

THE CHURCH OF ST. DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE AND THE PALACE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

(PLATES 41-55)

PREFACE

AS the Acropolis of Athens symbolizes classical civilization and paganism, so the Areopagus has become identified with the more recent history of the city as a symbol of the ascendancy of Christianity in Athens.

In A.D. 51, when the Apostle Paul had stirred up suspicion in the course of his discussions with the local philosophers, the Stoics and Epicureans, in the Agora, he was summoned as a matter of course to appear before the Council of the Areopagus. The brief summary of Paul's discourse that is preserved in *Acts* 17, 22-31 vividly reflects the setting. The Apostle reproved the Athenians for their excessive "idolatry" and their too great concern with temples and cult images made by the hand of man. Standing on the Areopagus, Paul was surrounded by venerable pagan sanctuaries in some of which stood famous cult statues. In clear view to the east rose the Acropolis crowned by the Parthenon and Erechtheion, while in and around the Agora at the north foot of the Areopagus stood half a dozen more of the principal temples of the city.

Paul's speech on that day seems not to have made any great impression on a body that had listened through the centuries to the apostles of many cults. But he did win some adherents, among them "Dionysios the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them." Tradition has it that Dionysios became the first bishop of Athens and suffered a martyr's death under the Emperor Domitian. Canonized by the Orthodox Church he became, and still is, the patron saint of Athens. An equally persistent, but less reliable, tradition credits St. Paul with having hidden from persecution in a well near the house of Dionysios.

Beyond the bare fact in the one verse of the New Testament, nothing is actually known about the life of the saint who was to occupy such an important place in Athenian hagiography. But by the early Middle Ages he and Dionysios, or Denys, Bishop of Paris, had become inextricably confused, to their mutual advantage: the relatively obscure third-century martyr profited greatly by identification with the Areopagite, while the distinguished Athenian acquired in return some of the colorful biographical details essential to the cult of a mediaeval saint. Even so, his cult became firmly established only in the late 6th or 7th century as a result of the sudden popu-

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larity of a body of theological writings claiming him as their author but actually written, as is now believed, not earlier than A.D. 500 by an unknown Syrian.¹

Although the Biblical account implies merely that Dionysios was a member of the Court of the Areopagus, local legend places his residence high up on the hill, on the site later occupied by the Archbishop's palace.

The ruins of a church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite have long been visible on a flat terrace just below the summit of the hill, on the north side, against a precipitous wall of rock (Pl. 41, a, b). It was a conspicuous and commanding site, overlooking the Agora, and the church drew the attention of many of the travelers who visited Athens in the 17th and 18th centuries.² Its date, however, remained enigmatic, having been variously attributed to the 7th, 9th and 17th centuries.

A brief exploratory excavation of the church alone was conducted by Professor G. Sotiriou in 1915;³ in 1934 the whole area was investigated more thoroughly by the American School of Classical Studies under the supervision of Dorothy Burr Thompson.⁴ Although this campaign was unsuccessful in achieving its major objective of locating the Sanctuary of the Eumenides and the Court of the Areopagus, it revealed a group of buildings adjacent to the church which could be identified as the Archbishop's palace, and also a cemetery dating as far back as the 7th century after Christ.

In the summer of 1963 excavations were resumed to complete the study of the ecclesiastical complex, to determine the date of the church, the possibility of the existence of a predecessor, and to reveal the character and date of the Archbishop's palace⁵ (Fig. 1).

¹ For a convenient summary of the confusion of identities, as well as the place of the Pseudo-Dionysios, cf. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s. v.; also G. Sotiriou, *Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 131, and Dom Denys Rutledge, *Cosmic Theology: The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Denys*, London, 1964, p. 9, note 2.

For St. Paul on the Areopagus, cf. A. F. Findlay, *B.S.A.*, I, 1894-1895, pp. 78-89; E. Vanderpool, *Archaeology*, III, 1950, pp. 34-37; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 358; XXII, 1953, p. 129.

² For the most important accounts, v. Appendix: Testimonia.

³ *Δελτ.*, II, 1916, pp. 119-143.

⁴ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 363-364 (Shear).

⁵ This investigation was made possible by a generous contribution from Miss Alice Tully of New York. The field work was carried out in the summers of 1963 and 1964 under the supervision of the undersigned with the close cooperation of Professor H. A. Thompson who has also contributed much of the introductory matter in this report. On the completion of the excavation the cisterns and tombs were re-filled, the enclosed area was levelled, the neighboring slopes were graded, the walls of both the Church and the Archbishop's Palace were filled out here and there with rubble masonry, and the positions of the interior columns of the Church were marked by blocks of stone.

PRE-CHRISTIAN REMAINS

The Areopagus lies to the west of the Acropolis, to which it forms a pendant consisting of a compact rocky mass rising abruptly on all sides above the gentler slopes below. In plan it forms a triangle with its apex towards the east and its base to the west, measuring about 200 m. long and 130 m. wide at the base.

The triangle is especially precipitous in its eastern half, where it rises 10 to 13 meters. The top is here completely inaccessible from below except by way of the ancient stairway cut in the rock at the southeast corner, which leads to the summit of the hill, 115.20 m. above sea level.

The demolition of the modern houses on the north slope of the Areopagus and the excavation of the ancient Agora have freed the hill from the clutter of its surroundings and it now stands clear and visible on all sides. In the classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods the hill slopes were occupied by private houses, but in Mycenaean and Geometric times the area served as a cemetery. The most important relics of the Mycenaean phase are the royal chamber tombs hewn out of the rock a short distance down the hill from the Archbishop's palace.⁶

The recent excavations have yielded nothing that could be associated with any of the numerous sanctuaries which are attested by the literary evidence for the Areopagus. Nor has anything come to light that could be construed as a meeting place, whether roofed or open to the sky, for the Council of the Areopagus. The eastern part of the terrace, to be sure, is now overlaid with vast masses of rock that have prevented the exhaustive examination of that area. But any extensive ancient establishment on the terrace would have been centered, presumably, on the broad middle part of the terrace, and this area has been thoroughly examined with negative results. Disappointing though it may seem, this negative conclusion is significant; the search for those venerable establishments of pagan antiquity must be renewed, but on other parts of the hill.

The only structural remains of the pre-Christian period appear to derive from modest private houses of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The discovery of their ruinous foundations under the floor of the church proves at least that the terrace on which the church was built existed at that time, but the absence of any earlier foundations suggests that the terrace was leveled in Hellenistic times for use as a residential district. The most substantial of these tenuous buildings consist of a complex of house walls, *ca.* 0.45 to 0.50 m. thick, in the nave of the church, almost immediately under the floor (Fig. 1; Pl. 42, a). The associated fill, with a depth varying from 0.20 to 0.45 m. over bedrock, consisted of two layers, the upper containing pottery of the 1st century B.C. to 1st after Christ, the lower from the 3rd to

⁶ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 274-292 (Shear).

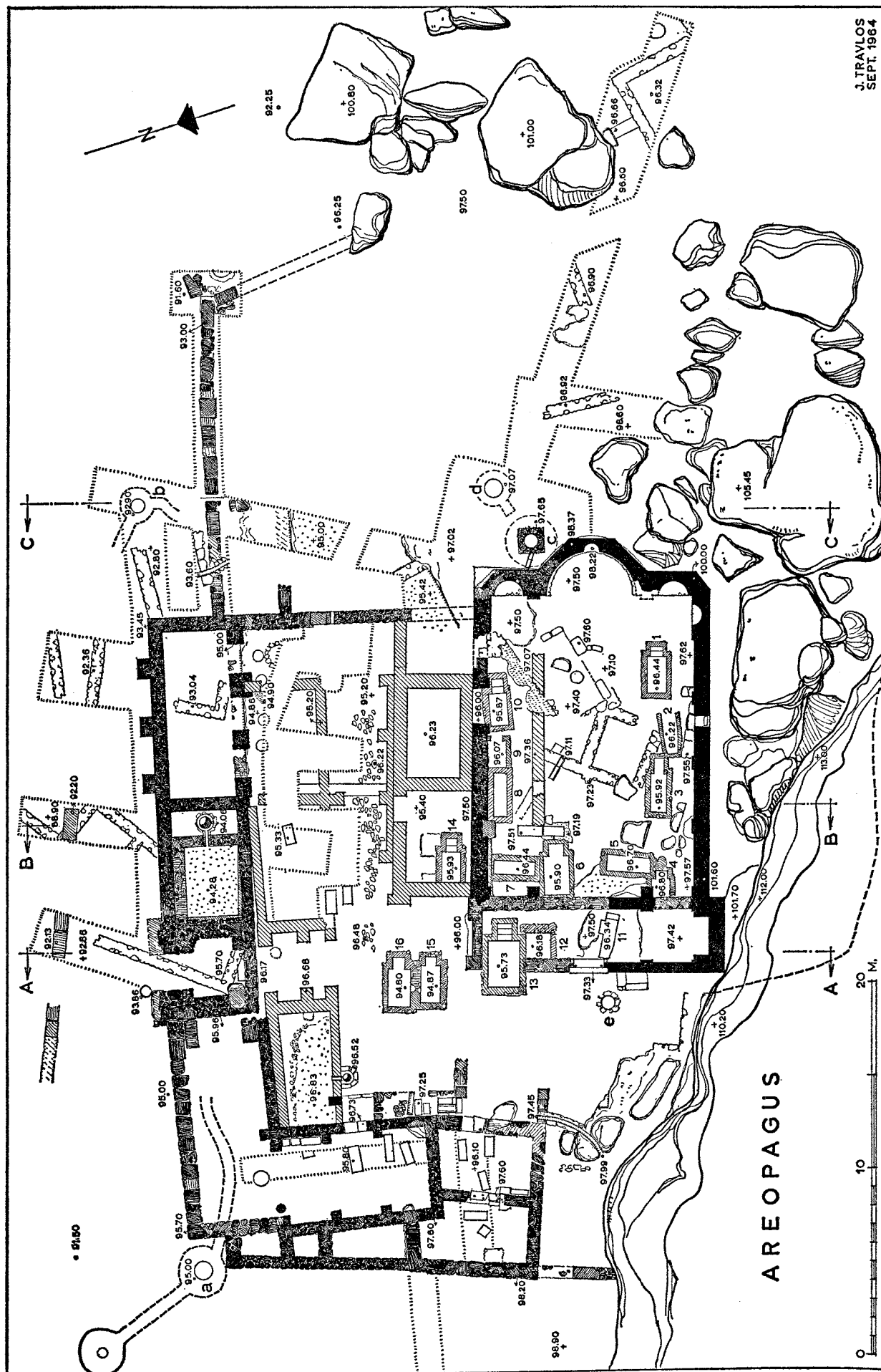


Fig. 1. Church of St. Dionysios and Archbishop's Palace. Actual State.

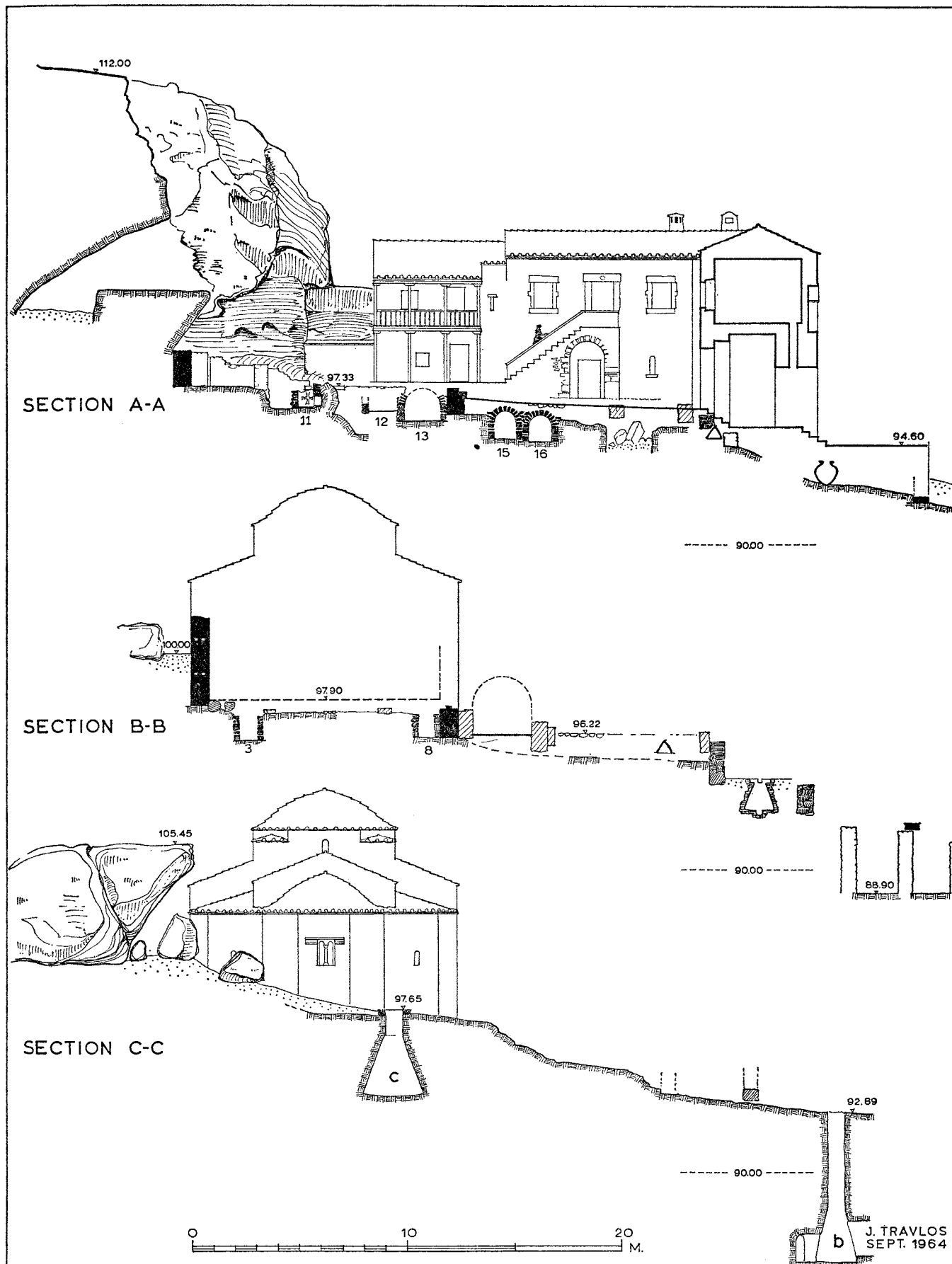


FIG. 2. Church and Archbishop's Palace. Restored Sections.

2nd B.C. With the exception of a bowl found in a cutting close to the narthex (Pl. 42, f),⁷ all the pottery was extremely fragmentary.

In the northeast corner of the church a strip of tile mosaic paving is all that remains of a house of the Roman period. A shallow footing trench defined it as the southeast corner of a room, but all traces of the wall itself had been removed.

Except for several Hellenistic cisterns, the only other evidences of pre-Christian building were a few miscellaneous bits of wall and a Roman cistern well to the east of the church among the masses of fallen rock (Fig. 1, extreme right).

HELLENISTIC CISTERNS

The impression that in Hellenistic times the area was largely residential was borne out by the discovery of a number of cisterns of the usual domestic type (a, b, c, d on Fig. 1; b, c on Fig. 2). They are characteristically flask-shaped, usually connected with one or two others by tunnels and plastered with a heavy coating of hydraulic cement.⁸

One of these lies below the recessed northwest corner of the Archbishop's palace (a on Fig. 1). A tunnel, leading northwest down the slope of the Areopagus, connected with another chamber of which the upper part had been broken away. A second tunnel led toward the east but owing to its crumbling condition its full length could not be explored. Its wavering course, probably dictated by the nature of the terrain, made its ultimate destination uncertain, but it may well have connected with a chamber whose collapsed mouth was found by the western pier of the monumental gateway.

The middle chamber of a second cistern system lies just east of the northeast corner of the palace enclosure (b on Figs. 1, 2). It was exceptionally deep (6.80 m.) and had been filled up with coarse pottery of the 11th-12th centuries and much slag from metal working. Two tunnels led off, one to the northwest, and the other started toward the south but almost immediately veered to the southwest. It was impracticable to explore either tunnel.

Two more cisterns were investigated just east of the church. One, 4 m. east of the northeast corner (d on Fig. 1), was evidently intended as a manhole, to be connected with its neighbor; but a tunnel starting in that direction was blocked up after a very short distance and probably never finished. The chamber itself was greatly enlarged at a later period; its lower part is a large, irregular chamber hewn out of bedrock in a fissure of the Areopagus rock.

The second (c on Figs. 1, 2) is a self-contained unit of the usual type with a total depth of 3.95 m. and a bottom diameter of 2.75 m. Its cylindrical mouth, 0.85 m.

⁷ P 27106. H. 0.090 m., diam. 0.275 m. Blotchy, dull glaze over inside and upper part of outside. Red ring on floor caused by stacking. Early 1st century B.C.

