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LOOKING FOR PHILODEMUS IN P. OXY. 54.3724

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This papyrus, written in the later first century A.D., consists largely of ca. 175 incipits from the Greek Anthology, where 27 of them are attributed, though in two cases not uniformly, to Philodemus.¹ Two incipits belong to poems already known but anonymous. Only two belong to poems attributed uniformly to a poet other than Philodemus, namely Asclepiades.² It is possible that these incipits include the personal favorites of someone who liked just about everything he found by Philodemus in the *Garland of Philip* along with a more eclectic choice from here and elsewhere.³ In this case, there would be no reason to suspect that any, or many, of the unknown incipits belong to Philodemus. But the fact that there are so many incipits unknown to the Greek Anthology (over 145) indicates that the compiler could probably draw from the complete collections of Meleager and Philip. If one were to maintain for the sake of argument that there are no more Philodemian incipits among the rest in the papyrus, this could only be the case if Cephala too included as many poems as possible by Philodemus in his larger collection. This possibility cannot be denied, but it smacks too much of special pleading. Although we are ignorant of the number of epigrams Philodemus published or circulated, the number chosen by Philip, and the number chosen by Cephala, it is likely that the number of epigrams published by Philodemus is greater than the number chosen by Philip; and in turn, the latter number will have been larger than the number of Philodemus' epigrams selected by Cephala.⁴ In partial proof of this we can adduce Horace Serm. 1.2.119ff.:

parabilem amo venerem facilemque.
illam "post paulo," "sed pluris," "si exierit vir,"

¹ I am grateful to the papyrus' editor, P.J. Parsons, for allowing me to see the text and his comments before publication. I am also happy to thank Dirk Obbink for his many helpful suggestions.

² One of these poems was copied out in full elsewhere in the papyrus.

³ Asclepiades and the anonymous *AP* 12.103 come from Meleager's collection. — The main body of the *incipits* is written by a cursive hand (m_3 ; coll. ii-viii); the first hand, which wrote col. i containing a series of hexameters and complete epigrams (m_1). The relationship between these two sections is not clear. There is also a recipe for cough-mixture written by yet another hand (m_2) above col. ii. It is deleted and must have been there before m_3 began to write his collection of incipits. Thus it is at least clear that this is somebody's private collection.

⁴ Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* XIII n. 5, lists 13 authors in Meleager's collections known to have written epigrams in addition to those included in *AP*. Others are possible. Four poets named by Meleager in his introductory poem never made it into *AP* (*HE* 3932 n.); see further *HE* XXII..

Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi, quae neque magno
stet pretio neque cunctetur cum est iussa venire.

Horace almost certainly refers to a poem of Philodemus no longer extant.⁵ And if there is one, there are probably more. And even if Horace had access to the edition of Philodemus' epigrams, whereas the compiler of the incipits may well have been limited to the selection of Philip, we would still be justified in looking among the unknown incipits for indications of Philodemean authorship. Some have already been tentatively identified by the papyrus' first editor, Peter Parsons. With only the first half-line of a poem to guide us (most of the extant poems of Philodemus are 4-6 lines long), many of the following comments may seem incautious, but given the preponderance of poems by Philodemus, any drachm of evidence is worth adding to a scale already tilting in his favor. In our search for evidence, we shall sometimes refer to views found outside the epigrams in Philodemus' philosophical prose treatises, but many of the poems are in accord with Epicurean ideas. Any incipit in this list, therefore, that smacks of Epicureanism may very well have begun a poem by Philodemus.⁶

For the sake of completeness, I list all incipits which certainly belong to Philodemus, even when I have nothing to add to Parsons (whose comments it would be well to have alongside mine). Included are several incipits seemingly mentioning Naples, where Philodemus lived; not listed are those that mention something merely Roman/Latin: col. iv 25, v 29, vii 23, viii 4 (cf. Parsons p. 67). Any further suggestions for adding to the list of incipits by Philodemus, whether published or per litt., would be gratefully received by the author.

