1 Ancyra, Metropolis Provinciae Galatiae

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Introduction

John Wacher’s achievements in elucidating the Roman heritage of many of modern Britain’s urban centres has hardly been equaled for the other regions of the Roman Empire. This is especially true of Asia Minor, where secure information about the more than 100 urban settlements of classical date now sealed beneath the conurbations of today’s Turkey is woefully inadequate, for only in the mid-1990s did the value of urban archaeology began to be properly recognised. Nowhere is this deficiency more obvious than in the case of Ancyra, metropolis provinciae Galatiae, and precursor of the Turkish Republic’s capital of Ankara. Despite some 80 years of near-continuous urban development, our knowledge of its early history relies essentially on anecdotal evidence, for few controlled excavations have been carried out here, and none have yet been published in a satisfactory way. That said, as John Wacher has shown, even the most ephemeral information does allow some commentary, and his efforts in this regard with the towns of Roman Britain serves as the direct inspiration for this paper.

Pre-Roman Ancyra

The Central Anatolian Steppe (Figure 1.1) is a vast arid expanse of acidic and saline soils, exposed to bitterly cold winters and scorching summers, and in pre-industrial times suitable only for rough grazing by sheep and goats. In places, however, the rolling landscape is interrupted by prominent basalt outcrops, which offer favourable locations for permanent occupation. They provide ready access to water from springs and snow-fed rivers and streams, and also some limited protection from the wind and sun – and the attacks of any enemies.

Modern Ankara occupies just such a location, where the Ankara Çay exits a 120m deep gorge between the Tamerlane- and Kaledaği (Figure 1.2). Exactly when this location was first settled is uncertain. The Tamerlane- and Kaledaği do, however, constitute a conspicuous way-point on the northern trans-Anatolian highway, a trade-route in use from at least the early 2nd millennium BC, and we might assume that some settled occupation existed here from an early period. Such is indeed suggested by the place-name itself, for the locative ‘Anku-’ is well-attested regionally in Hittite times (e.g. Ankuva, Ankuwash and Ankuruva). It emanates from *ango, a word of autochthonous Indo-European origin meaning an elbow-shape, from whence the Greek and Latin equivalents ankon/ ancon. From these two explicit labels evolved: the sailor’s ankoralancyra, or anchor; and the toponymic ankonalanco, a landscape feature of crooked or elbow form, such as the V-shaped bay which gives its name to Ancona in peninsular Italy.

As it was, the citizens of Ancyra explained the origins of their polis with reference to the first of these derivatives, pointing to an anchor displayed in their Temple to Zeus and frequently depicted on the local coinage (Paus. 1.4.5; Arslan 1991, pls. 1.1, 10 and 1.9, C 1). One account claimed this had been found by Midas, the semi-legendary ruler of Phrygia in the late 8th century BC, and prompted the name for the settlement he subsequently founded at the find spot (Paus. 1.4.5; cf. Tzetzes Chel. 1.139, and Lib. Ep. 1230; Mitchell 1993a, 19–20). According to another, the anchor was a war trophy presented by the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia to the Galatian Tectosages for their cooperation against a Ptolemaic attack on the Pontus: on return to Galatia they founded their first polis, naming it for their prize (Mem. FGrH 536; Steph. Byz. FGrH 740. F 14; Mitchell 1993a, 19–20). Both of these fables, however, were evidently conceived in Hellenistic times, when the region’s indigenous poleis contrived ‘foundation myths’ to assert a long-standing affinity with the Hellenised world and obscure their barbarian origins (Jones 1940, 49–50). ‘Ancyra’ is assuredly a toponymic, describing the course of the
Ankara Çay as it makes an almost 90 degree change in direction on leaving the gorge between the Tamerlane and Kaledağ (Figure 1.2).

Although the toponym might suggest Hittite occupation, the earliest secure evidence for activity at Ancyra belongs to the Phrygian period. Sherds of 8th–5th century Phrygian pottery have been found in the Ulusdağ and Çankırıkapı districts, along with the remains of contemporary buildings (Özgüç 1946, 557-97; Dolunay 1941, 263; Metin and Akahn 1999). More significantly, at least 10 tumuli of Phrygian type exist(ed) within a 10km radius of Ulusdağ, indicating that a substantial settlement stood hereabouts in the mid-1st millennium (e.g., Özgüç and Akok 1955). If so, the lack of any later Iron Age material from Ancyra might be explained by the decline in importance of the trans-Anatolian highway after the collapse of the Phrygian Empire in c. 675 BC, accelerated during the Persian occupation of Anatolia, when most trade followed the Royal Road along the southern edge of the Anatolian Steppe.

