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PAY DIFFERENTIALS AND CLASS WARFARE IN LYSIAS' *AGAINST THEOZOTIDES*: TWO OBOLS OR TWO DRACHMAS?

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 107 (1995) 230–236

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Pay Differentials and Class Warfare in Lysias’ *Against Theozotides: Two Obols or Two Drachmas?*¹

In 1906, Grenfell and Hunt published twenty-two fragments of a papyrus text of Lysias’ speech *Against Theozotides* (*P. Hib.* I.14).² They assigned a date of “circa B.C. 280-240” to the papyrus, and Stroud dated the speech itself to “403/2 or a little later.”³

The speech attacks Theozotides (perhaps by a γραφή παρανόμων)⁴ for proposing (a) that illegitimate and adopted sons be excluded from the support paid by the state to the orphans of fathers who had fallen in war and (b) that the pay of cavalrymen and mounted archers be modified.⁵ Grenfell and Hunt printed the following text of this second provision (Fr. [c], Col. ii, p. 51):

70 [11 letters] ουτος ει πρεσ
[11 ”] περι φυλακης
[12 ”] []σ[α]μ περι πο
[λ]εμ[ου Θεοζο]τιδης ουτος
ι τη[γ γνω]μην αγορευει

¹ This article is an expansion of a point made very briefly in my Ph.D. thesis, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens* (diss. Harvard 1993) 46-48. I am grateful to my thesis supervisor, E. Badian, for suggesting that I look at the papyrus itself after I was puzzled by the Gernet-Bizos text (n. 7), and for his characteristically prompt and thorough scrutiny of the details as well as the argument of the thesis and an earlier draft of this article, resulting in numerous improvements to both. I also thank (a) R.A. Coles for several careful personal inspections of the papyrus, and for prompt, detailed and critical correspondence about the results, (b) my colleagues T. Gagos and L. Koenen for helpful discussions about photographs of the papyrus, and (c) R.S. Stroud for an illuminating conversation on background details. Obviously, I alone am responsible for all remaining errors and omissions.

² pp. 49-55 and Plate II. The papyrus is our only witness to the text of this speech, whose title alone had been known previously, from Pollux 8.46.

³ Grenfell and Hunt (n. 2) p. 49; R.S. Stroud, “Greek Inscriptions: Theozotides and the Athenian Orphans”, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 280-301, esp. 297-301. The only dissent (known to me) from Stroud’s date is that of I. Calabi Limentani (“Vittime dell’ oligarchia. A proposito del decreto di Teozotide”, in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo* 6 [Milan 1985] 115-128 [summarized in *SEG XXXVII* 65]), who dated Theozotides’ proposals (and thus probably Lysias’ speech) to 410 or a little later, for reasons which seem to me to be rebutted adequately by Stroud and by M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford 1991) 172 (with references to earlier discussions); Stroud also (n. 1) draws attention to Lys. 12.96 for an example of death by violence (βιαιώς) under The Thirty.

⁴ See M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Ecclesia: A Collection of Articles 1976-1983* (Copenhagen 1983) 173 (with references to earlier discussions).

⁵ Although Stroud (n. 3) 297-298 argued that Theozotides had proposed two separate decrees, a single decree is consistent with the remains of this speech and the inscription published by Stroud, whose preserved portion contains Theozotides’ proposal about orphans. See Hansen (n. 4) 166, n. 18. Below, I adopt the argument, which was advanced for the first time soon after the papyrus was published, that both proposals reflect a desire to cut public spending at a time when Athens’ finances were particularly precarious (K. Fuhr, Review of *P. Hib.* [n. 2], *BPhW* 26 [1906] 1413-1414 [quoted in part in n. 20], but cf. n. 11 for Fuhr’s other views).

