

VII

CHRISTIAN CREMNA

Zosimus' account of the activities of Lydius and the Roman siege is the last word of Cremna in the history books. Thereafter the only mentions are in ecclesiastical lists and a geographical handbook. When the Empire was divided into ecclesiastical units, the bishopric of Cremna was assigned to Pamphylia Secunda, under the metropolitan authority of Perge, or of Perge and Sillyum. In Hierocles' *Synecdemos*, compiled in the AD 520s, which lists the communities of the Empire in rough geographical order, Cremna is placed after Colbasa and before Panemoteichus and Ariassus (see above, p. 8). Cremna appears consistently half way down the list of bishoprics of Pamphylia Secunda in *Notitiae* I, III, VII, IX, X (late thirteenth century) and XIII and in the *Nova Tactica*. However, only a single bishop from Cremna is known by name from the Byzantine sources, Theodorus who attended the second Council of Nicaea in AD 787. These sources point to continuity of occupation at the site, but tell us nothing about its size or importance. The fact that the modern village below the site was until recently still known as Girme, a Turkish adaption of the ancient name, shows that this continuity has continued until the present day. However, that very fact illustrates a major problem. Roman Cremna was a major city; the latterday Girme was an unassuming village. The survival of the name also reveals nothing about the standing and status of the community to which it was attached.

The history of early Christianity in the region around Cremna is also little known. No literary sources refer to Christian communities here in the pre- or immediately post-Constantinian period. Christian inscriptions are also extremely sparse. The most important of them is a copy of a Latin rescript sent to the city of Colbasa by the emperor Maximinus Daia in AD 312 to all his subjects, encouraging them to persecute Christians and to drive them from civic territories (S. Mitchell, *JRS* 78 (1988), 105–24). This implies the presence of at least some Christians in this small city before the peace of the Church, a fact which may be supported by an unpublished inscription of the third century AD from nearby Kestel (on the territory of Comama), which appears to refer to Christians. However, the lack of further supporting evidence from fourth or fifth-century inscriptions has encouraged the view that Pisidia, as an independent and mountainous region, resisted the spread of Christianity and remained a stronghold of pagan belief. The archaeological evidence decisively refutes this view.

Earlier explorers paid little attention to the Christian remains of Cremna. The Lanckoroński expedition identified three churches (the central basilica or Church A; Church B outside the west gate; and another large church, probably our Church C), while Hans Rott, whose main concern was with Christian antiquities, was only able to make out the extra-mural Church B and apparently Church C, now so overgrown as to render detailed investigation worthless (Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (1908), 20). Our survey has augmented the list to a total of eight, marked on the plan by the letters A to H. Seven are inside the city walls, one ('B') is outside the west gate beside the Roman road.

THE BASILICA – CHURCH A

The central civic church resulted from the conversion of the Hadrianic basilica (Fig. 57). The fundamental structural elements of the original building were retained, but certain modifications were necessary to suit its new function. These included the provision of a semi-circular apse, the blocking up of the colonnade on the south side, so that there was now a solid wall between the basilica and the old forum, the walling off of a narthex within the existing plan, and the construction of a forecourt at the west end. Three courses of the north side of the apse can be seen, the lower two consisting of horizontal limestone blocks, the upper course a row of larger blocks laid on end, two of which form the thickness of the wall. Three holes cut on the same level of the second course may have been fittings for a wooden synthronon. The apse may have been partly reassembled from the masonry of the exedra which is referred to in the dedicatory inscription of the forum. Although this has not been securely identified, it was probably situated at the east end of the basilica. There is a precise parallel at Selge, where an exedra of the third century AD was demolished and the blocks used to create the apse of the earliest city church in the city's upper agora.

The open south side of the Hadrianic basilica which communicated with the forum was transformed into a solid wall when reused material was inserted into the gaps of the Doric colonnade. Meanwhile an inner wall, pierced by three narrow doorways, created a narthex out of the two westernmost bays of the Hadrianic basilica. This wall, of which the central and southern sections are still partially standing, was well constructed with neatly moulded (but probably reused) door-jambes. The arches of the west wall of the secular basilica had been open entrances, but it appears that doors were provided when the building was converted into a church. A hole for a wooden door-frame and a cutting to accommodate the door panel itself can be seen on the north side of the south entrance, where the original moulded stonework has been cut away (Fig. 58). There were doubtless solid doors in the central and northern entrances also, but the evidence for these is buried. Several protruding blocks, visible in Niemann's drawing at the level of the moulded entablature immediately above the central arch of the west wall (Fig. 11; only one of these now survives), suggest that the two bays of the original arcade which now fall within the narthex of the Christian basilica were retained, with the result that the narthex was compartmented into three sections.

Rough stone walls, made from large blocks of reused ashlar masonry, are to be seen to the west of the basilica. These created a rectangular forecourt, of which only the outline is traceable, and it seems likely that they are contemporary with the internal conversion of the basilica. This forecourt was interpreted by earlier investigators, notably Ballance, as the exedra of the Hadrianic building. For arguments against this view, see the discussion above on p. 59.

The Lanckoroński team recorded various moulded and decorated blocks, including sections of the acanthus frieze which had fallen from the entablature carried around the nave and aisles at the level of the horizontal moulding along the west wall. Fragments of fluted Doric columns and capitals are also remains of the secular building which remained unchanged during the remodelling. The form of the upper part of the basilica above the level of the arcades is, however, unclear, and it cannot be ascertained whether any significant changes occurred during the remodelling. Heavy tiles lying among the debris suggest that the roof was tiled, and evidently rested on timber supports. There is little indication of other decorative devices used in the building. A single blue glass tessera was found near the apse, and excavation would doubtless reveal more substantial evidence for mosaics here at least. A fragment of a grey granite column remains insufficient evidence that such columns were employed as part of the structure of the basilica or the forecourt.