Be that as it may, the northern route was chosen by Alexander the Great for his march across Anatolia in 333–332 BC, when Ancyra first enters the historical record — albeit retrospectively. According to Roman sources, the Macedonian army encamped here while Alexander took the surrender of Paphlagonia (Curt. Alex. 3.1.22; Arr. Anab. 2.4.1). While neither source is contemporary with the event, both writers used earlier material which was. We might therefore assume some form of permanent settlement at Ancyra at the time, perhaps on the Kaledağ, a natural acropolis, and a region yet virgin territory in archaeological terms. That apart, almost another century was to pass before Ancyra again featured in the historical record, as the place where Seleucus II was defeated by his brother Antiochus Hierax in c. 240/239 BC (Pomp. Trog. Prof. 27). Then, some 50 years later, Ancyra makes another appearance in documentary sources, when M. Vulso camped by the castris and ‘notable’ urbs of the Galatian Tectosages (Livy 38.24.1–25.1, cf. Poly. 21.39.1–2).

Archaeological evidence for any form of activity at Ancyra in the Hellenistic period is, however, virtually non existent: a few coins of late 4th – early 2nd century date and some ‘Hellenistic’ pottery, all this material being found in (?)residual contexts in the Ulusdağ districts (Arslan 1996, 108; Krencker and Schede 1936, 46; Temiszoy et al., 1996). Historical considerations, on the other hand, indicate there was some form of permanent settlement here at least by the end of the 1st century BC: when provinciae Galatiae was formed in c. 25 BC, all three Galatian tribes were assigned a central meeting place, Ancyra for the Tectosages, Pessinus for the
Tolistobogii, and Tavium for the Trocmi (Mitchell 1993a, 87). At this time, Pessinus was a thriving temple-state, while Tavium was both a sanctuary to Zeus and an emporion (Strabo 12.5.2–3). We might assume, therefore, that some form of permanent settlement also existed at Ancyra – perhaps even the nea polis of (?)Arsinoe founded by the Galatian ruler Deiotarus in c. 54/53 BC (Plut. Cras. 17.1–2; cf. Mal. Chron. 9.221 (ed. Dindorf), for the possible name). Unfortunately, classical sources are ambiguous on the nature of Ancyra at the time. Strabo categorises it as a polis in one place, and elsewhere describes it as a phourion, a fortress (4.1.13 (187) and 12.5.2 (567)). Pliny, using late 1st century BC material, simply designates Ancyra as an oppidum (NH 5.46), his favoured portmanteologism when lacking detailed information about a given place. It must be conceded, therefore, that in the light of current evidence, the character of Ancyra before the annexation of Galatia remains moot. Consequently, for the purpose of this paper, we shall follow the orthodoxy in assuming that all remains of the classical period at the place are no earlier than c. 25–22 BC (cf. Mitchell 1993a, 86–7).

**Early Roman Ancyra**

The inaugural governor of province Galatiae was M. Lollius (Remy 1989, 127–29). He was presumably responsible for the first stages in transforming Ancyra into a fitting urban centre for the Galatian Tectosages: the allocation of a suitable territorium, and the introduction of an appropriate political constitution and infrastructure. We can calculate the territorium of Ancyra as an area of some 25,000 ha (Figure 1.2), which by the mid-2nd century AC contained some nine lesser settlements (Ptol. Geog. 5.4). Find-spots of inscriptions within this area suggests that there were some 50 or more smaller villages and farmsteads by the end of the 4th century AC, many of which are likely to have their origins in the pre-Roman Iron Age (e.g., Yalımca: Tezcan 1964; 1966; this paper, Figure 1.2). Most of these rural communities are located in the southwest and northwest of Ancyra’s territorium, where there are extensive areas of land suitable for the grazing of sheep and goats. Indeed, throughout the pre-industrial period, wool would appear to have always been the main source of the region’s wealth, Amyntas, Galatia’s last king, for one owning 30 flocks, while Pliny and others...
make reference to the high quality of Galatian cloth and the local natural dye-stuffs (Strabo 12.6.1 (568); Pliny NH 9.141, 16.32, 22.3, and 29.33; cf. Exp.tot.mund.gent. 41 (ed. Rougé); also Mitchell 1993a, 146). As early as the 16th century, English wool merchants began to migrate to what was then known as Angora to capitalise on this commodity (French 1972; cf. Barnett 1974), but 'Angora wool' is now available world-wide as 'mohair', and today, a mere five or so goats at Ankara’s ‘Model Farm of Atatürk’ testify to this once vital Galatian staple.

