

THE MONUMENTS OF ROMAN ANCYRA REVIEWED

A Thesis Submitted By Susan D. Cooke

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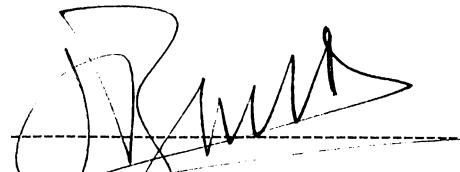
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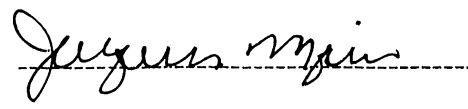
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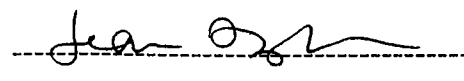
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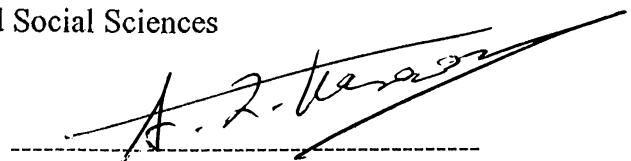
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A. Z. Karas

ABSTRACT

In this paper, the accepted conclusions of Roman Ancyra's monuments are reinterpreted based on the analysis of the original excavation, epigraphic and numismatic reports. As will be garnered from this study, no conclusive dates can be applied to any of the buildings and many of the theories concerning Roman Ancyra are revealed to be doubtful. Questions still persevere, but the information within this text reflects Roman Ancyra's complex and unresolved nature. Since no clear empirical archaeological evidence exists to prove Ancyra's chronology, the controversy concerning the so-called Temple of "Augustus and Roma" continues, and it remains unknown if the Temple is Roman, Hellenistic or Galatian. It is not only this monument that inspires speculation and debate, but all of Roman Ancyra's standing and reported structures. Little known and abandoned, the Roman Theater bears the speculative date of 128 AD, yet no documentation available can divulge an actual time of construction. While characteristically Roman in appearance, its unusual *parodoi* and hillside location could motivate future scholarship to argue for a Hellenistic, Early Imperial or Hadrianic date. An andesite road commonly assumed to have been decorated with an architrave was found to be not so. Its architrave really belongs to the palaestra of the Bath, which in form was originally thought to be a market, and which produced a bronze bust of the Emperor Trajan. The name on the architrave also indicates that the Roman Bath might not have been built by the accepted benefactor at the accepted Caracallan date. Nor can it be confidently asserted that this Bath is symmetrical. It may have been left unfinished or so seriously altered that the original intention of the builder is lost. These facts, in addition to inscriptions and coins, allow for a more cohesive, if imperfectly understood, image of Ancyra to emerge. Even if the present end result is that Roman Ancyra, inclusive of the urban design and context, is simply not known, the research presented here attempts to aid in a necessary reconstruction.

ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasında, özgün kazı raporlarının, epigrafik ve nümizmatik bulguların incelenmesine dayalı olarak, Ancyra'nın Roma dönemi anıtları hakkında varılan kabul edilmiş sonuçlar yeniden değerlendirilmektedir. Bu çalışmadan (incelemeden) de anlaşılacağı gibi, bu dönem yapılarının hiç biri kesin olarak tarihlendirilememektedir, ayrıca Ancyra ile ilgilisovların çoğu da kuşkuludur. Sorular hala geçerlidir, ama bu metindeki bilgiler Roma Ancyra'sının karmaşık ve çözümlenmemiş özelliğini yansıtmaktadır. Ancyra'nın kronolojisini kanıtlayacak kesin, ampirik ve arkeolojik kanıt bulunmadığından "Agoustus ve Roma" tapınağı konusundaki tartışmalar devam etmektedir. Bu tapınağın Romamı, Hellenistikmi yoksa Galatlar döneminemi ait olduğu bilinmemektedir.Yalnızca bu yapı değil Ancyra'nın günümüze kalmış ve belgelenmiş tüm anıtları tartışmaya açıktır. Çok az bilinen ve terkedilmiş Roma tiyatrosu tartışmalı biçimde İs.128'etarihlendirilsede esas yapıım tarihini kanıtlayacak hiçbir belge bulunmamaktadır. Yapı karakteristik bir Roma tiyatrosu gibi gözükse de, sıra dışı paradosları ve yamaca Yaslanmış olması Hellenistik erken İmparatorluk ve hatta Hadrian dönemine işaret ediyor olabilir.Arşitrovla süslenmiş bir andesit yol savının yanlışı olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bulunan bu arşitrov aslında hamamın palestrosuna aittir. İmparator Trojan'ın bronz büstünün bulunduğu bu alanın bir pazar yeri olduğu düşünülüyordu . Arşitravin üzerindeki isim Roma hamamının şimdiye dek kabul edildiği gibi Caracalla döneminde yapılmış olamayacağını göstermektedir.Hamamın simetrik olduğuda kesin değildir. Yarım bırakılmış esas tasarımı veya ona tanınmaz hale getirecek biçimde değişikliğe uğrama olabilir. Tüm bunlar yazıt ve sikkelerle birleşince daha bütünsel bir Ancyra imgesi ortaya çıkmaktadır. Burada varılan sonuç Roma dönemi Ancyra'sının kentsel tasarım ve bağlamının bilinmiyor olması ise de bu çalışma gelecekte yapılacak bir rökanstrüksiyona katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasında, özgün kazı raporlarının, epigrafik ve nümizmatik bulguların incelenmesine dayalı olarak, Ancyra'nın Roma dönemi anıtları hakkında varılan kabul edilmiş sonuçlar yeniden değerlendirilmektedir. Bu çalışmadan (incelemeden) de anlaşılacağı gibi, bu dönem yapılarının hiç biri kesin olarak tarihlendirilememektedir, ayrıca Ancyra ile ilgilisovların çoğu da kuşkuludur. Sorular hala geçerlidir, ama bu metindeki bilgiler Roma Ancyra'sının karmaşık ve çözümlenmemiş özelliğini yansıtmaktadır. Ancyra'nın kronolojisini kanıtlayacak kesin, ampirik ve arkeolojik kanıt bulunmadığından "Agoustus ve Roma" tapınağı konusundaki tartışmalar devam etmektedir. Bu tapınağın Romalı, Hellenistikmi yoksa Galatlar döneminemi ait olduğu bilinmemektedir. Yalnızca bu yapı değil Ancyra'nın günümüze kalmış ve belgelenmiş tüm anıtları tartışmaya açıktır. Çok az bilinen ve terkedilmiş Roma tiyatrosu tartışmalı biçimde İs.128'te tarihlendirilsede esas yapıım tarihini kanıtlayacak hiçbir belge bulunmamaktadır. Yapı karakteristik bir Roma tiyatrosu gibi gözükse de, sıra dışı paradoslari ve yamaca yaslanmış olması Hellenistik erken İmparatorluk ve hatta Hadrian dönemine işaret ediyor olabilir. Arşitrovla süslenmiş bir andesit yol savının yanlışı olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bulunan bu arşitrov aslında hamamın palestrosuna aittir. İmparator Trojan'ın bronz büstünün bulunduğu bu alanın bir pazar yeri olduğu düşünülüyordu . Arşitravin üzerindeki isim Roma hamamının şimdiye dek kabul edildiği gibi Caracalla döneminde yapılmış olamayacağını göstermektedir. Hamamın simetrik olduğuda kesin değildir. Yarım bırakılmış esas tasarımı veya ona tanınmaz hale getirecek biçimde değişikliğe uğrama olabilir. Tüm bunlar yazıt ve sikkelerle birleşince daha bütünsel bir Ancyra imgesi ortaya çıkmaktadır. Burada varılan sonuç Roma dönemi Ancyra'sının kentsel tasarım ve bağlamının bilinmiyor olması ise de bu çalışma gelecekte yapılacak bir rökanstrüksiyona katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

CONTENTS

	List of Figures	i
	List of Plates	ii
	List of Abbreviations	iv
	Acknowledgments	v
	Introduction	1
Chapter I	The History of Galatia	4
Chapter II	The History of Ancyra	15
Chapter III	The Temple of "Augustus and Roma"	23
Chapter IV	The Roman Theater	36
Chapter V	The Roman Bath	46
Chapter VI	Buildings Known Through Excavation	59
Chapter VII	Buildings Known From Other Evidence	74
Chapter VIII	Buildings Known Through Inscriptions and Descriptions	79
Chapter IX	Conclusion	94
Appendix I	Inscriptions Quoted Within the Text	99
Appendix II	Discussion of the 1944 Finance Profession School Excavation	112
	Bibliography	115

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Ankara City Plan (Courtesy Altındağ Belediyesi)
2. 1955 Ankara City Plan (from Akok 1955)
3. Reconstruction of the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and 1936)
4. The Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
5. The 1928 Excavation Plan of the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
6. The Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi (from Akurgal 1970)
7. The 1928 Excavation Plan of the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" - Detail (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
8. The Roman Theater (after Bayburtluođlu 1986)
9. Possible Appearance of the Roman Theater
10. The Roman Bath: Basement Level (from Akok 1968)
11. The Roman Bath: Entrance Level (from Akok 1955)
12. The Roman Bath: Palaestra Corner Reconstruction (from Akok 1968)
13. Finance and Profession School 1944 Excavation Plan and Reconstruction (from Akok 1955)
14. The Roman Bath: restored plan (from Yegül 1992)
15. 1955 Çankırıkapı Excavation Plan (from Akok 1955)
16. 1931 Çankırıkapı Excavation Plan (from Dalman 1932)
17. The 1937 Citadel Excavations (from Arik 1937)

LIST OF PLATES

1. Ancyran Coins with Temple Design (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
2. Ancyran Coins with Temple Design (from Arslan 1991)
3. The RES GESTAE inscription on the Temple of "Augustus and Roma", Latin and Greek texts (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
4. Primary Imperial Priest List from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
5. Opisthodomos Ornamentation from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
6. Cella Ornamentation from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
7. Cella Ornamentation from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
8. Door Frame and Lintel Decoration from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma" (from Krencker and Schede 1936)
9. Ancyran Coins with the god Men (from Arslan 1991)
10. a) Eastern Parodos of the Roman Theater
b) Eastern Parodos of the Roman Theater
11. a) Western Parodos of the Roman Theater
b) Scaena and Proscenium of the Roman Theater
12. 1931 Roman Road with Stylobate
13. Roman Architrave from the Palaestra
14. 1947 Excavations, Heated Room Complex (from Akok 1955)
15. Ulus Road
16. North Citadel Wall showing Spolia

17. a) Latin Tombstone incorporated into Citadel Wall
b) Citadel Wall with Ionic Capital and other spolia - as preserved in 1998
18. Citadel Wall with Ionic Capital and other spoila (from Arik1937)
19. a) North East Citadel Wall with reused spoila
b) Kale Kapisi Sokak Wall with reused Statues
20. a) Kale Kapisi Sokak Wall with reused spoila
b) Kale Kapisi Sokak Wall with Latin Building Inscription
21. Allaedin Camii showing Re-used ?Roman Columns
22. a) Ionic Capital reused in Allaedin Camii
b) Allaedin Camii Garden with architectural, etc., spolia
23. Arslanhane Camii, with re-used ?Roman Column
24. Arslanhane Camii, showing reused architectural spolia
25. Latin Honorific Inscription reused near Saat Kapisi
26. Ancyran Coins with Gods and Goddesses (after Arslan 1991)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archaischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AMMY</i>	<i>Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>Belleten</i>	<i>Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten</i>
<i>Bosch Geschichte</i>	<i>Bosch, E. Quelle Zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara in Altertum. Ankara: 1967</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenistic Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Kallet-Marx Hegemony</i>	<i>Kallet-Marx, R. Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 BC. Berkeley: 1995.</i>
<i>Mitchell Anatolia</i>	<i>Mitchell, S. Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor. Oxford: 1993.</i>
<i>Mitchell AS</i>	<i>Mitchell, S. "R.E.C.A.M." AS 27 (1977):61-101.</i>
<i>Mitchell Chiron</i>	<i>Mitchell, S. "Galatia Under Tiberius" Chiron 16 (1986): 17-33.</i>
<i>Mitchell and French Ankara</i>	<i>Mitchell, S. and French, D.H. "Archaeology and History." Ankara 50. Ankara:1973, 44-90.</i>
<i>Mitchell and McParlin ANKBUILD</i>	<i>S.Mitchell and P. McParlin. ANKBUILD CH. I. Ankara: 1995</i>
<i>T.A.D.</i>	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
<i>T.T.A. ve Etnografya Dergisi</i>	<i>Türk Tarih Arkeoloji ve Ethnografya Dergisi</i>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My teacher told me the Romans built this place
They built a wall and a Temple, an edge of the Empire provincial town
They lived and they died, they prayed to their gods
But the stone gods did not make a sound
And their Empire crumbled till all that was left
were the stones the workmen found.
(after Sting)

I never touched a stone, unless it was inadvertently. Caught in the quagmire of urban archaeology, I was only able to walk on the roads, crawl up the walls of the Temple, wade through the Theater and look through the fence of the Bath. Most of my work consisted of treading through the rain and mud, reading reports and imagining what Roman Ancyra once was. In my quest, which surprisingly revealed a great deal more than expected, I was never alone in the enthusiasm that Ancyra generated. Simultaneously frustrating and fascinating, Roman Ancyra became a hydra with which to wrestle and I could not have done it, even just the monuments, without a strong phalanx of academic and friendly warriors.

I am grateful to my thesis advisor, Dr Julian Bennett, for merging my love of Anatolian and Roman archaeology into a challenging subject that has not previously been sufficiently collated or examined. Of course, I am thankful for his presence, encouragement and knowledge in every moment of panic. Much appreciation goes to my board of Dr. Jean Öztürk and Dr. Jacques Morin, for helping clarify my ancient Greek; to Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates, my teacher at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, who suggested I come to Turkey to study; to Dr. Ilknur Özgen for all of her help; Dr. Jennifer Tobin for her support and keen interest; to Dr. Barbara Helwing for obtaining important and rare material for study; to Dr. Ender Varinlioğlu for his time

and information; to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the staff at the Anatolian Civilizations Museum; the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara; the Department of Archaeology and History of Art at Bilkent University; Altindag Belediyesi; the residents of the citadel who let me in their yards for photographic purposes; and all the translators, professional and amateur, for checking and improving my Turkish. Along this difficult road, all those listed made the trek easier.

However, I must dedicate this work to two people. First, my mother, who said I could be anything I wanted, even an archaeologist and who suffered through every aspect of this creation via long distance telephone calls. But most of all, I dedicate my thesis to my husband, who carried my bags and camera through the rain, photocopied the gods and stood strongly beside me, especially when the work threatened to overtake any sense of normalcy. I am indebted to his incredible patience and understanding.

Introduction

As the capital of the Roman province of Galatia, Ancyra surely was a flourishing urban center with a wealth of buildings, inhabitants and businesses. Unfortunately, most of Roman Ancyra is lost under the modern city, although numerous historical, epigraphic and numismatic sources, in addition to the physical evidence still to be seen on the ground, attest to the importance of the city. However, Ancyra in the Roman Imperial Period, defined here as the period from the reign of Augustus to Diocletian, is effectively a neglected historical footnote, due to the lack of a synthesis and detailed analysis of the available evidence. The primary purpose of this study is to resolve Ancyra's omission from the historical record, by collating the scattered information pertaining to the monuments and presenting it in a cohesive discussion as a counterpart to Clive Foss' Byzantine study of Ancyra. To create an introduction to Foss about the Roman period will help the history of Ancyra to be better understood.

By pulling together the evidence to see what Ancyra was like in the Roman Era, archaeologically sensitive areas, previously ignored or forgotten, have come to light and new interpretations may be proposed. As this study is a historic archaeological interpretation of the available data, the original reports and records were used¹. While this approach illuminated overlooked aspects of monuments standing and buried, the lack of plans for many of the structures have made an accurate comprehension of their individual roles within the city and an overall urban reconstruction impossible. However, Figure 1 gives a visual representation of the area that Ancyra encompassed, a figure that would have been impossible to calculate if the original sources, at times inordinantly frustrating, had not been utilized. This map also gives an image of the topography of the

¹ I have relied on the original reports, since I would have had problems obtaining individual permits for every object to be studied. Also, I have tried to locate and talk with as many of the excavators and museum officials as possible.

region and helps to cast doubt on Ancyra's supposed Roman building program that involved organized complexes and the presence of a hippodrome and an amphitheater. Classical edifices discovered during the creation of the capital of the new Turkish Republic in 1923 to 1940 may finally be recognized as comprising Ancyra's Roman period, as illustrated in Figure 2, which shows a detail of the area around Çankırıkapı. Unfortunately, not all the marked spots are explained, leading to the supposition that more monuments could have existed, perhaps divulging the early era of Ancyra. In present day Ankara, public work projects keep revealing her Roman past. It was necessary to pick a stopping point for this analysis, since the information would have become impossible to adequately cover. This work will hopefully provide the motivation for future scholarly endeavors and the base to which essential additions can be made as the archaeological and historical record presents itself.

The other aim of this paper is to examine many of the accepted notions regarding Roman Anyra. Many scholarly statements exist about the nature and purpose of Ancyra, and these statements taken as a whole are difficult to follow. This analysis of the monuments reveals that the conclusions regarding Ancyra are often logical, but oversimplified and unsupported. Also, by studying the history of the province and the city, in relation to the reported monuments, alternative views may change the preconception that Ancyra was nothing before her Roman period and that the Galatian inhabitants were uncivilized tribal people. The original reports often write of Ancyra's Phrygian period, a period that appears to have been more substantial than previously thought. With that reasoning, Galatian Ancyra may have been more consequential, affecting the Roman occupation and explaining why Ancyra was chosen as the province's capital. In turn, this choice can alter the manner in which Ancyra's monuments are seen. Ancyra appears to have been a large important city that has received a fair share of academic interest in the form of dispersed references, but has

yet to be the main focus of a single scholarly paper. While many questions remain unanswered and speculations abound, for much of Ancyra and her dating scheme is simply not known, this study hopes to give the city and her monuments a deserved reinterpretation.

I

The History of Galatia

The history of Galatia, in which Ancyra played a major, if not an always clear, role, is fraught with wars, rivalries, kingdom successions and hegemony. In order to understand the nature of Ancyra, its disputes, conclusions and remains, a history of Galatia is necessary. The following summary will also attempt to shed light on the nature of the relationship that developed between the Galatians and the Roman Empire, as this relationship has often been interpreted as little more than "subject/ruler". This very interpretation affects the manner in which Ancyra is approached as a city and a capital.

The name of the province itself evolves from the inhabitants, the Galatians, who came to Anatolia in 278 BC, their arrival instilling fear into the pre-existing Hellenistic cities¹. Considered to be a hostile nomadic people, living in fortified strongholds rather than urban dwellings, the Galatians waged campaigns of terror on the other inhabitants, finally dividing the territory among the three major tribes, the Tolostobogii, the Trocmi and the Tectosages, who received the inland districts of Asia Minor. Ancient writers have also suggested that the cities of Asia Minor were forced to pay tribute to the Galatians².

In 275 BC, Antiochus I fought against the Galatians, driving them from the West into the Central Plateau that separated the Hellenistic Kingdoms of Asia from the Oriental dynasties of Cappadocia and Pontus. However, the ancient sources offer contradictory statements about the events. While Pausanias claims that the Galatians were confined to the central plateau, having been expelled from Asia, Livy reports that

¹ Mitchell *Anatolia*: 13-58 is the standard reference for the history of Galatia, summarized here with additions from Kallet-Marx *Hegemony*, Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 44-90, A. Erzen. *Ilkcağda Ankara*: (1946); I. Temizsoy "Ulus Kazısı 1995" *AMMY* 10 (1996): 7-36.

² Strabo 12.5.1

the Galatians, still a viable power, chose the area for themselves. Strabo and Polybius write that the land was a present from Pontus. From this vantage point, the Galatians could continue to impose *stipendium* on Tauric Asia³. An accepted conclusion is that this region must have been unimportant if the Galatians could settle there without any problems. Yet, problems were to continue. Tenacious as they were, the Galatians still raided and annoyed their Anatolian neighbors, the result being that from 230-220 BC Attalus I of Pergamum fought two wars against the Galatians, only temporarily curbing their power⁴. It would be unfair to assert that the Galatians did little more than attack people without provocation, although the popular modern conception of the Galatians is that they were a people whose own interest was the top priority. Loyalty and promises did not have a high value, only booty and rewards did. Also, due to the reputation of the Galatians as ferocious warriors, they were often asked to help the various dynasties wage war against each other in their disputes for land and succession rights, actions which imply that the Hellenistic kingdoms had ethical views similar to those of their "barbaric" colleagues.

Rome managed to stay aloof from the problems of Anatolia, letting the kings bicker among themselves, as long as the *imperium*, or power and dominion, of Rome was not forgotten. This policy lasted for many years, but the Romans were finally drawn into the affairs of Asia Minor during the reign of Antiochus III in the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC when L. Cornelius Scipio came with his legions as Rome's representative⁵. One year later, in 189 BC, the consul Gnaeus Manlius Vulso came to Anatolia, to settle the Seleucid problem, although ancient writers cast his campaign as purely economic in

³ Mitchell *Anatolia* : 19-21; Pausanias 1.4.5; Livy 38.16.13; Strabo 12.5.1; Polybius 18.41.7

⁴ Livy 33.21.3; Strabo 13.4.2. Strabo claims that "in one single battle, he conquered the Gauls."

⁵ Mitchell *Anatolia* : 23; Kallet-Marx *Hegemony* : 227-228.

nature: he was searching for spoils for himself and his troops⁶. Vulso found himself at Pessinus where, according to Livy, he met with a chieftain of the Tolistobogii tribe⁷. Two days from Ancyra, at Mount Olympus, which remains an unidentified site, Vulso met the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii in battle, whereupon the Galatians were soundly defeated. It is interesting to note that preceding the battle, Livy credits Vulso with giving a rousing speech to his troops, in which he distinctly referred to the Galatians as Graeco-Gauls, hinting that the exposure of the Galatians to the different cultures had changed their inherent nature, especially in consideration that these Galatians were two generations removed from the original settlers⁸. They had come under the decadent nature of the East, and therefore, would be easy to defeat. The Romans subsequently proved this in the battle of Mount Olympus⁹. As this may very well be a *topos*, it cannot be certain if this literary account, which dates to the time of Livy rather than Vulso, is definitely true.

Livy's account then has Vulso moving to the city of Ancyra, from where he fully intended to plan his war against the Tectosages. A representative came to Ancyra to speak with Vulso, but Livy also claims that this was a stalling tactic, and the Tectosages were actually moving their families and possessions across the river Halys, while plotting against the Romans. This plan did not work and the Tectosages were defeated ten Roman miles from Ancyra, at the site of Mount Magaba¹⁰. In the Treaty of Apamea of 188 BC, Vulso left the responsibility of containing the Galatians with Pergamum, now under the rule of Eumenes II, whom Rome did not trust completely, but Rome did not want the full burden of directly controlling Anatolia, especially the Galatians; any future problems

⁶Livy 38.16; For a different interpretation of Vulso's campaign, see J. Grainger "The Campaign of Gnaeus Manlius Vulso in Asia Minor." *AS* 45 (1995): 23-42.

⁷ Livy 38. 18

⁸ Livy 38.17

⁹ Livy 38. 23

¹⁰ Livy 38. 24; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 24.

were Pergamum's¹¹. Besides the resounding defeat and the removal of the spoils, the Galatians were left to their own territory, without further punishment.

With the treaty, the *imperium* of Rome could be diffused from Pergamum to Galatia. While technically not under the rule of Pergamum, but within its sphere of influence, Galatia, as Mitchell notes, increased in its "level of sophistication among the second century BC aristocracy", epitomized by the Tolistobogii chieftain Ortiagon and his wife Chlomara¹². This may have been the more subtle intention of the Treaty of Apamea, to "civilize" the Galatians, and thus, hopefully, to reduce their antagonistic ploys.

And yet, Anatolia was far from a peaceful land. Galatian chieftain loyalty was divided and when Eumenes II was fighting with Pharnaces of Pontus between 183-179 BC, the Galatians mounted an uprising under the leadership of Ortiagon, which had Eumenes sending his brother Attalus II to Rome for help¹³. The Romans were highly reluctant to intervene, yet they managed to send a mediator, P. Licinius, to tell everyone to behave, but he failed to reach an agreement with the Galatian chieftains¹⁴. It was also at this time that Prusias II of Bithynia went to Rome to complain about territory occupied by the Galatians. The Romans refused to interfere and left the land with the Galatians. On his own, Eumenes had to fight the Galatians, whom he defeated in Phrygia¹⁵. In what was becoming an accepted practice, the Galatians sent an envoy to Rome for aid in their harsh treatment by Eumenes, but once again, Rome did nothing other than to tell the Galatians to remain in their territory¹⁶. No punishment or displeasure was voiced about

¹¹ Livy 38.38.6; Polybius 25.2.4; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 24.

¹² Mitchell *Anatolia* : 24.

¹³ F.A Wallbank. *Historical Commentary on Polybius II: Books VII-VXIII*. (1967): 151.

¹⁴ Polybius 30.3.8

¹⁵ Livy 45.34.10

¹⁶ Mitchell *Anatolia*: 25-26.

their revolt against Eumenes. By the very act of appealing to Rome, the Galatians were acknowledging the power of Rome, which was exactly what Rome desired. Even though Rome hardly reacted, the Galatians understood from where future help, if needed, could be procured.

Rome wanted to maintain the Treaty of 188 BC, although their distrust of Eumenes was growing, as they suspected him of imperialist tendencies, of wanting to extend control, not just responsibility, over Galatia through war or diplomacy. Attalus II came to power in 158 BC, but wisely, he was warned that if he wanted to maintain friendly ties with Rome, he should not try to seize Galatia. Rather, he chose to subtly increase his influence by acting through the Temple of the Mother Goddess at Pessinus, which may have been financed through Pergamene funds. Since Pessinus was in the area of the Tectosages, the symbiotic cultural relationship between Galatia and Pergamum had a strong and early beginning. This subtle relationship worked well, as mixed marriages occurred between elite Pergamenians and Galatians, broadening the Hellenic scope, and the Galatian government developed into a tetrarch system¹⁷.

In 133 BC, Attalus II died, willing the Attalid kingdom to Rome. Rome was now unable to extricate herself from the affairs of the area, as the kingdom was made a province, part of an Empire that would wield a great influence upon the neighboring areas. The rise of Mithridates VI of Pontus, who was extending control over Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Galatia, would also have enormous repercussions for Anatolia. In 108/107 BC he and Nicomedes III of Bithynia invaded and partitioned Paphlagonia¹⁸. Rome's response was to send envoys to demand the return of the area, but

¹⁷ Mitchell *Anatolia* : 27-41.

¹⁸ For a full discussion on the relationship between Rome and Mithridates, as well as the changing relationship between Anatolia and Rome, see Part 3 of Kallet-Marx *Hegemony*.

Mithridates in direct defiance, not only failed to return his section, but proceeded to occupy all of Galatia as well. Rome said and did nothing. Later, he and Nicomedes were quarreling again in the domain of Cappadocia, a disagreement that elicited no response from Rome. However, Mithridates sent an embassy to Rome in 103 BC, probably to plead his rights to Cappadocia. One year later, a priest of the Great Mother in Pessinus came to Rome, complaining of the "pollution" of the temple and to predict a Roman victory should Rome actually decide to do anything. Kallet-Marx strongly believes that the embassy was not on a mission to discuss Mithridates' presence in Galatia¹⁹. In 102 BC, Gaius Marius, the Roman commander who defeated the Germans, went to Pessinus and Galatia, where he met with the Pontic king, but his intentions remain elusive.

The next stage of the rivalry brought Rome even further into the affair, in which both Nicomedes and Mithridates produced rightful heirs to the Cappadocian throne. Rome promptly informed both kings that the lines of inheritance were defunct and that Cappadocia was free. The Cappadocians, at the request of the Senate, chose Ariobarzanes as their king. After this appointment, Rome suddenly took an active interest in the area, and Sulla accompanied the king to Cappadocia and installed him on the throne. Mithridates obeyed the command and retreated²⁰. This Roman reversal may be viewed as a means to check the gains and ambition of Mithridates, who was now beginning to hold the attention of the Senate. Rome now desired a public acknowledgment of her *imperium* from the precocious king.

Naively thinking that the matter was settled, Rome left Anatolia the way it was. Through familial ties, Mithridates managed to usurp the kingdoms of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Rome once again sent envoys demanding that the proper

¹⁹ Kallet-Marx *Hegemony*: 245

²⁰ Kallet-Marx *Hegemony*: 247-250

kings be returned to power. The Galatians had been directly affected by Mithridates in 86 BC. Other than his occupation of their territory, he summoned the tetrarchs to Pergamum under the pretense of diplomacy, and ruthlessly massacred them²¹. Deiotarus, of the Tolistobogii, who would later become the King of Galatia and a true ally to Rome, escaped. With these murders, Mithridates actually secured Galatian allegiance to Rome for the rest of its history, rather than frightening the Galatians into passive compliance. In 85 BC, Rome sent Sulla to combat Mithridates, marking the beginning of the Mithridatic Wars²². The Galatians, siding with their new ally Rome, are thought to have helped the commanders Murena in Pontus, Servilius in South Anatolia, and Lucullus, who employed 30000 Galatian cavalry to move grain supplies to Tigranocerta.²³

In Sulla's arrangement, upon his only temporary Mithridatic resolution, Greek cities that had enjoyed freedom from direct Roman control and taxation since 129 BC were now brought into the Roman fold, and Sulla sought to reclaim the land that Mithridates had occupied for so long, including Galatia, which was returned to the dynasts. Kallet-Marx notes that the consequence of the First Mithridatic War was Roman rule in the East, an increased burden for Rome, whose *imperium* had been badly shaken by the actions of Mithridates²⁴. In order to restore it, Roman garrisons were imposed on Anatolia, surely altering the way of life of its residents.

In the reorganization by Pompey, who finally erased the threat of Mithridates, the Galatian services were well rewarded. This act was carried out in 63 BC and ratified in 59 BC. Galatia was assigned to the surviving tetrarchs, only two of whom are known,

²¹ Mitchell and French *Ankara* : 49; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 29-31

²² Kallet-Marx *Hegemony* : 250-260.

²³ Mitchell *Anatolia* : 31

²⁴ Kallet-Marx *Hegemony* : 258-290; Cic.Phil.11.33

Deiotarus and Brogitarus. Pompey gave Deiotarus control over distant lands in Asia Minor, along the Black Sea and Armenia Minor²⁵. Deiotarus also took the title king, ratified by the Senate in 59 BC. The rulers that Pompey installed had proved their military worth and their loyalty to Rome, and as a result they were to provide protection for the Roman areas²⁶. This idea was a continuation of letting the native population act for Rome, without Rome actually having to invest more funds, men and time in her remote areas. Deiotarus gradually assumed unchallenged authority, building sophisticated fortresses at Blucium and Peium, in the region of Ancyra, and establishing personal relationships between Galatia and Rome, in the form of friendships with Cicero, Cato and Brutus²⁷. He also had contacts with numerous Roman generals for whom he provided military aid in the form of cavalry or up to 12000 infantry, equipped in the Roman fashion. Part of this troop received Roman citizenship and was reconstituted as *legio XXII Deiotariana* after Galatia had been made a province²⁸. Cicero spent time with Deiotarus in Cappadocia, his children staying in Deiotarus' fort, and in 47 BC, Deiotarus housed Julius Caesar who was returning from Pontus. The Galatian aristocracy was now Hellenized, Deiotarus having statues erected to his honor in Athens in the 50s BC²⁹.

Another reorganization of the area happened under Antony who gave the central plateau from Paphlagonia to Taurus to the Mediterranean Coast of Side to Deiotarus and his secretary Amyntas³⁰. When Deiotarus died in 40 BC, Amyntas became the king of Galatia, retaining the land bequeathed by Antony, who also gave Phrygia, Pisidia,

²⁵ Strabo 12.3.1; 12.3.13

²⁶ Mitchell and French *Ankara: 50* claim that the Galatians were the military police and protection of Pontus, but this conclusion is still open for debate, depending on the interpretation of the sources and the terms of imperialism.

²⁷ For further information regarding the fortresses of Deiotarus, see S. Mitchell, "Blucium and Peium: The Galatian Forts of King Deiotarus." *AS 24* (1974).

²⁸ L. Keppie. *The Making of the Roman Army*. (1984): 212.

²⁹ Mitchell *Anatolia* : 31-37.

³⁰ Strabo, 12.6.4; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 38-41.

Paroreius, Antioch and Apollonia³¹. Antony's reorganizations displayed the prominence of Galatians in positions of responsibility, as virtually all of central Anatolia was under the rule of Galatians, illustrating the extent to which the Galatians meant their oath to Rome. It also demonstrates how much the Romans trusted that the Galatians understood the delicate power balance existing between Rome and the rest of the known world.

In the battles between Octavian and Antony, Amyntas originally sided with Antony, probably due to loyalty bought by the bestowment of territory, but Amyntas deserted Antony and sided with Octavian at the decisive Battle of Actium in 31 BC. Afterwards, Amyntas kept the land granted by Antony, in addition to Lycaonia, Pamphylia and Cleopatra's territory in Cilicia³².

With Amyntas' unexpected death in 25 BC during a campaign against the Homonadeis, Augustus proclaimed himself to be the trustee of Amyntas' will, as his son Pylaemenes was too young to rule. Augustus received all of Amyntas' property, inclusive of private estates, grazing grounds in Lycaonia, the land of Men Ascaenus in Antioch, land in Taurus, slaves and 300 herds of sheep, in addition to all estates of gods and goddesses of Galatia³³. The Roman practice was to facilitate the organization and administration of a new province by making cities out of existing towns³⁴. For Galatia, this would have taken the form of the *koinon*, the community of Galatian tribes. The *koinon* provided a central meeting place for the spokesmen of all three tribes, organized on the basis of the imperial cult, according to Ramsay³⁵. This seems to imply that Augustus devised the concept, but it was probably a remodeling of a pre-existing

³¹ Strabo 12.3.41; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 39.

³² Dio 50.13; 51. 2; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 40.

³³ Broughton 1938: 650.

³⁴ B. Levick. *Roman Colonies in Southern Asian Minor*. 1967: 57. F. Millar. *The Roman Near East*. 1993: 419-425.

³⁵ Ramsay 1922: 175-177.

institution. The *koinon* was composed of society's elite, in this manner incorporating the aristocracy into the imperial system³⁶.

The date of 25 BC is given to be the beginning of the province's era³⁷. Broughton suggests that Galatia became part of the Empire in 25 BC as an Augustan policy, but it did not officially become administered until 20 BC. Dio writes that Augustus came to the East, visiting Bithynia and Cyzicus in 20 BC³⁸. Ancyra is not mentioned, though it may be assumed that he came to the city, enforcing a city era beginning in the same year. Mitchell assesses the start of the province to be in the years 22/21 BC, as it would have taken time to address the issue of a new province. Since Ancyra's city foundation evidence is not independently dated, Mitchell uses coins from Tavium issued between 198 and 196 BC. These coins carry an era date of 218 BC, indicating a foundation date between 22 and 20 BC. He also looks at coins from the time of Tiberius, minted in the forty-third and fiftieth years of the city. By subtracting forty-three and fifty years from the reign of Tiberius, AD 14 to 37, Mitchell arrives at a 29 to 13 BC foundation date for Pessinus. He feels that the three major cities of Ancyra, Pessinus and Tavium were all founded simultaneously and therefore, the evidence from one city can help in dating a similar synchronically organized city³⁹. The territory was arranged, yet again, according to tribal lands, and to give Ancyra the largest *territorium*, as it would become the capital. It is at this point that Ancyra enters the stage of history as a key player, even though her name has appeared throughout the pages of ancient writers and ancient events.

³⁶ B. Levick. "Urbanization in the Eastern Empire." in J. Wachter, *The Roman World I*. London: 1987, 339.

³⁷ Dio 53. 26; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 41.

³⁸ Dio 54.7

³⁹ T.R.S. Broughton "Roman Asia" in T. Frank. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. III. (1938): 580; Mitchell *Anatolia* : 86-88.

II

The History of Ancyra

Ancyra's historical character and purpose remains elusive since her true nature prior to Roman occupation cannot be sufficiently defined. It is a generally accepted conclusion that Ancyra was never a real urban center nor a Hellenistic city, but a small market town dwarfed in importance by Gordion and Pessinus, and that refinement and civilization only came to the area upon the annexation by Rome, when "cities were built where they never had been before".¹ If this is the case, why is Ancyra often referred to by ancient writers? It would be assuming too much to state that Ancyra provided a convenient and well-known geographical reference point, since this would suggest an incredible knowledge of Anatolia on the readers' part. The second question is whether the Romans would randomly establish an Eastern provincial capital without any previous urbanization.

Ancyra first enters the historical record in 333 BC, the year in which Alexander the Great, as recorded by Arrian, set off towards Ancyra on his passage across Anatolia. Here he was met by a group of Paphlagonians who begged him not to enter their territory by force². If Alexander stopped here, some sort of urban context must have existed, an entity which predated the Galatian arrival.

Apollonius of Aphrodisias wrote that Ancyra was built by the Tectosages³. This story would coincide with the assertion that the Galatians helped to fight the Ptolemaic naval force, reinforced by Stephanus Byzantius' account which has the Galatians taking

¹ Mitchell *Anatolia*: 81–86; Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 44, 76..

² Arrian *Anabasis* 2.4.1

³ Apollonius was unavailable and therefore I am citing Bosch *Geschichte*: 1-3 and Temizsoy 1996: 8.

the anchors of the enemies' ships as trophies of victory and naming Ancyra for these objects. Mitchell has dismissed this as mere myth, since in his view, Ancyra was not a Galatian capital⁴.

Pausanias claims that Ancyra was a Phrygian city, founded by Midas, the son of Gordios, who invented the anchor which was given to the city⁵. Pausanias' account is certainly supported by the abundance of Phrygian material that has come to light during excavations in Ancyra, including the identification of twenty Phrygian tumuli near Anit Kabir, the modern monument to Atatürk. Many Turkish archaeologists believe that the first settlement of Ancyra was Phrygian, predating the Galatian presence⁶. Ἄγκυρα means anchor in Greek, but the anchor should be seen as part of an aetiological myth that does not relate to the possible local origins of the name. The stem "Ank" may be derived from an Anatolian language, since the occurrence of various forms of the name are common in the Eastern Empire. Hittite documents mention an Ankuwash and an Ankuva, which may be tentatively identified as Alishar Höyük⁷. There is an Ankara in Macedonia, an Ankyraion at the Pontic entrance of the Bosphorus on the Asiatic side, and Ankore is the old name of Nikaia. These particular areas are on the Galatian route to Anatolia. In addition, there is an Ankyron near Bithynia, and an Ankara in Northern Italy, the region known as Cisalpine Gaul⁸. It is entirely possible that these names could be of Galatian derivation and that Ancyra could be a Galatian settlement. Arslan suggests

⁴ Bosch *Geschichte*: 1-3; Mitchell *Anatolia* 1993: 20.

⁵ Pausanias 1.4.5

⁶ See N. Doulnay. "Turk Tarih Kurumu Adına Yapılan Çankırıkapı Hafriyet" *Belleten* 5 (1941): 263. E. Akurgal. *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* 1970: 83; Temizsoy 1996: 8-9 for the tumuli.

⁷ Dr. Norbert Karg informs me that there is no reason to believe that Ancyra or Ankuva is of Hittite derivation.

⁸ G. Wissowa. *Paulys Real Encyclopadie Der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Band I, 2*. 1990: 2219-2223.

that “Ank” means bent arm, the term corresponding to the crescent moon that rests on the shoulders of the god Men, producing the effect of a crooked appendage⁹.

Temizsoy speculates, after Akok, Arik and Dolunay, that Ancyra was a Phrygian station, built sometime in the eighth century BC, and that the inhabitants were subject to Lydian and Persian rule, the city finally possessed by the Galatians¹⁰. The widespread Phrygian material found during the excavations of the Temple, the Theater, all the Bath structures, and the roads attest to a large settlement that may roughly correspond in area to the Roman city. This material takes the form of pottery, horse figurines, and other objects, rather than architectural remnants. However, the abundant ceramic fragments may illustrate the possibility that Ancyra could have been a place of Phrygian-Galatian occupation. The tumuli suggest the development of a ruling elite in the Phrygian settlement, although this does not mean the settlement was urbanized in the manner of Gordion.

Strabo writes in Book XII that Ancyra was a “πηρουρος” or fortress, of the Tectosages but he also notes in Book IV, that the tribe of the Tectosages live about the “πολις”, or city, of Ancyra¹¹. Livy states that when Vulso came to Ancyra, it was a very famous city in these parts¹². According to Pliny, Ancyra was an *oppidum*, perhaps a fortified acropolis town, belonging to the Tectosages¹³. These ancient writers date to Augustus or later, indicating that these terms may be contemporary perceptions cast into

⁹ M. Arslan. "The Coinage of Ancyra in the Roman Period." in *Recent Turkish Coin Hoards and Numismatic Studies*. Lightfoot, C. (ed.) 1989: 3; For more information on pottery found decorated with the anchor design, see Temizsoy 1996: 17-18.

¹⁰ M. Akok "Ankara Şehir içinde rastlanan İlkçağ yerleşmesinden bazı izler ve üç araştırma yeri." *Belleter* 19 (1955): 310; R.O.Arik "Les Resultats des fouilles faites a Ankara par la societe d'histoire turque." in *La Turquie Kemaliste* 21/22 (1937): 37; Dolunay 1941: 263; Temizsoy 1996: 8.

¹¹ Strabo 12.5.2; 4.1.13.

¹² Livy 38. 24

¹³ Pliny *Natural History* 5.146.

earlier times. Akurgal claims that Ancyra was inhabited by the Tectosages by 25 BC¹⁴. Broughton thought that Ancyra was both a "neopolis" and a "fort", though he fails to concisely identify what a "neopolis" may be beyond a new city, while Ramsay felt that Ancyra developed slowly as a city through its entire history, due to strong lingering tribal feelings which reflected Galatia's unurbanized nature¹⁵. As Ancyra was within a tetrarchic kingdom, it was not a true "πολις" but perhaps the centre of a *sympolity*, in which Ancyra was the central meeting place or administrative headquarters for the separate Galatian groups. A *sympoliteia* denotes the merging of separate communities into a single "state" and a *synoecism* is the combination of several smaller communities to form a larger one¹⁶. The Galatian tetrarchic system may have been tribes ruled by separate kings, but the political, economic and social administrative decisions could have been made by the kings for the group as a whole, the tribes comprising one Galatian community. As noted by Hornblower and Spawforth, many states used a *synoecism* in conjunction with the *phylai* system to "start afresh", which would correspond not only to the original division of Galatia into a tetrarchic government, but also to the beginning of the Roman era¹⁷.

Mitchell and French write that the foundation of Ancyra as a *πολις*, an autonomous urban city with its own legal responsibilities and territory, was based on the Greek model with the construction of certain essential buildings like a *bouleuterion*, gymnasium and an odeion. The creation of new political bodies such as a council of oligarchs, a popular assembly and various magistrates would also have been completed¹⁸. Yet, Ramsay simply states that Ancyra was made the Roman provincial capital because it

¹⁴ Akurgal 1970: 283.

¹⁵ Broughton 1938: 699-701; W. M. Ramsay. "Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia." *JRS* 12 (1922): 156.

¹⁶ Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: 1996; 1460-1461; 1463.

¹⁷ Hornblower and Spawforth 1996: 1178.

¹⁸ Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 65.

was Amyntas' capital and Augustus wanted to alter things as little as possible¹⁹. Can it then be assumed that something was present in pre-Roman Ancyra, and that in order to facilitate the establishment of Ancyra as the provincial capital, the Romans chose the site for its strategic location or prior urbanization ?

While Galatia was organized into a *koinon*, Ancyra was divided into a *phylai* system, in which each region of the city was inhabited by a specific group²⁰. Originally starting with only four *phylai* under Augustus, the city's development is illustrated by the presence of twelve *phylai* by the end of the reign of Hadrian, 138 AD. Following is a list of the *phylai* names and the date of their creation as proposed by Mitchell²¹:

I Maruragene	25 BC - 14 AD
II Pacalene	25 BC - 14 AD
III Menorizeiton	25 BC - 14 AD
IV Hiermene	25 BC - 14 AD
V Dios Trapezon	41 AD - 54 AD
VI Sebaste	41 AD - 54 AD
VII -mene	41 AD - 54 AD
VIII Claudia Athenaea	41 AD - 54 AD
IX Hiera Boulaea	96 AD - 98 AD
X Nerva	96 AD - 98 AD
XI Nea Olympias	117 AD - 138 AD
XII Dios Taenon	117 AD - 138 AD

If the *phylai* system, as with the *koinon*, was a pre-existing entity, then Ancyra may have been a recognized center for the communities before Augustus, which made the administering of the capital easier. Such an organization would be fitting for a

¹⁹ Ramsay 1922: 149.

²⁰ *Phylai* is the Greek term corresponding to the Latin *tribus*, or tribe. *Phylai* will be used throughout the paper to avoid confusion with the traditional Galatian tribal system.

²¹ S. Mitchell. "R.E.C.A.M" *AS* 27 (1977): 80-81. Bosch *Geschichte*: 141-147 no. 117; 155-165 no. 128.

sympolity. The first four *phylai* appear to take their names from indigenous traditions and they may be evidence for the pre-Roman tetrarchic division. The fact that most of the honorific inscriptions in Ancyra were set up by the *phylai*, not the *boule*, suggests that the *phylai* system was not only a possible geographic division, but also a strong political element aimed at equality in status and size. This may be reminiscent of the *sympolity*, with the *phylai* as small civic communities that make up the city of Ancyra.

