

PAPYRI FROM THE GRONINGEN COLLECTION I:
ENCOMIUM ALEXANDREAE

In 1926 the University Library of Groningen acquired a collection of Greek papyri. The collection comprises 127 items.¹⁾ Of these, twenty two were published by A.G.Roos in 1933.²⁾ The remainder he thought too small or too ill-preserved to deserve publication;³⁾ and later scholars have therefore neglected them. For the most part, rightly; many items have only a few lines of a few letters each. But there still remain a number of pieces which look likely to repay further study. The first of these we present in this paper. It is a subliterate curiosity: a Panegyric of Alexandria, in Sotadean metre.

We are indebted to various friends for their help: S.L.Radt (Groningen), J.M.Bremer and S.R.Slings (Amsterdam), P.M.Fraser, J.N.P.B.Horden, D.C.Innes, C.W.Macleod, D.A.Russell, S.R.West and N.G.Wilson (Oxford). Even so, we have failed to solve many problems of detail, which must in principle be soluble; we look forward to the views of other colleagues.

1. *The Papyrus*

P.Gron.inv.66. Width 5.5 cm; height 9.2 cm. Medium brown. Top margin of c.1 cm; otherwise broken on all sides. Writing across the fibres. On the other side (front), along the fibres, short groups of letters or numbers in a red ruled framework (presumably part of

1) The numbering is due to Ibscher, who glassed the papyri. But we are fairly certain that, in at least two cases, fragments of different documents have been inventorised under a single number.

2) A.G.Roos, *Papyri Groninganae: Griechische Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Groningen nebst zwei Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Amsterdam*, Verh.Kon.Akad.van Wetensch., afd.Letterkunde, N.R.32, no.4, Amsterdam 1933. For new readings and interpretations of these papyri (contributed by reviewers of Roos' edition and others) see *Berichtigungsliste III, V and VI*; recently P.J.Sijpesteijn, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Papyri Groninganae*, ZPE 11 (1973) 161-8; his further corrections to P.Gron.6 and 11 (made from photographs) will appear in *Berichtigungsliste VII*.

3) Roos l.c.p.iv.

an astronomical table); below this, blank papyrus to a depth of ca. 8 cm.

The writing is not a literary hand, but a small practiced cursive of the second century AD. There are no lectional signs, and no certain evidence for the scribe's treatment of elision and iota adscript. Some letters have been altered or corrected, apparently by the first hand. There is at least one phonetic error (3 αι for ε).

2. Transcript

(See Plate II)

Top

1	] μακάρω[] ολυμπιωνε [] [] μα σε μνον πολυχρου [] σιμανεουμ καιδονο [] ημ ^υ κα νπ[] ρισμαπα[] ηνιονευσ πνευμ[] πτουπεδονπυρ[] φορο [] υχεσεδαφοσ οιρανισ ω[]	1	--] μακάρω[ν] *ολυμπίων ε [] [] μα σε μνον πολυχρουσ[]] σιμα νέου Μακεδόνος []
4	] ημ ^υ κα νπ[] ρισμαπα[] ηνιονευσ πνευμ[] πτουπεδονπυρ[] φορο [] υχεσεδαφοσ οιρανισ ω[]	4	] ημ υ καλόν π[ό]ρισμα πα[] ηνιον ευσ πνευμ[] Αιγθ[] πτου πέδον πυρ[ο]φόρον [] εύ[] τυχές έδαφος μοτραν ιστω[]
8	] νηπολυπυροσδημη [] οκαλαμησ πειροσ [] σοθεν αποπλειγεν [] ησπολυβιβλογε ηκ ε[]	8	-] νη πολυπυρος Δημήτη[ρ] λ[] ινοκαλάμης άπειρος [] σοθεν άποπλει γεν [] ης πολυβιβλογενη κ ε[]
12	] αιμροφυ σσελοση [] ρεων ε νπ [] ωντε ε [] πολυ [] λυσοθ []	12	-] λαμπροφυής θελος η [] ρεων ε ων πολ [] ών τε γενθ[ν] πολυ [] λυσοθ []
16	] [ ] απο []	16	] [ ] απο []

In the upper margin, above λυ, a patch of ink: accidental?