As for Roman Ancyra’s political constitution, inscriptions reveal this to have been based on the Hellenic model, with a demos formed from among its free-born citizens (cf. Bosch 1967, no.72; Mitchell 1982a, no.178). The people were divided on geographical grounds into 12 phylai for administrative purposes, and it has been suggested from their names that there were six initiatory phylai, the I Maururagene, II Pakalenle, III Menirezicen, IV Hiermene, V Dios Trapezon and VI Seboste; then two more were added under Claudius, the VII (?)-mene and VIII Claudia Athenaeae; another two under Nerva, the IX Hieria Bulia and the X Nerva; and then, probably under Hadrian, a final two were formed, the XI Neo Olympias and XII Dios Taenon (Mitchell 1977, 80–1). If this restored sequence does indeed reflect the actual situation, it indicates that Ancyra doubled its population between its foundation and the reign of Hadrian (cf. Mitchell 1977, 81). On the other hand, it may be that the original constitution envisaged 12 phylai, a common number in many Hellenic poleis (cf. Jones 1940, 158; Plato, Laws, 737 and 745), and that some were later renamed for one or other reason. That apart, little can be said concerning the phylai other than each was headed by an elected phylarchon, with an elected astynomai responsible for maintaining the streets and sewers in his ward (e.g., Bosch 1967, no. 201; Mitchell 1977, no. 9).

The principal administrative organ of Roman Ancyra was its boule (cf. Bosch 1967, no. 72). The size and status of the place suggest there were at least the usual 500 bouleutai, while the bouleutai in Hellenic poleis were elected by the phylai, in Ancyra they were chosen from a strictly defined social class, as normal in the Roman East for those poleis formalised after annexation. This is demonstrated by the existence of boulographoi, the censors who listed those citizens who qualified for the boule – evidently by property prerequisites, thus placing the government of Ancyra firmly in the hands of its wealthier citizens (Bosch 1967, nos.287 and 288; cf. Jones 1940, 171; Pliny Ep. 10.112–114).

The chairmanship of the Anycryan boule was vested in a single archon (cf. Bosch 1967, no.100), presumably elected on an annual basis. The executive arm was likewise probably elected on an annual basis, and inscriptions attest to three regular junior magistracies: the agoranomai (cf. Bosch 1967, no.103); the boulographoi (Bosch 1967, no.289); the eirenarchon (Bosch 1967, no.100). On the evidence of their personal nomenclature, it seems that at least during the reigns of the first four Julio-Claudian principes, these men were rewarded with Roman citizenship (e.g. Bosch 1967, nos.55 and 98). That apart, we can assume that Ancyra also had the other usual annual magistracies of a large poleis, the tamiani, an ekdikes, and a gymnasiarchon, although epigraphic evidence for these is lacking. By contrast, there is plentiful record of the irregular magisterial post of politigraphos, who in the eastern poleis under Roman jurisdiction registered those citizens eligible to benefit from the will of an imperial freedmen (Bosch 1967, nos.249–253 and 287–288; cf. Mitchell 1977, no.7, and p.74). As such, the repeated need for such a post at Ancyra confirms the regular deployment of imperial freedmen to the administration of the province (e.g. Bosch 1967, nos. 64–65 and 276).

Matching the political institution of the boule was the religious association of the imperial cult, headed by an annually elected archiereus, entitled by his rank to wear purple garments (Mitchell 1977, 6). He appears to have had an associate, the Galataarchon, whose precise function is unclear (Mitchell 1977, 7). However, it is clear that Ancyra was the main location for the koion of the Galatians, an organisation probably established under Tiberius, and which maintained the imperial cult and its associated festivals. The latter involved the archiereus in substantial and lavish expenditure, sometimes on buildings and statues, but mainly on more ephemeral benefactions, such as public shows and banquets, and donations of olive oil and grain to the populace (cf. Bosch 1967, 51; Mitchell 1993a, 108). By the time of Nero, the Galatian koion had replaced this method of largesse with the megala Augustea Actia, a four-yearly cycle of Hellenic-style ‘games’, supervised by an elected or nominated agonothetes (Moretti 1953, no. 65; Bosch 1967, no. 287; cf. Robert 1960). Other evidence indicates that at least two further agones were introduced in later years, the first the agones mystikoi, an artistic festival dedicated to Hadrian, and inaugurated at Ancyra in the emperor’s presence on 7 December 129 (Bosch 1967, nos. 127–130; cf. Oliver 1989, 96A–C). At a later date came the megala Isopythia Asclepieia Sotereia (Antoneineia), probably established during the reign of Caracalla on the initiative of Titus Flavius Gaianus, an Anycryan ambassador to that princeps (Bosch 1967, nos. 285–286; cf. Mitchell 1977, 7 and 8).

