

130. PROPERTY DIVISION FROM APHRODITO

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This papyrus is a property division from Aphrodito. It belongs to a private collector in New Jersey, who received it from the widow of a New York antiquities dealer who died several decades ago¹. No information is available on its acquisition by the dealer, but he bought much of his stock from a dealer in Cairo in the 1940s, and it is likely that this piece was also acquired in that period.

The papyrus when acquired by its present owner consisted of a small box containing a stack of separated fragments, most of which have been able to be reconnected to form the continuous text shown below. A few remain as yet unplaced. The writing is across the fibers; as normal in this period, the document was written *transversa charta*, the width of the document being the height of the papyrus roll. The roll has clearly been broken along a line running from top to bottom of the text, roughly in the middle of the line of writing, and all fragments came either from the left or the right side of that break. This points to a folding in half of the original rolled-up document. The fact that the unplaced fragments all come from the top of the text, and the discovery that some fragments of *P.Michael. 58* belong to the upper part of the same document or (less likely, see below) to a copy of it, suggest that the document was rolled up from the bottom and then folded in half and creased, leaving the upper part more exposed to damage; some broken-off parts were separated at some point in the passage of the roll through the antiquities trade. By the same token, it is entirely possible that further fragments lie unnoticed in another collection.

Several indicators strongly suggest that *P.Michael. 58*, which consists of three fragments, is a part of our text. Taken individually they are of no force, but collectively they match our text well. (1) One of the parties is a Kollouthos (see below). (2) The previously unrecognized term ἐξαιθρα appears in both (see note to Fr. 3, 2). (3) A fifth share is mentioned in both. (4) The fragments correspond in width very closely with those from the upper left part of our papyrus. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate the original of this Michaelides papyrus to see if its text might be improved in light of ours and if the fragments might be physically combined². Nor have we managed to find any sufficiently clear sequence of text to allow a reconstruction of the remaining fragments from the top of the roll; perhaps some reader will be more perspicacious. It is conceivable (but an uneconomical hypothe-

¹ We are indebted to George Lampros for permission to publish this papyrus, and to Traianos Gagos for several helpful suggestions.

² This papyrus does not appear in the list of Michaelides papyri the present location of which is known, in S.J. CLACKSON, «The Michaelides Manuscript Collection», *ZPE* 100 (1994), pp. 223-226. I (RSB) have also searched through the entire Michaelides holdings of the Cambridge University Library without finding it.

sis) that the Michaelides fragments belong to the other copy of this division rather than to this one (see line 14 and note).

The papyrus is, as so commonly in the sixth-century Aphrodito papyri, dark and very brittle. Conservation was held to a minimum because the risk of damage from further handling exceeded the likelihood of significant gains in readable text³.

The parties to the division are, on one side, the Aurelii Phoibammon and Kollouthos and (seemingly) a woman named Tapollos, and, on the other side, the Aureliae Elisabeth and Eudoxia (for their father's name, see note on line 24). Of great interest is that Phoibammon and Kollouthos are identified as sons of Triadelphos. This papyrus is therefore yet one more piece belonging to a dossier (or archive) that has been the subject of considerable recent discussion: see J.G. KEENAN, «Aurelius Phoibammon, Son of Triadelphus: A Byzantine Egyptian Land Entrepreneur», *BASP* 17 (1980), pp. 145-154; T. GAGOS - P. VAN MINNEN, *Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt = New Texts from Classical Cultures*, 1 (Ann Arbor, 1994); and T. GAGOS, «A New Papyrus from the Family Archive of Dioskoros of Aphrodito and the Mysterious Phoibammon (P.Mich.inv. 1051)», *APF* 43 (1997), pp. 368-373.