1 Final trace: foot of upright? 2] [, point of ink level with the tops of letters.] μ, high point of ink, perhaps the end of a stroke sloping downward from the left (e.g. right-hand tip of sigma or hypsilon). [, left-hand arc of circle? 3]ι, at the top the upright runs into a blob of ink, which projects to the right;

accidental, it seems, not the junction of a horizontal stroke, for the undamaged papyrus to the left of iota shows no sign of ink. \circ , faintly visible circle, open to the right. μ , perhaps the left-hand portion of the bow of alpha, and the right-hand portion of its tail. \dots [, second is a short diagonal, beginning at half-height and descending to line-level; at the top it joins a short rightward horizontal; above that, possible further ink. 4 Beginning: see comm. κ .., oblique, suggesting left-hand side of lambda or mu (but mu too long for the space?); than perhaps right-hand arc of circle, omicron or omega (but omega too long for the space?). 5 σ ..: see comm. 6 \circ [, short upright ligatured to omicron. 7] u, horizontal at two-thirds height, joining hypsilon. \circ u, prima facie left-hand apex, and right-hand half, of mu; kappa less good. 8 η .. [, high horizontal, sloping down slightly to the right; ligatured to upright which in turn joins similar horizontal to the right (η [, ν [?]). 9] .., top of upright, then scattered ink. σ .. [, the first trace most likely the extended top of sigma; second perhaps first leg and bow of mu. 10 ν [, omicron or omega. 12 ϕ u, patch of damage, then a short upright which curves right at the base. 13] .. ρ e, first perhaps high horizontal with foot of upright below (pi, tau?). Loop of rho damaged, but not iota. ϵ .., first, upright, scattered ink above to left and right; second, left-hand arc of circle, curving over to join epsilon (sigma? or combined with first trace, pi?). π .. [, first, left-hand side of small circle; second, perhaps left-hand portion of lambda or chi. 14 τ e, gamma or tau. ϵ .. [, nu omicron, or nu omega; gamma omega less likely. λ u [, lower part of lambda lost (but not delta, to judge from the heavily curved top). 15] .., point of ink level with the tops of letters; another; parts of circle (omicron, omega?). ϕ o, below the back of sigma, heavy ink suggesting the foot of a vertical (a letter which was then corrected into sigma?); between sigma and omicron a short horizontal (linking stroke, not another letter, to judge from the spacing) with unexplained ink below. θ [, before theta, space equivalent to one medium letter, apparently blank. 16] .., second, upright with ink above (hypsilon?); then high horizontal.] .. α , end of high horizontal (the same or another?), touching the upper loop of alpha.

3. Subject

Corn, flax, papyrus, glass (8ff): all these are produced in Egypt, papyrus chiefly in Egypt; the last three represent distinctive industries of Alexandria (A.C.Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 1936, 335ff). The subject, then, should be Egypt or Alexandria or both; most of the other topics suit city and country equally; only the mention of the Young Macedonian (3) points directly to the city. The most economical assumption is, that we have here an encomium of Alexandria. But so long as the general structure of the poem remains uncertain, we cannot exclude other possibilities (thus the poet might praise Egypt, and Alexandria among its features; or, as Mr Macleod suggests, he might praise the deities who preside over this prosperity).

If Alexandria is the subject, the poem will have had this sort of outline: "Seat of the immortal gods, august and wealthy, foundation of Alexander! The gentle climate and fertile soil of Egypt provide you with all good things, happy land! There is abundant corn, infinite flax; from your harbours sail ships with rolls of papyrus and brilliant glass. Many are the ...; many the... of so many races; many the..."

By the date of the papyrus, the ἐγκώμιον τῆς πόλεως exists as a long-established and carefully-analysed rhetorical genre. In reconstructing and assessing the new text, we can draw on a considerable body of practice and theory.