There are some indications that Roman Ancyra was a planned settlement with an orthogonal layout. Such may be deduced from von Vincke’s 1839 plan of Angora (Eyice 1971, pl. 39), for certain street and property alignments appear to follow a regular north-south and east-west pattern. It is a reasonable assumption that this street-plan originated in an earlier pre-medieval layout, an assumption somewhat reinforced by the apparent coincidence of one of these 19th century streets with a classical-period north-south street at Ulus Meydan, and in the way that at least one building in Ancyra, the bath-house on the Askeri Cezevi site, is aligned exactly north-south and...
west-east (Temiszoy et al., 1996, figs. 1 and 2; Akok 1955, fig 9). From this admittedly circumstantial evidence, we might tentatively suggest that Ancyra was laid out with insulae in the order of 140–160m square (cf. Figure 1.3). If so, however, there is one clear exception to an entirely orthogonal plan, a colonnaded street with a northwest – southeast alignment discovered in 1931 immediately northeast of the ‘Caracallan Baths’ (Dalman 1932, 122–33; this paper, Figure 1.3). We might conjecture that it was based on a pre-existing route, presumably the ancient trans-Anatolian highway on its way from Ancyra towards Gordion, via a ford or bridge over the Ankara Çay.

Von Vincke’s plan also indicates that the focus of Ottoman Angora was the open space now represented by Hükümet Meydani (Figure 1.3). This space may well be the direct descendant of Ancyra’s agora, for not only was it dominated in classical times by the so-called Augustus Mabedi, or ‘Temple of Augustus’, but the reputed ‘Column of Julian’ (in reality probably a 6th century monument: cf. Kautzsch 1936, 202) originally stood at the extreme southwest of this area before being moved to its centre in the 1920’s (cf. Akok 1955, fig. 2). Moreover, on the south side of this space, excavations in 1995–96 revealed the back wall of a building at least 31 m long, which evidently faced north (Temiszoy et al., 1996). While its precise date remains uncertain, both its scale and style suggest it belonged to a substantial structure, conceivably a stoa.

As for the ‘Temple of Augustus’ itself, the limited excavations of the early 1930’s failed to reveal conclusive evidence regarding its date or original form (Krencker and Schede 1935, passim). The modern consensus is that it was built during the final years of Augustus’ reign, perhaps initially as an Ionic tetrastyle temple, measuring 13 x 30m, later transformed by adding a Corinthian octostyle pseudo-dipteral colonnade and steps to form a structure some 42 x 55m (Guterbock 1989, 156; cf. Cooke 1998, 26–7; this paper, Figure 1.3). Many believe it was from the first intended as a ceremonial centre for the Galatian imperial cult, for the cella walls were re-cut to inscribe the text of Augustus’ Res Gestae, and one anta carries a list of the first 24 archiereis, the first of whom dates to c. AD 19/20 (Bosch 1967, no. 51; Mitchell 1986, 28–9; 1993a, 108). Yet the temple is purely Hellenistic in plan and style, unlike the ‘official’ Roman design of a podium with steps at the front only, as in such ‘imperial’ buildings as the ‘Temple to Augustus’ at Pisidian Antioch, built c. AD 2 (Mitchell and Waekens 1998, 167). Thus the possibility must be allowed that it was perhaps originally dedicated to a local deity, probably Mên, with or without Meter Theon, and was only later adapted for use by the imperial cult (Tuchelt 1985, 317–19; Varlıçoğlu 1992). Such indeed appears to be confirmed by the ‘priest list’, for Pylaemenes, the fourth archiereus, presented land at Ancyra for use as a sebasteion, a structure which surely cannot be anything other than the official centre for the imperial cult. There is no evidence for its location or appearance, although it need not have been anything more elaborate than a defined space with a plinth supporting statues (cf. the sebasteion at Bubon: İnan 1994, 106 (but cf. Haley 2000, 28–9): note that the fifth archiereus, Albiorix, donated statues of (Tiberius) Caesar and Julia Augusta to the polis, perhaps for the sebasteion).

