

Reconsidering Apostle Paul's travels in the Mediterranean

By Sotirios Despotis*

A. Did Paul get to Spain?

With the possible travel of apostle of the Nations in Spain have been consistently occupied as it refers to the ancient sources as also to the views of the modern scholars, a) the Metropolitan Gregorios Papatomas Bishop of Peristeri in his article in the journal *Θεολογία* [vol. 60, 4 (1989), pp. 754-774] under the title: «Πῆγε ὁ Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος στὴν Ἰσπανία;»¹ and b) ὁ Chr. Karakolis, “Paul’s Mission to Hispania: Some Critical Observations”². With this article we would like to add some arguments in favor of the view that the apostle of the Nations Paul (P.) indeed visited Iberia.

First of all, the facts of the sources are the following: a) The intention of the apostle of the Nations to preach in *Spania* [= Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal)] is undisputed. It is clearly impressed on *Romans*³; b) the witness of Clement of Rome, around the end of the 1st century, that P. had preached up to the *limit of the West*⁴ is cogent. The Pillars of Hercules were considered in the imperial times as the limit of the West. c) All the

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1. See https://www.ecclesia.gr/greek/press/theologia/material/1989_4_9_Papatomas.pdf, with free access.

2. “Paul’s Mission to Hispania: Some Critical Observations”, in: *The Last Years of Paul: Essays from the Tarragona Conference*, June 2013, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2015, pp. 507-519. There is free access to the address: <http://scholar.uoa.gr/chkarakol/publications/paul%E2%80%99s-mission-hispania-some-critical-observations> and at academia.edu.

3. *Rom.* 15, 24; 15, 28.

4. See *1 Cor.*, chap. 5-7

other witnesses about this particular trip of P. derive from sources which date later. According to the research it is doubtful if the *Muratorian Canon* in particular dates back to the 2nd century A.D. or earlier⁵. δ). From the content of the *Pastoral Letters*⁶ results that the apostle of the nations after his imprisonment in Rome (a fact with which end the Acts and in all the two-volume work of Luke), conducted another mission which is not written down by his doctor and follower. Besides the Acts also, with the introductory to the work, programme prophesy of the Resurrected⁷ of preaching “to the end of the earth”, («ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς»), declare exactly that which Clement testifies: namely that the witnesses of the Lord aimed at delivering the message to the *limit-end* of the Universe, which then were identified with Spain. We must note that the listeners of the first sermon of Peter after the Pentecost, were reaching, in terms of origin, as far as *Cyrene*⁸. In the epilogue of the *Acts*⁹, in essence with the fulfillment of the familiar prophesy of *Isaiah*¹⁰, about the fattening of the Israelites’ heart, the writer opens the gates for the mission to the other nations (which until this moment have not heard of the redemption of God) and consequently to the west part of the Roman World.

In our opinion, to the arguments in favor of the view that P. eventually did get to the Iberian Peninsula, as a preacher of the Gospel, must be added the following:

5. See the relevant discussion in: Chr. Guignard, “The Muratorian Fragment as a Late Antique Fake?: An Answer to C. K. Rothschild”, *RevSR (Revue des Sciences Religieuses)* 93 (2019), pp. 73-90.

6. See S. Despotis, *Ποιμαντικές Ἐπιστολές – Α΄ πρὸς Τιμόθεον*, Ennoia Publications, Athens 2018, pp. 34-35.

7. *Acts* 1, 8: «Ἀλλὰ λήψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἐν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ [ἐν] πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς».

8. 2, 10: «Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι». With regard to the content of the List and the absence of Macedonia as also of Achaia in it see D. Evans, “A Jerusalemite Source for the List of Nations in Acts 2?”, *Journal of Gospels and Acts Research* 2 (2018), pp. 101-114.

9. *Acts* 28, 23-28.

