

EPICURUS AND THE REJECTION OF DETERMINISM: *EPISTLE TO MENOECEUS* 133*

ABSTRACT

This article deals with a complicated philological problem in section 133 of Epicurus' *Epistle to Menoecus*. There is a lacuna in the text; various supplements have been proposed, but the resulting syntax remains anomalous. This article argues that the interpretation of the syntax which underlies all the most influential supplements proposed to date, from Usener to Sedley and beyond, should be rejected. A new suggestion is put forward, based on a different syntactical interpretation and on a careful new analysis of the readings preserved in MS P.

Keywords: Epicurus' *Epistle to Menoecus*; ancient Greek philosophy; ancient Greek language; lacuna; supplement; syntactic analysis

The final section of Epicurus' *Epistle to Menoecus*, the last Epicurean epistle preserved by Diogenes Laertius in his *Vitae*, is difficult both philosophically and textually. This article offers new insights into one of the many problems it poses, and, in particular, proposes a new way of supplementing the notorious lacuna that affects section 133.

I begin by explaining why a lacuna is needed and by listing the few elements that are generally supplemented (§1); then I consider the interpretation of the syntax of the passage given by previous editors, pointing out why it does not work, and proposing a new interpretation (§2); finally, I focus on the readings preserved in MS P and show how they may support my proposal (§3).

1. WHY A LACUNA?

At the beginning of §133 of the *Epistle to Menoecus* the text is unproblematic. Epicurus says:

ἐπεὶ τίνα νομίζεις εἶναι κρείττονα τοῦ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ὅσα δοξάζοντος καὶ περὶ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς ἀφόβως ἔχοντος καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιλελογισμένου τέλος καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρασ ὡς ἔστιν εὐσυμπλήρωτον τε καὶ εὐπόριστον διαλαμβάνοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἡ χρόνους ἢ πόνους ἔχει βραχεῖς ...

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Who, after all, do you think is better than the man who has both pious beliefs about the gods and absolutely no fear of death, and has reflected on the natural end and, as for the limit of good, understands that it can be easily attained and easily procured, while, as for the limit of evil, [understands] that either its duration or its intensity is slight . . .

The next sentence, on the other hand, introduces a complex problem. I begin by outlining the situation of the relevant manuscript tradition, drawing on the work of Dorandi.¹ The three main manuscripts are P (Par. gr. 1759, eleventh/twelfth century), B (Neapolitanus III B 29, twelfth century) and F (Laur. plut. 69.13, thirteenth century). These are the oldest continuous manuscripts through which the *Vitae* of Diogenes Laertius have come down to us, and they are independent of each other (apart from the contamination of F with P). They all derive, either directly (P and B) or indirectly (F, via the lost γ), from a manuscript Ω which, according to Dorandi,² was already written in minuscule script, but probably in *scriptio continua*, without accents or breathings.

I now quote Dorandi's³ text (apart from a few minor punctuation changes), which largely corresponds to the paradosis of these manuscripts, and attempt to show why it does not work and how it could be emended. I shall also provide a selective apparatus criticus, based in part on Dorandi's.⁴

τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν δεσπότην εἰσαγομένην πάντων ἰσχυρότερον ἢ ἄλλοι ἀγγέλλοντος, ἢ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἢ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἄστατον ὄραν, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ μεμπτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν.

I πάντων ἀγγέλλοντος BF² (πάντων om. F¹) : πάντων ἀγγέλωντος P¹ (-ῶντος P^{mss} : -οντος P⁴) : πάντων ἀνελεόντος Kühn : πάντων διαγελῶντος <εἰμαρμένην καὶ μάλλον ἢ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεσθαι λέγοντος> suppl. Usener : πάντων ἐγγελῶντος <εἰμαρμένην; * * * * ὄν ἢ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεται> Bailey : πάντων ἂν γελῶντος <εἰμαρμένην ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην ὄντα συνορῶντος> Sedley : πάντων <εἰμαρμένην οὐκ εἶναι νομίζοντος, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην ἢ μὲν πάντων> ἀγγέλλοντος Hessler

Immediately after βραχεῖς—the reading of MSS B and P⁵—the witnesses have τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν δεσπότην εἰσαγομένην πάντων ἀγγέλλοντος⁶ ἢ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, etc. As it stands, the manuscript text is untenable, first of all because it is impossible to make sense of its grammar. For anyone who has just read the preceding lines, it comes naturally to take ἀγγέλλοντος as part of the second term of comparison, along with the other genitive participles (δοξάζοντος, ἔχοντος, ἐπιλελογισμένου, διαλαμβάνοντος), but this move alone is not sufficient to solve our problem, both because ἀγγέλλοντος cannot govern all

¹ T. Dorandi, *Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Cambridge, 2013), 1–44. Also often quoted in this article: H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887); P. Von der Mühll, *Epicuri epistulae tres et ratae Sententiae a Laertio Diogene servatae* (Leipzig, 1922); C. Bailey, *Epicurus. The Extant Remains* (Oxford, 1926); G. Arrighetti, *Epicuro. Opere* (Turin, 1960; repr. 1973); D.N. Sedley, 'Epicurus' refutation of determinism', in M. Gigante (ed.), *Syzētēsis. Studi sull'epicureismo greco e romano offerti a Marcello Gigante* (Naples, 1983), 11–51; A.A. Long & D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1987); J.E. Hessler, *Epicur. Brief an Menoikeus* (Basel, 2014).