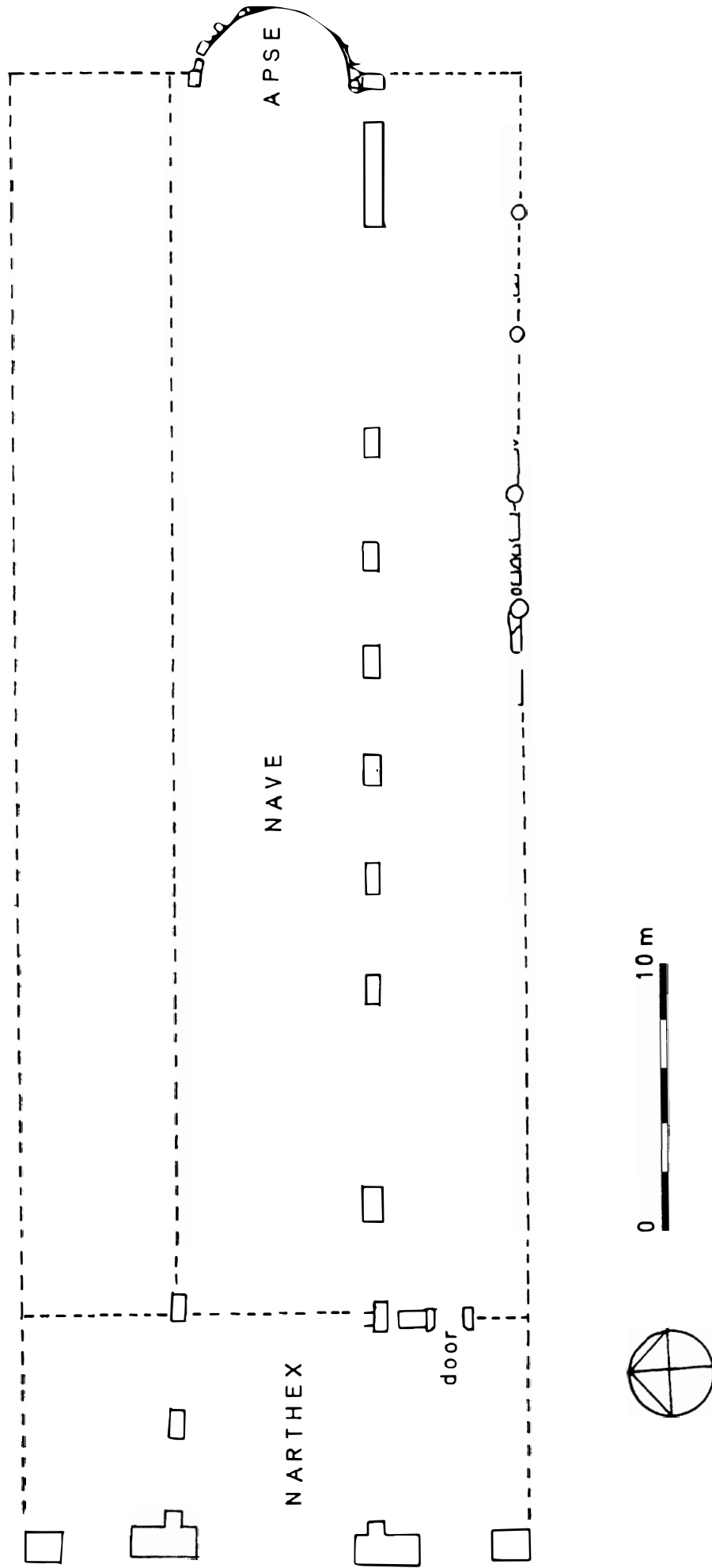


Fig.57. Central basilica door th. Plan.