Many inconsistencies exist in the arguments for and against Ancyra's settlement history. Earlier, the relationships between the Galatians, the Phrygians, the Greeks, and the Romans was explored to prove that an exchange of cultural ideas and practices occurred, and even if the Galatians held on to their own traditions, they were obviously exposed to other customs, as well as expectations from foreign powers. In order to participate fully in the events that shaped Anatolia, the Galatians had to modify their own behavior. To what extent and how deep the Romanization and Hellenization penetrated cannot be confidently asserted. It would be doubtful that the Galatians, especially Deiotarus and Amyntas, were not influenced in some capacity by the close ties maintained with the Roman Empire. The Galatians certainly had the potential, the resources and the model to develop into a political urban force.

Ancyra developed into a flourishing city, its economic prosperity continuing into the Byzantine era²². What survives today in the form of three standing structures and four sections of road, does not accurately reflect what once was. As a full Graeco-Roman city, Ancyra certainly must have had a theater, markets, baths, temples, roads, a water system and government buildings. It is generally thought that Ancyra had a *bouleuterion*. While

²² K.O. Dalman. "1931 De Ankarada Meydana Çıkarılan Asarı Atika." *T.T.A. ve Etnografya Dergisi* I (1932): 125; Erzen 1946: 101; Mitchell and French *Ankara* 1973: 69; Temizsoy 1996: 9; Bayburtluoğlu. "Ankara Antik Tiytrosu" *AMMYI* (1986): 16. For Ancyra in the Byzantine Period, see C. Foss. "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara." *DOP* 31(1977).

this is certainly a normal assumption, the inscriptions do not provide sufficient evidence to support this. Only one inscription names the *boule*, the *demos* and the *ecclesia*. The remaining honorific inscriptions mention the *phylai*. It is entirely possible that the traditional government institutions of Ancyra were weak and that a *bouleuterion* did not exist.

The city reached the apex of its prosperity during the second century AD, under the impulse of the Flavian road program, modified by Trajan and Hadrian. This ancient road system corresponds to the modern roads that lead out of Ankara, in all directions. The roads, constantly repaved and improved, increased military and commercial traffic which strongly benefited the economy. Not only did the roads serve this function, they also allowed "the culture of Rome and Greece to come to Ancyra, so that she could be brought into the mainstream of Hellenized culture", as if the residents had never had exposure prior to the Roman period²³. The economic stability of Ancyra can be exemplified by the provision of hospitality to Trajan's troops by C. Julius Severus²⁴. By the reign of Trajan, a considerable amount of wealth, as well as the desire to display it, had accumulated in Ancyra.

Ancyra was elevated to a *metropolis*, but the date of this transition remains unknown. No written sources can provide the answer, but the Ancyran coins indicate that it must have occurred sometime during the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. Mamboury wrote that during the reign of Nero, Ancyra received the title, but no numismatic evidence exists for this claim²⁵. The title *metropolis* is absent on coins minted prior to Pius. It cannot be stated if the coins from the time of Hadrian had

²³ Mitchell and French *Ankara* : 69.

²⁴ All inscriptions cited within the text have been grouped in Appendix I at the end of the paper. For these inscriptions see Appendix I nos. 1-2.

²⁵ E. Mamboury. *Ankara: Guide Touristique*. 1933: 61

metropolis written on them since none survive. Noting Hadrian's missing numismatic evidence, coins minted in Ancyra after Trajan all proudly advertise the change in civic status²⁶. However, the granting of the title *metropolis* is typical of Hadrian's trek through the Eastern Empire. Hadrian also visited Ancyra and granted privileges to the Dionysiac Stage Guild which existed in the city²⁷. Ancyra was probably a valid candidate for the *metropolis* honor since her affluence was considerable.

Ancyra was the victim of raids by the Goths in 260-272 AD, when the city walls were either built or repaired, depending on the interpretation of the inscriptions²⁸. During excavations, many substantial defensive walls have been discovered, including the Dense Wall (Yoğun Duvar) which crossed the classical bathing complex, a structure dated by coins to the reign of Emperor Caracalla. The Dense Wall has been dated by Mamboury and Erzen to the time of Caracalla as well, but it is highly improbable that Caracalla would have built a wall on top of a bath associated with himself²⁹. Mamboury and Erzen may have erroneously attributed the artefacts from the bath to the Dense Wall. Christianity, in the form of many sects, arrived and paganism persisted, and Ancyra experienced many changes throughout her history³⁰. Yet, in her Roman period, Ancyra was important indeed, receiving many titles, being a *metropolis* with a *sebasteion*, an open structure that housed the statues of the imperial house, and a *neokoros*, a city which had official permission for imperial worship³¹.

²⁶ Arslan 1991: 4-42.

²⁷ D. Magie. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. 1950: 617-618.

²⁸ Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 72.

²⁹ Mamboury 1933:71; Erzen 1946: 99.

³⁰ S. Mitchell addresses the religious nature of Ancyra in his article "The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra." *AS* 32 (1982): 93-113. Bosch *Geschichte*: 294 no. 230 for a Christian sect, the Montanists, the focus of Mitchell's article.

³¹ Erzen 1946: 101; Bosch *Geschichte*: 346 nos. 284-285; Temizsoy 1996: 9-10.

III

The Temple of "Augustus and Roma"

The most important and problematic monument of Roman Ancyra is the grand Temple usually associated with "Augustus and Roma", often referred to as the first vestige of Ancyra's new found urbanized importance (Figures 3 and 4)¹. Since its original excavation in the 1920's by Krencker and Schede, the date and history of this edifice has been a source of continual and unresolved debate. However, there is no clear empirical evidence for the date of this structure.

Located in Ulus, near Hükümet Caddesi, the sacred Hacı Bayram Camii was built on the adjoining territory of the temple, which has hindered a complete study of the building. Currently deteriorating at a rapid rate due to modern Ankara's profuse pollution, the temple is in danger of losing one of its most famous elements: a bilingual Greek and Latin copy of Augustus' RES GESTAE². It is this inscription and the accompanying Imperial priest list that have fueled the various theories concerning Ancyra's chronology and role in the Empire. Yet, all proposed dates for the actual structure are based on the form, style and ornamentation of the temple and are simply not conclusive.

By the time of the 1920s excavations, the temple was conceived as an octostyle ionic pseudo-dipteral type with fifteen columns down the sides, four columns in front of the pronaos and two between the antae of the opisthodomos. The entire structure

¹ Erzen 1946:89-93; Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 16; Temizsoy 1996: 8;

² For the problems facing the Temple and its conservation, see E.N. Caner, E.H. Göktürk, A.G. Türkmenoğlu and G. Eseller. "Effects of Air Pollution on the Monuments in Ankara-Case Study: Temple of Augustus" in *Air Pollution and Conservation: Safeguarding Our Architectural Heritage*. J. Rosvall and S. Aleby (eds): 1988; 279-289.

measures 42.42 x 23.6 m, and consists of a cella of 10.39 x 14.12 m with a huge 8.32 m. high door, a naos of 12.8 x 28.21 m, and a pronaos of 10.4 x 5.07 m. The structure stood on a platform two meters high, measuring 36 x 54. 82 m³. Seven steps encircle the entire platform. According to Krencker and Schede's reconstruction, an altar existed in front of the Western side, the official entrance to the Temple (Figure 3)⁴. The identification of the altar is questionable, since only a pavement was located. It could very well be that this Roman pavement was part of a courtyard, not an altar (Letter "K" in Figures 5 and 7). Facing West, the temple is similar in plan to a Greek Hermogenian building of the mid second century BC, which led Krencker and Schede to conclude that the building was Hellenistic, and originally consecrated to the local deities Men and Kybele. The temple was then reused by the Romans to promote the Imperial cult and provide a central meeting place for the Galatian *koinon*⁵.

In addition to the architecture and the Western orientation of the temple, terracotta and ceramic Phrygian finds and the Hellenizing ornamentation supported Krencker and Schede's second century BC date⁶. The Western orientation is significant because Greek temples related to the ancient cults of Anatolia face this direction, in direct contrast to Roman temples which are often aligned to the East. To reinforce their claim that the temple was intended for the worship of Men and Kybele, later modified for Augustus and Roma, Krencker and Schede compared the Ancyran Temple to the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi⁷.

³ Krencker and Schede. *Der Temple in Ankara*. 1936: 14.

⁴ Krencker and Schede 1936: 14.

⁵ Krencker and Schede 1936 : 48-49; Ramsay 1922: 168; Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 65 .

⁶ Krencker and Schede 1936 : 34-40.

⁷ Krencker and Schede 1936: 29-31; 42-44.

The Aizanoi Temple has the same plan of an octostyle ionic pseudo-dipteros, a tetrastyle pronaos, a distyle opisthodomos and a barrel-vaulted substructure (Figure 6). Sitting on a massive podium of 32.96 x 36.92 m, the temple dates from inscriptions to the time of Hadrian. It has been argued that this building was for the joint worship of Zeus and Kybele, due to the large amount of Kybele figurines found, the placement of a female *acroterion* over the entrance to the substructure and its Western orientation⁸. The problem with this juxtaposition is that it does not concretely prove that the Ancyra Temple was Hellenistic nor dedicated to Kybele. It merely demonstrates that temples continued to be built in the Hellenistic style after the Roman conquest. The absence of large votive deposits to Kybele in Ancyra does not support Krencker and Schede's speculation. The later Aizanoi complex may have been based on the Ancyra monument, either in the intentional architectural similarity or religious purposes, but any connection between the identically planned buildings cannot be confidently proven.

The Temple at Aizanoi shows the integration of two deities in one building, the possible parallel being the Ancyra Temple for Men/Augustus and Kybele/Roma. Presently, with the exception of a sanctuary to Men, Zeus and the "ruling divine Sebasteia" at Asar Tepe and an area dedicated to ancestral and Imperial gods at Hypaepa, there do not appear to be any surviving monuments dedicated jointly to the Imperial Cult and indigenous gods⁹. A sanctuary and a joint sacred area differ from a large formal urban edifice. Nonetheless, the precedence of Men and the Imperial Cult worshipped together should be noted, especially as Price mentions that in villages, the Imperial Gods are found in relation to other pre-existing institutions¹⁰. The question then becomes whether the Ancyra Temple was the first mark of Roman urbanization for Galatia or

⁸ Akurgal 1970: 268-269.

⁹ S. F. R. Price. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. 1984: 84-86.

¹⁰ Price 1984: 87.

whether the temple denotes previous civic activity in Ancyra. Unfortunately, none of the epigraphic and decorative remains can satisfactorily answer this question.

In 1939, excavations continued under the direction of Koşay. His work revealed a foundation grid connecting all column bases, the temple wall and the lowest step (Figures 5 and 7). The visible parts of the foundations were of marble, but the portions underground were of andesite. Three of the four column foundations located in front of the pronaos were discovered, the last column being under the mosque *turbesi*. One of the more significant finds was three large Corinthian capitals, which led Koşay to refute Krencker and Schede's conclusion that the order of the temple was Ionic. The Corinthian motif was considered more typically "Roman", specifically early Augustan, than the Hellenistic Ionic order. However, there are Hellenistic Corinthian temples in the Seleucid kingdom. The Corinthian order was especially developed by Antiochus IV as a kind of "architectural revival"¹¹. The order of the temple, by itself, will not provide a date.

Guterbock, who was present at the excavation, thought that the foundation of column 3 of the *pseudo-dipteros* barely touches column 4 of the pronaos; they are not connected. From this, he concluded that the *psuedo-dipteros* was a later addition, and that the temple was originally tetrastyle, measuring 11.40 x 30.22 m¹². To support his claim, he uses numismatic evidence which shows both octostyle and tetrastyle temples. He interprets the particular building on certain Ancyran coins to be this temple, depicted at various stages of its history. Nonetheless, he also admits that there are Ancyran coins portraying a hexastyle temple, which may be another building altogether or it may be this temple, artistic allowance due to lack of space on the coin face (Plate 1, A and K-N: Plate

¹¹ A.W. Lawrence. *Greek Architecture*. 1996: 160.

¹² H. Guterbock "The Temple of Augustus in the 1930s" in *Anatolia and the Near East: Studies in honor of Taşın Özgüç*. Emre, Mellink, Özgüç and Hrouda (eds):1989; 156; Krencker and Schede 1936: 14.

2, 1, 22,23, 33 and A12)¹³. Akurgal favors the idea that the ionic *pseudo-dipteros* was added to the temple under Hadrian, coinciding with the Hadrianic priest list, opposite the earlier one¹⁴. Yet, Ward-Perkins confidently asserts that the temple had a Corinthian order *pseudo-dipteros*¹⁵. Where the capitals were placed in antiquity, either the *pseudo-dipteros* or the *pronaos*, is still not known, nor is the original order of the temple or whether the *pseudo-dipteros* was an addition. None of these issues are directly relevant to the date of the temple.

If the temple inspired disagreement in the course of its early excavations, the problems and debates have only continued to grow in later years. In contrast to the notion that the temple was pre-Roman, many scholars feel that the temple is definitely of the Roman period. The choice of a Hellenistic style plan was intentional for the very reason of incorporating Galatia and Ancyra into the Empire by means of the Imperial cult. As an example of an early Imperial structure, the temple is a "conservative product of the Augustan Age."¹⁶

The Roman origins of the temple may be supported by the RES GESTAE, carved after AD14, the year of Augustus' death. The Latin version was carved on the *pronaos* (Plate 3). Mitchell and French maintain that the purpose of the Latin text was decorative and patriotic, reinforcing the allegiance to Rome¹⁷. As Latin was the "official", rather than the "public" language of the province, the Latin was placed in a more secluded area, one fitting for the priests and Roman administrators. The Greek version was carved on the south wall of the *cella*, where the population could easily read the document. This

¹³ Guterbock 1989: 157; Arslan 1991:4-12 nos 1, 3-9; 21-23, 33; A12; C17-18.

¹⁴ Akurgal 1970: 286

¹⁵ J.B. Ward-Perkins. *Roman Imperial Architecture*. 1981: 279.

¹⁶ Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 65

¹⁷ Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 68

public display of Augustus' life has been taken as evidence of the close and loyal relationship between Augustus and the new province, since pieces of the RES GESTAE have only been found in Galatia, at Apollonia and Pisidian Antioch, and may be found in the future at Tavium and Pessinus¹⁸. This unique and local practice is explained by the *koinon's* decision to honor the deceased Emperor in the Galatian cities by placing the RES GESTAE in honored public spaces. By carving the RES GESTAE on the temple, Ancyra was definitely demarcating this space as an Imperial Roman domain, whether the temple was originally for Men or Augustus. Fittschen notes that the walls that were to receive the inscription are noticeably cut down, and a greater space than was actually needed was prepared for the inscription. The inclusion of the RES GESTAE was not part of the original temple plan, since the effort was made to create a beautiful temple, only to alter its appearance by the excess cut stone¹⁹. However, all that the RES GESTAE can tell us is that the temple was probably standing prior to 19 August AD 14 and that the walls were inscribed after this date. The RES GESTAE does not date the temple and is irrelevant to any dating chronology of the structure, since it was a later addition.

The priest list carved on the outer pronaos wall is often used to arrive at a date for the temple (Plate 4)²⁰. As there are no dates included in this list, a clear chronology of the temple is unavailable. The fact that the inscription is preceded by a dedication to the deified Augustus indicates that the list and the cult cannot date before AD 14 and the building probably cannot date after AD 14. The only priest that can provide a possible time frame is the fifth priest Albiorix, who had statues of Caesar and Julia Augusta made, as seen in lines 30 to 33²¹. It is generally accepted that the Caesar here is Tiberius and Julia Augusta is his mother Livia. Since Tiberius was Emperor from AD 14 to AD 37

¹⁸ Mitchell and French *Ankara*: 69; Mitchell *Anatolia*: 107.

¹⁹ K. Fittschen "Zur Datierung Des Augustus-Roma-Tempels in Ankara" *AA* (1985): 313.

²⁰ Krencker and Schede 1936 : 51-58; Appendix I no.3

²¹ Albiorix was priest twice, the second time listed in lines 40-41. His first tenure is referred to here.

and Livia acquired the title of Augusta upon Augustus' death, Albiorix was priest under Tiberius²². Mamboury and Erzen assume that his tenure was at the beginning of Tiberius' reign and that he gave the statues in AD 14/15. Counting backwards, they conclude that the first priest took office in AD 10/11²³. This theory does not take into consideration the dedication to the deified Augustus. A more secure, but not definite, date can be inferred from line 73 which mentions a Governor Basila. Remy lists a Basila as being governor in AD 33/34, during the reign of Tiberius²⁴. This same Basila is also attested by coins minted by the Galatian *koinon* and on a Latium inscription dated between AD 20-45²⁵. On this basis, Halfmann and Mitchell conclude that the RES GESTAE was carved in AD 18 and the Temple was consecrated and the list began in AD 19, when the first priest took office, making Albiorix priest in AD 23²⁶. The typography of the list varies, indicating that it was not carved at one time, but when the priestly names and benefactions were written, every year or in sections, is not known (Plate 4)²⁷. However, the date of the priest list is not relevant to the date of the temple, since the building was standing prior to AD 19. Just as it is accepted that the RES GESTAE was not part of the original plan, neither was the priest list which merely relays information pertaining to the Imperial use of the building, such as the priests' obligation to give donations to the city, but gives no date or function for the actual original structure.

After the RES GESTAE and the priest list, the temple ornamentation becomes the basis for chronology. Art historical and stylistic dating of the temple is unreliable and

²² R. Graves. *Suetonius: The Twelve Caesars*. 1957

²³ Mamboury 1933: 71; Erzen 1946: 92.

²⁴ B. Remy. *Les Carrieres Senatoriales Dans Les Provinces Romaines D'Anatolie Au Haut-Empire*. 1989: 127-176.

²⁵ Mitchell *Chiron*: 19.

²⁶ H. Halfmann. "Zur Datierung und Deutung der Priesterliste am Augustus-Roma-Tempel in Ankara." *AA* (1986): 36-37; Mitchell *Chiron*: 19.

²⁷ Krencker and Schede 1936: 57 mentions the difference in size and style. For more information on when the priests may have given their gifts and when their accomplishments were advertised on the list, see Mitchell *Chiron*: 29.

highly speculative. Certain motifs and styles are often reused throughout specific time periods for political reasons. It is always possible that the ornaments could be original Greek products, not intentional Roman copies or examples of early Augustan aesthetics. The decorative scheme cannot give an accurate date nor can it resolve the mysteries of the temple.

Weigand argued for an Augustan date for the temple, based on the decorative scheme of the building. The acanthus leaf and palmette scroll, the Greek key design, molded door lintel and frame are characteristic of the early to mid Augustan style, representative of an "Augustan Renaissance"²⁸. While some elements are Hellenistic, Weigand still thought that the Temple's construction began under Augustus. Weigand infers that the *pseudo-dipteros* was the last portion to be built, although no clear archaeological evidence exists to prove or disprove this conclusion. Therefore, he claimed the construction of the temple continued into the time of Tiberius²⁹. The temple was ready for the first priest to take office in AD 19, since there would not be an extended period of time between the consecration and the use of the temple.

Fittschen thinks it dates to the time of Augustus, because the ornamentation is in the "Ara Pacis" style³⁰. Considering that the Ara Pacis was created between 13 and 9 BC by Greek artists, Fittschen's idea does not support his preferred late Augustan date³¹. He hints that the decorative scheme is Roman due to its similarity to Augustus' artistic program, which appropriates certain elements of Greek art, but what he is really implying is that the temple could actually be pre-Ara Pacis. A definite similarity exists between the two monuments' motifs, but there are different spatial organizations and executions. The

²⁸ E. Weigand. "Krencker and Schede, Der Temple in Ankara." *Gnomon* (1937): 419-422.

²⁹ Weigand 1937: 419

³⁰ K. Fittschen. "Zur Datierung Des Augustus-Roma-Tempels in Ankara." *AA* (1985): 314.

³¹ P. Zanker. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. (1993): 159-162.

"Ara Pacis" style denotes an adaptation and development of artistic trends that originated at some earlier historical time and, therefore, allows for a resemblance, but not an accurate date. Castriota notes that the Ara Pacis designers relied on the earlier tradition of Greek altar decoration³². A Pergamene altar for the cult of Pax with Concord, built under Eumenes II, is similar in design to the Ara Pacis³³. This altar of Eumenes predates the Ara Pacis by at least 150 years, weakening both Weigand and Fittschen's arguments for an Augustan "Ara Pacis" style. Because the prototype pre-dates the Ara Pacis and the temple has similar ornamentation, the temple could also predate the Ara Pacis.

Akurgal noticed differences in the quality of the decoration. His analysis revealed that the cella ornamentation was Imperial, after Augustus, but the work in the opisthodomos was from the early Augustan period, though less refined than Greek examples (Plate 5)³⁴. Contradicting himself, Akurgal also states that the temple was built in 25 BC to celebrate Galatia's annexation into the Empire, the building later restored in the upper walls and then he says that the temple was originally for Men³⁵. His final conclusion then becomes that the building and its decoration may very well be Hellenistic. Erzen supported this position by concluding that the temple was built by artists from Pergamum, reinforcing the connection between the Ara Pacis and the Pergamene altar, Pergamum's "responsibility" for Galatia under Eumenes II and the assertion that the Temple of Kybele in Pessinus was financed through Pergamum³⁶.

Mitchell notes that the palmette and lotus designs of the cella walls are Hellenistic in style, but the door frame and lintel probably belong between 10 BC and AD 10

³² D. Castriota. *The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance in Late Greek and Early Imperial Art*. 1995: 33.

³³ Castriota 1995: 41.

³⁴ Akurgal 1970: 286

³⁵ Akurgal 1970: 283-287.

³⁶ Krencker and Schede 1936: 50; Erzen 1946: 94.

(Plates 6,7 and 8)³⁷. He is unclear as to whether he means that the entire decorative scheme dates before AD 10, when the work may have been completed or if two distinct ornamental phases are present. His twenty year span includes the time the Ara Pacis was completed, but it is always possible that the door decoration could predate 10 BC, thus being original Hellenistic products created by Greek artists. The manner in which Mitchell presents his argument is quite ambiguous, since he claims that the decoration proves that the temple cannot be a second century BC Hellenistic building, yet the entire concept of art historical dating is inconclusive. He does not give a suggested date for the cella scroll but allows a twenty year span for the date of the remaining motifs³⁸.

However, it is odd that the lower motifs could be Hellenistic and the upper portions Imperial unless the construction of the edifice spanned forty years, from 25 BC to AD 14. While Mitchell implies that two decorative phases may exist, he does not state the possibility that two construction stages are present. The "Hellenistic" palmette scroll could have very easily belonged to an earlier monument, whose original intention was modified and subsequently lost. For these problematic ornamentation reasons, some scholars think the temple was a pre-existing building to Men and Kybele, reconsecrated and renovated for the Imperial period³⁹. The ornamentation does not clarify, but rather confuses, the entire issue of the temple's date.

Due to the lack of definite archaeological proof, the belief that the temple was originally a sanctuary to Men and Kybele persists. Erzen supported the theory espoused by Krencker and Schede. He thought the temple was rededicated under Tiberius, the transition recorded in the inscription "to local gods and emperors....."⁴⁰. Proposing that

³⁷ Mitchell *Anatolia* : 103.

³⁸ Mitchell *Anatolia*: 103.

³⁹ Krencker and Schede 1936 : 49 regarding the Hellenistic art style.

⁴⁰ Appendix I no.4. A similar inscription can be found at the theater at Aspendos.

Men and Augustus shared the temple, Erzen further suggested that Men and Kybele were worshipped by the inhabitants in the new guises of Augustus and Roma⁴¹.

Tuchelt is another scholar who concludes that the Ancyra monument was originally meant for Men. By reconstructing partial inscriptions and comparing the Imperial temples of Ancyra, Pessinus and Pisidian Antioch, he maintains that all three edifices were intended for the popular local god, who was just as powerful as the deified Augustus⁴². Halfmann finds Tuchelt's reconstructions faulty, and as there are more inscriptions to the Imperial Cult, the temple should be viewed as a Roman edifice⁴³. However, Halfmann does not take the inscription survival rate into account.

While the temple at Pessinus has been historically linked to the Mother Goddess by ancient authors, the temple at Antioch has posed many problems regarding its purpose. This is partly due to the crescent shaped colonnade standing behind the building and its Western orientation. During the preliminary excavations in the 1920s, Hardie felt that the temple was for Men, his sanctuary located outside the city via a processional way⁴⁴. This land comprised part of the kingdom of Amyntas which passed into the possession of Augustus in 25 BC⁴⁵. Krencker and Schede also note that the temple in Antioch is for Men⁴⁶. Lyttleton expressed the possibility that the structure could have been for the worship of both Men and Augustus, but Mitchell concluded that due to the characteristic Roman architecture and decorative scheme, the building was only for the

⁴¹ Erzen 1946: 100-101.

⁴² K. Tuchelt. "Bemerkungen Zum Tempelbezirk von Antiochia ad Pisidiam." *Beitrage zur Altertumskunde Kleinasienws, Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (1983): 515.

⁴³ Halfmann 1986: 41-42.

⁴⁴ M. Hardie. "The Shrine of Men Askaenos at Pisidian Antioch." *JHS* 32 (1912): 120. D.M. Robinson. "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pisidian Antioch at Sizma" *AJA* 28 (1924): 441.

⁴⁵ Broughton 1938: 650.

⁴⁶ Krencker and Schede 1936: 49.

Imperial cult⁴⁷. It should be noted that the ornamentation of the temple at Antioch is more complete than that at Ancyra.

In 1991, a broken inscription to the Mother Goddess was found in Ancyra near the temple⁴⁸. From this piece and its find spot near the temple, which is not the original placement, Turkish scholars have drawn support for the Men Temple theory. Arslan wrote that the numismatic and archaeological evidence now shows that the Temple of Augustus replaced that of Men⁴⁹. Because Men is so common on the reverses of imperial coins minted by the *koinon* and he can often be found standing between the columns of a temple, Arslan has interpreted the depiction to be that of the Temple of Augustus, retaining hints of its true nature (Plates 2 and 9). In the introduction of the Altındağ Belediyesi's book on the Ankara Citadel, it is unequivocally stated that the Temple of Augustus was a Hellenistic Temple built to Men⁵⁰.

While no conclusive evidence exists for the date of this structure, the Hellenistic plan and designs combined with the Western orientation and the prevalence of Men can point to a pre-Roman date. All of the possible dating criteria cannot confirm either an Early Imperial or Hellenistic foundation, nor can they accurately prove the original purpose of the temple. The speculation surrounding the temple is valid for either side of the scholarly argument, since very little is actually known about the early history of the building. With this lack of conclusive evidence, it can be proposed that the structure may not be a 150 BC creation, but rather a Galatian monument built during the reign of either Deiotarus or Amyntas. If the Galatians were Hellenized prior to 25 BC, which

⁴⁷ M. Lyttleton. "The Designing and Planning of Temples and Sanctuaries in Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial Period." in *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. MaCready and Thompson (eds): 1987, 41-45. Mitchell *Anatolia*: 103-111.

⁴⁸ E. Varinlioğlu. "Meter Theon." *AMMY* (1992): 39; Appendix I no.5.

⁴⁹ Arslan 1991: 3.

⁵⁰ Altındağ Belediyesi. *Ankara Kalesi*. 1987: 8.

certainly appears to be evident in their history, there is no reason why they could not have produced a Hellenistic style temple, dating between 50 to 25 BC, to their favorite local god. If Ancyra was the central area of the tetrarchic Galatian kingdom, then it would not be unreasonable to propose that such a place would have an important sophisticated edifice for worship. If the temple was pre-existing, the Roman decision to make Ancyra the capital, and to introduce the Imperial Cult to Galatia through the city, was much simplified. The temple might not be the first vestige of Ancyra's *Roman* significance, but the mark of Ancyra's *Galatian* importance and the reason why Ancyra caught Rome's Imperial eye.

IV

The Roman Theater

On the North-West slope of the citadel, between Hisarparkı Caddesi and Bent Deresi Caddesi, are the decaying remains of Ancyra's Roman theater. Excavated between 1982 and 1986, the theater is designed in a D shape cut into the hillside. It has two vaulted passages to a half-circle orchestra, a *proscenium*, the northern portion of a *scaena*, an entire east *parodos* and part of a west *parodos* (Figure 8). Sadly, this structure is currently being destroyed by water, sewage and garbage¹.

Ancient writers do not mention a theater in Ancyra, though inscriptions gave credence to the supposition that one certainly existed. The most famous inscription is a statue base relating a decision of the Dionysiac Artists Guild². Due to the content of the inscription, it is understood that the base was kept in the theater. Domaszewski claims that the inscription was found on the Palace road, referring to the Ankara Palace on Cumhuriyet Caddesi. Prior to the excavation, it was thought that this area was the location of the lost theater³. Because of the theater's absence in the historic literature and the discovery of the inscribed base, it was reasonably deduced that the site must have been covered by other structures or partially destroyed. Only Perrot and Guillaume write of a theater due to their identification of stones characteristic of such a structure, rather than their actual viewing of one⁴.

¹ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 9-23. I have used this article for the following discussion. Bayburtluoğlu writes that this is her preliminary report, with more to follow. Nothing has come out yet. The theater may still be visited, but it is currently used as a trash dump. The east *parodos* is still standing, as are the foundations of the *proscenium* and the *scaena*.

² Appendix I no.6.

³ Erzen 1946: 96.

⁴ Guillaume and Perrot 1872: 310.

The theater is carved into the rock, using local stones to fill out the half circle shape⁵. Seats and radial stairs were constructed on a combination of debris, rock and plaster. The *cavea* is divided into four *cunei* and five radial staircases with an *ima cavea*, a *media cavea* and a *summa cavea*. Comparable to the *cunei* at Perge and Aspendos, the parts adjacent to the east and west *parodoi* continue onto the *parodoi tonos* with at least four rows of seats up to the first *diazoma*. There is a 1.5 m gap from the foot of the *cavea*'s slope to the edge of the orchestra. Seats probably from the theater can be found in the castle wall and two were found during the excavation, measuring 41 cm in height and made of andesite⁶.

The *parodoi*, providing entrance into the theater and separating the auditorium from the *scaena*, originally had the same plan as each other, but differences are present (Plates 10 and 11a). Examination of the east *parodos*, which is much better preserved than the west, shows that the *parodoi* consist of two areas which connect to each other and the orchestra through arched doors and barrel vaults. These two areas are trapezoidal in shape, the blind end measuring 2.4 m. and the entrance to the orchestra measuring 1.6 m. The first area connects to the second 6.7 m. from the main door. The east *parodos* vault measures 1.85 m wide, while the west *parodos* measures 1.7 m. Both of them were closed at a later date. If the *parodoi* were originally planned to be symmetrical, it is not clear when the alteration of the west *parodos* was carried out. There is the possibility that the *parodoi* could have been intended to be asymmetrical due to the limitations of the site or an earlier purpose for the building.

The orchestra is planned as a half-circle, the radius being 6.6 m and circled by a thick limestone wall. The original flooring is unknown, but to the south and east the floor

⁵ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 17.

⁶ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 17.

was covered with square or pentagonal slabs. Because the slope is from south to north, the pillars of the *proscenium* and the orchestra have been covered with thick limestone walls and the presence of a late period water system have all led Bayburtluoğlu to suggest that when the doors of the *parodoi* were closed, the orchestra was used as a pool for mock naval battles. There is no absolute proof to support this claim and given the size of the orchestra, *naumachia* in this theater was impossible. However, it is possible that in the early Byzantine period, as noted by Bayburtluoğlu, the orchestra could have been used as a basin for a fountain or the city's water supply.

The *scaena*, which has been altered through the ages, first measured 31.6 m in length and 7.9 m. in width, made of andesite blocks (Plate 11b). Opening onto the orchestra through five doors, the central door of the *scaena* is evident, measuring 1.6 m before it was reduced to 1.06 m during the later construction of the *proscenium*. The threshold was eliminated in order to make a water channel covered with stone plaques at a later date. To the south of the *scaena*, the *proscenium* was added, both sharing one common wall. What is interesting to note is that prior to the construction of the *proscenium*, the orchestra may have had a circular, rather than a D, shape, making the theater a Hellenistic horseshoe type (Figure 9). Because the structure and its subsequent construction phases are undated, it cannot be confidently asserted if the theater is Roman or Hellenistic. The top part of the *proscenium* wall, the foundation remaining, was dismantled by the excavators in order to show the original *scaena* wall. The later reconstruction was the division of the *proscenium* into nine compartments which connect to each other through doors, the easternmost and the westernmost ones being of a different size to the others (Plate 11b). The cell walls were made with rubble and red tiles along the middle. From these cells and the walls, many sculpture pieces were recovered. During this “redesigning” period, the statue remnants were either thrown into the cells or used to cover joins. From these pieces, it was concluded that the *scaena* was rich with

decoration. It is safe to assume that the *proscenium*, with its construction of white mortar, tile and rubble, is Byzantine in date, and the Roman theater originally had another design.

These fragmentary artifacts, no date given, include the painted head of a woman, a male statue with cloak, the headless body of a man, a headless seated rhetor, and a standing woman. The only piece of architectural ornamentation found was a satyr head, probably from the keystone of the main entrance.

Bayburtluoğlu refrains from dating the structure, other than to note that this theater, if there were no others in ancient Ancyra, was standing by December AD 128, the date inscribed upon the Guild's base⁷. Mitchell wrote in 1985 that pottery sherds found in the theater allegedly dated to the first century AD⁸. However, pottery from the Roman period is the least abundant and cannot provide a dating criterium. The ceramic finds in addition to the presence of swallow-tail clamps in the construction technique prompted Mitchell to contend that the theater is part of an intensive Julio-Claudian building program. The swallow-tail clamp is thought to be characteristic of the first century BC. Such an architectural device, however, was not limited to a specific time period and can be seen in later buildings throughout the Roman East⁹. Mitchell juxtaposes Ancyra with the evidence from Pessinus, which has a temple-theater complex, one quite different from that which remains at Ancyra¹⁰. The basis for such a comparison is that the temple could be seen from the theater, but the two edifices are separated by a distance of some 600 m. Bayburtluoğlu claims that the theater is in the city center and

⁷ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 16; Appendix I no.6.

⁸ S. Mitchell. "Archaeological Reports." JHS (1984/85): 98-100.

⁹ I am grateful to Dr. Jennifer Tobin for helping me with the swallow-tail clamps.

¹⁰ Mitchell 1984/85: 98-100.

that Bent Deresi Caddesi was used as a road between the temple and theater¹¹. While it certainly is true that one monument can be viewed from the other, it does not indicate that there was an absolute connection between them, nor does it mean that they were both part of a simultaneous organized urbanization project. The published evidence does not support the claim of a Julio-Claudian agenda.

What is apparent is that the theater was erected before December AD 128. According to the inscription, the Dionysiac Artists Guild placed a statue in honor of the *Helladarch* and *Agon*, Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus, in the theater. As part of the ceremony, wreaths were to be placed around the neck of this statue¹². The AD 128 date belongs to the reign of Hadrian. According to Magie, Hadrian granted privileges to the musical and dramatic society of the artists of Dionysus, and as a result, he was adopted by the group as joint patron with Dionysus. The official designation of the group was "artists from the inhabited world, winners of prizes in sacred games and of crowns, who gather around Dionysus and the Emperor Hadrian, the new Dionysus."¹³ They are also known in the literature as the Sacred Hadrianic Stage Guild. Festivals and contests were held in the theater, and it would be safe to assume that such an incident occurred in Ancyra in AD 128¹⁴.

The association between Hadrian, Dionysus and the Guild was not isolated to just Ancyra. Evidence exists for the same type of celebrations in Sardis and Ephesus, and perhaps Perge, where the theater has a Dionysiac theme to its ornamentation¹⁵. The presence of a cult to Dionysus in Ancyra is reinforced by coins and another Hadrianic

¹¹ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 16.

¹² Appendix I no. 6.

¹³ D. Magie. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. 1950: 617.

¹⁴ Magie 1950: 618.

¹⁵ W.H. Buckler and J. Keil. "Two Resolutions of the Dionysiac Artists Guild from Angora." *JRS* 16 (1926): 247. Akurgal 1970: 329-330.

inscription mentioning the High Priest of this particular god¹⁶. Either Hadrian indirectly encouraged the popularity of the cult through his association or the cult officially started under his rule.

Different scholarly interpretations persevere regarding the term "neapolis" in line 37 of the inscription¹⁷. The identification of Neapolis is difficult since so many new cities with the name "Neapolis" were created during the Roman era of Anatolia. Due to linguistic changes, many of the "neapoli" are lost, unable to be linked to their ancient references¹⁸. Buckler, Keil and D'Orbeliani argue that the Neapolis in the inscription is a city in Pisidia and the home of Pompeianus. The Guild proposed to erect a statue in honor of Hadrian in Neapolis¹⁹. Mitchell agrees with Robert's assessment that Neapolis refers to Naples, Italy²⁰. As Mitchell was using this information to reject Bosch's *phylai* nomenclature, he does not expound upon why Pompeianus would be from Naples and living in Galatia²¹. Another possibility is that Neapolis refers to Ancyra, a new city due to her elevated status as a *metropolis*. As suggested in Chapter Two, Hadrian may have given the title of *metropolis* to Ancyra. Pompeianus could very well have been from Ancyra, the *Helladarch* of the new *metropolis* Ancyra, and the statue to Hadrian was to be raised here, although it can be argued that if Neapolis was Ancyra, the city's name would have been used. Even if the theater was constructed before the reign of Hadrian, subsequent alterations could have been built and the entire structure reconsecrated in AD 128, coinciding with Hadrian's visit to Ancyra, when he gave special rites to the local

¹⁶ Appendix I no. 7; Arslan 1991: 9 no.29.; 31-32.

¹⁷ Appendix I no.6.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Ender Varinlioğlu for helping with this problem.

¹⁹ Buckler and Keil 1926: 247; R. D'Orbeliani. "Inscriptions and Monuments from Galatia." *JHS* 44 (1924): 33-35.

²⁰ Mitchell *AS* 1977: 72-75; Mitchell cites L. Robert "Inscription Agonistique d'Ancyra." *Hellenica* XI/XII (1960) to support the claim of Naples. This article was unavailable to me and I quote Mitchell.

²¹ For Bosch's commentary, Bosch *Geschichte*:155-165.

chapter of the Guild. If the theater was built in AD128, perhaps the *parodoi* are odd for reasons of the Guild and their special performances.

Erzen comments that the area on which the theater was built was in the district of either the second *phyle*, the Pecalene, or the third *phyle*, the Menorizeiton. Erzen may be drawing his conclusion from an inscription alluding to Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus and the Menorizeiton²². According to Erzen, the territory of the Menorizeiton stretched from the castle to the temple²³. Ramsay has written that this *phyle*, which is one of the original *phyle* established during the Augustan era, took its name from the cult of Men²⁴. If these two theories may be accepted, the interesting note is that their land could encompass the temple and the theater, which may be the motivation behind Mitchell and Bayburtluoğlu's assumption that these two buildings were connected²⁵. However, there is no conclusive proof that the *phylai* of Ancyra were actually geographically arranged. In Attica, the *phylai* were loosely grouped according to territory, but in other cases, the *phylai* were based on military and political groupings²⁶.

This inscription is not the only possible connection between Men and Hadrian. A special coin was minted by Ancyra, given to the city by Julius Saturninus, the governor from AD 130 to 138²⁷. Depicting the beloved Antinous on the obverse and Men, holding an anchor, on the reverse, the coin can be suggested to prove that not only was Men still a viable deity, but Hadrian was so important that his deceased companion could warrant a public dedication. True, Antinous was from Bithynia, not Galatia, and it could be argued that the Eastern Empire had a special regard for both Hadrian and Antinous, but this rare

²² Appendix I no. 8.

²³ Erzen 1946: 96.

²⁴ Ramsay 1922: 162.

²⁵ See notes 8 and 9.

²⁶ Hornblower and Spawforth 1996:1178.

²⁷ Remy 1989: 170; Arslan 1992: 70.

coin could be helpful in establishing the political climate and nature of Ancyra. Mitchell claims Ancyra is an amalgamation of Greek, Roman and Celtic traditions²⁸. This coin, written in Greek, depicting the boyfriend of a Roman Emperor backed with a Phrygian-Galatian god, certainly demonstrates this tendency. But perhaps it also displays a connection between Men, the Menorizeiton, the theater and Hadrian, or the evidence may be merely circumstantial.

The conclusion reached by Bayburtluoğlu is that the building is characteristic of Galatia after the arrival of the Romans, due to the plan and the use of two different types of stone. She stresses that it is not an example of a converted Greek theater, a local traditional structure, nor a Graeco-Roman combination, but rather, a typically Roman monument²⁹. Because the theater is cut into the hillside, some would argue that it is a Hellenistic structure or a remodeled one, the remaining Greek trait being the location. As there are no conclusive dates given to the structure, it is difficult to prove that an original Hellenistic plan was usurped by later Roman modifications and additions. However, the plan is somewhat peculiar, with its double asymmetrical *parodoi* and the *proscenium*. Looking at the plan, if the *proscenium* is removed, the theater could be a Hellenistic style structure. This does not mean that the theater is Hellenistic, but rather a Roman construction following the Eastern tradition. A comparison with other contemporary theaters is needed in order to illuminate this possibility.

The theater of Aspendos is a “Graeco-Roman” structure, cut into the hillside and designed in a horseshoe shape, indicating the desire to conform to the Hellenistic customs³⁰. The Roman nature is apparent in the roofed and parallel *parodoi* and barrel

²⁸ Mitchell Anatolia : 111

²⁹ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 16.

³⁰ Akurgal 1970: 335 calls the Aspendos theater an intentional “Graeco-Roman” creation.

vaults. In contrast to Aspendos' *parodoi*, the Ancyran ones appear different, but they are also roofed and barrel vaulted. Both Aspendos and Ancyra have five doors from the *scaena* to the *proscenium*. The Aspendos theater was designed by Zeno during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Greek and Latin inscriptions relate that this theater was dedicated to the local gods and the imperial house³¹.

Another example of a "Graeco-Roman" theater built during the Roman period is the one at Perge. It too is built against the hillside in a semi-circle shape. The *parodoi* here are unroofed in the Greek manner. In Perge, spectators entered the theater via the *parodoi* to the *diazoma*, whereas in Ancyra, the East *parodos* gives access to both the *scaena* and the *cavea*. During the late Roman period, when gladiatorial shows and wild animal fights became popular, a barrier surrounding the orchestra was built, which may correspond to the thick wall around Ancyra's orchestra³².

The theater at Termessos is a Greek theater modified in the mid-second century AD with the addition of the *scaena*, which has five doors, and the *proscenium*. The South *parodos* was covered with a barrel vault and seats, while the North *parodos* remained open³³. Together, the *parodoi* are symmetrical and clearly delineated from the *scaena*.

As can be gleaned from the details of all three of these theaters, certain similar characteristics exist in Ancyra: the five *scaena* doors; the construction or modification date; the hillside location; the combination of Hellenistic and Roman architectural elements, Perge and Aspendos' having been intentional. While Bayburtluoğlu is correct

³¹ Akurgal 1970: 335; Erzen 1946: 101; Appendix I no. 4.

³² Akurgal 1970: 329-330.

³³ Akurgal 1970: 325.

in advising that the Ancyra theater should not be considered Hellenistic merely for the location, the possibility remains that the theater could have been a purposeful “Graeco-Roman” creation. If it was built in anticipation of Hadrian's visit, a Hellenistic space, with unusual features, rich decoration, *scaena* and circular orchestra would have comprised a Classical environment to please not only Ancyra's inhabitants, but also the philo-hellene Emperor. If it was built in the Roman or Hellenistic fashion earlier, the theater may have been changed for the purposes of the Guild, perhaps inclusive of the *proscenium*, which effectively could have changed a Hellenistic horseshoe into a Roman D.

Unfortunately, Ancyra's theater is not as well preserved as other Anatolian edifices and as a result much of the theater, its many functions and the architect's intentions have simply been lost through the centuries. Bayburtluoğlu thinks the theater was built near the Hatip Stream and the Ancyra Cay for the cooling effects³⁴. This is pure speculation since it is not known whether these rivers were either present in Roman Ancyra or their modern courses were the same as their ancient ones. What can be further speculated, but not known for certain due to lack of evidence, is that the theater could have been part of a theater-stadium complex like that at Aizanoi. In this manner, the Temple, the theater and a hypothetical stadium would have been incorporated into the urban plan, in which topography, and perhaps rivers, benefited the monuments. Nonetheless, the theater of Ancyra poses its own problems. Bayburtluoğlu concludes that it is a typical Roman theater, but does not date the structure, which appears to have been considerably changed since its original inception. With this ambiguity, the theater is most likely a Roman-built Hellenistic style theater or Hellenistic theater with Roman additions constructed in anticipation of Hadrian's visit.

³⁴ Bayburtluoğlu 1986: 16.

commercial sector of Roman Ancyra had been uncovered (Plate 12). In addition to the road and gray veined marble columns believed to have been associated with the “market” and the road, large pieces of an inscribed and carved architrave belonging to the “market” were excavated (Plate 13). The frieze of the architrave is ornamented with plain profiles and ordinary head pieces, carved soffits and consoles with alternating floral designs and masks. According to Dalman, the "classic simplicity and elegance" of these pieces cannot date to a time before Hadrian⁶. Since the "market" can now be recognized as the *palaestra* of the bath, it can be stated that these architrave fragments belong to the *palaestra*. Indeed, Akok's 1968 article reconstructs the *palaestra* with these fragments, as corner joins were discovered (Figure 12)⁷. Because only a small amount of the inscribed architrave survives, it can be proposed that only one side of the huge *palaestra* had an inscription, as can be seen in Sardis⁸. Some pieces of the uninscribed architrave survive at the bath, but not enough to form a complete picture of the *palaestra's* decorative scheme. The *palaestra* probably provided much of the material reused in Ancyra's Byzantine and Seljuk periods, rendering the preservation of the *palaestra* incomplete.

After this work, Arık dug some trenches to the south in 1937, where a wall was uncovered. In 1938 work continued, and it was this excavation that brought forth the main elements of the Roman bath, until the entire area was cleared and studied, ending in 1944. What was discovered was half of an assumed symmetrically planned imperial *therma*, which would have measured 140 x 180 m overall⁹.

