

THE POLITICAL AND PHYSICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF EARLY IMPERIAL GRAECO-ROMAN ANCYRA

Julian Bennett¹

INTRODUCTION

In his magisterial study of Anatolia in antiquity, S. Mitchell drew attention to the way Rome presided over the process of urbanisation in Galatia specifically through the founding of three new city states at Ancyra, Tavium, and Pessinus.² He further observed that the political model adopted for this process was the settlement Pompey imposed on Pontus in c. 64 BC, by which that newly annexed territory was divided into eleven *poleis*, each given an assigned political centre and a constitution to ensure the successful administration of both *polis* and *chora*.³ Mitchell's account of the method in Galatia, however, was deliberately summary in form, and thus he did not assess in detail either the municipalisation or the monumentalisation of the region as a whole, nor the specific case of Ancyra, *metropolis provinciae Galatiae* - except for giving an account of the explicit example of Ancyra's Temple to Augustus and Roma.

It would be easy to suppose from the brevity of Mitchell's account that other than this temple, very little else has survived of note from Ancyra's Roman past, and it would be difficult to conclude to what extent either Ancyra or its inhabitants were ever 'Romanised'. Indeed, for those less aware of the state of affairs, Mitchell's report might have given the impression that there is little surviving evidence for and to what extent Ancyra had any of the three usual and interrelated features of a classical city: a defined political system; public and civic buildings; and a communal life revolving around shared leisure and cultic activities. For scholars who are familiar with European approaches to urban archaeology, the apparent absence of solid data about Ancyra's classical past might have thus seemed calamitous. Yet in general, as a casual survey of the relevant literature quickly shows, Ancyra is not unique in this regard in the context of modern Turkey. In actual fact, urban archaeology is so neglected a subject in the country that secure

¹ Department of Archaeology and Art History, Bilkent University, Ankara. I am grateful to Susan Cooke for the use of her unpublished survey of Roman Ancyra (Cooke 1998); to Jacques Morin, for help with the Greek inscriptions and for reading and commenting on the text; and Ben Claasz Coockson, who provided the drawings. In addition, I wish to thank M.-H. Gates, my Head of Department, for facilitating the writing of this paper; the staff of the British Institute in Ankara for their forbearance and assistance in that process; and Jacob Roodenberg for the invitation to submit this article, which supersedes Bennett 2003. None of these esteemed colleagues is to be blamed, however, for any interpretations and views expressed here.

² Mitchell 1993, 86-89.

³ Mitchell 1984, and 1993, 88-89.

information in any form or of any type is sorely lacking for almost all of those settlements of classical date now sealed beneath modern Turkey's conurbations.

This situation is quite the reverse, of course, for the 'green-field' sites of classical Anatolia. After all, it is perhaps logical and inevitable that scholars in the past and today should prefer to focus their attention on such admittedly magnificent sites as Ephesus and the like, where the rewards in terms of epigraphy, and of artistic and architectural material are guaranteed. But the result is a grossly imbalanced view of the urbanisation process in Anatolia under imperial Rome. Thus this extended article, which aims firstly at redressing the balance by liberating from obscurity the comparative wealth of evidence for the nature of Graeco-Roman Ancyra in the period before c. 250; and secondly indicating the kind of knowledge that might yet be accumulated through an ordered programme of urban research and rescue excavation. It must be noted, however, that the biased and partial nature of the available data inevitably means that gaps in our knowledge must be compensated for by analogy and broader generalizations.

THE GENESIS OF GRAECO-ROMAN ANCYRA

In 25 BC, Amyntas, the king of Galatia, died during a campaign against the Homanadenses, and Augustus incorporated his kingdom into the Roman *imperium* as the province of Galatia. The inaugural governor of the new province was M. Lollius.⁴ It can be reasonably assumed that among his principal duties was the responsibility for implementing the process whereby this region of rural communities was transformed into a fully functioning Roman province, with an administrative infrastructure based on a series of semi-independent city-states. The motive behind this delegation of powers to the Galatians was simple: to create a suitable system of local self-administration that could best function for the benefit of Rome with the minimum of direct intervention. Some Roman commentators might have characterised this procedure as part of an altruistically motivated 'humanising' or 'civilising' programme,⁵ but the truth was that Rome had learnt through long and hard experience that the best way to manage her overseas territories was by assigning the duty to some form of locally-managed administrative entity as soon as this was possible.