10. Ch. 6, 9 ff.

1. We know how much the thought of the apostle of the Nations was influenced by Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah. There, it is prophesized that God sends messengers to Tarshish¹¹ to declare there his glory¹² and that «πλοῖα τῆς Θαρσεῖς» “the ships of Tarshish” will bring the sons of Zion from far¹³. “The kings of Tarshish and of the isles” («Οἱ βασιλιάδες τῆς Θαρσεῖς καὶ τῶν νησιῶν») are going to render to the king, that Jahweh¹⁴. Consequently, although Spania is a Latin speaking area as opposed to the other areas where P. had preached, it must have been very early placed to the programming of the apostle of the Nations. Of course, P. as it results also from *Romans* having fulfilled his mission in the East, he wanted first to bring to the holy mountain of Zion the collection

11. K. Siamakis, see <http://www.philologus.gr/4/68-2010-01-01-01-22-30/121-2009-03-08-21-45-02>, summarizes the importance of this particular area in the Bible: «ἡ πόλις Ταρτησὸς ἦταν ἀποικία τῶν Φοινίκων στὴν Πορτογαλία, στὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ παραλία ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰς Ἡρακλείους Στήλας (Γιβραλτάρ), ἡ περιοχὴ τῆς Ταρτησίδος χώρα ἦταν περιφρημὴ γιὰ τὸ χρυσὸ τὸν ἄργυρο τὸν ἤλεκτρο τὰ πετράδια καὶ τ' ἄλλα πολύτιμα ὀρυκτὰ τῆς, καὶ γιὰ τοὺς Ταρτησίους, καὶ γιὰ τὰς Ταρτησίδας γαλαῶς (= νυφίτσες), καὶ γιὰ τὴν Ταρτησίαν μύραιναι μαρτυροῦνται πολλὰ στὴν ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ γραμματεία (Ἡρόδοτος 1, 163, 1-2· 4, 152, 2· 4, 192, 3. Ἀριστοφάνης, Βάτρ., 475. Στράβων 1, 2, 26· 3, 2, 11-12. Ψευδαριστοτέλης, Θαυμ., 135), καὶ ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ Ταρτησὸς εἶναι ἡ λεγομένη στὴ Βίβλο ἐβραϊστὶ Ταρσίς ἢ κατὰ τοὺς Ὁ Θαρσίς, καὶ ὅτι οἱ μασσοῖτες οἱ ταργουμιστὰι οἱ ταλμουδιστὰι καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ῥαββίνοι τὴ μπερδεύαν μὲ τὴν ἐπίσης πλούσια σὲ πολύτιμα ὀρυκτὰ Τοπαῶν ἢ Τωπαῶν ἢ Ὠφαῶν ἢ Μωφαῶν ἢ Σωφαῶν ἢ Σωφάρ ἢ Σωφίρ ἢ Ὠφίρ ἢ Σουφίρ ἢ Σωφίρα ἢ Σεφάρ, ἢ ὁποῖα βρισκόταν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς σὲ κάποια παραλία ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, καὶ ὅτι γι' αὐτὸ οἱ Ἐβραῖοι τὴν Ταρτησὸν ἢ Ταρσίς – Θαρσίς καὶ ὅλη τὴν Ἰσπανία καὶ Πορτογαλία τὴ λὲν μέχρι σήμερον Σεφάρ».

12. Is. 66, 19.

13. Is. 60, 9.

14. Ps. 72, 10. The information about Tarshish was taken from: <https://wol.jw.org/el/wol/d/r11/lp-g/1200004325>, where are mentioned the following: (Tarshish) [from a root that means “smash”]. 1. One of the four sons of Javan, who were born after the Flood (*Gen.* 10, 4; *1 Chron.* 1, 7). He is counted among the 70 heads of the families of which “the nations spread abroad on the earth” (*Gen.* 10, 32). As it happened with the other sons of Javan, the name Tarshish ended up to determine the people and the area. 2. Descendent of Benjamin and son of Bilhan (*1 Chron.* 7, 6; 10). 3. One of the seven princes and wise men of king Ahasuerus who examined the case of the mutineer Queen Vasti (*Esther* 1, 12-15). 4. An area which was initially inhabited from the descendants of Tarshish, son of Javan and grandson of Japheth. There are some indications which testify towards which direction migrated the descendants of Tarshish the centuries after the Flood.

of the voluntary contributions of this particular (eastern) World, which he had with great difficulty gathered, fulfilling partly the *Isaiah* 6ff: «ἐμὲ αἱ νῆσοι ὑπέμειναν καὶ πλοῖα Θαρσις ἐν πρώτοις, ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου μακρόθεν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν αὐτῶν μετ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐνδοξον εἶναι καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν ἀλλογενεῖς τὰ τείχη σου, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν παραστήσονται σοι διὰ γὰρ ὀργὴν μου ἐπάταξά σε καὶ διὰ ἔλεον ἠγάπησά σε». We must notice here that Spania was known in the Mediterranean world for its mythical wealth. Furthermore, the same area in the years of Vespasian enjoyed the privilege of *ius Latii* (the privilege its inhabitants to be considered as Latin)¹⁵.