The present text adds several new points of information. Of greatest interest prosopographically is that Phoibammon turns out to have had a brother, Kollouthos, who may now be added to the stemma printed in GAGOS - VAN MINNEN, p. [131]. The relationship between the two brothers and the woman named Tapollos is unclear. In our text, line 15, Kollouthos is (apparently; for the difficulty of the passage see note ad loc.) indicated as the one who is going to subscribe for Tapollos; but the expected subscription, in which Tapollos would have been further identified with at least a (possibly conclusive) patronymic, was never supplied, for Kollouthos signs simply as an individual. Tapollos may have been sister to Phoibammon and Kollouthos, or the latter's wife. The family relationship, if any, between Phoibammon, Kollouthos, Tapollos and the parties on the other side, Elisabeth and Eudoxia, is even less clear and offers only a limited basis for speculation (see note to line 24).

New to the Phoibammon dossier are the nature of the present document, a property division, and its concern with house and building property in Aphrodito. Up to now the Phoibammon documents have been mostly informative about Phoibammon's interest in agricultural land and its management. Unfortunately the description of the house property in the Lampros papyrus, some of which resides in four fragments that have not so far been successfully attached to the main text, is considerably damaged. The damage is so great as to make it difficult to determine whether one or more buildings and their parts are at issue in the division. In any event, the document indicates shares of assorted property in various fractions: halves (lines 1, 5-6 main text; fragments 1.1, 3.3), thirds (lines 2, 6), and a fifth (line 4). The main text includes references to a $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ (line 1); to a men's apartment in the

³ Instead of conventional photographs, 600 dpi digital color images were made of the papyrus. These are available in lower-resolution versions at <http://www.columbia.edu/dls/apis/lampros>; higher-resolution versions can be supplied to any scholar wishing to study the papyrus in more detail.

upper story, ἀνδρεῶνος ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ (line 6); and to a bread-storage room (ἀρτοθήκη) and its upper story (lines 2, 7). These all seem to belong to the single house (οἰκία) mentioned in line 8. In the fragments are to be found further details: a πεσσός beneath the αἶθρα, frag. 2.1; a men's apartment (ἀνδρεῶν) above a gateway entrance (πυλών), frag. 2.2; an ἐξαιθρα, frag. 3.2; and (again) an αἶθρα, frag. 4.2. For details see the relevant commentary notes.

Of the approximate terminal dates for the papyrus, 526-545, the earlier is suggested by the first dated appearance of Phoibammon in *P.Michael*. 43, the later by the last dated attestation of the notary Abraham (line 38; cf. note).

A new list of divisions of property is given by Andrea Jördens in the introduction to *P.Louvre* I 8; she cites older literature, including a study by A. CALDERINI, «Un papiro greco inedito con allusione ad una divisione di proprietà» in the *Studi in onore di V. Arangio-Ruiz*, III (Napoli, 1952), pp. 273-279. The standard, but now very old, treatment is by KRELLER, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 77f. The subject would probably repay a new investigation.

P.Lampros

Pl. 81

Aphrodito

30 x 52.5 cm

Ca. 526-545

-
- τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὴν καμάρα[ς]ν μετὰ τοῦ ἡμίσιους τοῦ ὑπερώου ἀὐτῆς]
 καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὑμετέρ[ας ἀ]ρτοθή[κης] καὶ τοῦ ὑπερώου αὐτῆς μετὰ
 τῶν ἐνότων
 καὶ ἀνηκόντων δικαίων καὶ χρηστηρίων τῶν τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιβάλλον μοι
 μέρος
 πέμπτον, ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐ[λίσα]βετ[τ] καὶ Ε[ύδοξία] κοινῶς λελάχαμεν
 5 ὁμοῦ τὸ ἄλλο ἡμισυ μέρος[ς] ... τὸ ἄλλο
 σὺν ἡμίσει <μέρει> τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ .[ca. 15] σὺν τρίτῳ
 μέρει τῆς ἀρτοθήκης καὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς ὑπερώου καὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ χρηστηρίων
 ὅλων
 τῆς πάσης οἰκίας πρὸς τὸ ἐκάτερον μέρος ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν
 καὶ διοκεῖν καὶ οἰκεῖν καὶ νέμε[σ]θαι καὶ παραπέμπειν ἐπὶ κληρονόμους
 ἰδίους
 10 καὶ διαδόχους καὶ χρήσασθ[αι] ἂν βούλη τρόπῳ ἀκωλύτως καὶ μὴ ἐν
 οὐδενὶ
 παραβῆναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα, τὸν δὲ παραβαίνοντα ἢ τὴν παραβαίνουσαν
 δώσειν < λ[ό]γω προστίμου χρ[υ]σοῦ οὐνκίας δύο καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐμμένειν
 πᾶσι τοῖς συγγεγραμμένοις πρὸς τῷ βεβαίαν εἶναι καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ταύτην τὴν
 διαίρεσιν
 πανταχοῦ προκομιζομένην ἢ {α}περ γραφ[εῖσαν] δισσην ὁμότυπον ἐφ'
 ὑπογραφ(ῶν)
 15 ἡμῶν Φοιβάμμωνος καὶ Κ[ο]λλοῦθου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ Ταπολλῶς ὑπογρ(άφοντος)
 καὶ ἐπερωτῆθ(έντες)
 παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπερωτήσαντες ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν ποιεῖν
 φυλάττειν ὡμολογήσαμεν + καὶ βεβαιώσωμεν ἀλλήλοις τὴν ἐκάστην