The praises of cities begin early. The verse encomium goes back to Pindar and the tragedians, the prose encomium to Isocrates. (The earliest material is collected by E.Kienzle, *Der Lobpreis von Städten u.Ländern*, Diss.Basel 1936; for later developments see Volkmann, *Rhetorik d.Griechen u.Römer*, 1885, 334, Wilhelm, *Rh.Mus.* 77, 1928, 396, Kroll, *RE Suppl.* VII, 1940, 1132; for Byzantine examples, L.Robert, *Journal des Savants* 1961, 151ff, E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* IX, 1968]). Theory developed from practice, presumably in the hellenistic age: there is a short note already in Quintilian (*Inst.* 3.7.26), then in Hermogenes (*Rh.Gr.* II 13.32 Spengel) and Pseudo-Dionysius (*Dion.Hal.*, *Opusc.* II p.257 Usener-Radermacher);

a full-blown treatment by Menander Rhetor, Rh.Gr.III 346ff. The encomium of course overlaps the ἐκφρασις πόλεως or λιμένος (Rh. Gr.II 16,118; ib.46, Liban.VIII 483-5 Foerster); and may form part of speeches on other topics (Men.Rhet.369.18, 377.32, 385.1, 424.16, 430.30). The great imperial sophists provide the practical examples: Dio Chrysostom for Tarsus and Celaenae (Or.33-4; 35), Aelius Aristides for Smyrna (Or.17), Libanius for Antioch (Or.11).

For Alexandria specifically we are not so well provided; though no doubt most of the standard items would suit it as well as any other city. Its general glory is the subject of passing compliments: it is the capital of the world (BKT VII p.17.24ff), founded by Alexander for his eternal fame (Men.Rhet.358.23); it is larger than a continent, its people more numerous than a nation, the splendour of its streets wearies the eye (Ach.Tat.5.1). Its material assets are described by Strabo 17.1.7ff; its acropolis in Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* (Rh.Gr.II 47). Miscellaneous epithets and activities appear in the lists of Calderini, *Dizionario I*, 1935, 58ff, 75ff. But only one large-scale encomium survives, Dio Chrysostom's speech *ad Alexandrinos* (Or.32); special interest attaches to the catalogue of conventional topics which the sophisticated Dio will pass over (§§ 35-41) - Egypt, the river, the sea; harbours, shipping, trade; water and climate; the splendour of the temples, the number of the citizens, the abundance of provisions; above all, the manifestations of the god.

Such encomia must have been common in the heyday of cities and sophists; they were regularly performed at civic ἀγῶνες. The papyri seem not to have preserved any (a sign, perhaps, of their backwoods origin). There are indeed prose-pieces which their editors describe as encomia on Thebes (P.Schub.32 = P² 2507) and Athens (P.Oxy.III 442 = P² 2543; Daris, *Aeg.*52 [1972] 99 and *Proc.*XIV Int.Congr.Pap. [Oxford] 67). But these, so far as they survive, concern themselves not with the physical glories of the city, but with the historical achievements of the people; which might rather suggest the bogus political speech (suasoria).

The Groningen papyrus therefore has some interest. Poets, as well as orators, unceasingly sang the praises of Alexandria (Dio

Chrys.32.35). Here at last is an example: a distant relation of Sophocles' ode on Colonus (OC 668ff), and Euripides' on Athens (Med.824ff), and of Horace's celebration of Tibur (Carm.1.7, 2.6). The copy we have is clearly an amateur's: misspelling, cursive hand, used papyrus. But the composition has merits. The structure is logical, and the good standard topics are treated with decent brevity: divine favour (Men.Rhet.361.20 ἐγκάμιον ἀπὸ πρόξεων), heroic founder (353.5 ἀπὸ γένους), climate, soil & natural produce (346.27 ἀπὸ θεέσεως), manufactured produce (360.25 ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδεύσεων). The vocabulary is fairly choice, with clear classical reminiscences in 1 and 2. Only the metre shows that the poem belongs to the subliterate rather than the literary strain.

