

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	11
List of abbreviations	13
Short notes on style & figures	13
Part I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION	15
Introductory notes	16
1. Topographical and historical introduction to Cilicia	17
1.1 Topography, geographical borders, and cities	17
1.2 History of Cilicia and administrative subdivision	18
2. History of research on Cilicia	23
2.1 Ancient and modern travelers' notes	23
2.2 Topographical and social studies	24
2.3 Studies on late antique church architecture and the cult of saints	25
2.4 Current excavation projects	26
3. Project goals	28
3.1 Methodological prolegomena	28
3.2 Temporal and geographical boundaries of the project	32
Part II: A LATE ANTIQUE PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE SANCTITY OF CILICIA	33
The story of a late antique pilgrim in Cilicia: An overview of his route and stages	34
4. Selinous: A first encounter with Saint Thekla of Ikonion	36
4.1 History of research and open questions	36
4.2 The site and its historical development	37
4.3 The church on the slope	39
4.4 Conclusions: Selinous as a secondary dwelling for Thekla?	39
5. Anemourion: On the traces of the apostles	41
5.1 History of research and open questions	41
5.2 Topography: The city and its street network	42
5.3 Historical development of the site up to the seventh century AD	42
5.4 The main Roman and late antique buildings in Anemourion	44
5.5 The Church of the Apostles: Reconstructing the architectural history of the building	47
5.6 The memory of the apostles in Anemourion according to the <i>Acts of Barnabas</i>	49
5.7 Conclusions: The Church of the Apostles at Anemourion as an imaginary bridge to Cyprus?	53
6. Zenonopolis: Saint Sokrates and his holy water	54
6.1 History of research and open questions	54
6.2 The city and its importance in Late Antiquity	55
6.3 The inscription of the "holy martyr" Sokrates of Zenonopolis	56
6.4 Conclusions: The cult of Saint Sokrates in Zenonopolis	57
7. The coastal road towards Seleukeia: On the trail of Saint Pantaleemon and Saint Theodore	58
7.1 A late antique journey from Anemourion to Holmoi	58
7.2 The monastery of Saint Theodore at Mylai and the cult of the saint	60
8. Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos and Meryemlik: The heart of devotion to Saint Thekla	62
8.1 History of research and open questions	62
8.2 Meryemlik: <i>Hic locus est!</i>	64

8.2.1 Who was Saint Thekla?	64
8.2.1.1 Short biography of the martyr from the <i>Acts of Paul and Thekla</i>	65
8.2.1.2 <i>The Life and Miracles of Saint Thekla</i>	67
8.2.1.3 Saint Thekla and the spread of her cult: Literary testimonies and places of worship across the Mediterranean Basin	70
8.2.1.4 The <i>chora</i> of Saint Thekla and her places of worship in Kilikia Pedias and Isauria	74
8.2.1.5 Saint Thekla and Saint Paul: Teacher and disciple in comparison	76
8.2.2 The pilgrimage site of Hagia Thekla.	77
8.2.2.1 Topography and road networks	77
8.2.2.2 Historical development and subdivision of the site according to literary sources	79
8.2.2.3 Architectural analysis and historical development of the Cave Church	84
8.2.2.4 Spaces and places in the eyes of the pilgrims	86
8.3 Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos and its connection to Meryemlik	87
8.3.1 Topographical development and history of the city	87
8.3.2 The Church of Saint Paul in the Temple.	91
8.3.3 Saint Papas of Lykaonia	92
8.4 Conclusions: The economic power of Meryemlik as a contributing factor in the prestige of Seleukeia.	93
9. Religious complex at Alahan: Caves and water frame the sanctity of the site	94
9.1 History of research and open questions	94
9.2 Topography: Alahan and its connection to nearby urban and religious centers.	95
9.3 Historical and archaeological development of the site.	96
9.3.1 The Cave Complex	96
9.3.2 The West Church	97
9.3.3 A symbolic route: The colonnaded walkway	100
9.3.4 The Baptistry	102
9.3.5 Springs, reservoirs, and bath complexes	103
9.3.6 The East Church.	103
9.4 Chronological development of the site and historical context	105
9.5 Conclusions: Between natural caves and springs, towards an interpretation of the site	105
10. From Alahan to Hasanaliler: A journey with the saints of Diokaisareia	108
10.1 History of research and open questions	108
10.2 The city of Diokaisareia and its historical development.	109
10.3 The Christianization of the city according to the archaeological evidence	111
10.4 Conclusions: From pagan legacy to Christian cults	113
11. Hasanaliler: An outstanding underground cave as the place of veneration of a local saint	114
11.1 History of research and open questions	114
11.2 The site and its historical development	115
11.3 The church and its cave	115
11.4 Conclusions: Cult before architecture – an interpretative proposal of archaeological data	116
12. Korykion Antron: Where underworld and heaven meet	119
12.1 History of research and open questions	119
12.2 The site in light of written sources	120
12.3 Archaeological evidence for a continuity of cult.	122
12.4 Conclusions: The strong bond between the two churches and the cave	126
13. Korykos: A thriving harbour and its local holy figures.	127
13.1 History of research and open questions	127
13.2 Topography: The city and its street network	128
13.3 Historical development of the city	129
13.4 Saints in late antique Korykos: Presence through the inscriptions.	132
13.4.1 The <i>Passio of Saint Charitine of Korykos</i>	138
13.4.2 Saint Konon of Bidana through literary sources and material evidence	141
13.5 The church at the Yörük Cemetery.	150