- 75 τους μὲν ἰππεᾶς ἀντι δρα
 χμῆς τεσσαρα[ς οβ]ολοὺς μισ
 θοφορεῖν το[υς δ ἰπ]ποτοξο
 τας οκτω ο[βολουσ] ἀντι δυοῖν
 [ο]β[ο]λ[ο]ῖν καὶ τ[αυ]τὴν τῆγ
 80 γνώμην ε[.]νακυμ[.
 ἐνικησέ[ν ἐν τῷ δ]ημῷ δ[ι
 οὐ καὶ μ[.]γνώμην⁶

Grenfell and Hunt commented: “The scale of payments to the ἰπποτοξόται was previously unknown; if our reading of ll. 78-79 is correct (neither διδραχμοῦ nor δυοῖν δραχμαῖν can be read), Theozotides raised their daily pay from 2 obols to 8. They were a body of 200 men, of inferior rank to the ἰππεῖς and probably drawn, like the τοξόται, from the lower classes of citizens... The proposal to pay them twice as much as the ἰππεῖς was evidently a democratic measure” (p. 55). Grenfell and Hunt saw the measure as “obviously directed against the richer classes in the interests of the poorer” (p. 49).

Although there have been a number of (relatively minor) emendations to other portions of the Grenfell-Hunt text of this speech,⁷ lines 72-81 have remained essentially unchanged, and all editors and commentators have accepted (some form of) δυοῖν [ο]β[ο]λ[ο]ῖν in lines 78-79.⁸ Indeed, the most accessible text, the 1926 Budé edition of Gernet and Bizos, prints these two words without dots or brackets,⁹ while the most recent edition, Albini's of 1955, prints δυοῖν [ὀ]β[ο]λ[ο]ῖν.¹⁰

⁶ Grenfell and Hunt (n. 2) 54 translated lines 72-81: “...with regard to war Theozotides here advocates the motion that the knights should be paid four obols instead of a drachma, but the mounted archers eight obols instead of two, and this motion ... he carried in the assembly of the people ...”

⁷ Fuhr (n. 5) 1413-1414; A.I. Zakas, *Λυσίου Λόγοι καὶ Ἀποσπάσματα* II (Athens 1910) 509-515; T. Thalheim, *Lysiae Orationes* (ed. maior²) Leipzig 1913; K. Jander, *Oratorum et Rhetorum Graecorum Fragmenta Nuper Reperta (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 118)* (Bonn 1913) 7-8; A. Körte, “Referat” of Grenfell and Hunt (n. 2) no. 14, *APF* 6 (1920) 236-237; L. Gernet and M. Bizos, *Lysias Discours* II (Paris 1926) 234-236, 257-259; A. Wilhelm, “Zu Lysias' Rede gegen Theozotides”, *WS* 52 (1934) 52-56; A. Messina, “Di alcuni frammenti delle orazioni di Lisia (Fine)”, *Emerita* 18 (1950) 66-69; U. Albini, *Lisia: I Discorsi* (Florence 1955) 390-391, 399-400.

⁸ The only generally accepted substantive change to these lines has been Jander's (n. 7) ε[ἰσφέρων] in line 80. Cf. Körte's (n. 7) (apparently independent) supplement of ε[ἰσφέρων]. Wilhelm (n. 7) 52-53 doubted these supplements because they left νακυμ unexplained, but he conceded that a single word like εἰσηγησάμενος did not fit the letter traces well. Zakas (n. 7) 513 printed in line 72 τὴν προβουλεύουσαν περὶ πο, in line 78 -τας C (= ἡμιτωβόλιον) καὶ ὀβολὸν ἀντὶ δυοῖν, in line 80 γνώμην εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, and in lines 81-82 (after [δημῷ] Ἄλλ' οὐ καὶ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἐπεισεν ὑμᾶς ἀποστερῶν τὴν οὐσίαν. Messina (n. 7) 68 proposed in line 80 ἐπιφέρων] διὰ κυ(ά)μου and in line 82 μ[ισεῖ τὴν γνώμην. Zakas' and Messina's changes have not been accepted by subsequent editors.

⁹ Gernet and Bizos (n. 7) 258. Thalheim's Teubner edition (n. 7) has long been out of print, and the speech is not included in the Oxford (ed. C. Hude 1912) or Loeb (ed. W.R.M. Lamb 1930) editions of Lysias' speeches.