col. ii

2 εἴκοσι τὰς πρὸ κυ(νός): Identified by Alan Cameron (ap. ed. pr.) as the beginning of the hexameter known as the "Pythian oracle" and derided by the Cynic philosopher Oenomaus of Gadara (ap. Eusebius *PE* 5.30), who flourished in the time of Hadrian.⁷ Beyond the mere Gadaran connection between Oenomaus and Philodemus, note that Oenomaus' *Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον φιλοσοφίας* would seem to be similar in methodology to Philodemus' *Περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὀμηρον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως*; and that Oenomaus too was a philosopher who wrote poetry, in this case, tragedies.⁸ The possibility should at least be raised that Oenomaus knew the oracle from a poem of Philodemus, with whom he felt some special tie. Philodemus himself would have seen it in Chamaeleon, whom he names twice in *De Musica* (fr. 4-5 Wehrli).

⁵ The same applies to Propertius 2.23.12ff. and Martial 9.32.1ff.; cf. Gow-Page *Garland of Philip* 2.400

⁶ Cf. J.M. Snyder, "The poetry of Philodemus the Epicurean," *CJ* 68 (1972) 346-53; W. Schmid, "Philodem als Dichter und als Philosoph...", *Acta Conventus XI "Eirene"* (Breslau 1971) 201-07 (= *Ausgewählte Philol. Schr.* [Berlin 1984] 267-74); and my article in *AJP* 108 (1987) 310-24.

⁷ The oracle, which Fontenrose considers unhistoric (L103), was cited by Chamaeleon (ap. Athen. 22e = fr. 11 W = 13 Giordano).

⁸ TrGF 188; cf. H.J. Mette, *RE* 17.2 (1937) 2249-51.

If Oemomaus derided the oracle, he may have taken his lead from Philodemus, who in turn had some statements of Epicurus on the nature of wine to guide him.⁹ My proposal, then, is that the incipit here is not, uniquely in this list, that of a hexameter oracle, but rather that of an epigram of Philodemus that begins with a quotation from this oracle and continues with a criticism of it.¹⁰ We may compare col. iv 8: οὐ μισέω τὸ ποίημα, as I suggest, is Philodemus' quotation of Callimachus (see below).

5 λευκοίνους: Philodemus XXI Gow-Page (AP 11,34).

8 Μουσῶν Ἀντιγένο(υς) or M. ἀντὶ γένο(υς): Quite possibly the dithyrambic poet of this name who refers to himself in the third person while praising his poetic skills (Page, *FGE* 11-15), but the pervasive presence of Philodemus among the incipits makes it more likely that this is the same Antigenes mentioned in Ep. XX (9.412) as being recently deceased. Its incipit appears at col. vii 21.

10 μυρία τῆς Παφίης: Παφίη for Aphrodite is common; in Philodemus, I (5.4); and once as the adjective for Paphos, VI (5.115), whence came one of the many women named Demo in his life; cf. below, on col. iv 21.

12 ἰξεύειν Φιλοδη(μ-): Possibly, as Parsons notes, a vocative in a poem written by a friend of Philodemus, but more likely another poem by Philodemus himself in which he refers to himself in the third person; cf. XXII (AP 11.35). The verb, "to catch birds with lime," may be literal, but far more likely as an amatory metaphor (cf. Page *FGE* 312f.). One further possibility is suggested by Aristophanes fr. 736 K-A (718 K), where the stickiness of ἰξός refers to greediness, a quality that Philodemus charges himself with in Ep. XIV (9.570): τοκογλύφος.¹¹ The greediness here is for more days, i.e. a longer life, and reflects a common Epicurean topic of criticism. This incipit could begin a poem with a similar concern.

13 ἀνευδής, ὧ λύχνη: Even when not addressed, lamps are often mentioned in erotic contexts: cf. Phil. I (5.4). An address to a *lychnos* occurs in a poem attributed to Philodemus by P1 and to Meleager by P (AP 5.8).

14 ἐπτὰ τριηκόντεσσιν: Philodemus XVII (11.41).

15 μὴ πρότερον Φιλο(δημ- ?): A compound adjective, as Parsons notes, is obviously another possibility; cf. above on line 12.

16 ὁ πρότερον στύων (στύων Rea ap. ed. pr.): The epigram by Philodemus (XXVII [11.30]) on impotence adduced by Parsons uses more refined language (on the roughness of στύειν, cf. Henderson *Maculate Muse* 112), but note his Ep. XXV (5.126), with βινεῖν (cf. Henderson 152).

