

## AREOPAGITES

FROM Koehler's copy Dittenberger in 1878 published a fragment of Pentelic marble as *I.G.*, III, 1279. The stone had been erected at Athens and was inscribed on both sides. One side, in which alone we are interested (III, 1279 A), contained part of a catalogue with names preserved under the column headings Ἐρχθείδος| Ἀρεοπαγείται and Παν[διονίδος]| Ἀρεοπαγείται including those of Epigonus and Eleutherus, sons of Syntrophus. The heading above the whole catalogue he reconstructed as follows:

Ἄρχων [τοῦ γένους τῶν . . . . ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Μεμμίου]  
 Ἐπὶ Βω[μῷ Θεορικίου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ ὃ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός]  
 ψηφισαμέ[νων τῶν γεννητῶν - - - - - ἀνέγραψεν]  
 τὰ ὀνόματα [τῶν γεννητῶν - - - - - ]  
 Ἀφεισσίας Φλ[- - - - - ]

Dittenberger assigned the inscription to the year A.D. 163/4 (or 162/3), his date for the archonship of Memmius the (Eleusinian) Altar Priest, whose name he restored in lines 1-2 and supported by indicating that the sons of Syntrophus belonged to a family of this period. He also pointed out that this was no ephebic catalogue and that the word Ἀρεοπαγείται each time referred, not to ephebes, but to genuine Areopagites. Kirchner republished the text as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339 A, but he had no squeeze and had been unable to find the inscription. All he did was to reproduce the essence of Dittenberger's text and interpretation, substituting Kolbe's date<sup>1</sup> for the archonship of Memmius the Altar Priest, namely A.D. 161/2.

Subsequently Markellos Mitsos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1950-1951, pp. 29-33, made certain valuable determinations, of which the two most important were that the inscription on the other side, i. e. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339 B = III, 1279 B, is older than *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339 A = III, 1279 A, and has nothing to do with it, and that another fragment, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1999 = III, 1233, belonged to the same catalogue. The first determination I must take on faith since no photograph was offered of the other side, but I have confidence in the writer's discrimination here. However, a photograph was offered of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2339 A and 1999 side by side, and, though not entirely legible, it quite sufficed to prove the second determination, which is very welcome.

In publishing as *I.G.*, III, 1233, the fragment which Mitsos has now added, Dittenberger identified it as from the lower part of an ephebic catalogue. In *I.G.*,

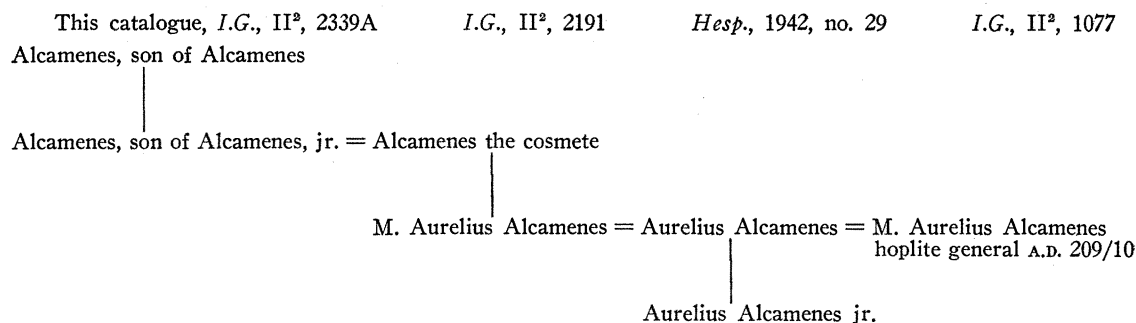
<sup>1</sup> W. Kolbe, "Studien zur attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 105-156.

II<sup>2</sup>, 1999 Kirchner retained this interpretation and ventured to date the inscription at the end of the first century after Christ.

On bringing the two fragments together Mitsos had to decide between (or against) two dates and between (or against) two interpretations. As for the first question, he ignored the prosopographical evidence and on the basis of the rather inferior lettering he dated the catalogue to the second half of the third century after Christ. Behind this truly surprising judgment lies, I suspect, the tendency, which Arthur Gordon rightly denounces, to call good engraving early and poor engraving late. I deny that the lettering indicates so late a date as the second half of the third century, and I see no reason to rule out the second half of the second century.