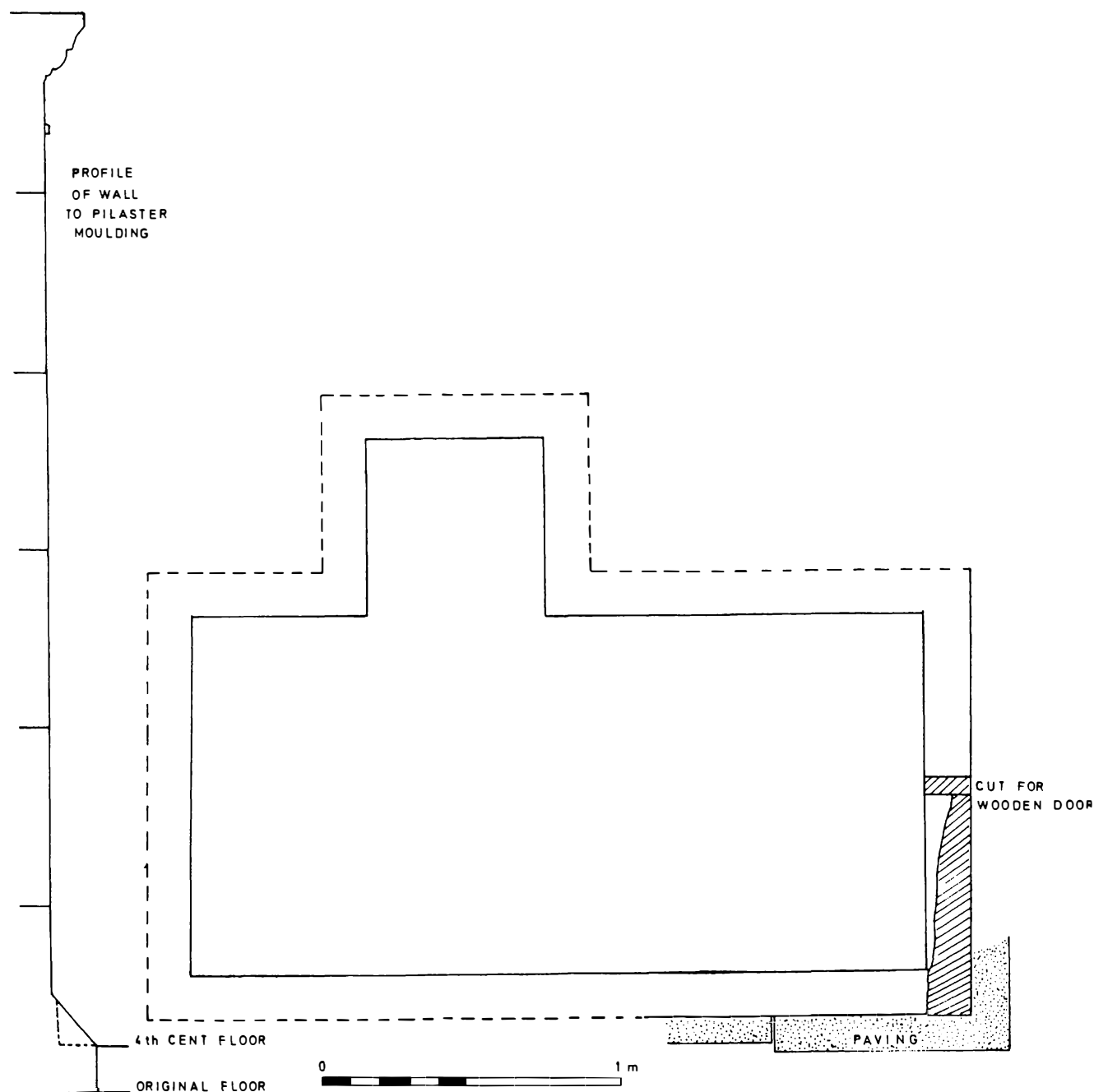


Fig. 58. Central basilica church. Details of the pier and arch base at the right of the central door.

Its central location suggests that this building was one of the most important and probably one of the earliest civic churches at Cremna. There is no epigraphic or architectural evidence to date the conversion, but a late fourth-century date is perhaps most plausible.

CHURCH B

Church B is situated outside the west wall of the city and is also of basilican plan. The semicircular apse, which according to Lanckoroński was 3.15 m deep, can today barely be distinguished. Four free-standing rectangular piers of uniform dimensions, 0.6–0.7 x 0.52 m, divided each side from the nave; two of these still stand in the northern division on line with a pillar of similar form which is still *in situ* at the north corner of the apse. The internal length of the building without the apse was 21.4 m, the width of the nave 6.54 m and of the aisles 2 m. The thickness of the outer walls is 0.6–0.7 m. Thus the overall external dimensions of the

church, including the apse, were 25.95 x 13 m, 88 x 44 Roman feet (29.55 cm = 1 foot). The north wall is fairly substantial, especially at its east end where three courses of large reused blocks, including a Roman altar stone, show that the apse was enclosed. The chamber which was thus created against the curve of the apse was entered from the north aisle through a doorway approximately one metre wide. Details of the south side are unclear, but there should have been a corresponding doorway and chamber here too. As the apse did not abut against the bounding wall, the conjectured distance between the two being just under a metre, there was presumably an ambulatory or eastern passage connecting the two chambers.

In the west wall there were three doorways. A fallen door jamb, 1.25 m high, lies in front of the central doorway and the width of this entrance can be estimated at 1.34 m. Details of the doors into the aisles are no longer clear. From the very general description in Lanckoroński one may infer that at least the inner jamb of each of these doors was in place a century ago, and that each was two metres wide, minus the thickness of the jambs. The lintel block of the south door was measured then at 2.14 m.

Parallel to the west court and of the same width there was a colonnaded forecourt five columns deep and four columns in width. Lanckoroński gives the distance between the centres of the columns of the north and south sides of the courtyard as 3.67 m, making its external length approximately 12 m, at least 1.5 m shorter than its width. The five columns across the width were more closely spaced at 3.2 m between the axes. The central column on the east side of the forecourt survives complete and the broken column immediately to the south of this is also *in situ*. A third standing column, also unbroken, belongs to the north side, on line with the north wall of the church. The positions of the *in situ* columns accord with Lanckoroński's measurements, although the southern limit of the forecourt is no longer discernible. All three *in situ* specimens and the scattered fragments are double columns. There is some indication that the interval between the north colonnade and the corresponding wall of the church was closed, which would have created a sort of narthex between the church and the forecourt. The span on all sides between the colonnades and the walls behind them was about 3.4 m (Lanckoroński II, 170).

