

CREMNA IN PISIDIA

AN ANCIENT CITY IN PEACE AND IN WAR

BY

STEPHEN MITCHELL

WITH

SARAH CORMACK, ROBIN FURSDON, EDDIE OWENS AND JEAN ÖZTÜRK

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Duckworth
in association with
The Classical Press of Wales

First published in 1995 by
Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.
The Old Piano Factory
48 Hoxton Square, London N1 6PB
Tel: 0171 729 5986
Fax: 0171 729 0015
in association with The Classical Press of Wales

Published in the United States of America
by the David Brown Book Co.
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779
Phone: (860) 945–9329
Fax: (860) 945–9468

Originated and prepared for press by
The Classical Press of Wales
15 Rosehill Terrace, Swansea SA1 6JN
Tel: 01792 458397

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ISBN 0 7156 2696 5

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Typeset by Ernest Buckley, Clunton, Shropshire
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Antony Rowe Ltd., Chippenham, Wiltshire

For Marc Waelkens

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1985 and 1987 I directed an archaeological survey of Cremna, an ancient city in southern Turkey. This book, which is based primarily on the information which we gathered during those three seasons of intensive field work, aims to present as full a picture of the life and history of this city as is now possible.

Cremna occupies a site which is set in a spectacular mountain landscape. Its dramatic location has captivated the imagination of every traveller who has visited the ruins, the members of our party no less than the early explorers of the nineteenth century. Working there was an unforgettable experience. Those who have been fortunate enough to take part in an excavation, or a large-scale archaeological field survey, will be familiar with the excitement and intensity that such projects can generate. Just as field study in an untouched environment – the Galapagos Islands or the Antarctic – can transform the work of a natural scientist from routine study to a life experience, so direct contact with the remains of the distant past, especially on a site so remote from the modern world as that of Cremna, offers the professional archaeologist or student a form of satisfaction which can be guaranteed to banish to insignificance the temporary discomforts caused by primitive accommodation or by the other rigours of a field season. No reading at a library desk can transform the history of a Roman city into tangible reality as effectively as watching a plan of its buildings and streets take shape on a plane-table, or as piecing together by painstaking measurement and observation the fallen blocks of a temple into a picture of its original sumptuous façade. No inscription speaks so clearly from the pages of a book as from the base of a statue or from a carved stele standing in its original position beside the ruins of a forum or market place. The field worker has the unique privilege of being able to use his or her powers of observation and imagination to breathe life back into an ancient community.

There is, however, a worrying gap between the immediacy of field archaeology and the earnest aridity of most archaeological publications. Reading and studying excavation reports can be as wearisome as work on site can be exhilarating. The historical imagination required of the archaeologist in the field is nothing compared to that demanded of the reader of the lists, catalogues, and endless measurements which fill the pages of many archaeological publications.

Cremna deserves a better fate than to be banished to the world of the learned footnote. This was a flourishing and successful community of the Graeco-Roman world, whose history came to a devastating climax in the late third century AD. All the participants in the site survey not only helped to rediscover this history, but also had the opportunity to envisage for themselves what life in this ancient city had been like. We have tried to write a book which makes Cremna's story accessible, not simply to the tiny number who have had the chance to visit the site or to work there, but to anyone with an interest in the ancient world. At the same time we have included some description of how we set about our work, in the hope that this will convey some of the freshness of discovery that gave impetus to our efforts on the site.

By deliberate choice we have not overloaded the presentation of Cremna's buildings with

lengthy discussions of comparable material discovered on other sites, except where these are indispensable for the understanding or interpretation of what we found. Here key references to the relevant literature have been inserted into the body of the text. We hope that even hardened scholars may find it as pleasurable to read a book without footnotes as it has been for the authors to write one. Further bibliographical information added at the end of each chapter provides access to the wider background literature. The dangers inherent in producing a more elaborately learned report are not only that it would be much longer and more daunting to read, but also, more seriously, that it would never appear at all. It is a familiar fact that many, perhaps even a majority of major archaeological projects are never written up in detail and that the results of field work are often not properly published.

We hope that scholars and professional archaeologists will here find a full, if not exhaustive account of our discoveries on the site and a clear indication of how they should be evaluated. For students the book offers a historical panorama of one of the numerous, middle-ranking cities of the Roman Empire, whose remains do more than any other surviving evidence to create our image of Roman civilisation. This detailed study of Cremna, besides emphasising the original features of its history, provides dozens of characteristic illustrations of the nature of city life in the Roman world. Cremna's history presents, in microcosm, many of the features of the history of the Roman Empire as a whole. We hope also that the book may prove interesting and attractive to the many lay men and women who find pleasure in visiting ancient ruins. We have attempted to show without technical mystification how the field archaeologist goes about his or her work, the methods employed, and the type of imaginative or deductive reasoning that is required, first to recreate a visual picture of how an ancient city looked, and then, going beyond that, to reconstruct the life of the community which lived there and its place within the wider structure of the ancient world.