- μερίδα ἀπὸ παντὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπομνύμενοι τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον.
(2 H.) + Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων Τριαδέλφου ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἐθήμεν
20 ταύτην τὴν τοι διαίρεσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγραμμένοις
καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον ὡς πρόχ(εῖται). (3 H.) + Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος
Τριαδέλφου ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἐθέμεν ταύτην τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
ἐγγεγραμμένοις καὶ ὄμοσας τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον ὡς πρόχ(εῖται).
(4 H.) Αὐρηλία Ἐλισαβητ Τρομαχορ καὶ Εὐδοξία ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῆς παρόντος
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
25 αὐτῆς Αὐρηλίου Χρήστου Βίκτορος οἱ προκ(είμενοι) ἐθέμεθα ταύτην τὴν
διαίρεσιν
ἐπεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον ὡς πρόχ(εῖται).
Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων Φιβίου ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα
μὴ εἰδότον. (5 H.) Αὐρήλιος Χρησι Βίκτωρ ἀνὴρ τῆς προκ(ειμένης)
Εὐτοξίας σεσημίωμαι. (6 H.) + Αὐρήλιος Κωσταντῖνος Ἰωάννου
30 μαρτυρῶ τῇ διαιρέσει ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν θεμένων καὶ
πίθωμε ὡς πρόχ(εῖται). (7 H.) + Ψάις Ἀπολλῶτος πρεσβ(ύτερος) μαρτυρῶ
τῇ διαιρέσει ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν θεμένων //.
(8 H.) + Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων Ἐρμ[αυῶ]τος μαρτυρῶ τῇ διαιρέσει ἀκούσας
παρὰ τῶν θεμένων.
(9 H.) + Αὐρήλιος Κυρικὸς Μουσ[ῆ]τος μαρτυρῶ τῇ διαιρέσει
35 ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν θεμένων. (10 H.) Αὐρήλιος Μουσῆς
Ἐρμαῶτος ἰατρὸς μαρτυρῶ τ[ῆ] διαιρέσει ἀκούσας
παρὰ τῶν θεμένων. *vacat*
(11 H.) + ἐγράφη δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀβρααμίου +

Fragments

1: left

εἰς νότον σὺν ἡμίσει μ[έρει
νεύοντος εἰς λίβα εἰς τὸν ..]

2: right

Φοι]βάμμωνος ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν αἴθραν πεσσός
]..[...].υ[...].υ ε.. πυλῶνος ἀνδρεῶνος

3: right (after *P.Michael*. 58, fr. A, line 5)

]λ...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]
] καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης ἐξ αἴθρας σὺν ἡμισείας
].....υ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἡμισυ τῆς πρὸς

4: right

ἐκατ]έραν τῶν εἰρημένων θηλειῶν
]..[.]... τὴν αἴθραν τῆς αὐτῆς [....]

