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Seleucia XII

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PRAEFATIO

Seleucia dergimiz on ikinci sayısında yine değerli yazarların katkılarıyla ve zengin bir içerikle sizlerle buluşuyor. Bu sayımızda, Seleucia ad Calycadnum'daki Azize Thekla kutsal yerinden, Anemurium ve Flaviopolis'e; Olba'ya kadar uzanan bir coğrafyada ulaşılan arkeolojik veriler ışığında yapılan yorum ve yaklaşımların yer aldığı Cilicia çalışmalarını okuma fırsatını bulacaksınız. Hazır Cilicia'dan çok uzaklaşmadan, Isauria'da Eirenopolis kırsalına, oradaki şarap atölyeleri ile ilgili bilgi sahibi olacaksınız. Batı Anadolu'da Kadıkalesi - Anaia sikke buluntularını, Klazomenai kazısı amphora buluntuları içinde özel bir grubu, Stratonikeia'dan iyi çoban heykelciğini tanıyacaksınız. Bu sayımızda farklılık yaratan üç ayrı çalışma da yer almakta. Bunlardan biri, sizleri Endülüs diyarına götürecektir; diğeri Bizans kilise müziği konusunda bir değerlendirme niteliğinde sizlere ulaşacak. Sonuncusu ise 1740 yılında Paris'te basılan Michel Le Quien'in yapıtında Anemurium konusunda verilen bilgileri sunacak. Mimaride "anıtsallık" kavramını çok yönlü olarak incelediği değerli çalışma ise zengin yorumlarıyla mimarlık tarihi çalışmalarında önemli bir başvuru yapıtı olacak. Seleucia'nın editörleri olarak 2011 yılından bu yana her yıl aralıksız olarak yayınlanan dergimizin on ikinci yılında sizlerle buluşmanın mutluluk ve gururunu yaşamakta ve gelecekte de yayın geleneğimizi sürdürmeyi amaçlamaktayız.

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Prof. Dr. Emel Erten

Prof. Dr. Diane Favro

Prof. Dr. Fikret Yegül

Dr. Murat Özyıldırım (Baş Editör)

PREFACE

As the commission of editors of Seleucia we are proud to present the twelfth issue of our journal. This issue is rich in content: Our followers will have the privilege of reading a selection of original works on Cilicia starting from the holy site of Hagia Thecla in Seleucia ad Calycadnum to Anemurium, Flaviopolis and Olba. They will be acquainted with the wine workshops in Isauria in Eirenopolis, not much far from Cilicia. This issue also contains a group of articles on the archaeology of western Anatolia such as coins from Kadıkalesi - Anaia, a specific group of amphorae from Clazomenai, a statuette from Stratonicea. We believe that three articles in this issue will particularly attract the attention of our readers, the one on the caliphal image in Medinat'al Zahra in Andalusia and the other on Byzantine music, and finally the article about the mention of Anemurium in the French scholar's Michel Le Quien's work which was published in 1740 in Paris. The valuable article on monumentality in architecture with its exceptional treatment of the subject will be a reference work of great importance for future studies of architectural history. As the editors of Seleucia, we are glad and proud of being able to publish continuously since 2011 and are hoping to maintain the tradition in the future.

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Emel Erten

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Olba Kazısı Serisi

Seleucia

Makale Başvuru Kuralları

Seleucia, Olba Kazısı yayını olarak yılda bir sayı yayınlanır. Yayınlanması istenen makalelerin en geç Şubat ayında gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir. Seleucia, arkeoloji, eski çağ dilleri ve kültürleri, eski çağ tarihi, sanat tarihi konularında yazılan, daha önce yayınlanmayan yalnızca Türkçe, İngilizce çalışmaları ve kitap tanıtımlarını yayımlar.

Yazım Kuralları

Makaleler, Times New Roman yazı karakterinde, word dosyasında, başlık 12 punto baş harfleri büyük harf, metin ve kaynakça 10 punto, dipnotlar 9 punto ile yazılmalıdır. Sayfa sayısı, kaynakça dâhil en çok on sayfa olmalıdır. Müze, kazı, yüzey araştırması malzemelerinin yayın izinleri, makale ile birlikte yollanmalıdır. Kitap tanıtımları, üç sayfayı geçmemelidir. Çalışmada ara başlık varsa bold ve küçük harflerle yazılmalıdır. Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler, makale adının altında, 9 punto, iki yüz sözcüğü geçmemelidir. Özetlerin altında İngilizce ve Türkçe beşer anahtar sözcük, 9 punto olarak “anahtar sözcükler” ve “keywords” başlığının yanında verilmelidir. Doktora ve yüksek lisans tezlerinden oluşturulan makaleler, yayına kabul edilmemektedir.

- Dipnotlar, her sayfanın altında verilmelidir. Dipnotta yazar soyadı, yayın yılı ve sayfa numarası sıralaması aşağıdaki gibi olmalıdır. Demiriş 2006, 59.
- Kaynakça, çalışmanın sonunda yer almalı ve dipnottaki kısaltmayı açıklamalıdır.

Kitap için:

Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., İstanbul.

Makale için:

Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., “Arius: Bir ‘Sapkın’ın Kısa Hikayesi”, Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Makalede kullanılan fotoğraf, resim, harita, çizim, şekil vs. metin içinde yalnızca (Lev. 1), (Lev. 2) kısaltmaları biçiminde “Levha” olarak yazılmalı, makale sonunda “Levhalar” başlığı altında sıralı olarak yazılmalıdır. Bütün levhalar, jpeg ya da tift formatında 300 dpi olmalıdır. Alıntı yapılan levha varsa sorumluluğu yazara aittir ve mutlaka alıntı yeri belirtilmelidir.
- Levha sayısı her makalede 10 adet ile kısıtlıdır.
- Latince - Yunanca sözcüklerin yazımında özel isimlerde; varsa Türkçe ek virgülle ayrılmalı, örneğin; Augustus’un, cins isimler italik yazılmalı, varsa Türkçe ek, italik yapılmadan sözcüğe bitişik yazılmalıdır, örneğin; *caveanın*.
- Tarih belirtilirken MÖ ve MS nokta kullanılmadan, makale başlıkları ile yazar ad ve soyadlarında sadece baş harfler büyük harf olarak yazılmalıdır.

Olba Excavations Series

Seleucia

Scope

Seleucia is annually published by the Olba Excavations Series. Deadline for sending papers is February of each year. Seleucia features previously unpublished studies and book reviews on archaeology, ancient languages and cultures, ancient history and history of art written only in Turkish or English.

Publishing Principles

Articles should be submitted as word documents, with font type Times New Roman, font sizes 12 points for headings (first letters should be capitalized), 10 points for text, and 9 points for footnotes and references. The number of pages of each article should not be longer than ten pages, including the bibliography. If the study is on some material/materials from a museum or an excavation, the permission for publication should be submitted together with the article. The book reviews should not be longer than three pages. If there are sub-titles, the headings should be written bold with small letters. Abstracts written in both Turkish and English should appear below the heading of the article, should be size of 9 points and minimum count of words should be 200. Below the abstracts, a minimum of 5 keywords for both languages should be included (of size 9 points) below the headings “anahtar sözcükler” and “keywords”. The articles produced out of master’s theses or doctoral dissertations will not be accepted for publication.

