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REGNAL FORMULAS IN DOCUMENT DATE AND IN THE IMPERIAL OATH

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### I. Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to describe the relationship between the regnal formulas of the Roman emperors as they appear in document dates and in the imperial oath, in papyrus documents where both formulas are preserved.<sup>1</sup> To begin with, I offer a brief chronological survey of the competing tendencies towards, on the one hand, identical formulation of the regnal formulas in document date and oath, and, on the other, a relative abbreviation of one or the other. There follows a discussion of the use of the title *kyrios* to mark the relatively abbreviated regnal formula, with some implications for the introduction of the title *despotes* and its subsequent use. Finally, there appears a catalogue of comparative dating and oath formulas, reign by imperial reign.

### II. Regnal Formulas in Oaths and Document Dates

In documents where regnal formulas are preserved in both date and imperial oath, one of the two often appears in an abbreviated form; in certain periods, however, the two formulas are normally identical. Seven periods may be distinguished:

1) Augustus and Tiberius. The regnal formula is briefer in the document date than in the imperial oath.

2) Claudius to Hadrian. Most texts register identical regnal formulas in document date and in the imperial oath.

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<sup>1</sup> No distinction is made in P. Bureth's compendium (*Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte, 30 a.C.-284 p.C.*, Brussels 1964) between regnal formulae in document dates, subsidiary dates, or in the imperial oath (but for the use of the title *kyrios* to mark abbreviated formulas, see his introductory remarks, pp. 6-7). For the Byzantine period, regnal formulas have been separately catalogued for dates (R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt*, Missoula 1979) and for the imperial oath (K.A. Worp, "Byzantine Imperial Titulature in the Greek Documentary Papyri: The Oath Formulas," *ZPE* 45, 1982, 199-223). The examples offered below are drawn from my own file of documents including the imperial oath.

3) Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. These reigns are transitional, with a) some documents registering identical regnal formulas in date and oath, as in the reigns immediately preceding, b) others with a briefer formula in the date than in the oath, as much earlier under Augustus and Tiberius, and c) still others with, now for the first time, a briefer formula in the imperial oath than in the document date.

4) Commodus to Probus. The regnal formula is regularly briefer in the imperial oath than in the document date.

5) Diocletian. Most texts register identical regnal formulas in document date and in the imperial oath, as much earlier during the period from Claudius to Hadrian.

6) Constantine to Justin I. No documents preserve regnal formulas in both document date and imperial oath.

7) Justinian to Heraclius. Most texts register identical regnal formulas in document date and (allowing for occasional inclusion of the empress) imperial oath -- except for initial epithets.

### III. The Use of Kyrios in Abbreviated Regnal Formulas

From as early as the reign of Nero, secondary dating formulas -- those marking events or documents referred to within the document -- give abbreviated regnal formulas by comparison with those used to date the document itself, marking the abbreviated form with the title *kyrios*, which never appears in the full regnal formula.<sup>2</sup> At this period and for the better part of a century thereafter, regnal formulas are identically formulated in imperial oath and document date. When, however, with the reign of Antoninus Pius, one such formula is abbreviated by comparison with the other, the shorter formula is regularly marked by the use of the title *kyrios*. Thus the title *kyrios* regularly appears in the somewhat shorter regnal formula that marks the imperial oath in the period from Commodus to Probus, and when secondary dating formulas appear in the same documents which preserve both document date and imperial oath, the secondary dating formulas are normally identical to those of the

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<sup>2</sup> In BGU 1250, for example, the regnal formula of Hadrian appears to have been identical in document date and imperial oath: *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*. A date referred to within the text appears with the formula *Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*, and a third dating reference is still more briefly formulated: *Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου*.

imperial oath, and therefore also marked by the use of *kyrios*.<sup>3</sup> In the reign of Diocletian, regnal formulas normally use the title *kyrios* in both date and oath, even though neither is abbreviated by comparison with the other. In the rather fewer documents where the imperial oath is more briefly formulated than the document date, the regnal formula in the date retains the title *kyrios*, while the briefer formula in the oath is marked by the title *despotes*.<sup>4</sup> From the two centuries after the reign of Diocletian, few documents preserve regnal formulas both in document date and in imperial oath. The titles *kyrios* and *despotes* appear indifferently, where the oath preserves a regnal formula, until about 326; thereafter, the title *despotes* is exclusively used with regnal formulas in the imperial oath. When, in the reign of Justinian, the regnal formula again appears on documents recording the imperial oath as well, the title *despotes* is used in both formulas.