⁶ Dalman 1932: 125.

⁷ M. Akok "Ankara Şehrindeki Roman Hamamı." *T. A. D.* (1968):7; Photos 1-3; 5-7.

⁸ F. Yegül. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. 1992: 258.

⁹ Arık 1937 49-51; Akok 1955: 309-329. Yegül 1992: 278 .

The bath building is fronted by a *palaestra* measuring 95 x 95 meters internally, thirty-two columns to a side¹⁰. The bath building itself had a massive 130 m long front wall separating the *palaestra* from the bath complex, which is complete with a hot air heating system. The bathing area was also divided into two distinct sections of hot and cold¹¹. As expected, the hot area consisted of both a *caldarium* whose dimensions are 25 x 20 meters, furnished with 2-4 stokeholes, used as a *sudatorium*, and a *tepidarium* of 11 x 25 meters, located between the *caldarium* and the *frigidarium*.

The *frigidarium* has three sections: the swimming pool, dressing rooms and storage depot. The swimming pool, *natatio*, is 30 m. long and 10.5 wide, the sides having sitting places and separations as private baths. The floor was decorated with mosaics and the walls were covered with marble. Provisions were made for the removal of dirty water by a channel surrounding the pool, leading to the main drainage system. The dressing rooms, *apoditeria*, measuring 56 x 15 meters, were next to the *natatio*, and had heated floors. An area identified as a storage depot by Akok was located beneath this space in the basement level.

The entire bath boasts ten stokeholes, reinforcing its greatness. The location of the stokeholes are not specified in the reports. There are also service corridors, quarters and entrances. Two of the underground passages, complete with stone stairs, still exist. A passage joins the storage depot with the room serving as the woodshed from where the slaves would have lit the stokeholes.

¹⁰ Akok 1968 7-8.

¹¹ The following general layout details are taken from Dolunay 1941, but the dimensions are from Akok's 1968 report.

This edifice consisted of many large rooms that have not been reconstructed, since the top story was not entirely preserved. The space beneath the bathing area measures 130 x 80 m, full of *pilae* 130 cm in height and comprised of round bricks 80 cm. at 10 cm thick. The floor, made of large marble slabs, was put on these *pilae*, showing the fundamental mechanics of the heating system¹². The survival of the hypocaust is the bath's main feature. By firing the stokeholes, the hot air passes between the *pilae* and heats the floor and then spreads to the other rooms through a vaulted wall system.

The top walls of the building were made with well fired bricks (3 x 28 x 31 cm) on a thick, deep stone foundation. The walls over the foundation comprise a succession of four rows of Ancyra stone, andesite, and four rows of brick (13 x 30 x 40 cm). The interior was coated with various kinds of marble and mosaics; a luxurious edifice indeed, though very little of the decoration survives, just sculpted friezes portraying a cithara and hand, and profiles. Candleholders and lamps were ample, attesting night and winter bathing.

The bath has been dated to the reign of Emperor Caracalla, for coins bearing his and his mother's likeness were the oldest ones found. While this has been interpreted as a *terminus post quem*, their context has been lost and they cannot give much positive information¹³. From where these coins came in the baths is not reported, neither is there a separate paper devoted to the coins. Yet the coins are often the first evidence cited for the speculative Caracallan date. In addition to the coins, the bath's construction technique of alternate brick and stonework bands of mortared rubble faced with small square blocks in which the wall is leveled off by four brick courses can be interpreted as Caracallan.

¹² For the heating systems and water supply of Roman baths, see Yegül 1992: 356-395.

¹³ Dolunay 1941: 266; Erzen 1946: 99-100; Yegül 1992: 278; Mitchell *AS* 1977: 72-75.

The reported dimensions of the bricks, between 30-35 cm, which may not take into account the existence of a local module, are characteristic of Roman Asia, and the top bricks' thickness of 3 cm fits with the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla¹⁴. However, the measurements also correspond to the dimensions used during the reign of Hadrian and therefore pose the possibility that the bath structure could be earlier¹⁵.

The inferred Caracallan date might be further supported by the discovery of a marble hand holding a snake, interpreted as a testament to the cult of Asclepius, a favorite of Caracalla's. Dolunay and Akok have surmised that the bath was a healing place, reinforced by coins portraying Asclepius, as well as a public service (Plate 25 nos. 13, 37 and C15)¹⁶. Caracalla's fascination with Asclepius in Ancyra is affirmed by inscriptions to Titus Flavius Gaianus, the *agonothetes* of the newly founded sacred games, the *Megala Asclepieia Sotereia*, and the local ambassador to Caracalla¹⁷. Moreover, there are dedications by Aelius Lycinus and Caecilius Felix who acclaim a Marcus Aurelius Antoninus who came through Ancyra¹⁸. Bosch and Mitchell feel that the Marcus Aurelius Antoninus for whom these honors were erected is Caracalla who definitely came to the capital, rather than the Marcus Aurelius Antoninus known as Elagabalus, Emperor from 218 to 222 AD¹⁹. Dio, however, complains that the cities of the East, expecting visits from the Emperor Caracalla, embarked on hasty, yet noble building projects that were all wasted when he never appeared²⁰.

¹⁴ H. Dodge "Brick Construction in Roman Greece and Asia Minor" in Macready and Thompson, *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. 1987: 107-108.

¹⁵ Dodge 1986: 108.

¹⁶ Dolunay 1941: 266; Erzen 1946: 99-100; Mitchell *AS*: 72; Arslan 1991: 7 no. 13; 13 no. 37; 29 no. C15; 32 .

¹⁷ Appendix I nos. 9-14.

¹⁸ Appendix I nos. 15-16.

¹⁹ Mitchell *AS*: 64-65; Bosch *Geschichte*: 322-323.

²⁰ Dio 77.9.6-7.

The only surviving inscriptions from Ancyra that mention a bath complex are those of Tiberius Julius Justus Julianus, the *Archiereus*, or high priest, of the city²¹. In five similarly worded public inscriptions that appear to have been carved by different hands, Julius is honored by the *phylai* for his gift to Ancyra of a bath complex, or βαλανειον²². In Latin, the difference between a *therma* and a *balneum* is the size. Although *therma* is of Greek origin, referring to hot baths, transliterated into Latin, a *therma* designates a large imperial structure for the general public. A *balneum* means a small private bath for either the individual or neighborhood²³. In Greek, however, a βαλανειον can refer to any bathing edifice²⁴. The use of Greek for public inscriptions does not mean that the population as a whole spoke or understood Greek. The elite members of the city must have been Hellenized to a certain point, evidenced in the Pergamene-Galatian marriages and the close ties of the Galatians to the early Empire. Knowledge of Greek would presume some sort of cultural learning, but this does not mean that they spoke the language. Therefore βαλανειον certainly denoted a bathing edifice to the Ancyran inhabitants, but the exact type remains unspecified.

Bosch, Broughton and Erzen think that these inscriptions date to the time of Caracalla. Bosch, because of the inscription style, an unreliable dating method, dates them to the second/third century²⁵. Broughton and Erzen simply state that Julianus is responsible for the bath because he is the only person associated with the edifice and since the archaeological evidence points to a Caracallan date, then Julianus must have lived in Ancyra at this time²⁶. Mitchell also believes that these inscriptions are

²¹ Appendix I nos. 17-21.

²² For the discussion regarding the differences in carving style, see Guillaume and Perrot 1872

²³ Yegül 1992: 488.

²⁴ I am grateful to Ender Varinlioğlu and Jacques Morin for helping to clarify the Greek terminology.

²⁵ Bosch *Geschichte*: 319-322.

²⁶ Broughton 1938: 778; Erzen 1946: 98-99.

Caracallan, claiming that seven other such inscriptions, now lost, probably existed²⁷. Given the survival rate, the argument is convincing. Mitchell's dating criteria, however, is based on Robert's article which discusses the previously mentioned Titus Flavius Gaianus²⁸. The relevance for this comparison is that Gaianus has a similar series of public inscriptions, this similarity obviously indicating that Gaianus and Julianus were in the public eye at the same time. The presence of twelve inscriptions is a sign of superfluous, empty honors that are all too prevalent during the time of the Severan dynasty²⁹. The flaw with this reasoning is how can it be known if the honors are empty if the date is still unknown. Since Julianus was honored by all twelve *phylai*, his gift to Ancyra applied to the whole city. The date of the creation of the last two *phylai* is Hadrianic, so Julianus was living in Ancyra by this time. But this does not necessarily indicate a Severan date. Nor does it mean that the honors were “empty”, since the *phylai* may represent the political force of the city. The inscriptions, the construction technique and the ornamentation style can all point to a Hadrianic date as well as a Caracallan one. The coins do not support the Caracallan date over the proposed Hadrianic one, as the coins could very well be from a later activity at the bath.

Due to the supposition that the bath was symmetrical, combined with the evidence of old architectural traces in the courtyard of the Finance Profession School, work commenced in 1944 to find the assumed South-West wing (Figure 13)³⁰. As work progressed, the excavators were faced with a surprising tangle of streets and buildings of various plans and construction techniques, the antithesis of the expected find, leaving the archaeologists to conclude that a district of Roman Ancyra was being discovered³¹. The

²⁷ Mitchell *AS* 1977: 72-75.

²⁸ See L. Robert “Inscription Agonistique d’Ancyra.” *Hellenica* XI/XII (1960).

²⁹ Mitchell *AS* 1977: 72-75.

³⁰ Akok 1955: 311-315.

³¹ Akok 1955

presence of the school impeded complete excavation, so the actual plan of the bath, as well as the 1944 finds, remains unsatisfactory.³²

No symmetrical bath wing or any planned dense habitation was met, and therefore, Akok maintained that this area is a large district of Ancyra, dating to the same period as the large bath³³. However, there are some problems with this assessment. The walls of the buildings have different angles, diverging alignments and varying thickness. No distinctive unity of plan is apparent and three different phases can be glimpsed. Obviously, serious renovation and destruction altered the bath's plan. The chaos revealed in this quadrant could very well correspond to late Roman, Byzantine and Seljuk modifications of the Imperial complex. Dolunay, on the basis of ceramic and numismatic finds, as well as the numerous repairs made to the structure, inclusive of the *natatio* where the marbles were pulled down and the mosaics torn up, thought that the bath was still used in the Byzantine and Seljuk periods³⁴. However, the buildings could very well be pre-Roman. Arik stated that the area encompassed by the bath is a pre-Roman settlement and this includes the land under the school³⁵. A definite conclusion regarding these ruins and their relation to the large Bath remains unresolved. It is unknown whether these ruins are definitely Hellenistic, Roman or Byzantine. The reported evidence does not seem to support a Hellenistic date, but the possibility exists, especially since three different undated levels of construction were present.

The major problem with these foundations, exacerbated by their current loss, is to establish an accurate and exact plan of the structure. Even in Akok's detailed visual

³² See Apendix II for a more detailed anaylsis of the excavation finds.

³³ Akok 1955: 314-315.

³⁴ Dolunay 1941: 265-266 ; Akok 1968 plan I shows a Byzantine tomb clearly and it may still be seen today.

³⁵ Arik 1937: 54.

analysis of the basement and entrance level, a structural inconsistency can be seen (Figures 9 and 10). The walls of the *natatio* extend to different lengths and expand to different widths³⁶. Unless this is a later repair, which is not specifically noted within the texts, this Roman bath has some peculiar and special features, even though these asymmetrical parts are the substructure. It is possible that this modification may be the sequestering of one half of the bath from its original purpose, creating a division from the later alterations. The evidence is too scanty and the reports too vague to be able to theorize beyond this point.

With the generally accepted conclusion that the Ancyra Bath was symmetrical, Yegül has reconstructed the complex with a proposed extra apsidal heated room, but this part of the ruin is present neither on Akok's drawing nor at the site (Figure 14)³⁷. Furthermore, while the odd side rooms, designated as marble or imperial halls by Yegül, flanking two sides of the palaestra mirror each other, the strange annex to the North-East is certainly not reflected anywhere else in the design nor in its own particular arrangement³⁸. According to Akok, these small rooms are believed to have been offices and shops³⁹. In Akok's 1968 plan of the bath, more undated settlement traces are designated, attached to the corner of the palaestra under Çankırı Caddesi (Figure 9)⁴⁰. In no way do these foundations enhance any symmetry of this structure, but they certainly do, if they can be accepted as actually being part of the bath, reinforce its magnitude. The evidence suggests, but does not prove, that the Bath was symmetrical.

³⁶ Akok 1955 Plan III , Akok 1968: Plan I; Yegül 1992: 280 Figure 350 .

³⁷ Akok 1955 Plan III; Akok 1968: Plan I; Yegül 1992: 280 Figure 350.

³⁸ Yegül 1992: 280 Figure 350.

³⁹ Akok 1968: 7.

⁴⁰ Akok 1968 : Plan I.

These particular traits combined with the results of the 1944 Finance Profession School excavation have motivated Dolunay, Erzen and Akok to speculate that the bath was built in sections, thus explaining the various time periods, random walls and foundations and the "missing wing"⁴¹. It could very well be that the Bath was unfinished in the Roman period or built during the reign of Hadrian and modified under Caracalla. Dolunay and Erzen believe that the *palaestra* was used not just for the standard sports of wrestling and racing, but also for horse riding, public festivals and celebrations⁴². As the nature of the *Megala Asclepieia Sotereia* is unknown, the *palaestra* could have been the location of this public gathering, but it is highly improbable that equestrian events occurred here⁴³.

The other notion put forth is that the *palaestra* is the gymnasium of Polyadas, another edifice attested by inscriptions⁴⁴. Since the ornate architrave and columns may date to the second century AD, during the reign of Hadrian, the *palaestra*/gymnasium would predate the possibly Caracallan bath structure. For this reason, the sectional construction theory is very appealing. However, it would be odd to have a pre-existing detached *palaestra*. In the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, the term gymnasium could denote either a gymnasium proper or a bath complex, so theoretically, the bath *could* be the gymnasium, but the *palaestra* alone cannot be.

To further confuse the issue, the fragmentary inscription from the *palaestra* architrave mentions one Titus Cornelius who gave the building to the *metropolis* of the

⁴¹ Dolunay 1941: 266; Erzen 1946: 99-100; Akok 1955: 311.

⁴² Dolunay 1941: 264; Erzen 1946: 99; Akok 1968: 13.

⁴³ I have not been able to identify the nature of these particular Megala. See L. Robert "Inscription Agonistique d'Ancyra. *Hellenica* XI/XII (1960), unavailable to me, for a fuller description. Erzen 1946: 99.

⁴⁴ Appendix I nos. 22-23.

Galatians and honored the workmen⁴⁵. The entire issue of the architrave is the essential link to the bath. Most scholars agree that the fragments are Hadrianic, and as such, they cannot belong to the bath since that structure is obviously Caracallan, so therefore they must form part of the road, and as the road is not understood, then it has to be a ceremonial way that leads to the Bath from the Temple. However, this is revisionist. The *palaestra* was originally interpreted as the “market” and the architraves belong to the *palaestra*⁴⁶. If the pieces are from the time of Hadrian, then Tiberius Julius Justus Julianus could not be responsible for the entire bath complex, perhaps not even for this bath, but another. There is little doubt that Julianus was an important man in Ancyra, having been *Archiereus* three times, but the possibility exists that he built another bath⁴⁷. Julianus cannot have lived before the time of Hadrian, since the twelfth *phyle* is preserved in one of the honorific inscriptions concerning the bath. If the entire structure is Hadrianic or Caracallan, it would be interesting to know how Titus Cornelius fits into the picture, unless Titus Cornelius was responsible for an original structure under Hadrian and Julianus sponsored the reconstruction of the building under Caracalla. If this is the case, Cornelius’ honorific inscriptions are lost unless his name on the *palaestra* architrave sufficed. However, it should also be noted that typical of the architecture and adornment of the Severan dynasty is the reinforcement of the connection to the “Good Emperors”, as some sort of imperial justification, and this architrave may date to Caracalla. The available evidence presents many questions that still cannot be answered with any certainty.

Sensing the inconsistency in inscriptions and evidence, Akok and Dolunay sought to resolve the problem by proposing the bath was constructed in sections, but this leads to

⁴⁵ Appendix I no. 24. Dr. Jacques Morin greatly helped with the Greek translation.

⁴⁶ Dalman 1932: 125.

⁴⁷ Mitchell *AS* 1977 73-75. Mitchell cites Robert *Hellenica* XI/XII (1960) to support the Caracallan date. I am quoting his citation.

other ambiguous arguments. If the bath was built in compartments, which part did Julianus, if he actually was responsible for this bath, contribute? Erzen offers the answer that Julianus was the public inspector, which means that he had to pay the remainder of the small amount given by the city and therefore Julianus built the center of the complex⁴⁸. This is equally vague as it does not specify the "center". It could mean the *natatio*, the *tepidarium*, the *caldarium* or the entire complex behind the *palaestra*. While it is normal to assume that some bath complexes might have been built in sections, taking years to complete, it is doubtful that it took seventy years to complete the Ancyra bath.

Ancyra's bath probably was a symmetrical structure, an idea reinforced by the discovery of cisterns, earthenware pipes and arched service corridors under the school. However, the later remodeling has destroyed most of the evidence and the reports do not divulge any clear dating scheme nor whether the Bath was finished in the Roman era. With no absolute date, it could very well be that the additions were Roman, altering Hellenistic building foundations.

While the sectional theory would make the Ancyra bath more understandable, it is an odd conclusion. The bricks found in Dalman's work matches that of the bath facilities, and presumably some of the buildings under the school, indicating that all foundations were built at the same time⁴⁹. According to Dodge's chart, this hints toward a Caracallan or Hadrianic date, and implies that the *palaestra*, the architrave and the complex are Caracallan or Hadrianic as well⁵⁰. As it is highly unlikely that the Bath is sectional, only three options are really viable. Either Titus Cornelius built the *palaestra*, under Hadrian or Caracalla, and Julianus built the bath, Titus Cornelius is responsible for

⁴⁸ Erzen 1946: 98-99.

⁴⁹ Dalman 1932: 128.

⁵⁰ Dodge 1987: 107-108.

the entire bath complex or Titus Cornelius sponsored the bath under Hadrian and Julianus renovated it under Caracalla. The available evidence cannot provide an accurate date for the construction of the bath, but gives a possible one hundred year time span. The Antonine period witnessed a flurry of building activity in Anatolia, as well as the appropriation of Hadriatic artistic styles and the bath of Ancyra may be an example of this, perhaps indicating that the bath may be a structure of AD 150. Although Ancyra's bath looks relatively normal upon first glance, its complexities belie the facade and exemplify the difficulties of reaching any clear image of this provincial capital.

VI

Buildings Known Through Excavation

Other monuments belonging to Roman Ancyra have been discovered during the construction of the modern city, but now they are lost or destroyed, preserved only in reports. It is possible to identify where these buildings stood, so that the area encompassed by the ancient city can be clarified.

SMALL BATH COMPLEX

One such remnant was a small Roman bath complex, discovered in 1946, when the foundations for the new military jail were being laid in the district known as Soğukkuyu (Figure 1, E; Figure 15 no. 11). This is located behind the Old Parliament building, and is currently the area behind Cumhuriyet Caddesi¹.

What was discovered during the course of the excavation was a luxurious symmetrically planned bath complex, measuring 30 x 30 m, which should be termed a *balneum*, a small bath, distinctly different from the larger imperial, public *therma*². Akok insists that this building was of significant importance in the past due to its special and original construction technique³. A basement floor, whose walls measured less than 80 cm. in thickness, contained indications of cold, hot and bathing rooms, service accesses and a furnace space. Created from perfectly aligned stones and delicate lime mortar, the walls were preserved to a total height of 4 meters. The walls were topped by four rows of bricks, similar to the Imperial Bath complex⁴. Akok does not specify if the

¹ Akok 1955: 323-329 is the only published source for this information.

² Yegül 1992: 488.

³ Akok 1955: 324.

⁴ For a discussion on the Imperial Bath bricks, see Dodge 1987: 107-112.

stucco plaster. In some places the lower part of the walls were covered with mortar, the upper part by marble of varying thickness and types. During the excavation, water channels and remnants of collapsed roof tiles were unearthed.

Most of the small finds were jugs, pots, plates, bowls, and objects identified as perfume containers, all of good workmanship and an array of interesting shapes and decoration. Some of these implements were found wrapped in reddish-brown animal hair. Terracotta horse figurines were also found among the utensils. Glass bottles, ranging in color from clear to dark blue were also extracted.

Akok has drawn a parallel between the Soğukkuyu finds and those of the large Imperial baths and the traces of the classical "settlement" under the Finance Profession School. In fact, the small discoveries in both baths do strongly resemble each other, the large baths producing more marble statuary pieces. No exact date can be attributed to the small complex. As the large imperial baths are thought, but not proven, to date to the time of the Emperor Caracalla on the basis of coins, inscriptions and construction technique, the similarly styled small baths may be said to belong to some time between the mid-second to mid-third century AD, according to Akok⁷. It could be earlier, since the reported brick size, if the dimensions are accepted as standard not local, corresponds to the reign of the Emperor Hadrian⁸. If the bath is a pure brick structure, then it could be mid-second century AD. No other evidence exists to give a more precise date for this bath. If it does date to the earlier time, it may be the result of local prosperity, for the fine workmanship and decoration this small complex displayed must be a sign of the wealth of an individual inhabitant.

⁷ Akok 1955: 327.

⁸ Dodge 1987: 107-108.

PRIVATE HOUSES

In addition to the small bath complex at Soğukkuyu, on the East-West edge of the excavation, many clusters of different buildings were found⁹. The nature of construction testified that the dwellings were two separate houses, the Eastern house having been built at a higher level, yet the houses were connected. The foundations and walls of both houses consisted of limestone bricks and stones set in regular lines with mortar, the walls measuring between 70-80 cm. thick. Inner and outer walls were plastered with sandy lime, horosan and lime mortar. Window openings were apparent and the houses were surrounded by a brick wall. Again, no exact date can be given for these structures. The houses were later modified into a larger family residence, and the outer wall was built to insure privacy.

Although not specifically stated, a connection of date is possible between the baths and the houses, as the construction technique and sound workmanship are similar. Akok dated the houses to mid-second/mid third century AD, as evidence of the growth of Ancyra in later years. The location of this bath surely indicates that Ancyra was spreading outwards from the Temple¹⁰. However, it must be noted that these houses could date to the time of Hadrian at the earliest. The entire Soğukkuyu area, then and now, must be seen as archaeologically sensitive, even though the actual monuments remain buried, although they could have been destroyed during later building work. Even so, despite the inadequate nature of the available evidence, the area must also be imagined in its proper ancient urban context, and hints at the complexity and survival rate of Ancyra's buildings and monuments.

⁹ Akok 1955: 327-328.

¹⁰ The economy of Ancyra, while certainly an important facet to the ancient city, is outside the scope of this paper, although many references to the increased prosperity in the second century AD are stated.

HEATED ROOM COMPLEX

In 1947, during the construction of the Nurettin Ersoy Hotel and a Shopping Center at the corner of Çankırı Caddesi and Çiçek Sokak, neither of which edifices exist today, some scattered building foundations were discovered (Plate 15)¹¹. The most prominent finding was a massive wall, which may be one of Ancyra's defensive walls, and a six meter wide defensive ditch on the outside(Plate 15, VII). This wall continues for forty meters under Çankırı Caddesi, towards the colonnaded road excavated by Dalman in 1931¹². It was built on top of Roman settlements, between the “Dense Wall”, (Yoğun Duvar), and Çankırıkapı (Figure 16)¹³. From its construction and material, consisting of reused Classical era stones decorated with designs in relief, possibly from the Imperial bath, it was deduced that the wall dated to the Medieval Period. Akok theorized that in Ancyra's later history, the population was squeezed into a smaller urban space, or the residents moved to areas easier to defend¹⁴. The area of Çankırı had a great deal of human activity throughout the ages and must be seen, as Soğukkuyu, to be archaeologically sensitive.

On both sides of the wall, two kinds of buildings, different from each other in architectural and structural features, were encountered (Plate 14)¹⁵. The south-east edifice was dated to the Byzantine period. To the north-east, the excavators identified three rooms of a building bearing a Roman plan and construction (Plate 15, II, IV and VI). Room II was made with an *opus signinum* floor on blocks, the walls bearing

¹¹ Akok's 1955: 315-322 and Plan I no.2; Akok 1968: Plan II.

¹² Dalman 1932: 123-125.

¹³ Dalman 1932: Plan I. Dalman's map shows the Yoğun Duvar, but he does not discuss it. Either does Dolunay 1941, Akok 1955 or Akok 1968. Çankırıkapı is the name given to the old city gate Çankırı does not mean broken pottery, but is a Turkish version of the Arabic "Gangra". I am grateful to Ender Varinlioğlu for giving me this information.

¹⁴ Akok 1955: 317.

¹⁵ Akok 1955: Plate 8.

frescoes. Through a door to the south, Room IV is located. The floor and walls of this irregular shaped room in which the eastern wall is the shortest, were veneered with marble, and the apse was built up with bricks¹⁵. Some of the floor is of *opus signinum*, ceramic fragments laid in the mortar creating a mosaic effect, but definitely not a mosaic. Other parts of Room IV's floor were standing on *pilae* made of circular bricks, as is typical of Roman baths, perhaps showing a half-hypocaust system. Room VI is also irregularly shaped with a door in the south wall, the walls plastered with lime mortar and the floor covered with *opus signinum*. The hot air ducts in these rooms opened in an eastern direction, where other portions of the building should be located, but they were destroyed in order to provide a foundation for the city wall. As Akok thought that the warmer sections of this edifice lay to the east, Room IV becomes the last surviving part of the heating system. The combination of hot air ducts, *opus signinum* and hypocaust heating system would seem to indicate a heated room complex, an answer to the grim winters of Ancyra. Due to the incomplete nature of this surviving structure, Akok has identified it as “settlement traces”, hinting that it may be a private heated room complex, rather than a small bath since no other characteristics of a bathing facility, inclusive of water pipes, channels or cisterns, were discovered.

The walls of this particular eastern section averaged 70 cms in height, made of stones and lime mortar, the top parts laid with thin, flat bricks. The walls and the corner connections are of good workmanship, the thickness being close to 90 cm, and white lime mortar prepared with care was used in the wall lining. Obviously prepared for decoration, the walls were laid properly with coarse grain sand, plaster mixed with straw, thick lime plaster with sand, and finally, on the top, a 3 mm thick layer of plaster on which a fresco was painted. In Room II, imitation green “somaki” was chosen, while

white and gray were employed in Room IV¹⁶. Dispersed fragments suggest that geometrical decorations, human and animal figures adorned the upper parts of the walls. In the western rooms of the building, marble plaques of various sizes, used for veneer, were discovered. These marble pieces reportedly resembled the marble used in the large Imperial baths.

The Roman pottery has five groups: 1) Red colored pitchers and pans with elegant grooved handles; 2) Red bowls and plates with either dark red or brown glaze; 3) Numerous terra sigillata pieces with molded decorations and figures of plants, fish and animals, probably African Red Slip Ware; 4) horse figurines, perhaps a reference to the Celtic goddess Epona; 5) Myriad oil lamps, the earliest being Roman examples from the third century AD. Other small finds include bone implements in the form of needles, pins and buttons, similar to those found during the excavation of the Imperial bath¹⁷. Glassware fragments consisted of jars, bowls, bottle necks, body sherds and bases. 250 coins were also collected, but their report was not included in Akok's article since they were being cleaned. I have not been able to identify these coins in any subsequent publication.

The conclusion regarding this group of rooms is that the construction technique and cultural material were similar to those of the large bath complex and the buildings in the Finance Profession School courtyard, which were all in the same geographical region¹⁸. Because of this proximity and the resemblance of the structures, the archaeologists dated this "settlement" to the second or third century AD. Again, it should be noted that if the construction technique is similar to the Imperial bath, then this small

¹⁶ I have not been able to identify what "somaki" is.

¹⁷ Arık 1937: 51-53.

¹⁸ Akok 1955: 322. As previously discussed, the dating for this entire area remains speculative.

heated complex may be no earlier than Hadrian and no later than Caracalla. Akok's report also refers to grille openings and arch supports in the structure that are not apparent in the accompanying plates nor are they fully explained in the text. The actual identification of this building remains elusive, since the building remains to the west of the city wall do not align with what was excavated to the east. If this Roman building was a bath, Ancyra, even if only in the sphere of bathing, may have worn a heavy veil of Romanization. Important, yet frustrating, as is the case with most of Ancyra's monuments, this small portion of Roman history unexpectedly reached through the asphalt to give another tantalizing, if not understood, glimpse into the ancient city's possessions.

CITADEL FOUNDATIONS

Although the imposing Byzantine citadel, constructed of untold numbers of Roman buildings, that crowns modern Ankara is of late date, there is every reason to believe that Roman and pre-Roman buildings stood upon the acropolis. This belief, along with the desire to learn which part of ancient Ancyra was most populated, present in 1937, provided the motivation behind excavations on the citadel conducted by Arık for the Turkish Historical Society¹⁹. The work did not bring to light any evidence earlier than the Roman era. The area explored was the interior and exterior of the outer wall and the interior of the inner wall, the work starting at the south-east corner of Arslanhane Cami (Figure 17)²⁰. Much burnt earth was encountered, especially to the west, in the interior of the outer wall. 15 meters from Towers 18 and 19 of the inner wall the foundations of a Roman wall were discovered, parallel to the exterior wall and the

¹⁹ Arık 1937 47-49.

²⁰ Arık 1937: 48.

eastern part of the interior wall, which leads to the speculation that this Classical wall served as a model for the subsequent fortification system.

Arik refrains from dating the structure, nor does he offer a commentary on what it might have been, other than to say it could be a city wall. Of course, it could be many other things, such as the foundation for a temple. Epigraphic evidence, reinforced by Pausanias' eye-witness account strongly suggests that a Temple to Zeus stood in Ancyra in the second century AD²¹. The inscriptions attest to two different manifestations of Zeus, perhaps inferring that two separate temples existed for the god. Bosch suggests that the Temple of Zeus reported by Pausanias and the Temple of Zeus Taenos may be the same temple²². The twelfth *phyle*'s name, Dios Taenon, demonstrates the presence of Zeus Taenos in the time of Hadrian, when the *phyle* was created and when Pausanias saw the temple to this god. Furthermore, coins, although the identity cannot be absolutely certain, depict a temple with eagles, the sacred bird of this particular deity, in the pediments (Plate 1, D and E; Plate 2, 4 and 22)²³. Unfortunately, the evidence does not tell us if there were one or two temples to Zeus in Ancyra. Nonetheless, a hill-top location would be appropriate for a sanctuary to an important god such as Zeus.

BUILDINGS IN THE SİHHİYE DISTRICT

Arik mentions that during the construction of many of the Turkish Republican buildings and roads, a plethora of Classical works were detected, though he is not specific as to what kind of works. Most of the remains came from the construction of the "Halk Evisi" or the "House of the People", where part of a large Classical road was met,

²¹ Pausanias 1.4.5; Erzen 1946: 99; Appendix I nos. 25-26.

²² Bosch *Geschichte*: 1-4; 275-277; Pausanias 1.4.5.

²³ Erzen 1946 : Plate 25; Arslan 1991: 4-42.

passing along the asphalt road that stretches from the Commercial Lise, the Ethnography Museum and the "House of the People". In the area encircled by the Turkish Air Federation, the old fire station, the orphanage, the Agriculture Bank, Gençlik Park, and the stadium, a "market" was discovered, perhaps a reference to Dalman's 1931 discovery. Outside this were abundant tombs, baths and parts of mosaics.

It is discouraging that nothing else can be gleaned from this list, as it was all either destroyed or not reported further. Nothing specific about chronology can be reconstructed. Arık limited his report mainly to the citadel and at the Çankırıkapı Mound. Although the "House of the People" cannot be precisely identified, since the Republican buildings have changed their appearances and names, one can recognise the present day Sihhiye District, which serves to indicate that Roman Ancyra was indeed a large flourishing *metropolis*²⁴.

COLONNADED ROAD

As mentioned above in Chapter V, in 1931, a colonnaded road, paved with andesite cobblestones, running along the west of the city, was discovered during the construction of Çankırı Caddesi (Figure 16 and Plate 12)²⁵. This road, with four column bases in-situ, can still be seen at the corner of the Roman Bath Complex. Although no width for the street was officially reported, Dalman's scale allows for a width of 5 m. Only a small portion of the street was uncovered, but a column base was found 22 meters to the west of the new Çankırı Caddesi and another 70 meters to the east are certainly part of the same structure. The stones were put on the ground without any foundation and no vehicle traces can be seen. There was erosion at the north edge, due to the proximity

²⁴ Arık 1937: 47.

²⁵ Dalman 1932: 122- 133; Plan I.

of the street to the river, and excavators deduced that this road was merely a side street, because there would not have been a residential area built along the marshy shore and the lack of any building foundations and columns bases on the northern side reinforce this conclusion. The middle part of the street was untouched and the northern end has not been found. It is not known to where this road led, except that it did go to the center of the city. The topography was reflected in the gentle incline of the road. Between the two excavated parts of the street, there is a bend. As the rest of Ancyra's streets are lost, no explanation for the bend can be offered, but Dalman asserts that it may hint to Ancyra's planning, one which would not have been well-arranged, not the normal orthogonal grid. Dalman also goes so far as to suggest that Roman Ancyra was built without a plan since the Galatian buildings affected the site during its development as a capital²⁶.

This is the same street which has been accepted as part of a grand colonnaded processional way that stretched from the Temple to "Augustus" to the Imperial Baths²⁷. As seen from the plans of the Bath drawn by Akok, this supposition is problematic (Figures 9 and 10)²⁸, nor is there any evidence to prove this theory. Not only has the entrance of the bath not been confidently located, but the bath and the road are at two substantially different elevations and probably represent two different periods. The road obviously predates the bath due to its position; it is not aligned with the bath in any regular manner, is literally crowded into the same vicinity at an awkward angle and extends beyond the limits of the bath. Perhaps the road and the bath are Hadrianic, but remodeled under Caracalla, explaining why the bath appears to overlap the street at the north-eastern intersection. The proximity of the two remains hardly indicates that they are part of an organized monument linking plan. The Temple to "Augustus" is to the

²⁶ Dalman 1932: 130-131.

²⁷ Erzen 1946 97-98; Bosch *Geschichte*: 186 no. 145; Mitchell and McParlin *ANKBUILD*: no. 35

²⁸ Akok 1968: Plan I/II.

south-east of the bath, while the street appears to the north-east, and the bend then changes its course to a purely eastern direction, appearing also to bypass the temple, if the road actually continued in this direction. The actual length of the road is still unknown, and therefore, it is premature to say with absolute certainty that this road went to the temple. Dalman himself wrote that Ancyra had no apparent logical planning, although that may be a bit of an assumption, but the important point of his theory is that he did not see a connection between the two major surviving Roman monuments, even without thorough excavation of the known baths. Akok, in his subsequent publications, fails to identify this side street as a major way leading to the baths. In fact, Akok reconstructs the bath entrance on the opposite side of the bath, where another road was found²⁹.

This road has also been mistakenly thought to have been decorated with the massive inscribed and delicately carved architrave from the *palaestra*. It would seem a bit odd that a narrow andesite side street along a river, a road that does not connect any major monuments nor is a main axis of the city, would be elaborately decorated with large marble pieces. As stated in Chapter V, these classically elegant works belong to what was mistakenly identified as a “market” in 1931, but has since been recognized as the *palaestra* of the baths. The architrave belong to a sumptuous, luxurious edifice, not an unimportant street that merely happens to be close by. The confused and seemingly contradictory nature of the evidence from the Imperial bath has led to the ceremonial road interpretation. By assigning the architrave and Titus Cornelius to the street, the bath can be conclusively linked to Julianus. However, there is simply no proof to irrefutably support this claim and the evidence points to Dalman’s original deduction. Nonetheless,

²⁹ Akok 1968: PlanI/II.

as part of Ancyra's heritage, the surviving street is an essential remnant in a proper understanding of the Roman city.

ULUS ROAD

Before the construction of new buildings in the Ulus area delimited by Sumerbank to the West, Zincirli Mosque and the General Directorate of Revenues to the East, the Column of Julian to the North and Anafartalar Market to the South, an exploratory excavation was made in 1995, which led to the discovery of a Roman road and accompanying Roman building foundations (Plate 15)³⁰.

The road, measuring 69 m long and 5.8 m wide, flanked by sidewalks 1.5 m wide, and constructed of large stone blocks, extends in a north-south direction, along with an ancient water system. On the west side of the street, a small example of *opus sectile*, in the form of a base was found. Below this, there is a 7 cm layer of *opus signinum*. Temizsoy draws a parallel between this technique and that found in the house of Attalus in Pergamum, but this should be viewed as a possible juxtaposition, not an actual architectural connection between Galatia and Pergamum. The *opus sectile* could also be Roman. On the east side of the street is a late water canal, containing many ceramic pot pieces from the first century BC to the first century AD. At the west border of the excavation area stands a monumental wall parallel to the street, extending in a

³⁰ Temizsoy 1996: 7-32.

north-south direction. The excavators concluded that this wall, which is 20 cm higher than the street, acts as a barrier and separates the *opus sectile* from the street.

At the south of the excavation area, continuing in a northern direction parallel to the street, buildings identified as K1, K2, and K3 were found. The places are separated from the *opus sectile* area by a 80 cm thick plastered wall. K1 and K3 consist of two parallel rectangular rooms. Immediately north of these rooms stands K2, a larger structure whose walls and floor were coated, interior and exterior, with marble 2 cm thick over 8 cm thick plaster. After K2, rooms of different sizes, paralleling each other, continue to the northern border of the territory.

At this northern border, a perpendicular wall, extending east-west, made of 111 x 95 x 40 cm brown and white spotted Ankara stones, was encountered. This wall had been repaired and destroyed at later periods, explaining the difference in workmanship and number of stones. The bottom of the wall was very rough, perhaps indicating that the foundation was to be buried. The estimated length of the wall is 31 meters. According to the excavators, this wall may have been the south wall of a late Hellenistic, first century BC, building extending to the north of the excavated area, now under the road and parking lot³¹. If such a conclusion is true, this structure may be the first Hellenistic structure brought to light, disregarding the theories about the Temple to “Augustus”. It may give proof that something was in Ancyra before the Roman occupation.

One of the most remarkable finds is a statue of a standing woman, 1.30 m tall, 0.57 m wide and 0.50 cm thick, the head broken from the neck. The workmanship is of high quality, although unfinished in the back which means that she was to be viewed

³¹ Temizsoy 1996: 13.

frontally, in a public space. She wears a chiton and himation, the thick softly folded clothing wrapped around the whole body, her right arm bent at the elbow and pulled to the chest. The weight is on the right leg, the left leg slightly bent, so that she stands with the knee forward, giving the entire composition an S shape. Due to the artistic style, since no other clues to her date were located, she was assigned to the second century AD, but a first century AD style is just as possible.

The most common types of pottery are Late Hellenistic and Early Roman ceramic cups in a local variant of red lined or East terra sigillata, made with red fabric and differentiated in form and slip. These were made of local clay and fired differently from the standard East terra sigillata (African Red Slip Ware) A, B and C. Fired horse figurines were found, dating to the first century BC/AD, perhaps Galatian or Early Roman.

Other small finds comprise bone objects, oil lamps decorated with religious patterns, worn coins, fragments of terracotta figurines, one piece of a conical die, a stone ring with an anchor pattern on one side and a stylized ship motif on the reverse, ten pieces of skyphos decorated with an anchor pattern, and a ceramic plate with crocodile ornamentation. The anchor motif reflects Ancyra's foundation myth, supporting the account set forth by Stephan Byzantinos³². Ancyra's residents, regardless whether Galatian, Greek or Roman, had cause to adopt the anchor as a popular and civic-minded ornamentation.

³² Bosch *Geschichte* : 1-3. See Chapter II for Ancyra's foundation myths and name origins.

VII

Buildings Known From Other Evidence

Architectural and decorative traces of Roman Ancyra can be glimpsed in the imposing castle walls, as the ancient city was sacrificed for subsequent protection. While the *spolia* is fragmented and the original provenance lost, these remnants can provide an idea of the city's political, technical and architectural nature. Because most of these elements have no written record, it is nearly impossible to date the structures from which they come. The current restoration project and continuous construction alters the facade and composition of the citadel, which endangers the archaeological record for the entire city. The pieces discussed below may disappear in the future¹.

In tower 16 an inscribed white marble architrave, attests to a "most splendid governor", whose name is erased, and to a completed wall, dedicated to the *metropolis*². Both Mitchell and Bosch interpret the remnant as a record of an *archon* of Ancyra who commemorated the completion of the wall or a particular part of it. Because his name is erased, he suffered a disgrace that caused *damnatio memoriae*. Remy lists this missing person as an imperial legate, his tenure undatable and his name impossible to reconstruct³. This would appear to date to some time under Valerian and Gallienus, perhaps after the raid of the "barbarians" in 260/270 AD⁴. The term *metropolis* certainly indicates that the inscription belongs to a time after Hadrian (above, Chapter II). The argument about whether Ancyra had city walls in the early Imperial period remains an open question. Mamboury has suggested that Caracalla built the fortification system, but

¹ The information is taken from my own survey of the castle walls and its environs, as well as the building inscriptions prepared by Mitchell and McParlin *ANKBUILD*.

² Appendix I no. 27.

³ B. Remy. *Les Fastes Senatoriaux Des Provinces Romaines D'Anatolie Au Haut-Empire*. Istanbul:98.

⁴ Appendix I no. 27.

there is no evidence for this claim⁵. Apparently the city walls had bronze doors. One inscription records the construction of gates and the entire decorative scheme⁶.

AQUEDUCT

On the East side of the citadel, reused in the Byzantine walls, are some 50 pierced blocks, mainly complete, some broken (Plate 16). These are part of a stone siphon aqueduct system. Blocks from such a system have a socket at one end and a projecting lip at the other, so that the two interlock and form a water tight tube. The concentration of such blocks in this place suggests that the water supply of Ancyra entered the city from this direction.⁷

The stone pressure aqueduct/pipeline is relatively common in Western and Central Anatolia. This may be explained by the availability of workable stone, andesite in the case of Ancyra. The date of the system remains unknown. Coulton states that Greek water supplies from outside the city centers were virtually all underground due to the hostile environment, before the advent of the Pax Romana.⁸ Perhaps Ancyra's water supply may date to pre-Roman times, and was modified in the Roman era. This proposition depends on whether the existence of an urban establishment here prior to the Roman era can be accepted and proven. Currently, such an idea is mere speculation. From where the water was coming and whether Ancyra's water system was placed on the ground or supported by an arched aqueduct cannot be positively known. Many streams flowed through ancient Ancyra, inclusive of the Ancyra Çay and the Hatip Stream, and

⁵ Mamboury 1933: 71.

⁶ Appendix I no. 28.

⁷ J. Coulton. "Roman Aqueducts in Asia Minor" in Macready and Thompson, *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. 1987: 74.

⁸ Coulton 1987: 73, 78.

the Halys River outside the city proper. The existence of at least two bath complexes in Ancyra reinforces the need for water. Coulton explains the increased water supplies in the Greek part of the Eastern Empire as a result of the popularity of the Roman bathing habit⁹. Stone blocks in the *palaestra* of the Imperial Bath certainly illustrate Coulton's explanation. Although water pipes and cisterns were found during the excavations of the Bath, the path of the water line has not been traced or studied.

OTHER SPOLIA

The east wall also holds 15 columns, yet this can reveal nothing other than the profusion of architecture in the entire city. One of the more interesting pieces is a beautiful floral frieze, which is not present in any other part of the castle. The North-East portion does not hold anything exceptional, but for a gravestone in Latin, used as part of the wall's base (Plate 17a), several columns, three large oblong columns, four lintel fragments and four water system stones.

On the west side of the citadel, Arik records several *spolia*, not all of them now visible, including a gravestone and an Ionic column (Plates 17b and 18)¹⁰. The main western wall on Kale Kapısı Sokak has twenty-five water system stones (Plate 19a). The interior of the castle has some of the more unusual pieces. One wall, near the Agora restaurant, is comprised of four badly eroded statues, nine *bomoi* (large white marble podia usually used for public dedications and honors), one with the bull and garland motif, a lintel and a column (Plate 19b). To the left, the wall has a column base and a

⁹ Coulton 1987: 82. For more on the spread of Roman Baths and bathing, see G. Fagan. *Three Studies in Roman Public Bathing: Origins, Growth and Social Aspects*. Michigan: 1993; I. Nielsen. *Thermae et Balnae: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Bathing*. Aarhus: 1990. For a detailed analysis of aqueducts, see A. Trevor-Hodge. *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply*. London: 1992.

¹⁰ Arik 1937: 49.

small portion of a bull and garland. To the right, there are four Greek inscriptions, two identical sculpted heads, one with a garland held by a cherub, an architrave with a circular floral design, a *bomos* and one large broken Latin inscription turned upside down (Plate 20). This inscription mentions one Axius, an unknown governor. Remy states that it is impossible to reconstruct the name of this Senator¹¹.

Allaeddin Camii, originally built in the twelfth century AD, has eight Roman columns supporting the front porch. Each column is topped by a different capital than was obviously originally intended (Plate 21). Six have Doric capitals, while only one carries an Ionic capital. In the garden of the cami, there are many plain *bomoi*, in addition to the columns and capitals that line the fence (Plate 22). Arslanhane Camii in Samanpazari, near the Saat Kapısı, is also a treasure of Roman pieces, including the two massive columns supporting the wooden Ottoman roof of the turbesi (Plates 23 and 24). One column stands on a Greek inscription while the other rests on a Corinthian capital.

At the top of the castle itself, there is a broken *bomos*, one whole *bomos*, two water system stones, eight columns and a lintel stuck into one of the defensive "windows". From this highest point, the towers to the north contain nine water system stones and eight large columns.