⁹ Cf. fr. 58 U = 20.1 Arr., where Epicurus, in his *Symposium*, rejects general statements about the nature of wine on men.

¹⁰ For the technique of poets quoting a famous verse and commenting on it, cf., for example, Sim. 8 West:

ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ·
"οἴη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν."

West prints this as dubium, but still considers it contemporary with Simonides: *Studies in Gk. Elegy and Iambus* 179f. See also his references to other examples of this technique.

¹¹ I have argued that these lines are genuine in *AJP* 108 (1987) 317ff.

18 πέντε δίδωαι: Philodemus XXVI (7.222).

19 μικκή καὶ μελα(νεῦσα): Philodemus VIII (5.121).

20 ὄχληρη: Epicureans shun disturbance of the soul; ὄχλησις: Epic. *Sent.* 8 τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικὰ πολλαπλασίονος ἐπιφέρει τὰς ὄχλησις τῶν ἡδονῶν.¹² Philodemus uses this word eight times, acc. to Vooy's *Lexicon Philodemum* s.v. The adjective ὄχληρός, although used more frequently in prose, was not shunned by poets (comedy, especially Aristophanes and Menander; Euripides; Callimachus); its stem is prevalent throughout Epicurean writings: ἐνοχλεῖν (Epic. *Nat.* 11.10 etc.) and often in Philodemus, ἐνόχλημα (Epic. ap. Philod., fr. 154 U), ἀοχλησία (Epic. *Ep.* 3.127), and ἀόχλητος (Epic. *Sent. Vat.* 79). Philodemus also uses ὄχλεω (*Oec.* XIII 10, 29) and ὄχληρῶς (*De Musica* p. 63.2 Kempke).

21 τὴν πρότερον: Philodemus XXIV (10.103)? This incipit, which belongs to no other known epigram, appears more fully below, col. iv 16. Conceivably, therefore, this belongs to an unknown poem, but other duplicates appear in the list, one of which is marked for deletion, e.g. [iii 7] = v 31.

25 εἰ μεθύειν Χίφ: Chian wine of course is a commonplace as a mark of luxury; in Philodemus, definitely in XXI (11.34) and XXIII (11.44, the invitation to Piso); and Χίον is Page's likely conjecture in XXII 5 (11.35) for the ms.' οἶον.¹³

27 ἡ τιμὴ τὸ πρόσω(πον) (?): If the last word is not simply πρόσω, Parsons is right to compare other poems (and Plato) where a woman is desired despite what would be perceived by a dispassionate observer as one or another flaw.¹⁴ Philodemus has three such poems: II (5.13, Charito is 60 years old), VIII (5.121, Philainion is small and black; the following "but" shows that these qualities are not attractive to all), and XII (5.132, Flora is an uncultured Oscan girl).¹⁵

28 οἶδα φιλεῖν φιλέοντα: This is the incipit to the anonymous AP 12.103 (*HE* 3900), which continues as follows:

ἐπίταμαι, ἦν μ' ἀδικῆτις,
μικεῖν· ἀμφοτέρων εἰμὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀδαής.

The commentators rightly compare Philodemus V (5.107):

γινώσκω, χαρίεσσα, φιλεῖν πάλι τὸν φιλέοντα
καὶ πάλι γινώσκω τὸν με δακόντα δακεῖν.

This epigram shows how the generic masculine may have led to a misplacement of the anonymous poem among the pederastic ones. AP 12.103 may have originally been part of a longer poem and then shifted elsewhere as an anonymous poem when its true affiliation was lost. Its appearance among the incipits now suggests that it was once the beginning or the end of a poem

¹² Cf. *Dep. libr. fr.* 32.1ff.; *Epist. fr.* 54; *Nat.* 131.

¹³ Suggested in the commentary ad loc. in Gow-Page, printed in the text of Page's OCT, *Epigrammata Graeca*.

¹⁴ L. Koenen also compares Theocr. *Komos* 8 where the serenading lover perceives that he may appear flat-nosed (τιμός) and ugly to the girl. But (as L.K. continues to point out to me) in the name Τιμιχίδα, the word has a positive aspect and denotes the poet (*Syrinx* 12 and *Thal.*); after all, the bees are τιμαί (*Thal.* 80). This, of course, is an unlikely context for the incipit discussed here.