The date may, I think, be inferred from three names in the catalogue. The name of Julius Themison of line 24 appears in an inscription, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 31, no. 1, together with that of a certain undersecretary Myron who appears in catalogues of *aiseitoi* from about 169/70 through about 181. Our Julius Themison, therefore, presumably belongs in the same period, though a homonym cannot be excluded.

In lines 12-13, moreover, Alcamenes, son of Alcamenes, and Alcamenes, son of Alcamenes, junior, of the tribe Erechtheis, are from the same family as Aurelius Alcamenes and Aurelius Alcamenes junior of the deme Lamptrae who appear in a prytany catalogue of Erechtheis (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 64, no. 29), and from the same family as the cosmete Alcamenes and the anticosmete M. Aurelius Alcamenes of Lamptrae in the ephebic catalogue *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2191 = III, 1165, dated by Kirchner "c. a. 200 p." The three pairs in the three catalogues are not, I think, identical. Rather I should now arrange them as follows:



The family clearly obtained its Roman citizenship before the reign of Caracalla. In fact, it seems to have obtained it from Commodus. Hence our catalogue antedates the death of Commodus. For many years a certain Memmius – of Thoricus had been Altar Priest. In the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus he was honored on a monument, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3620, for having served the two goddesses for forty-six years. There is more evidence on the date of Memmius the Altar Priest and his apparently nearest successor, Claudius Sospis of Melite, in the catalogues of

*aiseitōi*, but the evidence is capable of more than one interpretation.<sup>2</sup> I think it is fair to say that only two names come into consideration, those of Memmīus and of Claudius (Sospis). The title replaces during his life the cognomen which counts as the priest's personal name.

Of course an archonship of the city is attested for Memmīus and for no other Altar Priest. In view of *S.E.G.*, XII, 156, it can probably be excluded in the case of Claudius Sospis. But here again we have no proof that the archonship mentioned in the extant letters of line 1 was that of the city, even though a date by archon somewhere seems to me indispensable and there is no room for the date in lines 3 and 4. The date must have stood in the phrase ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Μεμμίῳ | Ἐπὶ Βωμ[ῷ ἀρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ restored by Dittenberger in lines 1-2 or in a line now lost above the extant lines.<sup>3</sup> But Dittenberger's restoration of the extant letters of line 1 as Ἄρχων [τοῦ γένους on analogies in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2338 and 2340 seems to me unacceptable. No catalogue of a genos should be divided into Areopagites and non-Areopagites; it should stress unity. Therefore Dittenberger's restoration of the office mentioned in line 1 and his restoration of line 4 as ἀνέγραψε | τὰ ὀνόματα [τῶν γεννητῶν] are very probably mistaken. Mitsos, on the other hand, restores in line 4 τὰ ὀνόματα ἀ[νέγραψε τῶν Ἀρεοπαγειτῶν]. This restoration conflicts with the evidence of the catalogue itself, because if the heading labeled the list as a catalogue of Areopagites, there would be no point in repeating the word Areopagites under each tribal heading. Furthermore, the position of the word in line 46 can be explained only on the assumption that a word or phrase of five letter spaces preceded; this phrase, οἱ οὐκ or οὐ τῶν, would divide each tribal panel into Areopagites and the rest, lumped together merely as non-Areopagites.<sup>4</sup> The catalogue was surely divided into Areopagites and non-Areopagites, even if both of the proposed restorations are wrong, i.e. even if the non-Areopagites are not all lumped together in each tribal panel. Therefore the restoration τῶν Ἀρεοπαγειτῶν proposed by Mitsos for line 4 is certainly mistaken. He himself was not quite clear about it, because on p. 33 he concluded that they were ephebes. If so, they would not have been called Areopagites in the overall heading. And who ever heard of father and son (as are the men mentioned in lines 12 and 13) serving as ephebes in the same year?

<sup>2</sup> See James A. Notopoulos, "Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 22-23. He is certainly mistaken in assuming that the chief Eleusinian priests did not have lifelong tenure, but even so, he may have in individual datings been nearer the truth than I am in my note "On the Order of the Athenian Catalogues of *Aiseitōi*," *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIII, 1950, pp. 233-235.