The writing of the book, like the field research, has been a shared task, and my co-authors have taken on the task of writing up aspects of the field work in which they played a leading part. Sarah Cormack has been directly responsible for the account of the south tomb and the colonnaded street, and contributed significantly to the first chapter, especially to the discussion of earlier visitors to Cremna. Eddie Owens has written the account of Cremna's aqueduct and provisions for its water supply in chapter five, and the description of its streets and housing. Robin Fursdon not only first discovered the remains of the siege, but made a mass of detailed observations on them while preparing the maps of the whole area west of the city wall; chapter six is the product of the closest collaboration between us. Jean Öztürk (formerly Greenhalgh) provided the description of the churches, which forms the core of chapter seven.

It is conventional to thank the individual members of an archaeological field project in the preface, and this I gladly do. However, instead of listing their names here, these are included in the description of our work at the site, which indicates something of the individual contribution which each of them made to the enterprise. In reality all of the participants took part in a far wider range of activities than I have sketched there.

The Cremna survey would have been impossible without many supporters who were not directly involved in the field. First of all our thanks go to Professor Jale Inan of Istanbul University, who readily agreed to support my application to carry out further work at the site where she had excavated, and gave much practical support and encouragement once the survey was under way. The General Directorate of Antiquities at Ankara, under its then director Dr Nurettin Yardımcı, not only gave the permit for the research to be carried out, but provided unbureaucratic solutions to several small problems which emerged during the three years. The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara took the project under its wing. Without the help of the Institute's director, David French, the assistant director, Chris Lightfoot (who

was also an invaluable team member in 1987), and the secretary, Gülgün Kazan, the practical difficulties of organising the survey would have been hair-raising. I am no less grateful to my own head of department at the University College of Swansea, Professor Christopher Collard, who helped find grants which enabled students to travel to Cremna, and who raised no murmur of protest when the attention of two members of his staff seemed to be exclusively focussed on the problems of a ruined town in southern Turkey not on those of a university in west Wales.

The survey was financed by grants from the British Academy, the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, the Roman Society, and the Craven Committee of Oxford University. Students from Swansea regularly received grants from the Ellen Stanford Thomas Fund of the University of Wales, Marc Waelkens from the National Foundation for Scientific Research, Belgium in 1986 and 1987, and Sarah Cormack from Yale University in 1987. I am very grateful to all these bodies, without whose help nothing could have been achieved, and I hope that the results set out in this volume represent a reasonable return on their investment.

I myself have written my own and edited the other contributions to the book during the second year of a Research Readership, awarded to me by the British Academy for the period 1990–92. I spent this time as a guest of the Ancient History and Archaeology Seminars of the University of Göttingen in Germany. I am especially grateful to Professor Marianne Bergmann, to Christoph Boehringer, and to the other members of the Archaeology Seminar for this academic hospitality, which gave me access to Göttingen's splendid libraries. I am also indebted to the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung, Düsseldorf, for an additional grant which made the stay in Germany a financial possibility for myself and my family. Final work on the manuscript was completed in 1994. That it now appears in print at all at this stage is due to the encouragement and support of Anton Powell, and the typesetting skills and ingenuity of Ernest Buckley.

Göttingen/Swansea 1992/1994 Stephen Mitchell

I

DISCOVERING CREMNA

Setting the Scene

Cremna is an ancient city of southern Turkey, whose name is now known only to specialists of the ancient world, and perhaps among them only to scholars with a particular interest in Asia Minor, the name conveniently used today to denote the region of modern Turkey in Greek and Roman times. Asia Minor in this period was a land full of cities. Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century AD, wrote with some rhetorical exaggeration that there were 500 cities in Asia; the geographer Pliny, drawing on official lists, put the figure at 282 in the time of the emperor Augustus, and over 300 Asia Minor communities during the period of the Roman Empire exercised a city's privilege of minting their own coinage. A small number of these, such as Ephesus or Pergamum, have become well known to a non-specialist public. Sometimes this is the result of intensive and much publicised archaeological work carried out over a long period; a century ago many of the cities of Asia Minor were familiar from being mentioned in the Bible; now several of the coastal cities are known from their associations with holiday resorts, for mass tourism has enjoyed a spectacular boom in Turkey in recent years. The huge majority, however, remain virtually unknown except to a narrow circle of classical archaeologists or historians. The purpose of this book is to make known the history of one such city, whose neglect has scarcely been deserved.

