

## ***A hypographê with an Oath in an Official Document***

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**Abstract:** This paper is an editing to the unpublished document P. Lund. inv. 178; it is dated to the 41st year of Caesar (Augustus)'s reign. The papyrus has two sides; the recto bears a signature or subscription with an affidavit and oath. The verso consists of two columns; the second column in it has an oath formula.

**Keywords:** Subscription, Oath, Caesar (Augustus), Official documents

توقيع على وثيقة رسمية مع صيغة حلف يمين

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**المخلص:** هذه الورقة البحثية عبارة عن نشر لوثيقة غير منشورة من مجموعة جامعة لوند تحت رقم مسجل ١٧٨ P. Lund. inv.178 يرجع تاريخها إلى السنة الحادية والأربعين من حكم قيصر (أغسطس). النص الموجود على الوجه الأمامي عبارة عن توقيع أو تذييل مع إقرار بحلف اليمين. أما الوجه الخلفي فيتكون من عمودين؛ العمود الثاني يحتوي على صيغة يمين أخرى.

**الكلمات الدالة:** التوقيع، العهد أو حلف اليمين، قيصر (أغسطس)، الوثائق الرسمية.

## A hypographê with an Oath in an Official Document

P. Lund. inv. 178

6.9 x 7.1 cm.

Provenance: unknown

TM 142575

11/ 12 CE.

Descr.: A dark brown fragment that has some lacunae: The recto (fig. I) contains 8 lines, with only the left and lower margins preserved, and its text is written in two literary handwriting styles along the fibers. The verso (fig. II) consists of two columns; column I has traces of two lines, and column II consists of five lines, where the fifth line has only traces; all the margins are missed except the upper one. Writing on the verso is upside-down against the fibers. The two handwritings on the recto and verso are different.

This fragment is kept at the Lund University Library Collection (inv.178).<sup>1</sup> The recto is dated to 11/ 12 CE according to the mentioned date in the text: the 41st year of the reign of Augustus Caesar (30 BCE- 14 CE.) (cf. l.8 r.). The verso is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE according to the paleographical parallels, cf. P.Berl. Möller 11 (33 CE).<sup>2</sup>

The recto bears a subscription, encountered in texts such as Notice of Removal, cf. P.Oxy. II. 251, 28-31 (44 CE), Examination for Membership of the Gymnasium, cf. P. Oxy. X 1266, 40-42 (98 CE); and Census Return, cf. P. Oxy.Hels.10, 24-29 (34 CE). These declarations have the declarant's signature and the date. See Roger. S. Bagnall & Bruce. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 25-26. The same formula also appears in the second century; cf. Census declaration, SB XX 15466, 40-43 (Oxyrhynchus, 147 CE); Notification of Death, P. Oxy. IX 1198, 32-33 (150 CE).

The verso has two columns; the second one bears an oath formula. This type of oath is encountered in the endings of documents of financial transactions, such as divorce disputes and inheritance distribution.

The current document probably came from the Arsinoite nome, where the majority of the local record-offices in Roman Egypt are dated to the first and second centuries CE. Furthermore, there are attestations of *grapheia* in other nomes, including the Oxyrhynchite, the Hermopolite, and the Lycopolite nomes, and in the Dakleh Oasis. See Micaela Langellotti, "Record- Offices in villages in Roman Egypt", in: *Village Institutions in Egypt in the Roman to Early Arab Periods, Proceedings of the British Academy*, 231, eds. M. Langellotti and D.W. Rathbone, (Oxford University Press, 2020), 94- 108.

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<sup>1</sup> I am deeply grateful to Ms. Eva Nylander, Head of Collections at Lund University Library, for granting permission to edit this piece. I also extend my sincere appreciation to Prof. Alia Hanafi and Prof. Noha Salem for their insightful critiques on the earlier version of this manuscript. Furthermore, I am indebted to Prof. Cornelia Römer for her invaluable feedback, which has significantly enhanced the scholarly quality of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> For editions of papyri and inscriptions as well as common papyrological sources we have followed the abbreviations given in the —Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets, accessed January 12, 2025, <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>



1 [ἔτους ἐνὸς τεσ-]

2 σαρα[κοστοῦ]

3 Καίσαρος [month/ day]

These *grapheion* registration dockets are always encountered before the subscription during Augustus' reign. See W.G.Clayton, "Rogue Notaries? Two Unusual Double Documents from the Late Ptolemaic Fayum", *JJP* 44 (2014): 95 n.6, 93–115. Generally, one of these Augustan oaths is expected to be before this dating formula: Καίσαρα Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱόν "By Caesar Emperor son of God", cf. P. Tebt. 382r (30 BCE–1 CE); Καίσαρα Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱὸν Δία Ἐλευθέριον Σεβαστόν "Caesar Emperor son of God Zeus Eleutherios Augustus", cf. P. Rein. 99 (30 BCE – 14 CE); θεὸν Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱόν "By the god Emperor Caesar son of God", cf. BGU 2590 = SB 12312 (25 CE). See Nathaniel S. Katz, "Not Just by Jove: The Emperor in Roman Oaths", *Historia* 70 (2021): 494–523.

Furthermore, in 12 CE= the year 41 of Caesar Augustus, we encounter the following oath formula "I swear by Caesar Emperor Eleutherios, son of the god, Zeus Augustus", ὁμνύω Καίσαρα [Α]ὔ[τ]οκράτ[ο]ρα Ἐλευθέριον θεοῦ<υἱὸν>Δία Σεβαστόν. cf. SB XX14440, 12-15 (Census return, Theadelphia), which is probably the most suitable oath formula for this text.