⁸ For a general description of Hellenistic cisterns cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330-331, 345-346 (Thompson).

in diameter, was surrounded at a later time by a curb, 1.45 m. square, built of small field stones set in mortar. The chief interest of the cistern lies in the fact that in the 17th and 18th centuries it was pointed out as the well in which, according to local legend, St. Paul hid for 24 hours to escape persecution after his appearance before the Court of the Areopagus.⁹

Only in the case of the system at the northwest corner of the Archbishop's palace was evidence found for the date of abandonment. The pottery and the stamped amphora handles from the central chamber of the system were similar to those in many deposits from the Agora that are to be associated with the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. It may be inferred that the houses on our terrace were destroyed or abandoned at this time like many other houses on the borders of the Agora.¹⁰

HOUSES OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Some remains of Byzantine houses came to light along the slopes of the hill, below the church terrace and even extending underneath the monumental entrance and the rooms to the east (Figs. 1, 2, B-B). The walls were in most cases substantially built but the remains were too fragmentary to permit the establishment of any house plans. The pottery was consistently of the 11th and 12th centuries, with black and green, sgraffito and incised wares predominating.¹¹ Only a few scattered sherds dated from the Turkish period; the houses had most likely fallen into disrepair and been abandoned long before the building of the church and palace.

The only sign of habitation on the terrace itself in Byzantine times was a slight concentration of sherds of the 11th-12th century in the southernmost part of the palace, below the floor level and above several tile graves of the 6th-7th centuries which lay on bedrock (Fig. 1).

TWO HOARDS OF FRANKISH COINS

Brief mention may be made here of two hoards of coins of the Frankish period which are published in full by D. M. Metcalf in this issue (pp. 203-223). These came to light in the shelter of one of the tumbled masses of rock at the east end of the terrace. The two lots of coins had probably been laid away on the same occasion at some time in the second half of the 13th century. The one group, ten in number, were all of silver of poor quality (billon). All ten were issued in France by French rulers, nine by Louis IX (1226-1270), one by Alphonse de Poitiers (1249-1271). The other

⁹ *Infra*, p. 185.

¹⁰ This cistern group is recorded as M 23:1. It closely resembles Hellenistic Group E; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392-427.

¹¹ For the dating of these wares in Athens, cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 429-467 (Frantz).

hoard numbered 203 pieces, all of bronze and all of small denominations. Two hundred bear the name of one of the Frankish dukes of Athens, Guy I de la Roche (1225-1263); two can be assigned to Guillaume de Villehardouin of Achaia (1245-1278), and one was an old Byzantine coin of Manuel I (1143-1180). The find has proven of great interest for the light it sheds on the currency of a little known epoch in the long history of Athens.

THE CHURCH OF ST. DIONYSIOS

EVIDENCE FOR AN EARLIER CHURCH IN THE VICINITY

The excavations of 1962-63 proved conclusively that the church as we know it cannot be dated earlier than the 16th century.¹² In view of the extraordinary veneration in which the saint has been held, however, it would seem strange if the Athenians had waited so long to honor their patron with a church on the site which had become so firmly identified with him. Although the recent excavation failed to uncover any structural ecclesiastical remains earlier than the existing church, persistent evidence points to some sacred association reaching back for many centuries.

A church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite is mentioned in a Bull of Pope Innocent III, dated 1208, listing the churches under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Athens.¹³ The exact location of the church is unspecified but the probability, already strong, that it was on the Areopagus seems to be confirmed by the discovery, in the ruins of the Archbishop's palace, of an inscription identified by Father Edward Bodnar as one seen in 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona near the church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite. The following note has been furnished by Father Bodnar:

A NOTE ON I.G., II², 7155

(Plate 42, b)

Cyriacus of Ancona first visited Athens in April, 1436. During a sixteen-day visit in the city (April 7th to 22nd), in addition to sketching and describing many ancient monuments, he copied a substantial number of inscriptions, most of which have come down to us through a single manuscript source.¹⁴

¹² *Infra*, p. 174.

¹³ Testimonia, No. 1; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 215, pp. 1559-1561 (Letters, Book XI, no. 256).

¹⁴ A few of the inscriptions, his special favorites, appear in numerous epigraphical collections of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, all of them probably going back to a single set of excerpts made from his *Commentaria* (his notebooks, which were never formally published) by himself. But the entire (or almost entire) Athenian collection is reflected in only one small group of manuscripts, all derived from one (now lost) copy of this section of the *Commentaria*. Of this small group, only one (now lost, but used as the exemplar of a later manuscript and then of a printed edition before

The thirty-first item in his Athenian collection is an inscription which he copied "*In Areopago ad aedem Dionysii in quadam marmorea columna.*"¹⁵ The complete text of this inscription,¹⁶ on which both S and Moroni agree, is the following:

ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΞ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΞ ΚΑΙΞΑΡΟΞ ΘΕΟΥ

In August, 1964, Eugene Vanderpool called my attention to an unpublished inscription found in the earlier excavation of the church of St. Dionysios.¹⁷ It is a large, round funerary columella, still *in situ*, broken at the top and broken or chipped over most of its (now) exposed face. A small portion of the ring at the top is preserved.¹⁸ The text, so fragmentary that heretofore no attempt has been made to publish it, reads:

ΕΒΙΟΞ
ΠΕΙΡΕΥΞ

But, fragmentary though it is, it coincides so remarkably with Cyriacus' inscription¹⁹ that it can be restored confidently as follows:

Ἀρχ]έβιος
Πειρ]αεύς

it was lost) gives us most of the Athenian inscriptions, though in a muddled order. The later manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense lat. 413 (alpha H. 5. 14), written by Martin de Sieder in 1503 will be referred to as "S." The printed edition, made and privately circulated by Carlo Moroni before 1660, will be referred to as "Moroni." For a full treatment of the manuscript tradition cf. E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus, XLIII), Brussels-Berchem, 1960, especially Chapter II (stemma on p. 120). For the correct order of the items in the *Commentaria* on Athens, see Chapter I of the same work, pp. 36-40.

¹⁵ "On the Areopagus, at the church of (St.) Dionysios, on a marble column." S, fol. 126^v; Moroni, p. XIV, no. 98.

¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 7155, where it is joined, incorrectly, with item no. 35 of Cyriacus' Athenian collection, under the influence of Boeckh (*C. I. G.*, 418). For a discussion and rejection of this join see Bodnar, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-182.

¹⁷ Agora Inventory No. I 1935. Recorded May 3, 1934 "built around with stones just east of the second west wall of the Byzantine Building, just southwest of Grave 3."

¹⁸ Measurements: Height, 1.257 m.; diameter, 0.487 m.; height of letters, 0.048-0.06 m.

¹⁹ The breaking up of Cyriacus' one-line inscription into two or more lines causes no difficulty. It has been shown that he (or his copyist) did not always observe the proper division of lines in reporting a Greek inscription (cf. Bodnar, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-142). A more serious objection to the restoration could be based on the fact that both the photograph (Plate 42, b) and the squeeze show what appears to be a vertical stroke before the beta, suggesting that the previous letter was either an iota or a nu. However, one need only run his finger over this "stroke" and compare it tactilely with the depth of the beta and iota after it, to realize that it is what Prof. Vanderpool (who did me the kindness of re-examining the stone twice and making a squeeze of it) terms a "phantom" letter, a mere scratch on the surface of the stone. He also assures me that "of the epsilon (before the beta) almost the whole of the lower bar is preserved and a bit of the upright can also be made out. We may even have the tips of the central and top strokes." In the second line there is "a bit of the vertical stroke" of the iota before the epsilon and, preceding it, possibly (though this is uncertain) part of the diagonal of the alpha.

Since this restoration leaves us with an inscription whose left margin is unsymmetrical, B. D. Meritt has suggested that, on the assumption that the date is *saec. I p.*, it could be Flavian and the 'Ἀρχέβιος was preceded by some such abbreviation as Φλ. Because the identity of the Roman *nomen* is uncertain, the modern reading (as distinguished from Cyriacus') should probably be:

[— — 'Αρχ]ἑβιος
[Πειρ]αίεύς

Assuming also Cyriacus' integrity in reporting the text, the upper left-hand corner of the stone would already have been broken off by the time he had seen it.

A problem arises as to the remainder of Cyriacus' text: ΚΑΙΞΑΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ. Clearly there was nothing else written on I 1935. It must be supposed, then, that *Καίσαρος Θεοῦ* is still *another* fragmentary inscription,²⁰ seen in the same area by Cyriacus and written immediately under its predecessor in his *Commentaria* without any intervening rubric. His copyist, not realizing this, combined them into one text. There is no difficulty in maintaining this supposition, which is supported by parallels.²¹

This identification, besides adding to the list of extant Cyriacan inscriptions,²² performs the more important service of substantiating the hypothesis of the excavators of the church of St. Dionysios that, pre-existing the excavated church, which dates to only the sixteenth century, there must have been an earlier church on this, the most sacred of sites for Athenian Christianity, where Dionysios, a member of the Areopagus, one of the very few converts made by St. Paul in his disappointing visit to the intellectual center of the Graeco-Roman world, and according to tradition first Bishop of Athens, embraced the "Unknown God." How old Cyriacus' church was in 1436 we may never know, but one would like to believe that it was very old indeed.

EDWARD W. BODNAR, S. J.

NOVITIATE OF ST. ISAAC JOGUES
WERNERSVILLE, PA.

The tradition can be carried back still further by the discovery of the humble but extensive cemetery which lay to the west and northwest of the church. Thirty-five tiled graves were found in this area, with the probability that still more remain under the surface. They were of two types: in one the body was laid out on two tiles placed end to end on the ground, and covered by two more pairs of tiles on edge,

²⁰ Possibly, as Vanderpool suggests, an altar of Augustus like those discussed by A. E. Raubitschek and Anna Benjamin, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 65-85.

²¹ Cf. Bodnar, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184 and note 3.

²² For the other extant Athenian inscriptions of Cyriacus see Bodnar, *op. cit.*, Table XIV, pp. 211-213.

supporting each other tent-fashion (Pl. 42, c). The other type was built up as a rectangular box and covered by tiles or marble slabs laid horizontally across the top (Figs. 1, 2, Sections A-A and B-B; Pl. 42, d).

Offerings were found in only nine of the graves, but these all dated consistently from the late 6th or more likely the 7th century. The shoddy character of the graves made them vulnerable to damage of all sorts and many had been disturbed or even almost completely destroyed. Hence the proportion of offerings may have been higher than now appears.²³

The following objects were found in the cemetery:

1. Jug. Pl. 42, e, left.

P 3764. Grave 15. H. 0.119, diam. 0.105.

Trefoil mouth; handle lightly ribbed; flat bottom; squat body roughly made, the lower part shaped by paring away the clay before drying. Red clay, unglazed.

A somewhat cruder version of an early 7th century jug from an osteotheke in the Agora (H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, pl. 35, N 8).

2. Jug. Pl. 42, e, right.

P 3765. Grave 23. H. 0.089, diam. 0.075.

Trefoil mouth; narrow neck; flat bottom; squat body, lightly ridged horizontally. Gray clay, unglazed.

7th century.

3. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, top left.

B 1266. Grave 23. L. 0.06, W. 0.03.

Buckle and plate cast together. Oval buckle with groove for tongue set off by pairs of ridges; deep depression in middle of tongue. Plate consists of one large and two small circles, the large surrounded by a band decorated with short strokes. On the underside are two projections with holes for attachment.

A similar though not identical buckle was found in Keszthely, Hungary (Joseph Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, III, 1905, pl. 160; G. R. Davidson, "The Avar Invasion of Corinth," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 237, fig. 5).

4. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, top center.

B 1267. Earth around Grave 23. L. 0.04, W. 0.023.

Buckle and plate hinged together. Oval buckle; open heart-shaped plate, grooved. Two attachment holes on the underside.

Cf. Nos. 5 and 6; also G. D. Weinberg, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, pl. 114, no. 2191.

5. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, top right.

B 1268. Grave 26. L. 0.05, W. 0.025.

Similar to No. 4 but a little larger. The base of the tongue heavier and set off sharply from the rest. Three attachment holes on the underside.

6. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, center left.

B 170. Earth around Graves 11 and 12. L. 0.04, W. 0.023.

Similar to No. 4. Two attachment holes on the underside.

Published by Kenneth M. Setton, "The Bulgars in the Balkans in the Seventh Century," *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, plate in text opposite p. 523.

7. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, center.

B 169. Grave 9. L. 0.032, W. 0.022.

Buckle and plate cast together. Oval buckle; plate in the form of a cross with widely flaring arms; surface plain. A single attachment hole on the underside.

²³ For the significance of these graves in relation to 7th century Athens, cf. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens."

8. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, center right.

B 185. From the vicinity of the cemetery, near the terrace wall. L. 0.032, W. 0.022.

Identical with No. 7.

9. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, bottom left.

B 167. Grave 13. L. 0.051, W. 0.035.

Buckle and plate cast together. Oval buckle; depression in tongue. Plate consists of a pierced loop with a trefoil leaf turning in toward the center; herringbone ornament around loop; two pairs of small circles at junction of buckle and plate. Three attachment holes on the underside.

Previously published: Setton, *loc. cit.*

10. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, bottom center.

B 1265. In earth near Grave 23. L. 0.048, W. 0.035.

Tongue and one attachment hole missing. Almost identical with No. 9.

11. Bronze Buckle. Pl. 43, a, bottom right.

B 168. Grave 10. L. 0.045, W. 0.031.

Buckle and plate cast together. Oval buckle; depression in tongue. Solid plate, about two-thirds of a circle, with a leaf ornament in relief. Two attachment holes on underside.

Previously published: Setton, *loc. cit.*

12. "Gnostic" Amulet. Pl. 42, g.

J 138. Earth around Grave 23. L. 0.024, W. 0.017.

A flat stone, mottled gray and green, beveled. Obverse: Aphrodite standing, holding a fillet (?) in upraised hands, flanked, r., by Eros holding a mirror and l., a bird (phoenix?) standing on a stemmed basin.

Reverse: Moon and stars above an aedicula with the inscription: *Αρωριφρασις*. Under the aedicula: *Ιαω*

For this apparently magical name of Aphrodite cf. Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, Ann Arbor, 1950, p. 262, No. 55. I have found no parallel for the elaborate com-

position of the obverse; the Bonner example shows Aphrodite alone.

13. Stone for Ring.

J 139. Earth around Grave 23. L. 0.017, W. 0.013.

An oval stone, flat on bottom, convex on top, carefully polished but undecorated. Almost colorless, slightly veined; chalcedony (?).

The following object, although not from the cemetery but from near an old excavation dump to the east, is probably to be associated:

14. Bronze Reliquary Cross. Pl. 43, b.

B 1270. H. 0.07, W. 0.052.

The front half of a cross with slightly flaring arms. Representation of the Crucifixion: the bearded Christ, with cross-nimbus, wears a colobium and stands on a suppedaneum; a nail through each hand and probably each foot. Above the head appears a titulus with an X and at the top, to left and right, the sun and moon. To the left stands the Virgin; to the right, St. John. Beneath the outstretched arms of Christ are garbled inscriptions representing the traditional *ΙΔΟΥ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ* and *ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΟΥ* but with the positions reversed.

The cross fits easily into a series of 47 reliquary crosses of the late 6th to early 7th centuries published by E. S. King in *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Series III, vol. II, 1928, pp. 193-205. The closest parallels are a cross found in Achmin-Panopolis, Egypt, now in the Berlin Museum (*ibid.*, pl. XXV, 3) and another from Sant Pere de Roda, in the Museum of Barcelona (*ibid.*, pl. XXVI, 9). All the crosses of the series are shown to have been made in Palestine, to be sold to pilgrims as reliquaries for pieces of the True Cross. The earlier pieces, which the Areopagus example resembles most closely, were almost certainly made in Jerusalem shortly before the Persian conquest in 614.

The presence of the cemetery is not in itself conclusive proof of the existence of a contemporary church, but it suggests a strong probability, reinforced moreover by

the discovery of a number of architectural marbles in both the earlier and the more recent excavations. The fact that many of these were built into the palace and the tombs inside the church removes them from the category of building material brought in indiscriminately for the wall of 1788.²⁴

Three of the four best preserved pieces (Pl. 44, a-c) were used in the construction of the Archbishop's Palace; the fourth (Pl. 44, d) was contributed by a local resident whose grandfather had reputedly removed it from the site.²⁵ The homogeneous character of these pieces supports the belief that they had not strayed far from their place of origin. All may be assigned to the transition between the Early Christian and Middle Byzantine periods, i.e. 7th to 9th century, and it is tempting to believe that they may have formed part of the architectural decoration of the church seen by Cyriacus, mentioned by Innocent III and possibly built as early as the 7th century.

THE CHURCH OF ST. DIONYSIOS

Although the church of St. Dionysios is in a poor state of preservation, even to the complete disappearance of its foundations at various points, enough remains for an accurate restoration of its plan; and it is even possible to form a fairly clear impression of its general appearance (Fig. 3).