Such a procedure had worked well and with remarkably little direct involvement from Rome in those regions where there already was some form of local control based on the Hellenic *polis* system, as, for example, in the province of Asia. Elsewhere, however, Rome had to follow the precedent of Alexander and his successors, introducing and encouraging the necessary political and urbanised structure, making use, wherever possible, of any pre-existing settlements to provide the overall framework. Such was the

⁴ Rémy 1989, 127-129. Lollius was evidently highly successful in all of his assigned responsibilities in Galatia, for in 21 BC, after completing his mission there, he was made senior consul ordinarius, only the second time since 31 BC that Augustus did not hold the position himself.

⁵ E.g., Virgil *Aen.* 6.851-853; and Pliny *NH* 3.39.

approach adopted by Pompey the Great in c. 64 BC, when he annexed the kingdom of Pontus to Rome. Under its last king, Mithridates, this was a region dominated by royal and sacred lands interspersed with village-type settlements, a settlement system suitable for centralized monarchical rule. Now the region was amalgamated with the existing province of Bithynia, and the territory divided between eleven newly constituted Hellenic-style *poleis*, four of them based on existing centres but the rest entirely new foundations, formed by synoecism, and all intended to provide an administrative system that conformed to Roman provincial policy. Indeed, so successful was this system, that Augustus emulated the process in Galatia, where sometime before 23/21 BC, the three Galatian tribes were re-constituted as three distinct political units, the Sebasteni Trocmi Taviani, the Sebasteni Tolistobogii Pessinuntii, and the Sebasteni Tectosages Ancyraei.⁶ In each case, the dynastic prefix 'Sebasteni' emphasised that the new polities were his own creation, while the toponymic suffix identified the place recognised as their formal administrative centre, namely Tavium, Pessinus and Ancyra.⁷

At the time this political reorganisation was introduced, both Tavium and Pessinus were places of consequence. Tavium, for example, was a major *emporion* with a renowned monumental bronze statue of Zeus set within a *temenos* that had the right of asylum.⁸ Pessinus, on the other hand, was the largest of the regional *emporia*, as well as being a thriving temple-state, dedicated to Agdistis, with a sanctuary surrounded by white marble porticoes donated by the Attalid dynasty.⁹ The nature and appearance of contemporary Ancyra, however, is quite uncertain. Although the location is referred to by name in several Hellenistic sources, there is no evidence for any activity at the place in the Hellenistic period, other than a few coins of late 4th – early 2nd century date and unspecified 'Hellenistic' pottery found in the Ulu district.¹⁰ Yet it seems highly unlikely and hardly credible that the Tectosages were assigned an uninhabited place of no significance whatsoever for their tribal centre, and so we might reasonably assume that some kind of permanent settlement at least superficially comparable to those at Tavium and Pessinus also existed at Ancyra when the province of Galatia was formed. Indeed, given the exceedingly poor attention given in the past to building developments in the Ulu district, we cannot entirely dismiss the prospect that Ancyra was the location of the

⁶ The formal date of their creation depends on the start date assigned to the Ancyran era: Leschhorn 1992, 334, favours 25/24 BC, Halfmann 1986, 38, prefers 23-22 BC, while Mitchell 1993, 87, says '22 or perhaps 21 BC'.

⁷ Cf. the situation in Asturia and Cantabria, where in 19 BC, Augustus created three new formal political units, the Asturica Augusta, the Lucus Augusta, and the Bracara Augusta, all three of their new urban centres apparently being established at pre-existing native sites: cf. Florus 2.33.59; Pliny *NH* 3.1.18; and Tranoy 1981, 191-193.

⁸ Strabo 12.5.2 (567), with *BMC Galatia*, 24-27, nos. 2-4, 6 and 16-18, for Tavium coins that show the seated statue of Zeus, apparently modelled on that at Olympia.