4 κελόγγαμεν || 13 τό || 15 Φοιβάμμωνος, μμ *ex corr.* | Ταπαλλῶτος || 17 βεβαιώ-
σομεν || 19 ἐθέμεν || 20 τὴν τε? διαίρεσιν | ἐγγεγραμμένοις || 21 καὶ ὄμοσα |

πρό(κειται) | *ex prix* || 22 ἐθέλην || 23 ὡμοσα || 25 αἱ προκ(είμηναι) || 26 ἐπὶ πᾶσι
 | ὡμόσαμεν || 28 εἰδόντων (*sc. εἰδυῶν*) | Χρῆστος Βίκτορος || 29 Εὐδοξίας σεσημειώ-
 μαι || 30 παρὰ || 31 πείθομαι || 36 Ἐρμανυῶτος

«...of the vaulted room under it,... with the half of the floor above it, and the third share of your bread storage-room and the floor above it, with the rights in and pertaining it and the fixtures of the house... a fifth share, and we, Elisabeth and Eudoxia, have drawn in common altogether the other half share... with a half share of the same *andron* in the upper level and of all the rights and appurtenances of the entire house, so that each party is from henceforth to possess, to own, to manage, to inhabit, to dispose of, to pass to their own heirs and successors, and to use in any way they please without hindrance, and not to transgress what is written above in any point, but for whoever transgresses to pay on account of a fine two ounces of gold and for him to abide willy-nilly by all the terms, besides that this division is to be guaranteed and firm, wherever it is produced, which is written in two identical copies with the subscriptions of us, Phoibammon and Kollouthos, and the person signing on behalf of Tapollos, and having been asked and having asked one another, we have agreed that this is correct and to perform and to observe it, and we will guarantee for one another each share from any claim and for all time, and we have sworn the imperial oath on these terms.

(2 H.) I, Aurelius Phoibammon son of Triadelphos, the aforesaid, drew up this division on all the terms written herein and I swore the imperial oath as aforesaid.

(3 H.) I, Aurelius Kollouthos son of Triadelphos, the aforesaid, drew up this division on all the terms written herein and I swore the imperial oath as aforesaid.

(4 H.) We, Aurelia Elisabeth daughter of Tomachor (?) and Aurelia Eudoxia her sister, in the presence of her husband Aurelius Chrestos son of Victor, the aforesaid, drew up this division on all the terms written herein and I (*sic*) swore the imperial oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Phoibammon son of Phib, wrote upon request for them because they are illiterate.

(5 H.) I, Aurelius Chrestos son of Victor, husband of the aforesaid Eudoxia, signed.

(6 H.) I, Aurelius Constantinus son of Iohannes, witness to the division after hearing from the parties and I agree as aforesaid.

(7 H.) I, Psais son of Apollos, *presbyteros*, witness to the division after hearing from the parties.

(8 H.) I, Aurelius Phoibammon son of Hermauos, witness to the division after hearing from the parties.

(9 H.) I, Aurelius Kyrikos son of Mouses, witness to the division after hearing from the parties.

(10 H.) I, Aurelius Mouses son of Hermauos, physician, witness to the division after hearing from the parties.

(11 H.) Written by me Abraham.»

1 **καμάρα** Vaulted room, presumably of mud brick, of a sort found at Roman sites throughout Egypt. See HUSSON, *OIKIA*, pp. 122-128. They were found at every

