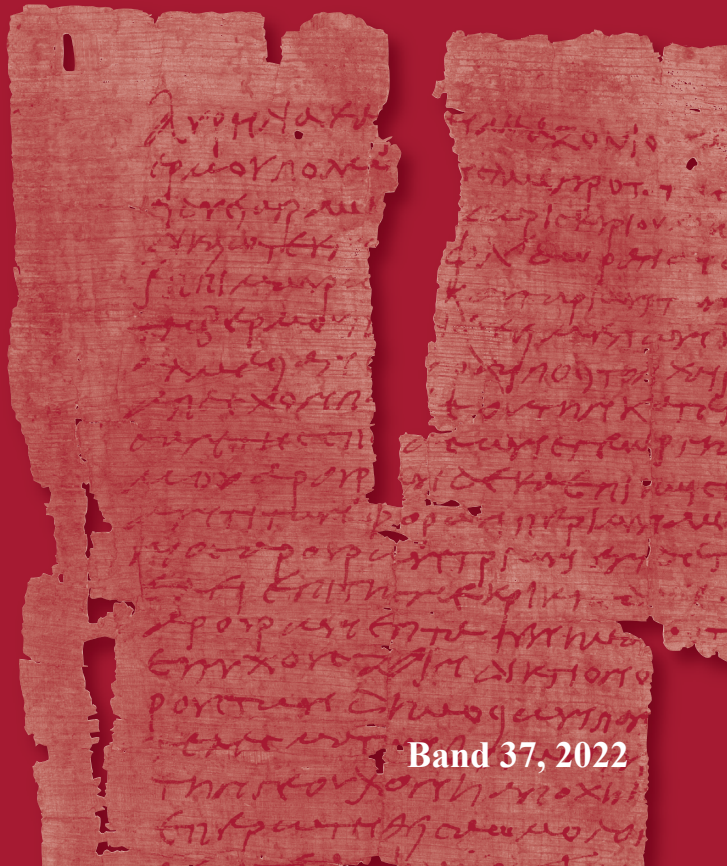


# TYCHE

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik



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S U S A N F O G A R T Y

Loan of Money from a *signifer*\*

Plate 13

This British Library papyrus is part of a lot numbered 2243–2304, bought from Maurice Nahman through E. A. Wallis Budge in July 1921. It was a joint purchase with the University of Michigan, Princeton University, Cornell University, and the University of Geneva.<sup>1</sup>

The document is in the form of a *cheirographon* and records a loan issued by a σημειοφόρος, the military rank of standard-bearer, in Latin *signifer*. This appears to be the latest secure reference to a σημειοφόρος (3n.). The loan is to a non-military person, from a village in the Antinoite nome, who agrees to repay the loan amount of 5 talents and 3,000 drachmas over a period of months within the same year. A *signifer* is named as the provider of a loan in two documents: P.Mich. XXI 847 (Karais; 96/97), a receipt acknowledging the repayment of an amount on an initial loan (type not stated) of 3,400 drachmas, and SB XVI 13030 (Alabastrine; 205) a δάνειον-type loan agreement for 116 silver drachmas, to be repaid over 4 months. The δάνειον was the usual business loan with interest between two unrelated parties (see B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten* [1.–2. Jh. n. Chr.], St. Katherinen 1993, 9–27); the loan in our document is in the form of a χρήσις, a loan where the parties may not be totally unknown to each other and where interest may or may not be charged (cf. Tenger, 27–47). There appears to have been no interest charged by the *signifer*, and this might put a more personal spin on the document.

The papyrus was first mentioned by Wilcken in 1934 when he posited that Hadrian had initially founded a νομαρχία when the city of Antinoopolis was established in 130 CE. Bell had written to Wilcken with information on two unpublished papyri, one from the second century which refers to the νομαρχία, and our papyrus from 302, which attests the νομός. From this Wilcken surmised that the creation of the Antinoite nome was likely part of the reforms of Diocletian, “Mir scheint die Vermutung nahe zu liegen, daß Diokletian die Umwandlung vollzogen hat, als er im Jahre 296 die große Neuorganisation Ägyptens durchführte.”<sup>2</sup>

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\* My thanks to Prof. Nikolaos Gonis for his assistance with this edition, and to the referees for their very helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> Information from the British Library; cf. [https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus\\_2248](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_2248).