2. Moreover, it had not passed unnoticed by P. the fact that Spain during the 1st century A. D. was influencing also culturally and profoundly the Universe, through its influence on the Eternal City. Michael von Albrecht¹⁶ notices:

With the exception of the Senate, the representatives of the Italian nation become more and more rare also in literature, whereas at the same time the number of the foreigners is increasing. To the important representatives, even nowadays, of the beyond the Po Italy-e.g. to Plinii- is added a dignified line of scholars who originate from Spain¹⁷: Seneca the Elder and Seneca the Younger, Lucanus, Columella, Quintilianus and Martialis. Spain will soon provide and emperors (Tajan, Adrian). North Africa and other provinces will follow. However, this “provincialization” of Latin literature does not imply necessarily and losses with regard to the clear Roman identity; the traditions quite often are kept on the borderlands in a clearer form than they are in the center, which is more exposed to greater influences. Therefore, the penetration of the Spanish does not mean alienation, but renewal. The material conditions of the writers’ action depend

15. Egb. Koops, “Masters and Freedmen: Junian Latins and the Struggle for Citizenship”, in: Gerda de Kleijn, Stéphane Benoist (eds.), *Integration in Rome and in the Roman World, Proceedings of the Tenth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire* (Lille, June 23-25, 2011), Brill, Leiden – London 2014, pp. 105-126, espec. 107. Jaime Vicens Vives, *Σύντομη Ἱστορία τῆς Ἰσπανίας*, transl. D. Filippis, Aiolos Publications, Athens 1997, pp. 35-41.

16. *Ἱστορία τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Λογοτεχνίας. Ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικο ὡς τὸ Βοήθιο καὶ ἡ σημασία τῆς γιὰ τὰ νεότερα χρόνια*, vol. II, Crete University Press, Herakleion 1997, p. 1026.

17. The underline with italics in all brackets is ours.

on their personal means: Seneca the Elder, Seneca the Younger, Lucanus and Petonius were financially independent, Quintilianus was paid by the emperor whereas other poets-such as Statius and Martialis- had private donors.

We must notice that there was an ancient temple of the *victorious Hercules* or *Olivarius Hercules* (it. *Tempio di Ercole Vincitore, Hercules Olivarius*) in Rome in the ancient Market of the Ox (*Forum Boarium*), which honored the arrival of the hero to the City from the limits of the Universe (The Pillars of Hercules), which were located to the Iberian Peninsula. In general, during the imperial times, the *Argonautic* (orphic), which describe with very vivid colors the limits of the Atlantic¹⁸, were particularly favorite.

3. According to Wright¹⁹, P. had one more reason to visit Spain:

The most obvious reason was that he intended to complete his work to the east end of the mediterranean world and to proceed to the west. As I suggested earlier, I think that this is an ambition of Paul, with a more extended focus than just to find even more people to accept the preaching, more “souls to be saved” (not that Paul had put it that way). *He wanted to raise the flag of the Messianic Gospel to fundamental places, where it was flourishing another “gospel” namely the “gospel” of the Roman empire, that of Cesar and of all his accomplishments.* Consequently, Rome itself was the obvious target. But beyond that, Spain, the west end of the world, to the extent of what the contemporaries of Paul knew, was a leading center of Roman culture and influence. The great contemporary of Paul, Seneca was originated from there. Galba, who in a sort time will enjoy few months as an emperor²⁰, was governor there, with seat the port of Tarragona²¹, which was probably the initial aim of Paul. Tarragona possessed a big temple in honor of Cesar. As in Ephesus or in Corinth, in the same way in it Paul would desire to proclaim that Jesus was the real Lord, exactly right in front of Cesar and at all costs. However, for this enterprise he needed a basis which would have a double function: as a source of financial and practical support, but also as a community which would come

18. Listen the Proposal: «Ὀρφικά Ἀργοναυτικά: Τὸ ταξίδι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν», of Professor Panagiota Preka-Papadima, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7oNqICsjYyc>. Στὸ 43', 37" is described the arrival at the river of Tartessus and then the entrance to the Mediterranean through the sanctuary of Dionysos in Gibraltar.