- level of the house. For ὑπερῶς, see note to line 6. There are traces of several descending strokes above line 1, too exiguous for transcription.
- 2-3 For another example of ἐνότων καὶ ἀνηκότων ... δικαίων see *PMichael.* 41, 17-18.
- 3 The latter part of this line leaves us in some perplexity, as we have not succeeded in reading what precedes ἐπιβάλλον nor in reconstructing a satisfactory overall syntax for the passage. The reading μοι (of which only the mu might be doubtful) is also puzzling, as we have no other evidence for singular self-reference in the text.
- 4 For Elisabeth and Eudoxia, see note to line 24. The remains of ἀρτοθήκη were read on a small fragment which has now disappeared.
- 6 ἀνδρῶν is the usual spelling for this room, properly a room for the master of the house to use in receiving male guests; more generally it designates a relatively spacious reception room, as distinguished from an entryway or a bedroom (HUSSON, *OIKIA*, pp. 37-40). The term ὑπερῶς can be used adjectivally with a variety of types of rooms on upper floors of houses; here it could also be a neuter substantive for the upper floor (HUSSON, *OIKIA*, pp. 284-285). Husson mentions συμπόσια on an upper floor, but not another instance of an ἀνδρῶν (apparently not noticing that the one in *PFlor.* III 285, 12 is located πρὸ δευτέρου στέγῃ). In *PLond.* III 978, 13 (p. 232), however, an *andron* ἐπάνω τοῦ πυλῶνος can be found (*BL* I, p. 292; pap. ἐπάνου). The spelling ἀνδρεῶν appears in this text and in *PFlor.* III 285, 12 and *SB XVIII* 13320, 31; 32; 33; 39; 69.
- 7 ἀρτοθήκη was known to HUSSON, *OIKIA*, pp. 44-45, only from Herakleopolite papyri and from literature (scholia to Aristophanes and Cyril of Skythopolis, *Life of Euthymius*). Another Herakleopolite papyrus has been published since she wrote (*CPR VIII* 62, published in the same year as *OIKIA*). The present passage shows that an ἀρτοθήκη could have an upper floor (cf. note to line 6; here perhaps a loft?), thus confirming Husson's view that in the papyri it refers to a storeroom rather than a cabinet. Similarly, the *CPR* text has one with a φρέαρ, a cistern («Brunnen» edd., but this seems much less likely). Peter VAN MINNEN, «Deserted Villages: Two Late Antique Town Sites in Egypt», *BASP* 32 (1995), p. 50 and n. 44 notes from the archaeological evidence that houses at Karanis had ground-level granaries. Husson notes the presence of such special bread-stores (also found in monastic hermitages) as a sign of the habit of baking large quantities of bread at one time, then softening it before eating.
- 12 Two ounces of gold: this is a large fine for violation of the agreement. *PHerm.* 31, 24 has the same amount. The classic work on penalty clauses is BERGER, *Strafklauseln*.
- 14 The production of two copies tallies with the use of ἐκότερον μέρος in line 8 to show that the division is conceived of as having two parties. It seems that even though Phoibammon and Kollouthos sign separately, they represent one party for purposes of the division, Elisabeth and Eudoxia constituting the other. Tapollos (line 15) is said to be represented by someone subscribing for her, but her name does not appear in the subscriptions at the end. The most plausible explanation is that the scribe has inverted the correct word order here, writing καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ Ταπολλῶς ὑπογράφοντος instead of τοῦ καὶ κτλ., which would indicate that Kollouthos is subscribing on behalf of Tapollos as well as himself. Tapollos is thus part of the same side of the agreement as Phoibammon and Kollouthos; cf. the introduction.
- 15 Phoibammon is of course the well-known Aphrodito «entrepreneur»; see bibliography cited in the introduction. His brother Kollouthos is new to the family tree