¹⁰ Albini (n. 7) 400. Because Albini's edition is (a) the most recent and (b) not widely available, I print his text of lines 70-82: ... οὗτος εἰ πρεσ περὶ φυλακῆς σαν περὶ πο[λ]έμου Θεοζοτίτιδος οὕτωσιν τῆ[ν γνώμην ἀγορεύει, (75) τοὺς μὲν ἰππεᾶς ἀντὶ δραχμῆς τεσσαρα[ς

The Grenfell-Hunt interpretation of the wage changes as a manifestation of class warfare also has been accepted, with increasing enthusiasm in recent years.¹¹ Bugh in particular exploits its many implications: “First of all, the *hippotoxotai* had not been implicated in the actions of the cavalry of 404/3 and therefore had not suffered reproach—in fact, I might suggest that they were simply disbanded by the Thirty Tyrants because they belonged to a lower class than the *hippeis* and by that fact had not been welcomed to the oligarchic cause. Secondly, the fact that their *misthophoria* was so dramatically increased lends credence to the claim that they came from the more needy of Athenian society. Thirdly, ... it seems very likely that the state ordinarily maintained the horses for the *hippotoxotai* ..., thus explaining why the *hippotoxotai* had only to be granted a *per diem* allotment of two obols for themselves. With this measure perhaps the Athenians thought to offer the mounted Bowman a greater personal involvement in this maintenance, while still providing the horse.... Theozotides directed his attention to the welfare of the children whose fathers were lost in the struggle with the Thirty, and also directed his attack against the cavalry—some of whom must have been responsible for making those very children orphans ...—by reducing their state maintenance allowance”¹²

In my view, the words *δουῖν ὀβολοῖν*, and the hypotheses which they have been made to bear, are implausible, for five reasons:

1. In a time of great financial stress, when the public treasury and private fortunes of the Athenians had been devastated by military defeat and the consequent disruption of their commerce and agriculture, a 33 1/3% pay cut for *ἵππεῖς* is understandable, but a 400% pay increase for *ἵπποτοξόται*—for only 200 out of all the hard-pressed Athenians of the time—would have been hard to justify, and is hard for us to believe.

2. Prior to these pay changes, it would have been surprising for the *ἵπποτοξόται* to be paid only a third as much as the *ἵππεῖς* since, contrary to what scholars have thought in the past,¹³ the *ἵπποτοξόται* came from the same class as the *ἵππεῖς*, were called *ἵππεῖς*, and seem to have had even greater prestige than the *ἵππεῖς*. This is clear primarily from Lysias’ speeches *Against Alkibiades*, where Alkibiades (son of the famous Alkibiades and thus a

ὄβ]ολοὺς μισθοφορεῖν, το[ὺς δ ἵπ]ποτοξότας ὀκτὼ ὀ[βολοὺς] ἀντὶ δουῖν [ὀ]β[ο]λ[ο]ῖν, καὶ τ[α]ύ[τ]ην τὴν (80) γνώμην ε[ἰ]σφέρων] υακυμ. ἐνίκησε[ν ἐν τῷ δ]ήμῳ. Δ[ι]τ[ὶ] οὐ καὶ μ[.] γν[ώ]μην.

¹¹ Fuhr (n. 5) 1414; Gernet and Bizos (n. 7) 236; Stroud (n. 3) 298-299; P. Krentz, *The Thirty at Athens* (Ithaca, New York 1982) 116-117; A. Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City, 750-330 BC* (London 1982) 176; B.S. Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War: Class, Faction, and Policy 403-386 BC* (Ithaca, New York 1987) 102; G.R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 131-133, 222-223; I.G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Greece* (Oxford 1993) 217-218.

¹² Bugh (n. 11) 223 and 132. Although thus referring to salary for soldiers (*misthophoria*; see also the compounds of *μισθός* in lines 24, 68-69, 76-77, 85-86, 134, 137 and 185 of the papyrus), Bugh elsewhere (60-62, 131-132, 154, 158 [with references to J.H. Kroll, “An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry”, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 83-140, esp. 97-98 and n. 36]) equates the payments here with the *κίτος* grain allowance for horses (*JG* 375.4, 8, 9, 11-12, 24; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 49.1).