4 Ἀρτέμων Ἑρμών[ος this person is not attested before, even though names like Ἀρτέμων (TM Name 2346), and Ἑρμών (TM Name 3003), that have been mentioned in documents, come from the Delta and the rest from Herakleopolites, Hermopolites, the Apollonoties, the Memphites, the Arsonites, Alexandria, Thebes, Elephantine, and the Oxyrhynchites.

4-6. ἐπιδέδωκα ἐ-]κείνην γραφὴν κα[ὶ ὁμώ(μοκα) τὸν προγε-]γραμμένον ὄρκον.

This sworn formula is encountered usually using ὑπόμνημα as well as γραφή; however, sometimes with none of both as a characteristic formula in counting people documents from Oxyrhynchite: ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὁμώμοκα τὸν προγεγραμμένον ὄρκον, cf. P.Oxy. Hels.10, 26-27 (census return–34 CE), P.Oxy.LXXIV 4982 (census return- 62 CE), note.13-15, P.Oxy. II 251, 29-37 (notice of removal- 44 CE).

Afterward, this formula is encountered in a reverse order, cf. SB XXII 15466, 41-43 (Oxyrhynchites- census return-147 CE): Δικαιογέ[νης ὁ] προγραμμένο(ς) ὁμώμο[κα τὸν ὄ]ρκον καὶ ἐπι-]δέδωκα τὴν ἀπογρα(φήν); see R. S. Bagnall, "Census Declarations from the British Library.", *Cd'E* 69 (1994): No. 137, 109-126

ῶμοσα could be possibility to fill the space of the missing letters in l.5, cf. P.Oxy. LXXXIV 544, 22-24 (Supplementary Declaration of Sheep, 58 CE).

We encounter two oath formulas in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE: συνομώμοκα τὸν προγεγραμμένον ὄρκον, cf. P. Lips. II 132, 19 (Hermopolites- 25 CE) and ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ὑπ[ό]μνημα καὶ ὁμώμοκα τὸν προγεγραμμένον ὄρκον, cf. P. Oxy. II 251, 28-31 (Notice of Removal, 44 CE), which is a very close parallel to the text; see also Zola M. Packman, "Notes on Papyrus Texts with the Roman Imperial Oath", *ZPE* 89 (1991): 99.

6-8. (N.N.) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ότος] γράμματα.

Examples of illiteracy formulas are encountered in documents as receipts, sales' contracts, leases, and contracts for loans, division of a property, or slaves. The illiterate people could be officers, officials, bankers, military settlers, clerks, or tax collectors, see William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 141-143; Herbert.C. Youtie, "Because They Do Not Know Letters", *ZPE* 19 (1975): 101-108). In such documents, the scribe could be one of these professional scribes, business associates, colleagues, or one of the close relatives who writes on behalf of an illiterate client or a slowly writer βραδέως γράφων, cf. PSI VII 802, 7-8 (Hermoupolis Magna 85/6 CE); P.Tebt II.316\_4, 110-101 (Tebtunis, 99 CE); H.C.Youtie, "ὑπογραφεύς: the Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *ZPE* 17 (1975): 220 (201-221).

According to DDbDP, during the 1st century CE, ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ότος] γράμματα is attested only 20 times in the following order: in official documents, in particular purchases, sales, and loan contracts, wills, divisions of land and houses, etc.

Calderini cited many formulas of instances of writing for others in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, such as ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα, ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεῖς, ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου and ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεῖς μὴ εἰδ[ότος] γράμματα, See Rita. Calderini, "Gli ἀγράμματοι nell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus*, Anno 30, No. 1 (GENNAIO-GIUGNO 1950):17-18.

8 K[α]ίσαρος refers to Augustus, cf. Paul Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Egypte (30 a.C.—284 p.C.)*, Bruxelles Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1964 (Pap. Brux. II), 21-23. For Oath Formulas in papyri from the reign of Augustus, see JHM De Jong, "Emperor Meets Gods: Divine Discourse in Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt", *COLLeGIUM: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences*; 20: Emperors and the Divine – Rome and its Influence, ed. Maijastina Kahlos, (Helsinki 2016), 49-50.

**Verso:** Col. II, l. 1. 2-4.

εἰς τὰ προκείμ[ενα] τεινόντων] μὴδὲ περὶ ἄλλ[ου] μηδενός] |ἀπλῶς μέχ[ρι] τῆς ἐνεστώσης] | ἡμέρας

μήτε περὶ τῶν could precede εἰς τὰ προκείμενα, so that the lines could be restored as follows: μήτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ προκείμενα τεινόντων μὴδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδενός ἀπλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας“, cf. P.Oxy. XXII 2349, 12-14 (Receipt for Settlement of Rent through a Representative - 70 CE), P. Oxy.VI 906, 5 (Deed of divorce, 101 - 225 CE).

The purpose of the oath was to end any financial disputes, cf. P. Mich. III 194, 22-24 (Receipt for Payment of Money, Oxyrhynchus, 61 CE); P. Mich. V 351, 13-14 (Release of Inheritance, 44 CE): μήτε | περὶ τούτων μὴδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδενός ἀπλῶς πράγματος ἢ ὀφειλή-ματος ἐγγράπτου καὶ ἀγράφου, μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας.

- μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας comes in formal registers with a verb in the perfect tense. See Eleanor Dickey, "The Greek and Latin languages in the Papyri", *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. R. Bagnall, (2009): 167.μέχρι refers to time, especially with negated verbs. See William W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, (Boston, published

by Ginn & Company, 1900), 345; James Morwood, *The Oxford Grammar of the Classical Greek*, (Oxford University Press, 2001), 198.



Fig. I. P. Lund. inv. 178 r  
(Photo courtesy of at the Lund University Library Collection)





Fig. II. P. Lund. inv. 178 v.  
(Photo courtesy of at the Lund University Library Collection)

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