² Dorandi (n. 1), 40–1.

³ Dorandi (n. 1), 811.

⁴ See Dorandi (n. 1), 811. The main difference is that in my apparatus criticus ἀγγέλοντος is attributed to the fourth hand of MS P, not to the first: see §3.

⁵ While MS F has βραδύστην.

⁶ This is the reading of MSS B and F²; on the reading of MS P, see §3.

the accusatives surrounding it, and because the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in $\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ seems to require a preceding $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, which is not present in our text.⁷

Nowadays, scholars unanimously agree that something is missing, either after $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ (Hessler) or after $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (all others);⁸ the discussion arises when we try to assess what exactly is missing. In the following exposition, I first consider the elements that most contemporary scholars believe need to be supplemented.

The first element needed in our supplement is $\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta\nu$, since the infinitive introduced by $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{o}$ mentions $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta$, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ and $\pi\alpha\rho'$ $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.⁹ The second element, which is highly plausible, though not fundamental, is a clarification of the mysterious $\tau\eta\nu$... $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\iota\nu$, an expression which is deliberately allusive, but perhaps too allusive in our context. Since in §134 Epicurus refers to $\tau\eta$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ as if it were already present in the minds of his readers, it is reasonable to suppose that he mentioned $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ in the part of §133 that we are missing.¹⁰ Thus, so far we have <... $\tau\eta\nu$ ¹¹ $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$... $\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta\nu$...>.

These are the two elements that are more or less common to all the proposals listed in the apparatus criticus above. Another thing these supplements have in common is the syntactic interpretation of the passage on which they are based. Practically every scholar thinks, on the basis of the presence of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, that the sentence after $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ extends the second term of comparison (begun with $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$) by further genitive participles—namely, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (or its emendations) and another participle that is missing from the text and needs to be supplemented. Such an interpretation of the syntax of the passage is necessary for scholars, such as Usener¹² and Sedley,¹³ who think both that the lacuna begins immediately after $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and that it depends on a *saut du même au même* caused by homoeoteleuton, and who therefore have to choose a genitive participle ending in $-\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ as the last word of their supplements.

⁷ One might think that $\tau\eta\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ continues the series $\tau\acute{o}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$... $\tau\acute{o}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ governed by $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and that $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ governs what follows. But, first, it is advisable to think that $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ governs only $\tau\acute{o}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{o}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, because otherwise the clear opposition between the limit of good and the limit of evil would be blurred; and, second, the text would still be problematic in terms of meaning.

⁸ On the question of whether the lacuna begins after $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ or after $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, see §2.

⁹ But why should we prefer $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta\nu$ to $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta\varsigma$? For some good reasons: see Hessler (n. 1), 304–5. He prints (at 142) $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, which is unnatural given the parallel $\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\alpha\rho'$ $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. Presumably, he prefers this word order to keep $\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ close to its partitive genitive $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$, but this is not necessary: see Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1154b33–4 $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$, *Sens.* 444b25 $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega\nu$.

¹⁰ Cf. Bailey (n. 1), 340. An alternative proposed by some scholars (references in Hessler [n. 1], 302) is to suppose that $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta$ is the missing word clarifying $\tau\eta\nu$... $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\iota\nu$, and to correct $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in $\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$. But this results in a text that is not philosophically correct: Epicurus does not want to affirm that no event takes place by necessity, but rather to deny the improper generalization of the class of necessary events made by some thinkers (see n. 24 below).

¹¹ The scholars listed in the apparatus criticus above write only $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ without the article, probably in the belief that $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ can be governed by the $\tau\eta\nu$ at the beginning of the sentence. But this construction is not plausible, because it also requires us to take $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\iota\nu$ as an object complement governed by $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ (see the translations by Bailey [n. 1], 91, Long & Sedley [n. 1], 1.102 and Hessler [n. 1], 143). However, $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ cannot govern an object complement (unless preceded by $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; see e.g. Philo, *Her.* 300 Μωυσις $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$). There are some partial exceptions: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.622–3 ὄφρα $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\iota\nu$ $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ | $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\delta\iota\eta\nu$ $\pi\alpha\racute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\nu$, although $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\delta\iota\eta\nu$ $\pi\alpha\racute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\nu$ may be an apposition; [Dem.] 43.14 $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\delta\eta$ $\upsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\Lambda}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; and Isoc. 10.6 $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\zeta\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega$ $\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$, a standardized expression of legal language. But since occurrences are few and not clear, it is better not to introduce one here.

¹² Usener (n. 1), 65.

¹³ Sedley (n. 1), 16 n. 9.