<sup>3</sup> Eugene Vanderpool, who kindly examined the stone for me, writes, "There is no sign of a moulding or a finished top surface on the fragment as preserved, so I think there could physically have been another line (or lines) above the present line 1."

<sup>4</sup> For a parallel see the Roman Oration 63 where Aelius Aristides tells the audience that they have now divided the world εἰς Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ οὐ Ῥωμαίους. Compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 839 = II, 403 for a contrast between Areopagites and non-Areopagites.

Another approach is possible from the evidence of line 5, where my predecessors read Ἀφεισσίας (thought to be a name) and I read Ἀφ' ἐστίας [Τ] Φλ[— —]. Line 5 is in large letters too, but distinguished by a change of script. The change of script means, I think, that line 5 is separate from the section represented by lines 1-4. If my reading is correct, line 5 contains the name of the παῖς μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας. At each *panegyris* one eupatrid child, chosen by the Council, was initiated first in behalf of the city as a whole. Great honor accrued to the child's family, and in one case at least the honor elicited from the grateful father a magnificent endowment for future *panegyreis*.<sup>5</sup>

If, then, line 5 contains the name of the child initiated ἀφ' ἐστίας, it follows that the catalogue is a catalogue of persons initiated at one *panegyris*.

Since about eight hundred Athenian catalogues are known but no other catalogue of *mystai*, I assume that it was not the custom to engrave such lists on permanent material<sup>6</sup> and that our extraordinary inscription arose in commemoration of an extraordinary *panegyris*. Within the chronological limits of our inscription there were only two such *panegyreis*, that at which Lucius Verus was initiated in the spring of A.D. 165 and that at which Marcus Aurelius and Commodus were initiated in Boedromion of A.D. 176. The two events were separated by eleven unhappy years, and the initiation of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus did not come at so prosperous a time and did not have the novelty and excitement of the visit by Lucius Verus. The year 164/5 was that in which the Mysteries were celebrated twice in order to give Lucius Verus a chance to be initiated: δις ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτει ἀγαγόντα μυστήρια καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ θεμιτόν, as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592, the monument of the hierophant, says. The year of our inscription would seem to be that of A.D. 164/5.

Does this inference, if correct, exclude Dittenberger's restoration, ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Μεμμίου] | Ἐπὶ Βωμ[ῇ Θορκίου ἀρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ? Yes, if one follows the chronology of Kolbe, Kirchner and Notopoulos. But not all twentieth-century students of Athenian chronology of the Roman Period have with Kolbe dated the archonship of Memmius the Altar Priest in A.D. 161/2. Paul Graindor dated it in 164/5 and publicly controverted Kolbe's arrangement.<sup>7</sup> It may be mere coincidence but it is striking nevertheless.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. Oliver, "The Eleusinian Endowment," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 381-399 with references in note 37 to ancient sculpture and modern literature on the παῖς μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας. From Attic inscriptions, moreover, the author has collected over forty references to these children for discussion in a book on Roman Athens. The earliest reference occurs before 460 B.C. in an inscription where the reader should consult the corrections and restorations of B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 253 or *S.E.G.*, X, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Among expenses mentioned in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 313 are, in lines 161-2, σανίδια ἐν ο[ι]ς τὸς μύστας κ[αταγ]ράφ[ουσι] | Ἑῖμολπίδαις.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, Brussels, 1922 (*Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1921), p. 162; *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, Ghent, 1924, pp. 6 ff.

The next step is to clarify the extant reference to an "archon" at the beginning of line 1. What "archon" would have been likely to set up a list of initiates? The archon of the Eumolpidae and the archon of the Ceryces come to mind as possibilities, but I do not see why either should have done so unless he happened at the same time to be performing the personal liturgy of a panegyriarch. Can we restore the title of the panegyriarch? The participle *πανηγυριαρχῶν* occurs at Athens several times,<sup>8</sup> but a noun *πανηγυριάρχης* has never been found at Athens. The noun may have been sometimes or even regularly replaced by the phrase *ἄρχων τῆς πανηγύρεως*, just as the noun *γενεάρχης* was replaced in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2338 by the phrase *ἄρχων τοῦ γένους*. Similarly the word *γερουσιάρχης* has not appeared at Athens, only the phrase *ἄρχων τῆς γερουσίας*. But even if the word *πανηγυριάρχης* had occurred once or twice, we could still restore *ἄρχων [τῆς πανηγύρεως]* as suitable here in view of line 5.