⁹ Strabo 12.5.3 (567).

¹⁰ Ancyra is named, for example as the location where Alexander accepted the surrender of the Paphlagonians in 333 BC (Curtius Rufus *Alex.* 3.1.22; Arrian *Anab.* 2.4.1); as the place where Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax fought for control of the Seleucid Empire in 240/239 BC (Justin *Ep.* 27); and as the site of a Roman marching camp in 189 BC during M. Vulsus's war against the Galatians (Livy 38.24.1-2, and 25.1; cf. Polybius 21.39.1, and Zonaras *Ann.* 9.21 (P I 454 C)). For the archaeological evidence, cf. Arslan 1996, 108; and Temizsoy, *et al.*, 1996. For a brief overview of the evidence for pre-Hellenistic Ancyra, cf. Bennett 2003, 1-3.

nea polis of Arsinoe initiated by the Galatian ruler Deiotarus in c. 54/53 BC.¹¹ The idea might seem far-fetched, for the typical form of Galatian settlement at this time ‘was the small fortified stronghold, or *phourion*, usually placed in a well-defended situation remote from the main lines of communication’.¹² Yet Deiotarus, a friend of Cicero and of Pompey, and honoured by the people of Athens for some unspecified reason,¹³ was certainly ‘Hellenised’ enough in thought and manner to embark on such an enterprise, even if it was perhaps stillborn, never to be completed owing to his age and the vicissitudes of his reign.

But even if Ancyra was not the location of Deiotarus’ *nea polis*, the place was chosen as the central meeting place for the Tectosages when the province of Galatia was formed, and the inescapable conclusion is that some form of settlement existed there at that time. This being so, then the most likely location for such a settlement would be the highly defensible hill-top location overlooking Graeco-Roman Ancyra from the east, and later appropriated by the early medieval kale.¹⁴ This could indeed just be deduced from the comments of Strabo, the only near contemporary source for the nature of Ancyra at this time, as he ambiguously categorises the place as a *polis* in one place, and then elsewhere names it as a *phourion*.¹⁵ It is now generally accepted that while Strabo compiled the bulk of his *Geographia* between AD 18-24, he was also using much earlier source material, making it ‘A Tiberian work chronologically, but an Augustan thematically’.¹⁶ In which case, if we are to take Strabo’s comments at face value, then by using the word *phourion* he could well have been describing the physical state of Ancyra at the time of the annexation, namely a fortress on the Kale hill; by referring to it as a *polis* he was reporting its nature in his own time, the early years of Tiberius’ reign, when Ancyra was well established as the administrative centre of the Sebasteni Tectosages Ancyрани, with at least one public building, a temple to the deified Augustus and Roma.

Unfortunately, our only other near contemporary sources, Livy and Pliny the Elder, do not provide any light on the matter. The first, writing in the middle years of Augustus’ principate, describes Ancyra as ‘*nobilem in illis locis urbem*’, ‘a famous city in that region’.¹⁷ While his historical context is Vulso’s campaign against the Galatians in 189 BC, and the terminology thus anachronistic, Livy’s specific use of the word *urbs* for Ancyra suggests he was referring to the appearance and status of the place in his own time, as an urbanised settlement and the recognised Galatian capital. Pliny, on the other hand, writing under Vespasian but evidently in this case using older material, simply

¹¹ Plutarch *Crassus* 17.1-2; cf. Malalas *Chron.* 9.236, which also supplies the name.

¹² Mitchell 1993, 58.

¹³ Mitchell 1993, 33-37; *OGIS* no.347.

¹⁴ Mamboury 1937, 57, and 69-71; cf. Strobel 2002, 9, who erroneously implies that there is evidence for pre-medieval use of the Kale hill: despite the on-going development of the kale district, none of this work has been subjected to a watching brief, never mind controlled excavation, and the nature of any settlement there before the medieval period can only be guessed at.

¹⁵ Strabo 4.1.13 (187), as a *polis*, and 12.5.2 (567), as a *phourion*.