These bits and pieces of adornment can only inform us that the buildings were finely and richly accented. Considering that the Temple of "Augustus" may have had an Ionic *pseudo-dipteros*, it is odd that only four capitals, the last one spotted in the garden of the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, survive. If the Ionic temple on the coins of Gallienus actually depicts another edifice, then Ionic columns should be more widespread

¹¹ Appendix I no. 29; Remy 1989: 172.

(Plate 2, C17 and C18). Corinthian capitals, three of which were found at the Temple, are even less apparent. However, near Gençlik Park, an undated unidentified structure which may be a Seljuk Bath, has columns, a Corinthian capital and Latin inscriptions in the open courtyard. As this is a good distance from the castle, perhaps Arık's cursory list of finds in the Sihhiye District can become more tangible¹². If these Classical remnants came from the same area, then Ancyra was definitely a sprawling urban center with a rather large cemetery and a large dose of Roman influence.

¹² Arık 1937: 47.

VIII

Buildings Known through Inscriptions and Descriptions

It is not only from the traces on the ground and the pieces in the citadel wall that Roman Ancyra can be imagined. The plethora of inscribed evidence left from the period, perhaps the greatest amount remaining in all of Anatolia, refers to many edifices that may have stood in the city, their exact whereabouts unknown, though speculations may be put forward.

City Council Building

An inscription mentions a *bouleuterion*, the standard government institution in the Graeco-Roman cities of the East¹. The *bouleuterion* would have been the central meeting place of the *phylai* representatives, though it is difficult to assess whether the division into 12 *phylai* reflects the actual organization of the city into geographical regions. Mitchell argues that the regional division of Ancyra can be supported by the election of a tribal *astynomus*, whose duty was to supervise the roads and water systems of the appropriate quarters of the city². While this may certainly imply civic apportionment, whether the city was strictly ordered by territory or the arrangement was amorphous, based on population growth, is still unknown.

The ninth *phyle*, thought to have been formed in 96-98 AD, during the reign of Nerva, is called the Hiera Boulaea, and Erzen suggested that the *bouleuterion* may have been located in the district of this particular *phyle* and that the *phyle* took its name from

¹ Appendix I no. 30; Erzen 1946: 95

² Mitchell *AS*: 77-79 discusses an inscription which tells of the *astynomus*. This white marble *bomos* is now in the Roma Bath palaestra.

the building³. However, Bosch categorized this inscription as Flavian, which illustrates a discrepancy in the *phylai* chronology⁴. Erzen's *bouleuterion* argument can also be refuted since this *phyle* is mentioned on the Dionysiac guild inscription from the theater. There is no reason to believe that the Hiera Boulaea is associated with the location of the *bouleuterion*. Due to the prevalence of the honorific inscriptions sponsored by the *phylai*, the authorities of Roman Ancyra may have been the tribes, and therefore, there was no need for a *bouleuterion*. This may be reinforced by the rare reference to the *boule*, accompanied by the epithet "most sacred" or "most famous", in inscriptions. The *boule* may have been a religious council and the *phylai* the political structure. If there was a *bouleuterion*, its position in the city remains obscure.

AGORA

As is expected with the *bouleuterion*, if one actually existed, it can also be assumed that Ancyra had an agora, the city "market", an open space with surrounding buildings. An inscription referring to an *Agoranomos*, the market place inspector, one of the city officials, demonstrates that there definitely was a market⁵. In Chapters V and VI, the original identification of the bath *palaestra* as a market was discussed. Although buildings to the north of the bath have been described as offices and shops, these would probably refer to businesses dedicated to the bathing trade⁶. The Agora may have had a more central location. Since there can be no date attached to the inscription, it cannot be confidently asserted when the structure was erected and how it may have affected the city plan.

³ Appendix I no. 30; Mitchell *AS* 1977: 80; Erzen 1946:95.

⁴ Bosch *Geschichte*: 76-77.

⁵ Appendix I no. 31; Erzen 1946: 97.

⁶ Akok 1968 6-7.

GYMNASIUM

Inscriptions attest to the existence of a gymnasium, another common institution in Greek cities, the center for sports, culture, education and social life for young men. The benefactor may have been one Polyadas, as his name is associated with the gymnasium⁷. Erzen suggests that the *palaestra* in front of the Roman baths could be the possible location of the gymnasium⁸. Yegül emphasizes that in Asia Minor, the Greek tradition of the gymnasium and the Roman concept of the bath were merged into a single entity, the bath-gymnasium complex, the title of which he bestows on Ancyra's bath, juxtaposing it with other examples from Ephesus, Sardis, Miletus, Hieropolis and Aphrodisias. The exact type of bath-gymnasium Ancyra has are known as *Caserna*, or military barracks. This unique Anatolian architectural style tends to take the form of large symmetrical curvilinear establishments in which the actual bathing facilities provided the Roman necessities and the *palaestra* was the Greek element. This proposal explains why most complexes in the East have a gigantic frontal open courtyard, preceding the enclosed bathing rooms. These plans differ greatly from the Imperial *thermae* seen in Rome in which the *palaestra* was often divided into two flanking spaces incorporated into the interior space⁹. As the term gymnasium is often used in Anatolia to refer to a bath-gymnasium complex, the gymnasium may very well have been the Imperial bath and Polyadas could have restored the bath at a later date. Bosch dates the inscriptions, not the gymnasium, to the time of the Military Emperors, AD 217-284¹⁰. However, it is always possible that the gymnasium could have been another building constructed at an earlier time.

⁷ Appendix I nos. 22-23.

⁸ Erzen 1946: 95-96.

⁹ Yegül 1992: 250-314, gives a detailed analysis of the development, different styles and purposes of the bath-gymnasia. On 278, he writes specifically about the Baths in Ancyra. J.B.Ward-Perkins. *Roman Imperial Architecture*. Hammondsorth 1981: 292 .

¹⁰ Appendix I no. 22.

AMPHITHEATER

Due to the numerous references to gladiatorial and animal games on inscriptions, Ancyra has been thought to have an amphitheater¹¹. The number of tombstones of gladiators who died either in the ring or through natural causes during their stay in Ancyra, attest to the importance of spectacle in the Galatian capital¹². While it cannot be denied that public entertainment, usually given by the Imperial priests, was an essential element of Ancyran life, it would be very surprising to find an amphitheater in Ancyra, as only three survive in Anatolia, at Pergamum, Anazarbus and Cyzicus¹³. It could be that the theater, which was converted later, housed some of the activity, or that Ancyra, a fundamentally Greek city, had a stadium where such shows were presented¹⁴. Alternatively, such shows could have been held in temporary structures.

OPEN AIR SPORTS PLACE

From the priest list from the Temple, it is learned that Pylaemenes, the son of King Amyntas, gave the *Sebasteion* and the place where the horse races were held¹⁵. It has been assumed that these two places were close to the Temple¹⁶. As with all of the Empire, the people expected festivals and public sport in the form of not only gladiatorial games, but also chariot races in the Roman tradition and horse races in the Greek practice. Since these activities required a great deal of space, the area must have been

¹¹ Bosch *Geschichte*: 188-194 nos.149-152; Bosch is one of the scholars who thinks that Ancyra had an amphitheater. Erzen 1946: 97-98. Mitchell quotes the work of L.Robert "Monuments de Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec." *Hellenica* VIII (1950). Unfortunately, these references were unavailable to me and I am citing Mitchell *AS* 1977: 72-75.

¹² Bosch *Geschichte*: 191 no. 150.

¹³ Appendix I no. 3.

¹⁴ Bayburtluoğlu 1968: 15

¹⁵ For the discussion on the priest list as a method of dating and reconstructing the urban nature of Ancyra, see Chapter III.

¹⁶ For the interpretation of the priest list, see Chapter III.

wide. These lines, 20 to 29, have produced a variety of possible explanations. Erzen writes that Pylaemenes, during his office as priest, gave the territory around the Temple to the people of Ancyra and that he built a hippodrome, unlikely in AD 22/23, believed to have a close connection with the Imperial cult¹⁷. The wording of Pylaemenes' donation clearly means he gave the *land* where the horse races were held; there is no mention of a building. He presented Ancyra with a horse race, which could very well have taken place on a wide, flat space with wooden bleachers for the crowds.

Epigraphic evidence has been interpreted to give Ancyra an amphitheater and a hippodrome, but there is no archaeological evidence to prove either of these claims. It seems a bit redundant to have two separate areas dedicated to sport events, horse and chariot races. Mitchell refers to Pylaemenes' benefaction as the places where the horse races *could* have taken place, for there is no specificity in time and location¹⁸. An accepted conclusion is that this area would have been close to the Temple, an interesting assumption given the topography of the area, unless they are suggesting different elevations but proximate distances¹⁹.

Hippodromes, as distinct from stadia, might stand by themselves, as in Antioch-on-the-Orontes, or, as in Rome and Constantinople, were connected to the Imperial Palace for propaganda/public relations reasons²⁰. It is possible that the hippodrome at Antioch-on-the-Orontes might have been near the governor's palace, as this was the main city of Syria, and used by several emperors. The whereabouts of the governor's palace, if

¹⁷ Erzen 1946: 96-97.

¹⁸ Mitchell *Anatolia*: 104-105.

¹⁹ Erzen 1946:100-101; Hanlein 1981: 512; Fittschen 1985: 310; Halfmann 1986: 36-37; Mitchell *Anatolia*: 107

²⁰ P. Veyne *Bread and Circuses* 1976:5-60; For Rome, especially the reign of Augustus, see Zanker 1993: 79-100; For Constantinople, see W. Müller-Wiener. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*. Tübingen: 1977; C. Mango. *The Brazen House*. Copenhagen: 1959.

indeed there was one, in Ancyra is unknown, so it would be premature to state if a palace-hippodrome complex stood in Ancyra. On the other hand, hippodrome and/or stadium and temple complexes are possible. The major Romanizing force came through the Imperial cult and the Temple may be seen as the conduit for it. In this manner, the Temple and its surrounding buildings (hippodrome/stadium) might subtly have reminded the population of the power that was Roma, invested in the body of the Emperor²¹.

Ancyra probably had a stadium, not a hippodrome or an amphitheater. In Aizanoi, the theater and stadium form one single complex²². Although stadia are usually located on the outskirts of the city, maybe a good place for the hypothetical stadium of Ancyra would be the area between the Temple and the Theater, perhaps echoing the Aizanoi arrangement, even though the Aizanoi complex is unusual. Though the Theater and the Temple are separated by roughly 600 m., this is a flat wide space, divided by the Ancyra Çay, now Bent Deresi Caddesi. A stadium measuring 180-200 x 30 m could fit in this area. Between the Temple and the river, if it was present in Roman Ancyra, the level land measures 150 m. and between the river and the Theater, there is 225 m of level land. This would, in effect, loosely connect the Temple, the Theater and the Stadium. Plus, the proximity of this land to two of the known monuments, as well as untold others, would guarantee a central urban location.

²¹ For commentary on the Imperial Cult, see Price 1992; Mitchell *Anatolia* : Chapter VIII; Ramsay 1922: 177; Erzen 1946 :86-93; Zanker 1993: 297-334. For the Temple being the earliest embodiment of Ancyra's importance, see Erzen 1946: 93-94; Mitchell and French *Ankara* : 65-69; Baybartluoğlu 1986: 16;

²² Akurgal 1970: 268.

SEBASTEION

Pylaemenes is also credited with giving the land where the Sebasteion stood²³. As with the possible stadium or hippodrome, the phrasing of this statement is ambiguous. It could refer to an imperial temple or altar, maybe even in another city, such as Pessinus or Tavium, an Imperial hall displaying the imperial statues, or the Temple to “Augustus and Roma”, a theory expounded by Hanlein, but refuted by Fittschen²⁴. İnan notes that the nature of a Sebasteion is unknown²⁵. If it is a kind of building, any standard kind of architectural plan cannot be ascertained as illustrated in the differences between the Sebasteia at Aphrodisias and Boubon²⁶. A Sebasteion certainly does not have to be a Temple. Therefore, the Ancyra Sebasteion may even be the traces of an altar that Krencker and Schede claim to have found in front of the Temple during their excavation²⁷. If the altar traces may be temporarily identified as such, then this would fit the prerequisite that the Sebasteion would be close to the Temple. However, the Sebasteia at Aphrodisias and Boubon are heavily decorated with Imperial statuary, none of which has been found in Ancyra. Although the survival rate cannot be predicted, it would seem that if Ancyra's Sebasteion was a substantial building, more ornamentation would be obvious in the archaeological record and the citadel walls. Another aspect of a Sebasteion, according to İnan, is that it is intended for the worship of a living Emperor, who has the title of "Sebastos", but Erim thinks that a Sebasteion is for the worship of a deified Emperor and his successors and family²⁸. In the context of Ancyra, using İnan's theory of worshipping the living Emperor, Pylaemenes gave the land and perhaps the Sebasteion during the reign of Tiberius. Perhaps then, Albiorix gave the statues of

²³ Appendix I no. 3.

²⁴ Hanlein 1981: 511-513; Fittschen 1985: 309-315;

²⁵ J. İnan. *Boubon Sebasteionu ve Heykelleri Üzerine Son Araştırmalar*. İstanbul: 1994, 30.

²⁶ İnan 1994: 30; K. Erim. *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite*. London: 1986, 106-122.

²⁷ Krencker and Schede 1936; Guillaume and Perrot 1872.

²⁸ İnan 1994: 30; Erim 1986: 106.

Tiberius and Julia Augusta to the Sebasteion, rather than the Temple. The vagueness of the sources prohibits any further assured plausibility, other than the fact that an edifice known as the Sebasteion was among Ancyra's many significant facilities.

OTHER TEMPLES

The record of inscriptions and numismatic evidence corroborates the possible presence of temples to various other deities (Plate 26)²⁹. An inscription attests to the presence of Demeter, who had both priests and coins (A15 and A20), as well as Commodus' patronage³⁰. Dionysus, who also had priests, as well as the sacred guild convened in his honor at the theater, has inscriptions, as well as a coin (29)³¹.

Considering his association with Hadrian, it would not be surprising that a temple to the god stood in Ancyra, perhaps not far from the theater, if he had a temple. The cult of Dionysus is often connected to sacred, mysterious rites that took place in private. Tyche is present in a priestly inscription and coins (10, 15, 26, and B4)³². Embodying the nature of the city, this goddess was adopted by the Roman provinces in attempts to show a Romanized facade. In this provincial capital, Tyche would have been an essential civic element.

Of course, Men, the ubiquitous indigenous god, a patron god of Ancyra, had not only priests, but a temple, a sanctuary and most importantly, coins (Plate 9)³³. He persevered throughout Ancyra's Roman time, reinforced by his image on the local coinage. Men is an important god throughout all of Galatia and Phrygia, but little is

²⁹ All coins referenced in this section can be found on Plate 25.

³⁰ Appendix I no. 32.

³¹ Appendix I nos. 6-7.

³² Appendix I no. 33.

³³ Appendix I nos. 34-35,8.

known about his origins. Hardie wrote in 1912 that he may have been an adaptation of the Semetic god MAO³⁴. He is always depicted wearing a pointed hat and shoes, the moon resting on his shoulders, which has led to the conclusion that he is deity of the moon and night. His constant companion appears to be Kybele, or the Mother Goddess, whose cult also lasted into Ancyra's Byzantine period³⁵. She can be glimpsed on a coin (Plate 26 no. 42)³⁶.

There are inscriptions and coins (16 and 44) concerning Sarapis, but it is difficult to assess whether he had a temple. The inscriptions mention a priest of the cult from Alexandria who died in Ancyra. It does not mean that an entire religious order was present for the worship of Sarapis. Yet, his image is popular on the Ancyra coins³⁷. Other inscriptions refer to the Egyptian goddess Isis, dated to the reign of Caracalla³⁸.

Erzen interprets the epigraphic and numismatic evidence as meaning that every deity mentioned had a temple and public celebrations, which is rather unlikely. His list includes those above, in addition to Asclepius, (coins 13, 37 and C15), associated with Caracalla and the Bath, and Helios. He defined Men, Kybele and Zeus Taenos as Anatolian, maybe even Phrygian, gods worshipped in Ancyra, since the population of the city was of Anatolian heritage, bound to their own culture despite foreign pressure. On one inscription, the words "to local gods and emperors....." are carved³⁹. Erzen approaches this by concluding that it means the changing of the Temple to Men to the

³⁴ M. Hardie. "The Shrine of Men Askaenos at Psidian Antioch." *JHS* 32 (1912): 11-150.

³⁵ For the cult of Kybele in the Byzantine period, see S. Mitchell. "The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra." *AS* 32(1982): 93-113.

³⁶ Arslan 1991: 14 ; Appendix I no. 36, 5.

³⁷ Appendix I nos. 37-38; Arslan 1991: 8, 14

³⁸ Bosch *Geschichte* 1967:

³⁹ Erzen 1946: 99-101; Appendix I no. 4.

Temple to Augustus and Roma, Men's sanctuary being moved elsewhere⁴⁰. Augustus and Roma were accepted as the extension of an already full and colorful pantheon.

The coins of Ancyra tend to show four different types of temples on the reverse of imperial issues (Plates 1 and 2). The temples are either tetrastyle, hexastyle, octostyle and distyle. In the distyle temple, depicted on the coins of Trajan, Men stands in the entrance between the columns (Plate 2 nos.7 and C7). Arslan has interpreted this particular temple to be the so-called Temple of Augustus. In fact, Arslan writes that the Temple of Augustus is often on the reverse, but it is shown in various architectural styles at different times⁴¹. This theory fits with Akurgal and Guterbock's suggestion that the Temple of Augustus was originally tetrastyle, but under Hadrian became octostyle due to the addition of the Ionic *pseudo-dipteros*⁴². The hexastyle manifestation of the Temple can be explained by limitations of the space on the coin.

It is also possible that these temple representations show four other Ancyran structures. The distyle edifice may very well be a Temple to Men that has yet to be discovered. The connection between Trajan and this image cannot be accurately ascertained. Since they are decorated in the pediment with various motifs of eagles, globes and crescents, the tetrastyle, hexastyle and octostyle temples could very well refer to important sacred buildings that are not present in the archaeological record. The problem with identifying the deity of the temples is that these monuments appear only as the reverse of Imperial obverses. No specific god or goddess can be associated with the temples, apart from Men, nor have any other temples appeared in Ancyra, which explains the view that all Temples are thought to be the Temple to "Augustus and Roma"⁴³. It

⁴⁰ For the inconclusive debate between Augustus and Men, see Chapter II.

⁴¹ Arslan 1991: 3. For the distyle temple with Men, see 5 no.7; 27 no. C7.

⁴² Akurgal 1970: 283; Guterbock 1989: 157.

⁴³ Arslan 1991: 4-29.

also explains why Erzen has claimed that each Emperor had a different temple and that the temple with the Eagle in the pediment is the temple of Zeus⁴⁴. Ancyra had two neocorates, one to Augustus and one to Valerian, which indicates that definitely two Imperial temples stood in Ancyra⁴⁵. Nonetheless, it is still improbable that all temples shown on Ancyran coins were either to Augustus or Valerian.

On the coinage of Gallienus is depicted a tetrastyle temple with Ionic capitals (Plate 2 nos. C17 and C18)⁴⁶. Considering the date at which Gallienus was Emperor, AD 253-260, the building must be a later urban addition or the Temple to “Augustus” with its Ionic *pseudo-dipteros*. If it is the temple, it is interesting to see the order so pronounced. Earlier coins do not have the detail present on these two examples.

If indeed all, or even part of this list of deities, had temples, then Ancyra was a crowded teeming city whose components can only be guesstimated, preserved in stone and metal, but not presently revealed in any coherent manner. As a capital city, it may have hosted more buildings than is possible to name, but at least the names of some of the deities and edifices survive for partial comprehension.

OTHER BUILDINGS

Fragmentary inscribed pieces found in the citadel walls can provide an idea of other buildings that existed in Ancyra. It is important to note that some of these pieces have been lost since their initial sighting and their original provenance is unknown. In addition, due to the fragmentary state of the inscriptions, it is quite difficult to ascertain

⁴⁴ Erzen 1946: 99

⁴⁵ Bosch *Geschichte*: 349 no. 288.

⁴⁶ Arslan 1991: 29 nos. 17-18.

accurately for which Emperor or official the pieces were dedicated, thus rendering the date inconclusive.

The most common Roman elements are lintels and architraves. Four sections of an architrave in grey limestone, now missing, mentioned an Emperor whose short name ended with an "a". This would indicate either Galba, Nerva or Geta due to the inscription spacing. Mitchell and Bosch agree that the building should be for Nerva, AD 96-98, since Geta suffered *damnatio memoriae* and Galba was only "Emperor" for one year. Mitchell points out that the honor need not be for a male Emperor⁴⁷.

Another architrave bears the name of L. Aelius Caesar. It has been restored to suggest that the inscription and the building it belonged to was intended for both Hadrian and L. Aelius Caesar, who was Hadrian's adopted son. Even with this incomplete fragment, it can be deduced that Hadrian must have had intense respect in Ancyra. His visit, combined with his government policies for the East, surely made him a favorite here. Because Aelius was adopted in AD 136 and died in AD 138, the building must date between AD 136-137⁴⁸. Although this would be after Hadrian's visit, an honorific public building stood in Ancyra for both him and his son. Perhaps this is another hint of the city's gratitude for the *metropolis* title.

A missing architrave, once in a tower, was for an Emperor recorded as "Augustus Pius Felix". This is a third century AD inscription, as this imperial title was common during the era; therefore, the identity of the actual emperor remains unknown⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ Appendix I no. 39; For the coins of Geta, see Arslan 1991: 21 nos. A21/A22; 30.

⁴⁸ Appendix I no. 40.

⁴⁹ Appendix I no. 41; Bosch *Geschichte*: 359-360. Bosch has put this inscription in the section devoted to the surviving works of Aurelian.

This architrave demonstrates that Ancyra still continued to flourish as an important city to Rome.

Mitchell mentions an inscription recorded by Jerphanion, a marble block reused in the construction of the dam. The provenance is unknown. The name of the Emperor is thought to be either Caracalla or Elagabalus. However, the inscription could refer to the *Megala Asclepieia Sotereia*, the special games conducted in Ancyra, founded under Caracalla⁵⁰. This may be speculation and an attempt to cement the association between Caracalla and Tiberius Julius Justus Julianus, the supposed benefactor of the Bath. The information regarding this stone is too scant to reconstruct anything other than its imperial nature. The fact that the block was used in the construction of the dam, which is attached to Bent Deresi Caddesi, could suggest that the building may have been in the immediate vicinity of the castle.

Other architraves include a bilingual inscription, noting L. Salvius Valens, of the Galeria tribus, a procurator. It is thought that this procurator provided a building, the nature of which is lost, from which the architrave came, at his own cost⁵¹. A second lost architrave honors an Emperor called Germanicus. This is thought to refer to the Emperor Trajan, an impressive military Emperor, who spent a winter with his troops in Ancyra⁵². The number of coin types depicting Trajan with Men on the reverse could intimate that he was popular in Ancyra⁵³. It is too difficult to conclude concretely the nature of the building and its recipient. Built in as a door lintel in the South Wall of the citadel stands an architectural piece dedicated to Trajan which may have come from either a temple or

⁵⁰ Appendix I no. 42; Jerphanion 1928: 275 no. 48 was unavailable so I cite Mitchell and McParlin. Mitchell *AS* 1977: 72-75.

⁵¹ Appendix I no. 43.

⁵² Appendix I no. 44; Magie 1950: 607.

⁵³ Arslan 1991: 6 nos 7-10; 17 no. A2; 25 no. B3.

an honorary arch, dating between AD 98-117⁵⁴. Trajan's presence in Ancyra can be verified by inscriptions naming C. Julius Severus for providing hospitality to the Imperial army⁵⁵. If Trajan was coming to Ancyra, as in the case with Hadrian, then some sort of civic construction would not be unlikely. Julius Severus, an equestrian, was later raised to the Senate by Hadrian and given his own public statue dedications⁵⁶.

Two inscribed building pieces mention an "Augustus, pontifex maximus" and an "Augustus Caesar"⁵⁷. Nothing beyond the title can be guessed. These fragments are believed to belong to unknown buildings, but they could just as well be public honors. One inscribed block in Latin mentioning a senator is inside the entrance to the citadel via Saat Kapısı (Plate 25). The date is impossible to reconstruct. The stone was probably an honorific dedication⁵⁸.

Inscriptions praising Aurelius Dionysus, son of Argaeninus, the "most splendid" *archon*, suggests another unknown building. The details of the building are lost, but the word "completed" remains, signifying that Aurelius finished a building started by another individual⁵⁹. Tower 15 from the north holds a different white marble block, mentioning Minicius Florentius, whose first public venture was this unknown building⁶⁰.

From this evidence, it can be deduced that eight to eleven additional structures possibly stood in Ancyra, maybe close to the citadel. The most positive suggestion

⁵⁴ Appendix I no. 45.

⁵⁵ Appendix I nos. 1-2.

⁵⁶ Broughton 1938: 778. Bosch *Geschichte*: 197-203 nos. 156/157. These inscriptions date to the time of Antoninus Pius. To reinforce the connection between Ancyra and Rome, Trajan raised Titus Clausius Bocchus to the Senate, while Hadrian made his son Titus Claudius Procillianus a Senator. See Broughton 1938: 778.

⁵⁷ Appendix I no. 46.

⁵⁸ I saw this stone on 17 April 1998.

⁵⁹ Appendix I nos. 47-48.

⁶⁰ Appendix I no. 49.

concerns Trajan whose arch probably would have stood over one of Ancyra's major roads. It is unfortunate that Ancyra's road system is lost, but this piece demonstrates Ancyra's appreciation for Trajan and hint at the strategic military role Ancyra fulfilled and Ancyra's close ties to Rome. All of these fragments, in addition to other inscriptions and the coins, taken as a whole, hints at what Ancyra possessed and may have been in the past, even though the details and chronology are not known.

IX

CONCLUSION

Roman Ancyra was a busy city, as the capital of the province, a strategic military headquarters and the center of the commercial road network. The Imperial Cult was an important facet of the city, bathing was a popular practice, and artistic dramatic expression was recognized and encouraged. Many gods and goddesses were worshipped, Emperors were appreciated, edifices of all types and functions were constructed and money was made. While these declarations can be made and supported by the epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidence, much remains unknown about Ancyra's Roman period. The type of water system can be identified, but not its direction. Pieces of road have been discovered, but not a city grid. But most importantly, no dating scheme can be given to the city of Ancyra or to the beginning of the province's era. The original excavation reports refrain from offering any chronology. For that reason, and the lack of ruins, many assumptions about Ancyra have been made and accepted. One example is Mitchell's confident assertion that Ancyra had a Julio-Claudian building program that included the Temple and the theater¹. There is simply no proof for such a claim, because no conclusive dates exist for either structure. It is these logical, but disputed statements about Ancyra that have hindered aspects of the city's nature from coming to light. The evidence is more often than not thrust into roles that are much too oversimplified, similar to forcing pieces of a puzzle into the wrong slot in order to get a clear and expedient image of a confusing and frustrating issue.

Starting with Ramsay's report in 1922, the history of Ancyra and Galatia has been disputed². What actually existed in Ancyra prior to the Roman period is a mystery. Due

¹ Mitchell 1985: 99.

² Ramsay 1922: 147-186.

to the fact that no architectural foundations have been found during the course of the excavations, the negative evidence therefore means that there was nothing, in addition to the unclear civic title Ancyra bore prior to the Romans. However, the great deal of Phrygian artifacts, some of which are identified as Hellenistic by Arık and the possibly Hellenistic wall found in 1995, may indicate that there was previous urban activity in Ancyra. The Galatians and their habits have been cast as uncivilized, but the aristocracy was Hellenized by 180 BC. Nonetheless, the Galatian public was not refined until the first century AD, and their inherent tribal nature was the reason for this slow "development". If the nature of Ancyra's inhabitants cannot be known, only guessed, then the city is subject to the same type of limitations. Regardless of these pronouncements, there is still a chance that the Phrygian and Hellenistic material encountered throughout the city may lead to the conclusion that Ancyra was a Phrygian-Galatian town, perhaps the center for the *sympolity*. Ancyra may have gradually come under the influence of both Pergamum and Rome, an influence that affected the growth and the manner of expansion.

The conclusions are not based just on the archaeological record. Inscriptions are a very large and intrinsic part of Ancyra's history. An interesting facet to epigraphic interpretation is the inconsistency in the realm of Ancyra's Greek and/or Roman nature. While scholars feel that Ancyra had to wait until the late second/early third century AD for a bathing complex, they will concede that as a Hellenistic entity, it certainly had a gymnasium. Because of gladiators living in Ancyra, a very Roman form of showmanship, an amphitheater was obviously a major monument, but not a stadium, which would fit the Greek custom. Whether Ancyra had a stadium, amphitheater, hippodrome or an open space reserved for sports is unknown, since there is no archaeological evidence for any of them, but the epigraphic interpretations will continue to bestow a wide variety of structures onto this ancient city. The nature of Romanization

and how deeply it penetrated into the lives of the residents is outside the scope of this paper, but it is a primary consideration in that it allows evidence to be perceived differently. If, as Ramsay noted in 1922, Ancyra was slow to develop as a Roman city, why would there be an amphitheater³? Or, as Mitchell asks, if the games were so popular, where would the early Imperial priests furnish their civic benefactions⁴? An amphitheater would hardly be one the first edifices to be constructed, if one actually existed, and so, another space devoted to communal amusement must have existed and remained sufficient, in combination with the theater.

What kind of Sebasteion and where it may have stood is another issue stemming from the epigraphic remains. Since there is no agreed date for the temple, except that it must have been standing by AD 14, very little regarding the Sebasteion can be constructed. It is thought to have been near the temple, but in Boubon and Aphrodisias, the Sebasteia are located close to the agora or a stoa, not the official Imperial temple⁵. However, because the Ancyran Temple is often viewed as the focal point of the city, it is argued that the Sebasteion, whatever form it may have taken, must have been another centralized edifice, as was the agora. It is also argued that the temple had a massive sacred processional way that lead to the bath. This theory derives its origins from the discovery of a Roman road, the first to be unearthed in Ancyra. The direction and size of the road refutes this notion, especially as the grandiose decoration wrongly assigned to the road belongs to the *palaestra* of the bath. The ornamentation is a large architrave that is inscribed with the name of one Titus Cornelius, who is probably the benefactor. Because Titus Cornelius gave the architrave, he is responsible for either the bath or the *palaestra*. However, Tiberius Julius Justus Julianus supposedly built the bath, due to the

³Ramsay 1922: 156.

⁴ Mitchell *Anatolia*: 103-111.

⁵ İnan 1994: 30; Erım 1986: 107.

presence of his public honors. The initial excavators sought to resolve this inconsistency by suggesting a sectionally constructed bath. Over time, this has been forgotten and the architrave assigned to the road, so that the archaeological evidence can fit the epigraphic evidence rather than vice-versa. As a result, there is a possibility that alternative theories based on the original material, such as the bath being erected at an earlier time by a different person and the lack of connections between the three standing monuments, may be just as valid as the currently accepted norms of Ancyra.

Numismatic studies provide hints as to Ancyra's possessions and religious character. The profusion of deities suggests a city teeming with a large pantheon, with Men as a favorite. His continual presence on coins throughout the entire Roman period reinforces that he was popular and that he must have had at least one temple, and perhaps a sanctuary, in Ancyra. The dearth of archaeological proof tends to push speculation about his temple to that of the Temple to "Augustus". In the eternal debate over the temple, coins are often used to support either side. Because a temple is a common motif on the reverse, it is assumed that it must be the temple at different stages of its historical and architectural development. Even the distyle temple with Men standing between the columns is interpreted as being the Temple to "Augustus", rather a temple specifically dedicated to Men (Plate 2 nos. 7 and C7).⁶ The temple on coins does not have to be the Temple to "Augustus". As the original order and facade of the temple is lost, the temples seen on the Galatian coins could be other sacred precincts to any one of the countless divinities that were worshipped in the city. By constantly focusing on the temple as the only edifice important enough to be placed on the local currency, other aspects of Ancyra's monuments are lost. While the coins cannot divulge where the different structures may have been located, they can aid in creating a list that may be used in a

⁶ Arslan 1991:3.

future reconstruction of Ancyra. However, the coins cannot help in accurately answering the questions that the temple continually raises. No absolute date exists for the temple, which means that it could be Roman, Hellenistic or Galatian, intended for Augustus or Men.

There is no doubt that Ancyra was important in the past and is essential for the future understanding of Roman Anatolia. Unfortunately, due to the thriving modern city that has buried the ancient one, bits and pieces, but not an entire picture, have emerged. The monuments inform us of an interesting city with an unusual and strong personality, a prosperous economy and close ties to Rome and the Imperial house. These traits did not dissipate after 284 AD, but rather persevered into the Byzantine era. In order to appreciate what came after the Roman period, it is necessary to know what happened during that time frame. This analysis has attempted to shed light on one of Ancyra's brighter historic moments, a time of political, social and economic significance that is mirrored in modern Ankara's role as capital of the Turkish Republic.

APPENDIX I:

Inscriptions in the Text

1.

[Γ. 'Ιούλιον) Σεουήρον², | [ἀπόγονον βασιλέως | [Δ]ηιοτάρου³ και.
5 'Αμύντου | τοῦ Βριγάτου και 'Αμύντου | τοῦ Δυριαλοῦ⁵ τετραρχῶν⁴
| και βασιλέως 'Ασίας 'Αττάλου⁶, | ἀνεψιὸν⁷ ὑπατικῶν⁸ 'Ιουλίου | τε
10 Κοδράτου⁸ και βασιλέως | 'Αλεξάνδρου¹⁰ και | 'Ιουλίου 'Α|κύλου¹¹
και Κλ(αυδίου) Σεουήρου¹² και | συγγενῆ συγκλητικῶν¹² πλείστων,
ἀδελφὸν 'Ιουλίου 'Αμυντιανοῦ¹⁴, πρῶτον | 'Ελλήνων¹⁵, ἀρχιερασά-
15 μενο[ν]¹⁶ | και ὑπερβαλόντα ἐπιδόσειν | και ταῖς λοιπαῖς φιλοτιμίαις
το[ύς] | πώποτε πεφιλοτ[ιμ]ημένους¹⁷ και | τῶι αὐτῶι ἔτει και ἔλαιοθε-
20 τήσαν[τα]¹⁹ διηνεκῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄχλων παρό[δω]ι¹⁸ και σεβαστο-
φαντήσαντα²⁰ κὲ μόνο[ν] | και πρῶτον τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος σεβαστοφ[αν]-
τικὰ χρήματα εἰς ἔργον τῇ πόλει | χαρισάμενον και μὴ συνχρησάμε-
25 [νον εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τούτῳ τῶι πόρ[φ]ω ὡς | οἱ] πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες²¹
και ἄρξαντα²² | [και ἀ]γωνοθετήσαντ[α]²³ και ἀγορανο[μ]ήσαντα²⁴
και τὴν γυναῖκα καταστή[σαντα] ἀρχιέρειαν και αὐτὴν ὑπερβ[α]-
30 λοῦσαν ἐπιδόσειν²⁵, ἀποδεξάμεν[όν] | τε στρατεύματα τὰ παραχει-
μάσα[ν] | τα ἐν τῇ πόλει και προπέμψαντα [τὰ] | παροδεύοντα ἐπὶ
τὸν πρὸς Πά[ρ]θους πόλεμον²⁶, ζῶντά τε δικαί[ως] και ἰσοτείμως,
35 φυλὴ Πακα|λ<η>νῆ β'²⁷ τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην, φυλαρχοῦντος²⁷
Ουάρου Λογίου²⁹ ἐτίμησεν.

Bosch 1967 no. 105

2.

[Γ. 'Ιούλιον) Σεουήρον², | [ἀπόγονον βασιλ]έως | [Δηιοτάρου³ και
5 'Α]μύν[τ]ο[υ] | τοῦ Βριγάτου και 'Α]μύν[του] | τοῦ Δυριαλοῦ⁵ τετρα[ρ]χῶ
[ν⁴ | και βασιλέως 'Αττάλο[υ]⁶, | ἀνεψιὸν⁷ ὑπατικῶν⁸ 'Ιουλίου | τε
10 Κοδράτου⁸ και] βασιλέως | 'Αλεξάνδρου¹⁰ και 'Ι]ου[λί]ου | 'Ακύλου¹¹
και Κλ(αυδίου) Σεουήρου¹² και | συγγενῆ συγκλητικῶν | πλείστων¹⁵,
ἀδελφὸν 'Ιου|λίου 'Αμυντιανοῦ¹⁴, πρῶτον | 'Ελλήνων¹⁵, ἀρχιερασά-
15 μενον¹⁶ | και ὑπερβαλόντα ἐπιδόσειν | και ταῖς λοιπαῖς φιλοτιμίαις
τούς | πώποτε πεφιλοτιμημένους¹⁷ και | τῶ αὐτῶ ἔτει και ἔλαιο-
20 θετήσαν[τα]¹⁹ διηνεκῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄχλων παρό[δω]ι¹⁸ και σεβαστοφ[αν]-
ντήσαντα²⁰ και μόνον | πρῶτον τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος σεβαστοφ[αν]τικὰ
χρήματα εἰς ἔργον τῇ πόλει | χαρισάμενον και μὴ συνχρησάμενον
25 εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τούτῳ τῶ πόρ[φ]ω ὡς | οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες²¹ και
ἄρξαντα²² | και ἀγωνοθετήσαντα²³ και ἀγορανο[μ]ήσαντα²⁴ και τὴν
γυναῖκα καταστή[σαντα] ἀρχιέρειαν και αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλοῦσαν ἐπιδό-
30 σεσιν²⁵, ἀποδεξάμεν[όν] | τε στρατεύματα τὰ παραχειμάσαν[τα] ἐν τῇ
πόλει και προπέμψαντα τὰ παροδεύοντα ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους
35 πόλεμον²⁶, ζῶντά τε δικαί[ως] και ἰσοτείμως, φυλὴ... | ...²⁷
τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην, φυλαρχοῦντος²⁸ ἐτίμησεν.]

Bosch 1967 no. 106

- I vacat²
- II [Γα]λατῶν ο[ι | ιε]ρασάμενοι³ | θεῶι Σεβαστῶι | καὶ θεᾶ
'Ρώμηι⁴.
- III 5 | ['Ἐπι]⁵
| | [Ταρκοδάριος⁶ Κάσ] | τω[ρ] βασιλέ[ω]ς Βριγά-
10 το[υ] | υἱό[ς]⁷· δημ[οθ]οινίαν ἔδωκε[ν]⁸, ἔλαιον ἔθηκεν |
IV μῆνας τέσσαρας⁹, θέας¹⁰ ἔδωκεν καὶ μον[ο]μάχων¹¹ ζεύγη
15 τράκο[ντα]¹² | καὶ κυνήγιον ἔδωκε[ν] | τούρων καὶ θηρίων¹³.
V | ['Ρ]οῦφος¹³, δημοθοινίαν | ἔδωκεν⁸, θέας¹⁰ καὶ | κυνήγιον
ἔδωκεν.
Ἐπι Μετειλίου¹⁴.
VI 20 [Πυ]λαιμένης βασιλέως Ἀμύ[ν]του υἱός¹⁵· δημοθoin[ίαν] |
δὲ ἔδωκεν⁸, θέας¹⁰ δὲ | ἔδωκεν, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν¹⁶ | καὶ
25 ἀρμάτων καὶ κελήτων¹⁷ ἔδωκεν, ὁμοίως δὲ ταυρομαχίαν¹⁸
καὶ κυνήγιον¹², ἤλιπεν⁹ τὴν | πόλιν, τόπους ἀνῆκε, ὅπου | τὸ
Σεβαστήον ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις γαίνεται καὶ ὁ ἵππόδρομος¹⁹.
VII 30 Ἀλβιόριξ Ἀτεπόρειγος²⁰· δημο[θ]οινίαν ἔδωκεν⁸, ἀνδριάντας
ἀνέθηκε Καίσαρος καὶ Ἰουλίας | Σεβαστῆς²¹. |
35 Ἀμύντας Γαιζατοδιάστου²²· δημοθoinίαν | δὲ ἔδωκε⁸, ἑκα-
τόνβην ἔθυσεν²³, θέας¹⁰ | ἔδωκεν¹⁰ σειτομετρίαν ἔδωκε[ν] | ἀνά
πέντε μοδίους²⁴.
| εἰς Διογνήτου²⁵.
VIII 40 | Ἀλβιόριξ Ἀτεπόρειγος τὸ δεύτ[ερον]²⁶ | δημοθoinίαν ἔδω-
κεν⁸. |
Ἐπι Φρόντωνος²⁷. |
[Μ]ητρόδωρος Μενεμάχου, φύσει δὲ | [Δο]ρυλάου²⁸· δημοθoin-
νίαν ἔδωκε⁸, [ἔ]λαιον | ἔθηκεν μῆνας τέσσαρας⁹. |
45 [Μ]ουσανός Ἀρτίκνου²⁹· δημοθoinίαν ἔδωκε[ν]⁸.

- | Σελεύκου³⁰. δημοθoinίαν ἔδω[κεν]⁹, | ἤλιψεν μῆνας
τέσσαρας⁹.
- IX | [Π]υλαιμένης β[ασ]ιλέως Ἀμύντου υἱός³¹. | δη[μοθoinίαν ἔδω]-
50 κεν⁹[το]ῖς τρισί[ν] | ἔθνε[σιν]³², τῶι δὲ ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ³³ ἐκ[α]
| τόνβ[ην] ἔθουσε²³, θέας¹⁵ καὶ πομπήν³⁴ ἔιδω[κεν], ὁμοίως
δὲ ταυρομάχιον¹⁸ | κα[ὶ] ταυρ[ο]καθ[άπτ]ας³⁵ καὶ μονομάχων[ν]
55 | ζεύ[γη] ν'¹¹, ἤλι[ψε]ν⁹ δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἑνιαυ[τοῦ]³⁶ [τὰ τ]ρία
ἔθ[νη]³² θηρομαχίαν ἔιδω[κεν]¹².
| [Ἐπί] Σιλουανοῦ³⁷.
- X | [Ἰά?]λλιος³⁸. δημοθoinίαν ἔδωκ[εν]⁷ | [ἐν Π]εσσινοῦντι³⁹,
60 μονομάχων [ζεύγη] | κε'¹¹ καὶ ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι³⁹. ε', ἤλι[ψε]ν
| τὰ δύο ἔθνη⁴⁰ ὄλω τῶ ἑνιαυτῶ³⁶. ἄγα[λμα] | ἐν Πεσσι-
νοῦντι ἀνέθηκεν⁴¹. |
[Σέ]λευκος Φιλοδάμου⁴². δημοθoinίας⁸
- 65 | δις ἔδωκεν δυσὶ πόλεσιν⁴³, ἤλιψ[ε] | τὰ δύο ἔθνη⁴⁰ δι' ὄλου
τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ³⁶, | [θέ]ας¹⁰ ἔδωκεν.
- XI | Ἰούλιος Ποντικός⁴⁴. δημοθoinίαν ἔδω|κε⁸. ἑκατόνβην ἔθου-
σεν, ἔλαιον ἔθηκεν ὄλω | τῶ ἑνιαυ[τῶ]³⁶.
70 Ἄριστοκλ<ῆ>ς Ἀλ[βιόρι]τος⁴⁵. δημοθoinίαν | ἔδω[κεν]⁸, ἔλαι-
ον ἔθη[κε]ν δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ³⁶. |
Ἐπί [Β]ασιλᾶ⁴⁶
| Κόιντος Γάλλιος Ποῦλχε[ρ]⁴⁷ δημοθoinίας⁸ | δις ἔδωκεν καὶ
75 ἐν Πεσσινοῦν[τι] | ἑκατόνβην ἔθουσε²³, ἔλαιον ἔθηκ[εν] τοῖς
| δυ[σ]ὶν ἔθνεσιν δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ³⁶. |
- XII | [Φίλων?]ίδης Φίλω[νος]⁴⁹. δη]μο | θoinίαν⁸ ἔδωκεν, | δις
80 ἑκατόμβη[ν] | ἔθουσε²³, ἔλαιον ἔθηκεν ὄλω | τῶ ἑνιαυτῶι³⁶. |
- XIII Rest von XII lccr. | XIII abgewitterter Text.
- XIV [Ἐπί . . .] |⁴⁹ | | | . . . βωμό<ν> . . .
85 | . . . ἀνέθηκεν κ. . . ἱερά . . .⁵⁰ |
[Π]υλαιμένης Μηνᾶ[ς]⁵¹. δημοθoinίαν [ἔδωκε] | ἔθυσιν ἔθνεσιν⁴⁰,
[ἑκατόν]βην ἔθουσε²³, μο|νομάχων[ν] ἔδωκε[ε] ζεύγη τριάκοντα¹¹,
XV 90 ἔδω[κε]ν ἔλαιον [δυσὶν ἔθνεσιν] | ὄλω τῶ ἑνιαυτῶ³⁶.⁵².
[Σεμπρώνι ?]ος Ἀκύλα⁵³. [ἔ]δωκεν | δυσὶν ἔθνεσιν⁴⁰,
. . . | [ἔ]λαιον ἔθηκεν . . . | δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ³⁶, θέας¹⁰
95 | ἔδωκεν . . . | . . . οὐκ ἔτι⁵⁴ | . Rest lccr.

5.

Φλαμινία Πρόκίλλα
2 Γαίου Ποντίου Ἀπολλ[ι -]
ναρίου γυνή Μητρί
4 θεῶν εὐχῆν.

Varinlioğlu 1992

6.