This syntactic interpretation is highly problematic. The next section is devoted to questioning it and to proposing a new interpretation. This will also help us determine where the lacuna begins, whether after πάντων or after ἀγγέλλοντος.

2. A SYNTACTIC DIVERGENCE

There are three main reasons why the syntactic interpretation given by previous editors cannot be sustained, none of which is conclusive on its own, but which together make a compelling case. My arguments are also intended (i) to suggest that the lacuna begins after πάντων, (ii) to show that our supplement should include a present indicative third-person singular verb, and (iii) to cast doubt on the correctness of the reading ἀγγέλλοντος.

First, the participles forming the second term of comparison are correlated by καί, whereas ἀγγέλλοντος would be the first to be introduced by δέ. The correlation καί . . . δέ is strange: if ἀγγέλλοντος were on the same level as the other participles, we would expect καί . . . τε or καί . . . καί instead. This strongly suggests that a new sentence begins after βραχεῖς and that ἀγγέλλοντος is not part of the second term of comparison.¹⁴

One might respond as follows: after βραχεῖς there is indeed a strong syntactic pause, whether a question mark or a semicolon,¹⁵ but the next sentence ‘retains the memory’ of the syntax of the previous sentence, that is, it is a kind of afterthought that extends the previous sentence. To this we may reply that such a solution results in a less than straightforward syntactic construction, and that this is particularly undesirable since the style of the epistle up to this point would not lead us to expect anything so complex. Moreover, this hypothesis is likely to leave us without the question we would expect after τίνα:¹⁶ if we suppose that τὴν δὲ . . . πέφυκεν is attached to ἐπεὶ τίνα . . . βραχεῖς, then it is more natural to place the question mark only once after πέφυκεν.¹⁷ But this is problematic, since πέφυκεν is followed by what is supposed to be an explanation (ἐπεὶ κρείττον . . . ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην) of what Epicurus affirms in the very phrase τὴν δὲ . . . πέφυκεν, so that it would be abrupt enough to pass directly from the end of a long question to the justification of one of its parts, the last.¹⁸ Rather, it would be less artificial to place the question mark after βραχεῖς and to regard τὴν δὲ . . . πέφυκεν as a separate sentence; after all, Epicurus reserves a specific explanation for it. Apart from πέφυκεν, the only other candidate under this hypothesis after which we could place the question mark are the words διὰ ταύτην in §135, but that is far too remote.

To sum up, if we do not place the question mark after βραχεῖς we must imagine that Epicurus ‘forgot’ the initial syntax by extending the second term of comparison, resulting in strong anacoluthon. Consequently, it is not advisable to adopt this solution if a more fluent and straightforward text can be attained by some other way.

¹⁴ Cf. Epic. *Ep. Hdt.* 38.6–7 (where a δέ following καί . . . καί is used to introduce a separate sentence) and further 44.7–8. An appeal to J.D. Denniston, *Greek Particles* (Oxford, 1954²), 199–203 is not appropriate here, since in the correlation καί . . . δέ discussed there, the two particles are separated by only a few words, and in most cases καί is not correlated with another or more καί. Thus it is not sufficient to put only a comma after βραχεῖς, as Usener (n. 1), 65, Bailey (n. 1), 90 and Long & Sedley (n. 1), 2.104 do.

¹⁵ For the question mark, see Von der Mühl (n. 1), 49; for the semicolon, see Hessler (n. 1), 142.

¹⁶ Neither Usener (n. 1), 65 nor Hessler (n. 1), 142 puts a question mark.

¹⁷ As e.g. Long & Sedley (n. 1), 2.104 do.

¹⁸ τὴν δὲ . . . πέφυκεν is explained by ἐπεὶ κρείττον . . . ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην, because in the former Epicurus says that the sage rejects the doctrine of fate as the mistress of all things, while in the latter he explains why this doctrine should be rejected.

Second, until βραχεῖς Epicurus recapitulated the previous content of the epistle (gods §§123–4, death §§124–7, supreme good and end of life §§127–32) and laid down a version of the famous tetra-pharmakos (*RS* 1–4, Phld. *P.Herc.* 1005 col. V). It is therefore natural to suppose that Epicurus concluded the sentence with βραχεῖς and then moved on to topics left untouched in the preceding sections.¹⁹

Third, there seems to be an intentional parallelism between τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν δεσπότην and τὴν δὲ τύχην in §134.²⁰ Both sentences begin with an emphatic accusative that sets up the discussion which follows in the paragraph. In §133, Epicurus begins by mentioning the ‘mistress’ of all things (fate, if my and other supplements are correct); he alludes to how such a mistress is believed in by some people (or, literally, has been introduced by them); and then he says what the Epicurean sage thinks of the mistress—presumably that he rejects it—providing as justification the threefold distinction within events and the characterization of one class of events as ‘without a master’ (on this, see §3 below). In §134, Epicurus begins by mentioning ‘chance’; he then says that the Epicurean sage, unlike other people, does not regard chance as a god or as an unreliable cause; he justifies why he does not; and then he offers the correct Epicurean view of chance, which consists in preferring reason to luck. So the accusatives at the beginning of the respective paragraphs divide Epicurus’ agenda in these lines of the epistle into two significative sections, ‘fate’ and ‘chance’, each of which consists of the same components (what other people think, what the Epicurean sage thinks, why he thinks so) in roughly the same order. However, if the structural parallelism is rightly detected, then it is also likely that τὴν δὲ . . . πέφυκεν is an independent sentence which, on a syntactic level, does not merely extend the second term of comparison, just as the sentence beginning with τὴν δὲ τύχην is.