Although we do not know who was responsible for building the ‘Temple of Augustus’, or when, the ‘priest list’ and other epigraphic evidence indicates that it was the archiereis and the officials of the boule, along with the agonothetes, who played the leading part in the Romanization and thus the urbanisation of Ancyra. The ‘priest-list’, for example, records how several archiereis made substantial gifts of olive oil to the polis, the first in c. AD 20/21, suggesting that a gymnasium – a defining feature of Hellenised life – existed by then (Bosch 1967, no. 51, lines 7–8; cf. Mitchell 1993a, 108). Moreover, from the same date, there are several references in the ‘priest list’ to the entire range of spectaculæ – gladiatorial (one event involved 50 pairs), equestrian (including chariot racing) and venationes (involving bulls and wild-animals). These probably took place in some open space close to the city, enclosed and provided with seating on a temporary basis for the events, presumably the Ancryan locality called ‘Campus’ in late Roman sources (V. Plat. 425 (ed. Migne)). We might assume it was located either on the level ground directly west of Ancyra, now occupied by the Gençlik Parkı and the (perhaps appropriately named) Hippodrom, or immediately east of Ulusdağı, the area now occupied by the Central Dolmuş Station.

These amenities of early Tiberian date apart, Ancyra gradually acquired the other usual standard features of a classical city, such as a theatre, at least two bath-houses, and an aqueduct. The first of these was discovered and excavated in 1982, and has been provisionally dated to the 1st century AC (Bayburtluoğlu 1986; this paper, Figure 1.5). It lies at the foot of the Kaledağ, the ima cavea and central section of the summa cavea being carved from the bedrock, the remainder built of andesite, with local ‘marble’ used for decorative details. The ima cavea was divided into four cunei by three scalaria, with a diazoma at a level corresponding to the 10th or 11th row of seating, which presumably gave access to the tribunalia over the aditus maximi, with a further 15 or so 12 rows of seating in the summa cavea, giving an overall diameter for the theatre of c. 56m. The wooden-floored scaenæ frons is clearly part of the original structure, but the proscaena is equally evidently a later addition of more than one phase, perhaps replacing an earlier timber version. Despite such indications of economy in construction, the scaenæ frons was decorated with ‘marble’ statuary, including a cloaked male and a standing Pudicita figure, although the only piece of architectural decoration found was a voussoir in the form of a Silenus head. That apart, the entrances to the theatre call for some extra comment. They take the form of conjoined itinera versurae and aditus maximi, a plan apparently unparalleled in Asia Minor, although comparable arrange-
Figure 1.3 Roman Ancyra, showing principal topographic features, known sites of Roman date, and restored street plan. Key: 1) the Ulus Meydani site; 2) the 'Temple of Augustus'; 3) the Theatre; 4) the Askeri Cezevi site; 5) the 'Caracallan Baths'; 6) the Yeni Meclisi site; 7) the Ziraat Bankasi site; 8) the Ulus Belediye site; 9) the 'Halk Evisi' site.

ments are to be found at the Gerasa South Theatre (Segal 1995, fig. 102).

Of the two bath-houses recorded at Ancyra, that found at the Askeri Cezevi site in 1946 measured some 30 x 30m, and appears to have been of bi-axial type (Akok 1955, 323–29, and fig. 9; this paper, Figure 1.6). No detailed report is available for this structure, but an early 2nd century date is suggested by its construction method, of alternating rows of bricks and andesite blocks, and the existence of the so-called ‘Caracallan Baths’, a much larger bath-house built (probably) in the mid- or late-2nd century. This latter complex was first investigated in 1931, when roadworks in Çankırıkapı revealed an open area surrounded by rooms, one of them containing a life-size bronze imago
The bath-house walls were built of alternating courses of 4-rowed brick and andesite blocks, with local 'marble' used for decorative details. The *palaestra* had 32 columns on each side, each *c.* 6 m high with Corinthian capitals, supporting, it seems, an inscribed architrave. The central room on the east side, where the bust of Trajan was discovered, may have been a *kaisersaal*, the rooms to the north presumably offices, while the paired rooms found on the north and south sides of the *palaestra* were perhaps libraries and/or lecture halls. The main bathing complex itself was fronted by a range of at least two rooms, the central one with a *notatio*, the north room, with its hypocaust, presumably an *apodyterium*. Behind this range was a centrally-located *tepidarium*, with a plunge-pool and flanking rooms, while the southwest part of the complex was taken up by the *caldarium* with furnaces to the rear. A number of service corridors, two of them underground, provided the necessary access routes for maintenance, and there were indications that the structure was lavishly decorated with floor and vault mosaics, marble veneering on the walls, sculptured friezes, which included a figure playing a *cithara*, and statues (cf. Dolunay 1941, pls. 84 and 85).