Would this inference, if correct, exclude the possibility of interpreting the reference to the Altar Priest as a nominative instead of a genitive? The Athenian inscription *S.E.G.*, XII, 156, which mentions the deceased Altar Priest, Claudius Sospis, as a distinguished ancestor of the woman honored, does not say that he had served as panegyriarch. I should have expected it to do so if he had performed the liturgy at his own expense, but the liturgy in his case cannot be excluded with absolute certainty. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3620, dated between A.D. 177 and 180, gives us the honors and liturgies of Memmius the Altar Priest. He certainly never served as panegyriarch at his own expense on either occasion, though it does mention that he initiated both Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius with Commodus. Since Claudius Sospis was not yet Altar Priest on either occasion, we must rule him out for these two occasions

<sup>8</sup> In Attic inscriptions the following are mentioned as *ἄρξαντες καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντες*:

T. Flavius Leosthenes of Paeania	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 3592 = <i>S.I.G.</i> <sup>3</sup> , 869
T. Flavius Alcibiades " "	" " " = " "
[T. Flavius Leosthenes II] of "	" " " = " "
Tib. Claudius Lysiades of Melite	" " 3609 = III, 676
[Aelius Praxagoras?]	" " 3614 = <i>B.C.H.</i> , XXXVIII, 1914, p. 431
[Kinsman of foregoing]	" " 3615 = <i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.</i> , 1894, p. 203
Herennius Dexippus of Hermos	" " 3669 = III, 716
Hegias, son of Timocrates, <i>v. c.</i>	" " 3692 = III, 709

A. Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Studies in Honor of T. Leslie Shear (Hesperia, Suppl. VIII, 1949)*, p. 284, reexamining *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 (*πανηγυριαρχοῦντος*)), recognized that also the emperor Commodus once performed the financial liturgy of the panegyriarch. The restoration of this inscription has, I think, been improved in *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 174-177, but since the Mysteries were celebrated every year, one argument advanced against Raubitschek's date at which Commodus undertook the expense falls away. *Panegyreis* at Eleusis are attested by authors including Aelius Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, 258, 16 (Jebb) and 259, 4, and by the following inscriptions: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1191 (= *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 1048), 3500 (= III, 649), and *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 381. Finally, a decree, well published by G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 246-258 but with an incorrect restoration of lines 1-2, may have commenced [*Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀπολήξειδος, πανηγυριαρχοῦντος Ἀν-τε*][— — —].

at least, but Memmius the Altar Priest could have been the archon of the festal assembly at the city's or the emperor's expense on either occasion. Since I can hardly imagine Lucius Verus not paying for the second *panegyris* of A.D. 164/5, I conclude that the name of Memmius the Altar Priest may be restored in either the nominative or the genitive, though not in the genitive unless one accepts Graindor's chronology.

Since Column I of the catalogue contained the record of the two first tribes in the official order, there were probably six columns of names of male citizens and at least two columns of non-citizens including part of the emperor's entourage. Therefore the restoration of the heading should, I think, have lines 1-3 long enough to cover eight columns. Now the formula of line 3 may have read *ψηφισαμένων τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων* (with or without the two last words) or, in the short version, *ψηφισαμένης τῆς πόλεως*. The long version, more likely over a catalogue, gives ample room in line 2 for the non-paying substitute panegyriarch's name, which the formula must not separate from the word *Ἀρχων*. Hence a restoration of the name of Memmius the Altar Priest in the genitive as that of the eponymous magistrate is not excluded even from this standpoint, but I prefer to retain Kolbe's chronology.

Since in the quite separate line 5 the word *μνηθεῖς*, a part of the formula, was unnecessary, this word in some form must have been used at the end of the prescript, i. e. in the lost section of line 4. It becomes in fact an obligatory restoration.