Hence the sentence after βραχεῖς cannot be an extension of the second term of comparison by further genitive participles. Now, why should this have any bearing on (i) the question of where the lacuna begins? Essentially because (as most scholars have thought) the lacuna can be justified mechanically, that is, by postulating a *saut du même au même*.²¹ This means that, if ἀγγέλλοντος were the last word before the lacuna, the last word to be supplemented would probably be a genitive participle in -οντος, which is incompatible with our findings about the syntax of the passage.²²

The lacuna, therefore, begins immediately after πάντων, and a second πάντων is the best candidate to be the last word of the supplement, since it explains why the omission occurred.²³ The second πάντων echoes the first and has a rhetorical value: if, as will be

¹⁹ Both Bailey (n. 1), 339 and Hessler (n. 1), 294, 298 note that the opening paragraph of §133 resumes the previous content of the epistle and that this coincides with the so-called tetra-pharmakos, but they do not take this into account when discussing the syntax.

²⁰ The closeness of the parallelism between the two paragraphs does not depend on our supplement, since the structural similarities pointed out below cannot be traced back to the way in which we supplement the lacuna.

²¹ Strictly speaking, this would not be necessary: the omission, shared by all our primary witnesses, could be due to the accidental dropping of a line already in the archetype or even before. None the less, it remains more probable that an omission depends on a *saut du même au même*, and this kind of hypothesis limits the arbitrariness of the supplements that can be proposed. And apart from these general considerations, the omission can be explained by a *saut du même au même* without straining the text.

²² Independently of this, taking ἀγγέλλοντος as the last word before the lacuna would produce a clumsy word order, making it difficult to include εἰμαρμένην in the supplement—especially if (as most scholars believe) εἰμαρμένην should be linked to the τὴν at the beginning of the sentence (see n. 11 above).

²³ Although our proposals differ in other respects, I am indebted here to Hessler (n. 1), 142, the first to print a text like the one just described.

argued below, the expected meaning of the passage is indeed that the Epicurean sage rejects fate, the mistress of all things—which might stand for the claim that all things happen by necessity²⁴—then it becomes meaningful to say that only some of all things happen by necessity.²⁵ A second πάντων is also an appropriate choice because the close repetition of the adjective πᾶς is a clear stylistic feature of the *Epistle to Menoecus*.²⁶ So far, then, our supplement is as follows: πάντων <τὴν εἰμαρμένην . . . ἃ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην πάντων>.

Now, it is time to explain (ii) my interpretation of the syntax. In short, I believe that after βραχεῖς a syntactically independent sentence begins, governed by a new verb, more precisely a present indicative third-person singular. This is where my proposal differs most from all the others.²⁷ But which verb should we choose?

As anticipated above, it should emerge from our supplement that the Epicurean sage rejects fate, that is, the view that everything happens by necessity. Many verbs can express such an idea, and we can divide them into two classes: (1) verbs that can govern an accusative + infinitive construction, and (2) verbs that can govern an accusative. The first class includes verbs of utterance and verbs used to express thoughts and opinions (ἀποφάναι, [οὐ] φάναι, [οὐ] λέγειν, ἀρνεῖσθαι, [οὐ] νομίζειν, [οὐ] δοξάζειν, [οὐ] διαλαμβάνειν, [οὐχ] ὑπολαμβάνειν, [οὐκ] οἶσθαι, [οὐ] συνοράν, [οὐ] δοκεῖν, [οὐ] θεωρεῖν), while the second class includes verbs that mean 'to reject', 'to do away with', 'to eliminate', etc. (ἀποθεῖν, ἐξοθεῖν, ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐξαιρεῖν, ἀποβάλλειν, ἐκβάλλειν, [οὐκ] [ἀπο]δέχεσθαι). It is not possible to pinpoint the correct verb, but several of those listed are either not attested or poorly attested in Epicurus, or are attested but with different meanings. We should seriously consider ἀναρεῖν, which is used by Epicurus in *Ep. Hdt.* 52.2 and *Ep. Men.* 123.10 with the meaning we need here—namely, 'to do away with'.²⁸ Moreover, the combination ἀναρεῖν τὴν εἰμαρμένην occurs in some relevant passages which may be related to ours, viz. Joseph. *BJ* 2.164 and *AJ* 13.173,²⁹ Alex. Aphr. *In Top.* 570.4–7, Nemes. *Nat. hom.* 39.113. In the choice of ἀναρεῖν I have been anticipated by Kühn,³⁰ but he wrote ἀνελόντος instead of the manuscripts' ἀγγέλλοντος.³¹

²⁴ As is strongly suggested by the fact that Epicurus (*Nat.* fr. 34.28 Arrighetti) criticizes the view that 'all things are such as those we call "by necessity"' (τοιαῦτα πάντα οἱ ἃ τὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην καλοῦμεν). In addition, Epicurus says in §134 that fate involves an inexorable necessity, which argues for a partial overlap of the two concepts.