As indicated, the date of the complex is uncertain. It is usually assigned to the early 3rd century, as the earliest coins found with the structure belong to the reign of Caracalla, and the method of construction is typical of this period (cf. Dolunay 1941, 266; Foss 1977, 62 and 87; Arslan 1996; Dodge, 1987, 112). Some have even linked its construction with a visit to Ancyra by the emperor 'Marcus Aurelius Antoninus', presumably Caracalla on his way east in 215 (Bosch 1967, no. 260; Mitchell 1977, 64–5; cf. Dio 77.9.6–7, on building work in the eastern provinces at this time). That apart, one Tiberius Julius Justus Julianus, *archiereus* and *ktistes* ('founder') of the *metropolis* Ancyra, is commemorated on a series of matching inscriptions stylistically dated to the 3rd century, and erected by the *phyloi* of Ancyra for his gift of a *balaneion*, generally assumed to be this complex (Bosch 1967, nos. 255–258: cf. Broughton 1938, 778; Erzen 1946, 98–9; Mitchell 1993a, 114–16 and 214). This may well be, but the dating of inscriptions on stylistic grounds alone is an inexact science, while the Caracallan coins found at the bath-house merely indicate it was standing by that period. An earlier date is possible, for architrave fragments found in the 1931 work are decorated in 'Hadrianic' style, and bear an inscription commemorating a structure supported, it seems, an inscribed architrave. The central one with a *notatio*, the north room, with its hypocaust, presumably an *apodyterium*. Behind this range was a centrally-located *tepidarium*, with a plunge-pool and flanking rooms, while the southwest part of the complex was taken up by the *caldarium* with furnaces to the rear. A number of service corridors, two of them underground, provided the necessary access routes for maintenance, and there were indications that the structure was lavishly decorated with floor and vault mosaics, marble veneering on the walls, sculptured friezes, which included a figure playing a *cithara*, and statues (cf. Dolunay 1941, pls. 84 and 85).

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Although the 'Caracallan Baths' lie only some 200 m from the Ankara Çay, they are 45 m above this stream, and appear to have been supplied with water by Ancyra's aqueduct. The numerous pierced blocks of andesite found re-used in the early medieval defences on the Kaledaği and at several other locations west of here, including – it

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**Figure 1.4 The 'Temple of Augustus': re-drawn from Krencker and Schede 1936.**

*clipeata* of Trajan (Dalman 1932, 121–32; cf. Bennett 2001, 201 and pl. 2D). Originally identified as the 'forum' of Roman Ancyra, it was correctly identified as the *palaestra* of a bath-house after further excavations in 1938–41 (Ark 1937, 49–51; Dolunay 1941, 264–66; Akok 1968; this paper, Figure 1.7). It belongs to a group of Anatolian bath-houses which have been classified as the 'Bath-gymnasium' type (Yegiil 1995, 251–313), and it perhaps covered an area of about 160 x 200 m, making it one of the largest bath-houses of its kind. If, that is, it was ever completed. Excavation of the extreme southeast of the complex in 1944 uncovered walls and rooms of a completely dissimilar plan to those on the northwest (Akok 1955, 311–15 and fig. 3, and 1968; cf. this paper, Figure 1.7). The published report provides no information of date or the physical relationship between these remains and the bath-house proper, but from their description, it seems they might belong to the late- or even post-Roman period.
would appear – the ‘Caracallan Baths’ – indicate it was of inverted siphon type, the blocks having the usual female/male sockets at either end, and some with a hole in the upper surface for cleaning purposes. The origins, course and date of the system are, however, unknown. Given that these blocks were extensively used in the southeast sections of the early medieval fortification on the Kaledaği, at an elevation of 980m, it is assumed that the aqueduct passed nearby, suggesting its source was probably near the headwaters of the Ankara Çay on the slopes of Kure Dağı, some 30km distant. As for its date, all that can be said is that the earliest known inverted siphon system in Asia Minor is thought to be that at Patara, built in the Flavian period (Coulton 1987, 80).