4. Metre

The metre, identified by Mr Macleod and Dr Slings independently, is Sotadean. The basic scheme should be:

{ - - - - - - - - - -
- - - x - - - x - - - x - -

A longum may be resolved; the brevia may be contracted. A further licence is the 'irrational long': - - - - for - - - x, - - - - for - - - - . Our poet used this licence, if the supplement in 6 is correct. But not enough remains to analyse his practice in detail.

(For the Greek examples see F.Podhorsky, *De Versu Sotadeo*, Diss. Vind.1895; and [on two later inscriptions] O.Guéraud, *BSAA* 31 [1937] 180. Summary of results: W.J.W.Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque* 207. Recent material: P.Oxy.XLII 3010. Latin usage: Lachmann, *Kl.Schr.*II [1876] 67; Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* [1922] 306).

This form of Major Ionic 'was raised (or degraded) to literary recognition by Sotades' (Lindsay), in the time of Philadelphus. Sotades' work, to judge from its few fragments and larger reputation, had three aspects. (a) One strain, and the most notorious, was that of obscene satire (frr.1-2 Powell). He founded cinaedography (Strab.14.1.41); 'cinaedologus' became an alternative name for 'sotadeus' (Athen.XIV 620E; Mart.2.86.2). His metre was taken over, as a vehicle of satire, by Ennius in the *sota* and Varro in

the *Menippea* (Enn., Var.25-9 Vahlen; Varro, Men.frr.2,3 etc Bücheler); as the medium of the gross and the degraded, it turns up in the mouths of galli (P.Oxy.3010), cinaedi (Petronius, Sat.23.3) and gladiators (FPL p.93 fr.8 Morel), of the drunken Sosia (Plaut., Amph.168ff) and prancing King Baboo (P.Oxy.413 = Page, GLP no.76.95ff). Educationists would not think of letting schoolboys read Sotadeans (Quint., Inst.1.8.6); critics took malicious pleasure in discovering them in the proems of Cicero (Diomedes, GL I 468.7 Keil; tacit rebuttal by Quintilian, Inst.9.4.6); Martial gives them (the only use in the poems) to a parvenu freedman who dedicates his chains (3.29) - with the clear implication that the man is as low as his metre. (b) Sotades' *Iliad* was different. The words of the half-dozen lines which survive (fr.4 Powell; only the first certainly attributed) are perfectly proper, without even a touch of parody. It was the metre which, according to later critics, turned male into female (Dem., de eloc.189); Sotadeans and epic *σμενότης* stand poles apart (Hermog., Rh.Gr.II 294f Spengel); Ἀχιλλέως ἠρωϊκός, Ἰωνικὸς κιναιίδου (Varro, Men.fr.357.2 Bücheler). On the face of it, then, this *Iliad* was a characteristically Alexandrian fusion of high matter and low form; the careful incongruity could be emphasised by the verbal deftness which transposed an Homeric into a Sotadean line with minimal change (fr.4[a]; this virtuoso strain reaches its height in those Latin hexameters, which become Sotadeans when read backwards: Mart.2.86.2, Quint., Inst.9.4.90, Diomedes, GL I 510.33, 516.29). (c) A third tradition is didactic. Sotades himself was at some stage credited with Sotadean *gnomai* of irreproachable tedium (frr.6-14 Powell); Accius used the metre in his *Didascalica*, a work of literary history (FPL p.35 Morel). Equally serious are the verses which two Egyptians wrote, in the second century AD, to commemorate religious experiences, Moschion his miraculous cure by Osiris, Maximus his vision of Mandulis Aion (A. & E. Bernard, Inscr.métr.nos.108, 168); at much the same time, but by way of parody, 'Lucian' introduces Sotadean mystics in the *Tragodopodagra* (113ff). About the root and relation of these branches, we can only speculate. It might be that the metre began with Sotades, became popular, and spread its empire from satire and

clowning to religion and morality. It may be that it began much earlier, in eastern cult (like other forms of Ionics); its main stream ran through popular religion (galli and other 'mystics') and hence popular moralising and popular entertainment; from this Sotades dug his literary side-stream. The second view looks more likely. But one thing at least is clear. No high-minded poet ever used Sotadeans for serious poetry. Sotades himself intended an exercise in metrical slumming; later critics, whether Hellenic purists or xenophobic Romans, despised the metre as much as they despised the oriental orgiasts and Alexandrian pornographers whose typical utterance they supposed it to be. In this sense, the Groningen poet was perverse in choosing an unclassical metre for a classical genre. He lines up, against the literary establishment, with his countrymen Moschion and Maximus; if the content looks back to Euripides, the form is contemporary vulgar.