²⁵ To the objections that ἃ cannot be treated as τὰ, and that it cannot be combined with a partitive genitive, some parallels provide a response: Pl. *Prt.* 320e3–4 and Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* 43.7. For Epicurus' use of the relative pronoun instead of the article, see Hessler (n. 1), 302.

²⁶ See *Ep. Men.* 122.10, 129.9–10, 129.10–11.

²⁷ Some scholars, such as Von der Mühl (n. 1), 50 and Bailey (n. 1), 90, propose supplements including an indicative present, but they see a wider lacuna than I do (see n. 50 below), so their proposals are only partially similar to mine.

²⁸ For ἀναρεῖν, see H. Usener, *Glossarium Epicureum*, ed. M. Gigante and W. Schmid (Rome, 1977), 5.

²⁹ Josephus characterizes the Sadducees as Epicureans in opposition to the Stoic Pharisees: see *AJ* 10.278 οἱ τὴν τε πρόνοιαν ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου καὶ θεὸν οὐκ ὀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων with A. Catastini, 'Stoici ed Epicurei in Flavio Giuseppe, *Ant.* X 266–281', *SCO* 46 (1998), 495–514, at 503–14. Some passages in his works seem to echo this section of the *Epistle to Menoecus*, e.g. *AJ* 16.397–8, 20.57 (τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον).

³⁰ *Diogenis Laertii De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri 10. Graece et Latine. Cum subjunctis integris annotationibus Is. Casauboni, Th. Aldobrandini & Mer. Casauboni. Latinam Ambrosii versionem complevit & emendavit Marcus Meibomius. Seorsum excusas Æg. Menagii in Diogenem observationes auctiores habet volumen 2. Ut & ejusdem Syntagma de mulieribus philosophis; et Joachimi Kühnii ad Diogenem notas. Additæ denique sunt priorum editionum praefationes, & indices locupletissimi* (Amsterdam, 1692), 554.

³¹ Bailey (n. 1), 340 objects that ἀναρεῖν is too strong, for the hypothetical Epicurean sage of these lines does not do away with fate, since he admits that at least some things do happen by necessity. But for Epicurus doing away with fate consists precisely in denying that all things happen by necessity (cf. n. 10 above).

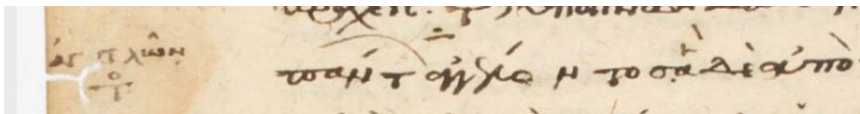
To complete the supplement, we may add a pronoun, such as οὗτος, to make the subject explicit (though this is not strictly necessary), and an infinitive, γίνεσθαι,³² governed by ἀγγέλλοντος. Before reaching a conclusion, though, a natural objection to this interpretation of the syntax must be addressed: how can the presence of ἀγγέλλοντος be accounted for, other than by taking it to be an extension of the second term of comparison? Accordingly, the next section will be devoted to showing why (iii) ἀγγέλλοντος may not be the correct reading.

3. THE READINGS IN MS P AND ITS DESCENDANTS

According to my reconstruction, the only way to retain ἀγγέλλοντος is to suppose that a genitive absolute has taken the place of a conjunctive nominative participle, agreeing with the subject. There are similar cases, for example Thuc. 3.70 ἐς λόγους καταστάντων [*sc.* Κερκυραίων] ἐψηφίσαντο Κερκυραῖοι,³³ so that ἀγγέλλοντος is not untenable.

Several considerations support correcting ἀγγέλλοντος to ἀγγέλλων: first, we have ὑπολαμβάνων in §134, which seems to us to be syntactically parallel to §133 (see §2 above); second, it would be easy to justify the error: a scribe, finding a text already affected by the lacuna and lacking a verb in the indicative, might have tried to emend it by changing ἀγγέλλων to ἀγγέλλοντος and taking the latter as part of the second term of comparison. Therefore, the problem of correcting ἀγγέλλοντος should not be treated separately from the problem of supplementing the lacuna.

Lastly, the situation we find in MS P might lead us to consider ἀγγέλλων as the original form, since there we read ἀγγέλο(ε)ν τος in the main text and ἀγγελῶντος in the margin. A reproduction of MS P illustrates the situation:



MS P, fol. 246v, line 5.