It will appear from the summary above that the title *kyrios*, in the overwhelming majority of occurrences, signals the omission of, or even in some sense replaces, elements eliminated from a fuller regnal formula recorded in the same text. The title *Ἀυτοκράτωρ* is almost always eliminated from formulations marked by *kyrios*, the period from Antoninus Pius to Septimius Severus offering a number of exceptions. *Καίσαρ* is sometimes, but not always, eliminated in the formulation with *kyrios*: The practice is variable until the reign of Diocletian, with some difference from one reign to another. The title *Σεβαστός* is regularly omitted from formulations with *kyrios* up through the reign of Hadrian. Combinations of *Σεβαστός*, *Εὐσεβής* and *Εὐτυχής* are often dropped where *kyrios* is used, in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and the later emperors. From the reign of Philip, *Σεβαστός* is normally found along with the title *kyrios* in abbreviated formulae. Ethnic honorifics (*Germanicus et sim.*) are invariably eliminated in regnal formulations marked by *kyrios*, from their first appearance in the reign of Nero.

As well as titles, names may be eliminated where the title *kyrios* marks an abbreviated formula. From Nero to Hadrian, the *nomen gentilicium* inherited from the predecessor is suppressed in the shorter formula. Thereafter, *praenomina* or *nomina gentilicia* may be suppressed, though in some cases, and particularly under certain emperors (Caracalla, for example, or Severus Alexander), all names given in a longer formulation appear also in the abbreviated form.

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<sup>3</sup> In P.Harr. I 71, for example, the regnal formula of Commodus appears in the document date as *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρεταννικοῦ*. An abbreviated formula appears both in the imperial oath and in a date referred to within the text: *Ἀυρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*.

<sup>4</sup> So in P.Cair.Isid. 3, 4, and 5; P.Sakaon 2, and 3. In P.Corn. 20 i-xi, regnal formulas in oath and date are identical except that *despotes* appears at the beginning of the former, *kyrios* at the beginning of the latter.

#### IV. Introduction of the Title Despotes

In terms of what is eliminated in abbreviation, the relationship in the reign of Diocletian between the shorter formula marked by despotes and the longer form marked by *kyrios* is comparable with that in earlier reigns between the shorter formula marked by *kyrios* and the longer form without that title. Names and titles appearing in the longer formula are suppressed in the shorter, but with the difference that all the names of the regents are suppressed in the short formula under Diocletian, where in earlier reigns at least one name was retained even there; the titles *Καίσαρ* and *Σεβαστός* are, as often earlier, eliminated in the shorter formulation.

It might be inferred that the title *kyrios* has, after two hundred and more years of use in the shorter regnal formula, been incorporated as a regular part of the longer, so that some other title must be introduced to mark the shorter form. Alternatively, it may be that the regnal formula with *kyrios* used in both document date and dating formula under Diocletian is thought of as a shorter form -- not by comparison with that used in a longer formulation on the same document, but by comparison with some longer formulation available for other purposes. Bagnall and Worp (*Regnal Formulas*, p. 9) give one example of a full nine-line formulation. The *kyrios* formulation under Diocletian shares with earlier short forms marked by *kyrios* the reduction of the personal names of the regent or regents. *Καίσαρ* and *Σεβαστός* appear in the *kyrios* formulation, having been there suppressed in earlier reigns, but with of course the new sense assigned those terms in the tetrarchy. *Αὐτοκράτωρ* is absent in the *kyrios* formulas under the tetrarchs, and ethnic honorifics as well, as normally in preceding reigns.