<sup>2</sup> P. Würzb. p. 55, in relation to P. Würzb. 8.2 (Antinoopolis; 158–159).

The papyrus was mentioned again in Bell's 1940 article on Antinoopolis as the earliest record of an Antinoite nome established sometime in the late third or early fourth century.<sup>3</sup> However, the earliest secure mention of the nome can now be found in P.Panop.Beatty 2. 9, 35, and 255 (Panopolis; 300) as part of the list of nomes making up the newly organised Lower Thebaid, which reorganisation Skeat suggests could have taken place "as early as Feb. 295".<sup>4</sup>

BL Papyrus 2288  
Antinoite nome

11.6 cm (w) × 13 cm (h)

28 Sept.–27 Oct. 302  
Plate 13

The papyrus is broken at the left and below, with approximately 10–12 letters missing on the left hand side. The writing runs along the fibres. The sheet has been folded vertically five times. The scribe uses extended strokes or line-end fillers to the right-hand edge of the sheet. There is a clear space allowed between the opening address (ll. 1–5) and the beginning of the main text (l. 6). The papyrus is mounted and framed and so the back is not accessible.

[ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ  
[Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ δ/  
[ 10–12 ] .ενη σιμιοφόρῳ ἀναφερομένῳ ἐν  
[τῇ 7–9 παρ]εμβολῇ, Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμαῖος Δίου ἀπὸ κώ-  
5 [μης 9–11 ] τοῦ Ἀντινοίτου νομοῦ χαίρειν.  
[ὁμολογῶ ἐσ]χηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσει ἀτοκεὶ ἀπλῶ  
[ 5–8 ἀργ]υρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος τάλαντα  
[πέντε καὶ δρα]χμὰς τρισχειλίας, (τάλαντα) ε (δραχμὰς) Ἰ, ἐπὶ μῆνας  
[ c.7 εἰς ἀ]πόδοσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαῶφι  
10 [ἔως c.6 το]ῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, οἷς οὐδὲν τῷ κα-  
[θόλου προσεγ]ράφη. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποδώσω ἴσω τῆς  
[ἐγγεγραμμ]ῆνης προθεσμίας τοῦ ὑπερπίπτο-  
[τος χρόνου] τόκους δραχμειαί(ου)ς ἐξακολουθήσει ἐκάσ-  
[τη μνᾶ c.3 κ]ατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γεινομένη(ς) σου  
15 [ .[ ] .[ ] . . . [

3 l. σιμιοφόρῳ 6 l. χρήσει ἀτοκεὶ 8 l. τρισχειλίας 10 l. αἷς 11 l. εἴσω 13 l. δραχμιαίους; l. ἐξακολουθήσω  
14 l. γεινομένης

"In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, the most noble Caesars, for the 4<sup>th</sup> time.

<sup>3</sup> H. I. Bell, *Antinoopolis: a Hadrianic foundation in Egypt*, JRS 30 (1940) 144.

<sup>4</sup> P.Panop.Beatty, p. xvii–xix.

To ..., standard-bearer, serving in the military camp of ..., (from) Aurelius Hermias son of Dios from the village of ... in the Antinoite nome, greetings.

I agree that I have received from you a cash loan without interest, simple ... five talents and three thousand drachmas in imperial silver currency of the Augusti, 5 talents 3,000 drachmas, over ... months, the repayment from the current month of Phaophi until ... of the present year, to which therefore nothing at all has been added in writing. If I do not repay within the aforementioned due date, interest will accrue for the excess time at a fixed rate of 1 drachma per mina for each month. You have (the right of execution) ... “

3 σιμαφόρφ. More often σημειοφόρος / σημεαφόρος, cf. N. E. Priest, *A Loan of Money with Some Notes on the Ala Mauretana*, ZPE 51 (1983) 69 (3 n.), on a text which has σιμαφόρος (SB XVI 13030.3, Alabastrine, 205); also found is σημηαφόρος. On the exchange η > ι see F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, Vol. 1 Phonology*, Milan, 1976, 236. The earliest reference in the papyri appears to be BGU VI 1258a.15 σημειοφόρ[ω]ι (Hermop.; 154/153 or 144/143 BCE) with most instances appearing in documents from 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. Securely dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> cent. are the references in P.Panop.Beatty 2. vii.184 and xi.289, σιμαφόρος, (Panopolis; 300). On the *signifer* in the late Roman army see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, Berlin 1920, 124–125. For a concise discussion and bibliography on this post, see F. Mitthof, K. Stauner, *Zwei Kassen in der römischen Armee und die Rolle der signiferi. Ein neues Papyruszeugnis: P.Hamb. inv. 445*, Tyche 31 (2016) 205–225, at 217–218; and more recently M. Colombo, *Auxilia e legiones. La fanteria romana nel IV secolo*, Roma 2022, *passim*.