5. Notes

The gap at the line-beginning must have contained one to two syllables (if the metre is correctly analysed) or very approximately four letters (if the supplement in line 6 is correct).

Lines 2-7 have words which may be nominative, vocative or accusative; 8,9 and 12 certainly have nominatives. We feel no certainty about the construction. Perhaps the general encomium (1ff) began in the vocative ("O Alexandria") or in the accusative ("Glorify Alexandria!"); and the catalogue of produce continued in the nominative ("In you [her] is found...").

1 Beginning: $\bar{\text{---}}\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega[v]$? (This fits the metre most easily; provided that the space - hardly more than four letters - will hold the two syllables.)

End: perhaps $\epsilon\iota$, then traces of one wide or two narrow letters (at the extreme right, foot of upright). One possibility is $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi[ατε]$, as in the 'Song of the Nile Boatmen' (POxy 425.5 = Page, GLP no.97 = Heitsch, GDRK no.III). At some point we need a noun (or verb) on which the genitives can depend, unless that followed in 2. E.g. $\delta\dot{\iota}\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega[v]$ 'Ολυμπίων $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi[ατε]$ σηκών; or in the vo-

cative θε[α] μακάρω[ν] 'Ολυμπίων --- ἔδρα.

The general sense must be 'favourite of the immortals'. Alexandria was not founded by gods, indeed very few cities were (Men. Rhet.353.9); the founder follows in 3. But divine favour in general was a commonplace of the genre (Men.Rhet.361.22); divine favour endowed the Egyptians with the useful arts (ib.362.16); divinity made itself especially manifest in Alexandria (Dio Chr.32.12, 41). The poet naturally begins with the gods, and makes a classical gesture with 'Ολυμπίων (very rare in the Egyptian documents, and always in the singular, of Zeus: Ronchi, Lexicon Theonymon 84of); he may have in mind a specific Euripidean model, Med.824f 'Ερεχθε-
ΐσαι τὸ παλαιὸν δαλβιοὶ | καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων.

2 Beginning: ~] [~] μᾶ? The first trace is indeterminate; the second most suggests sigma or hypsilon. Various nouns in -σμα and -υμα are available; ἀμπαυμα (from Pind., Nem.1.1) and λάτρευμα (from Eur., IT 1275) would be too long, allowing for a monosyllable to precede.

σεμνός and πολύχρυσος occur commonly in classical encomia (Kienzle 81,89); χρυσοῦς of Alexandria in particular, Athen.I 20B ... πόλεις ... Ἀλεξανδρέων μὲν τὴν χρυσοῖν, Ἀντιοχέων δὲ τὴν καλὴν, Νικομηδέων δὲ τὴν περικαλλῆ κτλ. But in the official language of the Egyptian documents Alexandria has the title λαμπροτάτη; σεμνοτάτη is reserved for Hermopolis and Panopolis.

3 Beginning: ~]ισμα. ὦ κτ]ισμα, τε[χ]ισμα, ο[κ]ισμα (the last quoted only from SEG XVIII 615.7, in a different sense) would all fit the space.

End: μακαίδονος pap., by a common phonetic error. The final sigma is not certain, but possible (taking the traces as part of an up-right back, with the cap descending at a sharp angle, as in 12 υελος); after that, perhaps the beginning of an angular sigma or even omicron (or, if the highest traces represent real ink, epsilon or theta).

For the expression (natural enough) cf Procop.Gaz., Epist.18. 122 (quoted by Calderini, Dizionario I 58) τοῦ Μακεδόνοσ ἡ πόλις, Orac.Sib.XI 232 (cf.XIII 49) καὶ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη Μακεδουλοιο ἀνακτοσ.

