A SECURITY HOROS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

(Plate 67)

MONG THE INSCRIPTIONS in the antiquities collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens is a horos stone of the *prasis epi lusei* type. ¹ Its text is inscribed on a thin, narrow slab of marble that tapers towards its bottom and is roughly picked on all sides. The inscribed area on the front upper surface has been smoothed with a toothed chisel. The inscription is not included in the standard collections of security horoi and is apparently unpublished.²

Dimensions: H. 0.505 m., W. 0.170 m., Th. 0.073 m. L.H. 0.010-0.024 m. The letters of lines 5 and 6 are approximately twice the size of those of lines 1-4.

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ὄρος χωρίου πεπραμένου ἐπὶ λύσει Χ ³Αριστογένει

Line 3. An incidental horizontal slash scratched across the center of the lambda gives it the appearance of an alpha. Likewise, a vertical line scratched between the diagonals of the second upsilon gives it the appearance of a psi.

The inscription is a nearly perfectly preserved security horos. It records that the piece of land on which it stood served as security on a debt of 1000 drachmas owed by the unnamed owner of the property to a certain Aristogenes. This amount is consistent with amounts mentioned on other horoi; 1000 drachmas is the median amount of obligation against estates, without houses, preserved on horoi of the *prasis epi lusei* type.³

- ¹ I should like to thank the Director of the School, Professor W. D. E. Coulson, for permission to publish this inscription, and the archivist, Dr. Carol Zerner, for her assistance in examining the stone. I am also grateful to those scholars who responded to my inquiries regarding the circumstances of the discovery and provenience of the stone and to the anonymous referees of this journal for helpful comments.
- ² A catalogue of known security horoi through 1952 may be found in Finley 1952, pp. 118–193; Finley's catalogue is supplemented by Millett 1982, pp. 234–242. Security horoi uncovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora are published in *Agora* XIX, pp. 22–51; this publication supersedes the earlier catalogue of Fine 1951. For discussion of the *prasis epi lusei* transaction see Millett 1982, pp. 226–230; Finley 1952, pp. 31–37; and Fine 1951, pp. 142–166. A new interpretation of the Attic security horoi, their terminology, and their relationship to other Athenian methods of hypothecation as portrayed in the Attic orators is offered by Harris (1988).
- ³ For horoi of the *prasis epi lusei* type recording encumbrance of a parcel of land alone, see Finley 1952, nos. 40–66, 51A; Millett 1982, no. 190A. On the median price see Finley 1952, p. 173, Table B; updated by Millett 1982, p. 222, Table B.

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The provenience of the stone is unknown. Its catalogue entry reads simply, "Found in collection in 1983. No further information." A findspot near Pikermi, site of the ancient deme Teithras, has been suggested but is not certain.⁴

Aristogenes was a common name in ancient Athens. More than two dozen bearers of this name are attested from the 5th century B.C. into the Roman period.⁵ Fourteen of these may be dated between the early 4th and the early 2nd century B.C.:⁶

- 1. Aristogenes, mentioned as a witness in a speech of Demosthenes of the mid-4th century (PA 1782; Demosthenes 41.8);
- 2. Aristogenes of Iphistiadai, one of the poletai of 367/6 (Agora XIX, no. P5, line 3);
- 3. Aristogenes of Upper Lamptrai, Councillor of the tribe Erechtheis in 367/6 (Agora XV, no. 14, line 58);
- 4. Aristogenes, son of Nauteles, of Aixone, named as dedicant to Athena in an inscription from before the mid-4th century (PA 1787; IG II² 4322, line 1);
- 5. Aristogenes, son of Lysikles, of Pithos, named in a catalogue of the mid-4th century (PA 1790; IG II² 2385, line 100);
- 6. Aristogenes, named on a gravestone of the mid-4th century (PA 1782a; IG II² 10810/1, line 1);
- 7. Aristogenes, named on a gravestone of the mid-4th century (IG II² 10772);
- 8. Aristogenes of Kydathenaion, Councillor of the tribe Pandionis in 336/5 (Agora XV, no. 42, line 160);
- 9. Aristogenes, son of Charisandros, of Philaidai, trierarch in 325/4 and 323/2 (PA 1792; IG II² 1629, line 277; 1631, lines 494 [and addenda], 566, 613);
- 10. Aristogenes of Athmonon, whose son is named in an inscribed decree from Imbros of the late 4th century (PA 1785; IG XII viii 47, line 6);
- 11. Aristogenes of Rhamnous, named in a catalogue of the tribe Aiantis of the late 4th century (PA 1791; IG II² 2400, line 9);
- 12. Aristogenes of Phyle, Councillor of the tribe Oineis in the early 2nd century (Agora XV, no. 156, line 15);
- 13. Aristogenes of Aithalidai, father of a man named on a gravestone of the 2nd century (IG II² 5382, line 2):
- 14. Aristogenes of Myrrhinous, named on a dedication from Imbros, dated only to the 2nd century (IG XII viii 109, line 3).⁷