- Footnotes should be given under each page. The ordering of author surname, year of publication and page number should be as follows: Demiriş 2006, 59.
- The reference list should appear at the end of the study and should explain the abbreviation given in the footnote.

Book format:

Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., İstanbul.

Article format:

Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., “Arius: Bir ‘Sapkın’ın Kısa Hikayesi”, Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Photographs, pictures, maps, drawings, figures etc. used in the article should be referred to in the text as (Fig. 1), (Fig. 2) as abbreviations, and an ordered list of these items should appear at the end of the article under the heading “Figures”. All figures should be in JPEG or TIFF format with 300 dpi. If there are figures cited, the responsibility lies with the author and citation should be explicitly given. The number of figures for each article is limited to 10.

Holy Water and Healing Practices at the Pilgrimage Site of Hagia Thekla at Meryemlik¹

Arabella Cortese*

Abstract

This article investigates the power of holy water as a healing remedy at the shrine of Saint Thekla in Meryemlik (Isauria). Although the site has recalled the attention of numerous scholars in the last years, who focused on the way the site might have been perceived by a late antique pilgrim or on the reconstruction of the architectural features, the importance of water has only ever been mentioned or vaguely hypothesised. The following contribution, therefore, is aimed at examining all the aspects that might underline the strong relationship with water through three main parts. In an introductory section, the importance of water as a healing means in Late Antiquity is presented. The second section is focused on those literary sources related to Saint Thekla (the apocryphal dated to the second century and the written by an anonymous author in the fifth century), where the importance of water is stressed. The third section takes into consideration the old archaeological studies of Herzfeld and Guyer to add, through a careful observation of the dislocation of the structures connected to water, their characteristics and decorations, a new functional interpretation. Finally, in the conclusion, all the data from the previous sections are summarized to answer the central question of the contribution: what significance did water have for Thekla's pilgrimage site?

Keywords: Healing water, holy spring, saints, Hagia Thekla, Meryemlik.

Meryemlik Azize Thekla Hac Merkezi'nde Kutsal Su ve Tedavi Uygulamaları

Öz

Bu makalede Meryemlik'teki (Isauria) Azize Thekla Kilisesi'ndeki kutsal suyun bir ilaç niteliğindeki şifa verici gücü araştırılmaktadır. Son yıllarda alan Geç Antik Çağ'da bir hacı tarafından nasıl algılandığına veya mimari özelliklerin rekonstrüksiyonuna odaklanan çok sayıda araştırmacının dikkatini çekmiş olsa da, suyun bu hac merkezindeki öneminden sadece

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1 The present contribution constitutes a part of a broader study on the meaning of "holy water" in Late Antiquity, started by the author at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich, in August 2021.

bahsedilmiş veya konu hakkında genel bir varsayımda bulunulmuştur. Bu nedenle aşağıdaki, alan ile su arasındaki güçlü ilişkinin vurgulanmasını farklı yönleriyle ele almakta ve konuyu üç ana bölüm üzerinden incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Giriş bölümünde, Geç Antik Çağ'da bir şifa aracı olarak suyun öneminden bahsedilmektedir. İkinci bölümde, suyun öneminin vurgulandığı, Azize Thekla ile ilgili yazılı kaynaklar (ikinci yüzyıla tarihlenen Thekla ve Paulus'un İşleri adlı Apokrif eser ve beşinci yüzyılda anonim bir yazar tarafından yazılmış olan Azize Thekla'nın Yaşamı ve Mucizeleri) üzerinde durulmaktadır. Üçüncü bölümde ise Herzfeld ve Guyer'in eski arkeolojik çalışmaları göz önünde bulundurularak, su ile bağlantılı yapıların karakteristik özelliklerinin ve süslemelerinin dikkatli bir şekilde incelenmesi yoluyla yeni bir işlevsel yorum eklenmektedir. Son olarak, sonuç bölümünde, önceki bölümlerdeki tüm veriler bir araya toplanarak, makalenin 'Thekla'nın hac merkezinde su ne gibi bir önem taşımaktaydı?' ana sorusuna cevap verilmeye çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şifalı su, ayazma, azizler, Azize Thekla, Meryemlik.

Water as a healing means in Late Antiquity

"De sancto sanctificata natura aquarum et ipsa sanctificare concepit"² (the nature of the waters, having received holiness from the Holy, itself conceived power to make holy) with these words, the early Christian apologist Tertullian clearly explains the meaning of water for the early Christian communities.

Water has been the central element of the Christian cult and it was endowed with many different meanings. Already in the first Christian narratives, water played a crucial role, especially in relationship with Christ baptism at the Jordan River,³ often represented also iconographically in catacombs, sarcophagi, church buildings or baptisteries.⁴ The baptism, thus, became the central rite for Christianity, since it represented the washing away of sins and the dying and rising with Christ through the element water. The earliest Christian church order from Syria, the *Didache* (second century AD), informs us also of the special quality water should have for use in the baptism rite: If possible, one should baptise in running or 'living' water.⁵

Therefore, the power of the holy water as a healing remedy has its roots in the use of this liquid in baptism. Through the purification of the sins and of the soul, the new believer would have received also a healing of his corporeal diseases.

Water is also endowed with the same curative function in many Late Antique miracle accounts. Water was indeed one of the most popular means through which the saint operated his cure. The most striking example of miracles performed in Late Antiquity through water is that of the ἀνάρργοι (who worked free of charge) Saints Cyrus and John, whose cult site

2 Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 4, 9–10.

3 As recounted in three Gospels (Mark 1:9–11; Matthew 3:13–17; Luke 3:21–22).

4 On baptismal iconography, see: Jensen 2011.

5 *Did.* 7, 1–3. On baptism in the *Didache*, see: Mitchell 2014.

was located in Menouthis (modern Abuqir), about twelve miles east of Alexandria.⁶ This site, together with the nearby shrine of Saint Menas at Mareotis, was one of the principal Late Antique pilgrimage centres in Egypt and it presented a striking persistence of religious cult.⁷ Here indeed the cult of the two Christian saints Cyrus and John replaced that of the pagan Isis, which was based on incubation rites. Unfortunately, no archaeological remains of the Abuqir complex are visible today,⁸ but Sophronios, the later patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638), who himself stayed for a long time in the sanctuary of Cyrus and John due to an eye disease, composed a text in Greek entitled *The Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John*.⁹ The text reports the miracles of the two healing saints, Cyrus, supposedly a physician or a monk of Alexandria, and John, a soldier in Egypt, whose cult was established after the discovery of the saints' relics in the fifth century.¹⁰ In miracles 1, 2, 23, 64 the fundamental role of the holy water used by the saints in their healings is underlined and, throughout the text, numerous hints to the places where the holy water was contained can be found. A fountain or a well (πηγή) is described as being in the middle of a central courtyard. On several occasions, it is mentioned as a vessel for healing water where the pilgrims went to be cured. The sanctuary was also equipped with a "bath of the saint" (λουτρόν), where the vast number of the incubators went and, entering it, they bathed and prayed.¹¹

Equally significant and hitherto little-studied is the importance of water for the Late Antique pilgrims visiting the Isaurian site of Hagia Thekla at Meryemlik.¹² For this reason, and in light of the numerous clues provided by literary and archaeological sources, this article sets out to investigate the fundamental role played by water in Thekla's shrine and to understand where its holiness came from. A crossed analysis of literary sources and archaeological observations (often carried out also in comparison with the pilgrimage sites

6 On the pilgrimage site of Saints Cyrus and John at Menouthis, see: Montserrat 1998, 257–279 and Grossmann 2002, 216–221.