Very little else can be said for certain concerning Ancyra during the early Roman period. The street found running south from the presumed agora in 1995–96 was lined with a series of buildings, apparently shops: their exact date has not yet been determined (Temiszoy et al., 1996). Also of an unknown but probably early Roman date are the structures found next the Askeri Cezevi bathhouse, later converted into a single dwelling with a ‘courtyard’ (Akok 1955, 327–28, and fig 9; this paper, Figure 1.6). Again, further comment is confounded by the lack of any detailed report or plans, as is likewise the case with the building found at the Nurettin Ersoy Otel site, directly east of the ‘Caracallan Baths’ in 1947 (Figure 1.3): apparently abandoned and/or destroyed in the 3rd century, it had at least one apsidal heated room, floors of opus signinum, and walls covered with frescoes and marble veneer (Akok 1955, 315–22, and fig. 7). As for any other structures of early Roman date in Ancyra, we have brief reports from the 1920s and 30s of remains of that period on the south slope of the Kaledaği, and on the sites of the Yeni Meclisi, the Ziraat Bankası, the Ulus Belediye and the ‘Halk Evisi’, now the National Museum of Art and Sculpture (Ark 1937, 47–9; Akok 1955, fig. 1; this paper, Figure 1.2). To these we can add the discovery of several ‘Roman’ tombs and the remains of a further bath-house, decorated with mosaics, at the west end of Gençlik Parkı (Jerphanion 1926, 223; Koşay 1939, 61).

Physical remains apart, an inscription indicates that the polis possessed the expected bouleuterion (Bosch 1967, no. 117; note the IX phylae, Hiera Bulkia, perhaps located in its vicinity). In addition, from the spectaculae recorded on the ‘priest-list’, the tombstones of gladiators who
perished in Ancyra, and the presence of a procurator formerly in charge of gladiatorial shows, it has been suggested that there may have been an amphitheatre (e.g., cf. Bosch 1967, nos. 149–52, 188–94 and 276; Mitchell 1977: 72–5; Erzen 1946, 97–8). This is most unlikely: such purpose-built structures are exceedingly rare in Asia Minor, only being known of at Pergamum, Cyzicus and Antiocheia. True, the theatres in many of the Anatolian poleis were adapted or even specifically designed for such shows (e.g., Aphrodisias, Myra and Xanthus), but that at Ancyra shows no evidence for such a modification: it is likely, therefore, that all such spectaculae took place at ‘Campus’, within temporary structures of the type already posited for the Tiberian period.

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that there were at least two other temples in Roman Ancyra besides the ‘Temple of Augustus’. One was the Temple of Zeus recorded by Pausanias, presumably as either Zeus Trapezeus or Zeus Taenos, which is shown on coins as a hexastyle structure (Paus. 1.4.5; Arslan 1991, no. 4; cf. the V phyle, Dios Trapeon, and the XII, Dios Taenon, and Bosch 1967, 211, a dedication to Zeus Taenos). A second was probably a Temple to Apollo, who seems to have been the favoured deity at Ancyra in the early 4th century (V. Plat. 404–425 (ed. Migne); cf. also Mitchell 1982b, 94). These apart, our sources indicate local cults to some 18 other classical deities, ranging from Athena to Victoria, of whom Artemis and Athena also seem to have played a prominent part in the religious life of Ancyra (Arslan 1991; Bosch 1967, passim; Mitchell 1982b, 94). Although it is unlikely that each had their own formal temple, an Ancyran coin of Nero depicts a tetrasyle temple presumably associated with one or other of these cults (Arslan 1991, no. 1), if it was not that dedicated to Apollo.