In a conventional sense Cremna has hardly any history to offer. Like many of Asia Minor's cities it appears very rarely in the written sources which have survived from antiquity. Geographical or topographical handbooks, such as the *Geography* of the Alexandrian astronomer and geographer Ptolemy, do little more than identify it as a point on a map. According to the attendance lists of the great Church Councils of late antiquity, it was a bishopric between the fourth and the tenth centuries AD. We know the name of precisely one of its ancient bishops, Theodore, who attended the seventh synod of the Church at Nicaea in AD 787. Beyond this, only two written sources tell us anything of substance about Cremna. The most detailed is the record of a siege which took place towards the end of the third century AD, and which was described by a Greek historian writing about two hundred and fifty years later. We look at this in detail in a later chapter, in connection with the archaeological traces of the same siege.

The other is a brief mention in one of our most important sources for the history of Asia Minor as a whole, the *Geography* of Strabo, which was mainly composed during the reign of the emperor Augustus and completed not later than AD 20. The author came from Asia Minor himself, in fact from Amaseia, modern Amasya in north-east Turkey, and provided a wealth of detailed information about the whole region, some derived from earlier authors, and some based on up-to-date reports, including occasionally what he had seen and experienced himself. He says of Cremna that it was one of the formerly impregnable fortresses of the Taurus Mountains, which was captured by Amyntas, a chieftain of Celtic origin, who had been entrusted with a huge kingdom in central Asia Minor by his allies the Romans in the 30s and early 20s BC. Amyntas was killed in the course of subduing another unruly tribal group in the Taurus around 25 BC, and his kingdom was taken over wholesale by Rome as a new Roman possession,

the province of Galatia. Strabo says that in his own day Cremna was occupied by Roman colonists, and it can be identified as one of more than a dozen cities, mostly situated in and around the highlands of south central Turkey, where the emperor Augustus settled veteran soldiers in permanent homes.

This is precisely all that written sources have to tell us about a substantial city, whose origins can be traced back to the hellenistic period, perhaps a hundred years before Strabo's brief allusion was written, and which enjoyed great prosperity in the second and early third centuries AD, a time in which it is never mentioned at all by a surviving classical writer. In one of his attractive historical guide books to the classical sites of south and west Turkey George Bean contrasted the cities of the south, mainly situated in the region immediately south of Cremna, with those of the west coast:

> Whereas the west coast cities teem with famous names, and the anecdotes of writers like Herodotus, Pausanias, and Aelius Aristides bring the ancient cities to life for us, the south coast is comparatively neglected by ancient authors. It is safe to say that of all the cities dealt with in this book, not one has ever produced a single citizen whose name is known to any but specialists. Consequently the ruins have for the most part to speak for themselves; luckily they are in general well able to do so. (*Turkey's Southern Shore*, 2nd edn 1979, vii.)

That point has to be made with even more emphasis for Cremna. Its history has to be conjured more or less directly from its ruins.

There are, however, two other important sources of information which can be used to help to interpret and bring to life the otherwise silent material remains of an ancient city such as Cremna: the inscriptions which have been found on the site, and the coins which the city minted.

Inscriptions are one of the most striking features of Greek and Roman cities, and played a central role in the civilisation of the ancient Mediterranean world. We should not be misled into supposing that society as a whole in the hellenistic world or under the Roman Empire was highly literate; research into this difficult topic shows that even under the most favourable conditions literacy was restricted to a small percentage of the total population. But the written word, and in particular public display of the written word was taken for granted as a crucial part of the culture of a Roman or even more of a Greek city. Inscriptions were used to convey a mass of information, not so much at a literal as at a symbolic level. Private citizens identified their graves with inscriptions, and threatened anyone who tampered with them with curses or with fines. Individuals and groups made offerings and prayers to the gods in the form of votive inscriptions, often accompanied by appropriate pictorial reliefs. Buildings were adorned with inscriptions which identified the builder and often served as dedications to the gods or to the Roman emperors. Gods, emperors, and other prominent citizens were honoured with statues which stood on prominent public display. In many cases, at Cremna and elsewhere, the statues have long since disappeared, but the inscribed bases have frequently survived to identify the subject and those responsible for erecting the monument. More rarely an inscription carries information of real substance, such as the text of a law, or (what amounted to the same thing in the Roman world) of a letter or edict from the Emperor. The longest inscription found at Cremna, displayed prominently at one end of the forum, was an elaborate oracle, which citizens consulted at moments of private or public decision (Plate 1).