Pieces of coarse pink mortar lie in the vicinity of the apse, but there is no trace of mortar in the exterior walls. Large rectangular tesserae of white marble and stones of muted colours – grey, cream, mauve, dull pink, and greyish-brown – were noted particularly at the west end of the nave and just outside the west wall, indicating that at least part of the floor was laid with a polychrome mosaic. There were also several pieces of white marble, but these were too fragmentary to show their original form or use. A weathered fragment of a fluted column in the nave may have been associated with the church, but the case is less certain for a piece of red granite column found several metres outside the south wall. In the vicinity of the forecourt are a number of fallen capitals and decorated architectural blocks. One fragment clearly has a palmette, egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel decoration, but the other pieces are too weathered to show whether or not they had been reused. Numerous large tiles, presumably from the roof, are scattered about the site. Fragments of thick-walled wheel-turned bowls were also noted among the debris.

Some metres to the west of the basilica are three low natural caverns within a rocky outcrop. At the back of the southernmost and largest of these there were two miniature columns with simple capitals of early Byzantine style. These were observed in 1981 but disappeared at some date during the following four years. The south side of the cavern was walled up with field stones, and the low roof between this and the smaller adjacent cavern to the north was supported by a reused fluted column drum; a similar drum supported the roof of the most northerly cavern. There appears to have been a vaulted rectangular chamber in front of the central cavern. The lower part is buried but part of the wall and the vaulting on its north side,

constructed of large limestone blocks, is still visible. This cannot have been a cistern as the construction was not watertight. There is a fourth cavern cut into the natural rock behind the north colonnade of the forecourt, with an artificial wall built up against its rear face and a narrow rectangular pier at its west side. It is possible that these caves had a funerary purpose, and should perhaps be interpreted as an early martyrium, which dictated the later siting of the church.

It is very likely that the church itself was dedicated to a martyr's cult. This is indicated by the extra-mural location, the presence of an eastern passage, which might have given access to the saint's remains, and the proximity of rock-cut and free-standing sarcophagi all round the building. A similar arrangement can be observed in Pisidia at Adada, where there is a small extra-mural cemetery church accompanied by a subterranean vaulted chamber on the west side.

The Lanckoroński team identified a rough construction to the south of the church as a temple, perhaps to be identified as a temple for Apollo Propylaeus, who is named on coins of Cremna (von Aulock, *Pisidien* II, nos 1144–51, 1196–8, 1275–96, 1456–8, 1521–2, 1524–6, 1655–86; Septimius Severus–Aurelian; A von Sallet, 'Apollo Propylaeus in Cremna', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 12 (1885), 363–5). A few traces of a building can be observed parallel to the church but there is no clue as to its nature.

CHURCH C

Church C was perhaps the grandest ecclesiastical building at Cremna. The visible remains suggest that it may have been a transept church with a length, including narthex and apse, of roughly 45 m and a total width of about 24 m (Fig. 43). Debris and vegetation have obscured internal details, including any signs of nave–aisle divisions on line with the ends of the apse, although the presence of these divisions is confirmed by the three doorways which linked the body of the church with the narthex (Plate 94). In a building of this size arcades would have been necessary to help carry the roof. A break in the arcading to the west of the apse would also have served to emphasize the transept.

Running adjacent and parallel to each of these projected aisles is a passageway approximately 3 m wide, which appears to have been closed off from the main body of the church and the narthex, communicating only with the sanctuary area. There are only slight traces of the walls of the northern passageway, but the southern passageway is clearly defined by walls of large masonry blocks and rubble at its west end. The inner walls at the west end cut across the narthex and access to each passageway was by a separate door, the jambs of each still standing *in situ*. Two *in situ* door jambs also mark an internal doorway in the northern passageway some 3 m before the transept.

The most impressive extant part of the church is the inner wall of the narthex, which is pierced by three doorways. The two jambs of the central entrance are reused architrave blocks, with bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart and palmette mouldings, which were erected on end and stand over 2 m high (Plate 95). The jambs of the north entrance were also reused architectural blocks, but undecorated. The narthex was divided into three sections, presumably with three corresponding doorways in the outer wall and flanked on either side by the continuation of the passageways, which were walled off from the narthex proper and entered independently. Apart from these doors into the passageways, the west wall of the narthex is barely traceable.

The south curve of the apse, constructed of huge limestone blocks, is visible, but the rest is buried. The north and south outer walls of the church appear to continue beyond and to meet a wall running behind and enclosing the apse. There was a gap of about 2 m between the apse and the east bounding wall of the church. The walls running to north and south from both corners of the apse seem to have been furnished with doorways, which lead from the arms of

the transept to chambers on either side of the apse. The chamber on the south side had internal structural divisions and possibly also an eastern passage.

Although the remains around the apse are too scanty and confused to allow certainty, the most likely interpretation is that within the overall rectangular outline of the building the church was crossed by a transept with three bays – a narrow central bay of the same width as the apse (around 6 m), and wider outer bays which extended across the combined width of the projected inner aisle and the outer passageway (around 8 m). The passageways thus provided private access for church officials to the arms of the transept. At the east end of the wall between the north aisle and the passageways, where it meets the transept, there was a large rectangular base with a semicircular projection facing inwards, indicating that there was a half column set against the wall at this point, which perhaps corresponded to a row of similar half columns all the way down the length of the wall.

There are numerous column fragments in the body of the church, fashioned out of a variety of coloured marbles and grey granite, in addition to several rectangular blocks with acanthus decoration and the base for a double column. A great quantity of broken tiles lies scattered over the whole building. In the vicinity of the apse are fragments of grey and green cippolino, pavanazetto and grey porphyry, as well as white marble. Some of these were clearly broken pieces of revetment, smoothly polished on one side and with white mortar adhering to the other. There were numerous small glass mosaic tesserae in a variety of colours, including red, black, bright and pale green, turquoise, dark and pale mauve opaque glass, as well as silvery, dark purple and various shades of blue translucent glass.

