as 'friends', although the Epicureans were perhaps unique in their devotion to friendship.⁵⁰ The attitude of concern and even zeal for the physical and spiritual well-being of the Epicurean and the pleasures of friendship is dramatically expressed in a new block from Diogenes' *Letter to Antipater* (NF 107=fr.63 Casanova, which follows fr.15 Chilton and joins fr.16 Chilton). In response to Antipater's progress and his enthusiasm for Epicurean philosophy ([σπουδ]ῆς, I.4), Diogenes is especially eager to meet Antipater himself "and the other friends in Athens, and in Chalcis and Thebes once again, thinking that you all share my feeling" (II.1-8). In the new block from this letter Diogenes writes: "I will try to join you, since the winter weather has now subsided, sailing first either to Athens or to Chalcis and Boeotia, since my appetite has been whetted as never before by the prospect of a trip by sea" (fr.64 I.2-13 Casanova=NF 107 [Smith (1979) 70-74]).

The 'you' of this translation is, as one might expect, second person plural. The enthusiasm of the Epicurean for friendship radiates from Diogenes' epistolary and reminds us of the enthusiasm and warmth of the letters of Epicurus who was Diogenes' inspiration. Diogenes' eagerness to join Antipater and his fellow Epicureans in mainland Greece matches the spirit if not the language of the letter Epicurus wrote to Themista in Lampsacus, telling her that if she and Leonteus could not come to him, he would join them "on a three-wheeled cart" (τρικύλιστος) wherever they say.⁵¹

In Acts of the Apostles, Christ tells his apostles that they will be his witnesses "unto the uttermost part of the earth" (ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς, 1.8). From the point of view of the historian of philosophy, Oenoanda must seem one of the ends of the earth, as would Amastris on the Black Sea. If it is in fact possible to date Diogenes' inscription by a reference to Avitus, who was *legatus* of Bithynia

⁵⁰ A comparison with the early Christians seems inevitable, but 'friends' as a designation of fellow-Christians is relatively rare in Christian writings; cf. Harnack (*supra* n.38) I 433-36. D. K. O'Connor's contribution to the present volume (*supra* 165-86) is a valuable assessment of the ethical theory and the *praxis* of Epicurean friendship.

⁵¹ As the phrase is sometimes rendered; in his Loeb translation of Diogenes Laertius, R. D. Hicks renders the adjective "to spin thrice on my own axis." For a less enthusiastic interpretation, cf. Usener's *Glossarium Epicureum*, edd. M. Gigante and W. Schmid (Rome 1977) 677.

and Pontus in 165 and who heard Lucian's complaints against Alexander of Abonouteichos, Diogenes and Lucian are very rough contemporaries. Diogenes provides us with all the information we possess concerning the lost Epicurean community of Oenoanda, just as Lucian gives us all we know about the contemporary Epicureans of Amastris in his *Alexander*. In his indignation at being baited by the Epicureans, Alexander could protest that the Pontus was "filled with atheists [Epicureans] and Christians" (*Alex.* 25). We know the name of one of these, Tiberius Claudius Lepidus, who was one of Alexander's most determined enemies and at the same time a friend of one of Alexander's most devoted admirers, Sacerdos of Ticio (Alex. 43).⁵² Lucian makes the difficult journey to Abonouteichos in order to expose the fraud of Alexander and his oracle and acts the part of the Epicurean, addressing the known Epicurean Celsus as ὦ ἑταῖρε (23). He was preceded by an anonymous Epicurean with the same purpose, who caused such outrage that he was nearly murdered by the crowd of Alexander's votaries; Alexander's command to his followers was "either be polluted yourselves and be called 'Epicureans' or put the man to death" (43). Still other nameless but committed Epicureans, the followers of Timocrates, join Lucian in his indignant embassy to Avitus (57), as we have seen.⁵³

Since Louis Robert's masterly essay on "Lucien en son temps," it is impossible to dismiss the details of Lucian's *Alexander* as the product of Lucian's satiric imagination.⁵⁴ The conflict between Alexander and his followers at Abonouteichos and his Epicurean and Christian adversaries reveals the religious and philosophic tensions of Diogenes' age and place him in the cultural context in which he is most comfortable. The allies of both parties to the war (for this is Lucian's metaphor) are of great interest: joining the Epicureans in their determined opposition to Alexander and his solemn farce (τραγωδία, *Alex.* 60 and 5) are the Christians of

⁵² The only other evidence for Lepidus comes from two honorary inscriptions, one for Lepidus and the other for his daughter: *CIG* III 4149f; cf. *PIR*² C 910.