If the *kyrios* formulation under Diocletian is a "short" form, the further reduction marked by despotes might be regarded as an "even shorter" form. This is not without precedent in earlier reigns. Where a regnal year is cited within a document bearing a date in the same reign, the secondary dating formula is normally reduced by comparison with the first.<sup>5</sup> Where the regnal formula is identical in oath and document date, normally of course without the title *kyrios*, the secondary date reference is regularly in a shorter form marked by *kyrios*.<sup>6</sup> If the regnal formula in either the document date or the imperial oath is itself a short form, the secondary dating formula is normally identical with that other short form.<sup>7</sup> But where a date in the same reign must be cited twice within a document itself dated with a longer formulation, the, as it were, tertiary dating formula is sometimes further reduced.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See above, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> So, e.g., PSI 10 1109, from the reign of Domitian; C.Pap.Gr. II 1 30, Hadrian; C.Pap.Gr. II 1 38, Antoninus Pius.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> See above, note 2.



Reign of Tiberius: As in the reign of Augustus: so P.Mich V 233:

oath formulation: Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν Νέον Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ  
Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν  
date formulation: Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ

Similar, allowing for some variation in the fuller formula, are P.IFAO I 7; P.Oxy. II 240, 253, and 259; P.Oxy.Hels. 10; P.Vind.Sal. 3.

Reign of Claudius: Regnal formulas identically presented in oath and document date, as in P.Oxy. II 251:

oath formulation: Τιβέριον [Κλαύδι]ον Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν [Γερμανι]κόν  
Αὐτοκράτορα  
date formulation: Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ [Γερ]μ[ανικ]οῦ  
Αὐτοκράτορος

Similar are the other examples from the reign of Claudius: so C.Pap.Gr. II 1 5 and 7; P.Fouad 18; P.Mich. II 122; P.Oxy. II 255; P.Oxy. X 1258; PSI VIII 901; SB IV 7463.

Reign of Nero: As in the reign of Claudius: so P.Oxy. II 260:

oath formulation: Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστ[ὸν Γε]ρμανικόν  
Αὐτοκράτορα  
date formulation: Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
Αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς

Similar are other examples from this reign: C.Pap.Gr. II 1 9; P.Amh. II 68 i; P.Flor. I 79; P.Gen. II 94; P.Lond. II 181; P.Oxy. II 239; XXXVIII 2851.

Reign of Vespasian: As in the reigns of Claudius and Nero: so P.Oxy. II 263:

oath formulation: Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐεσπασια[νὸν] Σεβαστόν  
date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

Similar are C.Pap.Gr. II 1 12 and 15; and P.Coll.Youtie I 21, where the name Τίτου is added to both oath and date formulation.

Reign of Trajan: As in the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian: so P.Oxy. X 1266:

oath formulation: Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Νέρουαν Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸν  
Γερμανικὸν  
date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
Γερμανικοῦ

Also identically formatted, allowing for the addition of further honorifics in both date and oath, are C.Pap.Gr. II 1 20 and 22; P.Bad. II 21; P.Brem. 31; P.Fam.Teb. 15 v; P.Lond. III 903; P.Oxy. I 74; III 482 and 483; VII 1029; XLVI 3275; and XLVII 3335; P.Ryl. II 82; P.Teb. II 298 and 316 iii; P.Wisc. I 17.

The oath formulation is shortened by comparison with that of the date in only three documents from the reign of Trajan, and only by the omission of one name or title: So BGU XIII 2246 (as restored); P.Oxy. XLI 2958; P.Tebt. III 316 ii.

Reign of Hadrian: As in the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Trajan: so P.Alex.Giss. 17:

oath formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

Also identical are oath and date formulations in most documents of this reign with both preserved: BGU XI 2085; C.Pap.Gr. II 1 30 and 32; P.Alex.Giss. 14, 16, 18, 22, and 25; P.Bon. 17; PFouad 22 i and ii; P.Fuad I Univ. 36; P.Hamb. I 7; P.Mil. II 36; P.Oslo III 98; P.Oxy. III 478 and 480; IV 714 and 715; IX 1195; XXVII 2472; XLVII 3336; XLIX 3470 and 3471; PSI I 40 and 53; VII 766; XII 1236; SB IV 7440; XIV 11970 and 12168. In P.Oxy. I 75, the date formulation is the shorter by the omission of one name; in P.Alex.Giss. 15, the dating formula seems to have been reduced to Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.