¹⁵ On the black-but-comely theme, cf. M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei* (Naples 1979) 189f.

by Philodemus, although none among the extant poems suggests itself. For the thought, cf. Archilochus 23.14f. West (P.Oxy. 2310 fr.1) ἐπίταμαί τοι τὸν φιλέον[τα] μὲν φιλεῖν, ἢ [τὸ]ν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν.¹⁶

col. iii

14 ὀκτωκαιδεχέτιν: In *AJP* 108 (1987) 324, I give a reason for believing that this poem belongs to Philodemus.

15 λευκὴ καὶ μακρὴ: A. Cameron has pointed out that this poem begins with an exact contrast to Philodemus VIII (5.121); see above, col. ii 19.

18 χρήματιν οὐ πλο(υτῶ), or χ. οὐ πλο(ῦτος): It is not by wealth that riches are judged, as Epicurus said; e.g., *Sent. Vat.* 25, "Poverty, when measured by the natural purpose of life, is great wealth, but unlimited wealth is great poverty" (tr. Bailey).

col. iv

1 Ξάνθιον οὐκ ἦδειν or οὐ κήδειν: Of the possible meanings of *Xanthion* rightly considered by Parsons—herb, town, man's name, girl friend of Philodemus—the last alone obviously has the context going for it; cf. *AJP* 108 (1987) 310-324, where I present the case for a Xanthippe-cycle in Philodemus' poetry. Each of the two articulations (with at least four possible construals) seems equally likely.

4 αὔριον εἰς λιτὴν σε: Philodemus XXIII (ii 44). See now D. Clay, *CErc* 16 (1986) 11-28.

7 Ξανθῶ κηρόπλαστε: Philodemus XIV (9.570).

8 οὐ μισέω τὸ ποίημα: Quite likely, as Parsons says, a poetic elaboration or reaction to Callimachus' poem with similar beginning; and Philodemus of course was very much concerned with the nature of poetry. But if by Philodemus, how would it continue? Perhaps just as Callimachus' did, with τὸ κύκλικον, the thought now reversed, for Philodemus did not regard length as a criterion of a poem's worth. Cf. P. Ποιημάτων Bk. V, col. iv (p. 15 Jensen): τ]ὸ βέλτιστον ποιή]μα, [πῶς ἢ τ]οῦτο καὶ ἐλάχ]ιστον; π]ῶς ἢ δὲ] βέλτιστον ἐνά]ργεια κ]αὶ ἢ συ]ντομία [τῶν ἄλλων τ]ῶν ἢ ποιητικῆ] [προσ]όν[τ]ων; κτλ.

10 τὸν κυῶντα, Φιλαινί: Philodemus I (5.4).

13 τὸν πρῶτον Παφίη: See on ii 10.

14 Παρθενόπησ ἀνα.. and 15 Παρθενόπησ π..: A reference by Philodemus to Naples by its original name of Parthenope (or to the town's eponymous Siren; cf. Pliny *NH* 3.62) would not be surprising. In his prose, however, he seems to have used *Neapolis*, if P.Herc. 312 may be assigned to him (quoted below on col. v 14). Naples could have been mentioned for any number of reasons by Philodemus or another poet, but note how Vergil, who studied Epicurean theory there with Siro and Philodemus, not only begins a verse in the sphragis to the *Georgics* with the same word as does this incipit, but also recalls Epicurean "pleasure in rest" (4.563f.):¹⁷

illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat

¹⁶ Cf. M.R. Falivene, "Il codice di dίκη nella poesia alessandrina," *QUCC* 37 (1981) 88-95.

¹⁷ Cf. J.I.M. Tait, *Philodemus' Influence on the Latin Poets* (diss. Bryn Mawr 1941) 48-64.

Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti.

D. Obbink has reasonably suggested that Vergil may be alluding to the epigram of Philodemus whose incipit we have here.

16 τὴν πρότερον θυμέ(λην): Philodemus XXIV (10.103). The papyrus shows that Gow and Page were too quick to obelize the last word, difficult as it is. Nor should they have been so dismissive of Giangrande (*RM* 106 [1963] 255-7) who makes a good case for θυμέλη having here the sense of "sacrificial cake."