7 The lack of archaeological evidence for the pilgrimage site of Saints Cyrus and John does not allow us to state when the site ceased to be viewed as a cult centre, but it might have survived the Persian depredation in 618. But at some point in time, the cult of Cyrus and John shifted to Constantinople and Rome and the centre of Menouthis lost its importance.

8 The excavations carried out in 1917 have never been published and the previously recorded finds consisted only of pre-Christian sculpture. See: Breccia 1914, 134–139.

9 *The Miracles of the Saints Cyrus and John* comprise 70 stories concerning miraculous healings performed by the two martyrs in their sanctuary at Menouthis. The first 35 miracles concern Alexandrians, the next 15 Egyptians and Libyans and the last 20 foreigners settled in Alexandria. The most recent edition of Sophronios' texts is that of Fernández Marcos 1975, 243–400.

10 There are two theories on the establishment of the Christian cult at Menouthis. The first is that the shrine was established by Cyril of Alexandria in the early part of his patriarchate (before 429?) and the second by the patriarch of Alexandria Peter Mongus before his death in 490 (Montserrat 1998, 261–266).

11 See miracles 9, 47, 51, 52 (Festugière 1971, 217–256).

12 The only contribution on this topic is a mention of three miracles of Thekla related to water in the article of Narro on the more general topic of healing liquids in the Byzantine collections of miracles (Narro 2019, 121–143).

of Abuqir and Abu Mina) will underline how the site might have been a renowned healing place in antiquity, thanks to the recurrent mention of water as a healing resource in her miracles and the water-related structures brought to light during the excavations.

“Holy water” and sacred springs in the literary and iconographical sources related to Saint Thekla

As shall be demonstrated by the following analysis of the sources, water was a central element of Thekla’s cult. But where did this importance originate from?

As accounted in the late second-century apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thekla*¹³ (hereafter *ATh*) and in the fifth-century *Life of Saint Thekla*¹⁴ (hereafter *Life*), both describing the adventures of the young and wellborn young virgin from Iconium with the apostle Paul, with minor differences between the two, water already played a significant role in Thekla’s miraculous escape from two attempted martyrdoms.¹⁵ The first one occurred when the saint, once engaged to be married to a young man named Thamyras, having by chance heard the speech of Saint Paul, was struck with the desire to follow him, leaving all her goods and becoming a Christian. The governor of Iconium expelled Paul from the city and condemned Thekla to be burnt on the pyre. Suddenly, however, God sent a miraculous rainstorm, which extinguished the fire: “For God, having compassion upon her, made an underground rumbling, and a cloud full of water and hail overshadowed the theatre from above, and all its contents were poured out so that many were in danger of death. And the fire was put out and Thekla saved.”¹⁶

This scene must have been well known in antiquity and it appears in a painting in the Chapel of Exodus at El Bagawat in Egypt (**Fig. 1**), where the saint is depicted as an *orans* on a burning pyre and a miraculous rain falls to save her from death.¹⁷

The second martyrdom scene, in which water is presented as the element through which Thekla is saved and through which she begins her new life as a Christian, takes place in

13 For an English translation of this text, see: Elliott 2006, 364–374. For a commentary of the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*: Barrier 2009.

14 The *Life* of Thekla has been translated into French by Dagron 1978, 168–283.

15 A comprehensive text on the differences between the apocryphal text of the second century and the “paraphrase” made by the unknown author in the fifth century has been made by Johnson 2006. On the cult of Saint Thekla in Asia Minor and Egypt in light of literary, artistic, and archaeological evidence, see Davis 2001.

16 *ATh* 22 (Johnson 2006, 41).

17 The cult of Saint Thekla was very widespread in Egypt and often connected with that of Saint Menas. Thekla was venerated in Upper Egypt at least until the end of the sixth century when the last church dedicated to her was consecrated at Thebes. From Upper Egypt, her cult penetrated Lower Nubia and further south to the Debba Bend. Recently, a sixth–seventh century altar casket with three images of a female *orans* between a lion and a lioness (interpreted as Saint Thekla) was found in a church at Selib and this find would attest the spread of her cult around the Middle Nile. See: Żurawski 2016, 203–224.

Antioch of Pisidia (*ATh* 34, *Life* 20). Also here, Thekla, having refused the attention of a town councillor named Alexander, is taken to the governor of the city, who condemns her to be fed to wild beasts in the arena of the city. There, she saw a basin filled with water where ravenous seals were swimming, animals described in the text as true monsters, deadly to humans.¹⁸ It was in this water that Thekla baptised herself in order to finally become a Christian and start a new life as a disciple.¹⁹

A depiction of this scene can be found on the central altar of the Cathedral of Tarragona, dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, but the image is certainly based on earlier iconographic models.²⁰ Over the centuries, the fame of Saint Thekla grew enormously and even reached the West, where numerous places of worship or chapels were dedicated to the saint. In Tarragona, the cult of Thekla seems to have been very well established and is still present today, as demonstrated by the traditional parade, which takes place on the saint's feast day (24th of September) and lasts for a whole week. The white marble altar depicts eight scenes from the life and martyrdom of Thekla, divided into two superimposed registers and arranged around a central mandorla representing Christ blessing the virgin. The most interesting scene for us in this context is the one in the lower register, to the right of the Christ in mandorla. Following the account of *ATh* 5:34, this scene depicts Thekla's baptism. A naked woman is frontally depicted as emerging from a basin full of water, while covering her female parts with both open hands (**Fig. 2**). Around her are two huge toads licking her shoulders, and eight aquatic creatures, covered in scales, which hide the saint's legs, while licking her arms and legs. Despite the differences with the text of the *Acts*, underlined by the fact that, in this relief, the animals are not only seals and that they seem to have a friendly attitude towards Thekla, it is interesting to notice that the artist wanted to portray a peaceful scene rather than a martyrdom. The water becomes a salvific element that saves Thekla through the baptism and makes even the ferocious beasts more docile.

Finally, in the last chapter of Thekla's *Life*, the recurring use of words related to water underlines the "purity" of the ground where the future pilgrimage site would be erected: "She sunk down while alive [...] on the very spot where is fixed the divine and holy and liturgical table, established in a circular peristyle, shining in silver. This is where she dispenses fountains of healings (πηγὰς ἰαμάτων) for every suffering and every sickness, her virginal grace pouring out healings there, as if from some rushing stream, upon those who ask and pray for them".²¹

18 Dagron 1978, 249–251.

19 A similar account showing the importance of running water coming from a spring for the baptism, can be found in the *Acts of Barnabas*. In chapters 12–14 it is recounted that Barnabas converted two Greeks with the water of a spring at Anemourion: "After leading them down into the spring, he baptized them into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit." (Translation: Snyder 2016, 331). For a detailed study on Barnabas journey in Isauria, see: Cortese 2022 (in print).

20 For a more detailed description of the whole altar, see Nauerth 1981, 85–92 and López 2019, 645–682.

21 *Life* 28:9–14. Translation: Johnson 2006, 65.

This account seems to lay the foundations of her posthumous thaumaturgical activity, extensively underlined also in her miracles.