¹³ See, e.g., Grenfell and Hunt (n. 2) 55 (citing Lysias 15.6 [quoted in n. 14 below] as evidence that “service as a *ἵπποτοξότης* was despised”); Lammert, *RE* 8.2 (1913) 1925-26 s.v. *ἵπποτοξόται* (“Sie waren gekaufte Skythensklaven, die als Polizeitruppe dienten. Athener befanden sich nicht in der Truppe.”); Bugh (n. 11) 223 (quoted on p. 232, above, but at 221-222 he concedes that they were citizens); Spence (n. 11) 57 (“a posting of low reputation”).

member of one of the most prestigious families in Athens) was being prosecuted for refusing to serve as a hoplite. His defense was that he had served as a ἵππεύς instead: the words ἵππεύς and ἵππεύειν are used repeatedly to describe his service (Lys. 14.7, 8 [*ter*], 9, 10, 11, 22; 15.5, 6, 7 [*bis*], 11), but at one point the further detail is added that he was serving in the (especially prestigious) ἵπποτοξόται¹⁴—the only clearly attested member of that corps (see Bugh [n. 11] 221). This general indication of special prestige for the ἵπποτοξόται is given concrete support by Xenophon's report that they had the privilege of charging the enemy first, ahead of the hipparchs.¹⁵ The speaker of Lysias' speeches cannot deny Alkibiades' service as a ἵπποτοξότης, so instead he argues that it was illegal, in part because Alkibiades had not passed his δοκιμασία (Lys. 14.8, 10, 22; 15.6, 7, 11). But the fact that the ἵπποτοξόται had to undergo the hippic δοκιμασία only adds further support to the (now) powerful impression that their status and prestige were very high.

3. Indeed, because of the greater prestige of the ἵπποτοξόται and because they would have been responsible for bows and arrows in addition to horses and all of the other regular cavalry equipment (they may have needed additional attendants to look after the bows and arrows), we would have expected them to be paid *more* than the ἵππεῖς.

4. Two obols a day would not have been adequate to support a ἵπποτοξότης, to say nothing of his horse and equipment, and his attendants and their horses and equipment, insofar as these additional items were not covered by other state allowances.¹⁶ In the years immediately preceding Theozotides' proposal, soldiers and sailors had been getting three obols a day, and dole recipients two obols.¹⁷ Is it likely that ἵπποτοξόται had been making only two obols—*less* than soldiers and sailors and the *same* amount as dole recipients? Is it not more likely that they had been paid *more*, but that in c. 403/2, when Athens was hard pressed financially, their pay was *cut*? Cuts for ἵππεῖς and ἵπποτοξόται in c. 403/2 would fit well with

¹⁴ Lys. 15.6: ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιεώρων [οἱ ἄρχοντες] αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων προπηλακίζομενον κἂν τοῖς ἵπποτοξόταις ἵππεύοντα. Lamb (n. 9) translates "while he was in the army, they suffered him to be grossly insulted by all, and left to serve among the mounted archers," but Badian (n. 1) suggests to me that the speaker is saying that Alkibiades was insulted *even though* (the καὶ of κἂν) he was serving as a ἵπποτοξότης, i.e., the speaker cannot deny that the commanders' posting of Alkibiades to the ἵπποτοξόται was a special favor.

¹⁵ *Mem.* 3.3.1 (Sokrates to a young hipparch): Ἔχοις ἄν, ὦ νεανία, εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν, ὅτου ἕνεκα ἐπεθύμησας ἵππαρχεῖν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἵππέων ἐλαύνειν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἵπποτοξόται τούτου γε ἀξιοῦνται· προελαύνουσι γούν καὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων.

¹⁶ In addition to the κύτος grain allowance for their horses (n. 12), the ἵππεῖς received a κατάστασις loan for the purchase of the horses. See Bugh (n. 11) 56-58 and 66-67, who argues, however, that these allowances were inadequate, and that the ἵππεῖς accordingly had to meet many expenses out of their own pockets. Bugh (n. 11) 102, 135, 156-158 and 223-224 cites no evidence that ἵπποτοξόται did not also receive κατάστασις, and no evidence as to who paid for equipment and attendants in the late fifth century.