4 Beginning: eta (part of the cross-bar, and the right-hand vertical) is likely; then apparently mu; then what looks like a bipartite epsilon (not normal in this hand), but with unexplained ink suggesting a correction; then hypsilon above the line; then probably *καλον* (not *κολον*, i.e. *εὐκολον*, it seems; and not *καλων*, to judge from the spacing). In *π[ο]ρισμα*, the rho is damaged; but not *π[ο]ρισμα*.

Some sense could be made of $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ *καλον π[ό]ρισμα π[ά]ντων* (*πα[σῶν]* $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$), in either of two ways. It might be "Alexandria possesses a fine supply of all good things"; this is a commonplace of the genre (e.g. Dio Chr. 32.36). Or perhaps "Alexandria possesses a fine supplier of all good things"; if 5 refers to the climate, and 6 to the soil, we might expect a reference to the Nile or the Sea (Dio Chr. 32.36, 41) as well; the Nile at least, as *γονιμός*, could count as a good supplier.

But *π[ό]ρισμα* itself is suspect (though we have found no other reading); it occurs elsewhere only as a technical term of the geometers. And we have no solution to the difficulties at the line-beginning. (i) If the 'epsilon' was corrected to sigma, and the suprascript hypsilon was an addition rather than a replacement, we have *νημ[ε]σ*: *σ* might fit a vocative construction, but *νημ* remains unexplained. (ii) If the 'epsilon' was deleted, and the suprascript hypsilon intended to replace it, we have *νημ[ε]σ*, i.e. *-η μου* (another phonetic error). (iii) If 'epsilon' was corrected to alpha, *-νημ[ε]α* looks promising. But that ignores the suprascript hypsilon.

5 Beginning: $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ *νημιον*.

End: *πνευμ[ι]* looks fairly secure. Breezes often temper the climate of great cities: thus of Athens (Eur., Med. 839f; more in Kiensle 53), of Smyrna (Ael. Aristid. 17.12). Alexandria itself enjoyed the cooling effect of the etesian winds (Strab. 17.1.7; Diod. 17.52.2; cf. Amm. Marc. 22.16.8.); Callixenus extended this *εὐκρασία* to Egypt as a whole (Athen. V 196D).

Both the beginning and the middle make difficulties. *-νημιον* looks like an adjective agreeing with *πνεῦμα*, but we have found no obvious candidate (since *γαλ[ή]μιον* is excluded by the metre): *εὐ-*

ἡνιον is a little short (and in any case too recherché); ἐπιμ]ἡνιον would fit, but the meaning required ('lasting for a month', as the Etesians did, according to some authorities, RE VI 714) is not attested elsewhere. What follows begins with ευσ; then apparently hypsilon (unless part of a cursive nu or pi); then perhaps the first vertical and sloping top of nu (unless a crude gamma); then shadowy traces, ending in a vertical just before πνευμ. The possibilities include (i) ευσυν- (ευσυγ-). ευσυνον could be read, but makes no sense; there is no space for εὐσὺγκρατον (on the analogy of εὐκρατος and the like) or a compound form like εὐσυγκρατοπνεύματον. (ii) εὐ σὺ, with a vocative construction. But what follows?

6 Αἰγύπτου πέδον Eur., Hel.2; πέδια πυροφόρα Phoen.644; πεδίονιο ... πυροφόροιο Iliad.21.6o2. Fertility is an expected compliment: Kienzle 4off; e.g.Ael.Aristid.35.13.

7 Beginning: εὐ]τυχές seems a likely word; a theoretical alternative would be εὐ]ψυχές. Kienzle 92.

μοῖραν ἴστω (ἴστω[σαν] might mean 'let it realise its happy destiny' or 'let it know itself the allotment of the fortunate' or the like. For the first mu, kappa could perhaps be read (but only as a lop-sided form of the usual shape); but κοιρανίς is only doubtfully attested (LSJSuppl.). For ἴστω, ἴσιω (but not ἴσω) might be possible; but we do not see how to fit in a reference to Isis.