19. N. T. Wright, *Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος: Ἡ Ζωὴ καὶ τὸ Ἔργο*, transl. S. Despotis in cooperation with I. Grigorakis, Ouranos Publications, Athens 2019, pp. 392-393.

20. He was a roman emperor for seven months from 68 to 69 A.D.

21. Tarragona is a coastal city of Catalonia located on the Costa Daurada, capital of the province of Tarragona, with a population of 140.000 inhabitants.

in communion with him in prayer. Therefore, there must have been a mutual understanding²².

Consequently, we think it's possible that the apostle of the Nations, after his release from prison in Rome, realized his plan to proclaim the Gospel to the end of the Universe. However, the Lord Jesus Himself, talking about Himself with the title *Son of Man*, was quoting the oracles of Daniel. In them already in chap. 2 the great Mountain covers the *whole earth*, from which a stone is cut by no human hand, and breaks in pieces the "image" of the "kingdoms". Moreover, the *universal power*, that is given to the Son of Man in the well-known chap. 7 (of *Daniel*) but also to the riding on an ass humble king in *Zech.* 9, 9-10²³. is recalled. There (in *Zechariah*) is prophesized that the extent of His dominion will be *from the river* [it is meant Euphrates] *to the ends of the earth, but also from sea to sea*. Let us notice here that the Promised Land in its ideal extent extends "from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines [the Mediterranean Sea] and from the dessert to the River [Euphrates]". It's possible that the first Christians considered that it is meant the extent from the (Pacific) Ocean to the Mediterranean, which is also called in the *Holy Bible West or Great Sea*²⁴ and thus and in Spain.

Finally the Lord Himself in the last-ultimate moment with the familiar "scandalous": "*My God, my God*"²⁵ sang the whole *Psalms* 21 (O'). Consequently the last phrase of the Lord in *Matthew*²⁶ includes the "prophesy": «*Μνησθήσονται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν Σου πᾶσαι*

22. It is Rome that is understood.

23. Cf. *Ps.* 71, 8 (O').

24. It's about an argument that I have developed in my work: Τό «Φῶς ἰλαρόν» στὴν Χώρα τῆς Πρωινῆς Γαλήνης. Ἡ Μαρτυρία τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου στὴν Ἄπω Ἀνατολή ὑπὸ τὸ φῶς τῆς ἀνά-Γνώσης τοῦ «Πορευθέντες Μαθητεύσατε», *Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία ἀπὸ τὸν 19ο στὸν 21ο αἰῶνα*, Ennoia Publications, Athens 2019, pp. 111-140.

25. *Mt.* 27, 46 ff.

26. Already in the beginning of *Mt.* Abraham is presented as the first ancestor of Jesus, who was called to become blessing of the Nations (12, 2) and to whom God raised up children from stones (*Mt.* 3, 9).

αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνων, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ βασιλεία καὶ αὐτὸς δεσπόζει τῶν ἔθνων [...] καὶ τὸ σπέρμα μου δουλεύσει αὐτῷ. Ἀναγγελλήσεται τῷ Κυρίῳ γενεὰ ἡ ἐρχομένη. Καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσιν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ λαῷ τῷ τεχνησομένῳ ὅτι ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος»²⁷! In the “heart” of *Matthew*²⁸, Immanuel is presented as the suffering Servant-Son of Isaiah²⁹, who will proclaim salvation *to all the Nations, bringing justice to victory and the Nations to hope in His name*³⁰.

B. The advent of Paul to the splendid city and the Athenian “Riviera”

P. arrived in Athens (the seven-hilled city, through which flowed that time three river) probably in a small vessel through Euripus or Kafireas sailing near Sounion. He was accompanied by brothers from Veria. For the first time Paul is *alone* in a much-frequented place of his mission (irony) since it was a loving destination of Greeks and Romans. At the same time, he was at fever pitch in a place which with its past and the works of art had an extraordinary fascination. More specifically the feeling of loneliness is proved by the command that he gives to his brothers which accompany him already from Thessaloniki, namely Timothy and Sila, to make haste and come quickly³¹ to him.