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη². | Ψήφισμα³ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν
Διόνυσον⁴ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Καί-
5 σρα⁵ | νέον Διόνυσον⁶ τεχνειτῶν⁷ ἱερο[νε]ϊκῶν στεφανειτῶν⁸ καὶ
τῶν τούτων συ[ν]αγωνιστῶν⁹ καὶ τῶν νεμόντων τὴν ἱεράν | θυμελικήν
σύνοδον¹⁰. Ἐπειδὴ προτα[θείς] ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερωτάτης βουλῆς¹¹ Οὐλίπιος |
10 Αἴλιος Πομπειανὸς¹² (I) ἀγωνόθετῆσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν μυστικὸν¹³
δοθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἐν ὀλίγαις τῇ πόλει¹⁴, τῇ τε χει-
ροτονίᾳ ταχέως ὑπήκουσεν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διαφανῶς ἐπετέλεσεν
15 ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ¹⁵ μηδελιῶν ἀπολειφθεὶς λαμπρότητος καὶ μεγα-
λοψυχίας ἀλλὰ τὴν τε εὐσέβειαν τῆς πατρίδος | εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοῦς
θεοὺς ἐπεψήφισεν | καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις πάσας δὲ ἀφειδῶς ἐποιήσατο,
20 πρὸς μηδελιαν δαπάνην ἀναδύς¹⁶, καὶ τῷ τε | τάχει τῆς σπουδῆς
ὀδεύοντας ἤδη¹⁷ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἀνεκαλέσατο καὶ παντὶ μέρει τοῦ
μυστηρίου¹⁸ [ἐπή]ρκεσεν, τῇ μὲν συνόδῳ τὰ ἄθλα προθείς¹⁹ [τὸν δὲ
μυστικὸν ἀγῶνα κατασχὼν ὡς προκεκ[ρι]μένος μόνος] εὐποιεῖν τὴν
25 πόλιν. (vacat) | [Δεδόχθαι οὖν] ἡ<μ>εῖν²⁰, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τηρηθῆσαι
μὲν | [τὰς τιμὰς τῷ τε] Αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ διασε-
[σῶσθαι δὲ εἰς τὸν] ἀγῶνα τῇ πόλει, τὸν ἄνδρα τιμητῆ[σθαι ἀν-
δριάντ]ι, ὃς ἀναστήσεται ἐν ἐπιφανεστά[τω μὲν τόπῳ τ]ῆς
30 μητροπόλεως²¹, ἰδίῳ δὲ τῶν ἀγῶ[νιζομένων ἐ]ν τῷ θεάτρῳ²²,
παράδειγμα κάλλιστον | [ἀρετῆς τοῖς θε]ωμένοις, ὃ καὶ τὸν εἰσιόντα
ἀγωνιστῆν εἰς μυστικὸν ἀγῶνα ἐψηφίσθαι στεφάνους | [εἰσφέρειν],
εἰ δὲ μὴ εἰργασθαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀχαριστίας πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον
35 ἄνδρα ἔνεκεν καὶ ἀπειθε[ί]ας τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τῇ συνόδῳ ἀνα-
στῆσαι δὲ | τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνδριάντα, καὶ ἐν νεᾷ πόλει²³ τῷ [δὲ με-
γίστῳ Αὐτοκρά]τορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ²⁴ καὶ
τῷ κ[ρατίστῳ] ἡγεμόνι Τρεβίῳ Σεργιανῷ²⁵ | μαρτυρῆσαι] διὰ
40 ψηφίσματος²⁶ τὴν τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς | [μεγαλομέ]ρειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς
συνόδου δικαίαν | [εὐχαριστή]σθαι²⁷ ἰσηγησαμένου Γαίου Ἀντωνίου Πολ-
[....]ως²⁸ κωμῳδοῦ Ὀλυμπιονεῖκου²⁹, ἐ[πιψηφισαμένου] Γαίου
Ἰουλίου Κολλήγα Νεο[καιο]σάρως³⁰ κωμῳδοῦ παραδόξου³¹. (vacat)
45 Ἐγένετο³² ἐν | [τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς] Γαλατίας Ἀγκύρα³³ ἀγῶνος
τε[λο]υμένου μυστικῶ³⁴ ἐπὶ³⁵ ἐλλαδάρχου³⁵ Οὐλίπ[ου] Αἰλίου
Πομπειανοῦ³⁶ (!) καὶ ἀρχιερέως³⁷ Μεμμίου | [.....] οὐ
Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐλλαδάρχου³⁶ | [ἐπὶ πρώτου? ἀρχο]ντος³⁸ Τίτου Φλα-
50 οῦίου Ἰουλιαν[οῦ]³⁹, γραμ[ματέως] Ἀλεξάνδρου Σωπά-
[τρο]υ καὶ Λαοδικέως⁴⁰ κωμῳδοῦ⁴¹ Σεβαστο[ν]εῖκου⁴²
παραδόξου³¹ τ[οῦ] τριῶ ἀρχιερέως⁴³, νομοδε[ι]κτου³⁸
Ἐπόπτου Τρωαδέως πλειστονείκου⁴⁴. Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ν]ωνίου
55 Τορκουάτου Ἀσπρή[να] καὶ Μ. Ἀννίου Λίβωνος⁴⁵ πρὸς εἰδ(ῶν)
Δεκεμβρίων⁴⁵.

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη² | Λ. Παπειρίο[ν] | Ἀλέξανδρον³, | ἀρχιερέα⁴ καὶ |
 τὸ β' πρῶτον | [ἀ]ρχόντα⁵ καὶ το.. | εἰρηνάρχην⁶ [τῆ]ς μητρο-
 πόλε[ω]ς Ἀγκύρας⁷ | [καὶ] διὰ βίου ἐπ[ρέ]α τοῦ Διονύ[σ]του⁸,
 φυλῆ ε' Δι[ὸς Τρα] <π>εζῶν⁹, φυλαρχοῦ[ν]τος¹⁰ Οὐαλερίου Τει-
 μολάου | ἐπιμελουμένων¹¹ | Φ<λ>(αυίου) Σουπέροτου [καὶ] | Οὐα-
 λερίου <Ἀ>[ν]εμάτου.

Bosch 1967 no. 140

8.

Οὐλλπιον | Αἴλιον Πον|πη(ε)ιανόν² | ἐλλαδαρχ[ή]σαντα³ φ(ιλο-
 τείμως) | φιλῆ γ' | Μηνοριζ|ειτῶν⁴.

Bosch 1967 no. 129

9.

[Ἀγαθῆ] Τύχη² | [Τ. Φλ(άουιον) Γαια]νόν³ ἱππέα Ῥωμαίων⁴, | δ[ις]
 τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα⁵ καὶ | [πολειτο]γραφῆσαντα⁶ καὶ τρεῖς πρεσ-
 5 βεύ[σαν]τα παρὰ Θεόν Ἀντωνεῖνον⁷ καὶ | [ἀγωνοθε]τήσαντα⁸. τοῦ
 τε κοινοῦ⁹ | [τῶν Γαλατῶν] καὶ δις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀ[γώνων]¹⁰ τῶν μεγά-
 10 λων Ἀσκληπιεί[ων] ἰσοπυθίων¹¹ καὶ ἀρχιερέα¹² τοῦ κοινοῦ⁹
 τῶν Γαλατῶν γαλατάρχη[ν]¹³ σεβαστοφάντην¹⁴ κτίστην¹⁵ τῆς μη-
 [τρο]πόλεως Ἀγκύρας¹⁶. (vacat) | Φ[υλ]ῆ δ' Ἰερμηνῆ¹⁷ τὸν ἐν
 πᾶσι πρῶ[τον] καὶ φιλό[τε]μον καὶ ἐαυτῆς εὐεργέτην καὶ πλουτι-
 15 στήν¹⁸. | (vacat) [Ἐ]πιμελουμένων¹⁹ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀσκληπιά[δου]
 Ἀλεξ[άνδρου] ἀρχιδραγάτου²⁰ καὶ | [Ἰουλ]ίου Ἀσκληπιάδου²¹.

Bosch 1967 no. 249

10.

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη². | Τ. Φλ(άουιον) Γαιανόν³, ἱππέα Ῥωμαίων⁴, | καὶ δις
 5 τὴν πρώτην ἀρχ[ή]ν ἄρξαν[τα] καὶ πολειτογραφῆ[σαν]τα⁶ καὶ γ' | πρεσ-
 βεύσαντα παρὰ [Θεόν] Ἀντωνεῖνον⁷ καὶ ἀγωνοθε[τή]σαντα⁸ | δις
 τοῦ τε κοινοῦ⁹ τῶν Γαλατ[ῶν] | καὶ δις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων¹⁰ τῶν
 10 μεγάλων Ἀσκληπιείων ἰσοπυθίων¹¹ καὶ ἀρχιερέα¹² τοῦ κοινοῦ⁹
 τῶν Γαλατῶν, γαλατάρχη¹³, σεβαστοφάντην¹⁴, | κτίστην¹⁵ τῆς
 μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας¹⁶. | Φυλῆ ἡ Κλαυδία Ἀθηναία¹⁷ τὸν | ἐν
 15 πᾶσι πρῶτον καὶ αὐτῆς εὐεργέτην¹⁸. Φυλαρχοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελου-
 μένου¹⁹ Πουστουμίου | [Ἰ]ουλίου Ἀντωνίνου Μάξιμου, | φυλαρχοῦντας
 καὶ ἐπιμελουμένου | Ἀντωνίου Ἀντωνεῖνου.

Bosch 1967 no. 250

11.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη² | Τ. Φλ(άουιον) Γαιανόν³ ἱππέα Ῥωμαίων⁴ | καὶ δις
5 τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαν[τα]⁵ καὶ πολιτογραφήσαντα⁶ καὶ γ' |
πρεσβεύσαντα παρὰ Θεόν Ἀνω[νεῖνον]⁷ καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα⁸ δις
τοῦ | τε κοινοῦ⁹ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ [δ]ίς | τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων¹⁰ τῶν μεγά-
10 λων | Ἀσκληπιείων ἰσο[πυθίων]¹¹ καὶ ἀρχιερέα¹² τοῦ κοινοῦ⁹ τῶν
Γαλατῶν, γαλατάρχην¹³, σεβαστοφάντην¹⁴, καὶ κτίστην¹⁵ | τῆς
μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας¹⁶. | Φυλὴ¹⁷ | τὸν [έν] πᾶσι πρῶτον
15 καὶ φιλότιμον ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην καὶ πλου[τι]στή[ν]¹⁸. | Φυλαρχοῦντος
Λύρ(ηλίου) Ἀγησιλάου | Σεκοῦνδου, ἐπιμελουμένων¹⁹ | Φλ(αοῦίου)
Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Λύρ(ηλίου) Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

Bosch 1967 no. 251

12.

Τ. Φλ(άουιον) Γαιανόν³ | [ἱπ]πέα Ῥωμαίων⁴ καὶ δις | [τὴν π]ρώτην
5 ἀρχὴν ἄρ[ξ]αν[τα]⁵ καὶ πολιτογραφήσαντα⁶ [καὶ γ' | πρεσβεύσαντα]
παρὰ Θεόν Ἀ[ν]τωνεῖνον⁷ | καὶ ἀ]γωνοθετήσαν[τα]⁸ δις τοῦ | τε κοι-
νοῦ⁹ τῶν Γαλα[τῶν] καὶ | δις | τῶν ἱερ[ῶν] [ἀγώνων]¹⁰ τῶν μεγ[άλων]
10 | Ἀσκληπιε[ί]ων ἰσοπυ[θίων]¹¹ | καὶ ἀρχιε[ρ]έ[α]¹² τοῦ κοινοῦ⁹ [τῶν
Γαλατῶν], γαλατάρχην¹³, σεβαστοφάντην¹⁴, | κτίστην¹⁵ τῆς
μ[η]τροπόλ[εως] Ἀγκύρας¹⁶. | Φυλ]ή¹⁷ | [τὸν ἐν πᾶσι πρῶτον
15 καὶ φιλότιμον | ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην καὶ πλουτιστήν¹⁵.] Φυλαρχοῦντος
καὶ | ἐπιμελουμένου¹⁹ Φ[λ](αοῦίου) Κυριζίδου | Οὐαλεριανοῦ.

Bosch 1967 no. 252

13.

Τ. Φλ(άουιον) Γαι[α]νόν³ ἱππέα | Ῥωμαίων⁴ καὶ β' τὴν [πρῶ]τήν
5 [ἀ]ρ[χ]ήν ἄρ<ξ>αντα⁵ [καὶ] | πολιτογραφήσαντα⁶ | καὶ γ' πρεσβεύ-
σαντα παρὰ Θεόν Ἀνω[νεῖνον]⁷ καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα⁸ δις τοῦ τε |
10 κοινοῦ⁹ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ | δις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων¹⁰ | τῶν μεγάλων
Ἀσκληπι<ε>ίων ἰσοπυθίων¹¹ καὶ ἀρχιερέα¹² τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
Γαλατ[ῶν], | γαλατάρχην¹³, σεβαστοφάντην¹⁴ καὶ κτίστην¹⁵ τῆς
15 μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας¹⁶. Φυλ]ή¹⁷ | <τ>ὸν ἐ<ν> πᾶσι
πρ[ῶ]τον καὶ ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην καὶ π[λ]ουτιστήν.¹⁵ | Φυλαρχοῦν-
τος¹⁹

Bosch 1967 no. 253

[Τ. Φλ.] Γαιανόν ἱππέα Ῥωμαίων
[κέ δ]ις τὴν πρώτην ἀ[ρ]χὴν ἄρξαν-
[τα] κέ πολειογραφήσαντα κέ πρε-
[σβε]ύσαντα παρά θεόν Ἄντωνεῖ-
[νον, ἀ]γωνοθετήσαντα δις τοῦ
[κοιν]οῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν κέ δις τῶν
[Ιερῶν] ἀγῶνων τῶν μεγάλων

[Ἀσκλ]ηπείων Ἰσοπυθίων [κέ] ἀρχι-
[ερέα] τοῦ κοινοῦ Γαλατῶν, γαλα-
[τά]ρχην, σεβαστοφάντην, κτί-
[στην τῆς μητροπόλ]εως Ἀγκύρας
[-----]-[- ca 5 -]-τ. κέ φι-
[-----]

Mitchell 1977 no. 77

15.

Imp(eratori) Caesari | M. Aurellio(!) | Antonino² in|victo Au-
gusto³ | Pio Felici⁴ | Ael(ius) Lycinus⁵ v(ir) e(gregius)⁶ devotissi-
mus | numini eius.

Bosch 1967 no. 259

16.

Imp(eratori) Caesari | M. Aurelio Anto|nino Augusto² Caecilius
| Felix³.

Bosch 1967 no. 260

17.

[Τι. Ἰούλιον Ἰοῦστον] | Ἰουνι[ανόν², γ' ἀρχιε]ρέ[α³, κ<τ>ί<στην⁴
τ>[ῆ] <ς> μητρο]πόλεως⁵, πορφύρα καὶ στε|φάνω δια βίου τετειμημέ-
|νον⁶, φιλόπατρι⁷, πάσαις | διενεγκόντα φιλοτειμίαις⁸, καὶ ἔν τε
διανομαῖς τὴν | πατρίδα πλουτίσαντα ἔργοις τε {καί} περικαλλεστό-
|τοις κοσμήσαντα⁹, καὶ μόνον | τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλε- |
σθετήσαντα τῆς ἡμέρας¹⁰, ἐπιμεληθέντα δὲ καὶ τῆς κατα|σκευῆς
τοῦ βαλανείου¹¹, φυλῆ | Μαρουραγενῆ¹² ἐτείμησεν.

Bosch 1967 no. 255

18.

[Τι. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουῦστον 'Ιουνι|ανόν²; γ' ἀρχιερέα³, κτίστην⁴ | τῆς μητροπόλεως⁵, πορφύρα | κέ στεφάνω διὰ βίου τε|τεμμημέ-
νον⁶, φιλόπατριν⁷, | π]άσαις [διενεγκόντα φιλο|τ]ειμίας⁸, καὶ
[ἔν τε διανομαῖς] | <τ>ὴν πατρίδα π[λουτίσαντα ἔρ]|<γ>οις τε
<π>ερικαλ[λεστάτοις κοσ]|μήσαντα⁹, κέ [μόνον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι'
ὅ]|λης ἐλαιοθετήσαντα [τῆς ἡμέρας¹⁰, ἐπι]|μεληθέντα δὲ κέ τῆς
κα[τασκευῆς τοῦ] | βαλανείου¹¹, φυλὴ Σεβασ[τῆ ἐτίμησεν]¹².

Bosch 1967 no. 256

19.

Τι. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουῦστον 'Ιουνι|ανόν², γ' ἀρχιερέα³, κτίστην⁴ | τῆς
μητροπόλεως⁵, πορφύρα | κέ στεφάνω διὰ βίου τετεμμημένον⁶, |
φιλόπατριν⁷, π]άσ[α]ι[ς] | διενεγκόντα φιλοτιμί|αις⁸ κέ ἔν τε δια-
νομαῖς πλου|τίσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἔργοις | τε περικαλλεστάτοις κοσμή-
σαντα⁹, κέ μόνον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλαιοθετήσαντα τῆς
ἡμέρας¹⁰, ἐπιμεληθέν|τα δὲ κέ τῆς κατασκευῆς | τοῦ βαλανείου¹¹,
φυλὴ Διὸς Ταηνοῦ ἐτίμησεν¹⁴.

Bosch 1967 no. 257

20.

Τι. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουῦστον 'Ιουνι|ανόν³, γ' ἀρχιερέα³, κτίστην⁴ | τῆς |
μητροπόλεως⁵, πορφύραι κέ | στεφάνω διὰ βίου τετεμμημένον⁶,
φιλόπατριν⁷, π]άσαις διενεγκόντα φιλοτιμί|αις⁸, κέ ἔν τε διανο-
μαῖς πλου|τίσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἔργοις | τε περικαλλεστάτοις κο- |
σμήσαντα⁹, κέ μόνον τῶν | πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλαιοθετήσαντα τῆς
ἡμέρας¹⁰, ἐπιμε|ληθέντα δὲ κέ τῆς κατασκευῆς | τοῦ βαλανείου¹¹,
φυλὴ Νέρουα | ἐτίμησεν¹².

Bosch 1967 no. 258

21.

Τι. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουῦστον 'Ιουνια-
νόν, γ' ἀρχιερέα, κτίστην
τῆς μητροπόλεως, πορφύραι
κέ στεφάνω διὰ βίου τετι-
5 μημένον, φιλόπατριν, πάσαις
διενεγκόντα φιλοτιμί-
αις κέ ἔν τε διανομαῖς πλου-
τίσαντα τὴν πατρα (sic), ἔργοις
τε περικαλλεστάτοις κο-
10 σμήσαντα, κέ μόνον τῶν
πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλαιοθε-
τήσαντα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπι-
μεληθέντα δὲ κέ τῆς κατα-
σκευῆς τοῦ βαλανείου,
15 φυλὴ Διὸς Τραπεζῶν ἐτίμη | σεν.

Mitchell 1977 no. 6

22.

.....² κέ τὸ τοῦ Πολυείδου γυμνάσιον καθηρημένον ἐπισκε-
 <υ>|άσαντα³, κέ σύμπαν τὸ τ<ε>ἶχος | ἐν σευτοδεί<α> κέ:
 5 βαρβαρικα[ῖς] | ἐφόδοις ἐ<κ> θεμελίων εἰς | τέλος ἀγαγόν<τ>α⁴,
 | κέ τὴν βουλογραφίαν⁵ ἐκ πολυῦ κατα[αλε|λειμ]μένην μετά<λθ>-
 γου ἀκριβῶ[ν] |σαντα⁶, [ῆ] βουλή κέ ὁ δῆμος⁷ τῆ<ς> λαμπρο-
 10 τάτης⁸ | μητροπόλ(εως)⁹ Ἀνκύρας κεινῶ δό<γ>ματι | τὸν ἐαυτῶν
 ε[ύεργέτην] κέ τοῦ ἔθνους | σωτήρα.

Bosch 1967 no. 289

23.

... σας καὶ τὰς τοῦ ὀλυκοῦ καμάρας τὰς παρακιμένας τῷ Πολυείδῳ καὶ
 τοὺς ἐνβόλυ[υς]² |] ἐρήμιον ἐστῶτα ὀροφώσας καὶ τὸν
 ὀλυκὸν³ αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσας, περισώσας καὶ | οἶκον τοῦ
 χιμερίου δημοσίου λιγόντα⁴ αὐτὸς ἀνεπέωσεν τῶν τῆ μαρμάρῳ σ....
 | ...σι καὶ τῶ λοιπῶ κόσμῳ κατασκευάσας καὶ τὴν στέγην ἄπασαν
 5 τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ παλατίου⁵ | ...[ἐ]πιμεληθεῖς καὶ τοῦ δημοσίου
 φρουρίου καὶ τοῦ ὑδραγωγίου καὶ ὑδρίου τοῦ | [τ]οῦ Θεο-
 δότου ἄβατον οὔσαν αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασεν⁷, τὰς ἐν Διλιμνία καὶ⁸
 | [κατ]ορθωσάμενος τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἕτερα κτίσματα ἐν χρόνοις
 τῆς ὑπατίας⁹ | σὺν τῶν πλιόνων ἔργων Ἰωάννου Εὐ[τυ]-
 χικοῦ τὸ ἐπίκλην Ἀνατέλλον[τος]¹⁰].

Bosch 1967 no. 306

24.

- I. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
- II. Τίτω Κο...
- IV. δεκάκις
- V. καὶ Ἰτα...
- VI. ... ὡς οἰκήμασ[ι] ...
- IX. [μητροπόλε]ι τῆς Γαλα[τίας]
- X. φιλή....
- XI ? τοῖς ἐργα]στηριοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπ[ε]
- XII γου]ευσι[?]
- XIII ..]ι τοῖς[.

Bosch 1967 no. 145; Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 35

25.

Ἐ(του) δις². Διὶ Μεγίστω | [Τ]αηνῶ³ κωσαγι... | άτου(!)⁵ ἱερεὺς επ...⁴
| ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων⁶. | Γάιος ἐποίει⁷.

Bosch 1967 no. 211

26.

[Δι]ὶ Ταουιανῶ² εὐχὴν⁴ | [Π]λάνκιος Κρατεινός³.

Bosch 1967 no. 212

27.

[[...²]] τοῦ λαμπρο(στάτου)³ ἡγεμόνος, ἀρξάμενου⁴ | ...⁷ συμπλη-
ρώσαντος καὶ ἀφιερῶσαντος τῇ μητροπόλ[ι]⁶ τὸ τεῖχος⁵.

Bosch 1967 no. 290

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 41

28.

Ω - - - -
τε χαλκας πυ-
λας καὶ τὸν κ[ο]-
σμου πάντα

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 42

29.

Axius² leg(atu)s pro pr(actore)³ fetialis⁴.

Bosch 1967 no. 54

30.

Τιβ. Κλαύδιο[ν] | Φιλόστοργον νεώτερον² φυλῆ<θ'> | Ἱερὰ Βου-
λαία³, | κατὰ ἀναγόρευσιν βουλῆς καὶ | δήμου⁴, τεμμηθέντα πολλαίκις
ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀνδρίας ἐν[εκεν]⁵.

Bosch 1967 no. 72

31.

---σι | τὸ [μετρ]ήσαν[τα]², ἀγο|ρανομήσαν|τα δ' ³ μονο|μαχίας κὲ
θη|ρομαχίας | κὲ θεωρία[ς]⁴ | δεδωκότα | ἡμέραις να'⁵, τῆς | εἰ[ς τῆ]ν
πατρὶδα | εὐνοίας | ἔνεκεν | φυλ(ῆ) ἡ'⁶.

Bosch 1967 no. 101

32.

...² φυλ]αρχήσαντα³ καὶ ἀστυνομήσαντα⁴ καὶ | ἱερασάμενον | δις θεᾶς
Δήμητρος⁵, τιμηθέν|τα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις⁶ πολλάκις), | φυλῆ·ἐνάτη | Ἱερά
Βουλαία⁷, | τὸν ἑαυτῆς | εὐεργέτην.

Bosch 1967 no. 262

33.

Κλαύ(διον) Καικ(ίλιον) | Ἐρμιανόν², | [τ]ὸν ἐξ ἀρχιερέων ἀρχιε-
5 [ρ]έα³, γαλατάρχην⁴ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν⁵, ἀγα|νοθετή-
σαντα⁶ τῶν μεγά|λων Αὐγουστείων Ἀκτί|ων⁷, ἄρξαντα τὴν α'
10 ἀρχή[ν]⁸, | πολιτογραφ(ήσαντα)⁹, βουλογραφ(ήσαντα)¹⁰, | [ἀρχι]ερέα
διὰ βίου τῆς Τύχης¹¹, | [εὐεργέ]την τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν | πρῶτον, |
φυλῆ·ε'¹².

Bosch 1967 no. 287

34.

...ς Πόπλιος² | [Μηνί] Οὐρανίω³ εὐχὴν⁴. | Ἔτους ρσ'⁵.

Bosch 1967 no. 188

35.

[Μητροὶ καὶ Μηνί θεοῖς ἐπη]κόοις βασιλίσση καὶ βασιλεῖ

Bosch 1967 no. 189

36.

Ἄσκληπιος
Νεικήτου ἱερεὺς
βασιλεὶ καὶ βασι-
λίσση τὸν ση-
κὸν σὺν ἀναθή-
μασι καὶ περιβό-
λῳ ἐκ τῶν Ἰδι-
ων ἐποίησεν.

37.

[Δι] Ἡλίω Μεγάλω Σα[ράπιδι² καὶ | τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς³ [τοὺς
5 Σω[τῆρα]ς Δισκούρους⁴ ὑπὲρ [τῆς | τῶν] Αὐτοκρατόρων σωτη[ρί-
| ας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου δ[ι:α | μον]ῆς Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνε[ί-
| νου] καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίου Κομόδου⁵ | [καὶ] τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν
10 | [οἴκου] καὶ ὑπὲρ βουλῆς καὶ δῆ[ι]μου⁶ τῆς μητροπόλεως⁷ Ἀγκύ-
|[ρας] Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου⁸ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς μεγά[λης]
Ἀ]λεξανδρείας⁸ ὁ καὶ Ἀγκυ[ρανός]⁶ νεωκόρος¹⁰ τοῦ Μεγάλου |
15 [Σαράπ]ιδος ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν ιδί[ων]¹¹ ἀφι[εροῦντος]¹² καὶ ἡγου-
μένου τῆς | [ἐπαρ]χείας Τίτου [Λι]κινίου Μουκι[ανου]¹³ τοῦ
20 Σωτῆρος¹⁴ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλ[αυδίου] | [Τ]ερτύλλου¹⁵.

Bosch 1967 no. 184

38.

- I. Δι Ἡλίω Μεγάλω Σαράπιδι² καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς³ τοὺς
Σωτῆρας Δισκούρους⁴ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων σωτη- |
ρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς Μ. | Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου
5 καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίου Κομόδου⁵ καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος | αὐτῶν
οἴκου καὶ ὑπὲρ βουλῆς καὶ | δήμου⁶ τῆς μητροπόλεως⁷ Ἀγκυ-
κύρας | Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου.
II. [Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς μεγάλης | Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁ καὶ Ἀγκυρανός⁹
| νεωκόρος¹⁰ τοῦ Μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ἀ]-
III. νέστη[σεν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων]¹¹ ἀφιερ[οῦντος]¹² καὶ ἡγουμένου τῆς
5 [ἐ]παρχείας Τίτου Λικινίου Μουκιανου¹³ τοῦ Σωτῆρος¹⁴,
ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς] | Κλ[αυδίου] Τερτύλλου¹⁵.

Bosch 1967 no. 185

39.

III. ας² Σεβα[στ³....]

Bosch 1967 no. 91

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 23

40.
[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Ἀδριανῶι Σεβαστῶι] καὶ Λουκίω Αἰλίῳ
Καίσαρι ...]

Bosch 1967 no. 134

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 26

41.

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι ...² | Σε]βαστῶ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυ[χεῖ ...]³

Bosch 1967 no. 297

42. : - - - ONINIA

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 29

43.
L. Salvius Cal(eria³) Caen²
Λ. Σάλουιος Ουάλης ἐπίτροπος ?

Bosch 1967 no. 298
Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 31

44.
- -]ALI ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΙΩ?

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 32

45.
Αὐτοκράτορι Νερούαι Τραιανῶι Καίσαρι Σεβαστ[ῶι...²]

Bosch 1967 no. 104
Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 25

46.
[Καίσι]αρι ΣΙ c]β[αστῶ]

Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 34

47.
Ἐπί Λύρηλ(ίου) Δι[ονυ]σίου Ἀργαειν[ου² τοῦ] | λαμπρο-[άτου³ ἀρξα]-
| μένου⁴ κὲ συνπ[ληρῶ]σαντος⁵

Bosch 1967 no. 292
Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 37

48.
Ἐπί Λύρηλ(ίου) Δι[ο]νυσίου | Ἀργαειν[ου² τοῦ] λαμπρο-[ά]τ[ου]³ |
ἀρξαμένου⁴ κὲ [συμ.]πλ<η>ρ<ώ>σα[ντος]⁵

Bosch 1967 no. 293
Mitchell and McParlin 1995 no. 38

49.
Ἄγαθῆ Τυχῆ³. | Ἐπί τοῦ λαμπρο(στάτου)³ ὑπαίτου⁴ Μηνικ(ίου) Φλω-
ρεντίου² τὸ χρησιμώτατον ἔργον τῆ πόλι | γέγονεν⁶.

APPENDIX II:

The 1944 Finance Profession School Excavation

The aim of this appendix is to analyze the details of the 1955 report on the excavations in the Finance Professional School discussed in Chapter V (Figure 12). Closer examination will illuminate why Akok's conclusion of a residential area is wrong and that the remains cannot be confidently dated or identified.

Three building foundations were identified as "A", "G" and "K". "A" delineates the highest point of the excavation area and is classified as a Roman structure made of ordinary stones and mortar. "G" consists of two walls and a corner of an "important" building of unknown purpose, made of andesite at the lower levels and thin flat bricks at the higher sections. Two windows, subsequently blocked, were also noticed. Akok claims that the walls are reminiscent of the Roman Bath¹. "K" is the South-West corner of a building whose core remains under the school. It is connected to other structures: arched passageway "I" , intersections "L" and wall section "H". Apparently built with attentive workmanship, all these foundations appear to have had heavy buildings overlaying them. If this is accepted, then we must be seeing the lower or middle layers of construction, not the highest stratum.

Wall fragments "B", "D", "F", "H" and "J" were also encountered. "B" is described as a wall carelessly made of mud and stones. "D" is a random wall that does not have any immediate purpose nor connection. Indicative of the problems surrounding this area, the workmanship of "F" does not match any other dwelling. As mentioned earlier, "H" is linked to "K", but the building construction is similar to building "G".

¹ Akok 1955: 312.

Akok insists that the direction and the material connect "H" to "G" and both of them are attached to the bath through direction, but as will be examined below, this is impossible². Two spaces thought to be doors were found in the wall, but they were blocked during the later period. "J" is thought to be another extension of "H", but this appears to be faulty as well.

Singular configurations include room "C", cistern "E", and road "M". "C" is very interesting because it is the remain of a small water depot or cistern. The traces of *opus signinum* on the interior walls, half columns indicating strengthening arches and the thought that the top was a barrel vault imply the depot conclusion. "E" is one of the many water distribution places in the North-East. Earthenware pipes accompany "E" and Akok has summarized that the pipes were a late addition and could not make full use of the water supply³. Road "M" is an essential discovery for the reconstruction and understanding of Ancyra's road system. Paved with large andesite blocks put on the ground, stabilized with bricks and gravel, the road measures 4.2 m. wide⁴. Its direction, running on an Eastern-Western slope, and date fit with the bath and the neighboring buildings. Tentatively, what may be the last vestiges of this road were glimpsed in the yard of the school in March 1998⁵.

As can be gleaned from these facts and seen in the plan, this tangle of traces does not show any logical dense habitation nor a symmetrical bath wing. The ruins could very well have been a neighborhood that withstood a great deal of modification or a random extension of the Imperial Bath. Yet, Akok maintained that this area was a large district

² Akok 1955: 312

³ Akok 1955: 312

⁴ Akok 1955: 313. The report states that the street was paved with mosaics, which is a decorative oddity.

⁵ Using Akok's 1955 map III, I identified part of the road in the front yard of the school.

of Roman Ancyra, dating to the same period as the large bath⁶. This seems very unlikely since three different phases can be glimpsed in this region. "C" predates "A" as "A" is the highest reported point; "E" should be later than the bathhouse due to the placement of water pipes that could only partially utilize the large bath's water supply; "F" is earlier than "C", since "C" appears to be at the lowest level of the plan; "B" is a later afterthought to "A", the techniques differing from one to the other. Akok claims that "H" and "G" belong to each other, but his plan shows the exact opposite⁷. They are parallel, not perpendicular. "J" is supposed to be another extension of "H", but the plan reveals "J" to be part of the thickening of "H". If it is a thickening, then "J" can be seen as later than "H". Only one wall, "G" is similar to the bath, and yet the entire area has been given the same date. To date this settlement on the basis of construction style, which may or may not be a local specialty, is unreliable and extremely inconclusive .

These remains may represent the Byzantine and Seljuk alteration of the Imperial bath. They may also suggest that the Imperial bath was unfinished and therefore not symmetrical, contrary to the accepted conclusion. If the bath was not completed, this area's earliest level could theoretically be Hellenistic, modified in the Roman and Byzantine eras. Perhaps if this "district" was pre-existing, then it could have affected the manner in which the large bath was erected and why it could have been incomplete. It is obvious that this area, as revealed in 1944, is not part of the original Imperial bath plan, nor is it a regular simultaneously constructed neighborhood, due to the diverging angles and directions of the walls. The confusing mass of foundations simply does not fit with Akok's residential conclusion. As the site is now covered, the role these remnants played in Ancyra remains unresolved, with the exception that Çankırıkapı certainly contained a great deal of human activity.

⁶ Akok 1955: 314-315.

⁷ Akok 1955: plan II.

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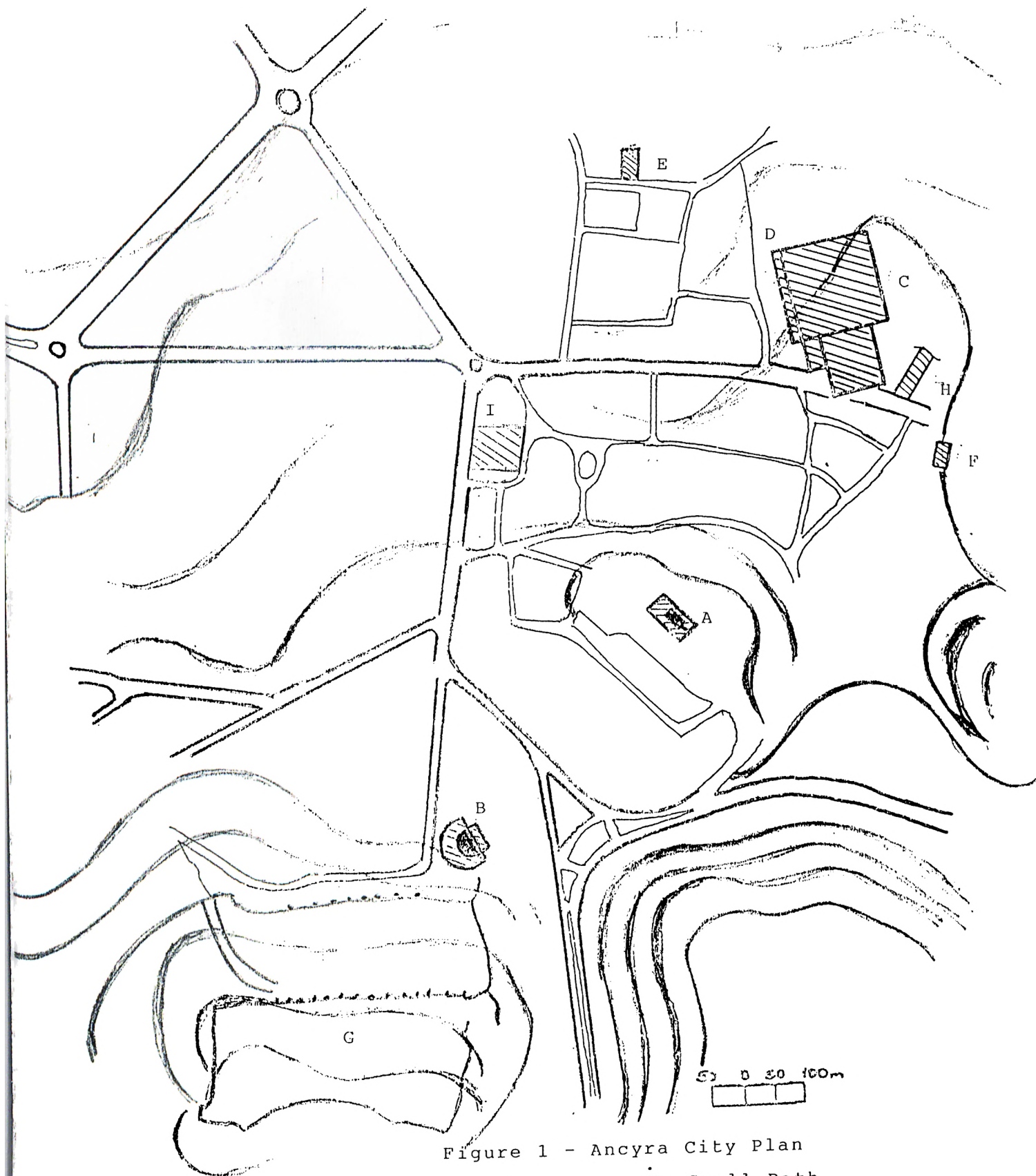


Figure 1 - Ancyra City Plan

- A- Temple of "Augustus and Roma"
- B- Roman Theater
- C- Roman Bath
- D- 1944 Excavation

- E- Small Bath
- F- Heated Doom Complex
- G- Citadel
- H- Colonnaded Road

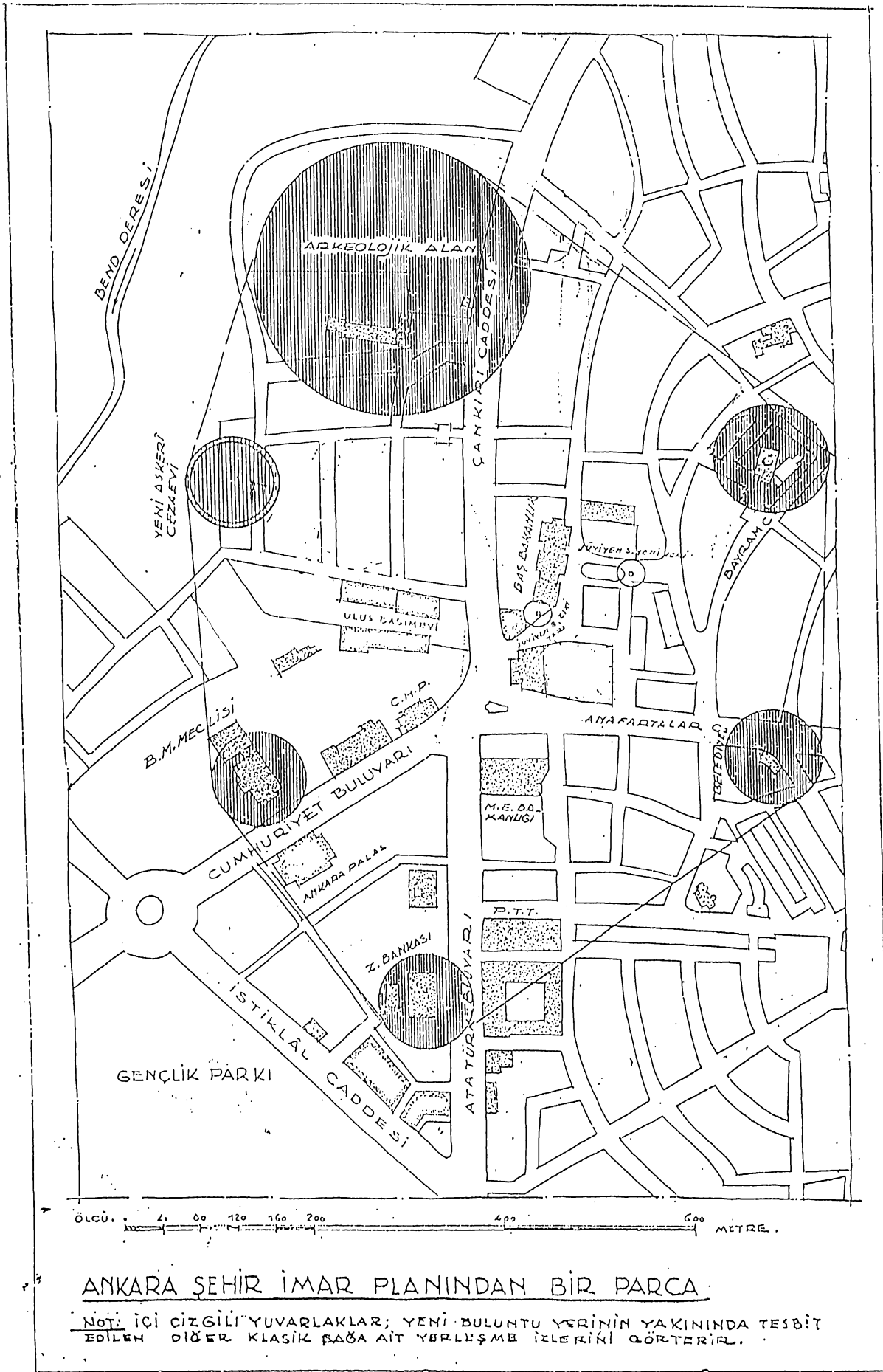


FIGURE 2
1955 ANKARA CITY PLAN

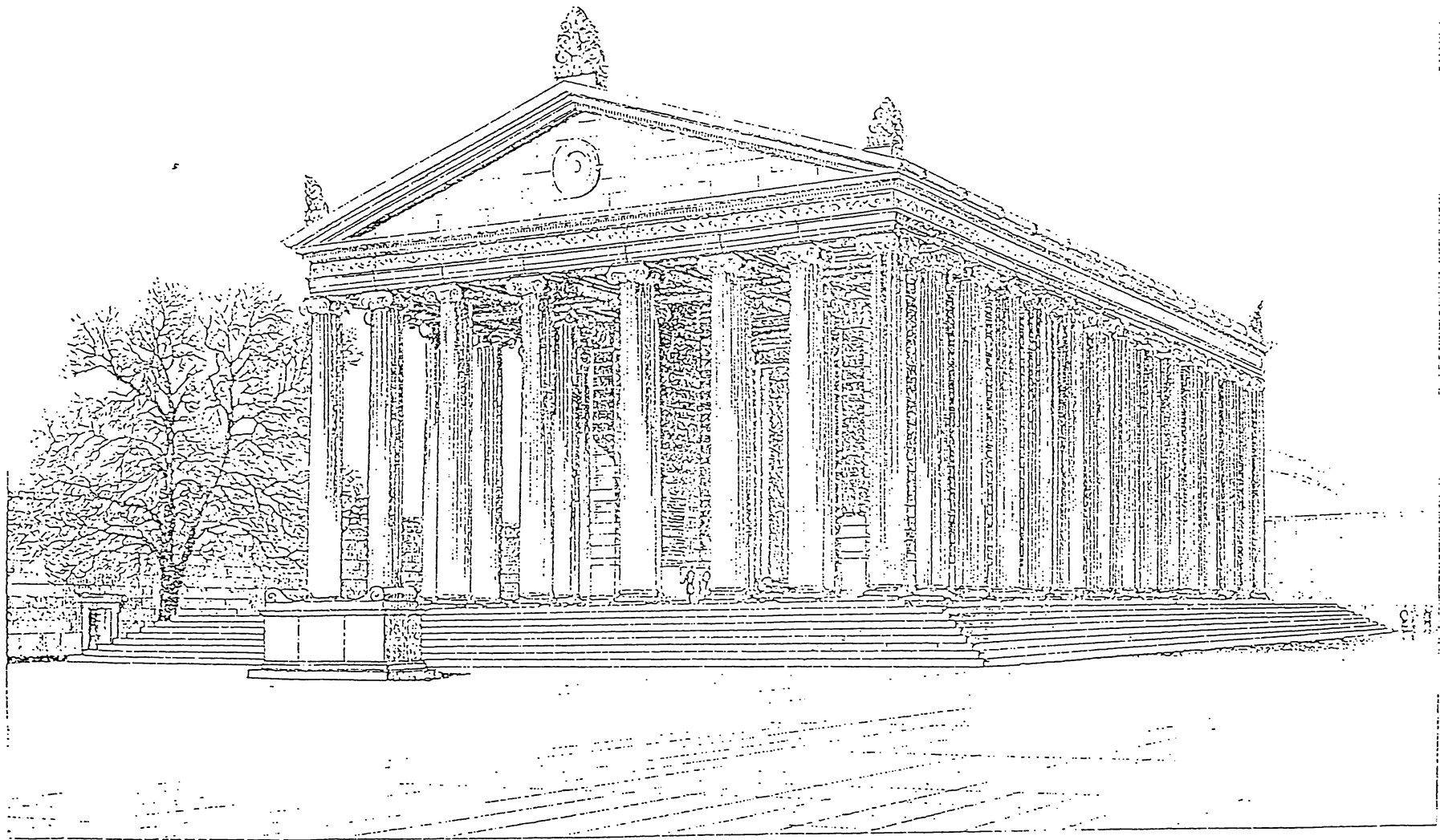


FIGURE 3
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF "AUGUSTUS AND ROMA"