¹⁷ 3 obol daily μισθός for soldiers and sailors in 411: Thuc. 8.45.2; in 408: Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.4-8; Plut. *Alc.* 35.5, Lys. 4.5-6. 2 obol dole c. 410-404: *IG* I³ 375, 377 *passim*; Ar. *Ran.* 141; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1267b2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 28.3. The δωβελία dole may have been reduced to one obol briefly in c. 407/6 (*IG* I³ 377.10-22 with conflicting interpretations cited in the commentary); as Körte (n. 7) 236-237 observed (contrary to the implication of Grenfell and Hunt [n. 2] 49), δωβελίασιν in line 96 probably refers to the dole rather than to μισθός for ἵπποτοξόται.

other cuts in that year, when Theozotides proposed that (only) legitimate war orphans receive (only) one obol a day and invalids on the dole also were getting only one obol.¹⁸

5. As Grenfell and Hunt were the first to observe, “[h]ow the two seemingly distinct questions of legitimate ancestry [of the war orphans] and pay of cavalry soldiers were connected is not evident” (*op. cit.* [n. 2] 49f.). It might be possible to see both proposals as cost-cutting measures but, as Stroud remarked, “[e]conomy in the face of financial distress ... is not easy to justify when the pay of the Hippotoxotai was actually increased four-fold and the daily saving would have amounted to a meager” 133 drachmas 2 obols.¹⁹ Moreover, if Theozotides was a radical democratic *supporter* of the allegedly poor, lower-class and (possibly even) foreign ἵπποτοξόται (n. 13), how could he have been an *opponent* of the poor, lower-class illegitimate and adopted war orphans?

All of these difficulties would disappear if the μισθός of the ἵπποτοξόται also were reduced, from 2 drachmas (= 12 obols) to 8 obols per day, at the same time that the μισθός of the ἵππεῖς was reduced from 1 drachma (= 6 obols) to 4 obols. Both classes of mounted soldiers would then take a 33 1/3% pay cut, but they still would be receiving more than soldiers, sailors and paupers, and ἵπποτοξόται still would be receiving more than ἵππεῖς, as they had to be in order to support their greater expenses. No one would be singled out for egregiously favorable treatment at a time of public financial emergency. Moreover, these reductions would be part of a broader economy program, which not only cut public spending (as with the cavalry cuts and the restriction of orphans’ benefits) but also sought to enhance public revenues.²⁰ Finally, there would be no need to create “facts”—which are contradicted by the evidence that we *do* have—that ἵπποτοξόται were poor radical democrats who could not maintain their own horses and equipment.

These considerations led me to take a fresh look at the papyrus. From Grenfell’s and Hunt’s own textual commentary (“if our reading of ll. 78-79 is correct”), it was clear that they were in doubt and, notwithstanding their statement that “neither διδραχμου nor δυοιν δραχμαῖν can be read” (*op. cit.* [n. 2] p. 55), from their Plate II it seemed to me that the very scanty traces in line 79 before και could be filled by δραχμαῖν as easily as by οβολοῖν. So I requested an enlarged photograph from the Bodleian Library at Oxford (see plate IV),²¹ and I sought an objective reading from Revel Coles, its consultant on papyri.

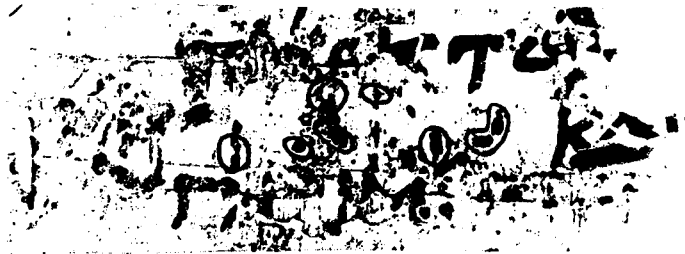
¹⁸ Orphans: *SEG* XXVIII 46 (= Stroud [n. 3] 281-282), lines 9-10. Invalids: *Lys.* 24.13.

¹⁹ Stroud (n. 3) 298. The savings in pay for ἵππεῖς (1,000 x 2 obols per day = 2,000 obols per day) would be largely offset by the increase for ἵπποτοξόται (200 x 6 obols per day = 1,200 obols per day). The net savings of 800 obols per day would work out to 133 drachmas 2 obols.

²⁰ In support of this interpretation, Fuhr (n. 5) 1413-1414 drew attention to lines 86-91: “um in den schlechten Zeiten die Einnahmen des Staates zu steigern (πορίζειν...): ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ πορίζειν οὐκ ἀποστερεῖν ὄμην εἶναι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλὰ προφυλάττειν ὅπως πλείω τῶν ὄντων ἢ μηδὲν ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔσται.” See also n. 5.