Approximately three metres west of and parallel to the narthex, a line of four paving slabs crosses the axis of the nave; a fifth, slightly irregular in shape but incised with a circle 44 cm in diameter, lies three metres to the south on the same line. These are evidently the remains of a stylobate for a colonnade, possibly part of a forecourt. A broken line of slabs of identical width leads westwards from the slab with the incised circle. Although these are at an angle of 86°, not at a right angle, they were evidently associated with each other. The fact that the line of slabs leading westward is inset from the south end of the incised slab implies that it represents an internal division of this forecourt area. There are several complete and fragmentary columns in the area, including one of grey granite, one fluted and two double columns. There is also a number of dentillated architectural fragments from the cornice of a building. Whether these features are contemporary with the basilica or part of an earlier structure on whose site church C was constructed must remain unclear without excavation.

At a maximum distance of nineteen metres west of the narthex stood a rectangular building which was probably associated with the church (see above, p. 167). The walls were well constructed of reused masonry and field stones, although the structure is badly delapidated. The north and south walls are particularly incomplete and the east wall has collapsed completely, making it impossible to define the eastern limit of the building and to locate the entrances. There were internal divisions, notably where a deep doorway in a well preserved section of wall permits communication between the northern and central parts of the building. This doorway had two large lintels placed back to back and one of the moulded jambs survives in place. The fallen debris in the interior of the building includes a number of fragments of white marble, a large piece of grey granite, an architrave block decorated on its underside with vine tendrils (?) and leaves, a round drum with acanthus decoration, a white marble column base, and a moulded fragment of limestone which has been lightly engraved with a Latin cross, perhaps the impression of an affixed metal original. There are also numerous tile fragments.

Although the building's north and south walls are placed four metres to the north of the corresponding walls of the church, the structure is on the same alignment as the church and its

width from north to south, 24 m, is identical. This suggests that the two buildings were associated and that this too had an ecclesiastical function. If the church was a martyr's shrine (as may possibly be inferred from its eastern passage) then the building to the west may have been a hostelry for pilgrims. However, eastern passages were also found in churches with strictly civic functions, in which case the associated building might have been the bishop's residence, or perhaps a baptistry. The remains of the church overall, particularly the mosaic and revetment of the apse, combined with its size, indicate that it was a structure of some splendour, and the debris in the building to the west confirms the impression of grandeur.

CHURCH D

Church D stands on the elevated southern ridge of the site, a short way east of a very prominent rock outcrop whose contours were certainly artificially shaped, perhaps to accommodate a pre-Christian shrine (Lanckoroński II, 167). Although the apse is barely traceable, the south wall, constructed of roughly-shaped blocks and field stones, survives over a metre high (Fig. 59). The north wall is obscured by vegetation, as are the internal details.

At the east end of the south aisle there was a narrow doorway beside the apse. The inner wall of the narthex is pierced by three doors, all six jambs being formed from reused architectural blocks with simple mouldings. The west wall of the narthex is very delapidated, but appears to have had no doorways. The south wall is also solid and a doorway in the north wall was probably the only entrance. This structure with its huge moulded jambs and plain lintel is the best preserved part of the church. The jambs have small holes on their outer faces, presumably for the fitting of a wooden door. Broken tiles lie scattered among the vegetation but there are no signs of columns or decoration, apart from several fragments of marble, one of which is inscribed with the letter epsilon, apparently in a late form. The total length of the church was approximately 28 m (23 without the narthex) and its width 15 m. The exterior of the apse, to judge from what survives on the south side, appears to have been trapezoidal in plan.

The Lanckoroński publication briefly alludes to a building which must be identified with Church D, although it is there taken to have been devoted to a non-Christian cult. This proposal derived from an item which we did not see, a gable fragment 56 cm high and originally 2.64 m wide, which depicted a badly damaged male figure with a cap and a crescent moon behind its shoulders, evidently a representation of the god Mên (Lanckoroński II, 171).

CHURCH E

Church E lies immediately to the west of the forum and basilica in the main residential area of the city (Fig. 44). It is constructed from varying types of reused masonry blocks and field stones, laid in irregular but neat courses. The overall form of the apse is unusual: the semicircular curve is set almost 2 m beyond the eastern ends of the aisles and is connected to the body of the church by straight walls aligned with the nave-aisle divisions. The distance between these two walls is almost a metre greater than the diameter of the apse. Each end of the curve is marked by a large recessed block set on end, that at the south side almost a metre east of its opposite number, so that the south curve of the apse was clearly shorter than the north. This may not have been significant in structural terms but it shows a lack of precision on the part of the builders. The total length of the church is 25 and the width about 13 m. There were three doorways in the inner wall of the narthex and all six of the jambs have survived. *In situ* door jambs and a fallen lintel indicate that the main entrance was in the short north wall of the narthex leading from the street which adjoins the north side of the church, the same