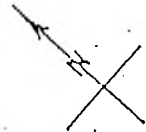
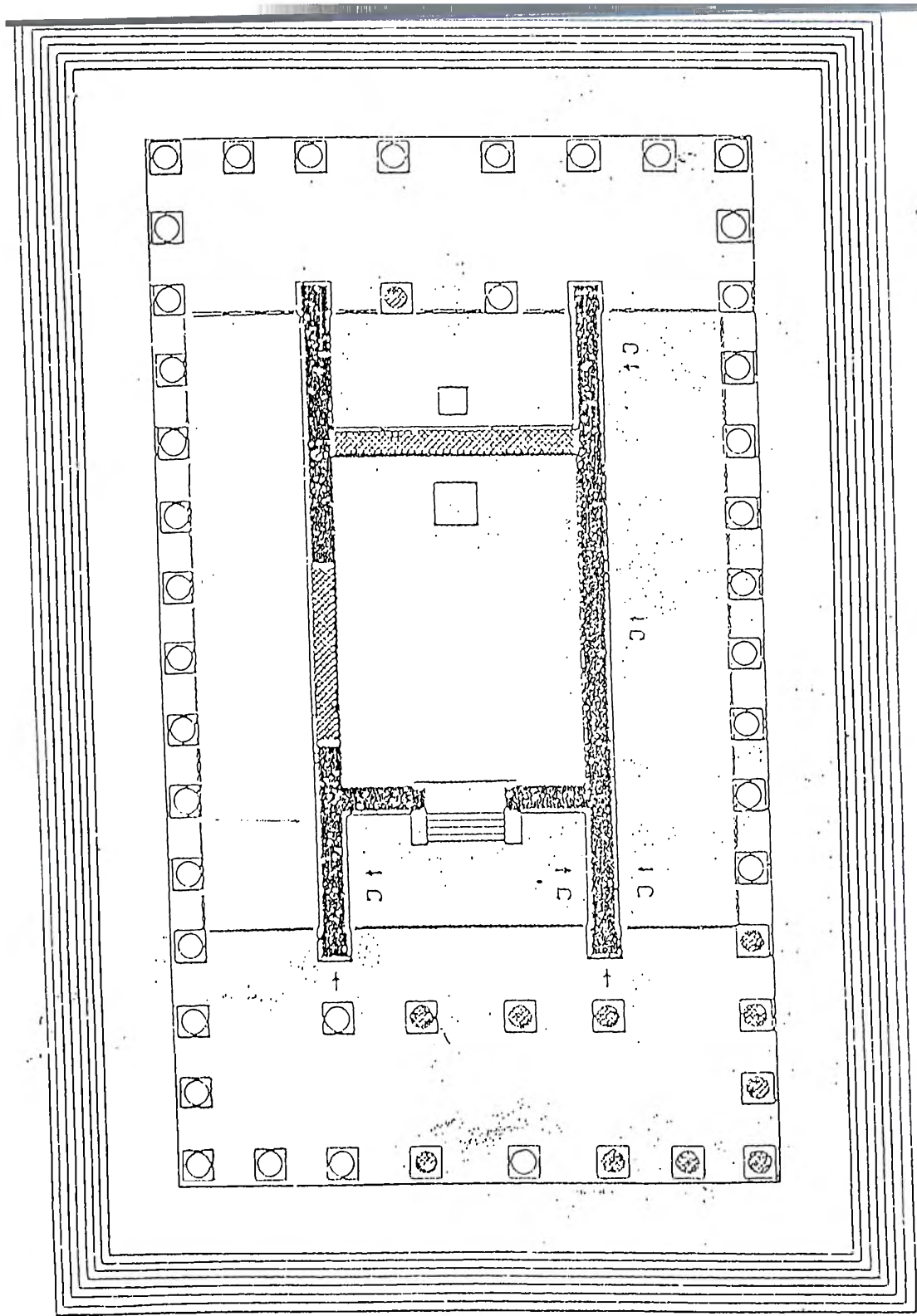


FIGURE 4
THE TEMPLE OF "AUGUSTUS AND ROMA"

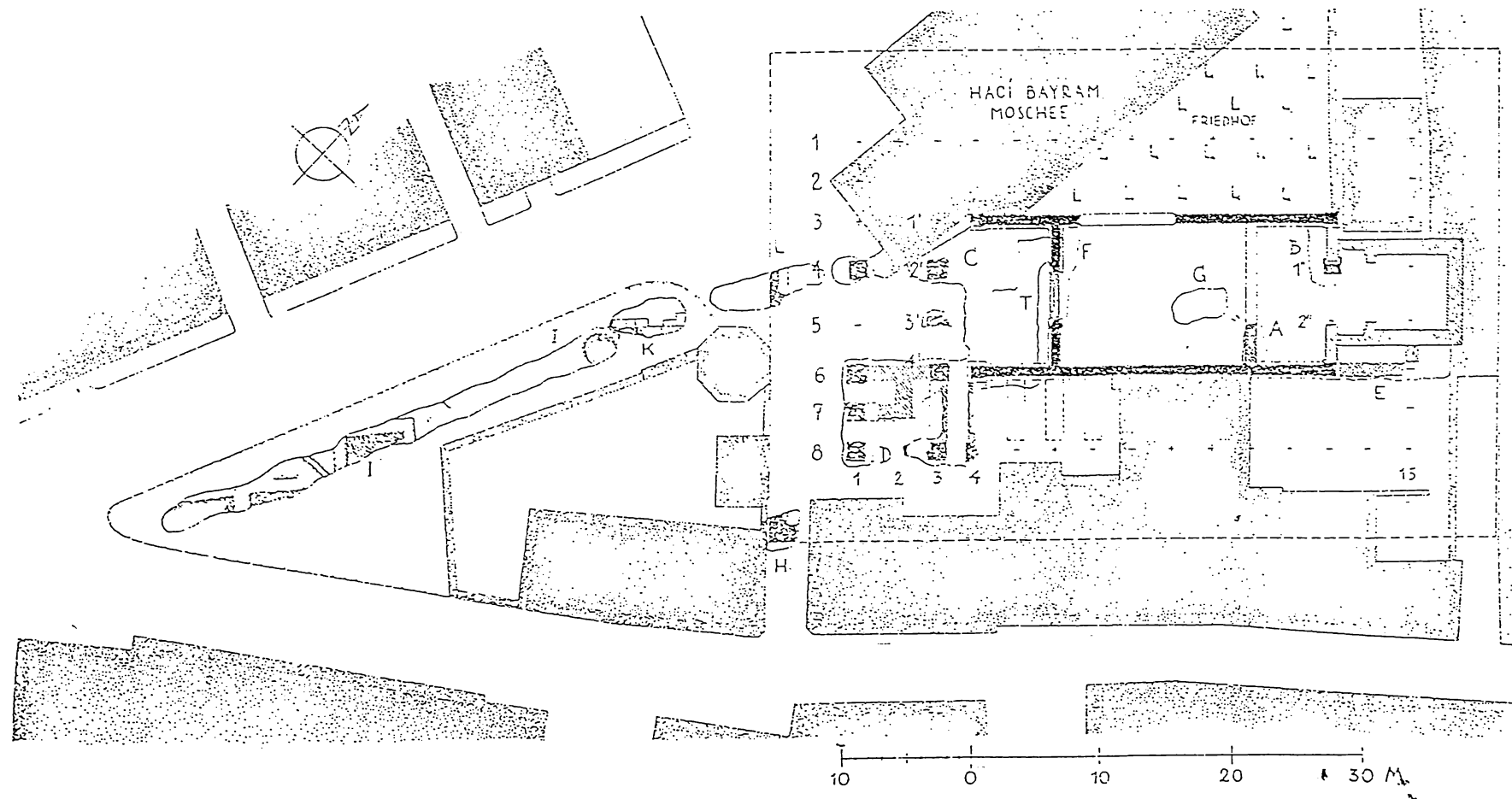


FIGURE 5
 1928 EXCAVATION PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF "AUGUSTUS AND ROMA"

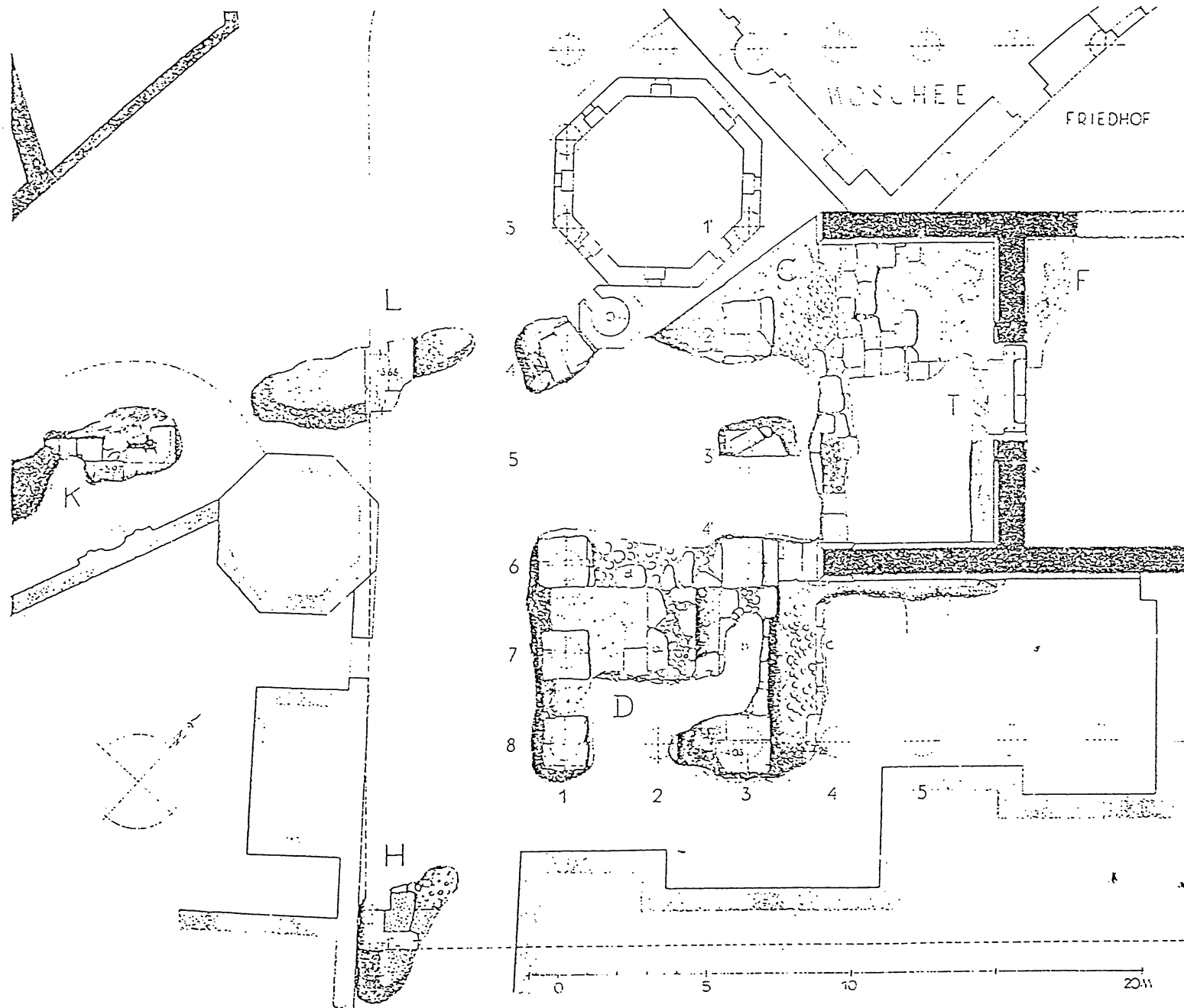


FIGURE 7
 1928 EXCAVATION PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF "AUGUSTUS AND ROMA" -DETAIL

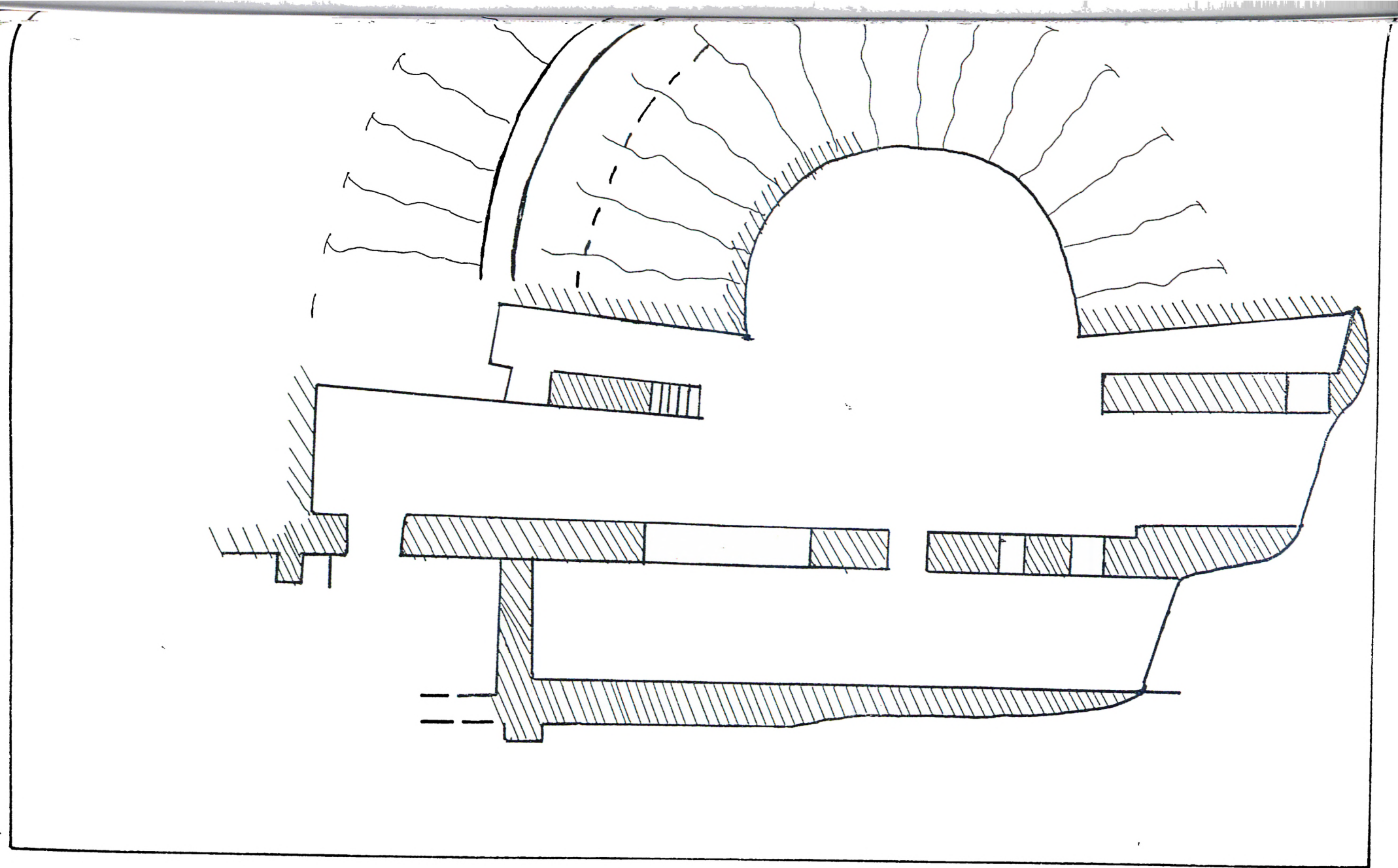


Figure 8 The Roman Theater

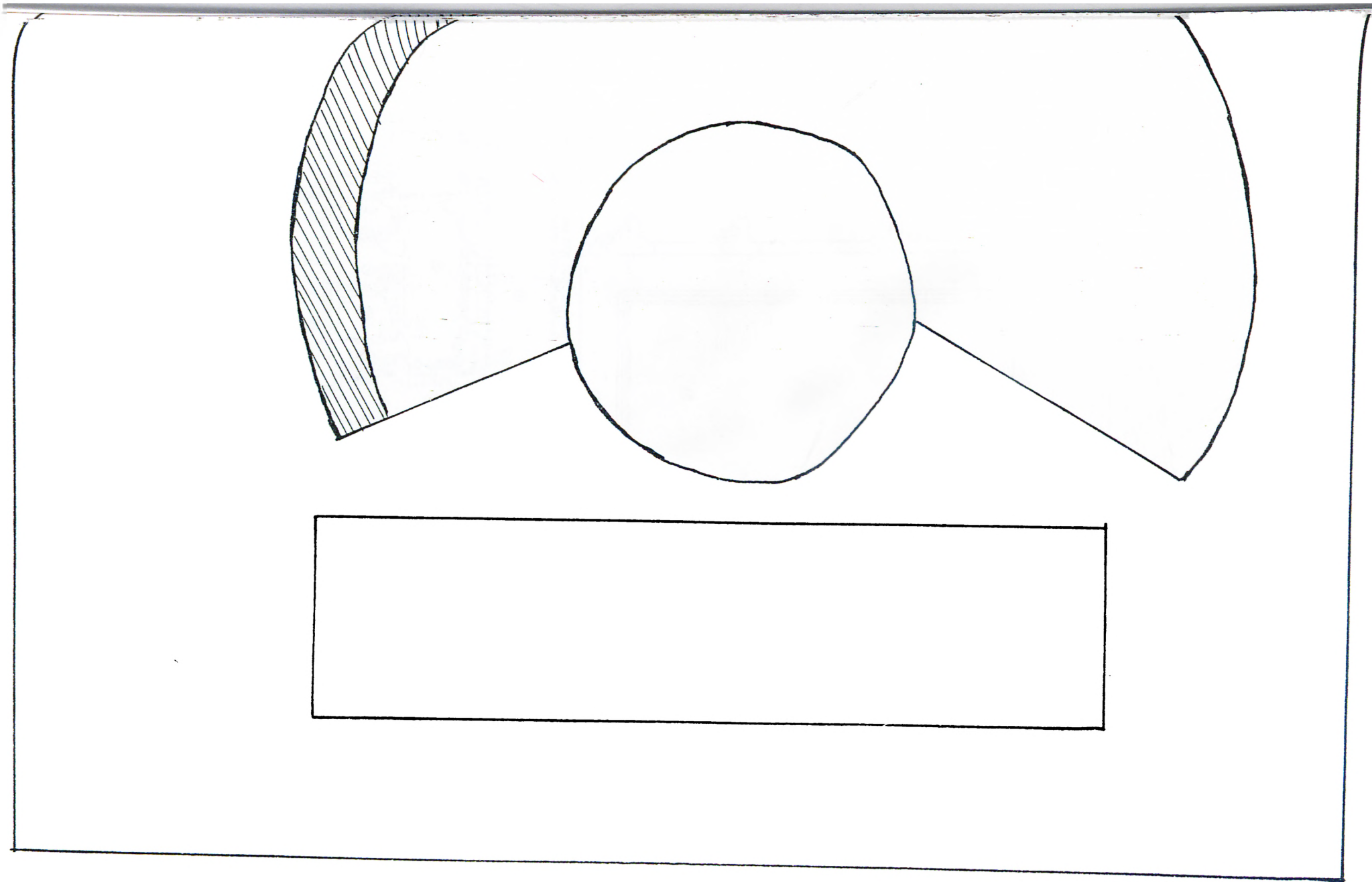
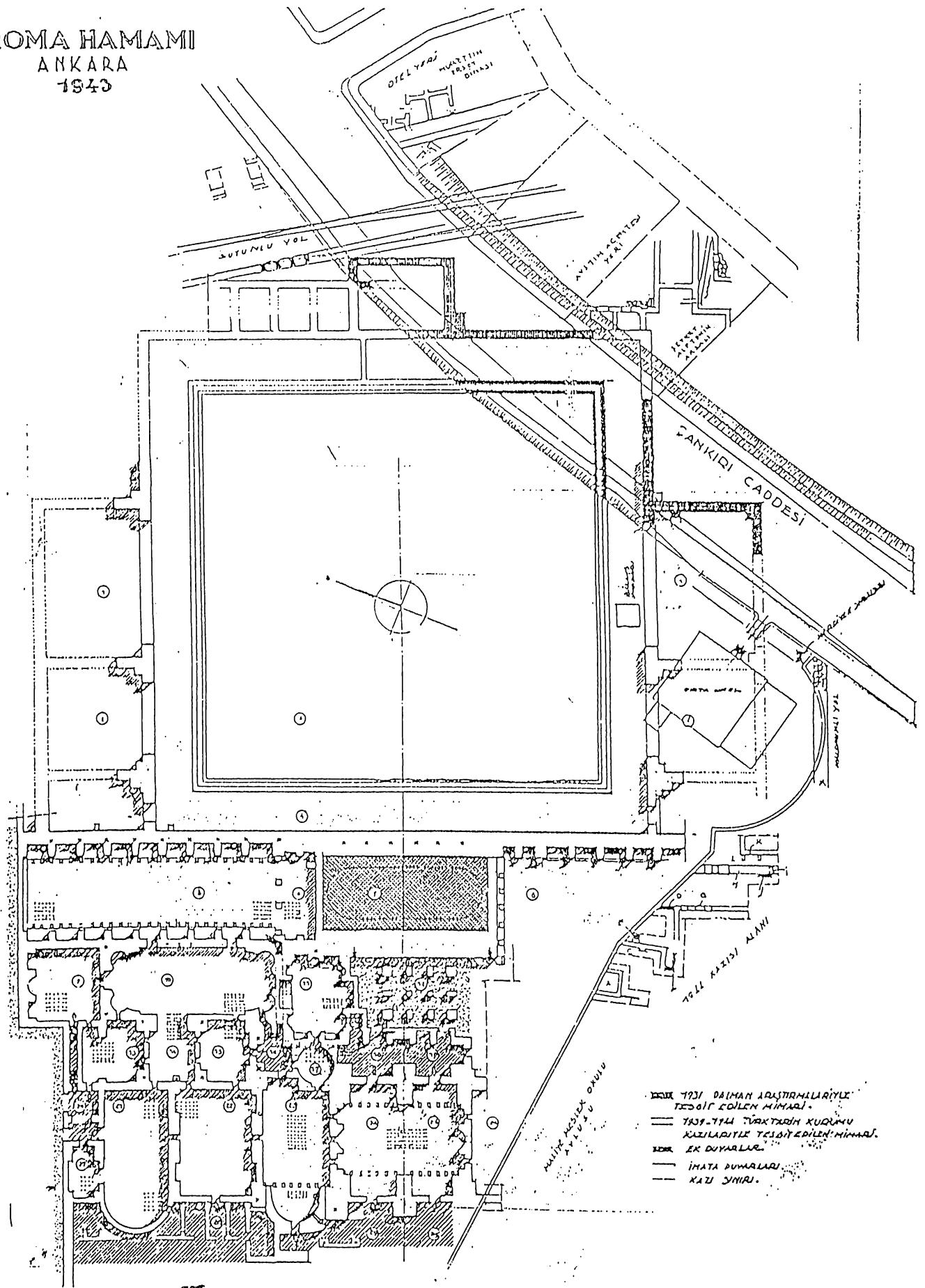


Figure 9: Possible Appearance
of the Roman Theater

ROMA HAMAMI
ANKARA
1943



ÇİZİM M. AKOK 24.7.1943

FIGURE 10
THE ROMAN BATH : BASEMENT LEVEL

ROMA HAMAMI
ANKARA
1943

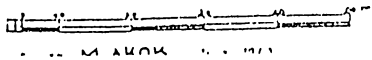
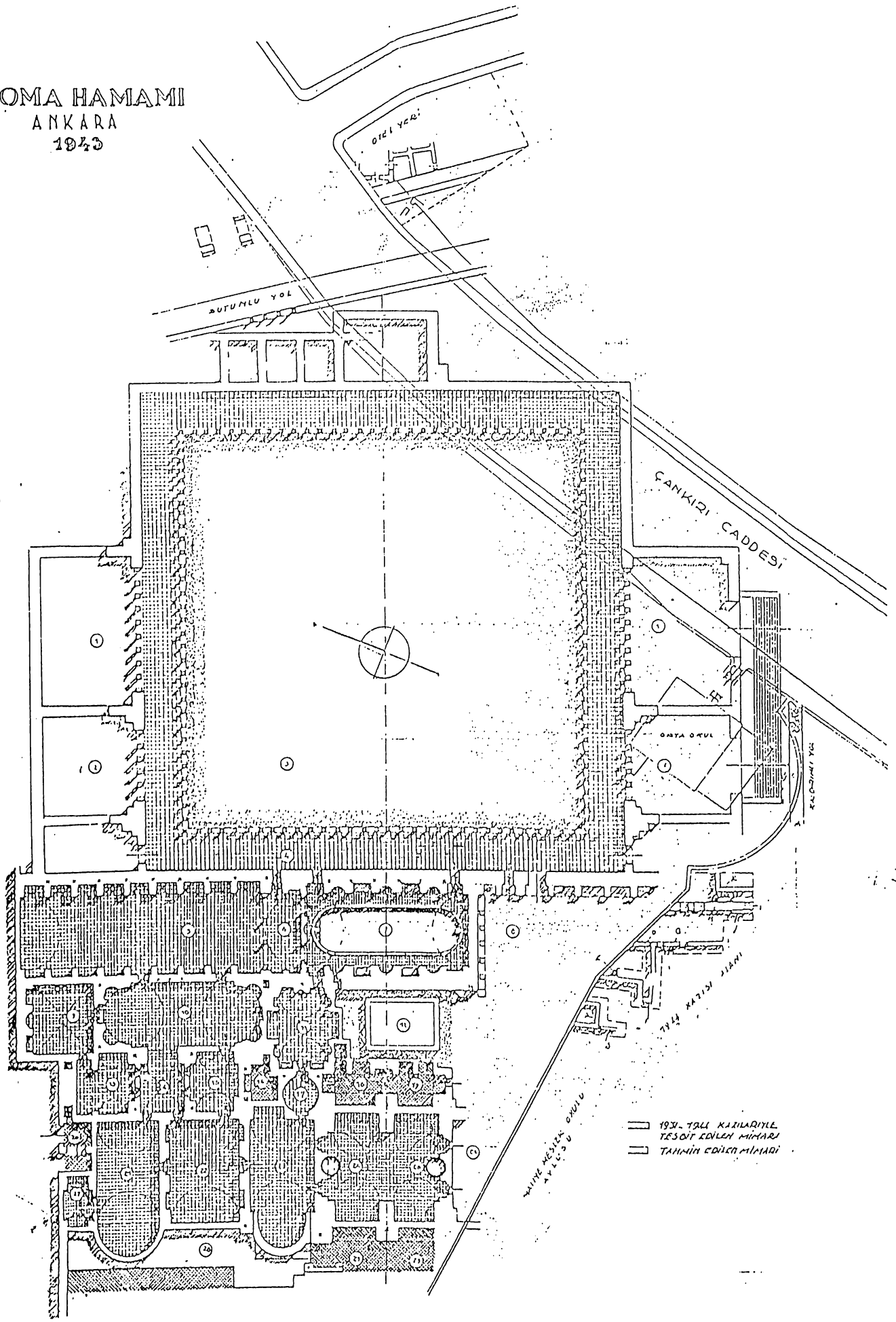


Figure 11
THE ROMAN BATH ENTRANCE LEVEL

ZEMİN KATI.

ROMA HAMAMI
ANKARA
1943

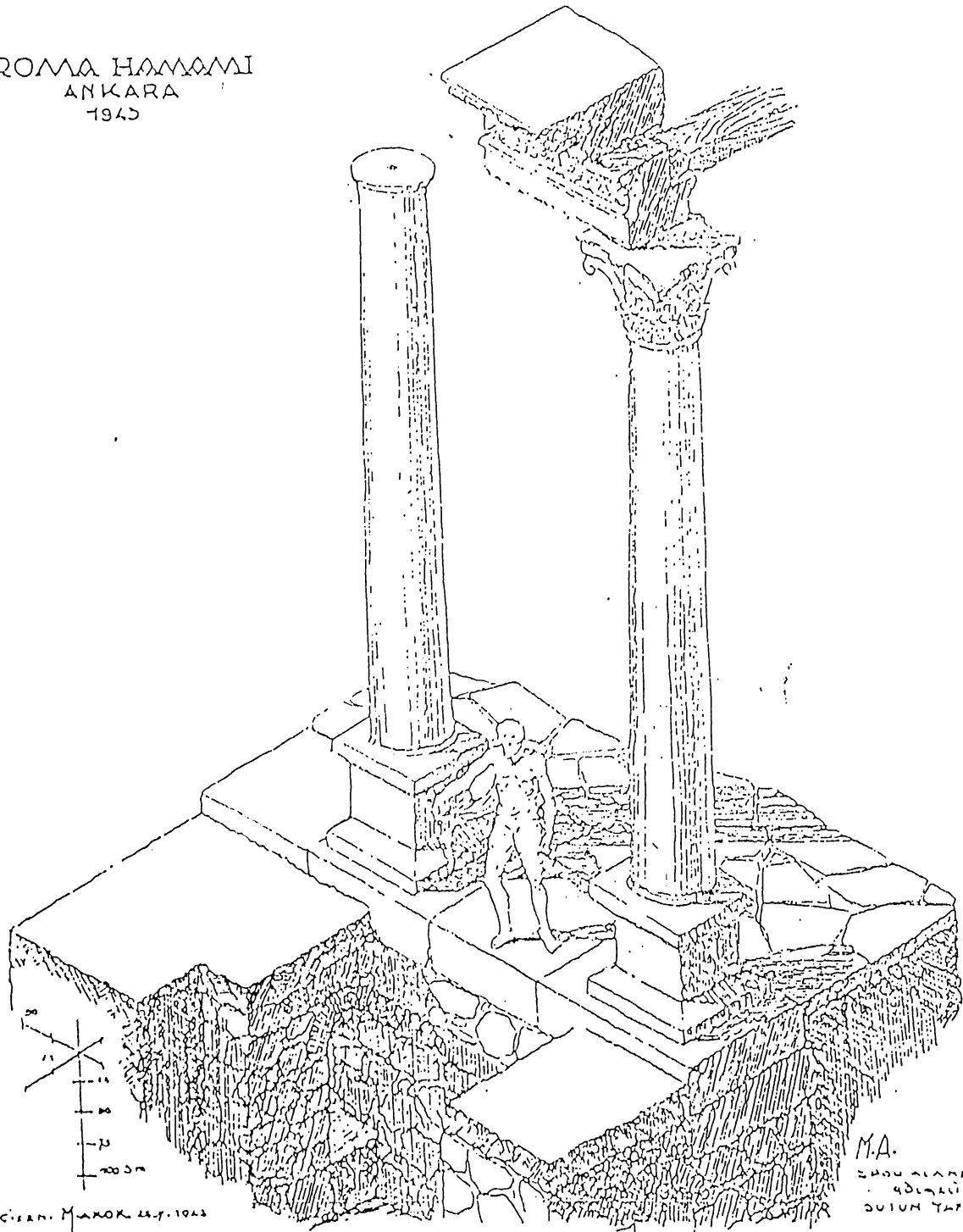


Figure 12
THE ROMAN BATH PALAESTRA CORNER RECONSTRUCTION

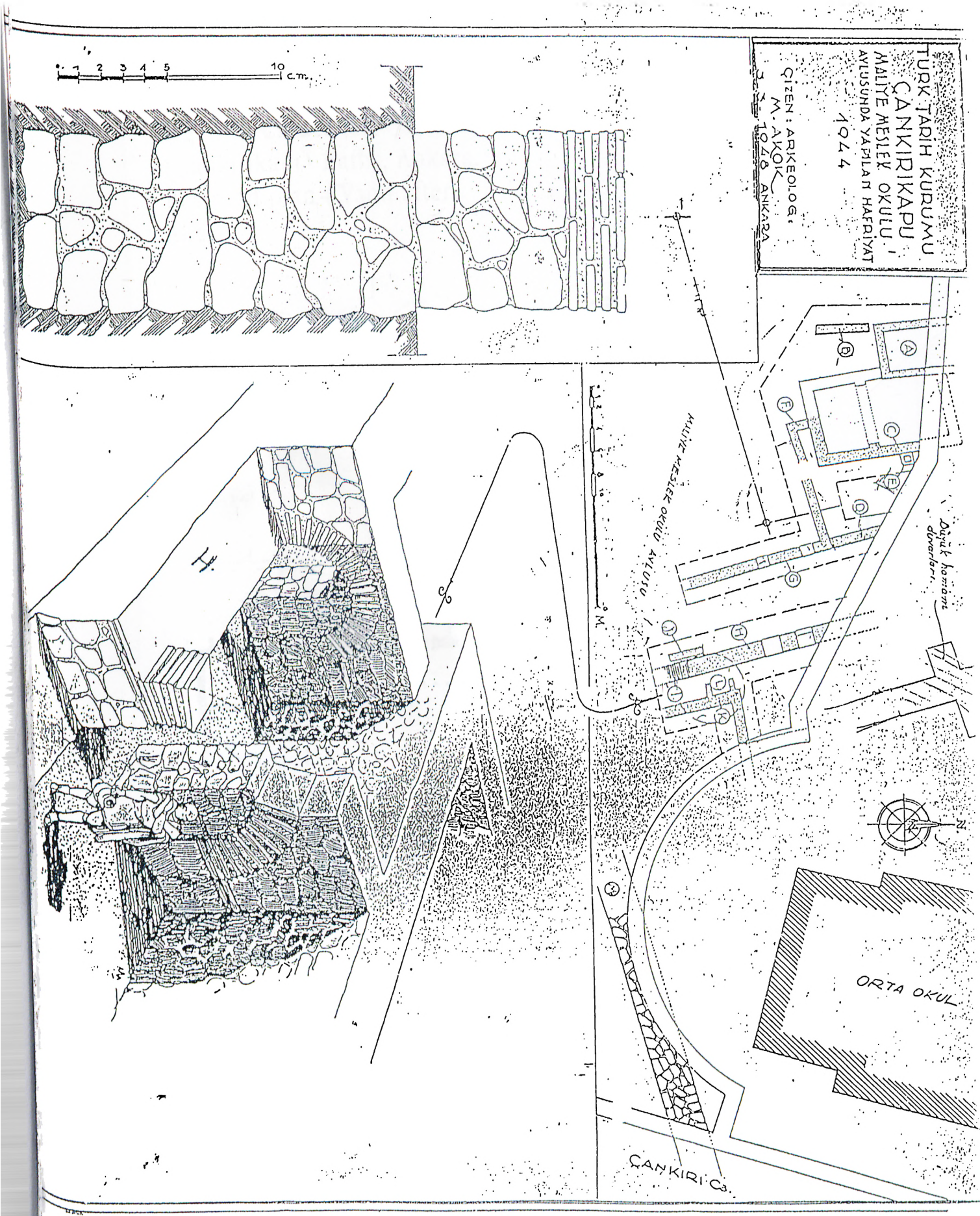


FIGURE 13
 1944 EXCAVATION PLAN AND RECONSTRUCTION

Fig. 350 Caracallan
(Çankırıkaol) Baths, Ankara.
Restored plan (Yann after
Akok).

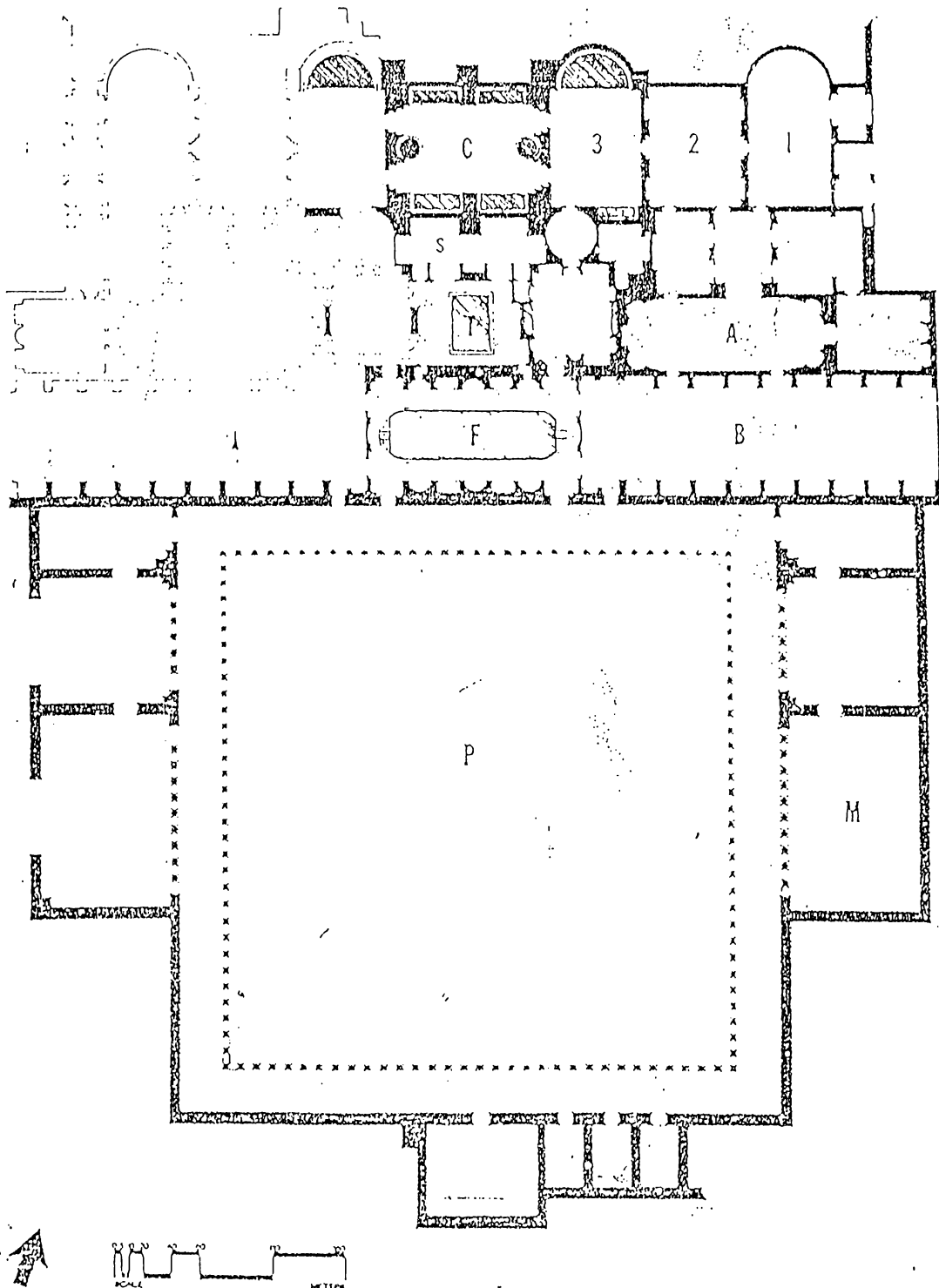
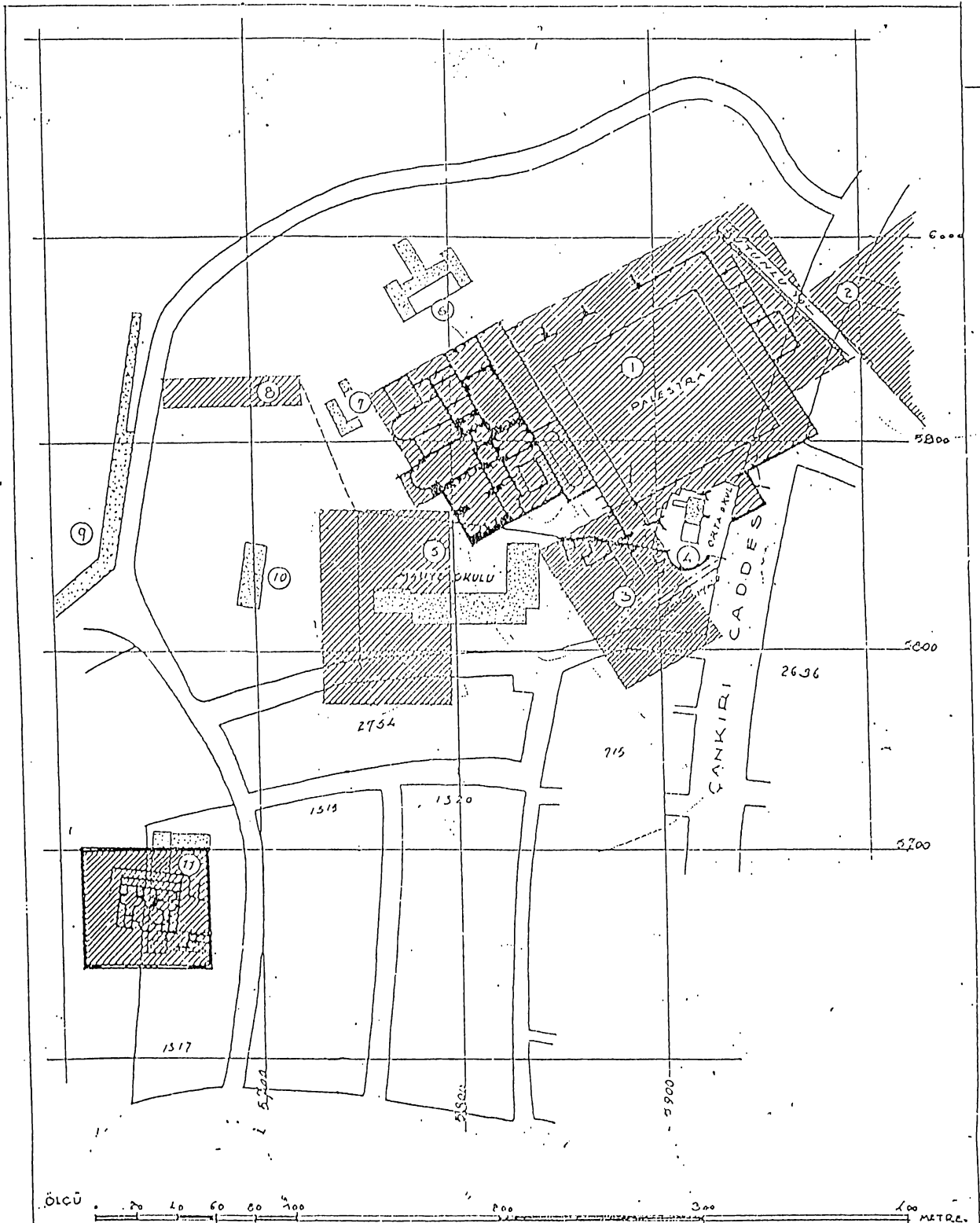


FIGURE 14
THE ROMAN BATH : RECONSTRUCTION BY YEGÜL



NUMARALI YERLER: 1- KLASİK ÇAĞI BÜYÜK HAMAMI. 2- İZLERİ AYAKTA DURAN K.C. YERLEŞİMİ. 3- 1944 YILI KAZILARIYLA TEBİT EDİLEN K.C.Ğ. YERLEŞİMİ. 4- ORTA OKUL. 5- PROFESÖR ANKE- OLOK RAZMI OĞUZ KAZILARIYLA TEBİT EDİLEN K.C. YERLEŞİMİ. 6- YENİ HAFRIYAT EYİ. 7- ESKİ HAFRIYAT EYİ. 8- 1938 YILI KAZI YERİ. 9- NİLİ SPOR KULUBU. 10- ESKİ HAFRIYAT EYİ. 11- YENİ ASKERİ CEZAEVİ VE YENİ BULUNAN KLASİK ÇAĞI YERLEŞİM ALANI.

NOT: ANKARA ŞEHİRİ İMAR MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNDEN ALINAN, P.N: 8963/VII VE P.N: 300/VII SAYILI PAZ- TALARDA FAYDALANILARAK BU PLANIMIZ TERTİB. EDİLMİŞTİR.