Seventy-five inscriptions have so far been discovered at Cremna or in its neighbourhood. The total is relatively modest by the standard of many other cities in Asia Minor, but they make

an enormous contribution to our understanding of the history of the site. It is particularly advantageous that most of them have been located and identified in the course of a detailed archaeological survey of the ruined buildings of the city. For in many cases the context in which the inscription was found helps us to understand its significance; equally the text of the inscription often throws light on the function and date of the building near or on which it was displayed.



PLATE 1. Dice oracle.

The coins which a city minted are also a valuable historical resource. Most cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, in Asia Minor above all, minted bronze coins. These usually carried the name and portrait of the reigning emperor or of one of his family on one side (the obverse), and the name of the city or its inhabitants and a design or emblem of local significance on the other (the reverse). These reverse designs frequently relate or allude to the city's religious life, that is to the cults of the many gods or goddesses who were worshipped there (see Plates 14 and 114). In this respect the evidence of coins almost always broadens the knowledge we can gain from other sources. Surviving inscriptions often allude only to a small number of the deities who would have been worshipped in a community, and an archaeological survey, or even an extensive excavation, has little hope of identifying all the sanctuaries of a city, many of which would have been relatively inconspicuous buildings or parts of buildings, rather than imposing temples located in the city centre. The locally minted coins, therefore, offer a panorama of the city's religious life. Fortunately for us Cremna minted regularly, beginning probably in the first century BC, even before the city became part of the Roman Empire, and continuing with interruptions until about 270 AD, when it was one of the very last cities of the Roman Empire to issue its own civic coinage. Some of these issues also preserve striking details which are particularly enlightening for the city's history. The best example is provided by the very latest coins which the city minted, which relate to a major festival created in the time of the emperor Aurelian, and enable us to reconstruct political events in the region at a troubled and obscure period (below, pp. 211–15).

Inscriptions and coins together enable us to say something more about the fact revealed by Strabo, that Cremna became a Roman colony under Augustus. In full it was known as *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Cremna*, and precisely the titles *Iulia Augusta Felix*, which combined the names of the first emperor with the adjective *felix*, meaning 'lucky' or 'fortunate', were shared by three

other small Asia Minor cities which were refounded as veteran colonies by Augustus, namely Lystra (south-west of the modern Konya), Germa (between Eskişehir and Ankara), and Ninica (at Mut on the Calycadnus river, on the shortest route between Konya and the south coast at Silifke). From inscriptions we also learn that many of the prominent citizens of Cremna had Roman family names, such as Fabricius, Rutilius, or Albanius, and this shows that the local aristocracy of the second and third centuries traced its origins back to the veteran colonists, mostly of Italian origin, who had been despatched to Cremna probably soon after 25 BC. These colonial families remained true to their origins, at least in some respects. Cults with strong Roman associations appear on many coin issues and Latin continued to be widely used, at least on public inscriptions and on coin legends, although not necessarily as a language of everyday communication. Although Cremna was fully integrated into the predominantly Greek culture of Asia Minor, its leading families continued to make capital out of their specifically Roman connections at least until the middle of the third century AD.

The Location of Cremna

Cremna's position is best described in relation to the modern road system of Turkey (Fig. 1). The major modern highway, the E 24, which connects the city of Antalya on the south coast with the interior, runs for about forty-five kilometres across the Pamphylian plain until it