²¹ I acknowledge with gratitude the permission of The Bodleian Library, Oxford to reproduce this photograph of its MS. Gr. class. d. 78 (P)/1 (recto), Fr. (c), Col. ii.

Coles advises me that of the various traces which appear in the photograph of line 79 before $\kappa\alpha\iota$, the only ones which are ink are those circled by him on the following photocopy of the photograph:



All other apparent traces, “[e]xcept for the messy patch above χ , unexplained [see following paragraph], ... are ... holes, or surface damage (unfinished holes mostly, that is not eaten all the way through), that cause shadows in various ways, and the shadows record on photographs with varying intensity.”

How should these meager ink traces be interpreted? There is room before the first surviving trace for either *delta* (of $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$; cf. the *delta* near the end of line 75) or *omicron* (of $\acute{\omicron}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\nu$), but Coles advises me that the trace itself (appearing on the photograph as the lower two-thirds of a vertical stroke) “is not β . The trace is a straight descender, going deep down, which would obviously suit ρ very well (or ϕ , etc.) [cf. the *rho* near the end of line 75].” This effectively rules out the first editors’ $[\omicron]\beta[\omicron]\lambda[\omicron]\iota\nu$. In the space before the next trace, there is room for *alpha*, if its right diagonal stroke touched the following letter as it usually does in this hand (cf. the *alpha* in line 71). Of the following three traces, Coles is inclined to read the two lower ones as the lower left and lower right diagonals of *chi* (cf. the *chi* at the beginning of line 76, and the *chi* in line 88),²² but he also notes “an obscure trace high above χ , nothing to do with line 78, which I do not understand. Just below and between ς & \omicron [of $\tau\alpha\varsigma\omicron\kappa\omega$].” The small trace just beneath the vertical of the *kappa* in line 78 could be the top left tip of *mu*, or (more probably) the bottom of the vertical of the *kappa*. The trace sloping down to the right just above and to the right of the upper right corner of the *mu* in line 80 could be part of the far right stroke of *mu* (cf. the *mu* near the end of line 76). The horizontal stroke to the right of this diagonal could be the right tip of *alpha*, which is occasionally horizontal when it is followed by a vertical stroke (as in line 91; see *P. Hib.* I, Pl. II). The vertical to the right of this horizontal stroke could be the top of *iota*, leaving room in the following gap for *nu* (cf. the ν of $\mu\iota\theta\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ in line 77). Coles reports that the surface in the gap itself “is good and crisp and shows no sign of abrasion, and I really don’t think that a letter has been lost there.” Apart from the two-letter gap in line 38, which was “left at the beginning of a new sentence” (Grenfell and Hunt [n. 2] 49 and 51) there is no other clear gap in this papyrus. My colleague Ludwig Koenen points out to me that scribes not infrequently left gaps when they were unsure what should be inserted. Perhaps in this case, when the scribe saw the dual $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$,

²² The *chi* in line 88 is illustrated in *P. Hib.* I, Plate II.