In plan the church is a three-aisled basilica with narthex, measuring 21.20 x 12.40 m. on the outside and widening slightly from east to west. The east end terminates in a large three-sided apse. Both the foundations and the walls are constructed of rubble masonry composed of field stone, re-used marble and limestone fragments from older buildings, and bits of brick and tile, all set in a thick lime mortar. Neither the outer nor the inner face of the walls presents any unusual characteristics. Pieces of brick and tile are frequently inserted in the joints, but with no regularity. The corners and the responds alone are carefully worked in a fairly regular cloisonné with well-cut blocks separated usually by a single, occasionally a double, row of bricks (Pl. 45, a, b). The material is predominantly the shell limestone used in Athenian churches of the 11th-12th centuries; one or more of these may indeed have been the immediate source of ready-cut blocks for St. Dionysios. Large rectangular blocks from some ancient building were placed at the main corners and also at the corners of the apse.

The south wall is preserved to a height varying from 0.50 to 3.80 m. On the north side only the foundations remain, with occasional remnants of a course or two of the wall itself. The thickness is variable: from 1.30 m. at the east, where the vault of the apse demanded extra support, to 0.85 m. in the long walls, whereas the west wall of the narthex and the cross wall between the narthex and the church proper, which

²⁴ *Infra*, p. 191.

²⁵ a) Impost block, Inv. A 409; b) capital, Inv. A 408; c) fragment of moulding Inv. A 407; d) iconostasis slab, Inv. S 487.

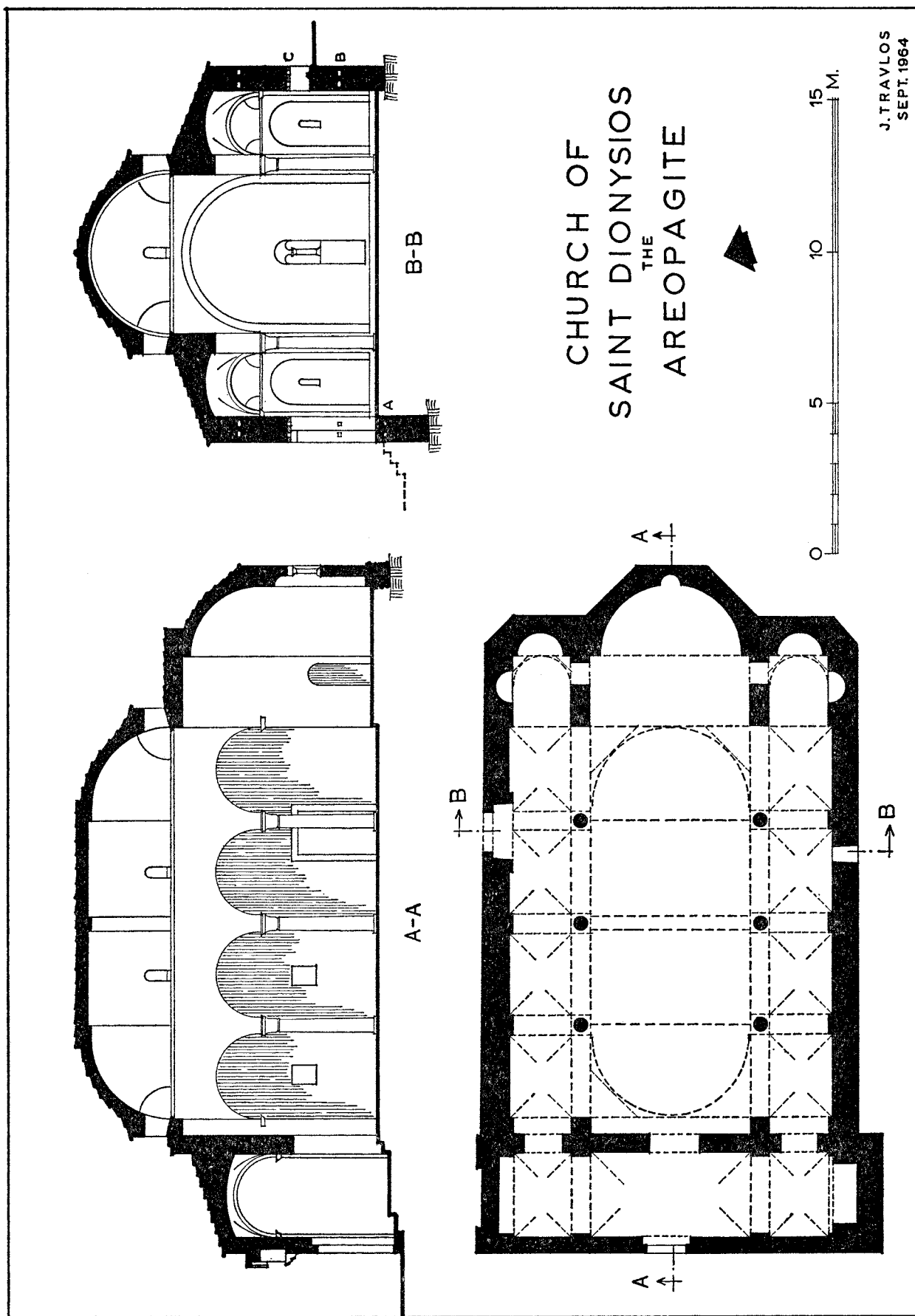


Fig. 3. Church of St. Dionysios. Restored Plan and Sections.

carried a far lighter load, had a thickness of only 0.54 m. Responds 0.08 m. thick carried the arches of the aisle vaults and thus increased the effective thickness of the long walls.

The walls were reinforced by wooden beams embedded in the masonry and running continuously around the whole building. The wood itself has rotted away but the cavities remain, preserving an accurate record of both dimensions and arrangement. The beams, averaging *ca.* 0.09 x 0.16 m. in thickness, were placed in horizontal pairs spaced about 0.30 m. apart and connected at 1-meter intervals by small cross-pieces. The pairs were arranged one above the other at vertical intervals of 1.60 m. through the whole height of the wall (Fig. 3, B-B).

The main body of the church, with interior dimensions of 16.00 x 10.40 m., is divided by two arched colonnades into three aisles. No trace of the colonnades remains but their line is determined by responds in the west wall; responds in the long walls fix the precise position of each column in the line. The width of the nave is thus established as 5.30 m. and of the aisles as 2.70 m., i.e. a proportion of 2:1 already established as the norm in the Early Christian period. Each colonnade consisted of three columns with an interaxial spacing of 3.38 m. The eastern arches terminated over the ends of the walls separating the apse from the prothesis and diaconicon; the west end of the arcade was supported by the responds in the cross-wall.

The bema, with a depth of 2.32 m. and a width of 5.30 m., was closed by a semi-circular apse 4.68 m. in diameter. Communication with the prothesis and diaconicon was through small doors of which only one of the door jambs is preserved. The prothesis and diaconicon also ended in apses, but these, being small, were contained in the masonry of the wall and were not visible on the outside. Smaller niches for liturgical purposes were placed in the middle of the main apse (0.82 m. wide) and in the south wall of the diaconicon (1.10 m. wide); a similar one should be restored in a corresponding position in the prothesis.

The narthex extends slightly beyond the south wall of the church proper and is narrowed at this point to form a rectangular niche 0.90 x 2.00 m. This was probably an arcosolium for the coffin of the founder of the church or possibly for relics of St. Dionysios.

The narthex is 2.80 m. deep and was divided by responds 0.07 m. thick into three bays, corresponding to the three aisles of the main body of the church. Communication between the two parts of the building was by means of three doors. Since neither the thresholds nor the door jambs survive it is impossible to determine the exact width of these interior doors. In the center of the outer wall of the narthex, however, the marble threshold of the main entrance to the church was found in place (Pl. 46, a). Its width is 1.40 m. and its surface makes it possible to fix the floor level of the nave at 97.33 m. above sea level. In addition to this main entrance, a door in the north wall, 1.76 m. wide, led directly to the outside. Both jambs are preserved and

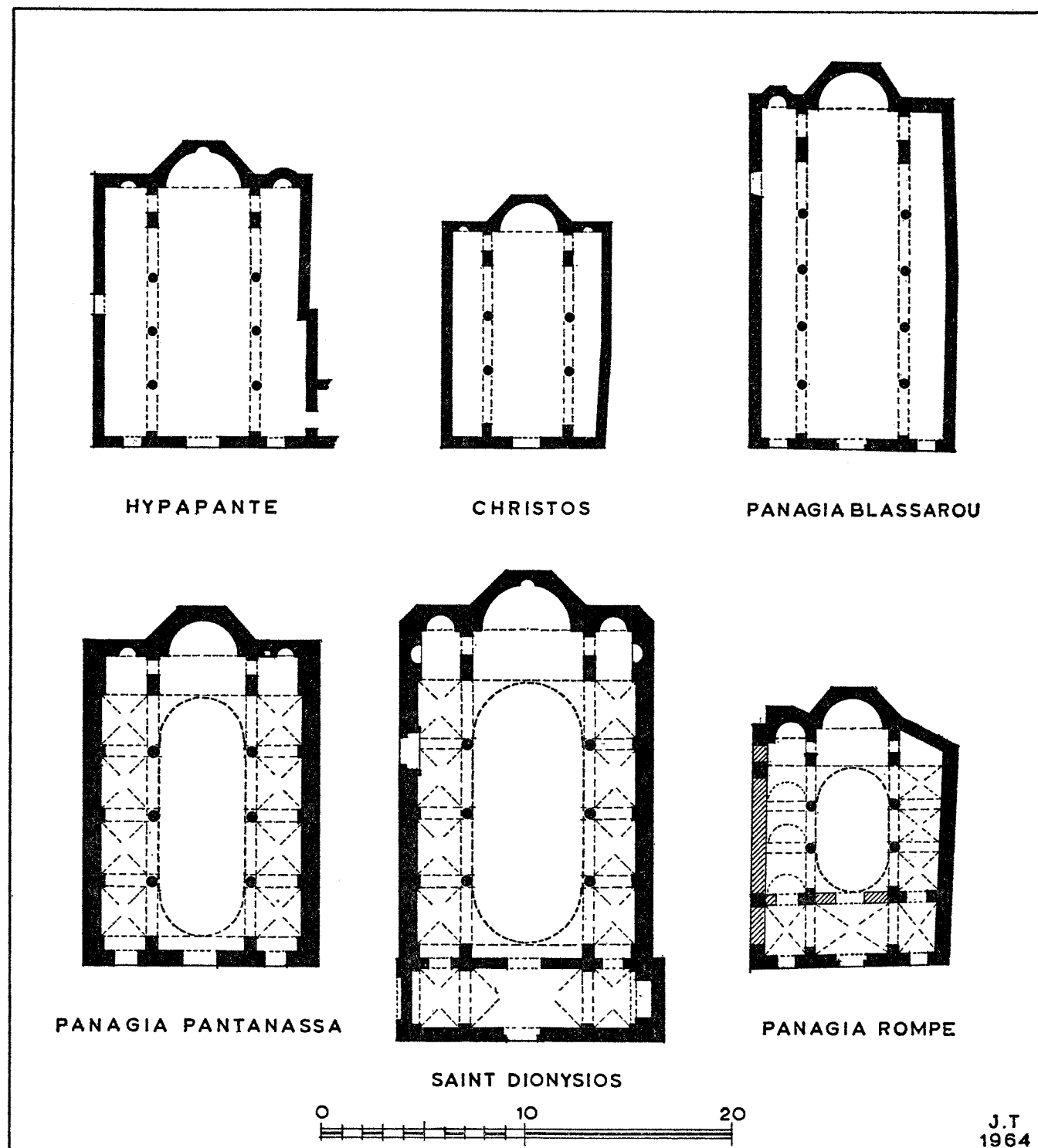


FIG. 4. Restored Plans of Athenian Churches.

show that the construction of the door was contemporaneous with that of the church as a whole. The irregular position of the doorway, which occupies the place of one of the responds designed to carry the vault, necessitated some compensation and one must suppose that above the doorway the wall was thickened over the place of the missing respond to support the arch from the opposite column.

Light and ventilation were provided not only by the two doorways but also by windows. Of these we may certainly restore a two-light window in the center of the apse and the marble lintel found in a cistern behind the church (Fig. 1, c) may be confidently assigned to this place. Adapted from an entablature block of the Roman period, the middle section was cut back and in the recess two round arches were carved to crown the windows (Pl. 46, b). The prothesis and diaconicon were probably also furnished with small narrow windows. Additional light was very likely provided for the church proper by small windows along the north wall, but a similar arrangement in the south wall is precluded by the height of the ground and of the rock itself immediately behind the building. In one spot only, opposite the north door, a window 0.55 m. wide and 0.60 m. high was set well up in the wall. The wooden reinforcing beams running through the wall at this point would have served also as a lintel. The narthex probably had windows to either side of the door and, by analogy with similar churches, high up under the gable.

No trace remains of the paving of the church but its level may be determined by various bits of evidence: the surface of the living rock, the level of the remains of earlier buildings and the irregular construction of the foundations of the church itself, indicating at what point they were intended to remain concealed under the floor. This combined evidence demands a step at least 0.17 m. high from the outer threshold to the narthex and two more steps, with a total height of 0.34 m., from the narthex to the church proper. The customary step up to the bema, the *solea*, would be sufficient to cover the rise of rock at the east end of the church and the irregular foundations, arriving at a total height above the marble threshold of 0.65 m. The niche in the diaconicon, which is 1.45 m. above the threshold, is now fixed at 0.80 m. above its related floor, that is, a convenient height for the placing of liturgical objects.

The plan of St. Dionysios closely resembles that of another Athenian church, fortunately in an excellent state of preservation, the Panagia Pantanassa in Monastiraki Square (Fig. 4; Pl. 47, a), the only major difference being that the latter lacks a narthex. The Pantanassa is a three-aisled basilica measuring 16.00 x 11.20 m., on the outside, or slightly less than St. Dionysios, with exterior dimensions of 17.83 x 12.40 m. without the narthex. The interior arrangement and the proportions of the two churches are the same.

The great thickness of the walls of St. Dionysios and the presence of responds along the walls indicate that the roof was vaulted, just as that of the Pantanassa. By contrast, in the timber-roofed basilicas of Athens such as the Hypapanti and the

Vlassarou the walls are much thinner, not exceeding 0.50 m. One other three-aisled vaulted basilica of Athens may be cited as a parallel, the Panagia Rombis (Fig. 4; Pl. 48, b). Although this church has been subjected to many alterations and accretions, its roofing system is the same as that of the Pantanassa.

In its original form the Panagia Rombis was a typical three-aisled basilica with narthex, measuring 12.50 x 9.70 m. on the outside. Without the narthex it was nearly square. The narthex is of particular interest since it affords an excellent example of the same groin vaulting used in St. Dionysios. With the help of these two churches, Rombis and Pantanassa, the height of the columns of St. Dionysios may be restored as approximately 3.80 m., with both longitudinal and transverse arches springing from a point slightly higher.

Both bema and nave were barrel-vaulted. The vault of the nave (13.00 x 5.30 m.) rose above the rest of the church and terminated at both east and west in quarter-spheres carried on squinches. Small narrow windows along the base gave additional light to the nave. The roof line followed the shape of the vault. The lower aisles were groin-vaulted except for the prothesis and diaconicon, which were more probably barrel-vaulted and closed by quarter-spheres. The end bays of the narthex were groin-vaulted but the larger central bay was more likely covered with a barrel vault running transversely.

The vaults were faced with tiles and all wall surfaces were plastered. A very few traces of plaster, probably from the first coat, remain, but the existence of actual wall paintings was noted by Babin.²⁶

CHRONOLOGY AND TYPOLOGY

Even before the most recent excavations a restoration of the plan of the church had been attempted on the basis of the existing remains.²⁷ This preliminary study had already led to the conviction that the plan and the nature of the masonry precluded a date earlier than the Turkish period.

An important result of the investigations of 1963 was that not only was the accuracy of the restoration verified but the dating was confirmed by the discovery of sherds embedded in the mortar of the foundations which proved beyond doubt that the church was erected about the middle of the 16th century. In view of the widely divergent opinions expressed about the date of St. Dionysios and similar Athenian churches, it is perhaps worth while to consider all these in some detail as a group, and to reexamine the meagre chronological evidence relating to them.

Sotiriou, comparing the plan of St. Dionysios with St. Philip and, more especially, the Pantanassa, on account of the close similarity in roofing systems, came to the

²⁶ Testimonia, No. 4.

²⁷ *Archaeology*, III, 1950, pp. 34-37 (Vanderpool); *Θρησκευτική και Ήθική Έγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 1962, p. 750; *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, 1964, p. 387 (Travlos).

conclusion that St. Dionysios should be dated at the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th, and regarded it as the prototype of the other Athenian basilicas.²⁸ Others have dated the Pantanassa, Hypapanti and St. Philip from the 9th century to the period of Frankish domination.²⁹

Two Athenian basilicas have frequently been cited as a basis for the chronology of these churches: St. John Mangouti, with its seductive founder's inscription of 871, and the Hypapanti (Fig. 4). Champions of an early date have relied on the epigraphical evidence of St. John Mangouti, while the pointed arches and rectangular apse of St. John Mangouti and the ribbed groin vaults of the Hypapanti have appeared to others to justify a date in the Frankish period for both churches. Still others have postulated for both churches a 9th century origin with Frankish alterations.