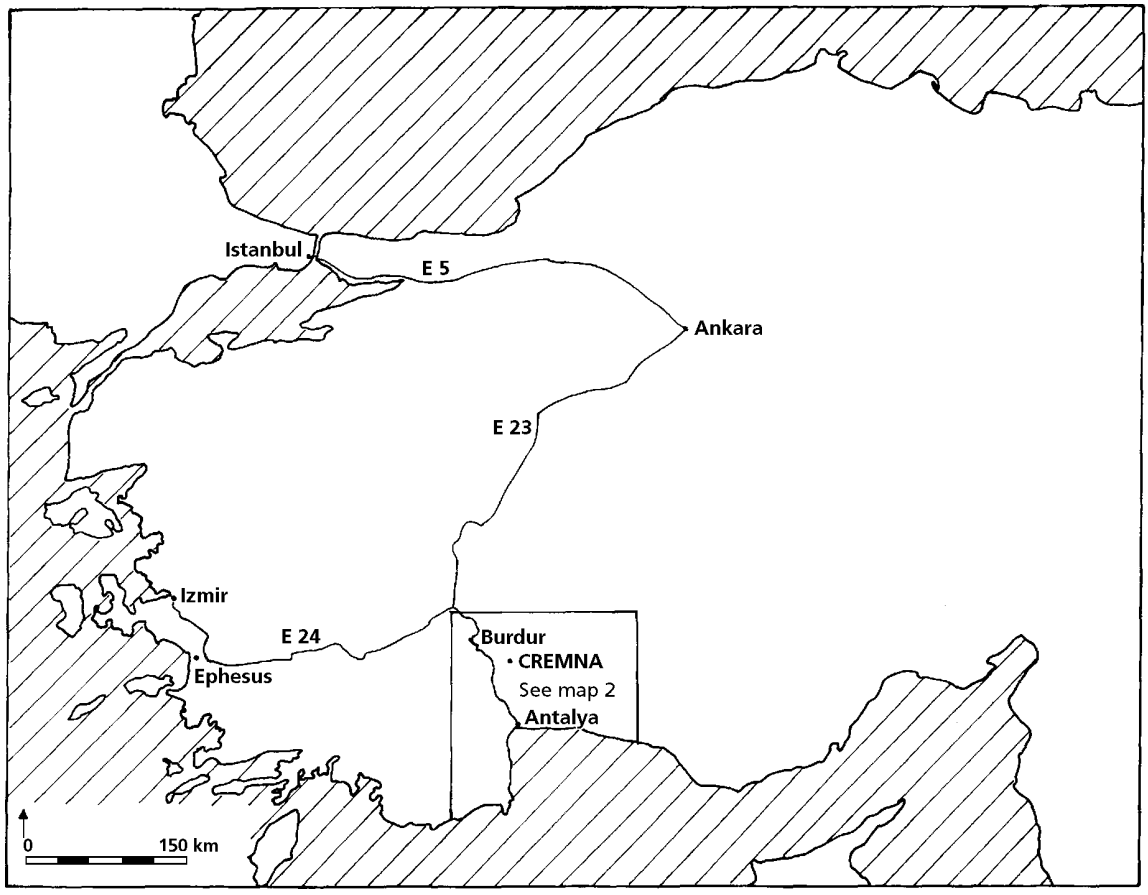


Fig. 1. Orientation map of Turkey, showing the site and modern highways.

reaches the foot of the Taurus mountains at the bottom of the pass known as the Çubuk Boğazı. A five kilometre climb brings it to a height of about 950 metres; the traveller has reached the highland region which was known in antiquity as Pisidia. Thirty kilometres further north the road reaches Bucak, a regional centre of more than 20,000 inhabitants lying two kilometres east of the highway. The main road continues northwards, branching after twelve kilometres left to Burdur and right to Isparta. Cremna, however, is reached via Bucak. A good tarmac road runs eastwards from the town signposted towards the much smaller centre of Kocaaliler, formerly Melli. About three kilometres out of Bucak there is a junction on the left and a side road climbs steeply eastwards up a forested ridge for a further twelve kilometres. At the top of the ridge a few outlying houses are to be seen between the trees. This is the upper *mahalle* of the village of Çamlık, formally known as Girme, a name which is directly derived from the ancient Cremna. Another kilometre brings the road to a newly opened travertine quarry and the rectangular streets and neat houses of Hacıbağ, another *mahalle* of Çamlık, built around 1970. Once past Hacıbağ the road begins to drop more steeply, winding down the hillside to the much older houses of Çamlık itself, and far beyond that to a new dam which has been built on the river Aksu. As it does so, it passes the ancient site of Cremna on the left (Colour Plate II.2). The rocky cliff on the south side of the ancient city climbs steeply above the fields on the left of the road. The ruins themselves are best reached by following a motorable track, which runs from houses at the south-east corner of Hacıbağ to the valley at the west side of Cremna, where it is overlooked by the ruins of the city wall (Colour Plate IV.2).

The journey today from Bucak takes no more than half-an-hour by car. It was not always so easy to reach. The earliest travellers to Cremna – Arundell, E.J. Davis, J. Seiff, and Rott – followed a rough and dramatic route, surely the line of an ancient road, southwards from Sagalassus, which passed through a wild wooded gorge and led down towards the valley of the Cestrus before climbing round the east end of the site to the village of Girme. For Barbara Levick in the 1950s the road from Bucak was:

> a drive of an hour and a half up a winding track of the remotest kind, which leads through dense pine woods. This remote, inaccessible, and isolated colony dominated no important route. To the east is the Cestrus [Aksu] valley, but the road north from Attaleia has never made use of it; it has preferred the more broken route to the west of the Cremna range, and it is from this eastern side that the colony is so difficult to reach.
>
> (*Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, 1967, p. 46.)