- and should be added to the stemma in GAGOS - VAN MINNEN, *Settling a Dispute*, p. [131]. The brothers are also perhaps to be found paired together, although in uncertain capacity, in *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 7 frag. A, 40, the will of Aurelia Heraeis. Another son of Triadelphos, Paulos, probably a third brother, is a witness to the fragmentary and undated *P.Michael.* 57. Beyond this, it is tempting now to see the Victor son of Kollouthos, who appears as Phoibammon's partner in *P.Michael.* 46 (559) and 48 (572) as Phoibammon's nephew (his brother's son). This seems a strong possibility, even though the name Kollouthos is common at Aphrodito (see GIRGIS, *Prosopografia*, nos 958-972). Tapollos, who is new, is possibly the brothers' sister, or Kollouthos' wife.
- 19-21 This, the first known example of Phoibammon's autograph, shows him to be a slow writer, but not hopelessly so.
- 24 The sisters, Aureliae Elisabeth and Eudoxia, are otherwise unknown. They are perhaps related to Phoibammon's family in some way — half sisters, possibly. The patronymic has resisted satisfactory decipherment. As Eudoxia is accompanied by her husband (see note to line 25), but no husband is mentioned for Elisabeth, it is likely that the latter was not married at the date of this papyrus.
- 25 Eudoxia's husband, Aurelius Chrestos son of Victor, is also new to the Aphrodito prosopography, but a Victor son of Chrestos appears in an undated account, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67056 ii.2, and also, although the patronymic is heavily restored, in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67218, 3, a very fragmentary private account, also undated.
- 27 A Phoibammon son of Phib (GIRGIS, *Prosopografia*, n° 1771) appears in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 iii.2 as a *ktetor*, one of the leading villagers who sign the report (*didaskalia*) addressed to the empress Theodora shortly before 548. He also witnesses the will of Aurelia Heraeis, *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 7 (see frag. A.34-35).
- 33 An Aurelius Phoibammon son of Hermauos appears as a leader of the *koinon* of village shepherds in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001, 6; 34; 35 (AD 514) and as a personal guarantor in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328, col. VIII, 3; 23 (521). He also appears in *P.Freer* 1+2, 23; 229 (see below, 35-36n.; ca. 525/526), from which we learn that he was the grandson of Choros. It is of course not certain that all of these refer to the same individual.
- 35-36 Mouses son of Hermauos, the doctor, is known from *P.Freer* 1+2, 31 and 167 (ca. 525/526) (J. GASCOU - L. MACCOULL, "Le cadastre d'Aphroditô", *T&MByz* 10 [1987], pp. 103-158). There $\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon$ is in the genitive as if to modify the patronymic rather than Mouses himself (who is a $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$). Here there is no doubt that Mouses identifies himself as a doctor.
- 38 On Abraham son of Apoll() the notary, see *Byz. Not.*, pp. 24-25. Our text belongs to the minority of his appearances where the patronymic Apoll() is omitted, but there is no reason to think this is not the same man. His chronological range, according to Diethart and Worp in *Byz. Not.*, is 509/510 (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67327; cf. *BL* VII, p. 35) to 545 (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67112), but more than half of his attestations lack a precise date. The date to 509/510 of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67327 is, given the other available dates, anomalously early; see J.G. KEENAN, «Notes on Absentee Landlordism at Aphrodito», *BASP* 22 (1985), pp. 151-152, arguing for a date of 540 (*BL* VIII, p. 74). The next earliest attestation is *P.Michael.* 43 (526). This date coincides with the earliest attestation of Phoibammon son of Triadelphos.

Frag. 2

We have considered attaching this fragment immediately above the right side of line 1, but we are not confident that this placement is correct.

- 1 **πεσσός** is a stairway or stairwell, see HUSSON, *OIKIA*, pp. 226-230.
- 2 Perhaps τοῦ ἐπὶ πυλῶνος, a reception room over the gateway (on which see HUSSON, *OIKIA*, pp. 243-246), cf. the ἀνδρῶν ἐπάνω τοῦ πυλῶνος cited in the note to line 6, but it is not easy to reconcile this with the visible traces. On ἀνδρῶν see note to line 6.

Frag. 3

- 2 **ἐξαίθρα** The word has not been previously recognized (not in LSJ and Suppl. or the index to HUSSON, *OIKIA*); but cf. *P.Michael.* 58, fr. A, 5, where one must in light of our papyrus correct to ἐξαίθρας; also *P.Land.* VI 95, 8, ἄς [ἔχει ἐν τῇ αἰ]θρα which HUSSON, *OIKIA*, p. 34, proposes to see as a botched form of ἐξέδρα but which may perhaps be better restored ἐν ἐξαίθρα. A verb ἐξαίθριάζω is known, meaning (according to LSJ) «expose to sun and air». An ἐξαίθρα may then have been an open space of some kind. The presence of εἰρημένης before ἐξαίθρας here indicates that this fragment should come later than the Michaelides fragment.

Frag. 4

- 1 «each of the said females» presumably refers to Elisabeth and Eudoxia (line 24, note).
- 2 **αἶθρα** See HUSSON, *OIKIA*, p. 34 for this rare variant of αἶθριον (her fourth example is eliminated in the note to Frag. 3, 2 above).