Even more explicit is the mention of water in four miracles by the anonymous writer who wrote the fifth-century *Miracle of Saint Thekla*²² (hereafter *MTh*), where it appears as a curative means by which Thekla heals devotees, who spend some time praying at her shrine.

The first miracle is number 19, in which the story of the noble woman Bassiane, a native of a rough area of Isauria called Ketis, is recounted. She was held hostage probably in the pilgrimage site of Thekla, as a guarantee of peace from brigandage. On a blazing summer day, while she was praying in her accommodation at the shrine, the heat intensified and the woman, who was pregnant, started having trouble in breathing. She decided then to rush to one of the cisterns nearby the shrine, which was deep and full of water, but before entering and risking drowning, she was fortunately stopped by Saint Thekla, who cooled the women down in a much less risky way.

The saint ordered a maidservant to bring a basin full of water and, after soaking her finger in the water, she applied it in Bassiane's forehead and shoulders, before disappearing. The power of water drawn from the basin and applied by the saint to the body healed the sick woman. As explicitly stated by the author, this event was not a dream but a vision, as witnessed by the birth of her child, who was the "very famous Modestos from Irenoupolis". Giving such specific information, and underlying that the event was not oneiric or volatile but real, the author claims for veracity.

The second miracle, number 25, tells of an eye epidemic, which afflicted the nearby city of Seleukeia, rendering physicians' remedies ineffective. Fortunately, Saint Thekla, "the true healer of human nature" came to the rescue and "opened the healing shrine in her sanctuary". She gave instruction during the night to those who had fallen victim to the disease to make use of her bath "for this bath was the place of healing which was able to combat the eye disease, from the very beginning, but when stirred up by the power of the martyr it became the greatest remedy to the entire city together".²³ The language used in this passage and the subsequent comparison between the bath at Meryemlik and "the miserable pool" are two clear references to the famous healing pool at Bethesda and to the passage in the Gospel of John, where it is stated that an angel stirred up the water of the pool (*John* 5:3b-4). In this way, the author affirms the sanctity of the water in the bath at the pilgrimage site of Saint Thekla, ranking it on a par with that of Bethesda, one of the most renowned Late Antique pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land and the place of memory of a biblical event.

The miraculous healing power of water at Thekla's shrine is also visible in miracle 36 thanks to two stories that seem apparently unrelated. In the first, a serious sickness is

22 An English translation of Thekla's miracles can be found in: Johnson 2012, 1-202. An article on the curative power of her miracles: Ayteş Canevello 2015.

23 Johnson 2012, 101.

recounted, which spread among the livestock of the countryside, leaving the inhabitants with nothing to eat. Therefore, the saint came to their rescue and tapped a spring, which had previously not existed. It gushed out of the ground at her sanctuary. In this passage, it is stated that the spring was located “to the west of her church, lying just opposite it, which is quite delightful and charming and offers a very pleasant spot to walk and spend time, where one can pray in absolute tranquillity. [...] From this spring that had appeared in this manner, the martyr poured out the healing remedy for all the infected animals [...] just as if they had drunk health instead of water from the spring”.²⁴ The author seems to state that the spring²⁵ really existed and as a witness of it, he provides a very precise description of its location within the shrine (to the west of her church, that is the Basilica of Thekla). Moreover, he stresses not only the healing power of its water but also the charming atmosphere evoked by the spring around the church. By creating a pleasant place to pray, water seems to act as a means to God. The second story is told in miracle 36, in order to strengthen the miraculous power of water and to prove the veracity of the story. The horse of a distinguished inhabitant of the city (Marianos) had been suffering from nerve spasms and, after having drunk the water of the spring, was unexpectedly healed.

A *locus amoenus* similar to that depicted in miracle 36 is also described in miracle 26, dedicated to the narration of the annual festival in honour of the virgin at Dalisandos. The area surrounding the shrine is the second favourite dwelling of the saint after Meryemlik “for [the shrine at Dalisandos] has numerous trees, lofty, thick, abounding in blossoms and fruit, and there are many very lovely springs, with very cold water gushing out from under every plant and every rock, so to speak, flowing and coursing all around her church.”²⁶ Also, the visit to this place provided healing for sick people. This miracle underlines that the presence of springs is associated with the idea of a pleasant place,²⁷ beloved by the saint and chosen as a place to cure illnesses. Although no details are given about the kind of miracles or cures that took place in this town (not being central to the discussion of the author), it can be assumed that the water from one of these “lovely springs” in Dalisandos was, as in Meryemlik, the healing medium through which the sick people were cured.

The last miracle, number 37, underlines the renowned healing ability of the holy water coming from the spring mentioned in miracle 36. Here, it is told that the fame of its healing

24 *Ibid.* 149–151.

25 Also two other hagiographical sources of Cilician saints talks about “holy springs”. In the *Passio* of Pelagia (BHG 1480) it is stated that through the prayers of the bishop Klinon a spring of water suddenly opened in front of them, enabling the baptism of the virgin. The second is the *Passio* of Saints Anthousa, Neophytos, Karisimos, and Bishop Athanasios (BHG 136), where it is recounted that in a cave close to a spring Anthousa they were baptised by the bishop Athanasios, who afterwards performed the same rite on the other poor people who were present. For a detailed description of the two sources, see: Cortese 2022 (in print).

26 Johnson 2012, 105.

27 The spring as a means of describing an idyllic place is a very common literary *topos*, which can be seen for example also in the *Passio* of Saint Sozon (BHG 1643). See: Cortese 2022 (in print).

properties was so renowned, also abroad, that a wellborn man, who suffered from an eye disease, even came from Cyprus to find a cure for his disease.²⁸

Thus, the careful reading of Thekla's miracles allows us to assume that there was a sacred spring in Meryemlik, located to the west of the saint's basilica, and its curative reputation must have been known even abroad, as the visit of the renowned Cypriot shows. In general, all water collected from the pilgrimage site of Thekla was considered to be healing. Miracle 19 in fact suggests that the water drawn by the saint from the cistern, where Bassiane was about to dive into for refreshment, saved the woman from dehydration and heat.

In light of all these observations concerning the literary sources and the mention of holy water prescribed by the saint as a healing remedy or to be found in her shrine, what significance did water in Thekla's pilgrimage site have? Does water owe its holiness to something contained within itself (thermal properties for example) or is its function as a means of salvation (for soul and body) added externally?

The answer to these questions can be found in a statement by the anonymous author of *MTh* in miracle 8: "She does not guide those who entreat her to something rare and expensive, but to something cheap and readily available, so that their healing comes about more easily through the swift acquisition of the prescription. Furthermore, she displays her power in <making use of > such common means, that one does not attribute the efficacy to that which is prescribed, but rather to the prescriber."²⁹ Therefore, as opposed to the supposed wonders of the magicians, which used complicated medicines, the power of Thekla's cures is the simplicity of her means, such as water. Moreover, the author claims that it is not the water itself that holds a holy power, but its holiness is conjured through the contact with the saint.

The pilgrimage site of Hagia Thekla by Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos: a healing centre? Hints from the archaeological remains

Not only the literary texts but also the archaeological remains at the pilgrimage site of Saint Thekla in Isauria suggest that the site must have had a special connection with water.