Reign of Antoninus Pius: Most texts with both preserved show identical regnal formulations in imperial oath and document date, as in preceding reigns: so C.Pap.Gr. II 1 39:

oath formulation: Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον  
Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ  
date formulation: Αὐτοκράτο(ρος) Καίσαρος Τίτου Αιλίου Ἀδριανοῦ  
Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς

Also identical in oath and date formulas are BGU XV 2475; C.Pap.Gr. II 1 38, 39, and 44; P.Bad. IV 75 b; P.Bru. I 20; P.Corn. 17; P.Fam.Tebt. 33; P.Lips. 121; P.Oxy. XLII 3034; P.Oxy.Hels. 20 i and ii; PSI I 109; P.Wisc. I 16; SB VI 9317 b; VIII 9869; XVI 12685 iv; 12742.

In a few texts, the regnal formula is briefer in the date than in the oath, and marked with *kyrios*, as in C.Pap.Gr. II 1 37:

oath formulation: Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἄδριανοῦ  
Ἄντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς  
date formulation: Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

Similar are P.Fay. 24 (only omitting the names Titus Aelius from the oath formulation) and SB V 7523.

In two texts, the regnal formulations is briefer in the oath than in the date, and marked with *kyrios*, as in P.Ryl. II 88:

oath formulation: Ἄντωνίνου [Καίσαρος το]ῦ κυρίου  
date formulation: Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τ[ί]του Αἰλίου Ἄδριανοῦ  
Ἄντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς

Similar is C.Pap.Gr. II 1 41.

In P.Lond. III 915 and P.Rain. Cent. 59, the oath is marked by the use of *kyrios*, but otherwise identical with -- and so in the end longer than -- the date.

Reign of Marcus Aurelius: In most texts preserving both, the regnal formula is briefer in the oath than in the date, and marked by *kyrios*, as in BGU III 833.

oath formulation: τοῦ κυρίου [Αὐ]ρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
date formulation: Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου  
Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
Μεγίστου

Similar, in the relationship of regnal formulas in date and oath are BGU III 833; C.Pap.Gr., II 1 51 (with Verus); P.Amh. II 71 (with Commodus); P.Koeln V 229 (with Commodus) and P.Lond III 919. In Stud.Pal. XX 11, the oath formulation is abbreviated, with *kyrios* appearing twice -- both front and back.

In only one relatively early document from this reign -- P.Meyer 4 -- is the date formulation marked by the use of *kyrios*, and shorter than that of the oath:

oath formulation: [Α]ὐτοκράτ[ο]ρο[ς] Καίσα[ρος] Μάρκου [Αὐρηλ]ί[ο]υ  
 Ἄντωνίνου Σε[β]αστοῦ [Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου  
 Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Οὐήρου [Σεβ]αστοῦ  
 date formulation: Ἄντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν

A few texts from the reign of Marcus Aurelius show identical formulations in oath and document date, as in C.Pap.Gr. II 1 54:

oath formulation: Αὐτοκράτορα Κάισαρα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἄντωνῖνον  
 Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν Μηδικὸν Παρθικὸν Γερμανικὸν  
 Μέγιστον  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμηνιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 Μεγίστου

Similar are P.Amh. II 75 (with Verus) and P.Oxy. LV 3782.

Reign of Avidius Cassius: One document only -- SB VI 9550 -- preserving both oath and date, identically formulated without *kyrios*.

oath formulation: [Αὐτο]κράτορα Κάισαρα Γάιο[ν Ἀουίδ]ιον Κάσσ[ι]ον  
 Σεβαστ[ὸν]  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Γαίου] Ἀουιδίου Κασσίου  
 Σεβαστοῦ

Reign of Commodus: Most documents with both preserved show the oath formula shortened by comparison with the date formula, and marked by the use of *kyrios*, as in BGU II 649:

oath formulation: Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
 κυρίου  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου  
 Ἄντωνίνου [Εὐσε]βοῦς Εὐτυ[χο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ [Ἀρμενι]ακοῦ  
 Μηδικοῦ Πα[ρ]θικοῦ [Σαρματικοῦ Γ]ερμαν[ικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 Βρεταννικοῦ]

Similar, but with various forms of shortening in the oath formulation, are BGU I 92 and XI 2019; P.Harr. I 71; and P.Stras. I 34.