⁴ Professor Stephen Miller informs me (per ep.) that he saw and examined the stone in the office of Professor Eugene Vanderpool at the American School in the early 1970's. Miller believes, but is not certain, that Vanderpool had found it near Pikermi in the course of one of his weekend walks in the Attic countryside.

⁵ I am grateful to Professor John Traill for supplying me with information on Athenians named Aristogenes from a forthcoming volume of *People of Ancient Athens*.

⁶ A more precise date cannot be offered; for the range of dates and the general difficulties associated with the dating of security horoi, see *Agora* XIX, pp. 20–21, with note 132.

⁷ I omit as too late Aristogenes, son of Nikon, of Marathon (PA 1789), named in several mid-2nd-century inscriptions at Delos.

The absence of a demotic on the stone precludes identification of its Aristogenes with any of the known Athenians of the same name. Nonetheless, Aristogenes of Philaidai, who served as trierarch in 325/4 and possibly in 323/2, seems to be a strong candidate. Creditors named on security horoi were generally drawn from among the wealthiest members of Athenian society, and several can be identified, with some degree of certainty, with trierarchs, arbitrators, and others in prominent positions. If Aristogenes of Philaidai was wealthy enough to hold the trierarchy, he was certainly wealthy enough to lend a thousand drachmas. It may be noteworthy as well that Philaidai, the deme of the trierarch, and Teithras, modern Pikermi and a possible findspot of the inscription, were neighboring demes and that both demes belonged to the tribe Aigeis, factors that may lend the identification some further support. In

The identification of the creditor with Aristogenes of Philaidai, however, must remain tentative. The lack of a demotic for the creditor, the inability to date the inscription within narrow limits, and the lack of a secure findspot render certainty impossible. I note that several of the other attested Athenians named Aristogenes served as Councillors (nos. 3, 8, 12). Since several other known Councillors may be identified with creditors named on security horoi, these three men should also be considered possible candidates. ¹¹ In short, too little is known of any of the attested Athenians named Aristogenes to exclude any of them, or some otherwise unattested Aristogenes, from consideration.

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- ⁸ Finley 1952, p. 83. Another trierarch who may be identified with a creditor named on a security horos is Lysikles, son of Lysippos, of Athmonon, who served as trierarch in or after 340 (*IG* II² 1623, line 16; 1628, line 421; 1629, line 942); he may be the same Lysikles of Athmonon named in the security horos *IG* II² 2744.
 - ⁹ On the deme sites see Trail 1986, pp. 127, 128.
- ¹⁰ Another of the attested Athenians named Aristogenes may have had connections with Teithras. The Aristogenes mentioned in Demosthenes' speech *Against Spoudias* (no. 1) testified to some death-bed statements made by a certain Polyeuktos, whose estate was under dispute. Although the deme of Aristogenes is not mentioned, that of Polyeuktos was Teithras (Shear 1937, pp. 339–342). Was this Aristogenes, a close enough friend of Polyeuktos to be present at his death, a fellow demesman?
- Known Councillors who may be identified with creditors named on security horoi include Archedemos, son of Pheidiades, from Aigilia, named in a prytany catalogue of the tribe Antiochis dating to the year 334/3 (Agora XV, no. 44, line 31; IG II² 1750, line 36) and probably the same man as Archedemos of Aigilia named as creditor in a prasis epi lusei horos (IG II² 2730); also Eratostratos, son of Nausikydes, of Anaphlystos, named in the same prytany catalogue (Agora XV, no. 44, line 6; IG II+² 1750, line 6) and probably the Eratostratos of Anaphlystos named among a series of creditors in another prasis epi lusei horos (IG II² 2723). Wealth, however, seems not to have been a prerequisite for service in the Boule; see Rhodes 1972, pp. 4–6.

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