The shrine of Saint Thekla (modern Meryemlik) is located on a hilly area overlooking the alluvial plain of the Kalykadnos River and lies about 2 km south of the modern city of Silifke (ancient Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos) and to the east of the small modern village of Becili. In antiquity, the pilgrimage site was connected to the city of Seleukeia via a direct road, partially cut into the rock, in proximity to the site, and it was surrounded by the necropolises of the nearby city. The site, though, was also easily reachable by sea: after arriving at the nearby harbour of Holmoi, an uphill road would have brought the pilgrims directly to the shrine of Thekla.

28 Miracle 37: "A certain story goes that a most wellborn and distinguished Cypriot, deprived of his eyesight, crossed over the sea because of the fame of this water and made use of its remedy, and returned to Cyprus with his eyesight restored" (Johnson 2012, 153).

29 Miracle 8. Translation by Johnson 2012, 29–31.

Unfortunately, very little is known of the site and there are still many open questions related to numerous structures, due to the outdated excavations from the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁰ Recently, only surveys were carried out in specific areas, in the south necropolis surrounding Thekla's Basilica and in some cisterns,³¹ and a new plan of the site has been drawn up. As it can be seen on the map (**Fig. 3**), the pilgrimage site was centred around the majestic basilica dedicated to Saint Thekla, around which a *temenos* had been erected as protection against attacks of brigands and at the same time to underline the monumentality of the place.

As the pilgrimage site has already drawn the attention of numerous scholars, which have carefully described its sacred space and Late Antique structures,³² the present article will not examine all the remaining buildings but will only focus on those places, which show a connection with water: the numerous cisterns and the thermal baths.

A total of 9 cisterns (not all still visible) have been found so far as a result of recent investigations and if we observe their distribution within the site and in connection to the other nearby buildings, it seems clear that they might have had different functions.³³

Cisterns 1, 2, 3 are located within the *temenos*, around the Basilica of Thekla. They might have had mainly liturgical functions or were probably used for rites connected to the cult of the saint. In particular, cistern 1, once located southwest of the basilica but only visible on the map of Herzfeld and Guyer, probably destroyed by the modern road leading to Taşucu, can be related to the holy spring mentioned in miracle 36. As we have previously seen, “to the west of her church, lying just opposite it” this was the spot of the holy spring from which Thekla poured out the healing remedy for the infected animals. Perhaps after this occurrence, the Late Antique cistern was built on the very spot where the holy water that cured all illnesses was believed to flow. The same miracle 36 also states that this spring laid a pleasant location, where one could rest and concentrate in prayer. It is therefore possible to imagine that here, just in front of the entrance to the church and above the cistern, a fountain, whose holy water provided delight to those passing by, made the landscape around the basilica a pleasant spot and formed the boundary between the outside world and the religious intimacy of the church.

Cistern number 2, also not excavated and almost totally covered by earth, was instead

30 The first investigations were conducted by Ernst Herzfeld and Samuel Guyer in 1907 and again between 1914 and 1925. During the two campaigns, they brought to light some traces of Hellenistic and Roman buildings, transcribed all the inscriptions they found, provided the first plan of the city and concentrated on excavating the basilica of Thekla, the so-called Cupola Church and the nearby thermal baths (MAMA II, 1–89; MAMA III, 3–22). A recent doctoral thesis on the sanctuary of Hagia Thekla has been carried out by Murat Özyıldırım (Özyıldırım 2020).

31 Ahunbay 1998, 59–69, Ahunbay 1999, 95–104, Ahunbay- Saner 2000, 39–48; Almaç 2014, 289–300; Almaç - Özügül 2018, Almaç et al. 2019a, Almaç et al. 2019b, Almaç et al. 2020.

32 Kristensen 2016 and 2017; Arbeiter 2017, 152–204; Cortese 2022 (in print).

33 For a description of the masonry of cisterns in Meryemlik, see Peschlow 2009, 57–80.

located to the southeast of Thekla's basilica, very close to the southeast chamber of the church. In my opinion, therefore, this cistern might have functioned as a vessel for the water used during the numerous rites connected to the saint. This southern side of the church was the most important one as here the corridor that connected the building to the underneath cave, which is "the holy place" of Thekla and the focus of her veneration, was located.

Cistern number 3 is the best-preserved one and it is located to the northeast of the basilica, directly embedded in the wall of the *temenos* and built in the same phase of the wall, as demonstrated by perfectly matching masonry on the north side. This rectangular structure (11,40 m x 14,40 m, **Fig. 4** and **5**)³⁴ is set into the floor approximately up to the base of the arcades. Externally the cistern is made of massive ashlar and internally a system of three pillars, formed of large ashlar of different lengths, divided the masonry into rectangular spaces filled with brickwork covered with hydraulic plaster. The covering is made of still visible barrel vaults supported by arches. Two rows of four limestone columns each with roughly worked capitals with additional imposts above divide the internal space into three naves of equal width. This cistern had the practical functions of supplying water to the auxiliary structures of the basilica that were located within the *temenos* and for the pilgrims who were entered in this area.

Another group of cisterns, which in my opinion mainly functioned as a water supply for the temporary accommodations of the pilgrims who spent some time at the Thekla pilgrimage site, were numbers 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9. They might have been used by pilgrims visiting the pilgrimage site, and their location along the road from Seleukeia to Hagia Thekla also suggests their possible use during processions on specific feasts related to the saint.

Finally, the last cistern, number 6, is very interesting, both for its position and for the discovery of some fragments of stamps that point to a connection with Constantinople. If we consider the rock-cut path to the west of the North Church (**Fig. 3**) to be the main connection between Seleukeia and Hagia Thekla, the cistern number 6 was located along it, therefore in a very prominent position, and about 50 m to the northwest of the thermal baths uncovered by Herzfeld and Guyers. Only the northern wall of this building is preserved, internally almost entirely built of brick (**Fig. 6**) and on the outside made of large spolia-ashlar with an *opus caementicium* backfill. Its western wall is almost completely lost, the southern wall and the southern part of the eastern wall, still intact at the time of Herzfeld's excavations, have in the meantime collapsed. The remaining sections of the north wall show brickwork on the lower part and masonry made of small limestone ashlar with an *opus caementicium* core in the upper zone. The interior was originally divided by three rows of three columns, each into four naves running in an east-west direction, once probably ending in a barrel vault. Hydraulic plaster covered the walls at least up to the start of the vaults.

³⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Umut Almaç and his research Group for the permission to publish the photos of the cisterns (fig. 4, 5, 6) taken in Meryemlik in October 2019.

During a survey in 1973³⁵, Urs Peschlow found some fragments of a stamped brick inside this cistern. These are now preserved in the Museum of Silifke (**Fig. 7**, letters a-g) and are identical in terms of material, shape, pattern, and size to ware produced in Constantinople between the fifth and sixth centuries.³⁶ Nevertheless, the close observation made by Peschlow on the clay used in the stamp of cistern 6 at Meryemlik allowed him to state that it came from local quarries and that it was not imported from Constantinople. Then what kind of connection might have been with the capital of the Eastern Empire? Following Peschlow's suggestion, the most reasonable explanation is that the stamped brick was produced in Meryemlik with a local raw material around the second half of the fifth century by skilled Constantinopolitan workers sent to the pilgrimage site of Thekla to work on prestigious buildings.³⁷

So, why were experienced workers from Constantinople sent to Meryemlik to work on the cistern outside the *temenos* of Thekla?