⁵³ For Timocrates of Heraclea on the Pontus see Philostratus' short digression in his life of Polemon, *VS* 46.24–47 Kayser and Jones (*supra* n.15) 73 n.33, 93 n.20.

⁵⁴ *A travers l'Asie Mineure: Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (= *BEFAR* 239 [Paris 1980] 393–421), followed to good effect by Jones (*supra* n.15) in his chapter on Alexander of Abonouteichos.

Amastris and Pontus.⁵⁵ When Alexander established the three-day mysteries of his oracle, the serpent Glycon/Asclepius, he had his herald (κῆρυξ) cry out to the assembled crowd: εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἦκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω. And Alexander, marching at the head of the procession, would cry: "Out with the Christians," and the crowd of initiates would respond with the antiphonal "Out with the Epicureans."⁵⁶ Perhaps the most dramatic scene in Alexander's war with the Epicureans was the public display he staged of burning the *Kyriai Doxai* on a pyre of fig wood in the middle of the public square of Abonouteichos (*Alex.* 47). The Epicureans, and their spiritual ancestor Democritus, were the only philosophers to join in the conflict over Alexander's oracle at Abonouteichos; with the Platonists, the Pythagoreans, and the Stoics there was profound peace—in Paphlagonia at least (*Alex.* 25). But in Oenoanda Diogenes waged his own war with the three philosophical sects that were well disposed to Alexander.

Diogenes' philosophical inscription is often considered as something unique in the ancient world, and indeed it is.⁵⁷ But still other inscriptions provide evidence for the cultural context in which Diogenes was moved to erect his stoa in Oenoanda, with its display of the healing word of Epicurean philosophy. Numerous inscriptions advertise the stupendous benefactions of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis to the cities of his native Lycia.⁵⁸ Diogenes' stoa with its philosophical inscription is clearly the wealthy philosopher's answer to Opramoas' baths. But two other inscriptions from Diogenes' age and the reign of Marcus Aurelius are eloquent witnesses to

⁵⁵ For Christians at Amastris and in Pontus see Harnack (*supra* n.38) II 754f.

⁵⁶ *Alex.* 38. The πρόρρησις of Alexander and his herald is in imitation of the proclamation of the mysteries at Eleusis, for which see M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I² 667, esp. n.1 for Origen c. *Cels.* 3.59.

⁵⁷ R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven 1981) 11 and n.49, offers as a parallel the portico in Phlius, where one could see in the third century and even in the age of Hippolytus of Rome "an outline of all the doctrines expounded." But the text of Hippolytus hardly justifies this comparison, for titles rather than an inscription seem to have caught the eye: cf. Hippol. *Haer.* 5.20.5 Marcovich. Certainly the Empedoclean doctrines illustrated on the wall of this 'portico' (παστάς) are relevant to Diogenes and his mission.

⁵⁸ The other great inscription is of course the heroon of Opramoas in Rhodiapolis: *IGR* III 739. Among Opramoas' many benefactions was the bath building he donated to Oenoanda (*supra* n.30).

the conflict in which he was engaged. One no longer survives, but Lucian saw it and made a copy of it in the house of Sacerdos at Tieion. It was fixed on a wall in gold letters and records a dialogue between Sacerdos and the divine serpent Glycon (*Alex.* 43):

(Sacerdos) Tell me, lord Glycon, who are you?

(Glycon) I am the new Asclepius.

(Sacerdos) Is there another Asclepius besides that Asclepius we know? What do you mean?

(Glycon) This is not permitted for you to hear.

Sacerdos receives the same evasive response when he questions the oracle about the truth of the oracles of his father Apollo. And when he asks "And I, what will I be after my present life?" Glycon gives the oracle:

A camel, and then a horse, and then a wise man
and a prophet no less than Alexander.