Late Roman Ancyra

It is uncertain if Ancyra suffered directly from the Gothic attacks of the 250s–260s: the area surely did, and the Goths were not loath to raid the undefended poleis of the region (Mitchell 1993a, 235–36). It certainly fell to Queen Zenobia’s marauding Palmyrene army in 271, however, to be recaptured by Aurelian later that same year (Zos. 50, 1–2). It is presumably to one or other of these incursions that we might associate the destruction of the private building on the Nurettin Ersoy Otel site, and it perhaps also to this general period that we should ascribe an incomplete but evidently late Roman inscription which commemorates an anonymous benefactor, who ‘during the time of famine and barbarian attacks’ built the defences of the polis ‘from the foundations to the battlements’, as well as restoring two ‘ruined’ buildings, the gymnasio
Polyeidon' and the office of the Boulographoi, the last having been disused for some period of time (Bosch 1967, no. 289). A likely context for such building activity would be in the aftermath of the Palmyrene attack, and these defences may well be represented by the 12m high section of walling with three projecting 4m wide square towers recently revealed immediately west of the 'Temple of Augustus'. Built mainly of andesite blocks, with alternating tile-courses in the towers, it contains several reused column shafts and at least one bomos, but no other architectural material or tombstones. In its general character and evidently limited perimeter – it excludes the area between Ulusdaı and the 'Caracallan Baths' – it closely resembles the walls erected at several Gallic civitates at this time, as for example at Amiens and Bavai.

Nonetheless, despite the apparent availability of money, manpower and materials for reconstruction work at Ancyra in the later-3rd century, literary sources suggest that the metropolis and its immediate region took some time to recover from the effects of these two attacks. Just before the end of Aurelian's reign, for example, a grain merchant by name of Philemenus brought cereals to Ancyra from Lycaonia, suggesting that supplies were not available locally: unfortunately for Philumenus, his reward was denunciation and execution for his Christian beliefs (Sym. Eccl. Const. 263–264 (ed. Delehaye)). Indeed, it is possible that the apparently dire situation did not improve to any great extent until towards the end of the 3rd century, as the Life of St. Clement of Ancyra indicates famine and great mortality in the region in c.283 (V. Clem. 816–893 (ed. Migne)).

We might assume, therefore, that it was not until the reforms of Diocletian that the overall situation improved in Galatia in general, and in Ancyra in particular. Now the metropolis of a reduced polity, important information regarding Ancyra's appearance and topography at the time is supplied by the narratives of three martyrs who suffered there during the Great Persecution. From the Life of St. Clement of Ancyra, we learn that supplies were not available locally: unfortunately for Philemenus, his reward was denunciation and execution for his Christian beliefs (Sym. Eccl. Const. 263–264 (ed. Delehaye)). Indeed, it is possible that the apparently dire situation did not improve to any great extent until towards the end of the 3rd century, as the Life of St. Clement of Ancyra indicates famine and great mortality in the region in c.283 (V. Clem. 816–893 (ed. Migne)).

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an active and prosperous centre during the later 5th, 6th and early 7th centuries, despite outbreaks of pestilence and famine (Foss 1977, 54–60). In 611–613, however, the immediate region fell prey to the Persians, although Ancyra itself does not seem to have been occupied and they were soon forced to withdraw (Foss 1975, 722–23). The strategic significance of Ancyra for control of Anatolia was, on the other hand, clearly recognised by the invaders: when they returned in 622, they captured the place, and killed or enslaved its citizens (Foss 1977, 70–1). Vivid evidence for the attack may have been discovered during the excavation of the ‘Caracalhan Baths’, in the form of thick layers of building debris and ash, associated with coins of Hercules and ‘Sassanian’ artefacts (Foss 1977, 71).

So, it seems, ended the life of Ancyra, *metropolis provinciae Galatiae*, for after recapture in the mid-7th century, all occupation was centred on the newly-built Thematic fortress on the Kaledaşı, and the walled area occupying its western slopes. This, the ‘famous and great castle, the powerful and fortified Ancyra’ of the early medieval period (*Digenes Akrites* 9–11), was to change hands many times over the next 450 years, until its final capture by the Seljuks in 1125, when occupation spread to the south of the Kaledaşı. Another 250 years were to pass, however, before the Ulusdağı was again reoccupied, when the Ottomans built a mosque and turbe commemorating Hacı Bayram, Angora’s favourite ‘saint’, next to the upstanding *cella* of the ‘Temple of Augustus’, which was now converted into a medrese. It stimulated the regeneration of Ulusdağı as the religious and judicial centre of Angora, a process formalised, in October 1923, when Atatürk chose the place as the capital for the New Republic of Turkey, and Ulusdağı for his seat of government. The process of obliterating classical Ancyra now began in earnest, although Atatürk himself was exceedingly keen to preserve its past (cf. Guterbock 1989). We can only hope that more enlightened attitudes will again soon prevail before what remains is finally lost.

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