The accompanying new text of the inscription is based on the readings of those who have, unlike the author, seen the actual stone but also on the author's consultation of photograph and squeeze.

Each tribal panel begins with the (active) Areopagites who take precedence over all other Athenians, even over those who have entered the imperial service. In lines 26-29, where Dittenberger read *᾽Οκρά(τιος)*, I read a predicate of rank, *ὁ κρά(τιστος)*, suitable for a member of the equestrian order, because in each case one nomen is sufficient. The *equites*, I think, are not Areopagites or at least not active Areopagites. Athenians of senatorial or equestrian rank in the Roman world probably enjoy, at Athenian public functions, the precedence and privileges of Areopagites, by law, even without having served in an Athenian archonship.

The tribe in line 41 can be restored either [*Αἰγ*]εῖδος or [*Οἶν*]εῖδος.

Under Erechtheis there appear at least eight Areopagites, under Pandionis probably eight. On Column I of fragment B probably three Areopagites once appeared right after line 42, certainly not more than three in whatever tribe this was. If all or most of the Areopagites were initiated on this occasion, how large a corporation was it?

If all nine archons normally entered every year, it would according to Bruno

## Fragment A

	[-----]	
	ἄρχων [τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων δευτέρας πανηγύρεως Μέμμιος]	
	Ἐπὶ Βωμ[ῶ] Θεορίκιος μνήσας Αὐτοκράτορα Λούκιον Οὐῆρον]	
	ψηφισαμέ[νων τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων]	
	τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ[νέγραψε τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος μνηθέντων]	
5	Ἀφ' ἐστίας [Τ] Φλ[-----]	
	Ἐρεχθείδος	Παν[διονίδο]ς
	Ἀρεοπαγεῖται	Ἀρεοπαγεῖται
	Ἐπίγονος Συντρόφου	Αἶλ [---]ς
	Μέμ Πιστοκράτης	Αἶλ Σ[---]ενος
10	Ἐλεύθερος Συντρόφου	20 Ἰού Ἰέρων
	[...]ρ Θεόξενος	Ἰούλ Στρατόλας
	[Ἀλκ]αμένης )	Αὐρ Δημύλος
	[Ἀλκ]αμένης ) νε	[Ἰο]ύλ Φίλιππος
	[...] Δ]ημήτριος	Ἰούλ Θεμίσων
15	[Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης Κάρπου	25 Ἀσκληπιάδης Δημ[---]
	[-----]	ὁ κῤά Ἐρέν Ρούφος
		ὁ κῤά Κοῤ Μα[---]
		ὁ κῤά Κοῤ Μα[---]
		[-----]

About six  
columns  
missing

## Fragment B

	[-----]	[-----]	
	[.....] Ἀ]πτικοῦ	[.]η[-----]	
30	[..... Πα]υσανίου	M[-----]	
	[.....] Θεογένης)	55 Ἀπ[....]σ[---]	
	[..... Θ]εογένου[ς]	Θεμ[ισ]τοκ[λή]ς [-]	[--
	[.....]νης Ἀσκληπι[άδ]ου	Ἀσκλη[η]πιάδ[η]ς E[--]	Ἡρα[
	[.....]ος Φέρμου	Ἀθή[να]ιος Μουσων[ίου]	Ἀῖλ[
35	[....]σιος Φέρμου	Ἀρτεμίδωρος Αὐτοβούλο[υ]	85 Διο[-
	[....] Ἀθηνόδωρος	60 Διογένης Παυλείνου	Ἀπο[
	[.....]ς)	Ἀῖλ Καλλίας	Ἀῖλ[
	[.....]μος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀριστόβουλ-	Παυλείνος)	Τρ[
	[.....]νος)	Ἀρχικλῆς ὁ καὶ [Εὐ]σχήμων	Γ[
40	[Ἀφρο]δείσιος Κέλσου	Καλλίας ὁ κ[αὶ] ....]ιος	[--
	vacat	65 Ζωσιμιανὸς Θεράνδ[ρ]ου	
	[... ] εἶδος	Αὐτόβουλος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀρτεμίδωρ	
	[Ἀρεοπ]αγείται	Ἀπολλωνίδης Μέμνονος	
	[.....]λιανός	Λεωνίδης Παμφίλ[ου]	
	[-----]	Μηνόδωρος Διογέ[νους]	
45	[.....]ος	70 Ἀπολλώνιος Διογέ[νους]	
	[οἱ οὐκ Ἀρ]εοπαγ/	Κάσιος Ἐπαγάθου	
	[-----]	Ζώπυρος Ἀγαθωνύμ[ου]	
	[--- Φρο]ντειῶ	Κέλαδος Ἀρτεμισίου	
	[-----]έσιος	Διονύσιος Ἀρτεμισ[ίου]	
50	[-----]ίου	75 Ἀντίοχος Ἀλεξάν[δρου]	
	[-----]ηνος	Εὐδοξος Ἀγαθωνύ[μου]	
	[-----]υ	Βότρυνς Δημύλου	
	[-----]	Δημύλος)	
		vacat	
		vacat	
		[Ἀσ]κληπιάδης)	
		80 Ἀνθος Ἀσκληπιάδ[ου]	
		Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀσκλη[πιάδου]	
		Λικ Ζώσιμος	
		[---]	