The inscription ends with a hexameter warning of the new Asclepius to Sacerdos against continuing his friendship with Lepidus of Amastris: *μη πείθου Λεπίδω, ἐπεὶ οἱ λυγρὸς οἶτος ὀπηδεῖ*. This is a truly χρυσῶν ἔπος. But it belongs to a genre of theosophic oracles represented by the inscription of a Clarian oracle above the arch of a doorway to a tower of Oenoanda's wall to the south.⁵⁹

The second inscription might be later than the inscription of Sacerdos in Tieion, but its source is again the oracle of Abonouteichos. It comes from a marble socle from Antioch and bears the letters ΦΕΛΗΝΑΠΕΡΥΚΕΙ, the end of an hexameter oracle Alexander composed to protect his clients from the plague that had moved from the east with the armies of Lucius Verus.⁶⁰ Lucian says that he could see it inscribed on doorposts everywhere (*καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἔπος πανταχοῦ, Alex.* 36). Its full text is Φοῖβος ἀχειροκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφελὴν ἀπερύκει. These are significant but little known manifestations of the religious culture to which Diogenes responds by displaying on a stoa wall in Oenoanda a manifesto of the philosophical culture of Epicureanism. The oracle of Alexander at Abonouteichos is part of a larger world, and the religious culture of this

⁵⁹ Cf. L. Robert, "Un oracle gravé à Oenoanda," *CRAI* (1971) 597–619; A. Hall, "The Klarian Oracle at Oenoanda," *ZPE* 32 (1978) 263–68.

⁶⁰ See J. F. Gilliam, "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius," *AJP* 82 (1961) 225–51; for the inscription from Antioch: P. Perdrizet, "Une inscription d'Antioche qui reproduit un oracle d'Alexandre d'Abonouteichos," *CRAI* (1903) 62–66.

larger world helps explain Diogenes' vivid interest in statues, oracles, and dreams—and the doctrine of Plato, Pythagoras, and Empedocles maintaining the belief in the transmigration of souls.

Like Lucian, whose sympathy with Epicureanism was genuine, Diogenes was a part of the subculture of the second century. This culture distanced itself and defined itself against the dominant civic, religious, and philosophical culture of its age. Like Lucian, and like the equally militant Oenomaus of Gadara,⁶¹ Diogenes of Oenoanda was highly skeptical of oracles; and like the Epicurean Diogenianus, who might have been his contemporary, Diogenes was hostile to the belief in fate (εἰμορμένη) implicit in a belief in oracles, and in this he confronts the Stoic Chrysippus as well as popular religious beliefs. In NF 19 we find his characterization of the language of oracles as “ambiguity and tricky obliqueness” and his warning against those who rely on them—like the Spartans who suffered a humiliating defeat when they relied on their confident interpretation of an oracle from Delphi and attacked Tegea.⁶² Diogenes was also skeptical of the prophetic powers of dreams, and a large section of both his *Physics Treatise* and his *Ethics Treatise* is devoted to a controversy over interpretation of dreams. In response to Democritus' theory of dreams, he asserts: “The nature of dreams is that they are in no way sent by the gods.”⁶³

One of the last fragments to be discovered in this century (NF 122) comes from Diogenes' *Physics Treatise* and it addresses the contradictory interpretations given one and the same dream by ‘experts’ in the interpretation of dreams. Here Diogenes cites the case of a runner who was about to compete in the Olympic games and dreamed that he was an eagle pursuing other birds. The dreamer consults an expert in the interpretation of dreams and then Antiphon, and receives two contradictory readings. We know from Cicero's discussion of this passage in Antiphon's *Oneirokritika*

⁶¹ His *Exposure of Frauds* is employed by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 5.18.6–22; for the context of this work see Jones' chapter on “Gods and Oracles” (*supra* n.15). Both Oenomaus and Diogenes (NF 19) concentrate on the fatal ambiguity of oracles.

⁶² Hdt.1.66, χρησμῶ κιβδήλω πίσυνοι. Another deceptive oracle to the Lacedaemonians is produced as a fraud by Oenomaus in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 5.25.2 (*cf.* Hdt. 7.220, if Eusebius' authority here is still Oenomaus).

⁶³ NF 6 ll.6–8 (Smith [1971] 360)=fr.10 vi.6–8 Casanova. For discussion of the new fragments from both the *Physics* and *Ethics Treatises*, see my “An Epicurean Interpretation of Dreams,” *AJP* 101 (1980) 342–65.