As she goes on to point out, this was also true of Cremna in antiquity. Around 6 BC the Romans completed the ancient equivalent of the modern E 24, a highway called the *Via Sebaste*, which ran from Perge or its neighbour Attaleia on the south coast and climbed into the mountains by a shorter route, a little to the east of the modern road, through the Döşeme Boğazı. From here it described a huge loop around the mountainous heart of Pisidia, linking many of the the newly founded Roman colonial settlements with one another. At its northern-most point it reached the most important of these new foundations, Pisidian Antioch (near the modern Yalvaç), and the milestones which have been found along the route mark the distances from this destination. This new road, however, completely by-passed Cremna, which accordingly lay off the beaten track in antiquity, as it does today (Fig. 2).

The city was not, of course, genuinely inaccessible. During our own work at the site we were able to trace sections of several Roman roads around the city. One ran westwards over the hills some way south of the modern road to Bucak and led eventually to another Augustan veteran settlement, the colony of Comama, which was on the *Via Sebaste* (Plate 2); another road led



PLATE 2. Roman road west of Cremna.

north-west in the direction of Sagalassus, the largest city of the region; and a third could be traced leading south-east from the site down into the valley of the Cestrus, where it probably joined another road east of the river which ran to the city of Adada. But all these roads, though paved, were narrow and usually stepped where they went up steep slopes. It was possible to travel along the *Via Sebaste* with carts and waggons; the minor roads around Cremna were only suitable for travel on foot or with pack-animals.

Cremna, therefore, occupied a remote position on the eastern side of the roughly defined ridge of mountains, now known as Boğadiç Dağ, which separate the level upland plains north and south of Bucak, where the modern and ancient highways ran, from the deeply incised valley of the Cestrus.

CREMNA'S NEIGHBOURS AND ITS ANCIENT TERRITORY

The region to which Cremna belongs was known in antiquity as Pisidia. Both ancient authors and modern writers have tended to type-cast the Pisidians as an unruly, semi-barbarian people, much feared by their more civilised neighbours, who managed for long periods to preserve their independence from the great powers of the hellenistic world, in particular from the Syrian-based kingdom of the Seleucids, and from the Attalids whose royal capital was in north-west Turkey at Pergamum. Recent research suggests that this characterisation offers at best only a part of the truth. In fact the Pisidians for the most part lived in independent, self-governing cities, which developed during the hellenistic period between the fourth and first centuries BC according to a well-established Greek model. They had sophisticated fortifications and well-organised armies of infantrymen; they were governed constitutionally by councils of elders and by people's assemblies, which met in the city agora, or in specially built council houses. They built Greek-style temples for their gods which were a match for almost anything to be found in the supposedly more civilised areas of western Asia Minor, and decorated them with sculpture which reflects the influence of the main cultural centre of hellenistic Asia Minor, Pergamum. They also operated a market economy on Greek lines, buying and selling goods in appropriately designed market buildings in the city centres. In other words the Pisidians had become thoroughly hellenised, and organised their communities like the cities of Greece itself or those of western Asia Minor.

There is evidence, as we shall see, that Cremna itself conformed to this pattern. It was also surrounded by several identifiable Pisidian cities (cf. Fig. 2). To the north-west lay its most powerful neighour, Sagalassus, which was one of the three most important Pisidian communities, perhaps indeed the largest of them all. It was certainly one of the most prosperous cities in the interior of Turkey in the hellenistic period, and was designated the metropolis of Pisidia