St. John Mangouti has long since disappeared. For its appearance we must rely on the drawings made by Couchaud when it was already in a somewhat ruinous condition.³⁰ It is clear that the building as Couchaud saw it dated from the Frankish period, and that the inscription of 871, built into the façade, had been transferred from the original church. The discovery by Xyngopoulos³¹ of some bits of the earlier foundations leads to the conclusion that the church was rebuilt from the ground up and that its later form offers no clue to the nature of the earlier structure.

A date even as early as the Frankish period for the Hypapanti is ruled out by the discovery, during the demolition of the church in 1938, of 16th to 17th century sherds embedded in the walls.³²

The most comprehensive study of the vaulted basilicas of Athens is that of Professor Orlandos,³³ who divided them into two categories: 1) buildings with composite roof consisting of a barrel vault terminating at east and west in quarter-spheres carried on squinches, and 2) buildings roofed with a simple barrel vault.

The first category includes basilicas of relatively large dimensions, e.g. the three-aisled Pantanassa (Pl. 47, a) and the Panagia Rombis and the single-aisled Anargyroi (Pl. 47, b), and St. Athanasios Pseiri. In the second group are the small single-aisled churches of St. George, St. Simeon, St. Elias, St. Demetrios Loumbardiari, St. Athanasios Chalkouris, St. Paraskevi and St. Kyriaki.

Orlandos accepts all the churches of the second category as dating from the Turkish period. For the first, however, and in this group we believe should also be numbered St. Dionysios the Areopagite, he offers no date except for the best preserved example, the Pantanassa. This he dates about the end of the 9th century by

²⁸ Δελτ., II, 1916, p. 128.

²⁹ For bibliography cf. A. Xyngopoulos, *Εἰρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος Β'*, 1929, p. 61.

³⁰ *Choix d'Eglises byzantines en Grèce*, Paris, 1842, pls. 5-6.

³¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 190.

³² *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 220 (Shear).

³³ *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, II, 1925, pp. 288-305.

analogy with the church of the Nestorian monastery at Amida in Mesopotamia. But although the similarity between the two is indeed striking, it must be noted that the dating of Amida is not certain since Gertrude Bell, who described the church, accepted the upper part as late Islamic.³⁴

In general, both the single-aisled and the three-aisled basilicas of Athens must be regarded as buildings of the first period of the Turkish occupation, i.e. between the capture of the city in 1456 and the occupation by the Venetians under Morosini in 1687. This dating is sustained by evidence derived from excavation in and around the churches in the Agora and vicinity: Hypapanti, Church of Christ, St. Spyridon, Panagia Pyrgiotissa, Panagia Vlassarou, Prophet Elias and St. Charlambos and St. Athanasios.³⁵ It is further confirmed by the fact that the first four were built over the ruins of the Late Roman Fortification (the so-called Valerian Wall).

When this wall was built, after the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267, it was used as an inner defense and so continued to function until the capture of Athens by the Franks.³⁶ The outer circuit, the Themistoklean-Roman peribolos, began then gradually to disappear and by the time of the Turkish occupation the city seems to have been limited to the circumscribed area immediately to the north of the Acropolis defined by the Late Roman Fortification. But during the early years of the Turkish period the Christian population grew as communities were transplanted from elsewhere in Greece, and the wall was abandoned as the city spread once more far beyond its limits. The extent and major features of this new city, at least for the 17th century, are fortunately preserved for us in a plan drawn by the Venetian engineer Verneda in 1687.³⁷ Among the buildings erected in the newly opened area were about 100 churches, including those built over the wall itself.

Of the churches erected in the early years of Turkish domination, the three-aisled basilicas are of special interest in the present connection. These form a compact group of a single type which was used in Athens over the next 200 years. Whether timber-roofed or vaulted, with consequent decrease or increase in the thickness of the walls, the three-aisled Athenian basilicas follow a consistent plan. Churches furnished with a narthex form a rectangle with proportions of 1:1.5 (Panagia Rombis and St. Dionysios). The majority, however, lack the narthex and are more nearly square. The church proper was divided by colonnades into three aisles, the center aisle having a width double that of the sides. The colonnades usually consisted of three columns each (in the case of Panagia Rombis and the Church of Christ there were only two; in the Vlassarou and St. Philip, four), connected by arches which

³⁴ "Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin," *Zeits. für Geschichte der Architektur*, Beiheft 9, 1913, p. 95.

³⁵ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 443-444; VIII, 1939, pp. 220-221; IX, 1940, p. 293; XI, 1942, p. 2.

³⁶ J. Travlos, *Πολιοδομική 'Εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, p. 172.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-178, fig. 17, pl. X.

ested on masonry responds at the west end, and at the east on the ends of walls forming the junction of the bema with the prothesis and the diaconicon. Communication was provided between these three units by small doors.

The bema terminated at the east in a large semicircular apse which was three-sided on the exterior. The small apses of the prothesis and the diaconicon were followed out of the thickness of the east wall, rarely projecting on the outside.

The main entrance on the west façade was usually flanked by two smaller doors; in addition, there was often a side door in the north wall as well. The arrangement of the windows was also typical: a two-light window was centered in the apse, and in the case of timber-roofed basilicas another was placed high in the façade, over the central doorway. Additional light was given by small narrow windows in the prothesis and the diaconicon, in the long walls and in the west façade.

The walls were of rubble masonry composed of field stone and fragments of brick set in lime mortar. The exterior faces were undecorated except for the occasional insertion of bits of ancient architectural members, sculpture and inscriptions, whether pagan or Christian. Interior walls were covered with frescoes, many of which have survived.³⁸ A characteristic of churches of the Turkish period is an arched niche under a gable, above the central doorway, containing an ikon of the eponymous saint. Churches without narthex which, as we have seen, constituted the majority, were often in later times furnished with a wooden porch.

In the case of timber-roofed basilicas the thickness of the outer walls did not exceed 0.50-0.60 m. The nave, which was raised above the rest of the church, was covered with a pitched roof ending in gables (Hypapanti, Vlassarou, St. Philip). The roofing of vaulted churches was more complex. The walls were necessarily much thicker (0.85-0.90 m.), and additional strength was given by the masonry responds which also supported the transverse arches of the groin-vaulted aisles. The longitudinal arches were carried on the north-south colonnade. The bema, prothesis and diaconicon were barrel-vaulted and closed at the east by quarter-spheres on squinches. The barrel vault of the nave likewise ended at east and west in a quarter-sphere on squinches. Along the barrel vault were reinforcing arches, corresponding to the positions of the columns (Pantanassa, Rombis, Pl. 48, a, b). The single-aisled basilicas (Anargyroi of Kolokynthos and St. Athanasios Pseiri) had the same roofing system as the nave of the three-aisled churches.

The basilicas described above may be regarded as belonging to one self-contained type first adopted in Athens in the 16th century. Its prototypes should not be sought directly in the east but rather indirectly, through the mosques and other public buildings erected by the Turks in Athens, the actual construction of which was certainly carried out by artisans brought by the Turks from the east.

As a local type, its influence extended to the neighboring villages of Attica, e.g.

³⁸ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 442-469; X, 1941, pp. 193-198 (Frantz).

THE CHURCH OF ST. DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE AND THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE

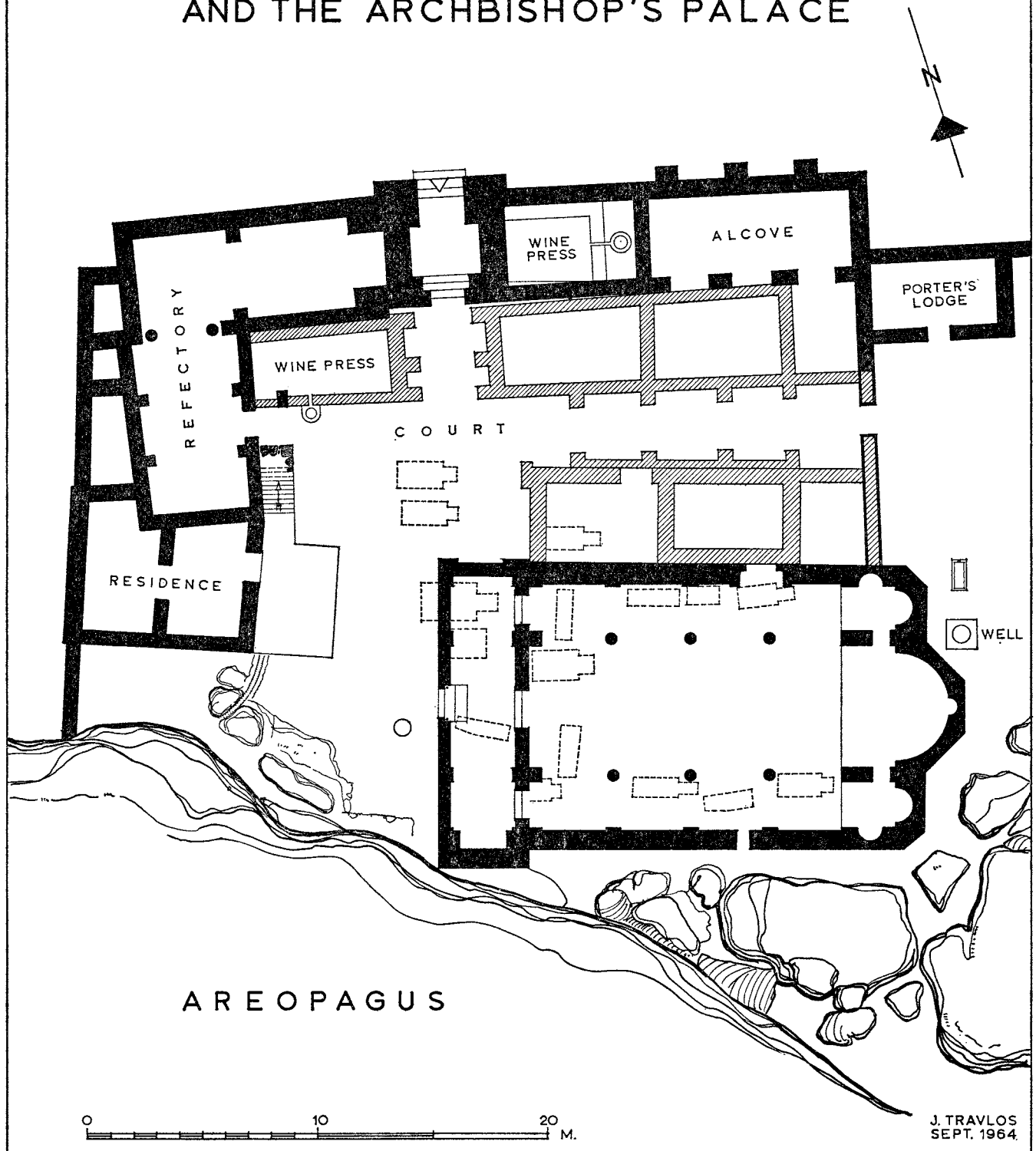


FIG. 5. Church of St. Dionysios and Archbishop's Palace. Restored Plan.

in the basilicas of St. Peter in Chasia and the Panagia τοῦ Μπόσκου in Salamis. As Orlandos observed,³⁹ the latter was built by Athenians who had fled to Salamis in 1688 after their banishment by Morosini, carrying with them not only the Athenian style of architecture but also Athenian saints, who appear in profusion in the wall paintings.

TOMBS

A group of tombs, quite independent of the Early Christian cemetery and differing radically in methods of construction as well as in date, was found in and around the church of St. Dionysios (Figs. 1, 5).

The 16 tombs of this group were much more monumental and many of them were barrel-vaulted. Three were found outside the church, near the north wall, three were in the narthex and the rest in the church proper, occupying the side aisles and the western end of the nave. They vary in dimensions but average about 1.00 x 2.00 m., with a depth of about 0.80 m. The walls are of rubble composed of small field stones, bits of ancient marble and fragments of tile. Flat stones and bricks were used for the vaults. The floor was usually paved with pieces of tile or whole tiles of different sizes.

All except two of the tombs have an east-west orientation with the entrance to the east, and most of them are aligned exactly with the walls of the church. In the case of the tombs known to have been vaulted a narrower entrance leads down by one or two steps. The simpler tombs were covered with large marble or terracotta slabs and had no separate entrance.

With a single exception (No. 11), all have the same characteristics as tombs of the Turkish period found elsewhere. From their position it is possible to divide the 13 tombs inside the church into three chronological groups: 1) Nos. 4, 11 and probably 13 pre-dated the church and were partly destroyed during its construction; 2) Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7 and 9 were probably built while the church was in use, while 3) Nos. 1, 3, 8, 10 date from after its destruction. It is probable that the three tombs outside the church, 14, 15, 16, are contemporary with this last group.

The one exception, No. 11, must be assigned to a much earlier period because of the nature of its construction.

Eight of the tombs were excavated by Sotiriou.⁴⁰ In tombs 1, 5, 7 and 8 a single skeleton was found. Nos. 3, 6, 10 and 13 were full of bones, predominantly skulls, with an abundance of pottery of different periods. Among the contents were three inscriptions; one was a much earlier Christian gravestone and all three were irrelevant, having been brought in as simple building material.

It is doubtful whether any of the tombs were used for church dignitaries; in any

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-143.

case it seems clear that after the destruction of the church and the transfer of the Metropolis to another part of the city the tombs were used as a burying ground for the neighborhood. In the Turkish period it was common practice to bury beneath the floors of churches or within their precincts. Similar tombs were found in the Vlasarou and Prophet Elias and Charalambos.⁴¹

CATALOGUE OF TOMBS WITHIN THE CHURCH

TOMB 1.

Located in the first bay of the south aisle west of the diaconicon. Carefully laid out in relation to the position of the column and well built with much cut stone, horizontal tiles and good mortar. Two steps led down to the tile floor. Only the spring of the vault preserved.

TOMB 2

In the second bay of the south aisle. This has a slightly different orientation from No. 1 and might possibly predate the construction of the church. The northwest corner was damaged by the east end of Tomb 3. It has no built entrance and its one step was cut in bedrock. The construction, chiefly of tiles and field stone, is rougher than that of the preceding and although it was probably vaulted, nothing remains of the vault.

TOMB 3

In the third bay of the south aisle. A large well-built tomb. Its east end crosses the line of the arch between the bays, but does not encroach on the actual position of the column. The steps are irregular and appear to incorporate some large stones from a neighboring Hellenistic foundation. Fragments of columns, probably from an iconostasis, flank the entrance. Nothing remains of the vault.

TOMB 4

This is the only tomb in the main body of the church that certainly antedates its construction. The narthex wall overlies its western part and the west end either was sliced off when the wall was built or else lies close to its western edge. The sides were covered with a coat of plaster *ca.* 0.01 m. thick. The northeast corner was removed by the builders of Tomb 5. All that remains of the entrance is the bedrock cutting for the steps, which have themselves disappeared.

TOMB 5

This has a N-S orientation and runs parallel to the wall of the narthex. The south end cuts into the corner of Tomb 4 and crosses the line of the colonnade. The south and east sides are constructed of neatly laid brick; some stone was used in the

⁴¹ For Christian tombs in general, cf. D. Pallas, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1950-51, pp. 163-181.

other sides. The floor was tiled and a single low tiled step at the south end marked the entrance. There is no indication that the tomb was vaulted.

TOMB 6

The largest of the tombs in the church proper. The overall length is 2.65 m., L. of chamber, 2.00 m., W. 1.45 m., H. *ca.* 1.20 m. Part of the north side is built against the south end of Tomb 7, which therefore pre-dates it. The vault, most of which is preserved, is crudely constructed of brick, field stone and some re-used marbles, including a smaller joining fragment of a black and white marble column, the rest of which was built into Tomb 10 (*q.v.*) and a small Early Christian mullion. A single step *ca.* 0.55 m. above the floor and 0.65 m. deep was built up of rubble and surfaced with a thin marble slab.

TOMB 7

The only tomb other than No. 5 with a N-S orientation. It has a length of *ca.* 2.25 m. and a width of 0.73 m. and was probably not vaulted. It runs over the line of the colonnade but does not encroach on the position of the column. Carefully built of brick and stone, much of the latter squared shell limestone. The floor was tiled, without a step; the south wall was incorporated in the north wall of Tomb 6.

TOMB 8

Not re-excavated. Set close along the north wall between responds, in the second bay from the west.

TOMB 9

Irregularly cut out of bedrock, the sides pieced out with the east wall of Tomb 8, the west wall of Tomb 10 and the north wall of the church. The entrance was marked by two squared blocks of poros. The upper part of the south wall was evidently built of field stones on top of the rock. The floor is very irregular, following the line of the rock. The total area of the tomb was *ca.* 1.15 x 2.00 m. A large marble slab 0.89 x 1.57 m. lay beside the tomb and may have served as its cover if the sides were sufficiently drawn in.

TOMB 10 (Pl. 49, a).