Since the *Acts of the Apostles* do not clarify which was the gate of entrance of P. in Athens, the question is whether Glyfada could have been the place that he disembarked in the Attic Earth. In our work *Ὁ Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος κηρύττει στὴν Ἀθήνα: Ἡ πρώτη συνάντηση Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ*³² we have rejected the view of A.

27. 28-29; 31-32.

28. 12, 17-21; cf. 8, 17 // Is. 53, 4.

29. 42, 1-4.

30. See N. Sotiropoulos, *Ἑρμηνεῖα Δυσκόλων Χωρίων τῆς Γραφῆς*, vol. III, pp. 24-26. As the abstemious listeners of the Scriptures know, the suffering Son is *called* from the Lord as a *covenant to the people, a light to the Nations* (Is. 42, 6; 49, 6)

31. In *Acts* is used in addition ἐν τάχει (12, 7; 22, 18; 25, 4), whereas in *Luke* in parboils the ταχέως (14, 21; 16, 6).

32. Athens 2019, pp. 255-258.

Papagiannopoulou-Palaiou³³ that P. landed at Glyfada³⁴, the coast of ancient Aexone (< “an area of goats”), where there are ruins of an early Christian basilica, and that coming from there to Athens he saw the altar of the unknown god. We have supported there that this view is not valid, since it’s not possible for anyone to disembark that far from the splendid city. Of course, our basic reasoning was against the view that P. landed at Faliro³⁵, whereas we based on witnesses of the 1st century which mentioned a disembarkation in Piraeus³⁶.

First of all, about the temple in Glyfada the following have been formulated:

The ruins of the early Cristian Basilica of Glyfada stand on the enclosed archaeological place, next to the club «Ἀστέρια», between the costal road and the coast, which in the old days was the *port of Aexone*. They were found in 1927 accidentally during the excavation of tombs³⁷ by N. Kyparissi and researched by An. Orlandos. The Basilica dates back to the end of the 5th century A.D. It has *three aisles, with semi-circular apse and narthex. It’s shape almost square* (external dimensions 17,50 x 15,75 m.) which is rare for the Greek space, probably reminds of the eastern model, like the basilicas in north Syria and of the 2nd half of the 5th century A.D.³⁸.

33. «Ἐνδείξεις περὶ τῆς εἰς Αἰξωνῶν ἀποβιβάσεως τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου», *Αἰξωνή / Αἰχονί* 4 (May 1951), pp. 131-136.

34. The site, already from the beginning of the 20th century has changed its name to Glyfada because of the presence of some wells which had salt-water.

35. In the autumn, the candidate initiates of the Great Mysteries of Eleusis had, in Faliro, themselves and the piglets, symbols of fertility which played an important role in Demeter’s worship, an odd bath.

36. Dio Chrysostom *Όμ.* 6. 3.3, Lucian, *Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαι* 1.8 and 9. 12, but also Philostratus, *Βίοι Σοφιστῶν* 2, 603, 12, record Piraeus as a port of disembarkation.

37. It is located there a part of a cemetery of the Early Helladic period, of the 3rd millennium BC, and a costal prehistoric enclosure of the early-middle Helladic period. In it (the enclosure), in and around it, there is a part of a cemetery of the late Roman period: https://www.culture.gov.gr/DocLib/g_44022.pdf.

38. <http://www.glyfadanet.gr/history.htm>: The material is taken from the book of E. Giannopoulou-Konsolaki, *Γλυφάδα. Ἱστορικὸ Παρελθὸν καὶ Μνημεῖα*, ed. Ex-Mayor of Glyfada Th. Spondilidi, Athens 1990.