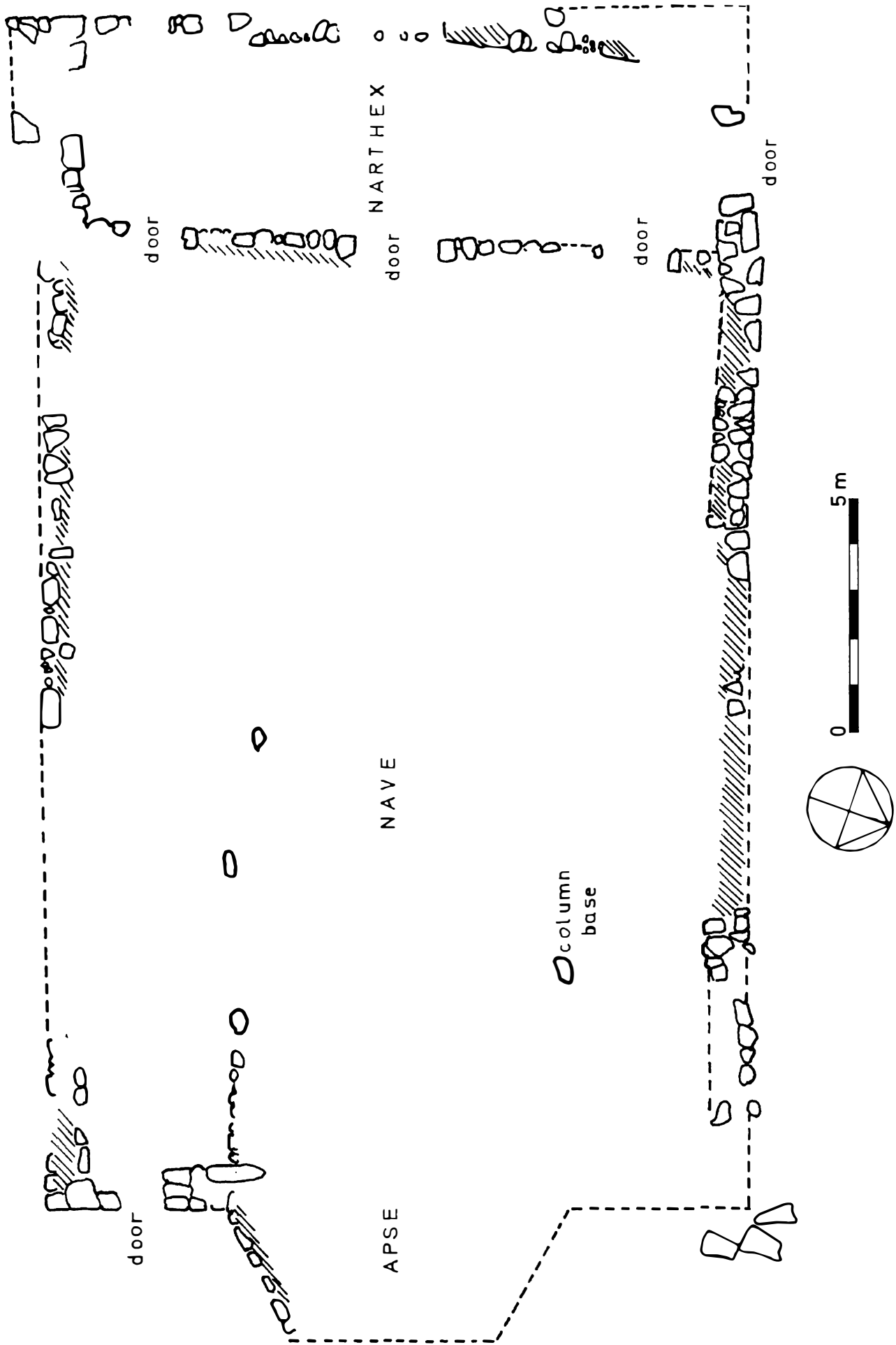


Fig. 59. Church D.

arrangement as was observed in Church D. The south and west walls of the narthex are in poor condition, and it is not impossible that there were additional entrances from the street which ran along the west side of the church.

Piles of earth, fallen masonry and bushes obscure the internal details of the building. At the east end of the nave-aisle divisions are large blocks, perhaps piers, and there is a third at the west end of the north division. Fragments of white marble and white, black and beige stone and marble tesserae occur around the apse. There is a fallen breccia column in the apse and part of a small white marble column in the narthex. Outside the south wall is a simple rectangular capital, moulded at the sides and bearing a cross in relief at the front. It is clear from the underside that this would have stood on a column of small diameter and from the back, which is only roughly squared off, that this side of the capital was not meant to be seen and that the column stood close to a wall.

CHURCH F

Church F was built against a wall running along the south side of one of the streets in the residential area in the west part of the site (Fig. 42). This earlier wall then became the north wall of the church. The south walls and the apse, which is in a collapsed state but clearly horseshoe in plan, were constructed almost entirely of field stones. The west wall, of the same construction, had three doors, whose reused jambs are still in position. Almost half way along the north aisle are the remains of a smaller apse, and it appears that this apsed area was walled off from the nave and accessible only from the north door in the west wall. There may also have been a similar apsed area on the south side as a partial wall extends into the body of the church from the west wall in the direction of the south end of the apse. A row of columns beyond the west wall and parallel to it may have defined a porticoed narthex. The total length of the church from the west wall to the tip of the main apse is approximately 25 and the width about 15 m. The church may have been a commemorative building, with its separate apses devoted to individual martyrs' cults.

CHURCH G

Church G is in the extreme northwest corner of the site. It was constructed almost entirely from field stones and measures approximately 30 by 17 m. Each end of the semicircular apse projected into the body of the church but there are no further traces of divisions between the nave and the aisles. The western limit of the church was visible only at the south-west corner, and it is uncertain whether the narthex, if one existed, was to the east or west of this line. The south wall of the church extended beyond the curve of the apse, suggesting that it was enclosed, although this extension may not have been contemporary with the original construction phase. At the opposite side the north wall forms a distinct corner with the short wall defining the east end of the north aisle. If the apse was inscribed, this was probably a later modification, and there does not seem to have been any communication between the body of the church and the area at either side of the apse.