This tomb occupies the entire length of the doorway in the north wall of the church and the high level of the vault indicates that the door was no longer in use at the time of its construction. The steps have disappeared but the entrance was well marked. Two fragments of columns were built into the top of the north entrance wall, one, of reddish marble, probably from an iconostasis. The other, of black marble heavily veined with white, probably from Tenos, had a larger diameter (0.248-0.266 m.) and may have come from a ciborium.⁴² A joining piece was built into the

⁴² Agora, Inv. no. A 3382.

vault of Tomb 6. The column bears two cuttings for the insertion of crosses, with bits of the lead attachments still remaining in all the arms, which are flaring. Numerous small holes were drilled, apparently at random, doubtless for the attachment of

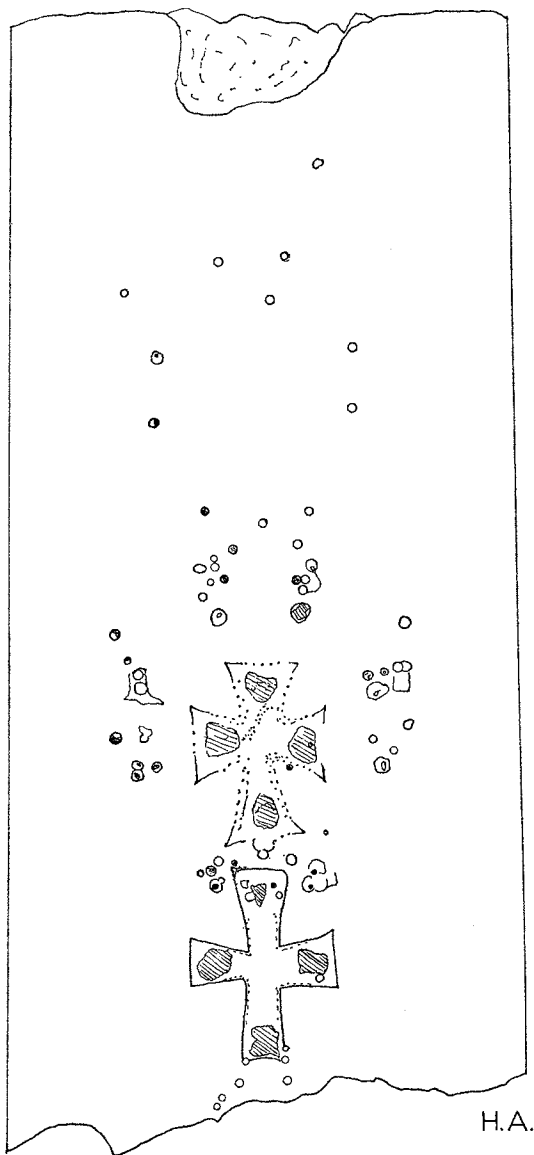


FIG. 6. Column with Cuttings for Crosses and Offerings.

small votive offerings. Remains of lead pins and even traces of silver are visible in many of the holes (Fig. 6). Similar cruciform cuttings have been found in Nikopolis,⁴³ Otranto, and St. Sophia in Constantinople.

⁴³ A. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ξυλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Βασιλική*, II, Athens, 1954, p. 277, fig. 225, with other references.

TOMBS IN THE NARTHEX

TOMB 11 (Pl. 49, b, c, d)

This tomb lies across the narthex just south of the main doorway, with a generally E-W orientation but not quite on axis with the church. It predates the construction of the narthex, the threshold of which overlies the tip of the west end. The tomb differs in type from those within the church. It was probably not vaulted but its sides were drawn in to be covered with a slab. The inside walls were heavily stuccoed, and a cross was carefully impressed in the stucco at the west end. The general characteristics are those of the Early Christian or transitional period.

TOMB 12 (Pl. 49, e).

Only a part of the east end lies within the narthex; the west end is beyond the wall in undug earth. The south wall was cut away by a deep pit; for the north, it shared the south wall of Tomb 13. The floor was tiled.

TOMB 13 (Pl. 49, e).

The largest tomb of all with interior dimensions of *ca.* 1.70 x 3.30 m., including the entrance. Like the preceding, it lies partly outside the narthex. Its vault had already been destroyed when the west wall of the church, which carries over its spring, was built. From its great size we may infer that it was intended from the beginning to serve as an osteotheke.

TOMBS OUTSIDE THE CHURCH

Of the three tombs lying outside the church to the north, No. 14 was partly destroyed by the construction of some of the later monastic buildings; Nos. 15 and 16 were preserved entire. All three were similar to the vaulted tombs inside the church.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE

The travelers who visited Athens in the 17th century and saw the church of St. Dionysios almost invariably noted that the seat of the Archbishop was near by. That this was not only the actual residence but included also the administrative offices of the Metropolis of Athens is clear from several of the references.

A complex of walls uncovered to the west of the church in 1934 left no doubt that they were to be identified with the Archbishopric, but the final investigation of the site was left until 1963 and 1964, when the earlier excavation was supplemented and the whole plan of the complex exposed.

Periodic alterations and additions to the original building and the poor state of preservation of the existing remains made it difficult to disentangle the plans of the

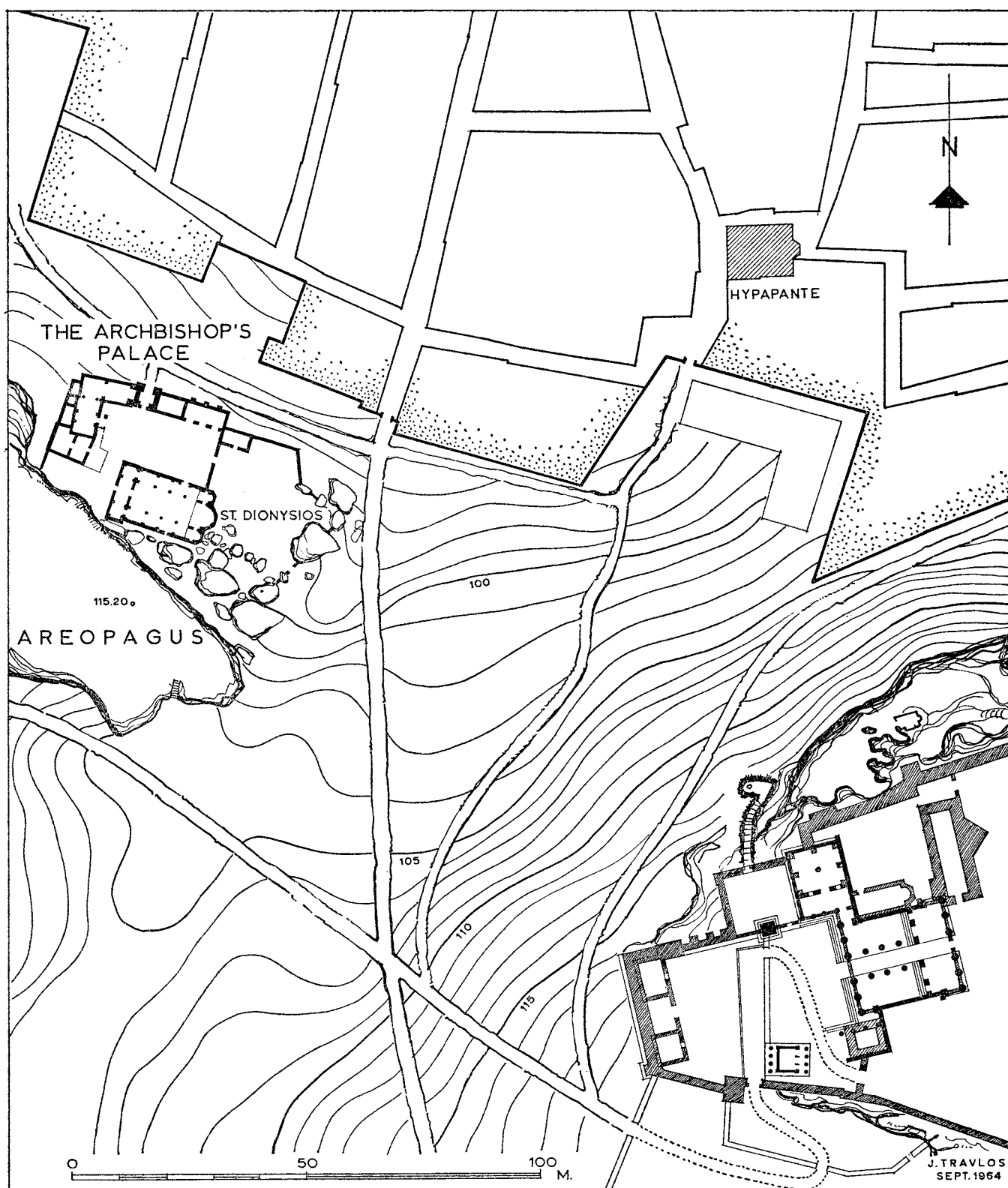


FIG. 7. The Archbishopric in Relation to the Acropolis.

successive periods. But differences in methods of construction and in the composition and color of the mortar, etc. made it possible to determine the existence of at least two major building periods and to restore on paper with reasonable accuracy the plan of each period, covering a total of 150 years from the middle of the 16th to the end of the 17th century (Figs. 1, 5).

THE FIRST PHASE

The original complex, indicated on the plan by a solid black line, is extensive, consisting of continuous buildings in an L-shaped arrangement around a courtyard. The buildings enclose the church of St. Dionysios on the north and west, forming with it a great rectangle, 35 x 29 m. The rectangle is closed on the east by a short wall running from north to south connecting the complex with the church; to the south the enclosure is completed by the precipitous rock face of the Areopagus (Figs. 1, 7).

Outside this compact enclosure a large area to the east was turned into an open court, enclosed on the north by a heavy wall and on the other three sides by great masses of rock (Pl. 51, a). The total extent of the entire complex thus measured 58 x 29 m.

The outer court was probably used for stables and other auxiliary buildings to house the service personnel of the palace. Here, too, directly behind the apse of the church, was the single well which provided water for the whole complex (Pl. 50, a). It is, in fact, the Hellenistic cistern described above (p. 163) as "St. Paul's well." Its identification rests on a drawing by Dodwell (Pl. 50, b) who, however, found the story improbable and "very inconsistent with the noble and intrepid character of that apostle."⁴⁴ The location is confirmed from another source. Jean Giraud, who visited Athens in 1674, wrote that the well in which St. Paul hid was "10 paces from the small gate,"⁴⁵ which would approximate the distance between the well and a gateway, shown on the plans which was found in the east wall connecting the Archbishopric with the church.

The outer court had access to the east, toward the Acropolis, through another gate between the giant boulders (Pl. 51, a) while the main entrance to the principal court was on the north side, through a monumental gateway looking out toward the temple of Hephaistos (Pl. 51, b). The buildings forming the north side of the enclosure were interrupted in the middle by this entrance, which occupied the whole depth of the buildings and was constructed in the manner traditional for monastic gateways.

From the extreme thickness of the walls to either side of the entrance we may conclude that the passage was covered with a barrel vault; the façade was reinforced by substantial piers flanking an iron gate, giving to the whole structure the effect

⁴⁴ Testimonia, No. 15.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 7.

of a tower. The fortress-like character of the gateway and its general arrangement are strongly reminiscent of the probably contemporary Monastery of Penteli.⁴⁶

The great difference in level between the road and the court (1.80 m.) demands steps in the positions indicated in the plans (Figs. 2, 5).

The part of the building to the east of the entrance, preserved in somewhat better condition than that to the west, included two areas of unequal size (Pl. 52, a, b). The larger, with inner dimensions 8.80 x 3.50 m., consists of a small arcade formed by three arches carried on built piers. It looked on the court and served, among other functions, as a shelter for visitors. The floor was level with the paving of the court and, on account of the steep slope of the hill, about two meters higher than the ground level outside. For this reason, its north wall was reinforced by three well-built buttresses. The smaller area, measuring 5.50 x 3.50 m., proved to be a winepress. The juice drained through a channel in the east wall at floor level into a large jar found in place, sunk deep into the ground. The floor of the vat where the grapes were trodden is 1.20 m. lower than the floor of the court.

Edward Gibbon refers to the Archbishop of Athens as "one of the richest prelates of the Greek church, since he possesses a revenue of one thousand pounds sterling."⁴⁷ We may assume that the vineyards of the archbishopric contributed a substantial part of this amount and that the grapes were brought here for treading.

To the west of the entrance was a single large room, clearly defined, measuring 11 x 4 m. on the inside. It was used as a kitchen, communicating to the south with another large room belonging to the western complex of buildings which probably served as a refectory.

The plan of the whole western complex is more involved. It covers an area 19 x 8.50 m. and consists of the refectory and two rooms lying to the south (Pl. 53, a, b). The three small rooms west of the refectory were windowless on the ground floor and were probably intended for storage in connection with the upper storey. It is not impossible however that the two smaller units to the north were used for fireplaces. A large quantity of ash was found in the more northerly of the rooms, and it was probably used for the hearth of the kitchen. The smaller chamber adjacent may have contained a fireplace to provide heat for the upper floor.

The curious re-entrant angle in the northwest corner of the complex was apparently necessitated by the presence of the mouth of a large cistern of the Hellenistic period (a on Fig. 1).⁴⁸ The builders evidently considered it safe to lay the foundations

⁴⁶ A. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 2nd. ed. Athens, n.d., p. 19, fig. 16.

⁴⁷ *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. lxii, *ad finem*. Gibbon drew on the accounts of the travelers from Spon, who visited the city in 1676 (*Testimonia*, No. 10) to Chandler, in 1765 (*Ibid.*, No. 14). He notes that "Ninety years had not made much difference in the tranquil scene."

⁴⁸ *Supra*, p. 162

of the new building against it and so preserved it for re-use by only a slight modification of the original plan.

The scheme of the whole building complex to the west and its position near the main entrance to the church of St. Dionysios leave little doubt that this was the main section of the Archbishop's palace, with the residence of the Archbishop, large assembly rooms and administrative offices. All the archaeological evidence points to the existence of an upper storey: the well-built wall, 0.80 m. thick, constructed of large blocks; a surviving piece of stairway; and the responds in the walls of the refectory for the transverse arches which would have supported an upper floor. Furthermore, the existence of an upper storey is confirmed by fragments of a manuscript in which reference is made to the destruction of the upper storey of the Archbishop's house⁴⁹ by rocks breaking off the Areopagus in an earthquake.

The above evidence combined with the relatively good state of preservation of the remains of the western part of the building have made it possible to restore with some confidence the main façade which looks on the court (Fig. 2, A-A).

The Archbishop's living quarters would have been in the second storey in the southern part of the complex, i.e. in a vulnerable position vis-a-vis the high rock of the Areopagus. The large part, over the refectory and the kitchen, was occupied by a room 12 x 4.50 m., large enough for meetings of the Synod. It was probably here also that the Archbishop judged civil cases once a week. Next the assembly room, in the northern part of the complex, would have been the library which impressed travelers with its large number of books and important manuscripts.⁵⁰

The Archbishop's palace should be regarded as one architectural unit and part of a single building program with the church of St. Dionysios (Fig. 8). The construction of both must have taken place about the middle of the 16th century.

THE SECOND PHASE

The first phase of the palace had a short life. The travelers who passed through Athens in the second half of the 17th century found the church of St. Dionysios and the Archbishopric in ruins, and it was these ruins that they described as the foundations of the house of Dionysios the Areopagite.

The only surviving information concerning the actual destruction of the buildings is contained in a few pages of manuscript, the so-called Anargyrian Fragments,⁵¹ where it is stated: "in this year there was a great earthquake and all the houses were

⁴⁹ *Infra*, p. 188.

⁵⁰ Testimonia, Nos. 6, 10.