Of course, we don't know (yet) to whom was the Temple dedicated. It's unusual to build a temple near the coast (although we must acknowledge that as the "sunk" temple of Apollo in Astir of Vouliagmeni³⁹, declares, the beach must have been far away) far enough from the settlement of Aexone (which was located then around the H. Temple of the today St. Nicholas of Glyfada). It's possible that the Temple wants to keep alive the memory of some odd event, unless ruins of a worshiped national deity, whom it replaces, will be discovered underneath it. The fact that it follows eastern Syriac models, it may indicate that the owners had connections with this particular place, where the apostle of the Nations P. started his action. We must notice that the *ἀκρωτήριον* (Vouliagmeni of today) *παρ' ὃ ἦν ὁ δῆμος τῶν Αἰξωνίδων Ἀλῶν ὀνομάζεται ἤδη Ἁγιά ἢ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Παύλου καὶ δὲν ἀποκλείεται νὰ εἶχε ἤδη ἀγκυροβόλια γιὰ μικρὰ πλοῖα*⁴⁰.

In addition:

1. We know that P. arrived accompanied by brothers from Veria who did not probably use a big ship since, as opposed to the travelers for whom we have witnesses from the 1st century A.D., they did not have to sail across the ocean, but they were moving across the Greek coastline.

2. Also they hired probably a small vessel, since they had to escape immediately from the fierceness of the Jews of Thessaloniki and thus they would not had time to wait for a big ship to sail, as it will happen later on in *Acts* with the adventurous trip of P. in Rome. Consequently, they did not have to come to anchor necessarily in Piraeus, as it will happen on the contrary centuries later with the arrival of Basil the Great, St. Gregory and Julian (the so-called Apostate).

3. The fact is that in busy ports, like these of Piraeus, there was the possibility of meeting Romaniotes Jews who persecuted P. in Macedonia,

39. <https://www.tovima.gr/2008/11/25/culture/o-boyliagmenos-naos-toy-apollwna/>.

40. Iakovos Rizos-Rangavis, *Τὰ Ἑλληνικά, ἥτοι περιγραφή γεωγραφική, ἱστορική, ἀρχαιολογική καὶ στατιστικὴ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ νέας Ἑλλάδος*, τόμ. 1, τυπ. Κ. Ἀντωνιάδου, Athens 1853-1854, pp. 272-273: https://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CE%91%CE%BB%CE%B1%CE%AF_%CE%B1%CE%B9_%CE%91%CE%B9%CE%BE%CF%89%CE%BD%CE%AF%CE%B4%CE%B5%CF%82.

and were probably engaged in trade, which deterred them from coming to anchor there (in Piraeus).

4. It is a moral certainty that the brothers from Veria would like to return as soon as possible to their starting-point, since they did not come to Athens to “study” rhetoric and philosophy or to “entertain”. Therefore, it is possible for them to have left P. with the small vessel to other ports before those of Piraeus. Indeed, even from “Glyfada” P. could have reached the splendid city through the Urban Road, which connected the splendid city with the temple of Poseidon in Sounion and the silver mines in Lavrio.

5. It’s possible for the brothers from Veria to have seized the opportunity to get useful products for their ort, from the port where they have left P. Koliass Akra (in the present day Hagios Kosmas) was connected with the modern Trachones, where there is also an early Christian Church (Naos) of St. Apostles. Many well-known handicrafts of ceramics and of ropes-sails for the ships⁴¹ were located there.

6. Also Piraeus, which in antiquity comprised essentially three different ports [out of the main (port) of Cantharus (the subsequent “Porto Leone” there are the fortified ports Zea and Munichia (in the present day Pasalimani and Mikrolimano)], was destroyed by the Roman general Sulla. As a result, the Hippodamus Agora with the 380 clubs, the Skeuotheke of Philo and the neosoikoi⁴² did not exist. At the end of the 1st century B.C. Strabo finds the city «*συνεσταλμένην εἰς ὀλίγην κατοικίαν, τὴν περὶ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος*»⁴³. We must note that Pausanias from Asia Minor, who visited Athens in 145 A. D. landed at Zea (Pasalimani), whereas his travel in

41. About the connection of Hagios Kosmas with *Euonymos*, where there was the ancient Church of St. Apostles, there where today is located the Church of Zoodochos Pigi of Alimos exactly next to the Metro: <https://www.alimos.gov.gr/istoria/#1kwlias>.

42. We must note that Piraeus (which according to Suidas, was initially an island and was named so because of the passage from the one side of Attica to the other), the «*Ἐμπόριον τῆς Ἑλλάδος [in the days of Pericles] τοσαύτην ἔχονθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὥσθ' ἂ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν παρ' ἐκάστων χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν λαβεῖν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥάδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι*» (Isocrates, *Πανηγυρικός* 42, 5), a town with well laid-out streets, with temples and theaters resisted Sulla about a year. Because of that it was destroyed through fire and steel.