13.6 The Grave Church <i>Extra Muros</i> : Architectural peculiarities staging a specific cult	152
13.6.1 Topographical location: Along the so called “Via Sacra”	152
13.6.2 Architectural analysis of the church	153
13.6.3 A late antique <i>martyrion</i> ?	155
13.6.4 The experience of a pilgrim within the sacred space	156
13.7 Conclusions: Korykos as a Cilician metropolis thanks to its saints?	156
 14. Elaioussa Sebaste: Evidence for veneration?	158
14.1 History of research and open questions	158
14.2 The site and its development from the Hellenistic era to the seventh century: Topography, archaeological evidence, and historical sources	158
14.3 The flavour of holiness in the religious core of late antique Elaioussa	165
14.3.1 The Church on the Great Baths	165
14.3.2 The Agora Church	168
14.4 Conclusions: Suggestions of architecture and nature	170
 15. Kanytelleis: In search of a spectacular place	172
15.1 History of research and open questions	172
15.2 Living around the sinkhole: The site and its historical development	173
15.3 The church of Papylos and its control over the sinkhole	176
15.4 Conclusion: The attractive power of a sinkhole	178
 16. Yanikhan: In the footsteps of Saints George, Konon, Christopher, Kerykos, and Ioulitta	179
16.1 History of research and open questions	179
16.2 Topography and road connections	180
16.3 Religious buildings at Yanikhan	181
16.3.1 The South Church: <i>Martyrion</i> of Saints George, Konon, Christopher, Kerykos, and Ioulitta?	181
16.3.2 A rock-cut church: The North Church at Yanikhan	183
16.4 Conclusions: Nature and sanctity in the two churches in Yanikhan	184
 17. Pompeiopolis and Zephyrion: Stopovers in search of minor local figures	185
17.1 History of research and open questions	185
17.2 Pompeiopolis: A prestigious city harbour through the centuries	186
17.3 The cults of Saint Sozon and Saint Kalliopios in Pompeiopolis	187
17.4 The martyrdom of Saint Doulas at Zephyrion	189
17.5 Conclusions: Accidentally discovering the local saints of Pompeiopolis	190
 18. Tarsos: The city of the Apostle Paul	191
18.1 History of research and open questions	191
18.2 The city between the Roman period and Late Antiquity	192
18.3 Saints and cults in Tarsos	195
18.3.1 Saint Paul: Missionary journeys and sites related to his memory	195
18.3.2 Saint Kerykos and Saint Ioulitta	198
18.3.3 Saint Pelagia	201
18.3.4 Saint Anthousa the nun, Saint Athanasios the bishop, and the Christians Neophytos and Karisimos	202
18.3.5 Saint Boniface of Rome	204
18.3.6 Minor Saints: Kastor, Zenais, and Philonilla, Kyriaina and Iouliana	205
18.4 Conclusions: Tarsos as rival city of Seleukeia?	207
 19. Mazilik: Combining nature and sanctity	208
19.1 History of research and open questions	208
19.2 The church and its cave	208
19.3 Conclusions: The spread of the cult of a local hermit	210
 20. Akören and the village near Acemli: <i>Loci memoriae</i> of the Apostles Andrew and John?	212
20.1 History of research and open questions	212
20.2 Akören and the cult of Saint Andrew	213
20.3 Devotion to the Apostle John	216
20.4 Conclusions: The memory of the apostles in Kilikia Pedias	217

21. Anazarbos: Metropolis of saints?	218
21.1 History of research and open questions	218
21.2 Topography and road connections	219
21.3 Anazarbos: From the origins to the Armenian conquest	220
21.3.1 History of the city	220
21.3.2 Archaeological remains and hypothetical reconstruction of the Roman and late antique buildings	221
21.4 Saints and cults in Anazarbos	226
21.4.1 Saint Marinos	227
21.4.2 Saint Dominina	228
21.4.3 Saint Theodoula	229
21.4.4 Saints Tarachos, Probos, and Andronikos	231
21.4.5 Saint Zosimos	233
21.4.6 Veneration of non-local saints: Saint Menas and the Holy Apostles	235
21.5 Conclusions: Competition between cities through the local saints	237
22. Mopsouestia: A city with multiple <i>martyria</i> ?	239
22.1 History of research and open questions	239
22.2 Topography and history of the city in Late Antiquity	240
22.3 A much-debated religious building: Church or synagogue?	241
22.4 The late antique cult of saints in Mopsouestia	243
22.4.1 Saint Niketas the Goth	243
22.4.2 The intentional translation of relics to the city	245
22.5 Conclusions: Mopsouestia, a city of imported cults	245
23. Aigai: A healing site on the road to Jerusalem	247
23.1 History of research and open questions	247
23.2 The city and its historical development	248
23.3 Saints and Christian cults in Aigai	252
23.3.1 Saint Mamas of Kaisarea	252
23.3.2 Saints Klaudios, Asterios, Neon (and Theonilla)	253
23.3.3 Saint Ioulianos of Anazarbos	255
23.3.4 Saint Thalelaios	258
23.3.5 Saints Zenobios and Zenobia	261
23.3.6 The holy ἀνάργυροι Kosmas and Damianos	262
23.4 Conclusions: Re-writing the pagan tradition of the city in Christian terms	265
Part III: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS – THE SACRAL LANDSCAPE OF LATE ANTIQUE CILICIA	267
24. Late antique <i>landscapes of memory</i> in Cilicia: Pilgrimage routes and Christian cults between the fourth and sixth centuries	269
25. Local saints, martyrs, and apostles	273
25.1 Who were the late antique Cilician saints and when did their cult spread in the region?	273
25.2 Cult and relics: Do we really need relics?	275
25.3 Exporting Cilician saints abroad	279
26. Saints and cities in late antique Cilicia: A matter of metropolises?	283
27. Nature and historicity as essential parts of religious experience in Cilicia	287
Bibliography	290
I. Primary sources	290
II. General bibliography	293
Subject index	315
Plates	