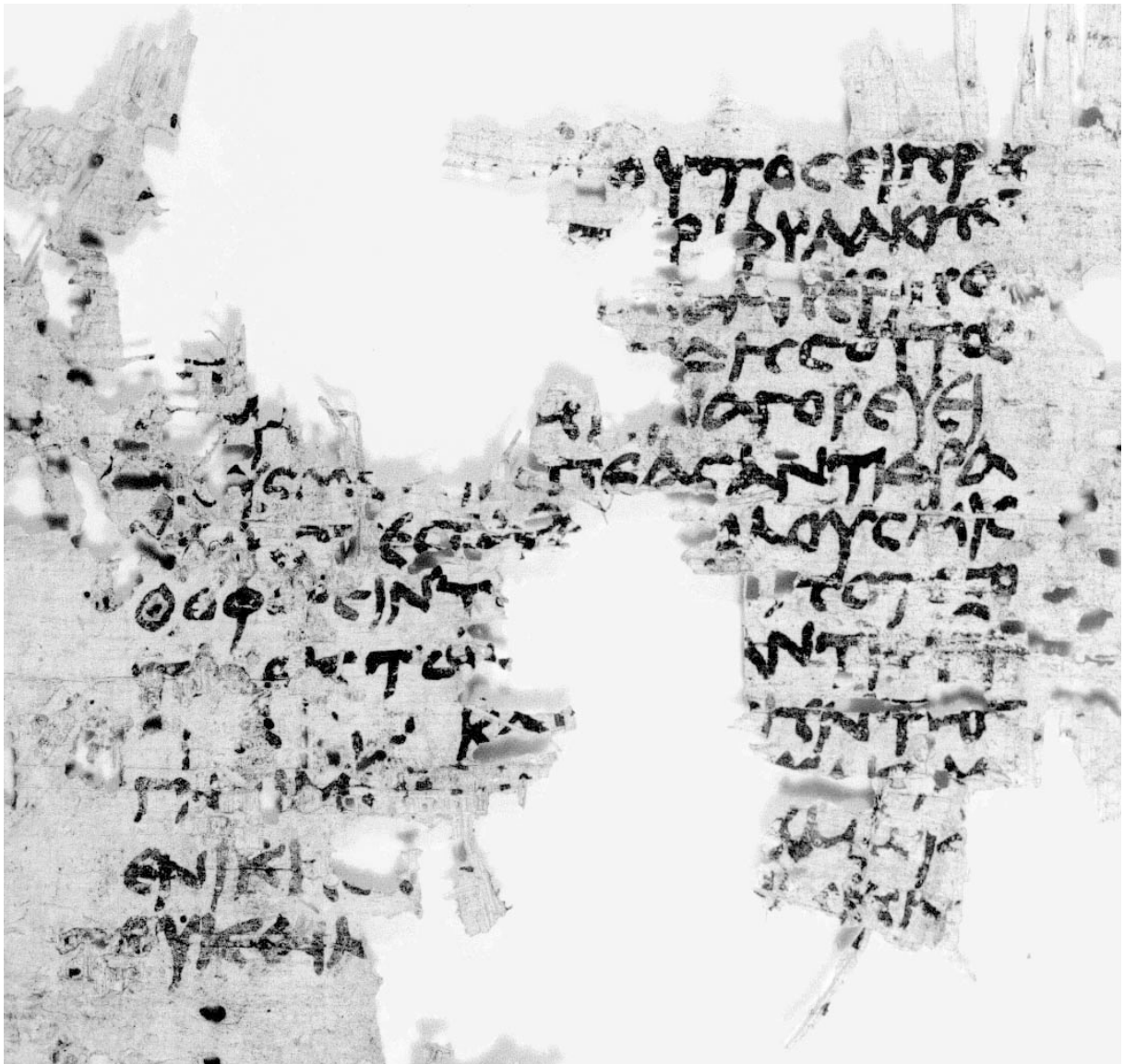
he wondered whether it was a mistake for the more familiar plural δραχμαῖς, and left a gap which could have accommodated either *nu* (as in line 77) or *sigma* (as at the end of line 76). I am inclined to think that this is what happened, and that we therefore should read [δ]ρ[α]χ-
 μαῖ⟨ν⟩.²³

If we may accept [δ]ρ[α]χμαῖ⟨ν⟩, late fifth-century Athenian history can regain plausibility: ἰππεῖς and ἰπποτοξόται both take uniform 33 1/3% pay cuts which are motivated by an acute public financial emergency rather than by fictitious ideological or class differences—but ἰπποτοξόται are still paid more than other ἰππεῖς, and both are still paid more than paupers and orphans!

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²³ Even if the scribe did not intend the gap, δραχμαῖν still would be a possible reading: the stroke which in the main text is interpreted as the far right stroke of *mu* could be part of *iota*, and the immediately following horizontal and vertical strokes could be parts of *nu*, resulting in [δ]ρ[α]χ[μ]αῖν, but, as Coles remarks, “[t]he biggest obstacle is [μα]; it would have to be very cramped to fit into the space.” An additional reason for preferring [δ]ρ[α]χμαῖ⟨ν⟩ is that the penultimate (horizontal) trace seems more compatible with the right tip of *alpha* than with the diagonal of *nu* (as later in line 79).



Lysias, *Against Theozotides* (*P. Hib.* I.14, fr. (c), col. ii), enlarged