FIGURE 15
1955 ÇANKIRIKAPI EXCAVATION PLAN

ANKARA ÇANKIRI KAPISI

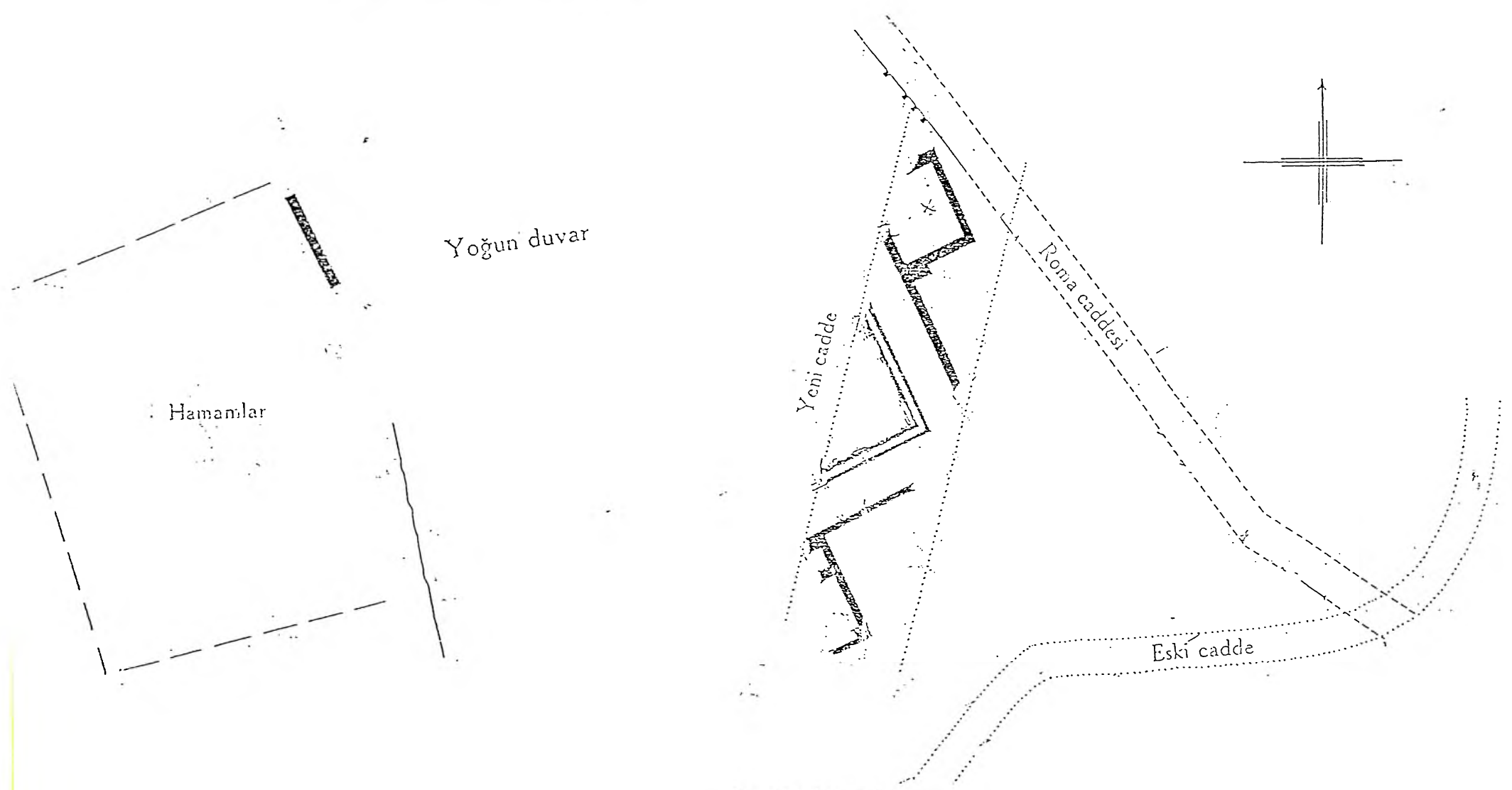
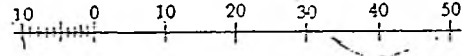
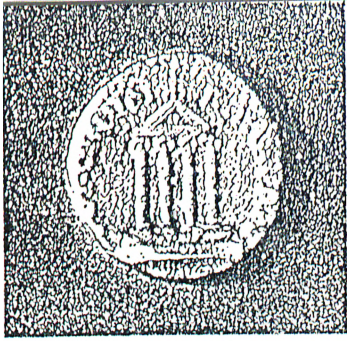


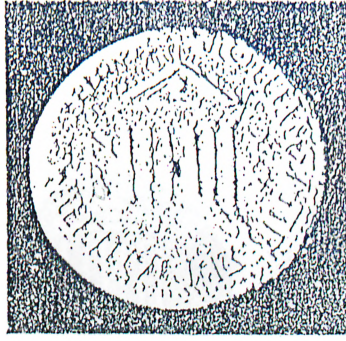
Figure 16: 1931 Çankırıkapı Excavation Plan



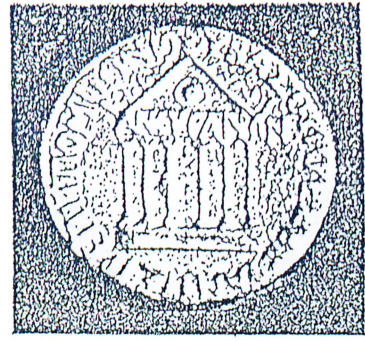
FIGURE 17
CITADEL EXCAVATIONS



A



B



C



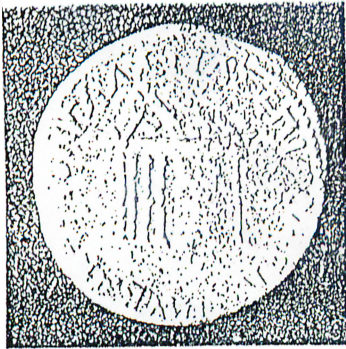
D



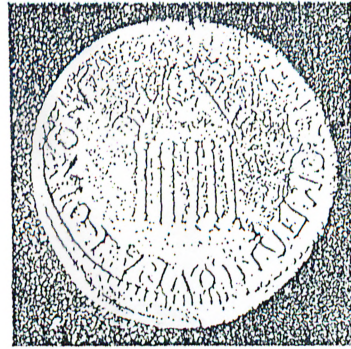
E



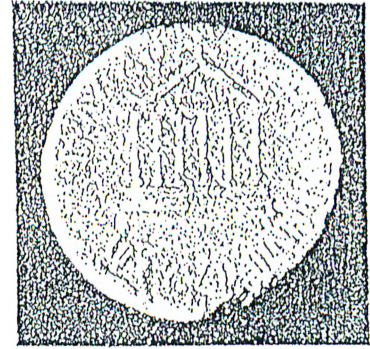
F



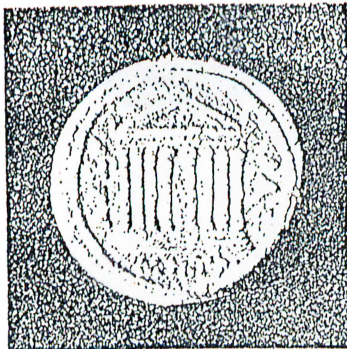
G



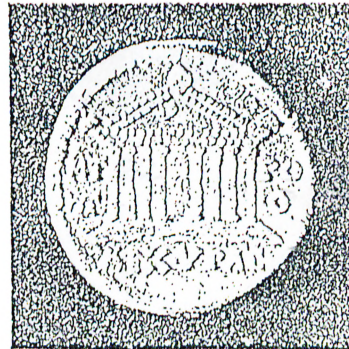
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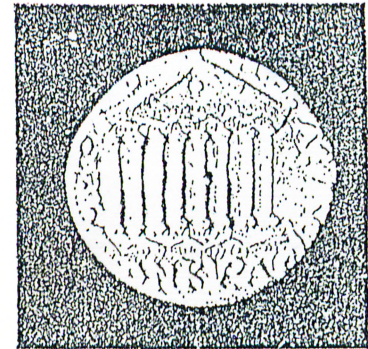
I



K



L



M



N

Plate 1- Ancyran Coins with Temple Design



1



3



4



5



7



8



9



21



23



22



33



A12



C1



C5



C17



C18

PLate 2
Ancyran Coins with Temple Design

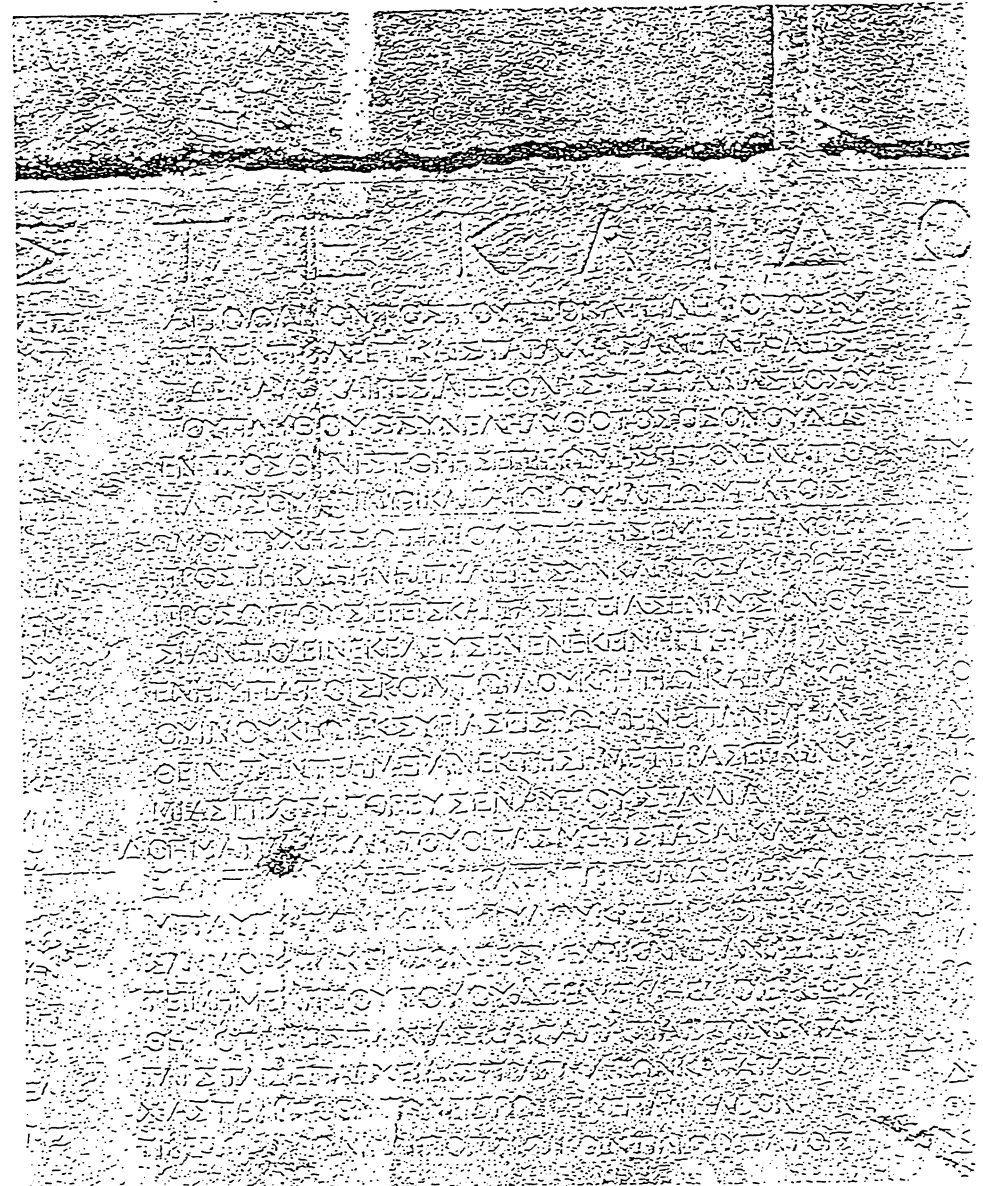
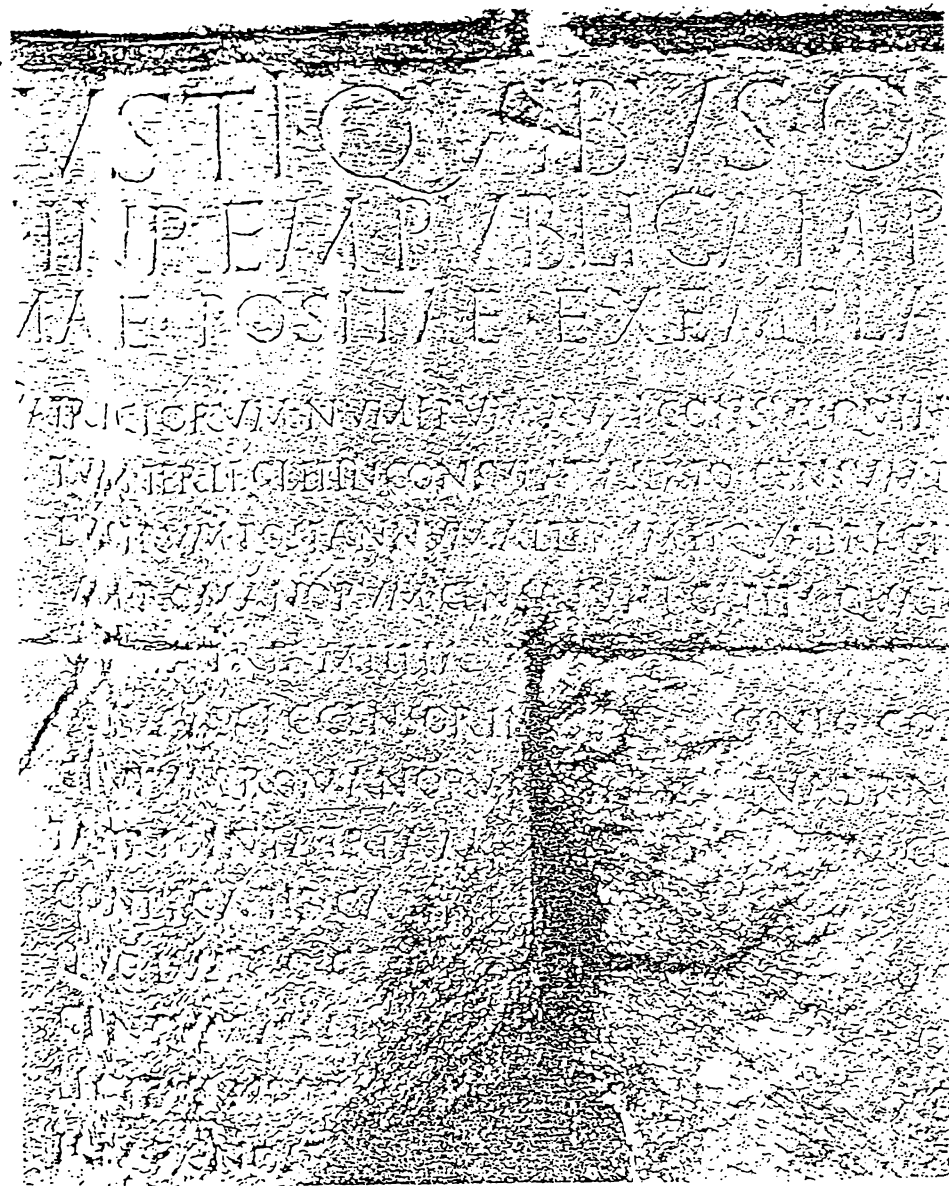


Plate 3

The RES GESTAE inscription on the Temple of "Augustus and Roma"

Latin and Greek texts

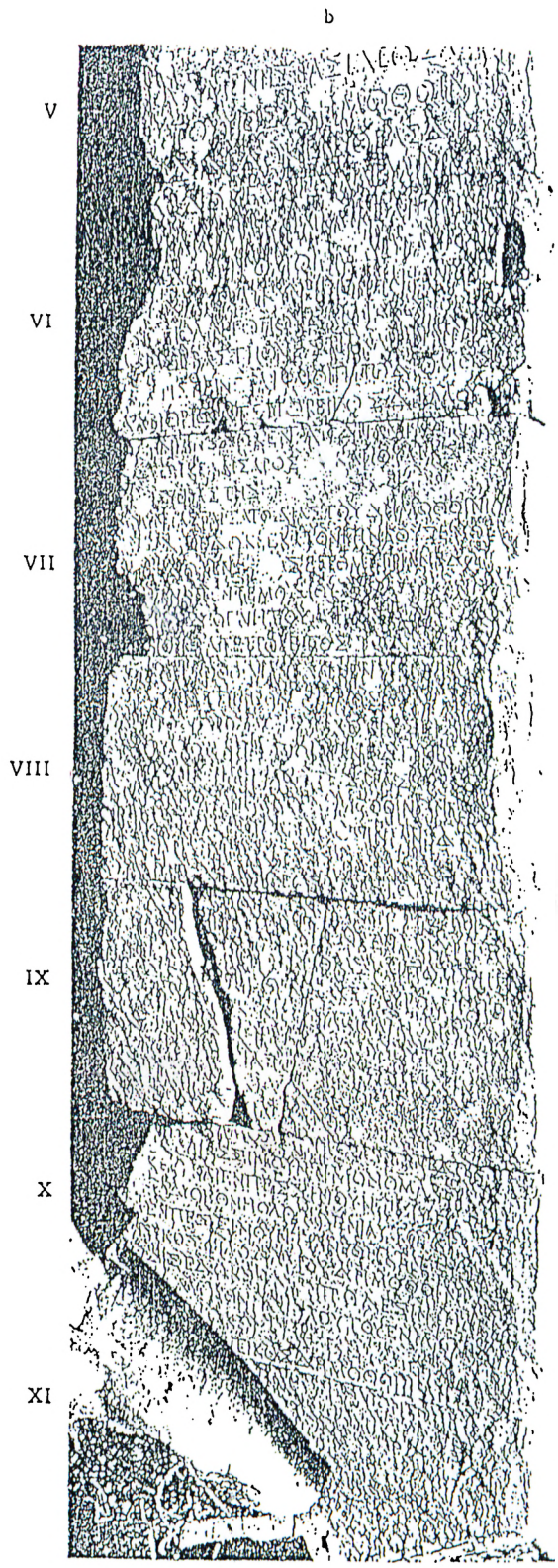
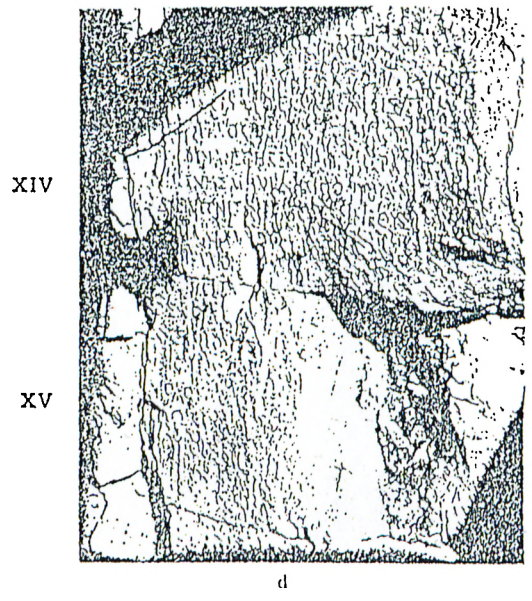
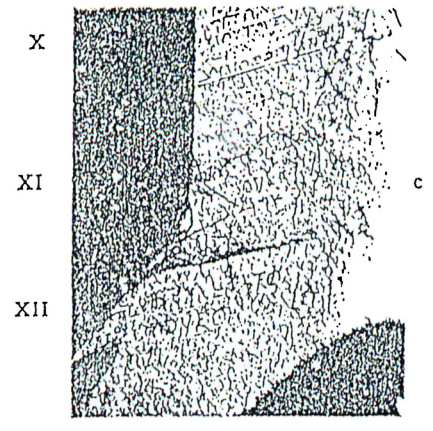
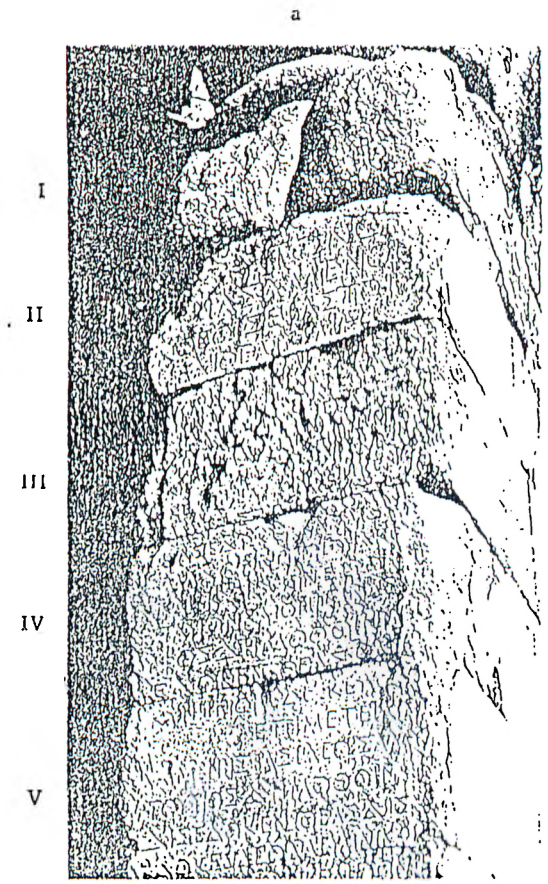


Plate 4
Primary Imperial Priest List From the Temple of

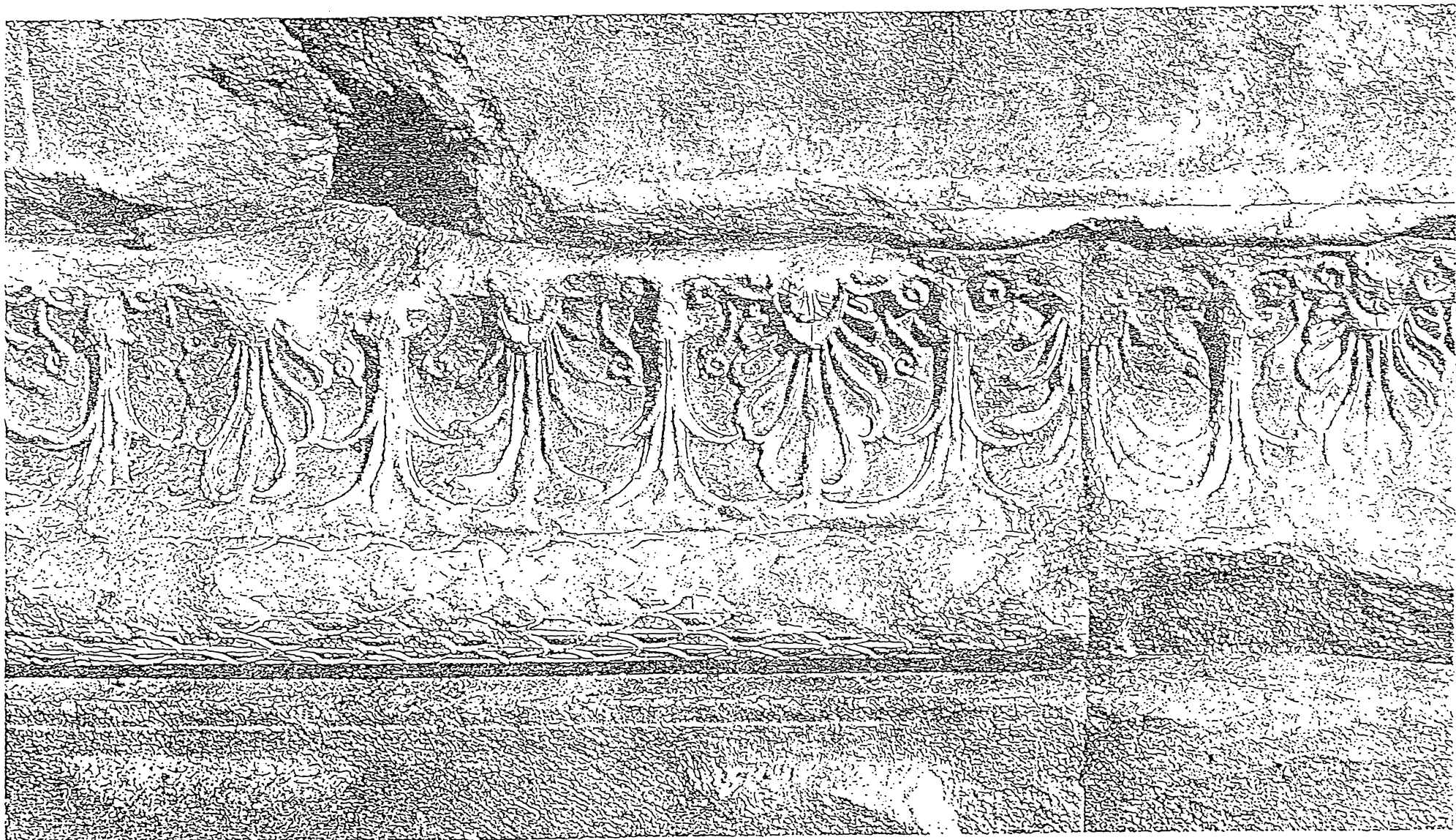
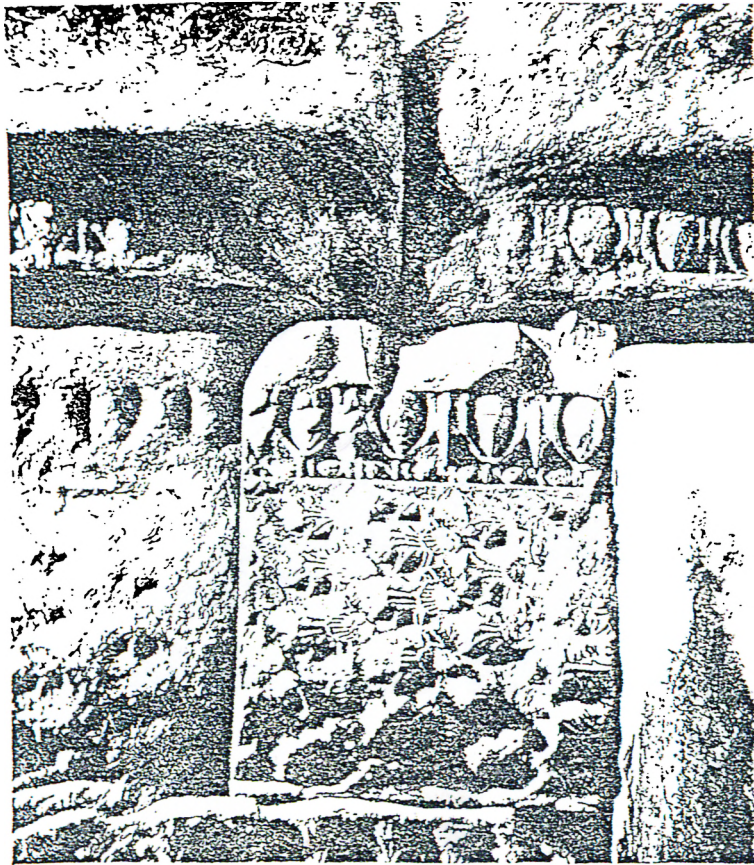


Plate 5: Opisthodomos Ornamentation from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma"



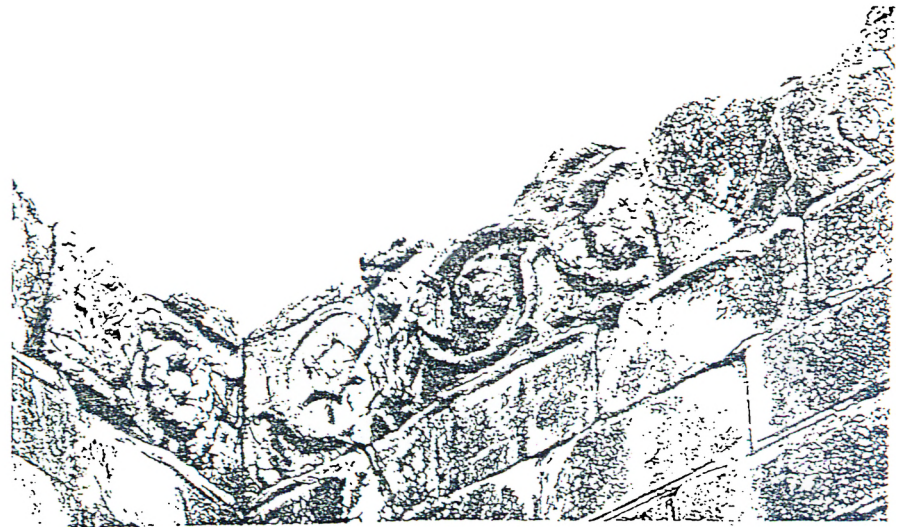
Plate 6: Cella Ornamentation from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma"



a



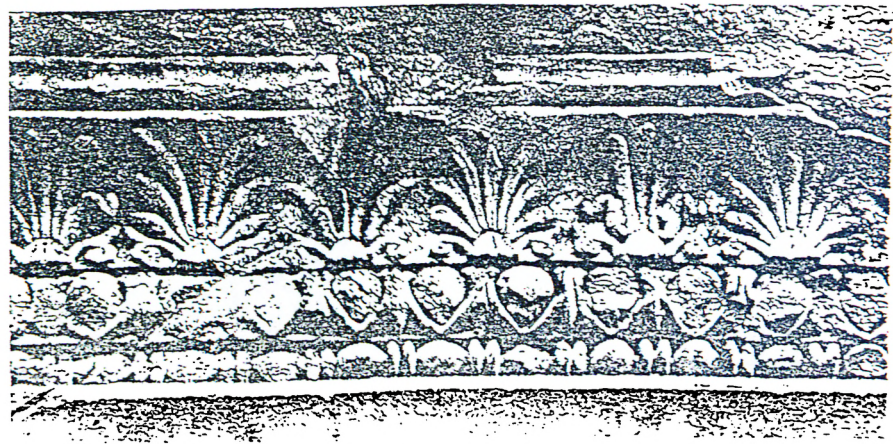
b



c

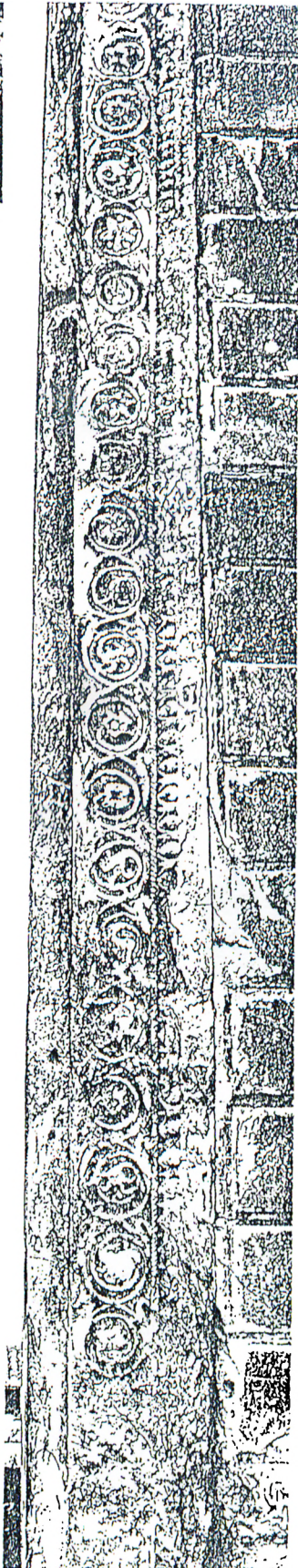
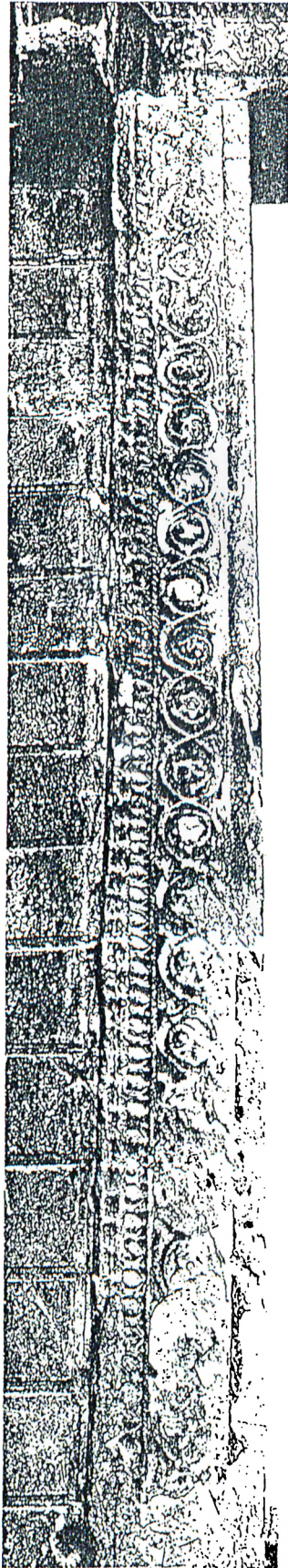


d



e

Plate 7
Cella Ornamentation from the Temple of "Augustus and Roma"



a

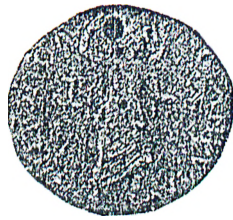
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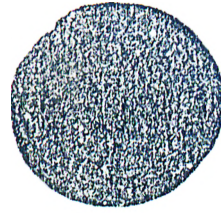
Plate 8
Door Frame and Lintel Decoration from the Temple of
"Augustus and Roma"