(*Div.* 2.70, 144) that the expert's interpretation was victory (the eagle is the swiftest bird in flight) but that he was contradicted by Antiphon (in his pursuit of other birds the eagle is always last). And we know from the very fact that Antiphon cites this dream that the runner who dreamed that he was an eagle was not victorious.⁶⁴ On the upper register of Diogenes' inscription the reader could find still another interpretation of dreams—that of Epicurus in a letter he wrote to his anxious mother who was worried by her ominous dreams of him. He responds to his mother's anxieties by sending her a letter expounding the mechanism of vision and dream visions and he assures her: "Do not be disturbed by these dreams. The visions you have of us should not be considered as bad omens" (fr.52 III.1–3 Chilton= fr.122 Casanova).

T. G. Glover was right to set Diogenes' long and militantly philosophical inscription against the inscription Marcus Julius Apellas set up in the temple precinct in Epidaurus as a pious record of all the good advice the god had given him in dreams. Such as: "As I prolonged my stay in the temple, the god told me to use dill with olive oil for my headaches."⁶⁵ Glover could have drawn on other notables from the second century to make his point: Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales* (from the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum) and Artemidorus of Daldis' *Oneirokritika* are both impressive records of the contemporary interest in dreams and their interpretation.⁶⁶

Sacerdos of Tieion is also part of the religious and philosophical culture to which Diogenes was opposed. Sacerdos' curiosity concerning his future lives reveals a belief in metempsychosis that we find dramatically in the spiritual grandfather of Alexander of Abo-

⁶⁴ NF 122 (Smith [1984] 44–49). This new fragment should figure as Antiphon 87 B 80a D.-K.

⁶⁵ *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (London 1909) 221, citing IG IV.1² 126. Glover's conclusion (220) on Diogenes is worth recalling: "Altogether the inscription is as singular a monument of antiquity as we are likely to find. What the fellow-citizens of Diogenes might have thought of it, we do not know. Perhaps they might have preferred the bath or other commonplace gift of the ordinary rich man. It is a pity that Lucian did not see his colonnade."

⁶⁶ For Diogenes' rivals in the interpretation of dreams, cf. Dario del Corno, "I sogni e la loro interpretazione nell' età dell' impero," *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978) 1605–18.

nouteichos, Apollonius of Tyana.⁶⁷ Among Alexander's votaries there was a solemn religious dispute over the prophet: did he possess the soul of Pythagoras or one like it? To which they received the suitably serpentine response (*Alex.* 40). Alexander's credulous son-in-law, Rutilianus, asked Glycon, the 'new Asclepius', whose soul he had received and his response was piped into the mouth of Glycon himself (34):

First you were the son of Peleus, and then Menander,
Next the man you are now, and afterwards a sunbeam.

The fate of the soul was of great interest to Diogenes and he devotes long sections of his *Ethics Treatise* to the question of the fear of death and the theory of metempsychosis. He is severe in his criticism of Pythagoras, and mentions Plato and the Stoics—with all of whom Alexander was at peace—and at one point in his discussion of what he calls μετάβασις he turns to address Empedocles: "But if, somehow, souls cannot subsist without bodies, why in the world do you trouble yourself and these souls even more by dragging them and forcing them to move from one animal to another?" (fr.34 I.6–14 Chilton=fr.43 III.6–14 Casanova). Diogenes' quarrels as an Epicurean philosopher are with philosophers, but some of the religious beliefs of his antagonists from another age are the prevalent beliefs of his own age and contemporaries like Sacerdos of Tiejion, Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus, Marcus Julius Apellas, and the anonymous votaries of Tomis (Constanza), who had a shrine in which they displayed a magnificent marble statue of Glycon, the 'new Asclepius'.⁶⁸

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⁶⁷ E. L. Bowie has given a good account of the relation between Apollonius of Tyana and Pythagoras in his "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978) 1671ff, 1691f.

⁶⁸ Reproduced as Figures 7–8 in Robert (*supra* n. 54) 398 and as the cover of MacMullen's *Paganism* (*supra* n.57). The visitor to Athens can find a tiny bronze Glycon in case 50 of the Agora Museum; cf. Robert, *CRAI* (1981) 513–35.

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