43. *Γεωγρ.* 9, 396.

Attica begins from Piraeus, extends to Faliro (Phaleron) and reaches to the small peninsula of Hagios Kosmas (Kolias Akra), which then belonged to Alimos (demos Alimountos).

7. Finally, we must note that in the small peninsula of Hagios Kosmas, which –as we have already mentioned– was called then *Kolias Akra*⁴⁴, Afrodite, Demeter and other female fertility deities (Genetyllides)⁴⁵, were worshiped and that might have contributed to the “fever pitch” that Luke says concerning P.

Also:

The inhabitants of Aixonon were considered from the rest Athenians to be *blasphemous* and *sharp-tongued*, but also *gourmand*. Harpocration, in his work *Λεξικὸν τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων*, mentions the verb «αἰζωνεύομαι» (ancient Greek: *αἰζωνεύομαι*), almost as synonym to «περιγελῶ», «βλασφημῶ» or «κακολογῶ», according to the phrase: «ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ κακῶς λέγειν αἰζωνεύεσθαι ἔλεγον», know from the oration of Isaios⁴⁶.

Many of the inhabitants of the municipality were engaged in agriculture and in fishing, since the municipality was known in antiquity for the famous «αἰζωνική τρίγλη» (a fish, red mullet).

44. «Κωλιάς ... ἀκτὴ εἰς θάλασσαν ἐξέχουσα καὶ ἴσως παρὰ τὸ κῶλον Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ Κωλιάδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν αὐτόθι πολύστυλον» (Hesychius, *Lex.*) ... «ὁ δὲ τόπος λέγεται “Κωλιάς”, ἐπεὶ ἐκκείμενός ἐστιν, ὁμοῖος ἀνθρώπου κῶλῳ» (Aristoph. *Λυσ.* 2; κῶλον = part of the body). «Κωλιάς δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη οὕτως εἴρηται· ἀνὴρ τις φθείρας κόρην, ἐκ τῶν κῶλων ἦτοι τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκρεμάσθη· καὶ λυθεὶς ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ, ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Κωλιάδος Ἀφροδίτης ἐπονομάσας» (Aristophanes *Νεφέλαι*). And a second worship, of Demeter, was practiced in Kolias, also by women. The worship of Demeter is already attested in the days of Solon and of Peisistratos. An old comment to the passage of Pausanias, relevant to Kolias Akra: «ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν αὐτόθι, πολύστυλον, ὃς φησὶν Ἡσύχιος» mentions a sanctuary and a temple of Demeter. The collection of the etymologies derives from: <https://averoph.wordpress.com/2012/11/07/%CE%BA%CF%89%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%B1%CF%83-%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%B1-%E1%BC%85%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BA%CE%BF%CF%83%CE%BC%E1%BE%B6%CF%82-%E1%BC%A4-%E1%BC%80%CE%BA%CF%81%CF%89%CF%84%E1%BF%86%CF%81/>.

45. Paus. *Ἀττ.* 1, 1, 5.

46. Municipality of Glyfada, Ἡ Πόλη μας, Ἱστορικὴ ἀναφορὰ: <https://web.archive.org/web/20161217190128/http://www.glyfada.gr/frontoffice/portal.asp?cpage=NODE&cnode=217>.

In any case, the subject is “open” and it’s possible the works for the reformation of the Athenian “Riviera”⁴⁷ (as the coastline of Athens is called) to bring interesting archaeological findings to light, as it already happened with the metropolitan railway (Metro) in Athens and in Thessaloniki, although there an “excavation” in depth is needed. The altar in honor of the unknown gods, which was the starting point for the Speech in Areopagus, could be something like that.

47. <https://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CE%9B%CE%B9%CE%B3%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%B1>. *Riviera* is an Italian word which means “coastline” and comes from the Latin *ripa*. It was used initially as the correct name of the coast of Liguria. Nowadays two of the most known Riviervas are: the Italian Riviera (*Riviera ligure*), part of the coast of Italy, and the French Riviera (*Côte d’Azur*), part of the south coast of France.