ἀναφερομένω ἐν. The name of the camp should have followed in l. 4., e.g. P.Sakaon 62 (Thead.; 328): στρα[τι]ώτη[ς] ἀναφ[ε]ρ[ό]μι[ξ]ενος [ἐ]ν κάστροις Ναρ[μούθε]ω[ς]; P.Abinn. 60 (Ars.; 364): στρατι[ώ]της ἀναφερόμε[νος] ἐν κάστροις Διον[υ]σιάδο[ς]. On the construction with ἐν see P.Paramone 15.5–6 n., and cf. P.Oxy. XLIII 3143.7 n. See also LSJ Suppl. ἀναφέρω “to be seconded, detached of troops”.

4 παρεμβολῆ. See P.Abinn. 33.8 τῷ κορνικουλαρίῳ τῆς παρεμβολῆς and so here similarly part of the description of the soldier, perhaps colloquial “the *signifer* of the camp at ...”. There is no known camp at Antinoe, but K. A. Worp, *The Notitia Dignitatum and the Geography of Egypt*, in *Pap. Congr. XX* (1992) 466, notes that because it was the capital of the Thebaid “it seems likely enough that at some time in the 4<sup>th</sup> century there was a military garrison at Antinoopolis”. SB XVI 13030 indicates that in 205 the *ala prima Thracum Mauretana* was stationed at Alabastrine, in the environs of Antinoe, before moving on to work at the quarries in Philae; see N. Priest, *A Loan of Money with some Notes on the Ala Mauretana*, ZPE 51 (1983) 66. The *Notitia Dignitatum* refers to a garrison at Prektis, the *ala prima Valeria dromedariorum* (*Not.Dig. Or. XXXI* 37.57), and Prektis is mentioned as being in the same area as Antinoe on the east bank of the Nile (M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* [ASP 21], Missoula 1979, 221–223); cf. Worp, 465.

5 Ἀντινοίτου νομοῦ. An early mention of the Antinoite nome, see introduction above.

6 ἀτοκεὶ ἀπλῶ. For loans bearing interest the phrase is usually τοὺς τόκους ἀπλοῦς and so here possibly “no simple interest” is meant. This phrase is not found elsewhere.

8 (τάλαντα) ε (δραχμὰς) Γ. A similar loan amount appears in P.Select. 7 (Oxy.; 314), 6 talents, 3,000 drachmas.

9 εἰς ἀ]πόδοσιν. The formulation is not standard. Usually εἰς ἀπόδοσιν is followed by the month, e.g. M.Chr. 211.17 (Herm.; 233), or the name of the payee, either directly, e.g. P.Diog. 26.12 (Ars.; 158), or through another, e.g. P.Stras. VI 557.27–28 (Herm.; 291).

9 Any number of months up to ten months after Φαῶφι is possible here, except perhaps one, two and six months (too few letters);

10 Any month name is possible, except Φαμενώθ and Φαρμουῖθι (too many letters).

10–11 οἷς οὐδὲν τῷ κα[θόλου προσεγ]ράφη. Cf. PSI VI 701.21 (Aphroditopolis; 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.). More common is προσῆκται.