6



28



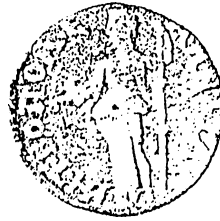
A2



A9



A10



A21



B1



B2



B3



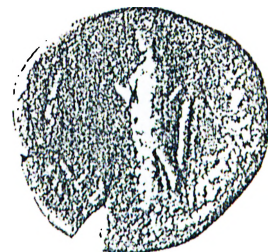
C2



C4



C6



C11

Plate 9

Ancyran Coins with the god Men



Plate 10a

Eastern Parados of the Roman Theater

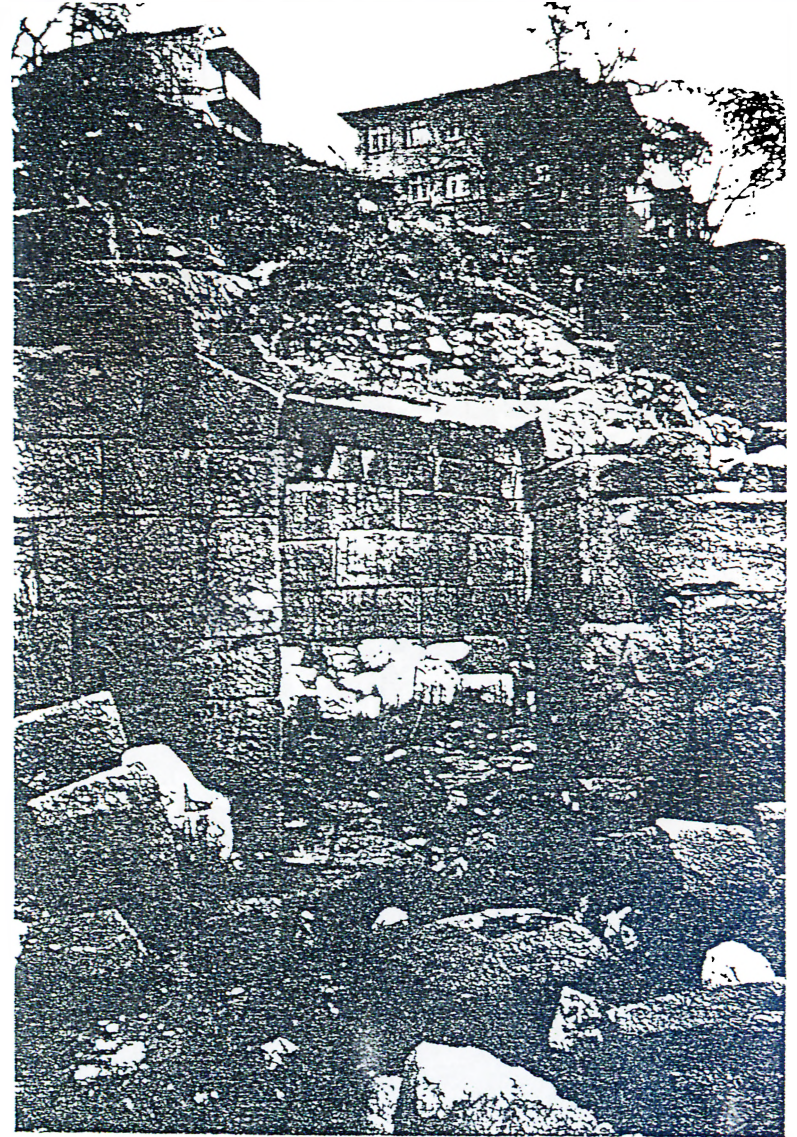


Plate 10b

Eastern Parados of the Roman Theater



Plate 11a
Western Parados of the Roman Theater



Plate 11b
Scaena and Proscaenium of the Roman Theater

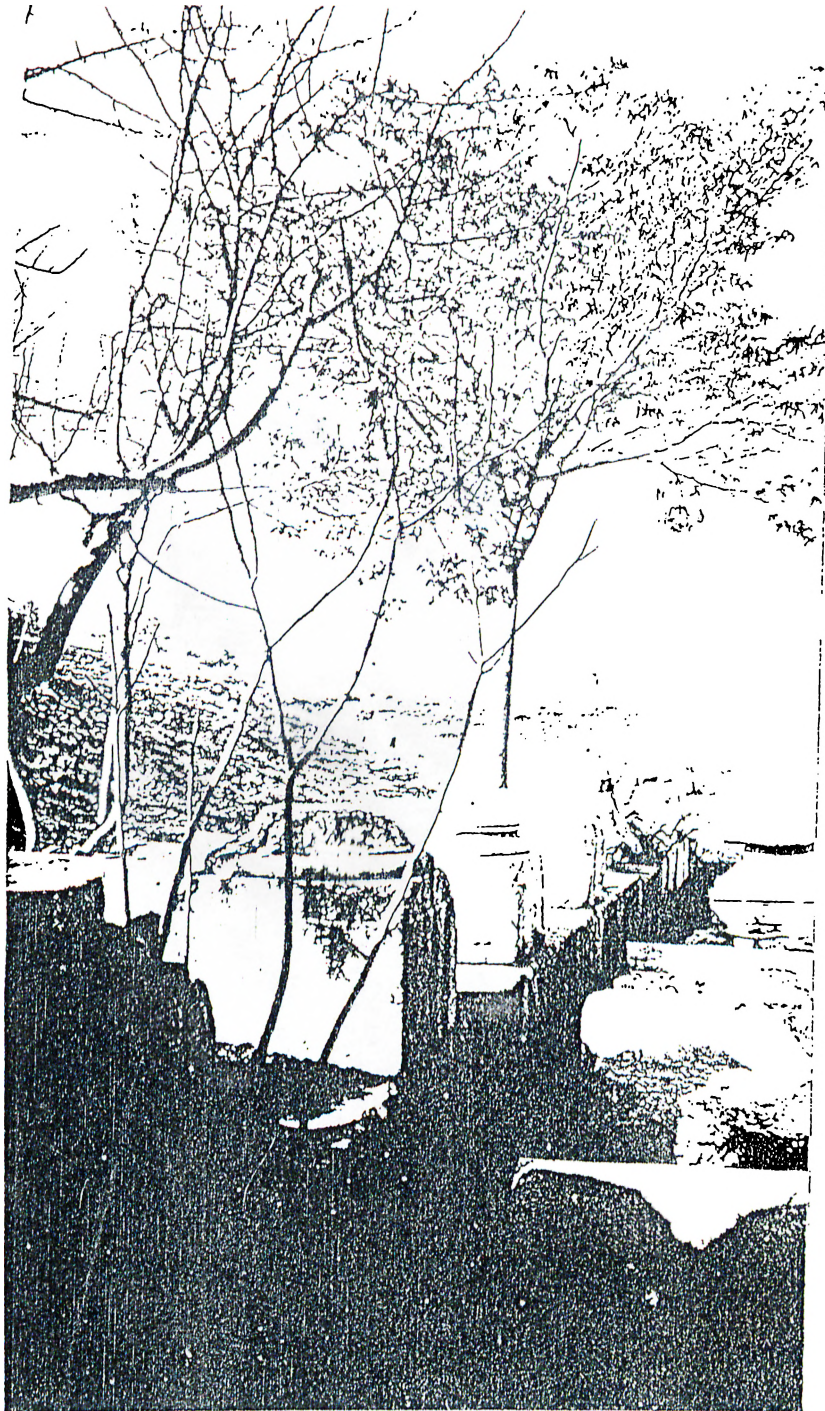


Plate 12
1931 Roman Road with Stylobate

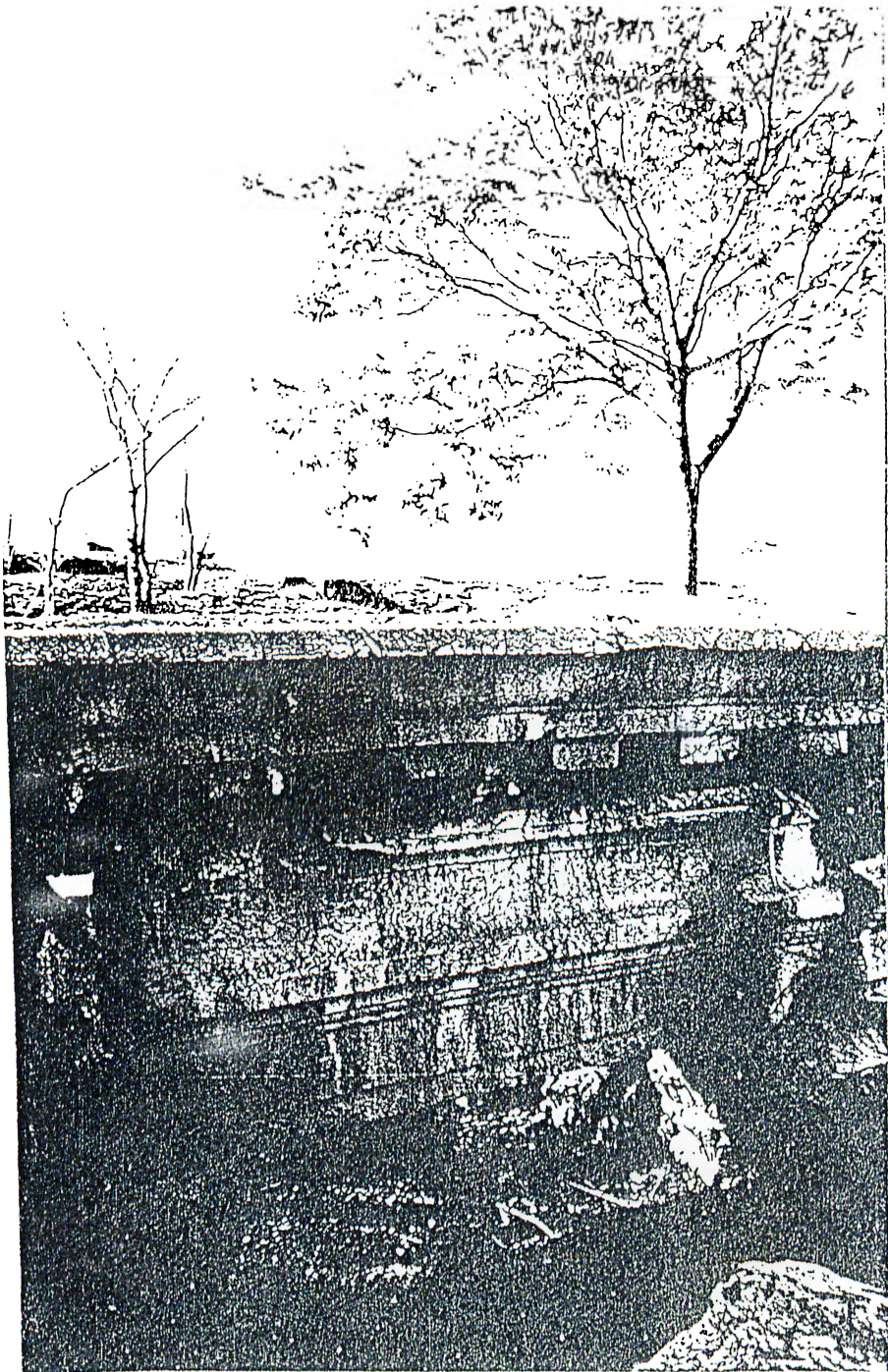


Plate 13
Roman Architrave from the Palaestra

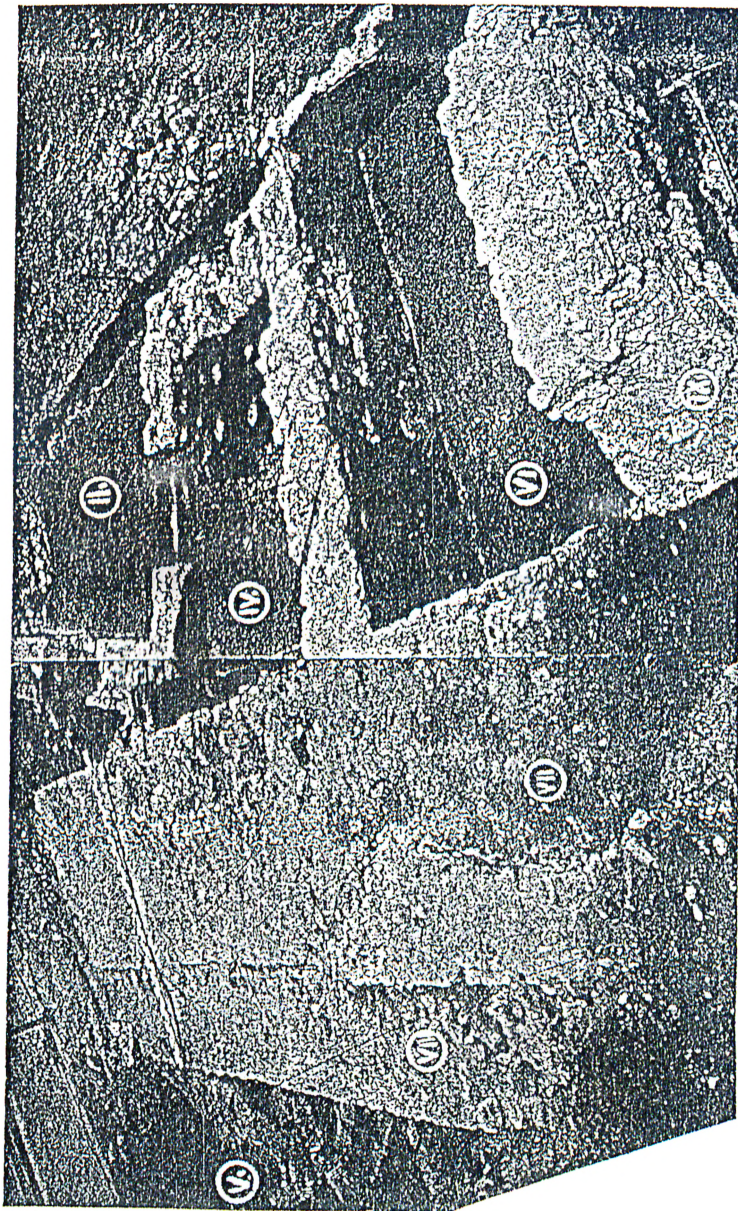


Plate 14
1947 Excavations, Heated Room Complex

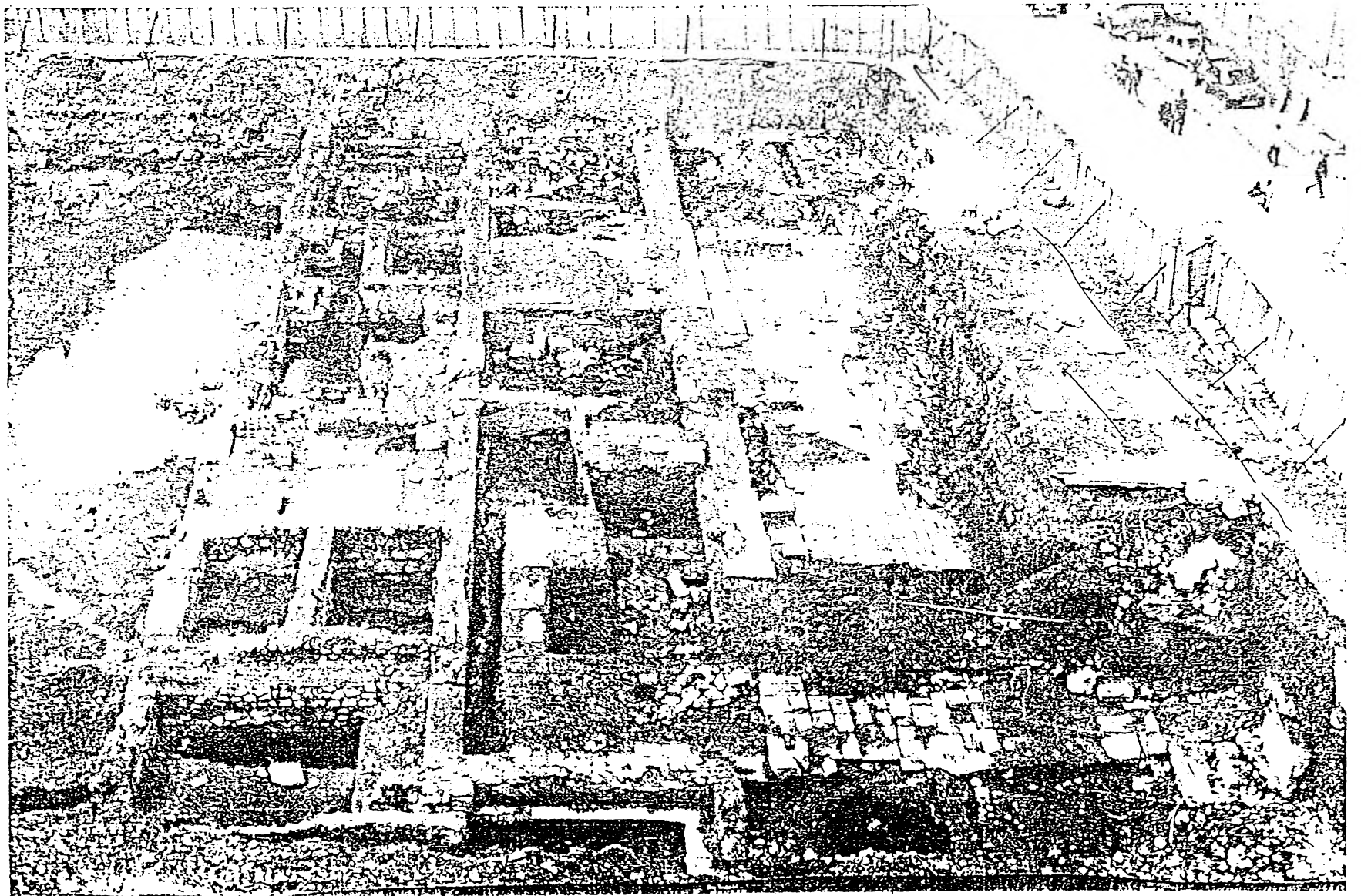


Plate 15: Ulus Road

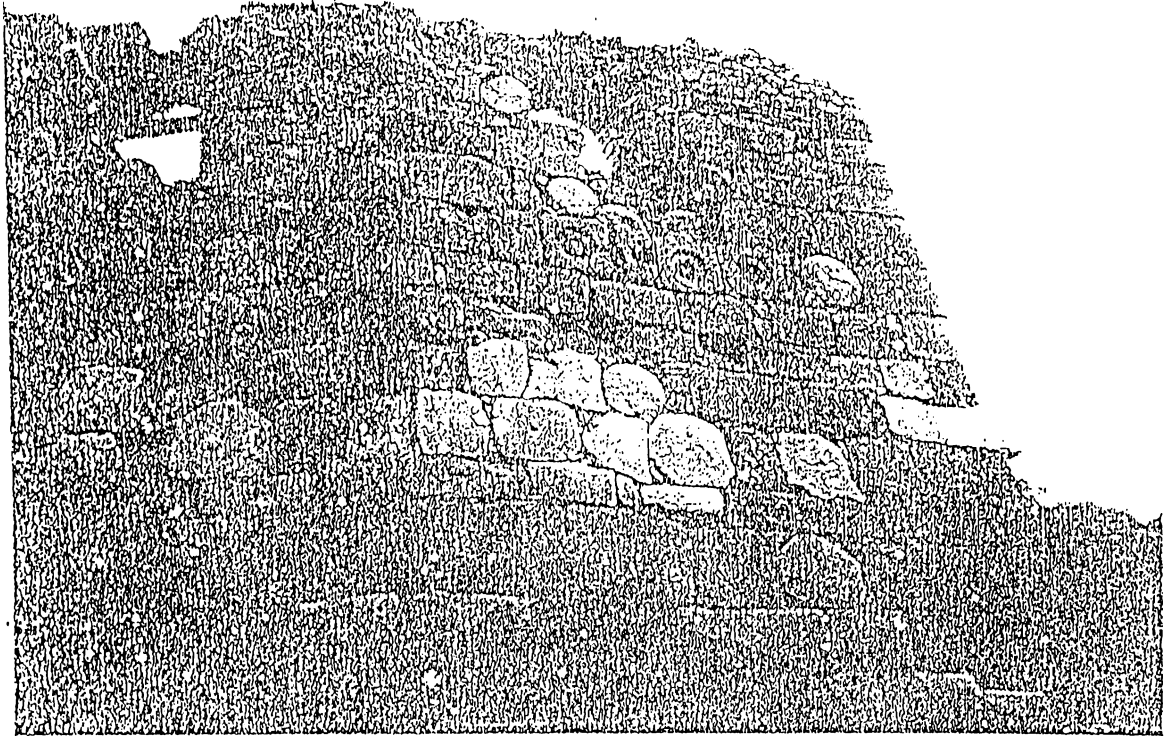


Plate 16a

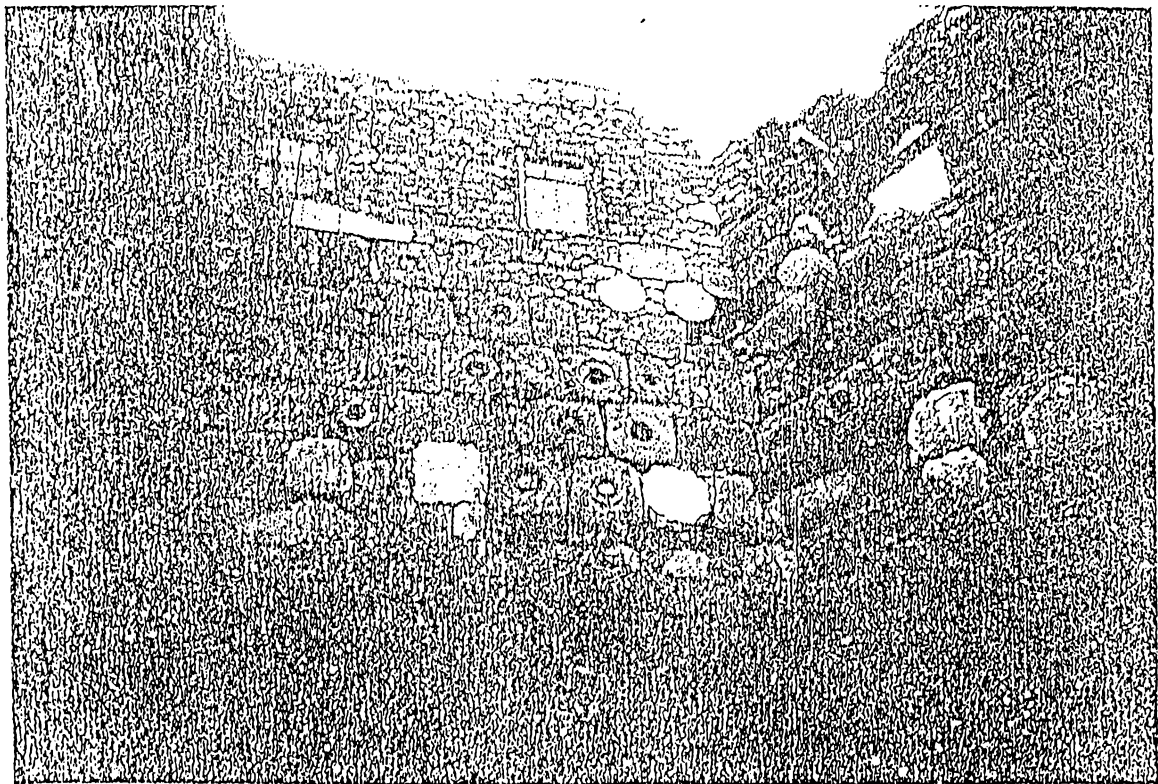
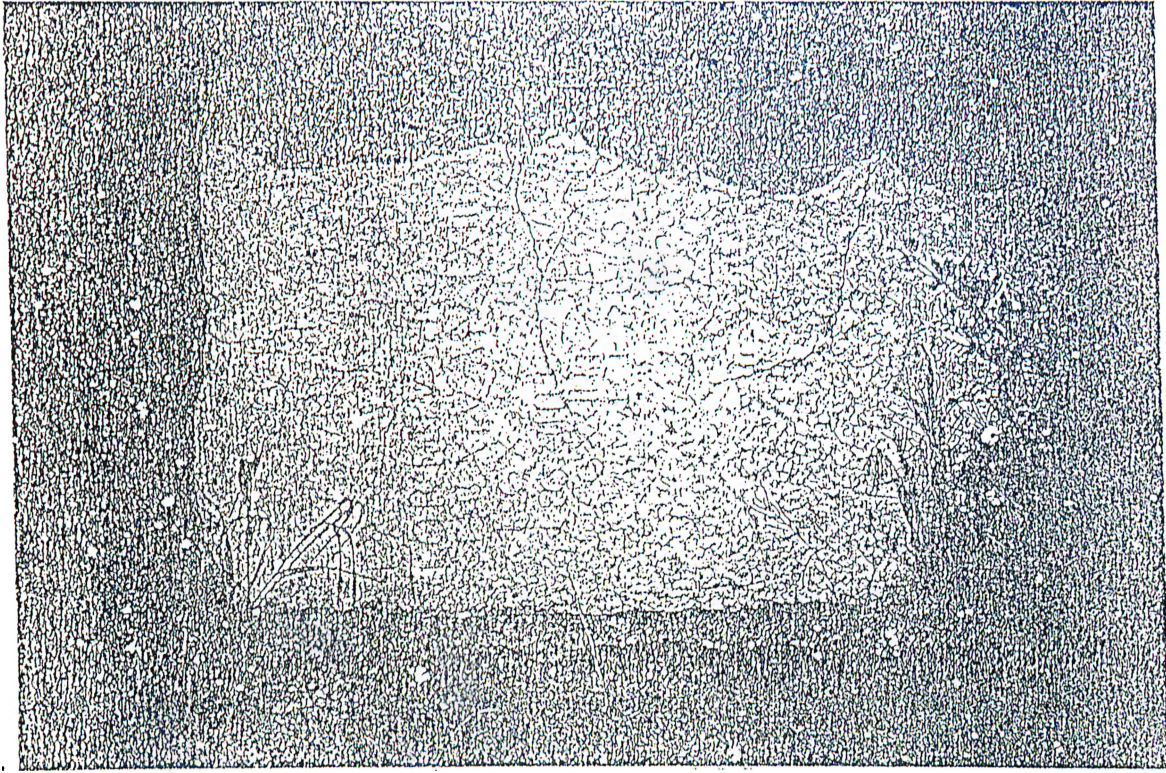


Plate 16b North Citadel Wall showing Spoilia



Latin Tombstone incorporated into Citadel Wall

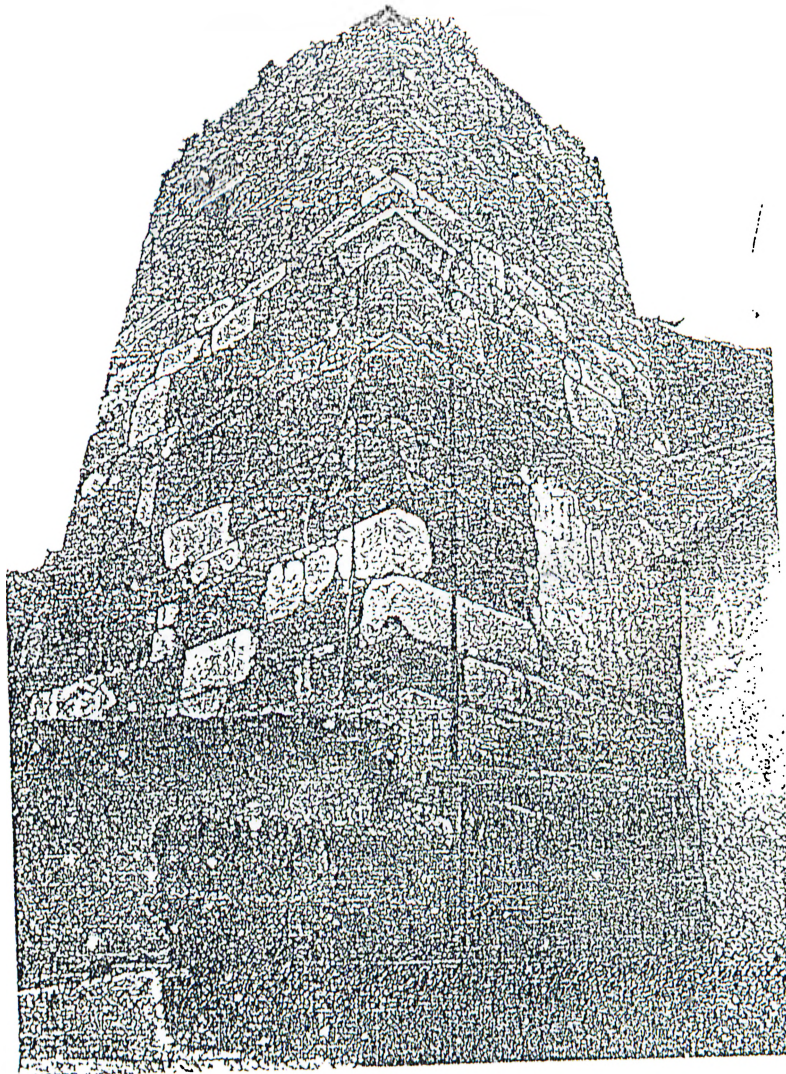


Plate 17 Citadel Wall with Ionic Capital and other spoilia - as preserved in 1998

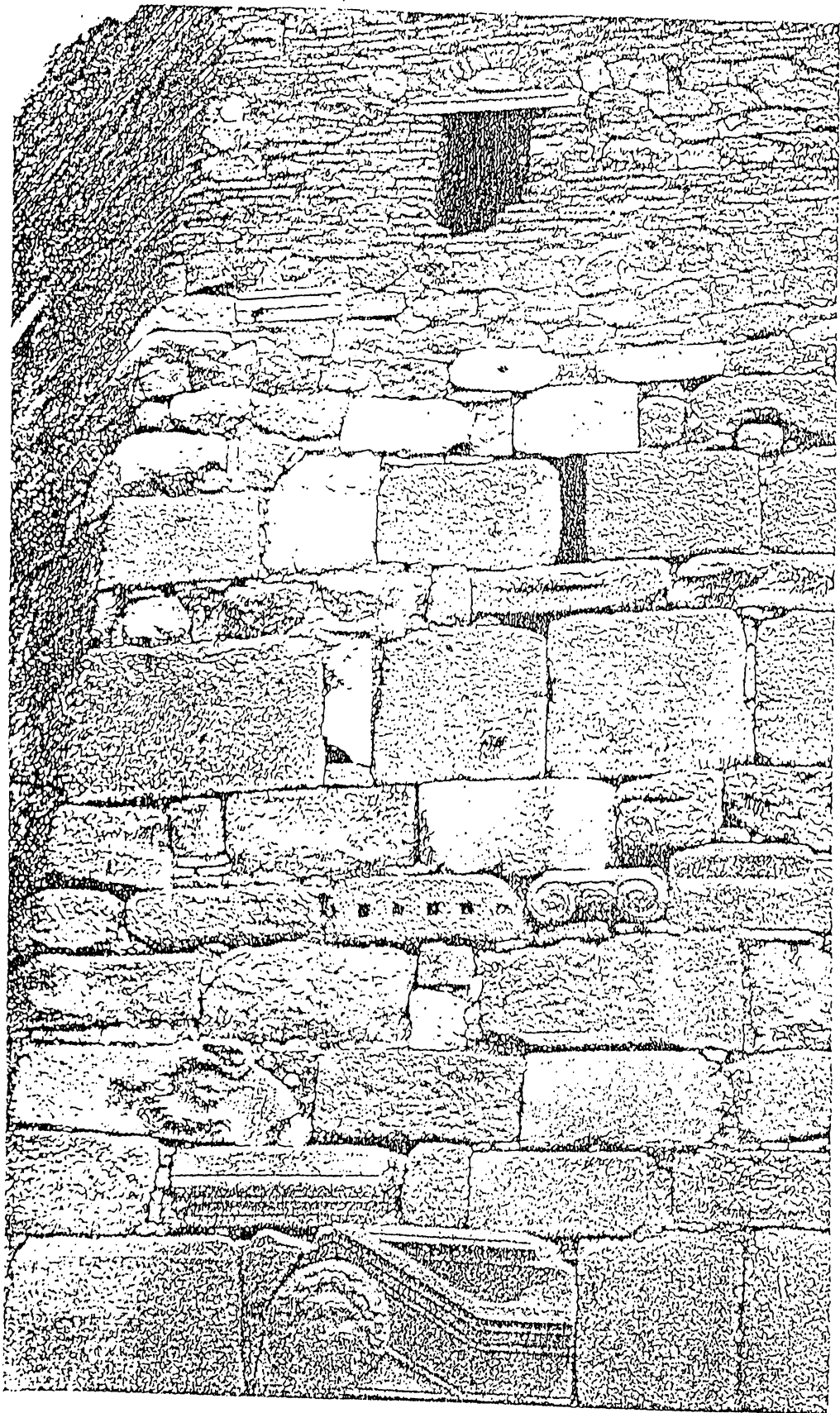
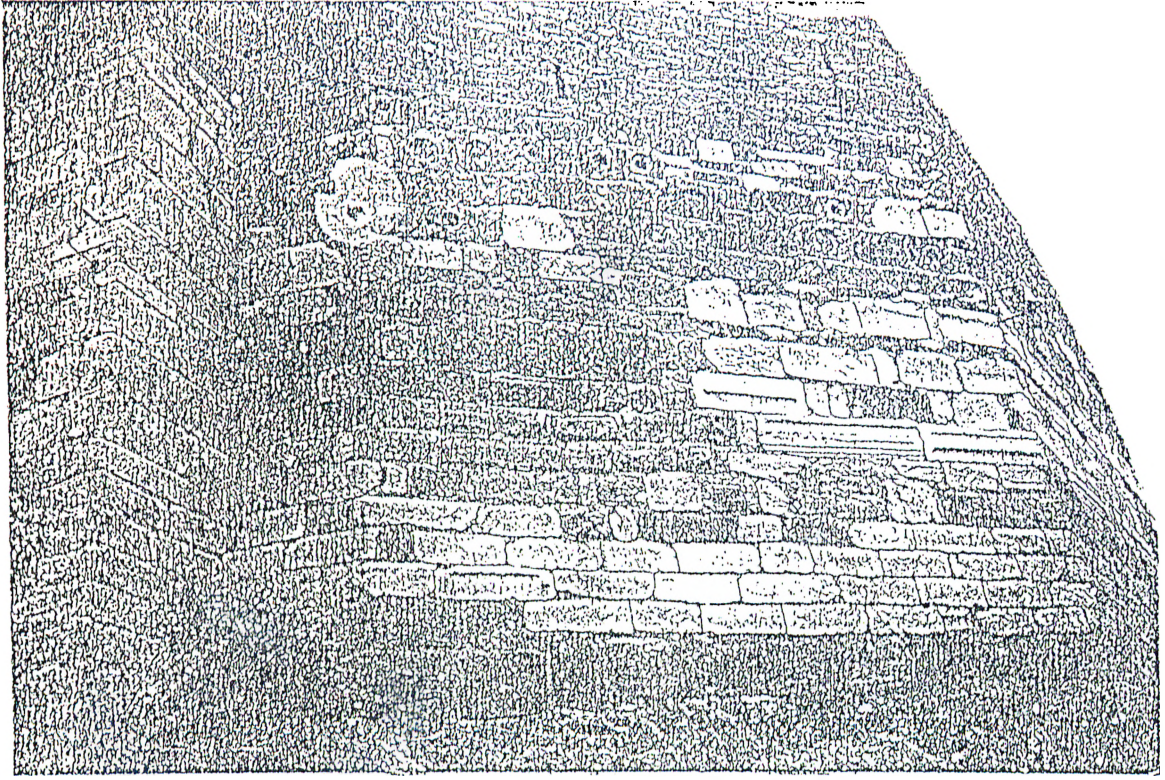


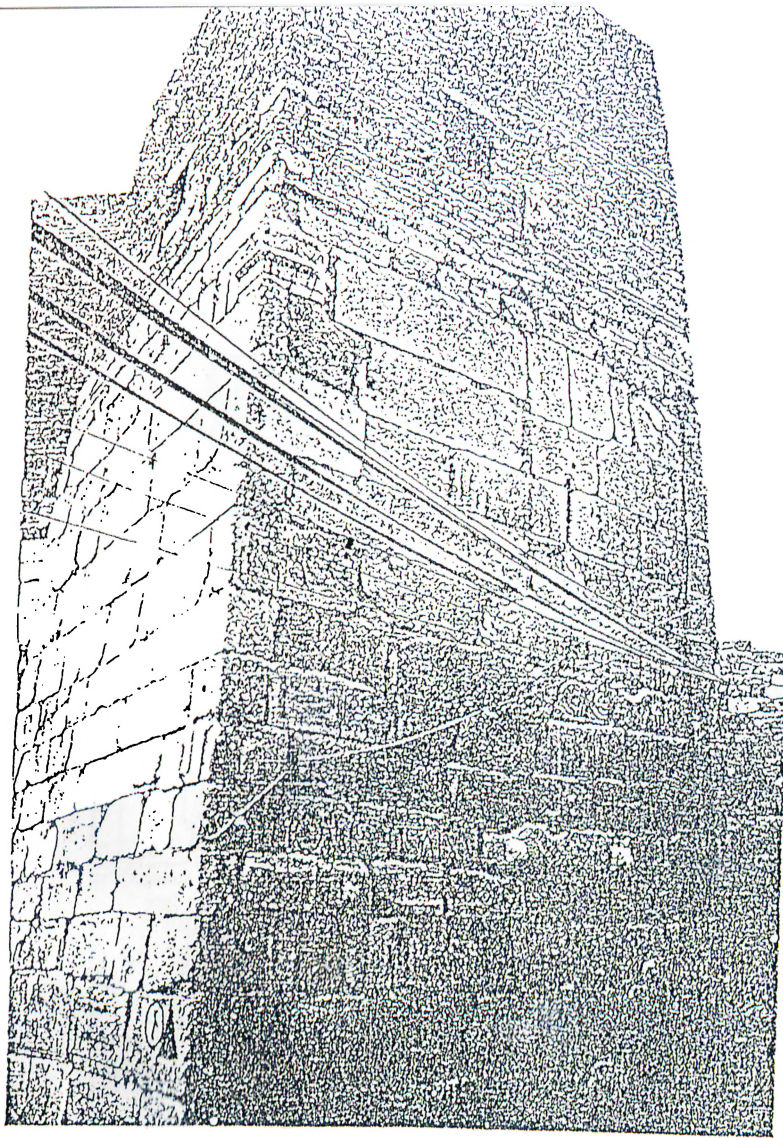
Plate 18 Citadel Wall with Ionic Capital and other spoilia



Notrh East Citadel Wall with reused spoilia



Plate 19 Kale Kapısı Sokak Wall with Reused Statues



Kale Kapısı Sokak Wall with reused spolia

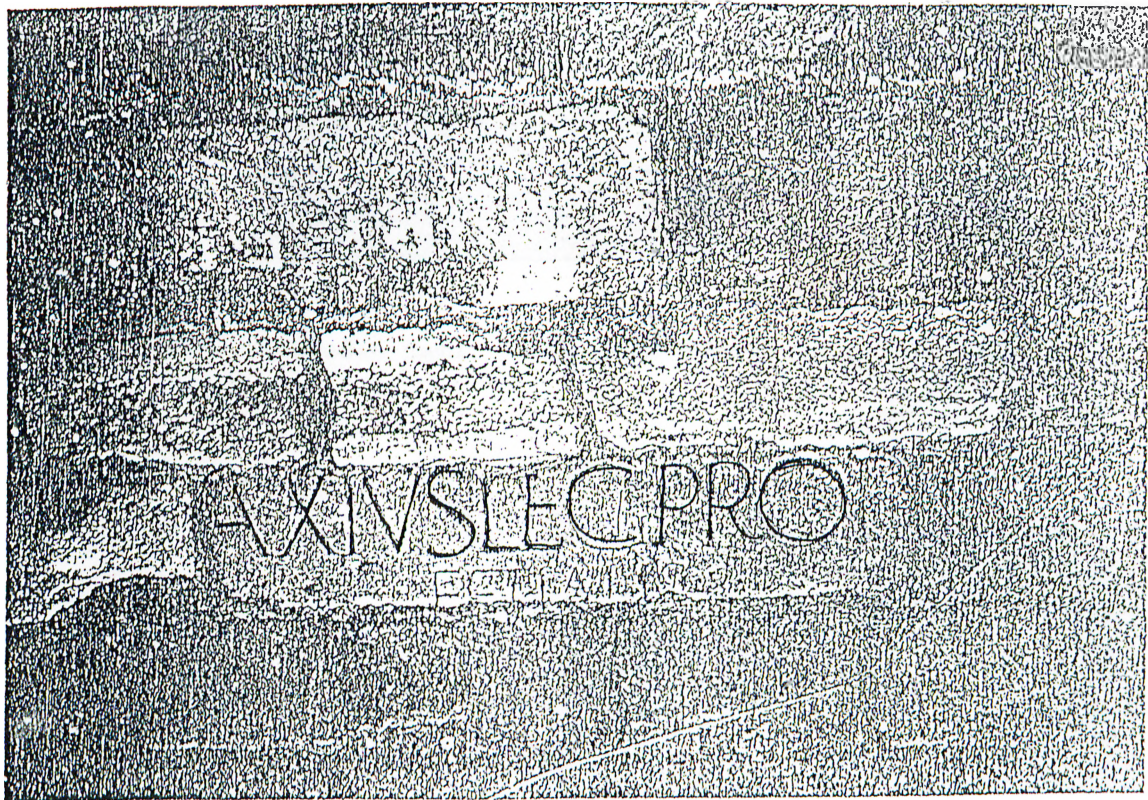


Plate 20 Kale Kapısı Sokak Wall with Latin Building Inscription

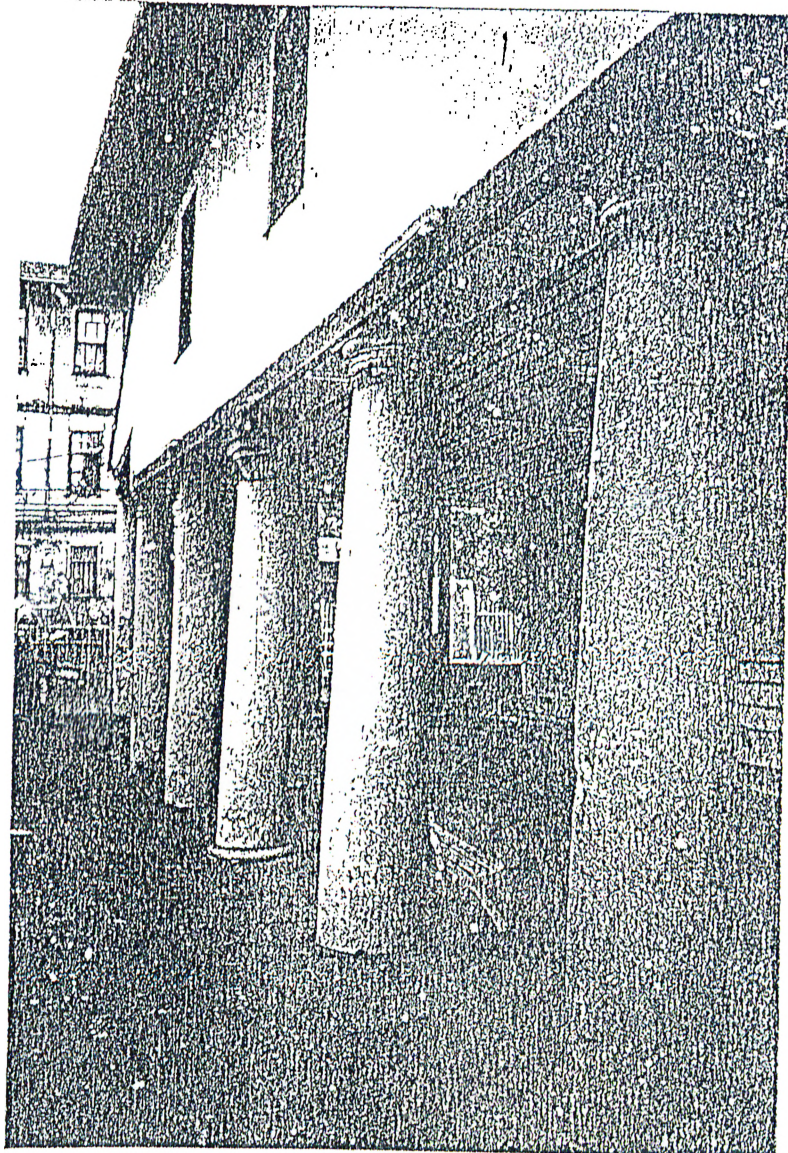
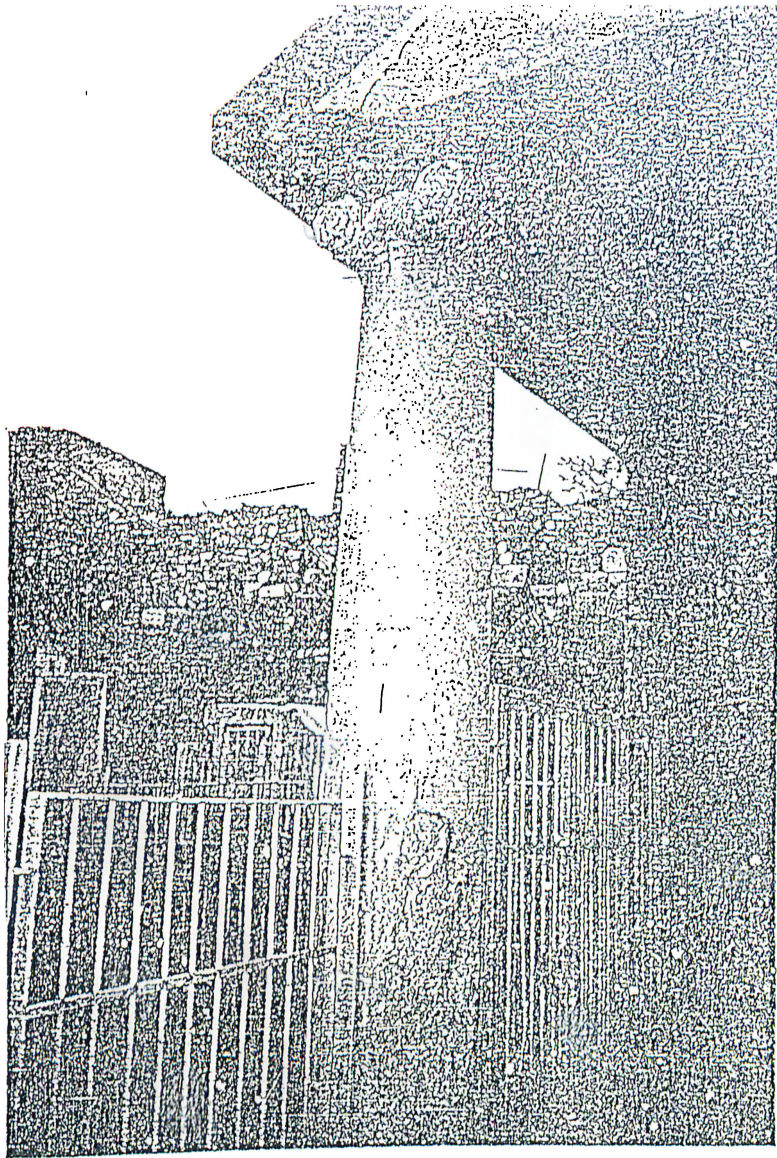


Plate 21
Allaedin Camii Showing Re-used? Roman Columns



Ionic Capital reused in Allaedin Camii



Plate 22
Allaedin Camii Garden with architectural etc. spoilia

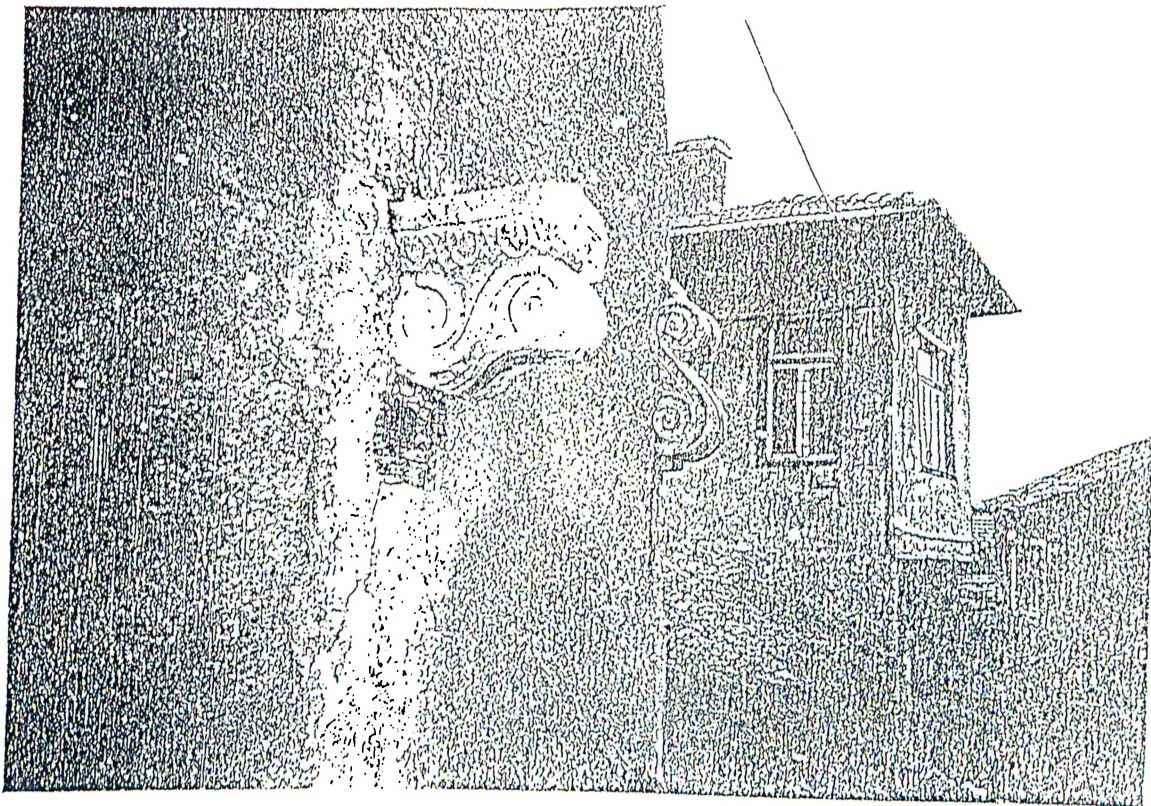
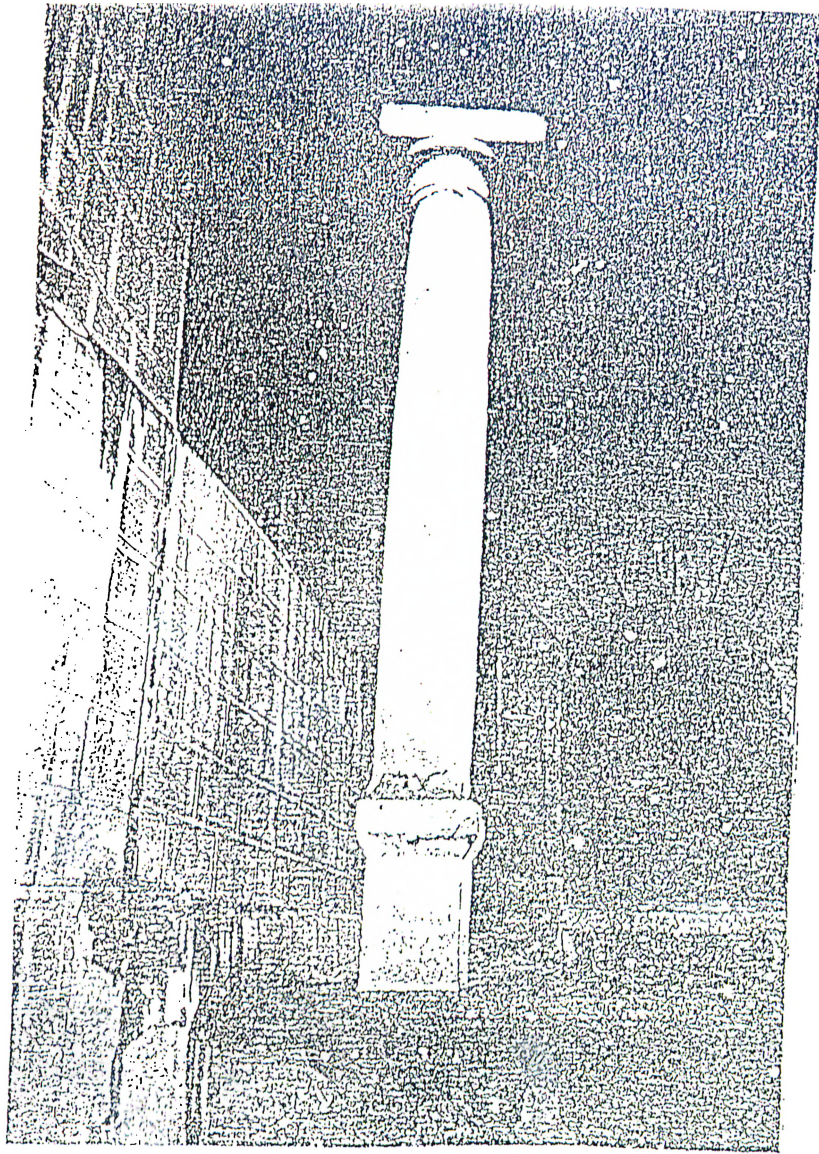


Plate 23

Arslanhane Camii, with re-used? Roman Column

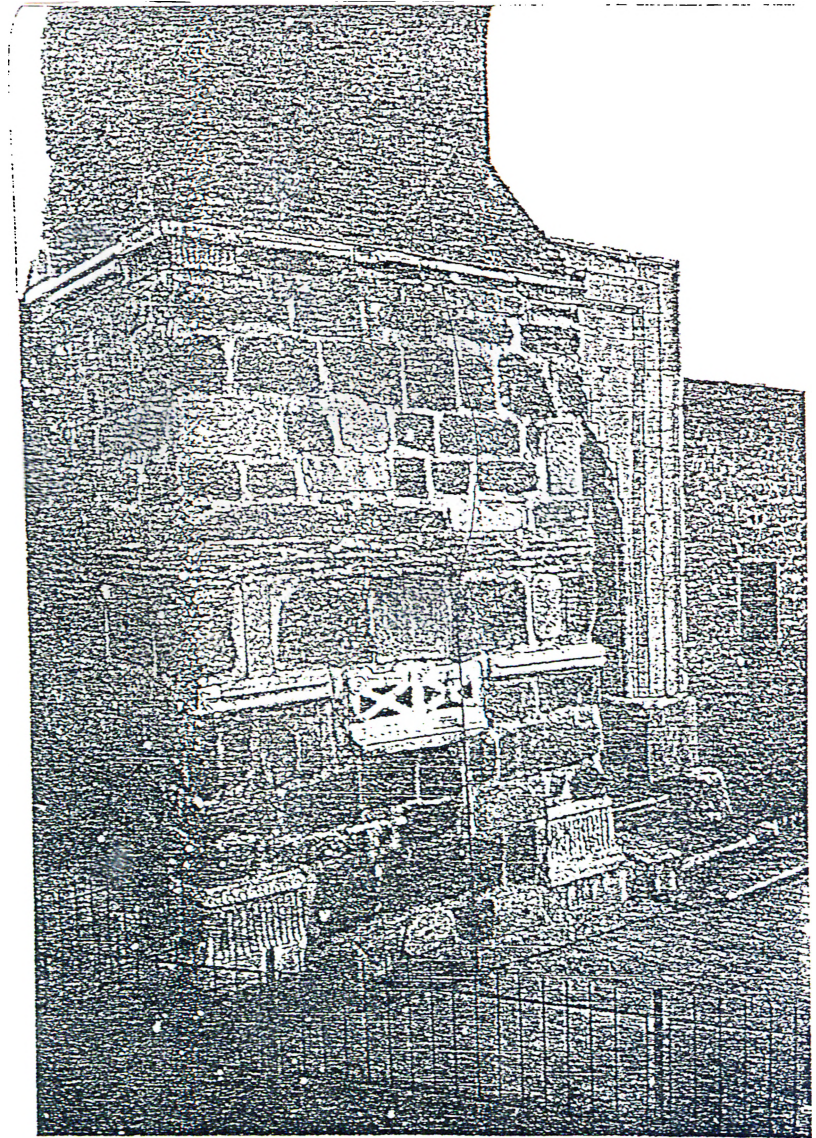
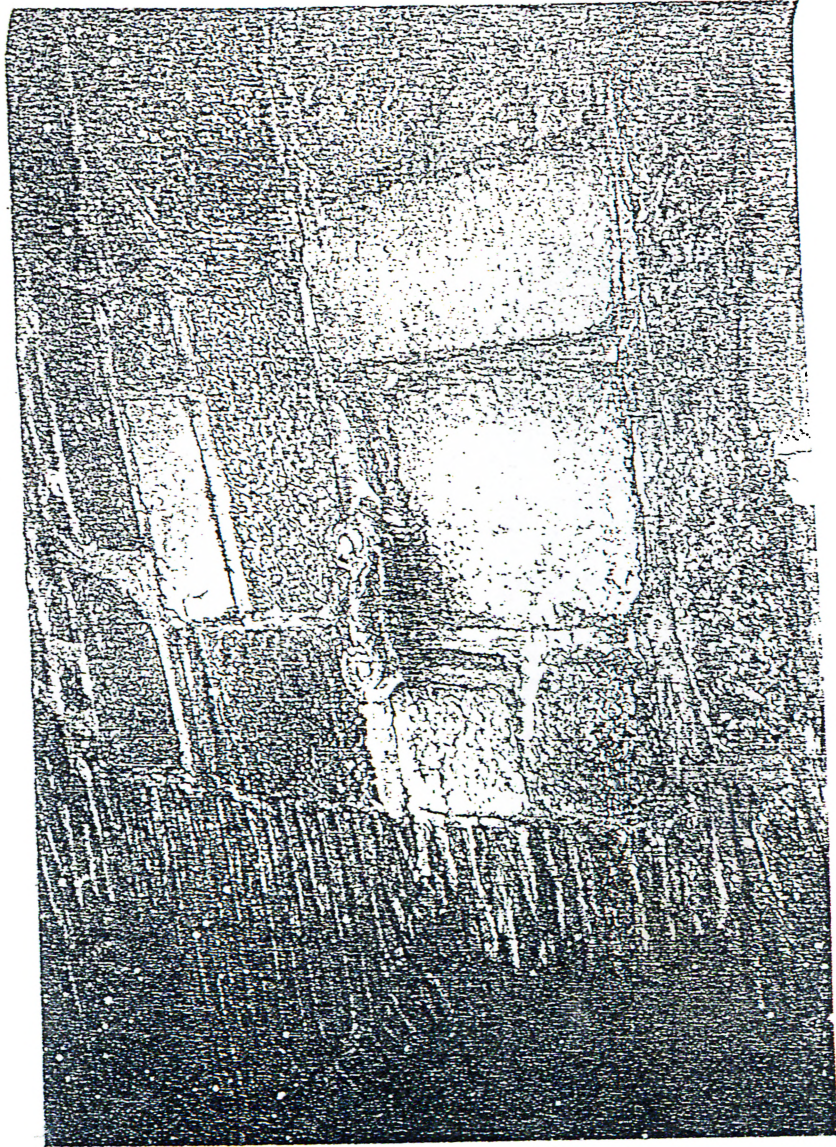


Plate 24
Arslanhane Camii, showing reused architectural spolia



Plate 25

Latin Honorific Inscription reused near Saat Kapısı



11



30



A15



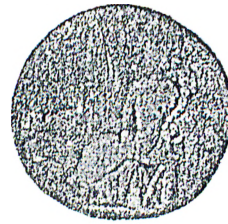
A20



29



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26



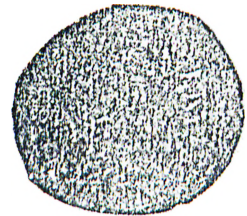
B4



42



16



44



13



37



C15

Plate 26
Ancyran Coins with gods
and goddesses