17 ψυχὴ μοι προλέ(γει): AP 5.24, attributed to Philodemus by both P and P1 (the latter with the common τοῦ ἀύτοῦ), but generally regarded by editors since Jacobs as the work of Meleager on the grounds that the girl of this poem, Heliodora, regularly shows up in his poems. It would now seem that the mss. are correct in their attribution.

18 ἐνθάδε τῆς τρυφε(ρῆς): Philodemus XXVI (7.222).

19 Ἴνοῦς ὃ Μελικέρ(τα): Philodemus XIX (6.349).

21 Δημώ τις τῆ: As Parsons notes, this may be another poem of Philodemus in which a woman named Demo is mentioned, especially as he seems to have had a thing for women with this name (VI, AP 5.115); cf. XVI (12.173).

30 ἐκτετόνημαι, Ἔρω: If the verb struck its original audience as it strikes us, as a *hapax*, it would at the very first moment mean nothing more than "I have lost my tonos, I am unstrung."¹⁸ Tonos is practically a technical term of the Stoics, so it is quite possible that the *hapax*, together with whatever followed, produced a lighthearted love poem couched in Stoic terms. If it is by Philodemus, it may well have been a parody of Stoic views on the place of emotions in poetry, which Philodemus criticizes throughout his *De Musica*; cf. the statements on Diogenes of Babylon to the effect that music produces harmony within the soul (pp. 7, 33f. Kemke).

31 μῆλον ἐγὼ· πέμ(πει): This is probably the incipit of the poem attributed to Philodemus by P1 (AP 5.80):

μῆλον ἐγὼ· βάλλει με φιλῶν ἐέ τις· ἄλλ' ἐπίνευον,
Ξανθίππη· κἀγὼ καὶ εὐμαραίνόμεθα.

Alan Cameron will argue strongly for Philodemian authorship and, on the basis of *Epigr. Bob. 32 malum ego: mittit me quidam tibi manus amator*, for the reading πέμπει.¹⁹ In the epigram, the object of the verb is an apple, but if it were accompanied by the poem or scratched on it, the two objects would merge into one. In *AJP* 108 (1987) 321, I argue that this poem belongs to Philodemus' Xanthippe cycle. It should also be remembered how the "Go lovely rose" theme is in accord with Epicurean attitudes towards life and death.

¹⁸ Cf. ἐκτονίζομαι, "lose force," Herodotus Medicus, i AD; δυνάμιες ... τονοῖται καὶ τὰ κόμματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, Tim. Loc. 104de.

¹⁹ In an appendix to his forthcoming *Greek Anthology: From Meleager to Planudes* (cf. also P. Parsons in the first edition); see now D.A. Schmidt, *CQ* 37 (1987) 21, who points out that in Pindar and Bacchylides πέμπω (a poem) = "bring" or "present." For the beginning also cf. AP 6.252 μῆλον ἐγὼ στρούθειον.

32 ὃ κ(αὶ) κεφαλῆς: Parsons compares Philodemus XII (5.132; below, col. v 20). If, indeed, the address is to a part of the head, we could think of the "temples." But this is too remote a metaphor. Perhaps we have here a poem on that remarkable man Philodemus refers to in *De Signis* 4, "the man in Alexandria half a cubit high, with a colossal head (κεφαλῆν) that could be beaten with a hammer (ἐκφυροκόπου), who used to be exhibited by the embalmers" (tr. De Lacys, who note, p. 93 n. 9, that he is "apparently not mentioned elsewhere").

col. v

3 νυκτερι(νή): Perhaps Philodemus IX (5.123).

11 ἠράσθην, τίς δ' ο(ὐ)χί): Philodemus XVIII (5.112).

13 δακρύεις: Most likely Philodemus XIII (5.306).