⁵¹ For the discovery, significance and vicissitudes of this manuscript, cf. K. Pittakis, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, pp. 942-944; D. Kambouroglou, *Μνημεῖα Ἱστορίας Ἀθηναίων*, I, Athens, 1889, pp. 41-46; *Ἱστορία Ἀθηναίων*, I, Athens, 1889, pp. 43-72; Th. Philadelphus, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1902, B', pp. 91-96; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 44.

shaken; the church of St. Dionysios was torn in two and the house of the Archbishop was hit by a great stone from the rock and the upper storey collapsed.” (τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ μέγας σεισμός ἐγένετο, καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ οἴκοι ἐσείσθησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Ἀγίου Διονυσίου εἰς δύο ἐσχίσθη, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως οἶκος κλόνῳ μέγα καὶ λίθῳ ἐκ τοῦ βράχου προσβληθεὶς τὸ ἀνώγειον ἐκρημνίσθη.)⁵²

The fragments are part of a chronicle, whose accuracy is confirmed from other

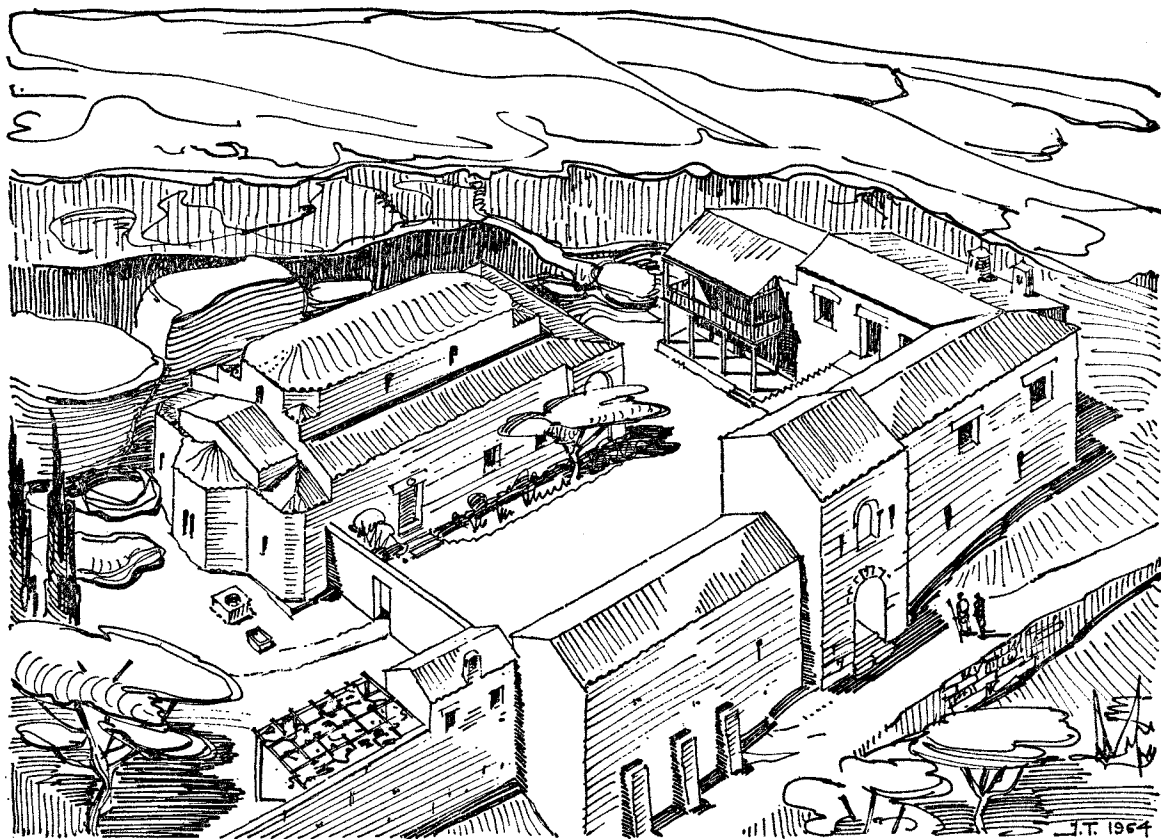


FIG. 8. Restored Sketch of Church and Palace, 16th century.

sources, of events which took place in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was copied, however, by an illiterate monk, apparently from memory, and is confused both in facts and in chronology. Five letters are missing from the date,⁵³ leaving it in some doubt. The context suggests the year 1651 but a more probable reading is 1601. The date of 1701 proposed by Mommsen must in any case be rejected because of the unanimous testimony of the travelers that the church was in ruins in the last quarter

⁵² Quoted in Mommsen, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ “Χιλιοστῷ — — — — σιοστῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει.”

of the 17th century. If the ruins seen by François Arnaud, who visited Athens in 1602,⁵⁴ can be identified with the church and the Archbishopric, then the date of the destruction can be surely fixed at 1601.

Guilletière⁵⁵ confirms the cause of the destruction of the church as falling rock. It must be borne in mind that all rock falls were not necessarily caused by earthquake. Great masses were detached from the Areopagus both before the construction of the church and after its destruction. Even in recent times three large boulders have fallen, probably dislodged by rotting of the rock foundation. But there seems no reason to disbelieve in an earthquake as the cause of the general disaster.

The strict prohibitions on the part of the Turkish authorities, noted by Guilletière, prevented the church from being either rebuilt or repaired to any extent. But some sections were probably preserved and made usable by small repairs. Other buildings were added to the court to the north of the church, including three rooms against its north wall. The middle unit was a solid structure covered with a barrel vault, of which substantial fragments remain.

A large rectangular room was constructed opposite these additions and in front of the arcade. From the many pithoi found within it was clear that the room was used for storage. There is no evidence of the exact date of construction either of the storeroom or of the three rooms opposite, but the thick layer of ash which covered the whole area of the storeroom proves that it was destroyed by fire, to be followed immediately by a radical reconstruction of the Archbishop's palace. By this time nothing was preserved of the old buildings except their foundations.

The new Archbishopric, shown in hatched lines on Figures 1 and 5, was much smaller than the old (Fig. 9). Its outer limits were confined within the area of the court, leaving little open space. A new series of buildings was erected along the north side behind the old wing, repeating most of the old plan. The new gateway was located directly behind the old; to the west was the new winepress, while to the east two very large rooms overlay the ruins of the storeroom (Fig. 1). The walls of the new complex are easily distinguished from the old by the character of the masonry, which was composed of much smaller stones with an abundance of white mortar. This final phase can be recognized in the well-known panorama by Jacques Carrey now in the Museum of Chartres (Pl. 54).⁵⁶ The picture was painted by Carrey in 1674 at the order of the Marquis de Nointel. Its careful detail gives it great importance for the study of Athenian topography at that time. The artist, whose viewpoint was the south slope of Lykabettos, seems to have had first hand knowledge of the monuments of the city, so that he was able to reproduce them with remarkable accuracy despite the distance.

⁵⁴ Testimonia, No. 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 8.

⁵⁶ It is a pleasure to record thanks to M. René Gobillot, Curator of the Museum of Chartres, for all possible kindness and hospitality in connection with photographing this painting.

A comparison of a detail of the painting (Pl. 55) with the restorations of the two phases (Figs. 8, 9) leaves no doubt that it is the second that Carrey painted and therefore that the original complex must have been destroyed and rebuilt before 1674.

This then is the form known to the 17th century travelers and here is the explanation of the frequent references to the house of Dionysios the Areopagite: the neighboring ruins of the old Archbishopric were still visible, probably by now pre-

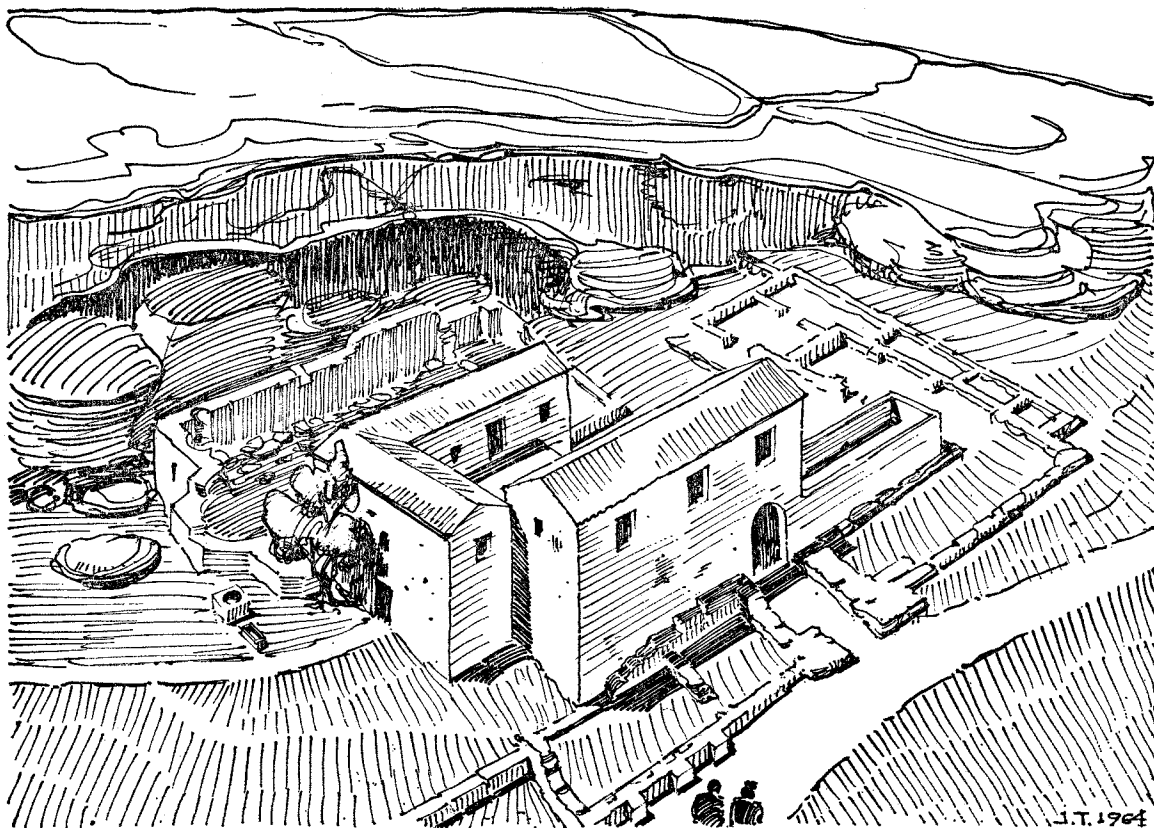


FIG. 9. Restored Sketch of Church and Palace, 17th century.

senting an appearance of great antiquity, carefully tended and cherished as a place of pilgrimage.

Reference by two of the visitors, Babin and Guilletière, to the church as "small" led some scholars to dispute the identification of the existing church and to seek the actual church of St. Dionysios elsewhere on the Areopagus.⁵⁷ But the subsequent discovery of the indubitable remains of the Archbishop's palace, almost invariably mentioned by the travelers in connection with the church, seems to dispose of this

⁵⁷ For a summary of the arguments, cf. Kambouroglou, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, II, pp. 300-302.

objection. One must suppose that the church, even before it was in ruins and overgrown with weeds, would have looked small to those accustomed to northern ecclesiastical architecture.

The first mention of a second church in the vicinity is from Richard Chandler, who visited Athens in 1765-6 and saw "a small church of St. Dionysios near one ruined."⁵⁸ It was probably erected after the visit of Stuart and Revett (1751-4),⁵⁹ since these two careful observers described the "rubbish rather than the ruins" of its predecessor and remarked that the Archbishop's palace was utterly demolished, with no reference to any sound building near by. A chapel of St. Dionysios seen by Pouqueville⁶⁰ sometime in the first quarter of the 19th century is probably the same, and should also be identified with the small ruined church mentioned by Christopher Wordsworth,⁶¹ since by that time the remains of the 16th century building had all but disappeared.

Whether this last church was actually on the site of the old is uncertain; we know only that it was "near." Hobhouse (1810)⁶² mentions a small chapel of St. Dionysios and a cave below it containing a cold spring, which suggests the Klepsydra at the northwest corner of the Acropolis.⁶³ But whatever its exact position, its only function on the Areopagus by now was to maintain a pious tradition.

The capture of Athens by the Venetians in 1687 under Morosini, with the destruction of the Parthenon and the damage inflicted on the city in general, marked also the end of the Archbishopric as it was established on the Areopagus. When the inhabitants returned after three years' enforced abandonment of Athens, the Archbishopric was installed, probably for greater safety, in the center of the city in the neighborhood of the Panagia Gorgoepekoös (Little Metropolis; Fig. 10).

The ruins of the church and the palace served as a convenient source of building material during the 18th century. In 1759 Tzisdarakos, Voivod of Athens, is reported to have removed many marbles for the construction of his own house.⁶⁴ But the complete disappearance was due to another Voivod, the formidable Chatzi Ali Chaseli who built a new wall around the city in 1788. In order to obtain material he destroyed many ancient and mediaeval monuments and used also stones from the Archbishopric for the portion of the wall leading up to the summit of the Areopagus.

From that time the rocky hill itself became a quarry for building material. Thick deposits of quarry waste overlay much of the complex and two iron quarrying wedges were found among the chips. "St. Paul's well" was now used to furnish

⁵⁸ Testimonia, No. 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 13.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, No. 19.

⁶² *Ibid.*, No. 17.

⁶³ *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 250-251 (Parsons).

⁶⁴ Kambouroglou, *Μνημεία τῆς Ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, I, p. 99.

water for a near-by settlement of Moors. It was popularly known as "Karasouyiou," i.e. "of the Moors"; the same name was extended to the Areopagus itself, including that portion of the Turkish wall with its tower. At the time of the Greek War of Independence in 1821 even in property contracts for the north slope of the Areopagus the fortification was known as the "Bourdji of Karasouyiou."

The new Metropolis was likewise destroyed during the War of Independence (1821) and was transferred to its present location in the area of the historic monastery of St. Philothei.

NOTE ON THE SEAT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS

Athens was elevated from a bishopric to a Metropolis about 733-746 (Ger. Konidaris, "*Πότε Προήχθησαν αἱ Ἀθήναι εἰς Μητρόπολιν*," *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, X, 1935, pp. 285-292). A detailed catalogue of the Byzantine bishops and Metropolitans of Athens is published by G. Sotiriou in *Εὐρετήριο τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I, 1927, pp. 21-25.

It is likely that the seat of the Metropolitan in Middle Byzantine times was on the Acropolis in the north wing of the Propylaia which had been remodeled for the purpose. The last Archbishop on the Acropolis was Michael Choniates who withdrew into voluntary exile after the capture of the city by the Franks (1204).

Throughout the whole Frankish period the Metropolis was governed by a Catholic Archbishop. The city was in a state of decline and decay; its extent was limited to the narrow confines of the Late Roman Fortification Wall, and on the Acropolis the Propylaia had been transformed into the Palace of the Dukes of Athens (Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, pp. 163-172). The activity of the Orthodox Church was limited and the building of churches ceased entirely.

Only under Nerio I (1387-1395) was the Orthodox Christian Church restored and an Orthodox archbishop installed once more. Where the new Metropolitan was established is not known, but in any case it seems that his residence was inside the city wall, probably near the Stoa of Attalos.

The capture of Athens by the Turks in 1456 changed the life of the city radically since, in contrast to the Franks, the new conquerors, in the early years of their domination, granted various privileges to the inhabitants and full religious liberty. It was in this period, about the middle of the 16th century, that the new Archbishopric and the church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite were erected.

The church of St. Dionysios and the Archbishopric were destroyed about 1601 by rocks falling from the Areopagus. The church was never rebuilt and only the Archbishopric was reconstructed, but on a smaller scale. The Archbishopric survived in this condition from the middle of the 17th century until 1687, and the travelers drew and described it in its new form.

After the destruction by the Venetians in 1687 a new palace was built in the

center of the city near the church of the Panagia Gorgoepeikoös. The exact position of the new Metropolis and also its appearance are established by a drawing made by the monk Barskji in 1745 and also by old topographical plans (used as the basis for Fig. 10).

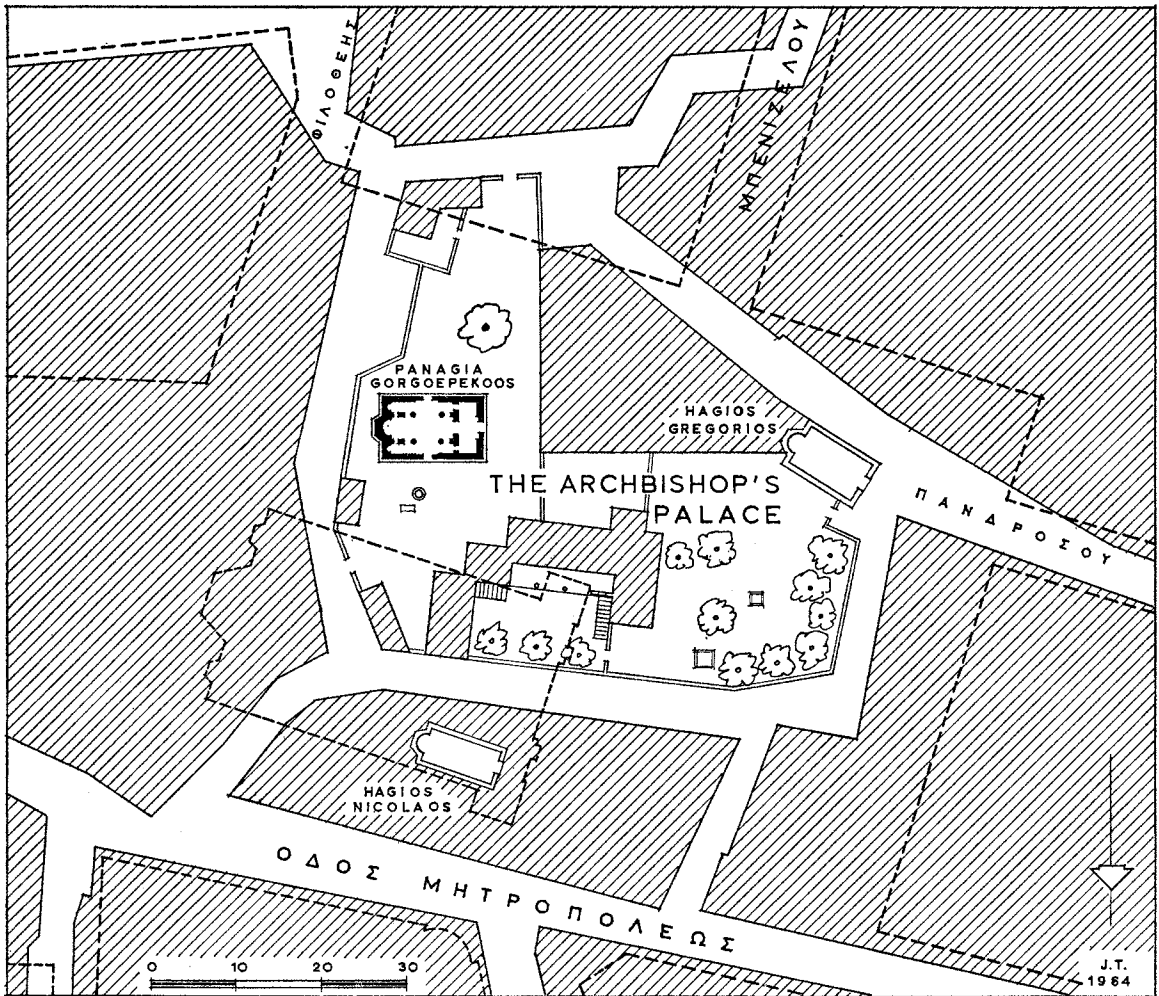


FIG. 10. Archbishop's Palace in its Setting. 18th century.