A row of six column bases, with toppled granite and limestone columns beside them, runs parallel to the south wall at a distance of about 2 m, forming a porch. The granite columns themselves are identical to those used in the colonnaded street and had presumably been brought from there during late antiquity, when the street began to fall into disuse (see above p. 125). It is certain that there was no similar porch at the north side of the church, as the lower part of the north wall is built against a fairly high plateau of bedrock.

CHURCH H

Church H is situated at the north-east corner of the main residential area on a low hillock (Fig. 45). It was about 11.5 m long and 8 m wide. The apse, built of large reused blocks and apparently inscribed within a rectangular outer wall, can still be traced. The outer wall at the southeast corner is of the same construction. There appear to have been three doorways in the west wall, but there is no sign of a narthex. Most of the debris in the body of the church consists of extremely weathered reused masonry, including several column fragments, and a smattering of broken tiles. Pieces of grey marble lie about the site, and there are a number of grey and white revetment fragments.

The Lanckoroński plan marks three churches, A, B, and H (Fig. 3). The account of the site also refers briefly to a fourth, which Petersen and Hausner considered might have been built on the site of an earlier temple, indicating that it lay three blocks ('Quergassen') north of the Severan Ionic temple, whose remains are briefly described (cf. p. 120 above). This indication, and the observation that the remains included some notable reused architectural pieces, including architraves and door cornices, fit best with our observations of the large Church C, but the measurements provided (24.5 m (without the apse) x 15.8 m) are appreciably smaller than those of this building and the identification is uncertain.

The Lanckoroński expedition also identified and described two buildings which we overlooked, but which are worth brief mention. One, located at M on his plan east of the Doric agora, was identified as a Doric temple, with fluted columns, architraves, triglyphs 27.5 cm wide, metopes 43 cm wide, both 46.5 cm high, and the central block of a triangular gable with a fitting for an acroterion. North-west of this, also marked M, was an unusual structure consisting of a narrow room leading to an apse at the west end. This has a door at the east end which lead to a broader chamber separated into three aisles by two rows of four columns, whose west ends were walled up into small rectangular chambers. It is suggested that this was designed for some non-classical cult, perhaps of Mithras or the Magna Mater. Petersen took this to have been connected with another building lying to the north of its western end. This had a south-facing façade with a richly decorated gable decorated in late style. The account is reminiscent of the small temple with a Syrian gable which we identified at the north side of the site (see above, p. 110), but the description of the location suggests a different building (Lanckoroński II, 171).

THE CHRONOLOGY AND TYPOLOGY OF CREMNA'S CHURCHES

All Cremna's churches have a fairly conventional form and follow the basilical plan with individual variations. Church C seems to have had a transept, although not one that projected beyond the body of the church as in the fifth-century basilicas of Sagalassus. The side passages flanking the aisles gave the church a rectangular outline. There is a closer comparison with the smaller of the two churches on the site at Pisidian Antioch, which also had a transept within an overall rectangular pattern, and where the apse was also incorporated into a bounding wall.

Churches D and E had their main entrances in the short north wall of the narthex, an arrangement also seen at the church built at the site of the sanctuary of Mên Askaênos above Pisidian Antioch. The scheme in all cases may have been adopted for practical reasons, resulting from the nature of the terrain in the case of Church D and at the Mên sanctuary and from the topography of the street system in the case of Church E. The internal apses of Church F are not usual, and their presence may be a clue to the church's function.

Imperial legislation in the mid fourth century under Constantius and especially during the final two decades of the fourth and in the early fifth centuries encouraged the demolition of pagan shrines. This practice may have been followed at Cremna, where all the identifiable

temples are now in very derelict condition, but although reused materials found in the churches may have derived from one or another of the various pagan sanctuaries, there is no convincing proof that any of the churches were built directly on former temple sites. It is worth noticing, however, that probably the earliest church at Cremna resulted from the transformation of a secular building, the central basilica. Precisely the same development can be observed at Pisidian Selge, where the odeion or bouleuterion by the upper agora was transformed into a church (Machatschek and Schwarz, *Bauforschungen in Selge*, 198). Both sites illustrate a phenomenon that can be observed elsewhere: before the last years of the fourth century Christianity was not sufficiently strong a force to oust the pagans from their sanctuaries once and for all (F. W. Deichmann, 'Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern', *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 54 (1939), 105 ff.).

It is strikingly apparent that our understanding of the nature of the churches in Cremna would benefit from the clearance of the debris, if not full-scale excavation. Details of the ground plans are in many cases unclear, not only because of destruction but because they are covered by accumulated earth, vegetation and rubble. The overburden might be expected to contain further architectural pieces of a specifically ecclesiastical nature, and these would normally offer useful dating evidence. Dating is otherwise difficult and depends largely on circumstantial evidence. The churches are without exception constructed from reused material or from field stones, and there are no *in situ* architectural embellishments of early Christian or Byzantine character, except for the simple capital from Church E and the miniature columns observed in the caverns west of the extra-mural Church B, all probably to be dated in the fourth or early fifth centuries.