The answer to this question, in my opinion, is to be found in the nearby buildings located to its east. In fact, this cistern must have played a significant role in supplying water to the building located in front of the so-called Domed Church, today unfortunately covered in debris. This structure has been interpreted by Herzfeld and Guyer as a bath, although Kötting³⁸ disagrees and proposes an interpretation as a baptistery.

Without excavation, it is impossible to establish with certainty which of the two hypotheses is correct, but a comparison with other similar Late Antique structures seems to give some hints. In the fifth century, there are numerous examples of baptisteries with a similar shape (squared externally and internally with niches or apses supporting a central dome) both in the West (Albenga, S. Giovanni alle Fonti in Milan)³⁹ and in the East (Qal'at Sim'an, Abu Mina - **Fig. 10**).⁴⁰ Most of them, however, were equipped with two (or more) access points facing each other, in order to separate physically and symbolically the entrance (preceded by a hall for preparation) and the exit to the church, where the neophyte would have gone after having received the baptism and the anointment with *chrisma*. In our structure at Meryemlik, there is only one entrance, and it is not even oriented towards the Cupola Church. More credible, instead, is that the baptism was performed in the southeastern chamber of the Cupola Church, where a baptismal basin has been found, and which was connected via two entrances to the bema and to the south aisle (**Fig. 9**).

35 A recent study on cistern 6 can be found in Almaç 2014, 289–300.

36 Moreover, the stamped brick shows many similarities also with two stamps found in the cistern of Tekir Ambarı in Silifke (Fig. 7, letter h) and with that on the hypocaust of a thermal bath at Beirut (Fig. 7, letter i).

37 The dating of the brick to the second half of the fifth century is debated, but it may be related to the financial support of Zeno for the renovation of the site (Peschlow 2009, 68–70).

38 Kötting 1950, 150–151.

39 Brandt 2017, 9–30.

40 On Qal'at Sim'an: Loosley – Tchalenko 2019; on the baptistery of Abu Mina: Grossmann 2004.

How can the structure located to the west of the Cupola Church thus be interpreted?

The most probable interpretation is that it was a bath, as shown by numerous examples of similar squared and independent structures from the Mediterranean with a clear connection to nearby water supply systems.⁴¹ Moreover, the presence of a bath at a pilgrimage site should not surprise us, as the comparative example of Abu Mina shows.⁴² The large double bath at the Egyptian shrine, the construction of which took place in three phases from the fifth to the late sixth century, might have served two purposes: on the one hand for the purification of pilgrims before entering the shrine of the saint or on the other hand as a sacred bath to which healing powers were attributed. In any case, there was no opposition against baths from the Church authorities; if indeed the bathing was intended for health purposes, it was explicitly allowed.⁴³ These baths were viewed as an essential part of the church building that Theodosius I also included in a law concerning the church's right of asylum.⁴⁴

The bath at Meryemlik has been partially studied only by Herzfeld and Guyer, who dug sondage to verify its extension, providing also a rough plan.⁴⁵ Externally, the structure appears as a rectangular building (ca. 17 m long x 13 m wide), whose walls were made of large limestone blocks. Internally, it consists of two rooms. The north-west entrance led to a small rectangular room flanked by two horseshoe-shaped niches. Through this room, one could enter a larger circular area, once probably domed, as indicated by the numerous masonry voussoirs found within the structure. This circular space had four semi-circular niches on the four diagonals and three rectangular rooms on the three main axes, all containing basins⁴⁶ (Fig. 8). The semi-circular niches were most likely covered by semi-domes, the rectangular rooms instead by barrel-vaults. Only one small capital (38,5 x 22 cm) was found during the survey of the area. This composite capital, made of acanthus leaves of the Corinthian order overlaid by clumsy and flat volutes, was probably located above a small pilaster of a double-arched window.

The interior of the structure was richly decorated with *opus sectile* with concentric patterns in the circular area and with marble cladding on the walls, as indicated by the holes that held the hooks for the cladding.⁴⁷

41 Particularly interesting is the comparison between this bath at Meryemlik and the tetraconch-bath of Labarunda (Blid 2016), with the baths northwest of the theatre at Bulla Regia and (Maréchal 2020, 312–314) and with the baths of the house north of the *Capitolium* in Thamugadi, Algeria (Maréchal 2020, 338–339).

42 The excavations brought to light two bath complexes with independent sections for men and women (Müller-Wiener 1966, 173–180; Grossmann 1998a, 290). Grossmann suggests that the double bath was not used for entertainment, but mainly in preparation for Easter and by neophytes before receiving baptism (Grossmann 1998b, 292). The same double function was probably ascribed also to the no longer existing bath at the pilgrimage site of Saints Cyrus and John in Menouthis.

43 On the positioning of Christianity towards bathing culture, cf. Yegül 2003.

44 *Codex Theodosianus* 9, 45, 4 (Berger 1982, 38).

45 MAMA II, 82–87.

46 A drain hole used for changing water was also found in one of the basins.

47 MAMA II, 87.

How can the different functions of the rooms in the bath be interpreted?

Without proper excavation, it is not possible to state with certainty the function of all the bath spaces, but on a comparative basis with other Late Antique case studies of bath complexes with a similar layout (i.e. Bulla Regia or Thamugadi),⁴⁸ and in particular with that at Labraunda, the following reconstruction can be proposed. The entrance to the bath was from the northwest and the visitor would have reached a rectangular corridor of about 6 metres, which in the middle hosted two small niches (maybe *apodyteria* or changing rooms?). Moving beyond this area, one would have reached the rounded room, with a diameter of about 9 metres. This area might have been the *caldarium*, or rather the heated room. If this hypothesis is true, underneath the *opus sectile*, future excavations might find the *suspensurae* (raised floor resting on brick pillars) belonging to the hypocaust. No traces of a *prefurnium* have been found so far, but, as in Labraunda,⁴⁹ it might have been located on the side of the structure opposite to the entrance (in Meryemlik on the southeast side), right behind the squared niche. Through a conduct then, the hot air heated in the furnace might have reached the rounded room with the *suspensurae*.

The importance of this bath is also underlined by its location. The entrance is right in front of an unexcavated small building interpreted by Herzfeld and Guyer as a church, due to the apse to its east.⁵⁰ We can imagine that it was a cosy place for prayer for those pilgrims, who were waiting to enter the bath.

Much more interesting is the proximity to the so-called Cupola Church, only located a few metres to the west. This basilica was an imposing structure, today almost completely destroyed. The scholarly interest has mainly been focused on its architectural reconstruction, and in particular, on the question of whether the church was domed or not, based on a comparison with the nearby East Church at Alahan.⁵¹ For the purpose of this article, however, the Cupola Church is interesting for two further reasons: the relationship with the bath and some decorative elements of his forecourt and atrium that distinguish it as a particularly delightful building.

Regarding the first issue, a careful reading of the excavation reports allows us to link these two structures as if they were part of a joint construction project. Not only the masonry techniques seem to match that of the bath, but also the *opus sectile* floor found in the bath corresponds to that brought to light in the north part of the atrium.