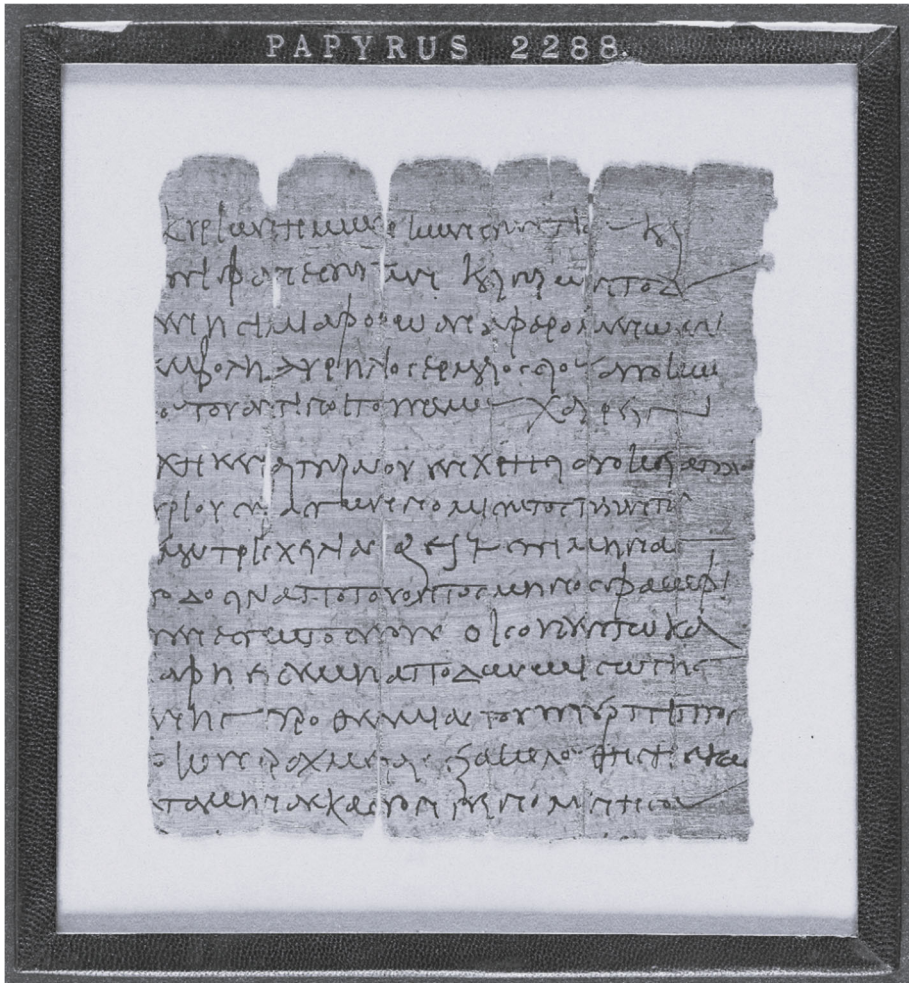
11–14 Cf. P.Neph. 32.12–14 (Heracl.; 344) εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποδώσω τῇ προδεηλουμένη προθε|σμία ἐκτίσῃ σοι τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ τόκον τοῦ | ὑπε[ρπ]ίπτον[το]ς χρ[ό]νου.

13 τόκους δραχμειαί(ου)ς. τόκον is also a possible reading, but this would leave the sigma of δραχμείαις unaccounted for. The standard rate of interest of one drachma per mina was applied for every month the capital remained unpaid after the end of the stated loan period, see J. C. Shelton, *Two Contracts of Loan from The Michigan Papyrus Collection*, JJP 18 (1974) 159 (14 n.).

ἐξακολουθήση. The verb is in the wrong person for the subjective nature of the text. It is more usually found in the third person, e.g. SB XIV 11386.13–16 (Ars.; 288) ἐὰν δὲ τῇ ὀρισθίση προ|θεσμία τῆ[ν ἀ]πόδοσιν μὴ ποιήσῃται ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἐξακο[λου]|θήσει (l. -ει) αὐτ[ῷ] ὁ κατ[ὰ] μῆνα ἕκαστον τῆ μνᾶ κατὰ νόμους τ[ῷ]κος. See also the subjective construction found in P.NYU II 23.10–12 (Karanis, 326) ἐὰν δὲ τῇ προθεσμία | μὴ ἀποδῶ, ἐξακολουθήσιν (l. -ειν) μοι τοῦ πλεῖονος χρόνου | τὸν τόκον.

13–14 ἐκάσ[τη] μνᾶ c. 3 κ]ατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον. The supplement seems too short for the lacuna but no other resolution presents itself.

14 γεινομένη(ς) σου would have been followed by τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης.



P.Lond.papyrus 2288 f001r © British Library Board (papyrus 2288 recto).

zu S. Fogarty, S. 94