In P.Stras IX 894, the date formula is shorter than that of the oath, and marked by the use of *kyrios*. In P. Iand. III 33, oath and date are both formulated with *kyrios*; the date formulation is the longer by the inclusion of one additional name.

Reign of Septimius Severus: Here too, the majority of texts preserving both show the oath formulation abbreviated and marked by the use of *kyrios*, as in PSI XII 1230:

oath formulation: τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων Σερουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ  
Γέτα Σεβαστῶν  
date formulation: Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου  
Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς  
Σεβαστῶν καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ

Similarly related as to length, with minor variations, are oath and date formulations in BGU VII 1583; C.Pap.Gr. II 1 66 and 67; P.Flor. 3 308; P.Oxy. IX 1197; X 1267; XLVII 3344; and P.Wisc. II 56. Though damaged beyond certainty, P.Ant. I 37, P.Leit. 12, and SB VIII 10204 are probably comparable as well. In BGU XIII 2248, P.Oxy. VIII 1113 ii, and XII 1548, the oath formula is slightly abbreviated without the use of *kyrios*.

Only in P.Grenf. II 62 and SB X 10293 are oath and date formulations identical, both being unabbreviated.

Reign of Caracalla: In four out of seven cases permitting the determination, the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked by *kyrios*, as in P.Rein I 49:

oath formulation: [Μ]άρκ[ου Α]ὐρηλί[ου Σεο]υήρου Ἀνω[ν]ίνου Εὐσεβοῦς  
Καίσαρ[ος] τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου  
date formulation: Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτορος Κ[α]ίσαρος Μάρκ[ου] Αὐρ[ηλίου]  
Σεουήρου Ἀνω[ν]ίνου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρεταν[νικοῦ]  
Μεγίστου [Γερ]μανικοῦ Μ εγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβασ[τοῦ]

Similarly related are oath and date formulations in C.Pap.Gr. II 1 71; P.Lond. III 936; and P.Mil. II 37.

In P.Oxy. LI 3602, 3603, and 3604, regnal formulas in oath and date are identically formulated, except for the final *kyrios* in the former and the initial *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος* in the latter:

- oath formulation: Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἐπιφανίου Παρθικοῦ  
Μεγίστου Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου  
Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
- date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου  
Ἐπιφανίου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου  
Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

Reign of Macrinus: One published document (PSI XII 1229; cf. P.Oxy. XLIII 3093 as restored) shows an oath formulation slightly abbreviated and marked by *kyrios*.

- oath formulation: Μάρκου Ὀπελλίου Σεουήρου Μακρείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
κυρίου
- date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ὀπελλίου Σεουήρου  
Μακρείνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς

Reign of Elagabalus: A set of four documents (P.Bub. I 4 xiv, xv, xxiv and xxvi) shows identical formulation in oath and date.

- oath formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἐπιφανίου  
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
- date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἐπιφανίου  
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

Other texts show the regnal formula in the oath reduced and marked with *kyrios*, as below, P.Lips. 8:

- oath formulation: [Μάρκου Ἐπιφανίου Καίσαρο[ς το]ῦ κυρίου
- date formulation: [Αὐτοκράτορος Κα]ίσαρος Μάρκ[ο]υ Αὐρηλ[ί]ου  
Ἐπιφανίου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς Εὐτυχ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ

P.Princ. II 28 shows the oath formula reduced without *kyrios*; in P.Oxy. XVII 2120, the formulations are identical except for the addition of the title *kyrios* in the oath.

Reign of Severus Alexander: Most documents show a reduced oath formulation marked by *kyrios*, as in P.Oxy. XLIII 3099:

- oath formulation: Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἄλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἄλεξάνδρου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβο(ῦς) Σεβαστοῦ

Similarly related are regnal formulations for oath and date in C.Pap.Gr. II 1 74 bis; 75; CPR I 225; P.Iand. VII 145; P.Lips. 9; P.Lond. III 940; 941; 945; P.Oxy. I 77; VII 1031; XXII 2345; XLIII 3097, 3099, and 3103; XLV 3244; PSI IX 1066; X 1112; SB VIII 9901. C.Pap.Gr. II 1 76 and P.Lond. III 946 are also comparable, except that the abbreviated oath formulation begins with *kyrios* and ends with *Σεβαστός*.<sup>10</sup>

In P.Hamb. I 19, and P.Lond. III 942, the oath formulation is reduced (by omission of *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος*) without *kyrios*. Only in P.Giss.Univ. VI 53 are oath and date identically formulated -- in a short form, but without *kyrios*.