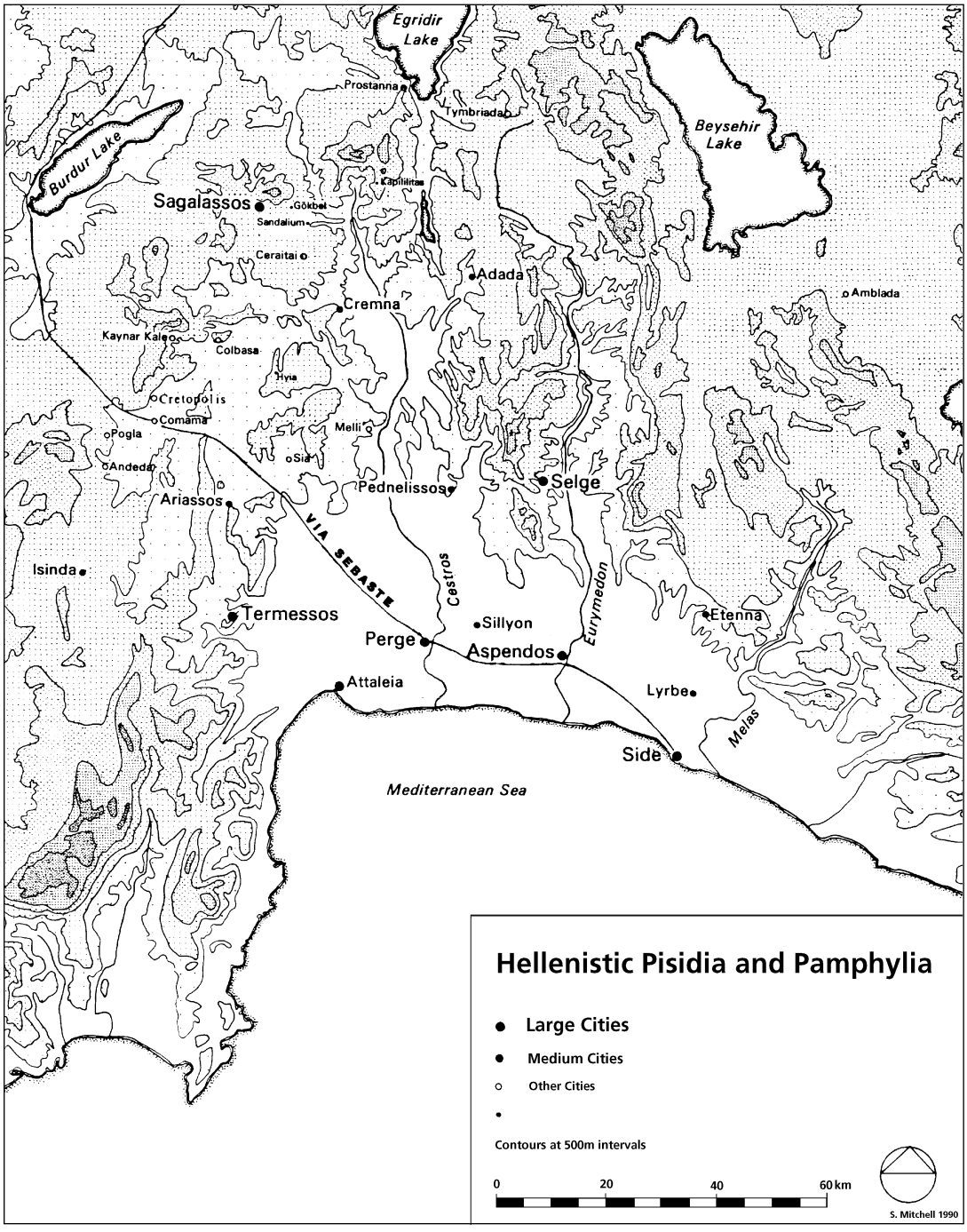


Fig. 2. Map of ancient Pisidia and the Via Sebaste.

under the Romans. As we shall see the architects and stone carvers of Sagalassus appear to have played an important part in equipping Cremna with its resplendent civic architecture in the second century AD. Cremna had another nearer neighbour to the north-west, the small fortified city of Ceraitae, sited on the prominent sugar-loaf hill which dominates the view in the middle distance from Cremna's west wall (Plate 21 background). In due course, however, the two cities fused into a single political community. The first step known to us was that they issued a common coinage in the name of both cities; later Ceraitae disappeared altogether as an independent unit; during the Roman Empire, perhaps from 25 BC when the Augustan colony was founded, it was reduced to the status of a village dependent on Cremna. This is not to say that the inhabitants disappeared from the site. On the contrary, inspection shows that habitation extended beyond the earlier fortified position and that the place flourished in Roman and late Roman times.

There is considerable uncertainty about Cremna's western neighbours. No ancient city has been securely identified in the vicinity of modern Bucak, and it is not clear whether the plain here belonged to Cremna or to another ancient city. There is a large site about six kilometres south of Bucak which is known from inscriptions as Hyia. However the same inscriptions suggest that it was not a city but a subordinate community, which may, like Ceraitae, have been controlled from Cremna. Further west from Bucak, around the now drained lake called Kestel Göl, there was at least one other small independent city, Colbasa, located beside the modern village of Kuşbaba. South-west of Cremna, in strategically important positions at the north end of the plain called the Bozova, lay a small hellenistic city called Cretopolis, and another Roman colony, *Colonia Iulia Augusta Prima Fida Comana*, which was founded by Augustus and came to dominate Cretopolis, just as Cremna dominated Ceraitae.