14 ψαλμοὶ καὶ λαλιή: Philodemus XI (5.131). Λαλιή probably refers here to good (Epicurean) conversation as much as to (if not more than) song, *contra* Kaibel, *Philodemi Epigrammata*, p. 14; cf. P.Herc. 312: (3.3) λαλιαῖς... (4.5) ἐδόκει δ' ἐπ[α]νελεθεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς ἡμῶν Νεάπολιν πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον Σίρωνα [κ]αὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ διαίτησιν καὶ φιλοσόφους ἐνεργῆσαι συλλαλίαις Ἡρακλ[ανέω]ι κτλ. (ed. Crönert *K&M* 126f., who argues that the author is Philodemus). For συλλαλία, however, E. Schwartz reads ὁμιλία; cf. M. Gigante, *A+R* 28 (1983) 36f., rp. in id. *Virgilio e la Campania* (Naples 1984) 75f.

15 ἦρεκέ μοι κομψή: Parsons notes that κομψός occurs in AP only in a poem (5.308) attributed both to Philodemus (by C and Pl) and to Antiphilus (by P, τοῦ αὐτοῦ). Since the incipit to 5.308 appears in P.Oxy. 3724 (col. vi 4), the heavily Philodemian context makes it likely that both poems are by Philodemus. But see the next lemma.

19 παρθένιος: Another papyrus list of epigrams, P.Vindob. G 40611 (unpublished), offers παρθένιός μοι κομψός ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας,²⁰ but this papyrus, dating from the third century BC, cannot contain anything by Philodemus. Note that the occurrence of κομψός in this unknown epigram weakens the case made in the lemma above.

20 ὃ ποδός: Philodemus XII (5.132).

22 μισῶ καὶ στεφ(άνους): Parsons is right to compare Philodemus XXI (11.34), but the poet does not there give up all parties, and he will continue to wear wreaths.²¹ If by Philodemus and in line with XXI, στεφάνους would presumably receive the proper modification.

24 ᾄδειν κ(αὶ) ψάλλειν: In addition to Philodemus XI (5.131), cf. XIV 3-5 (9.570): ψῆλον ... ᾄδε.

29 τὴν ἀπὸ παλλιόλου: Parsons compares Horace *Serm.* 1.2.119f., quoted p. 269f.

31 ὁ πρὶν ἐγὼ κ(αὶ): In col. iii 7 the incipit ὁ πρὶν ἐγὼ καὶ πέντε is deleted. The deletions in this list seem designed to avoid duplication, so that the present incipit must surely be the beginning of Philodemus XXVII (11.30).

²⁰ This specific incipit is quoted by H. Harrauer in his "Vorbericht" (*Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24-31 July 1980* [ASP 23, Scholars Press 1981] 50).

²¹ Cf. *AJP* 108 (1987) 313f., with references to earlier literature.

col. vi

4 ἡ κομψή: AP 5.308 (Philodemus?); see above on col. v 15, and below on vii 15.

11 ἐκθῆς ἔδωκεν: Parsons notes a similar phonetic spelling for ἐχθῆς in the papyrus of Philodemus *De Ira*; cf. ἐκθρῶν, coll. xvi 24, xix 11, xxiii 29, xxxii 19. But, as Parsons also notes, such spellings occur elsewhere as well.²²

12 ἰξὸν ἔχεις τόν or ἰ. ἔχεις τόν-: See above on col. ii 12.

col. vii

4 μὴ πρότερον φιλ():: See on col. ii 15.

7 ἡράσθην Δημοῦς: Philodemus VI (5.115).

13 γινώσκ[ω], χαρίεσσα (γει-Pap.): Philodemus V (5.107), as ascribed by P (ἄδηλον, P1).

15 χαῖρε κύ. [vac.] καὶ κύ γε: Philodemus IV (5.468).

17 κράμβην Ἄρτεμί(δωρος): Philodemus XXII (11.35).

21 ἤδη καὶ ῥόδον (ἐκτί): Philodemus XX (9.412).

25 ἐξήκοντα.... (ἐξήξ- pap.): Philodemus II (5.13).

col. viii

2 Κύπρι γαληναίη: Philodemus XV (10.21).

9 Καὶ νυκτὸς μεσάτης: Philodemus VII (5.120).

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Corrigendum

S. 234, Z. 5 v.u.: lies “*munus*” statt “*manus*”.

²² I am grateful to Rosario Pintaudi for advice on this point.