APPENDIX: TESTIMONIA

Most of the following descriptions are obviously based on first-hand observation, but many of the travelers apparently derived at least some of their information from a single source, perhaps the priest or monk who acted as xenagogue in the Archbishop's Palace or even Archbishop Anthimus himself (e.g. Nos. 3, 6, 8, 10). "St.

Paul's Well," for example, must certainly have been one of the prime attractions offered in a tour of the Archbishopric.

The visitors were occasionally confused in their topography, especially between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. So Pouqueville (No. 18) takes Wheler to task for having identified as the Areopagus foundations which are clearly those of the Pnyx.

1. INNOCENT III, 1208. *Innocentii III PP. Regestorum Lib. XI*, 256. Published in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 215, cols. 1559-1561, CCLVI. Berardo Atheniensi Archiepiscopo, ejusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum. De confirmatione privilegiorum (Laterani, id. Februarii).

(149) Antiquam Atheniensis gloriam civitatis innovatio gratiae non putitur antiquari, quae, quasi modernae religionis figura in prima ejus fundatione praeluserit, cultum quem tribus distincta partibus tribus falsis numinibus impendebat, sub tribus demum personis erga veram et individuum Trinitatem convertit, studioque mundanae scientiae in divinae sapientiae desiderium immutato, arcem famosissimae Palladis in sedem humiliavit gloriosissimae genitricis veri Dei nunc assecuta notitiam quae dudum ignoto exstruxerat Deo aram. Civitas quidem ipsa praeclari nominis ac perfecti decoris philosophicam prius artem crudiens, et in apostolica fide postmodum erudita, dum et poetas litteris imbuit et prophetas demum ex litteris intellexit, dicta est mater artium et vocata civitas litterarum.

.....
Nos igitur non incongruum reputantes munus illuc apostolici patrocini litteratorie destinare unde copiam scientiae litteralis in orbem pene totum novimus effluxisse, justis postulationibus clementer annuimus, et Atheniensem ecclesiam, cui favente Deo, praeesse dignosceris, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus ac praesentis scripti privilegio communimus, statuantes et quacunque possessiones, quaecunque bona eadem ecclesia impraesentiarum juste ac canonice possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regnum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis justis modis, praestante Domino, poterit adipisci, firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant.

Quadringentas palicas et ducentos papates commorantes Athenis, et centum palicas in Thebis, et centum in Nigroponte. Molendina ecclesiae, hortos et balnea, et macella de Nigroponte et Athenarum, et flumina unde rigantur horti. Abbantias Sancti Siriani, Sancti Michaelis, Sancti Joannis et Sancti Nicolai. Monasteria Beati Nicolai de Catapercica Beati Nicolai de Columnis, et Sanctae Mariae de Blakernis. Monasteria Cinoloitarum, Sancti Prothasii. Sanctae Trinitatis, Sancti Georgii, Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae, Sancti Theodori, Sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani, etc.

2. FRANÇOIS ARNAUD, 1602. *Voiage en Levant et en Jerusalem*. Published by H.

Omont, *Voyages à Athènes, Constantinople et Jerusalem de François Arnaud (1602-1605)*, Paris, 1909, pp. 467-484; J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* (Gennadeion Monographs III), Princeton, 1951, p. 52.

(fol. 4r) Un peu plus hault et sur une colinne se voit, au lieu où fesoit sa demeure St. Denis Areopagite, un oracle qui estant animé d'un mauvais demon donnoit réponse aux demandes qu'on luy faisoit, lequel print fin à l'arrivée de Monsieur St. Paul, et d'icelluy en voit-on encore quelque partie avec quelque triomphe et estatue anthiques toutes ruynées.

3. PÈRE ROBERT DE DREUX, Aumonier de l'Ambassade de France, 1669. *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce*, Ed. H. Pernot, Paris, 1925, p. 148.

Ce que je desirais le plus de voir, c'était le temple qui donne l'occasion à Saint Paul de reprocher aux Atheniens leur aveuglement parce qu'ils l'avaient consacré au Dieu inconnu, vu que Dieu s'était manifesté d'une manière si sensible. Mais parce qu'il est renfermé dans le château, qui n'est habité que par les Turcs, et qu'on avait averti qu'il était dangereux d'en approcher je perdais quasi l'espérance de satisfaire là dessus ma curiosité.

Je voulus du moins tenter si je ne pourrais pas voir la maison où demeurerait autrefois Saint Denis, que le sieur Paléologue m'avait dit être proche de l'Areopage, dont il me montra quelques anciennes murailles, en arrivant à Athènes. C'est pourquoi, bien qu'elles soient proche du château, sur une éminence qui commande à la ville, je ne laissai pas d'y aller, et arrivant à une grande maison dont la porte était ouverte, je vis dans la cour un autel, aux environs duquel il y avait des pilastres et autres ornements de marbre. Je pris la confiance d'y entrer et je remarquai que c'étaient les ruines d'une ancienne chapelle mais n'osant pas rester là longtemps, j'en sortis promptement et j'allai vers l'Areopage lorsque j'entendis une voix qui me disait en Grec " Arrête-Arrête." Je tournais la tête, pour voir d'où venait cette voix, et je vis un prêtre grec qui me fit signe de l'attendre, ce que je fis volontiers, et m'ayant joint, il me demanda qui j'étais. Je lui dis que j'étais un Français qui retournant en France, cherchait à voir la maison de Saint Denis, qui en a été le premier apôtre. " Vous en sortez," me dit-il, et m'y faisant rentrer, il me montra l'autel que j'avais déjà vu. Et lui disant que j'étais surpris comment ils laissaient cette chapelle ainsi ruinée, il me dit que les Turcs, ne voulaient pas permettre de la réparer, mais que tous les ans ils ne laissaient pas de l'ajuster le mieux qu'ils pouvaient, le jour de la fête de Saint Denis, et qu'on y célébrait la Sainte Messe à laquelle ils conviaient tous les Français qui se trouvent dans les pays, sachant qu'il est leur apôtre ayant quitté Athènes, dont il était évêque, pour aller prêcher la foi dans les Gaules, à la sollicitation de Saint Polycarpe. Je demandai à M. la Consul s'il était vrais qu'on l'invitait tous les ans

d'aller entendre cette messe. Il me dit qu'on n'y manquait pas et que tout ce qu'il y avait de Français ne manquait pas d'y assister.

Le prêtre me montra ensuite un puits où il me dit que Saint Denis avait caché saint Paul durant quelques jours, et m'invita d'entrer dans ce logis pour voir l'archevêque qui y faisait sa demeure, mais je m'excusai sur ce que, ne sachant pas assez bien le grec pour l'entretenir, je pourrais le lendemain venir avec mon compagnon qui en savait plus que moi, pour lui rendre nos respects.

4. J. B. BABIN, 1669. *Relation de l'état present de la ville d'Athènes*, Lyon, 1674, p. 15.

Maison de S. Denis

L'Archevêque a son logis sur les anciens fondemens de la *maison de S. Denys Areopagite*, joignant les ruines d'une petite Eglise fort ancienne, dont les mazes et murailles paroissent encore toutes embellies de diverses peintures, et proche de laquelle est un *puits*, ou l'on assure que S. Paul demeura caché 24 heures dans une persecution que ses ennemies exciterent contre luy, après le conversion de ce Sénateur de l'Areopage.

Les Francs qui n'ont à Athènes que la Chapelle des Pères *Capucins*, comme auparavant ils n'avoient que celle des Pères *Iesuites*, disent que les massons ayans trouvé sous terre parmy les ruines de cette ancienne Eglise Grecque une statue de marbre, qui représentoit la sainte Vierge, tenant son fils entre les bras, l'Archevêque defunt, aussitôt qu'il la vist la mit en pièces, de peur que les Latins n'eussent cet Argument contre les Grecs, et ne leur objectassent que S. Denys honoroit les images en bosse, puisqu' on en avoit trouvé une dans les ruines de sa maison qui joint cette Eglise.

5. BERNARD RANDOLF, ca. 1671. *The Present State of the Morea called anciently Peloponnesse together with a description of the city of Athens*, London, 1686, p. 22.

Here is an Arch-Bishop whose house stands to the South West of the Town, near into the Mount *Ariopagus*: He lives in great esteem amongst them. Below his Palace towards the North stands intire the Temple of Theseus.

6. CORNELIO MAGNI, 1674. *Relazione della Citta d'Athene colle Provincia dell' Attica*, Parma, 1688, pp. 40-41.

Dalle parte di mezzo giorno del *Tempio* sudetto appaiono le vestigia del nomato *Areopago*, che consistono in pietre smisurate, da dove si raccoglie la forma, con che sedevano i Senatori nell' atto di distribuire la Giustizia, e quiui dicesi fosse il Sepolchro di *Edippo*, le dicui ossa escavate furono al referir di *Pausania* trasportate in *Tebe*.

In poca distanza da questo vedesi una Chiesa *Greca* rovinata, già dedicata a

San Dionigi Areopagita, primo Cristiano in queste parti: In vicinanza di essa abita l'Arcivescovo di *Athene*, che fummo à trovare, il quale ci accolse cortesemente e ci mostro molti libri antichi manuscritti, da esso non molto faticati.

7. JEAN GIRAUD, 1674. *Relation des antiquités d'Athènes dans l'estat qui se trouve à present* (Suppl. grec. 301), publ. par Maxime M. Collignon dans *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, XXV, 1897, pp. 63-64.

De l'autre costé (from the Areopagus) à main droite descendant du chasteau est l'archevesché, que l'on assure estre la mesme demeure de saint Denis l'areopagite. En sortant de l'archevesché par la petite porte à dix pas de là, est un puy ou St. Paul se cacha pour esviter la fureur du peuple après qu'il eust converty St. Denis.

8. GUILLET DE LA GUILLETIERE, 1675. *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle et l'estat present de l'Empire des Turcs*, Paris, 1675, pp. 150-151, 293.

.....
Cet ancien Archevesque qui a sa promotion fut tiré du Monastère de Medelli, autant pour sa pieté que pour son erudition est ravy quand il entend dire aux Peres Capucins que la ville de Paris tient à bonheur singulier d'avoir eu pour son premier Evesque le grand Saint Denis Areopagite. Il prend là dessus la parole avec la simplicité d'un Vieillard venerable et un air où la joye éclatte; vous voyez donc bien dit-il un homme qui s'applaudit, que sans Athènes, la France n'auroit peut-estre jamais eu d' Apôtre.

.....
Comme il y a auprès du Palais de l'Archevesque, une petite Chapelle consacrée à ce Saint, que la chute d'un Rocher a ruinée, ils sont tous les jours à solliciter nos Missionnaires de faire un voyage auprès du Roy pour obtenir des liberalitez de ce grand Prince de quoy reparer la Chapelle de nostre Apostre et relever chez eux la gloire de notre Nation.

.....
C'est là auprès qu'on voit les ruines d'une petite Chapelle, appelée Agios Dionysios, ou l'on dit la Messe, le jour de la Feste de ce Saint. Pour relever cette Chapelle, il ne faudroit pas seulement de l'argent; mais encore une puissante recommandation à la Porte, qui souffre bien que Chretiens fassent des reparations à leurs Eglises, mais non pas qu'on les rebastisse quand elles sont abbatues. La Chapelle touche au Palais de l'Archevesque, que l'on pretend avoir esté le Palais de saint Denis. Le lieu est très agreable; outre l' Archevesque, il y loge cinq ou six Caloyers qui composent toute sa famille. On y montre un puy que les Chrestiens ont en grande veneration, parce qu'ils tiennent qu'il servit de prison a Saint Paul, et que l'autorité de Saint Denis l'en retira.

9. FRANCIS VERNON, 1675. *Journal*. Original manuscript in British Museum.

August 30 To St. Dionysios the Archvescovate. St. Paul's well away to gate with ante. Home, wine. Sup. partridge, beef. Bed.

Oct. 26 House of St. Dionysios, fountain of Neptune, the foundations of an ancient great wall.

10. IACOB SPON AND GEORGE WHEELER, 1675-76. *Voyage d'Italie de Dalmatie de Grece et du Levant*, II, Lyon, 1678, pp. 200 ff.

Entre l'Areopage et le Temple de Thesée il y a une Eglise ruinée de S. Denys Areopagite. On croit que la maison voisine est sur les fondemens de celle où demouroit cet Illustre Senateur, qui fut le premier Chrêtié, et le premier Evêque d'Athènes. L'Archevêque y a son logement, et c'étoit alors un Caloyer de Morée appelé *Anthimus*. Nous luy rendîmes visite par deux fois, et il nous receut à la Turque sur un tapis étendu par terre, en nous presentant le café. Il scait le Grec literal, et les Peres de l'Eglise Grecque. Il nous dit même qu'il en avoit plusieurs manuscrits qu'il avoit mis en depôt au Couvent de S. Luc, et il nous fit seulement voir un beau S. Denys Areopagite ancien de cinq ou six cens ans, avec le Commentaire de S. Maximus.

L'Archevêque est servi par deux ou trois Caloyers. Nous scûmes d'un vieux Papa qui a toûjours été avec luy, que son Archevêché ne vaut tout au plus que quatre mille écus de rente, qu'il y a 24 ans qu'il en est en possession, et que s'il avoit voulu être Patriarche de Constantinople, il l'auroit été. Car il est en reputation d'homme d'esprit, et la plus grande marque qu'il en ait donnée selon mon sens, est de s'être contenté de sa condition, sans en ambitionner une si haute, mais si mal assurée. Il a cinq Evêchez sous luy; *Salona* et *Livadia* dont j'ay parlé; *Boudonitza* sur le chemin d'Athènes à Larissa; *Talanta* sur l'Euripe, et l'Isle de *Scyros* dans l'Archipel. Monsieur de la Guilletiere luy en donne sept, et il nomme même quatre lieux, dont il n'y en a aucun de ce nom dans la Grece; *Porthinia*, *Diaulis*, *Heterotopia*, et la *Valonne*. Ce dernier lieu est dans l'Albanie sur la côte de la mer Adriatique, et n'a rien à démêler avec Athènes. Ceux qui ont donné des memoires à cet Auteur, ont eu peu de bonne foy de luy avoir supposé ces trois autres mots faits à plaisir. *Carystos* et *Andros* reconnoissent le Metropolitain de Negrepont. Nous scûmes de l'Archevêque même qu'il y a dans Athènes 52 Eglises, qui ont chacune leur Papa, mais qu'il y en avoit bien 200, ou dans le Ville, ou aux environs, où l'on disoit quelquefois l'Office. Ce grand nombre d'Eglises vient de ce que les Grecs ne peuvent dire qu'une Messe par jour dans chacune; aussi sont-elles pour la plûpart fort petites, et les Messes fort longues. Il ajoûta qu'il n'y avoit dans tout son Diocese que 150 Eglises, où se dit ordinairement l'Office, et qui contribuassent à son revenu. Le puits qui est proche

de la maison, est, ce dit-on, le même ou S. Paul se cacha après avoir ému le peuple par la predication qu'il fit dans l'Areopage. Le voisinage du lieu, et la conversion de S. Denis donnent quelque fondement, à cette opinion.

11. GEORGE WHEELER, 1676. *A Journey into Greece*, London, 1682, pp. 350, 384.

"..... The Archbishop has a beautiful house on the hill near the west end of the castle where they say St. Dionysius the Areopagite lived."

AREOPAGUS.

.....
.....
From this Fountain, keeping along the ridge of the Hill, a little way North Westwards under a cragged Rock is a ruined Church, they say was formerly dedicated to *Saint Dennys* The Areopagite: and by it is the Palace of the Archbishop of *Athens*. They believe it was built on the Foundations of the Palace that most illustrious Senator lived in, who was the first Christian and first Bishop of *Athens*. Of this Church there is nothing to be seen now but a heap of ruins; and a Well, where they say, *Saint Paul* hid himself for a little while, seeing the people put in an uproar upon his Preaching in The *Areopagus*. This tradition seems to confirm my opinion, that the *Areopagus* stood hereabouts.