Both ἀγγέλλωντος and ἀγγελῶντος are *uoces nihili*. What seems hardly questionable is that the scribe of MS P at first did not understand that -τος was connected with ἀγγέλλων, but rather regarded it as the beginning of a new word, probably τόσσα or τοσαῦτα (or again τοσάδε, as already suggested by Usener³⁴ in his apparatus criticus). This is clear because he did not abbreviate τος, as he usually does when he takes τος as an

³² Epicurus uses ἀγγέλλω only in this passage; so we cannot judge whether he would have preferred an infinitive or a participle such as γινόμενα; perhaps γίνεσθαι is slightly better in that it avoids an accumulation of participles. In any case, for the choice of γίνομαι, cf. *Nat.* fr. 15.1 (μυνητική οὔσα ἀνύπαρκτος, εἰ καὶ ὑπαρκτή, οὐδὲν παρ' ἡμᾶς ἡγητέα τὰ γινόμενα) and 34.26 Arrighetti. γίνεσθαι is the form attested in the epistles, but in the papyri we often find γίνεσθαι, which raises the question whether the letters have undergone some phonetic adaptations by Diogenes Laertius or by someone before him. As for the position of γίνεσθαι, the best option is between κατ' ἀνάγκην and πάντων, while the only plausible alternative is just before ἄ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην, but this has the weakness that an ancient Greek reader, without any punctuation, would at first sight have connected γίνεσθαι with ἀναρρεῖ (cf. e.g. *Arist. Ph.* 207b27–9).

³³ For this and other passages, see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache: Satzlehre*, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1890), 2.666.

³⁴ Usener (n. 1), 65.

ending, and also because the breathing and the accent on $\tilde{\alpha}$ are certainly later³⁵ than the rest of the word—the colour of the ink and the squarer shape of the breathing are telling in this respect.

While writing, however, the scribe of MS P realized his mistake; this is where the margin becomes important. He understood that $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ has to be combined with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$, and so, in accordance with the basic rules of ancient Greek accentuation, he wrote $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, with a circumflex accent on the omega.³⁶ The fact that he takes the trouble to offer a different, more thoughtful interpretation of what he found in his antigraph Ω —which lacked accents and breathings and was probably written in *scriptio continua*—suggests that he is trying to reproduce it faithfully. This testimony is therefore of great importance to us as regards the original presence of an omega in the antigraph, which probably had something like $\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha$ or $\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha$.

But what about the absence of a second lambda? And how do we explain the fact that both MS B and MS F clearly have $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$? The scribe of MS P may have copied the omega exactly but failed to notice the presence of a second lambda in the antigraph. It would be strange, though, to suppose that he was both accurate and inaccurate in relation to the same word; so let us instead argue on the assumption that his antigraph Ω already lacked a second lambda. Could this indicate the presence of a form related to $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$? Drawing on the emendations made by previous scholars, namely Usener's $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and Sedley's $\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$,³⁷ could we write either $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ ('deriding') or $\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ ('would deride')?

Neither is plausible, however, either palaeographically or linguistically. Regarding $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$, corruption of $\delta\iota\alpha$ - into $\alpha\gamma$ - is unlikely in minuscule and not straightforward in capital letters either. That is, even if we assume that the corruption took place at an early stage in the tradition of Epicurus or Diogenes, when, in the papyri, AG- before Γ could have been written as AN- , and therefore it was likelier than in minuscule script to mistake $\Delta\text{IAGELON}$ for ANGEELON , such a mistake is not at all common. It is not surprising, then, that Arrighetti's apparatus criticus does not record any case of $\Delta\text{IA-}$ corrupted into AN- or AG- .³⁸

³⁵ Later, but not by a different hand, because there seem to be no erasure marks above the string of letters $\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha$.

³⁶ The fact that he does not write $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in the same line as $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ should not concern us, as if it meant that the scribe did not understand that the two form one word. Against this possibility, this time the scribe used an abbreviation for $\tau\omicron\varsigma$, as he does when he interprets $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ as an ending, and below on the same page we find $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha} | \phi\epsilon\iota$ similarly on two lines, where no such error is possible (both because $\phi\epsilon\iota$, unlike $\tau\omicron\varsigma$, could not possibly be the beginning of a word in the context of that passage, and because the scribe correctly writes $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$ in the main text, albeit compendiously). The case of $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$ also suggests ruling out the possibility that $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ were already in P's antigraph Ω and so should be attributed to the scribe of MS Ω , who was copying from a manuscript in capital letters and so may have had problems in interpreting it, rather than to the scribe of MS P, who would only be copying what he found in MS Ω . For in the case of $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$ the margin and the main text have the same reading.

³⁷ See Usener (n. 1), 65 and Sedley (n. 1), 16 n. 9. I will not consider $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (proposed by Bailey [n. 1], 90, 340), since $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ requires the dative (instances of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ + accusative are few and late, almost all Christian).

³⁸ I have found one such corruption, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu$ (MSS B and P) into $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu$ (MS F) in Epic. *Ep. Pyth.* 105, but this is irrelevant since it was done in minuscule script (for the manuscript tradition, see §1). Moreover, the present case shows a corruption of $\delta\iota$ - into $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -, not of $\delta\iota\alpha$ - into $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -. However, Concetta Luna has pointed out to me that the graphical context may have facilitated the error in our case. We could imagine the following series of steps: (1) $\Pi\text{ANT}\Omega\text{N}\Delta\text{IAGELON}$ (confusion between N and Δ) > (2) $\Pi\text{ANT}\Omega\text{NIAFELON}$ (haplography of the vertical stroke) > (3) $\Pi\text{ANT}\Omega\text{NAFELON}$ (normalization) > (4) $\Pi\text{ANT}\Omega\text{NAGELON}$. None the less, this hypothetical reconstruction is not straightforward.