Reign of Maximinus: P.Oxy. XLIII 3132 only; the formulation of the oath is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*.

- oath formulation: Γαίω(ν) Ἰουλίω(ν) Οὐήρω(ν) Μαξιμείνου καὶ Μαξίμου  
 Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστ[ων] Δακικῶν Μεγίστων Σαρματικῶ(ν)  
 Μεγίστων Καισάρων τῶν κ[υρίων]  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμίνου  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦ[ς] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μ[ε]γίστου  
 Δακικοῦ Μ[ε]γίστου Σαρματικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου  
 Οὐήρου Μαξίμου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Δακικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 Σαρμ[ατι]κοῦ Μεγίστου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 ἰοῦ τοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ]

Reign of Gordian III: P.Berl.Leihg. I 9 only; the oath formulation is unabbreviated but marked with *kyrios*.

- oath formulation: τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Ἄντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσ[ε]β[ο]ῦ[ς] Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἄντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς . . .

<sup>10</sup> The placement of the title *kyrios* varies. It stands at the end of the briefer formula to the time of Hadrian. From the time of Antoninus Pius it sometimes appears at the front, from Diocletian, at the front invariably. *Despotes* always stands at the front, in the reign of Diocletian and after.

Reign of Philip: Below are the formulations of SB V 7634; the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*. P.Amh. II 72 is comparable except that Σεβαστῶν is added at the end of the oath formulation; the dating formulation is extended by naming the two Philips separately.

oath formulation: Μάρκων Ἰουλίῳν Φιλίππῳ(ν) Καισάρων τῶν κυρίῳν  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορων Καισάρων Μάρκων Ἰουλίῳν Φιλίππῳ(ν)  
 Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν  
 Σεβαστῶν

Reign of Decius: P.Oxy. LI 3609 only; the oath formulation, without *kyrios*, is briefer than that of the date because of the omission of Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος.

oath formulation: Γαίου Μεσσίῳν Κυίντου Τραιανοῦ [Δεκίου] Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Κυίντου [Ἐρε]ν[νίου] Ἐτρούσκου  
 Μεσσίῳν Δεκίου τοῦ σεβασμιωτ[άτου Κα]ίσαρος Σεβαστῶν  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρ[ος] [Γαίου Μεσσίῳν Κυ]ίντου  
 Τραιανοῦ Δεκίου[ν] Εὐσεβοῦς [Εὐτυχοῦς Σε]βα[στ]οῦ καὶ  
 Κυίντου Ἐρεννίου [Ἐτρούσκο]ν Μεσσίῳν Δεκίου τοῦ  
 σεβασμιωτάτου [Καίσαρος] Σεβαστῶν

Reign of Gallus: P.Oxy. XII 1554 only, with the oath formulation heavily restored. The two regnal formulas appear to be identical except that *kyrios* replaces Αὐτοκράτορων Καισάρων in the oath.

oath formulation: [τῶν κυρίῳν Γαίου Οὐιβίου Τρεβονιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου  
 Οὐιβίου Ἄ]φινί[ου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμνιανοῦ] Οὐολου[σιανοῦ  
 Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν] Σεβαστῶν  
 date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορων Καισάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου Τρεβονιανοῦ  
 Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἄφινίου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμνιανοῦ  
 Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν

Reign of Valerian: Below is P.Lips. 3 ii; the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*. P.Oxy. XVIII 2186 is roughly comparable, except that *kyrios* appears at the end of the oath formulation between Καισάρων and Σεβαστῶν.