South of Cremna there was a group of small ancient cities, whose ruins are still readily identifiable. One, near the small modern village of Karaot, is identified by inscriptions found at the site as the ancient Sia. Its acropolis was defended by a well-built wall with a fine hellenistic tower, and the buildings on the site itself suggest that, despite its modest size, Sia was a genuine self-governing city even before the Roman period. Further east, at a site very reminiscent of Cremna's own, immediately south of the modern Kocaaliler (Melli), there was a fortified city, whose remains include a theatre, a market place and other typical city buildings, but which cannot yet be identified by its ancient name. Both Sia and the Kocaaliler sites are in forested mountainous country, remote from the main lines of communication. Two other cities, however, occupied fortified positions on either side of the plain through which the main military highway from the west approached the pass through the Döşeme Boğazı which led to Pamphylia. These were Panemoteichus at Boğazköy and Ariassus near Bademağacı. Both have fortified pre-Roman acropolises and domestic quarters built on steep hill-side terraces, which overlooked Roman public buildings of the third century AD built in the plain below.

Apart from Sagalassus, Cremna's strongest neighbour lay to the east, beyond the Cestrus, at Adada. This was a relatively large city, built on a scale similar to Cremna with sophisticated fortifications and imposing public buildings both of the hellenistic and of the Roman period.

It is reasonable to assume that the river Cestrus marked the boundary between the territory of Cremna and Adada. The territorial limits in other directions are unfortunately not so easy to assess. The incorporation of Ceraitae must have meant an expansion north-westwards, but the new territory probably did not extend much further in this direction towards powerful Sagalassus. Southward the boundary must have run across the rugged territory which separates the city from the site at Kocaaliler.

One clue as to the east and west limits of Cremna's land may be extracted from the modern village boundaries of Çamlık. Çamlık is by far the largest village of the whole district. On the

east its territory extends to the bank of the Aksu, and on the west it covers the whole forested mountain ridge to within four kilometres of Bucak. This indeed is a larger territory than that attached to the town itself. Çamlık, in other words, may have largely inherited the territory of ancient Cremna; the boundaries of the village territory today serve as a good guide to the extent of the city's land in antiquity. This, however, prejudges the question, which remains uncertain, of which city controlled the plain around Bucak.

At all events it is clear that the colony could exploit a large and varied rural hinterland. Almost half of the villagers who occupy the fruit and vegetable stalls every Thursday in Bucak's weekly market are Çamlık men. They gain an advantage over other villages not only from the size of their territory but also from its geographical spread and diversity. The uppermost *mahalle* of the village, supported by small arable fields, goat- and sheep-herding, and timber, lies half hidden among the pine-trees on the mountain ridge, whose summit reaches a height of 1376 metres (Colour Plate IV.1 and Plate 106). In the winter it is not uncommon for snow to block the pass to Bucak for several days at a time. By contrast the eastern part of the village territory is over a thousand metres lower, and the course of the river lies barely higher than 150 metres above sea level. The river basin enjoys a mild Mediterranean winter climate, offset by sweltering heat in high summer (Plate 101). By the beginning of August the villagers are able to offer figs from their own trees in the Cestrus valley for sale in the Bucak market.

The Discovery of Cremna and Earlier Work at the Site

Asia Minor and its many ruins of the classical world lay largely undiscovered and ignored for centuries, until it was identified in the eighteenth century as a tempting field for the travels of educated men, wealthy enough to finance their own journeys of exploration or sponsored by learned and antiquarian societies. The journeys of these early pioneers led to the identification of many ancient cities, and to the publication of descriptions of their ruins. These early travel journals are valuable documents, not only for the information they contain about ancient sites, but for the light which they throw on conditions in Turkey during the late Ottoman period when most of these accounts were written.

The re-discovery of Cremna was a fruit of one of the most successful of these excursions into Asia Minor, a journey made in 1833 by the then Anglican Chaplain of the Levant company at Smyrna, F.V.J. Arundell, 'to search for ruins in several directions, of which the writer had received information; and the first and chiefest, to determine the site of Antioch of Pisidia.' Antioch was a particular challenge to these early explorers, since it played a significant role in the story of the Early Church and of St Paul's missionary journeys, and it was natural for an adventurous churchman to make it the focus of his attention. However, Arundell was a man of considerable learning and curiosity, as well as a determined and observant traveller, well aware that many problems of classical as well as biblical topography remained to be solved in Anatolia. In the course of his successful journey to Antioch itself, he discovered the true sites of three other important ancient cities – Eumeneia, Apamea, and Apollonia. Cremna came almost as a bonus, when he turned south from Antioch to explore the Taurus mountains in search of another Pisidian city, Selge. The great early nineteenth-century English student of ancient topography, W.M. Leake, had suggested that if Selge could only be located, many other problems of the historical geography of Pisidia and Pamphylia would readily be solved, and Arundell hoped to be able to make decisive progress in this direction. In fact, after study of the ancient evidence he had reached the erroneous conclusion that Selge should be looked for a good deal further north than its true position. Accordingly when he was told by informants at Sagalassus that another, even larger ancient city lay only a day's march away, he was disposed