As for ἄν γελῶν, it is problematic in terms of meaning. Sedley himself explains his ἄν γελῶντος thus: ‘The point of ἄν is that this idealized sage need not actually have encountered determinism, but *would deride it* if he did’³⁹ (my italics). However, it is not easy to say why the idealized Epicurean sage should actively embrace all the other major Epicurean ethical views, while only being unaware of the rejection of determinism. Moreover, such a rejection and the discovery of the three classes of events are closely related; so if we print ἄν γελῶν, we should probably think that this discovery too is only potential, which would be an unpleasant consequence, as well as being inconsistent with the rest of our passage. Finally, the use of ἄν with a participle is all the more striking when we remember that in general the participle with ἄν is not common in Epicurus.⁴⁰

It is more prudent, then, to think first that the antigraph of MS P, or one of its ancestors, had already made the mistake of writing ἄγγέλων instead of ἄγγέλλων: this may have happened either because geminates were not pronounced in the Byzantine period,⁴¹ or because a word like ἄγγέλων has obvious resonances for a Christian. Second, we should also think that P’s antigraph Ω presented τος either above the line or already in the text (deriving it from its antigraph), which was added to turn the nominative into a genitive, thus attempting to make sense of the syntax (which was already affected by the lacuna) by aligning this participle with the previous ones. The scribe of the antigraph, however, or the scribe of one of its ancestors, did not correct the omega of ἄγγέλων to an omicron, either because of inattention,⁴² an ambiguity caused by the *scriptio continua*, or because of some other reason. Lastly, we should also believe that both of the other apographs of Ω besides P, namely B and γ (F’s lost antigraph), seeing ἄγγέλων⁴³ or ἄγγέλωντος, were able to conjecture ἄγγέλλωντος, probably independently of each other—which is certainly possible, since the conjecture is an easy one—or to get it in some other way.

At this point the following objection might be raised: it could be that it was the first hand of MS P that corrected ἄγγέλωντος to ἄγγέλοντος, and this arguably because the antigraph had the omicron, not the omega. In other words, by checking Ω, the scribe of MS P may have realized his mistake and corrected the text accordingly. I have two answers to this objection.

First, if this were the case, how could we explain the presence of ἄγγελῶντος in the margin? Why should the scribe of MS P have corrected ἄγγέλωντος but left ἄγγελῶντος if the antigraph had only one form with omicron? There is no easy answer. Second, and most importantly, there is reason to believe that the correction of ἄγγέλωντος to ἄγγέλοντος is not due to P’s first hand but rather to the well-known fourth hand, responsible for an intense phase of revision.⁴³

³⁹ See Long & Sedley (n. 1), 2.104.

⁴⁰ See H. Widmann, *Beitrag zur Syntax Epikurs* (Hildesheim and New York, 1974), 182.

⁴¹ Because of the degemination that Greek had already undergone in the Koine: see D. Holton et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* (Cambridge, 2019), 131. There are indeed cases in Diogenes Laertius where the manuscripts seem to show some confusion about the geminate lambda. Sometimes they have only one where two would be required (see the apparatus criticus in Dorandi [n. 1] on 1.37 διαβαλλέτω, 2.121 ἐλλείπειν, 4.26 Βελλεροφόντου, 6.57 ἔλλαβε, 6.98 ἔμελλον, 7.9 ἀποστέλλω, 10.122 μελλέτω, 10.123 παρήγγελλον; this last case is similar to ours, since the alternative mistaken reading παρήγγελον [MS F] is practically a *uox nihili*, the aorist ἤγγελον not being found until a late date, and then rarely), while at other times they have two instead of just one (Dorandi [n. 1] on 1.100 ἀναγγελεῖ, 2.13 προσαγγελέντων, 2.107 μέλει, 8.80 ἀπάγγελον).

⁴² All the apographs of MS P contain *uoces nihili* (see below); so it is quite likely that a scribe would not be able to recognize one.

⁴³ See Dorandi (n. 1), 23.