8 Beginning:]νη? or ~]νη? Divide -νη or -ν ἦ?

πολύπυρος is common of countries (Kienzle 4o); not elsewhere as an epithet of Demeter (but she is called πολὺκαρπος, Theoc.1o.42). Here begin the products (χειρῶν ἔργα παντοῖα καὶ φορὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐφ' αἰλλος, Ael.Aristid.17.13); for the inclusion of manufactured goods cf Kienzle 72 (already in Pindar); Men.Rhet.36o.25. As Dr Innes remarks, a more sophisticated writer would have avoided so artless and prosy a catalogue.

9 Beginning: e.g. καὶ λ]υνοκαλάμης.

ἄπειρος [: the alpha is uncertain (small and overwritten); but not eta, it seems. At the end perhaps mu, preceded by a trace which will then belong to the extended top of sigma.

10 Beginning: $\bar{\tau}$ σοθεν? ὄθεν? or e.g. χερ]σόθεν (Eur., Heraclid. 429, Hel. 1269)?

End: omicron or omega. E.g. γένο[ς ... ναυτῶν?

11 Beginning: $\bar{\tau}$ ῆς πᾶλυβ(β)λδγξενῆ? The adjective is new, and unexpected (compare πολυγενής and e.g. πυρογενής; but Buck-Peterson 732f lists no similar double compound). The meaning should be 'producing (or produced by) many papyrus-plants (or books)'.
End: apparently κμε[rather than κλε[(the trace would suit lambda in itself, but stands too far to the left); though the space might allow one more narrow letter, ie κν[ι]ε[or κν[ρ]ε[. One possibility would be κμε[τ (κμε[τται); for the botanical use LSJ quotes Theophr., HP 4.2.4, 6.4.8. Another is κν[ρ]ε[τ.

12 Beginning: $\bar{\tau}$ λαμπροφύς. The adjective is new; but cf λεπτο-ξανθο- etc. The second element adds nothing to the first except pretension. Compounds of this form proliferate in the hexameter writers of the Roman period. Cf. A.W. James, *Studies in the Language of Oppian* (1970) 45-7.

13-16 Parts (or compounds) of πολύς could be recognised in each of these lines: perhaps an anaphoric catalogue. Alexandria was notoriously the Most (πολύπολις, Philo, In Flacc. 163).

13 Beginning:] ρεων: the first trace may be part of the top, and foot of the vertical, of tau (pi less likely, since the foot does not curve to the right, as in pi's elsewhere); then a long descender, rho more likely than iota. . . . ε ων: before epsilon, pi, or a vertical followed by sigma; after epsilon, vague traces, one wide letter or two narrow ones. Given the repeated -ων, and the structure of the next line, we might guess e.g. ὄσ]τρέων or κεσ]τρέων τ' ἀπε]ρώων; the first would refer to the purple of the textile industry, the second to the famous Egyptian mullet (Strab. XVII 2.4; D'A.W. Thompson, *Greek Fishes* 109).

14 Beginning: e.g. πολλ]ῶν (or πᾶντ]ῶν, μικτ]ῶν, if these are not too long). τεγῶ]ν might perhaps be read instead of γενῶ]ν (praise of the numerous 'houses'; if so, the panegyrist risked the ambiguity with 'brothels', which were no doubt equally numerous);

but on balance nu looks more probable than gamma. The population of Alexandria was notoriously large and cosmopolitan; see the list in Dio Chr.32.4o.

15 Beginning: e.g. καὶ] πολλὸς ὁ θ[. If the final letter is to be read as epsilon (in the bipartite form, not normal in this hand) one could think of θε[ῶν (temples must be mentioned somewhere, Dio Chr.32.41) or θε[άτρων (there were several, Calderini, Dizionario I 114, Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria I 23; cf Ael.Aristid.17.13 θε-άτρων τε πάντων ... ἀμύθητος ἡ ἀφθονία). If it is to be read as alpha - which is more likely - the possibilities include θα[λάσσης, θα[λιῶν and much else.

I.H.M.Hendriks

P.J.Parsons

K.A.Worp

Groningen

Oxford

Amsterdam