Moreover, if we observe the excavation plan of the Cupola Church (**Fig. 9**), the building seems to give great space to the spaces preceding the narthex and the main section of the church divided into a nave and aisles. Both the semi-circular forecourt and the atrium

48 Maréchal 2020.

49 Blid 2016, 29, fig. 27.

50 MAMA II, 77.

51 For a detailed description of the Cupola Church and a comparison with the East Church at Alahan, see: Gough 1972; Hellenkemper 1986, 63–90; Hill 1996, 226–233.

measure about 37 metres, which is exactly half the total length of the building from the beginning of the forecourt to the end of the apse. The forecourt was a semi-circular courtyard with a unique entrance to the west. A flight of curved stairs led from it to an open space paved with square stone flags and whose outer wall had a bench. The east part of this space (the only one excavated) was made of a monumental structure, which probably was equipped with staircases leading to an upper floor,⁵² the same structure might have been mirrored to the south. Three doorways opened into a rectangular atrium that could also be accessed through two side entrances on the north and maybe on the south. The sondages made on the north-eastern part showed that a colonnade ran along the northern part of the atrium and it was likely present also along the western and southern sides. To the east, the atrium opened onto the narthex of the church through five openings; the *tribelon* of the central entrance had arches resting on bird capitals. The colonnaded area was paved with opus sectile, whose similarity with that of the bath underlines the already supposed joint construction of the two buildings.

This wide space of the Domed Church before entering the inner area of the basilica is, in my opinion, to be seen in connection with the bath and it represented a peaceful area, where one could rest while waiting to enter the church or before entering the bath.

The atrium was probably characterised by a fountain in the centre, whose flowing water recalled the miracles of Thekla, emphasising the peaceful and luxuriant environment in which the site was enveloped and which would have emotionally involved the pilgrim who entered.

Also, the bird capitals contributed to this idyllic landscape and were reminiscent of what is recounted in miracle 24, where it is said that many different birds “swans, cranes, geese, pigeons, even birds from Egypt and Phasis”⁵³ lived at the site, being an offering of the visitors in fulfilment of a vow. Furthermore, the semi-circular forecourt located right in front of the bath might have been a kind of “waiting space”, where the pilgrims rested after or before receiving healing from the saint.⁵⁴

This space recalls to memory the hemicycle at Abu Mina (**Fig. 10**), located to the south of the churches.⁵⁵ The area served as accommodation for sick people, who wanted to stay in proximity to the tomb of the saint during the incubation rites, which required the patience to rest, next to the tomb of the saint waiting for his or her visit in dreams.⁵⁶ Unlike Abu Mina, though, the forecourt of the Cupola Church at Meryemlik is much smaller and has no space

52 The interpretation of Herzfeld and Guyer as a *propylaeum* (MAMA II, 49) lacks evidence (RBK 4, 236).

53 Miracle 24, 30–31.

54 I completely agree with Kristensen (Kristensen 2017, 235) in comparing the sigma forecourt not to palatial architecture (Hill 1996, 232–233), but rather to the hemicycle of a healing place.

55 On the Martyr Church “Grufkirche”, see: Grossmann 1989.

56 Grossmann 1998, 288–290.

to stay overnight. Therefore, it can be seen as a place to rest before receiving a (healing?) bath or during the day to wait for a vision. As we have seen in the previous miracles, indeed, the author of *VMTh* points out several times that Thekla's miracles that are connected to water are performed through visions and not as a dream.

Conclusive remarks

From the data collected in this article, it was possible to observe that water was a very important element in the cult of Saint Thekla at Meryemlik. Thekla was associated with water in the iconographic representations that functioned as remembrance of the two trials recounted in her Life: During the burning at the stake in Iconium, and at the amphitheatre of Antioch, where she baptised herself. On several occasions, the author of the *MTh* seems to emphasise the importance of water even in the miracles (19, 25, 36, 37). Also in this instance the topographical location of the different spots where the healing miracles connected to water occurred are described: one of the cisterns at the site, "her" baths, and a spring located to the west of "her" basilica, that is Thekla's church inside the *temenos*.

Archaeological data, although scarce at the moment, seem comparable to what is described in the literary sources. They confirm the extensive use of water not only for practical functions related to the need of quenching the thirst of the numerous pilgrims who visited the site (as attested by the several cisterns dotted at the site) but also for rituals purposes (cisterns 1 and 2, cistern 6). Moreover, the baths are an interesting structure that would deserve a new excavation. Their location in proximity to the road leading to Seleukeia and the connection to the Cupola Church suggest that they might have had two functions. On the one hand, bathing there might have been performed as a cleansing or purification rite before entering the sacred *temenos* of Thekla. On the other hand, the building might have been a place where pilgrims went for healing purposes. This second function was probably rooted in the belief that the water of Meryemlik was considered to be particularly healthy, because it sprang up from the ground through a miracle of the saint (mir. 36). Furthermore, the healing water might have also been collected in the numerous *ampullae* depicting the image of Thekla flanked by beasts that have been found everywhere in the Mediterranean. These little flasks (*eulogiae*) might have been filled with holy water to be used in case of disease or just as a souvenir after a visit to the shrine of the saint.

Turning again to the question posed in section 1: Where did the holiness of water in Thekla's pilgrimage site come from? The sources so far analysed seem to provide a clear answer: the water at Meryemlik was not a holy element *per se*, but its holiness was conferred to it by Thekla. This natural element was a means through which the saint performed her healings, both in visions or in the physical places of her site, where the believer could enter in direct contact with it.



Figure 1: Thekla's fire extinguished by rain. Chapel of Exodus, El-Bagawat, Egypt (Kuvatova 2019, fig. 2).



Figure 2: Altar in the Cathedral of Tarragona with a detail of the scene of Thekla's baptism (reworked on López 2019, 660, fig. 14).

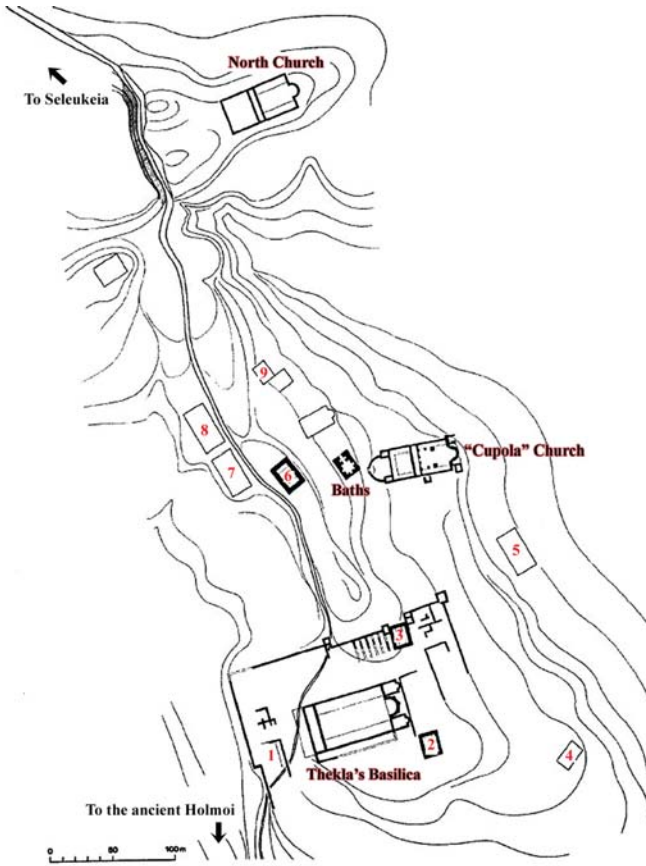


Figure 3: Plan of the pilgrimage site of Hagia Thekla at Meryemlik (reworked on RBK 4, 229–230, fig. 19).