READINGS AND RESTORATIONS: 1-2 Oliver; Ἀρχων [τοῦ γένους τῶν --- ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μεμνίου]| Ἐπὶ Βω[μῷ] Θεοκρίου ἐναντῷ Dittenberger. 3-4 Oliver; ψηφισαμέ[νων τῶν γεννητῶν --- ἀνέγραψεν]| τὰ ὀνόματα [τῶν γεννητῶν Dittenberger; τὰ ὀνόματα ἀ[νέγραψεν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγαιτῶν Mitsos. 5 Oliver; Ἀφεσσίας /// Φλ Dittenberger and Kirchner. 46 οἱ οὐκ Oliver. 65 Θερ<σ>άνδ[ρ]ου Mitsos. 30, 43, 48, 59, 68 and 82 were improved by Kirchner, 23, 26, 31, 46, 62, 65 and 66 by Mitsos; the rest is due chiefly to Dittenberger (and Pittakys).



Keil have been a body of about 150.<sup>9</sup> Keil<sup>10</sup> says, "von der Mitte des 1. Jahrh. ab können aus den jährlich abtretenden Archonten nur die beiden höchsten, der Eponymos und Basileus, in den Areopag gelangen." He had two reasons for this view. One was the preconceived and unsupported idea that Rome deliberately changed the government of Athens into what Rome could most easily dominate, namely a very small oligarchical council over the democratic organs.<sup>11</sup> Secondly he pointed to the known heralds of the Areopagus who with one exception (he overlooked *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3668 which I restore τὸν γενόμενον π[ολέμαρχον]) had been either eponymous archons or kings. But since only eponymous archons or kings were likely to be prominent enough to aspire to the speakership of the Areopagus, the argument is worthless.

The Areopagus can hardly have been a corporation of about thirty as Keil thought, nor even of about forty-five (as if recruited from the three chief archons). The three chief archons, who had greater expenses, were often chosen from young men, whereas the thesmothetes perhaps tended to be more mature. Hence the ex-thesmothetes may not have averaged as many years as the others in the Areopagus. Again the archonship was occasionally held by foreigners who did not stay on in Athens. Therefore the Areopagus, even if recruited from all nine archons, need not have had quite the membership (150) calculated by Keil. There were thirteen Athenian tribes in this period, and if two-thirds of them had eight Areopagites being initiated in the second *panegyris* of 164/5, there were more than 50 Areopagites all told. I think we must conclude that all nine archons were still being promoted under normal circumstances.

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<sup>9</sup> Bruno Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historisch Klasse, LXXI, 1919, Heft 8), p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84. Mitsos, p. 32, is mistaken in saying that Keil thought all nine entered the Areopagus.

<sup>11</sup> Keil mentions also (p. 85) Plutarch, *Pericles* 9, on the recruitment of the Areopagus in the fifth century from the nine archons who were chosen by lot; if their administration met with approval, they entered the Areopagus. The difference which Plutarch implies was not, I think, the number nine. I shall treat these questions in my book.