12. CHARLES COMTE DE FERRIOL, 1699. *A Visit to Athens in 1699*. Published by J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 170-171.

En montant au château on trouve au couchant une chapelle qui étoit l'archevesché et qui est maintenant toute découverte. C'étoit la maison de St. Denis. L'on y voit un puits et tout proche un grand pièce de marbre où l'on ne peut plus lire les sentences des juges de l'Aréopage qui y sont gravées.

A 50 pas de cette chapelle est un autre puits où l'on dit que St. Paul se cacha par l'avis de St. Denis, son disciple, pendant la persécution des Chrétiens.

13. JAMES STUART AND NICOLAS REVETT, 1751-1754. *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. II, 1787, p. vi.

At the foot of this rock, on the part facing the northeast, there are some natural caverns, and contiguous to them rather the rubbish than the ruins of some considerable buildings; from their present appearance it is scarcely possible to form a probable conjecture concerning them; that nearest the Acropolis, marked (q) in the Plan, tradition says, was anciently the palace of St. Dionysius

the Areopagite; after Christianity was established at Athens, it became a Church, and was dedicated to him. Wheler saw it above an hundred years ago, and it was then a heap of ruins (i). Near it, that gentleman informs us, stood the Archbishop's palace but that also is at present utterly demolished. It is not improbable that both the Church and the Palace were built on the ruins of the ancient Tribunal called the Areopagus.

14. R. CHANDLER, 1765-1766. *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, 3rd ed., London, 1817, pp. 75-76.

The hill before noted is proved to have been that of the Areopagus by its situation, both with respect to the cave and to pnyx, It is ascended by steps cut in the rock, and by it, on the side next to the temple of Theseus, is a small church of St. Dionysius, near one ruined, and a well now choked up, in which, they tell you, St. Paul, on some occasion, was hid

15. EDWARD DODWELL, Esq. F.S.A., 1801, 1805. *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, I, London, 1819, p. 361.

Large fragments of rock are scattered near its eastern base, some of which seem to have been detached from the Areiopagos, and others from the Acropolis. Near this is a spring of unpotable water, and a well called *Αραβικο Πιγαδι*, the Arabian's Well, since it is in that quarter which is inhabited by some black families, who use it for washing. We here also find the imperfect remains of a building of the lower ages, which Wheler supposes to have been the church of Saint Dionysius the Areiopagite. He reports that Saint Paul concealed himself in the neighbouring well; a very improbable story, and very inconsistent with the noble and intrepid character of that apostle.

16. WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, 1802. *The Topography of Athens with some remarks on its antiquities*, 2nd ed., London, 1841, p. 165.

The identity of the Areiopagus with that rocky height which is separated only from the western end of the Acropolis by a hollow, forming a communication between the northern and southern divisions of the ancient site, is found in the words of Pausanias, indicating that proximity; in the remark of Herodotus that it was a height over-against the Acropolis, from whence the Persians assailed the western end of the Acropolis; and in the lines of Aeschylus, who refers to it in similar terms as the position of the camp of the Amazones, when they attacked the fortress of Theseus. Nor ought we to neglect the strong traditional evidence afforded by the church of Dionysius the Areiopagite, of which the ruins were seen by Wheler and Spon at the foot of the height on the north-eastern side.

17. J. C. HOBHOUSE, 1810. *A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the Years 1809 and 1810*, Philadelphia, March 8, 1817, p. 260.

.....

A person walking from the Temple towards the Acropolis, and passing out of this gate, if he still keeps in the direction of the walls, will immediately ascend the craggy hill of the Areopagus. This hill is very uneven, consisting of two rocky eminences, on the lowest of which is a small chapel, dedicated to Saint Dionysius the Areopagite. A cave below this chapel, always shown by the Athenians, and which contains a cold spring, perhaps the fountain mentioned by Pausanias as being near the temple of Apollo and Pan, on the descent from the Acropolis, is not otherwise curious, than as being reported by the devout Christians to have given shelter to St. Paul.

18. F. C. H. L. POUQUEVILLE, Early 19th Century. *Voyage de la Grece*, V, Paris, 1827, pp. 59 ff.

“ Nous avons autrefois fixé la position de l'Aréopage, sur une butte où vous voyez une chapelle dédiée à Denys l'aréopagite, que les Athéniens prétendent être né, avoir vécu, être mort et enterré dans leur ville.”

.....

Il est probable que ce fut au portique royal, où l'Aréopage se réunissait quelquefois, que saint Paul fut entendu dans sa défense, car alors les causes étaient plaidées de jour et devant le peuple, dont les juges n'étaient séparés que par un cordeau qui servait de barrière.

.....

La Guilletière dans son Athènes ancienne et moderne se contente de nommer l'Aréopage. Spon paraît s'être trompé sur son emplacement, quand il dit: “ Au midi du temple de Thésée sont les masures de l'Aréopage, dont les fondements sont en demi-cercle, de prodigieux quartiers de roche taillés en pointe de diamant. Ils soutiennent une esplanade d'environ cent quarante pas de long, qui était proprement le lieu où se tenait cet auguste sénat.” Il parle ensuite d'une tribune taillée dans le roc et de l'église de Saint-Denys, qu'on croyait bâtie sur l'emplacement de la maison de cet areopagite prétendu. Les évêques d'Athènes y avaient alors leur demeure, et le soi-disant successeur de Saint Denys, Anthimius, lui montra un manuscrit des oeuvres de ce Saint qui serait bien curieux, dit à ce sujet le voyageur, s'il était authentique, puisque le nom de la Trinité, qui ne se lit pas dans l'écriture sainte, s'y trouve exprimé.

19. CRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A., 1832. *Athens and Attica*, 2nd ed., London, 1837, p. 76.

There are the ruins of a small church on the Areopagus dedicated to S. Dionysius the Areopagite, and commemorating his conversion here by S. Paul. S. Paul stood in the centre of this platform. He was brought, perhaps up these steps of rock which are the natural access to the summit, from the agora below, in which he had been conversing, to give an account of the doctrines which he preached, on the Areopagus hill, probably so chosen as an open space where many might listen at their ease, and also as likely to intimidate the Apostle, being the tribunal for trying capital offences, especially in matters of religion. Here, placed as he was, he might well describe the city of Athens as he did. With its buildings at his feet, and its statues and temples around him, he might well feel from ocular demonstration that the city was crowded with idols.

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ATHENS



a. Church of St. Dionysios before Excavation.



b. The Church as cleared for Excavation, from Summit of Areopagus.



a. Earlier Foundations under Church.



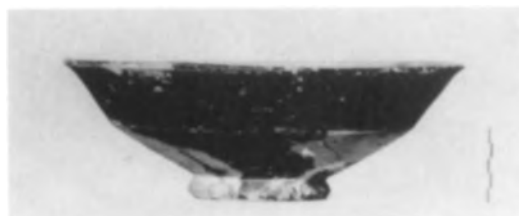
b. Inscription seen by Cyriacus of Ancona, *I.G.*, II², 7155.



c, d. Tile Graves in Early Cemetery.



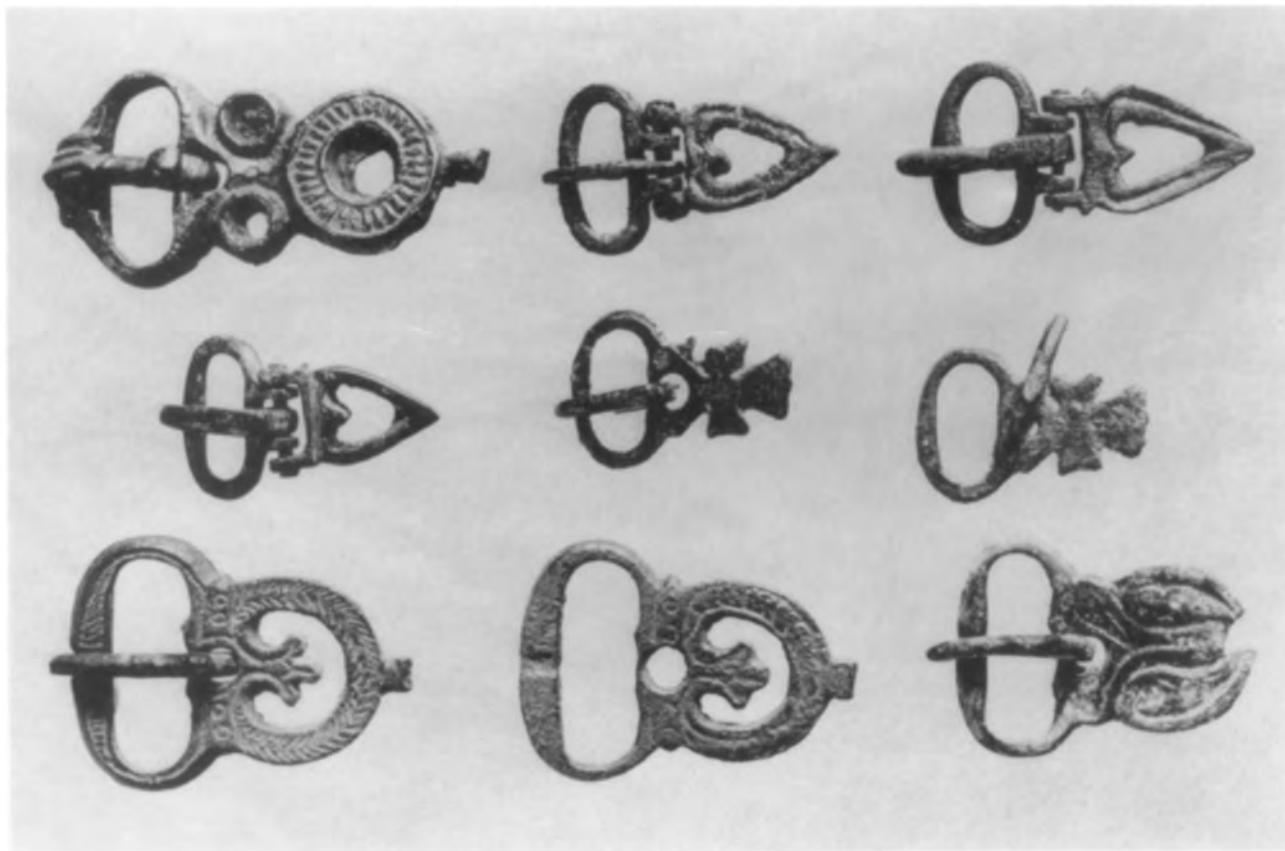
e. Jugs from Early Cemetery.



f. Hellenistic Bowl from under Church.



g. "Gnostic" Amulet, with Cast of Obverse.



a. Bronze Buckles.



b. Bronze Reliquary Cross.

Offerings from Early Cemetery.



a. Impost Block, A 409.



b. Capital, A 408.



c. Fragment of Moulding, A 407.



d. Iconostasis Slab, S 487.

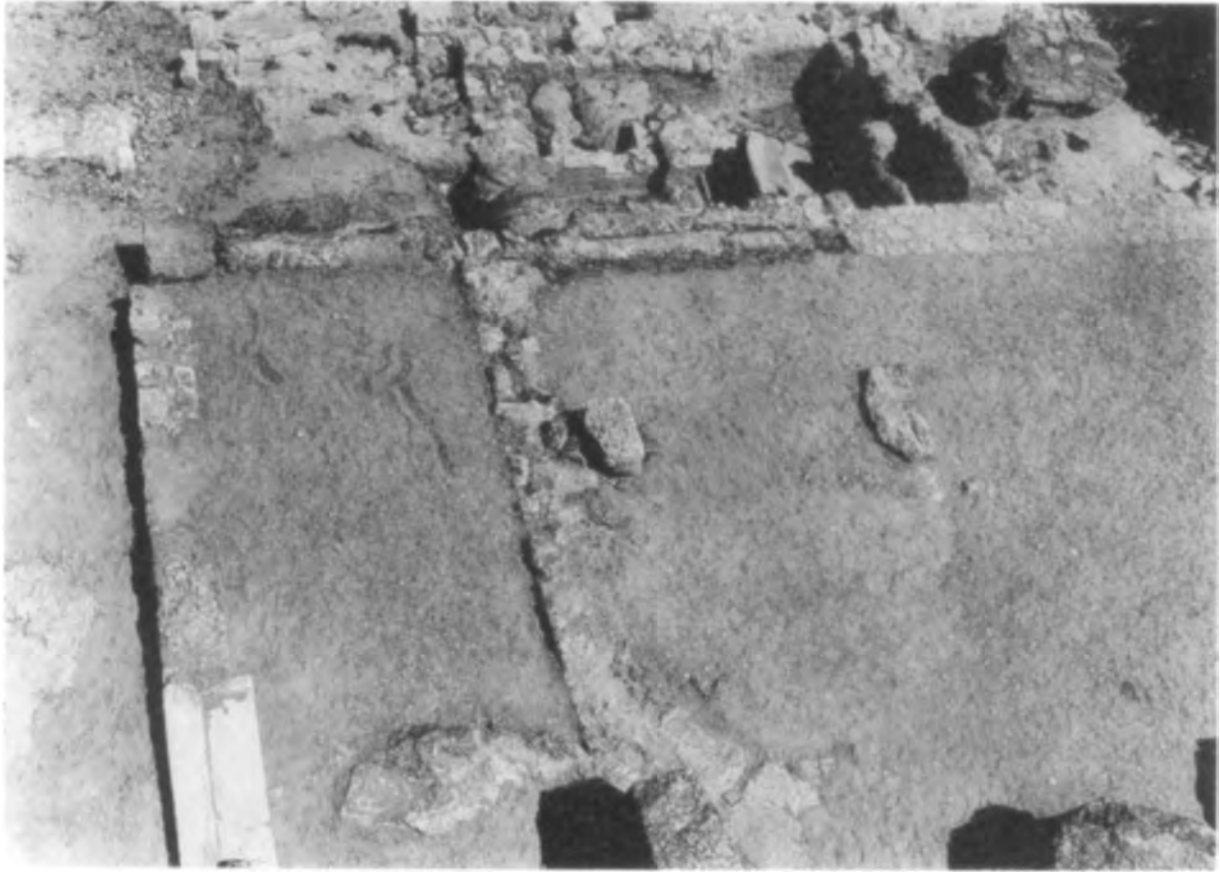
Architectural Members found on Site.



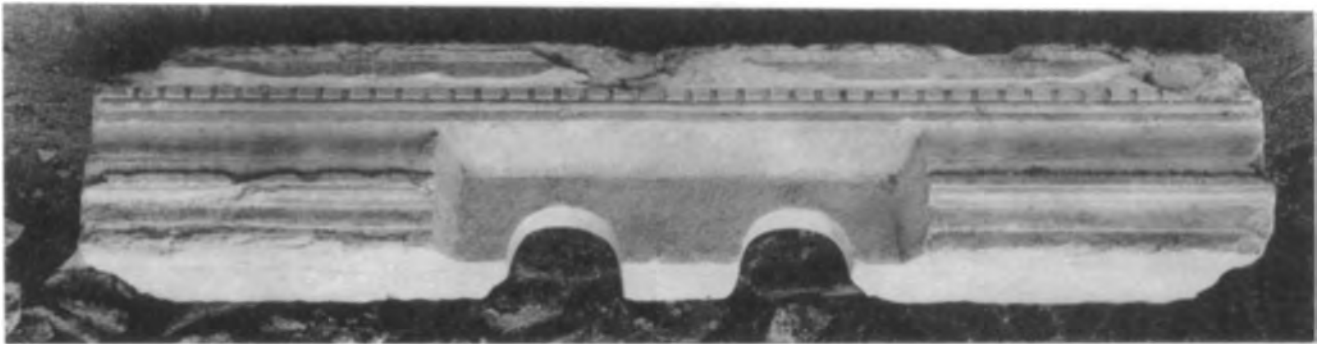
a. Church from West.



b. Detail of South Wall.



a. Northwest Corner of Church, showing Main Threshold.



b. Marble Lintel for Window of Apse.

JOHN TRAVLOS AND ALISON FRANTZ: THE CHURCH OF ST. DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE AND THE PALACE OF THE
ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS IN THE 16TH CENTURY



a. Pantanassa.



b. Hagioi Anargyroi.

Athenian Churches.



a. Pantanassa. Vaulting over Apse.



b. Panagia Rombis. Vaulting of Nave.



a. No. 10.



b. No. 11



c, d. No. 11



e. Nos. 12 and 13.

Tombs in Church.



a. "St. Paul's Well" seen against East End of Church.



b. "St. Paul's Well" (Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*).



a. Fallen Rock at East End of Terrace.



b. Monumental Gateway, looking out.



a. Eastern Section of Palace from Northwest, showing Winepress.



b. Eastern Section of Palace from Northeast.



a. Western Section of Palace: Residence and Refectory.



b. Western Section of Palace, looking toward Church.



Panorama of Athens by Jacques Carrey, 1674. Chartres, Museum.

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Detail of Panorama by Jacques Carrey.

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