An early date can be assumed for Church A, on the strength of its central location and its probable function as a civic basilica. These would have been a feature of all bishoprics at least from the later fourth century onwards. It is reasonable to speculate that the conversion of the building occurred between AD 350 and 400. Very few other fourth-century basilicas, however, survive to enable a close architectural comparison, and as Church A was a converted building, a structural comparison with other fourth-century churches would be invalid. The only Pisidian basilica which can certainly be assigned to this period is that at Antioch, whose mosaic was laid in the time of the bishop Optimus, who is known to have attended the Council of Constantinople in AD 381.

The transepts of the other large Church C can be compared with a number of structures which belong to the fifth century, for example the basilicas at Sagalassus and at Pamphylian Perge, as well as the smaller central church at Pisidian Antioch. It is tempting to speculate that Church C was built for the use of Christians of a different sect from that of the central basilica. Both its size and its relatively central position argue its importance for the whole community.

For all the many doubts and obscurities concerning their chronology and architectural details, the eight churches observed at Cremna provide an extremely important source of information for the development of Christianity in Pisidia during late antiquity. Their number may be compared with that for other cities in the region. Only Selge can offer a comparable figure, with seven churches, four intra- and three extra-mural (Machatschek and Schwarz, *Bauforschungen in Selge*, 104–17). The smaller city of Ariassus had two substantial basilicas on the main street of the city, a chapel close to the hellenistic agora, and a small neighbourhood church, comparable in size to Church H at Cremna, on one of the highest housing terraces (S. Mitchell, *Anat. Studs.* 41 (1991), 165; all are marked on the city plan of Ariassus, published at a small scale by A. Schulz, in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Pisidien*, Asia Minor Studien 6 (1992), 32 Abb. 1). The buildings at these sites, as at Cremna, are for the most part recognisable above ground, and it is doubtful whether excavation would add many more examples to the

list. By contrast only four churches have so far been identified at the larger city of Sagalassus (K. Belke and N. Mersisch, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7: Phrygien und Pisidien* (1990), 368–9 for brief accounts with bibliography), and two at Pisidian Antioch (D.M. Robinson, *AJA* 28 (1924), 435 ff. for a short description). These lower figures are to be explained not by assuming that the population was less thoroughly Christian, but by the fact that a much higher proportion of the sites' buildings has been completely covered up.

Whereas the history of early Christianity in other parts of Asia Minor has to be founded on inscriptions (as in Phrygia), or on written sources (as in Cappadocia), these archaeological remains provide almost the only information available from Pisidia. Although they fail to provide useful information about the speed of the change within the fourth and fifth centuries, the churches at Cremna illustrate the transformation of a pagan into a Christian population with unambiguous clarity. One point deserves particular emphasis, the siting of ecclesiastical buildings within the settlement as a whole. Probably the earliest and largest basilica, Church A, occupied the most central and public site in the city, adjoining the forum. The extra-mural Church B, presumably honouring a martyr with particular links to Cremna, stood in a cemetery immediately beside the main road into the city, and would have dominated the approach of any visitor. Church C occupied the slope overlooking and visible to the whole of the largest residential quarter of the settlement. Churches D and G occupied similarly conspicuous positions, respectively at the highest points of the south and west walls of the city, where they served local housing areas. Churches E, F and H in contrast were embedded into the densely packed housing of the west residential area, presumably occupying the sites of earlier domestic buildings. In terms of architecture and town planning these buildings both dominated and were completely accessible to the local population. This of course corresponded to the overwhelming role played by the church in the life of the community.

It is difficult to assess the level of wealth which the churches of Cremna and the community at large achieved during late antiquity. Observations in the larger churches suggest that coloured marble wall cladding and mosaic floors were a standard decorative feature. On the other hand, with the exception of a single small capital in Church H and two in the caverns by Church B there is no evidence for contemporary architectural sculpture and the fabric of the buildings is entirely composed of spolia and field stones. It would be dangerous to assume too drastic a decline, since the nature of the material culture and the forms in which wealth was accumulated and displayed appear to have changed. Public buildings and statuary may have been replaced by church treasures or privately hoarded goods, which have rarely survived the ravages of time, certainly not above ground in Cremna.

'One fact is particularly striking: the absence of inscribed material after the end of the third century. This contrasts with the situation to be observed in other late Roman cities of Asia Minor, such as Sagalassus, where many public texts honouring emperors and officials survive from the fourth and fifth centuries, Aphrodisias in Caria, Ancyra in Galatia, or the great metropolis of Asia, Ephesus. All these cities acted as major administrative and also as cultural centres, whose importance relative to the provincial hinterland around them seems to have grown between the fourth and sixth centuries. Cremna, already disadvantaged by the crushing siege of AD 278, was one of the many smaller cities which declined in importance during this period. It remained an important local centre, a town with a substantial population, but was no longer a city to be compared with the provincial capitals, or even with its former self in the second and third centuries AD.

The lack of good chronological evidence makes it impossible to offer any strong arguments for the date when the site itself was abandoned and the remaining population made its way down the hill to the village site of Çamlık. None of the surviving churches demands to be dated

later than the fifth century AD, and no later finds of pottery or architecture were observed on the site. The recent excavations at Sagalassus have suggested that earthquakes in the early sixth century (historically attested for AD 518 and 528) may have dealt the city blows from which it never properly recovered, and no finds from the site postdate the beginning of the seventh century AD. Perhaps the earthquakes which brought down Cremna's buildings, including the central basilica Church A, occurred in the same period. At all events it is unlikely that Cremna could have survived the catastrophic decline which seems to have brought an end to settlement at more powerful Sagalassus. Excavation on a substantial scale at Cremna also would be required to transform this supposition into certainty.

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