All those manuscripts which Basta Donzelli⁴⁴ claims were copied from MS P before the revision of P⁴ have forms with an omega, whereas those copied after this revision have forms with an omicron. In particular, in the first group of manuscripts, Q (Par. gr. 1758, very early fourteenth century) has ἀγγέλωντος (fol. 200r),⁴⁵ W (Vat. gr. 140, early fourteenth century) has ἀγγέλωντος (fol. 172r), while Co (Seragl. 48, early fourteenth century) has ἀγγελώντος (fol. 153r). In the second group, on the other hand, H (Laur. plut. 69.35, c.1419/20), E (Pal. gr. 182, fifteenth century) and I (Marc. gr. 394, late fifteenth century) have ἀγγέλοντος (fol. 242v, fol. 188v and fol. 195r respectively), Y (Ang. gr. 97, sixteenth century) has ἀγγέλονοντος (fol. 200v), while Jb (Barb. gr. 21, sixteenth century) probably has ἀγγελόντος before correction, but in any case a form with omicron (fol. 280v).⁴⁶ The distribution of the forms with omega and those with omicron between the two groups of manuscripts is too striking to be a coincidence. We may infer that ἀγγέλοντος was not written by the first hand of MS P but by the fourth—which explains why it only appears in the manuscripts derived from MS P after the revision made by P⁴—and is therefore not the result of an attempt to reproduce the reading of the antigraph Ω.

Not every step of this reconstruction may be straightforward, but at least two points seem hard to deny—namely, that MS P provides us with evidence that the antigraph had a verbal form with an omega, and that we cannot hypothesize that the original verb was γελάω or one of its compounds. So, although my proposal is not linguistically incompatible with ἀγγέλλοντος, we should print ἀγγέλλων, a correction already proposed by Diano,⁴⁷ since the form ἀγγέλλοντος should not be considered independently of the presence of a lacuna, disregarding the fact that the nominative, of which MS P seems to preserve some trace, could easily have been corrected to a genitive after the omission occurred.

Here is the text I would print:

... βραχεῖς; τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τινων δεσπότην εἰσαγομένην πάντων <τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὕτως ἀναρρεῖ, ἃ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεσθαι πάντων> ἀγγέλλων, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἃ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἄστατον ὄραν, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ μεμπτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφουκεν.

... slight? And <this person does away with> the mistress of all things introduced by some, <fate,> by proclaiming that <some of all things happen by necessity>, others by chance, and still others because of us, because he sees⁴⁸ that necessity is accountable to no one, that chance is unstable, and that what is because of us, to which blame and its opposite are naturally attached, has no master.

⁴⁴ See G. Basta Donzelli, 'I codici PQWCoHIEYJb nella tradizione di Diogene Laerzio', *SIFC* 32 (1960), 156–99.

⁴⁵ This form is probably the result of a fusion of the two forms of MS P, ἀγγέλωντος in the main text and ἀγγελόντος in the margin. I exclude the possibility that the acute accent on ἀγγέλωντος in Q is merely a second lambda in minuscule added by the scribe; the scribe of Q does not seem to write lambda in minuscule.

⁴⁶ According to Basta Donzelli (n. 44), all the MSS EIYJb derive from H, the first manuscript copied after the revision made by P⁴; so, it would not be necessary to list their readings; above, the matter is considered independently of such a hypothesis.

⁴⁷ C. Diano, *Epicuri Ethica* (Florence, 1946), 10.

⁴⁸ It is difficult to see how ὄραν is to be construed. This construal strikes me as the most probable, but I.H. Leopold, 'Ad Epicurum', *Mnemosyne* 43 (1915), 268–85, at 282 may be right to doubt that ὄραν belongs to the text.

The form of the sentence thus supplemented resembles that of *Ep. Men.* 125.5–6 τὸ φρικωδέστατον οὖν τῶν κακῶν (the description of something) ὁ θάνατος (the thing described) οὐθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (the Epicurean judgement). In our text, Epicurus claims, or literally proclaims,⁴⁹ that some events are due to necessity, others to chance, and still others to ‘what is because of us’, thus doing away with fate. The infinitive clause governed by διὰ τό, although it does not present an argument, is intended to justify why such a distinction within events is relevant to the overthrow of fate: some events, those that happen because of us, are ‘without a master’, ἀδέσποτον, and this is clearly incompatible with the position that fate is the δεσπότης of everything.⁵⁰ The rejection of determinism is thus achieved.

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⁴⁹ One might question whether ἀγγέλλω is appropriate in a philosophical context. The verb is not commonly used in philosophical prose, and this is its only occurrence in Epicurus, who nevertheless uses several of its compounds—for ἀνογγέλλω with a generic meaning (‘to say’), see *Nat.* fr. 20.4.6a Arrighetti. Moreover, to announce or proclaim a philosophical view may simply mean to express it bombastically (see *Cic. Fin.* 1.57 *clamat Epicurus*; cf. 2.23, 2.51).

⁵⁰ E. Bignone, *Epicuro. Opere, frammenti, testimonianze sulla sua vita* (Bari, 1920), 50 n. 5 and Bailey (n. 1), 340 are thus wrong to postulate a wider lacuna, believing that the argument resulting from a supplement like Usener’s (n. 1), 65—or, for that matter, like my own—would be illogical, since Epicurus would have written that the Epicurean sage states his threefold distinction of events because necessity is accountable to no one, chance is unstable, and what is because of us has no master. For my response to this concern, cf. Hessler (n. 1), 307. Von der Mühl (n. 1), 50, Arrighetti (n. 1), 115 and M. Marcovich, *Diogenes Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 2008), 798 are all subject to the same criticism as Bailey for positing a wider lacuna than necessary.