- oath formulation: τῶν κυρίων Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ καὶ Κορνηλ[ίου  
Οὐαλερια]νοῦ Σεβαστῶν
- date formulation: Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Εὐσεβῶν  
Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν

In P.Oxy. XXXVI 2763, by contrast, the document date gives a regnal formula briefer than that in the oath, even though the latter is marked by the title *kyrios* -- but several elements in the oath formulation have been added in subscript.

Reign of Macrian: Below is P.Oxy. XLIX 3476; the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*. P.Lips. 57 is comparable, with the oath formula still further reduced.

- oath formulation: τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Μακριανοῦ καὶ  
Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Κυιήτου Σεβαστῶν
- date formulation: Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Τίτου Φουβίου Ἰουνίου  
Μακριανοῦ καὶ Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Κυιήτου Εὐσεβῶν  
Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν

Reign of Claudius II: PSI V 457 only; the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*.

- oath formulation: Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ
- date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου [Κλαυδίου Τα]κί[του]  
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

Reign of Aurelian: Below is P.Mich. XIV 676; the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*. P.Oxy. XII 1455 is comparable, with dating formula longer and oath slightly shorter, with *kyrios* at the front.

- oath formulation: Αὐρηλιανοῦ Καίσαρος τ[οῦ] κυρ[ί]ου Σεβαστοῦ
- date formulation: Αὐτ[οκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκ[ί]ου Δομιτιίου Αὐρηλιανοῦ  
Γουθθικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

Reign of Probus: Below is P.Oxy. XXXVI 2764; the oath formulation is abbreviated and marked with *kyrios*. Comparable are SB XVI 12242 and P.Vind.Bosw. 3.

- oath formulation: τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου Καίσαρος  
Σεβαστοῦ
- date formulation: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου  
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

Reign of Diocletian: In several cases oath and date are identically formulated, both with *kyrios* at the beginning, as in P.Harr. II 208:

- oath formulation: [τῶν] κυ[ρ]ίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ [καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
Σεβαστῶν] καὶ Κωνσταντίου κ[α]ὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ [τῶν  
ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισ]άρ[ων]
- date formulation: τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ  
Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων

Similar are CPR VII 14, P.Corn 20 a and (except that separated regnal years provoke a repetition of the title *kyrios* before the names of Caesars in the dating formulation) P.Flor. I 32 a and b, and SB X 10257. Other documents offer identical regnal formulas in date and oath except for the addition of *Αὐτοκρατόρων* to the oath formulation: so P.Oxy XXXIII 2673; XXXVI 2765; and P.Wisc. II 61. P.Coll.Youtie II 73 and P.Oxy. X 1255, of a earlier date, show identical oath and date formulation of a shorter form, citing Augusti only without Caesars. P.Corn. 20 i-xi have oath formulations identical to those of the date except that the former begin with *despotes*, the latter with *kyrios*.

A few documents show an oath formulation much briefer than that of the date; in these cases *kyrios* appears at the beginning of the longer dating formula; the shorter formula begins with *despotes*, as in P.Sakaon 2:

- oath formulation: τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν ἀ[νι]κῆτων βασιλέων
- date formulation: τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ (καὶ) Μα[ξιμι]ανοῦ Σεβαστῶν  
(καὶ) Κωνσταντίου (καὶ) Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων  
(Και)σάρων

Similar are P.Cair.Is. 3, 4, and 5; and P.Sakaon 3.

Reigns from Justinus II to Heraclius: Identical regnal formulas in oath and date are the rule,<sup>11</sup> except for the epithets attached to the initial despotes. So P.Lond. V 1707, from the reign of Justinian:

oath formulation: τοῦ καλλινίκου ἡμῶν δεσπότη[ο]ν Φλ(αουίου) Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος

date formulation: [τοῦ θ]εῖοτάτ[ου] ἡμ[ῶν] δεσπότη Φλ(αουίου) Ἰο[υ]στί[νου] τοῦ αἰωνίου Α[ὐ]γο[ύ]στ[ου] Αὐτοκράτορος

And from the reign of Heraclius, P.Lond. II 483:

oath formulation: τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ(αουίου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος

date formulation: τοῦ κλεινοτάτου καὶ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Ἡρ[α]κλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος

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<sup>11</sup> The oath is also sometimes distinguished by the inclusion of the name of the empress.