Figure 4: Cistern number 3 outside (by the author).



Figure 5: Cistern number 3 inside (by the author).



Figure 6: Remains of cistern number 6 (by the author).

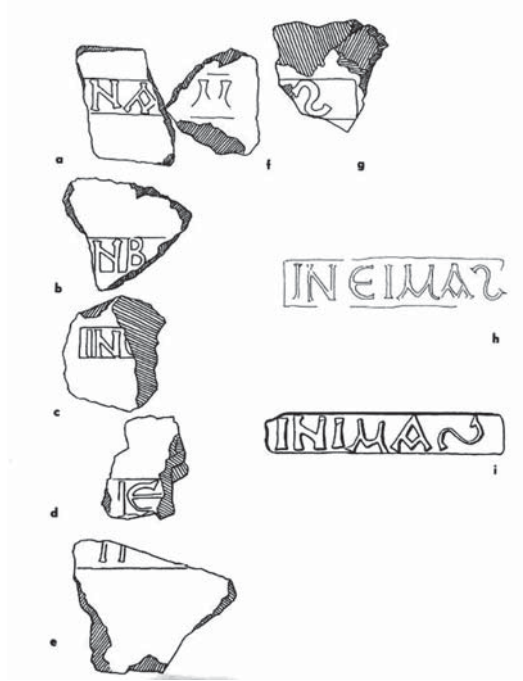


Figure 7: Fragments of stamped bricks found in Meryemlik (a-g), Silifke (h), and Beirut (i) (Peschlow 2009, fig. 23).

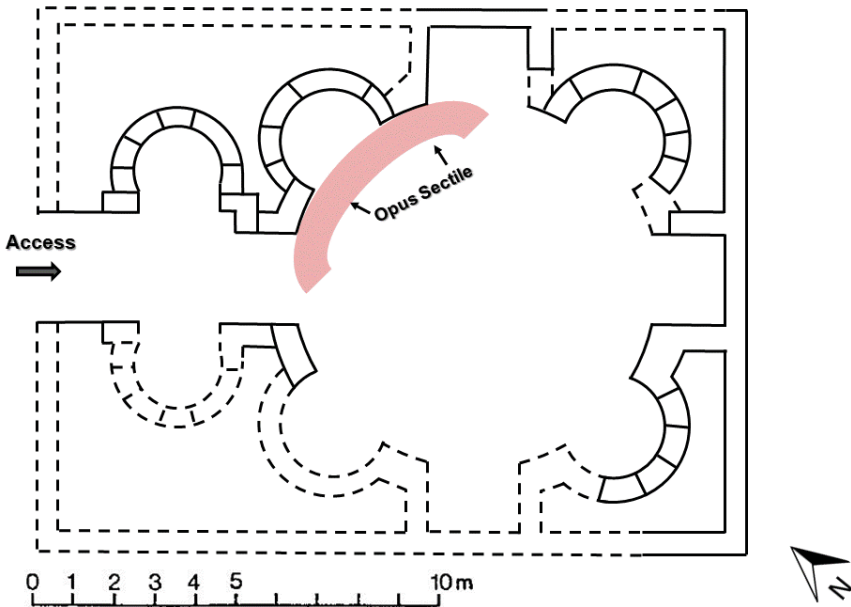


Figure 8: Plan of the thermal bath at Meryemlik (by the author based on the excavation data provided by Herzfeld and Guyer in MAMA II, 83, fig. 80).

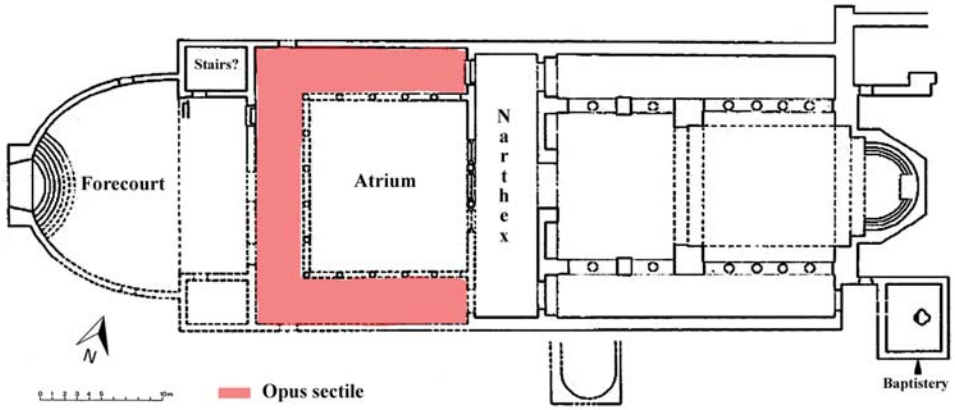


Figure 9: Plan of the Cupola Church (reworked on RBK 4, fig. 21).

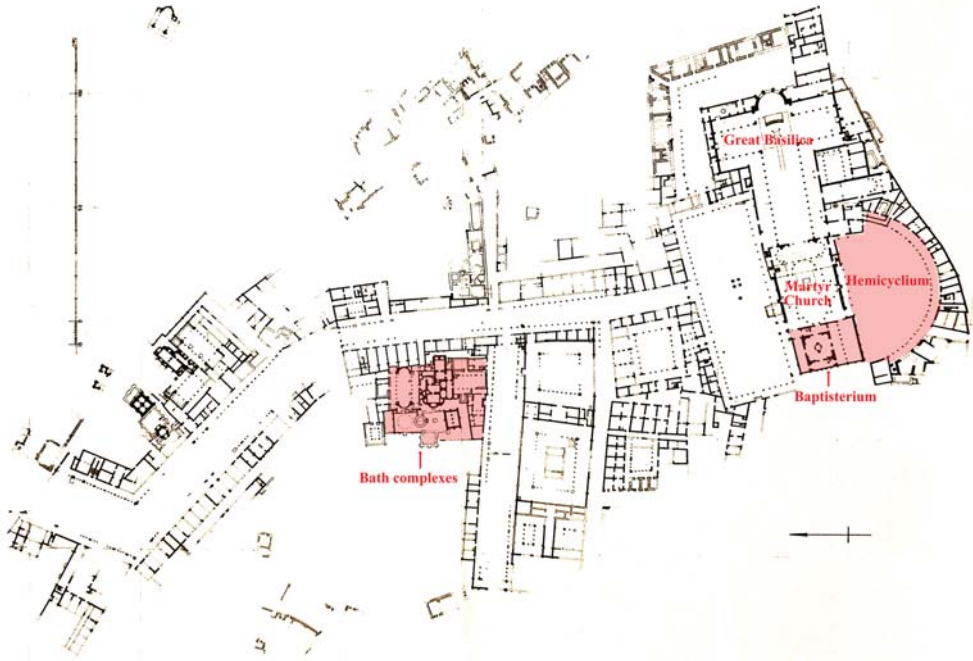


Figure 10: Plan of Abu Mina in Egypt (Grossmann 1998b, Diagram 1).

Abbreviations in text

BHG

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