¹⁶ Dueck 2000, 151.

¹⁷ Livy 38.24.1.

classes all three of the Galatian centres – Tavium, Pessinus and Ancyra – as *oppida*, his favoured term when lacking detailed information about a given place of at least semi-urban status.¹⁸ From the literary evidence alone, therefore, the character and appearance of ‘Hellenistic’ Ancyra at the time of the Roman annexation cannot be satisfactorily resolved. Consequently, in this paper we shall follow the orthodox line, in supposing that all remains of the classical period at Ancyra are no earlier than c. 25-22 BC.¹⁹

THE POLITICAL TOPOGRAPHY

Although the precise status and physical nature of Ancyra at the time it was designated as the political centre of the Sebasteni Tectosages cannot be resolved at present, inscriptions leave us in no doubt that it possessed the defining characteristics of the Hellenic city-state system: a *demos* or citizen body; and a *boule*, a council with the right to make decrees.²⁰ More to the point, as Mitchell has persuasively argued, given that the somewhat unusual titles of Ancyra’s magisterial institutions in Ancyra are shared with those in Bithynia, then it can be concluded that Ancyra’s political constitution was based on the *lex Pompeia*, the code of regulations Pompey imposed on the communities he incorporated into the joint province of Pontus-Bithynia in c. 65/4 BC.²¹

There is, of course, no surviving literary text that reports any part of the *lex Pompeia* word for word. To judge from the later municipal charters introduced into certain communities in Iberia, however, it was probably very detailed, as befitted such an innovative legal document, albeit with minor variations as required by the individual *poleis*.²² Nonetheless, its general lines can be reconstructed from incidental references in the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny the Younger, when governor of Bithynia in 109-111. These reveal that the *lex Pompeia* blended Roman models of local government with the practices usually found in an established Hellenic city-state.²³ Thus following Roman practice, there was (initially at least) a qualifying age of 30 for election to a magistracy, which in turn gave a person automatic life-long membership of the governing council, other and additional members of this body being approved when necessary or expedient by a board of censors. Similarly, once enrolled in the council, a man was a member for life (although liable for expulsion under special circumstances), quite unlike the Hellenic system, which demanded annual elections. Unfortunately, the Hellenic elements in the *lex Pompeia* are less clear, but they certainly included the concept of dual citizenship, something quite alien to the Roman scheme of things.

¹⁸ Pliny *NH* 5.42.146.

¹⁹ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 86-87.

²⁰ For the *boule* and *demos* of the Sebasteni Tectosages, Bosch 1967, no. 92; and for these institutions usually being recognised as defining characteristics of a (Hellenic) city-state, cf. Plutarch *Mor.* 826e, and *CIL* 3.6866 = *ILS* 6090.

²¹ Mitchell 1993, 88-89.

²² The *lex Irnitana*, for example, contains 97 separate chapters, and was inscribed on ten bronze plaques that, when mounted on a wall, occupied a space c. 9 metres long by 58 cm high: González 1986, 147.

²³ Marshall 1968, Ameling 1986, and Lintott 1993, 145-153, for a fuller discussion.

Whatever the precise nature of Pompey's regulations in Pontus-Bithynia, Ancyra's epigraphic record attests to the principal socio-political institutions to be found there and in almost all Hellenised city-states in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: the *phylai*, or voting tribes; the *demos* and the *ekklesia*, or the people and the public assembly; and the *boule*, the executive council and its officers. To these three main units of democratic government, however, a fourth needs to be added, namely the *koinon* of the Galatians, a socio-political and religious body responsible for the Imperial cult.

The Phylai

The epigraphic evidence indicates the existence of twelve *phylai* in Graeco-Roman Ancyra, each presumably assigned to a territorial area as was usual in a Hellenised *polis*.²⁴ Of these twelve, the numbers and the corresponding names of ten are certain: the *I Maruragene*; *II Pakalene*; *III Menorizeitôn*; *IV Hiermene*; *V Dios Trapezôn*; *VI Sebaste*; *VII (?) -mene*; *VIII Claudia Athenaëa*; *IX Hiera Bulaea*; *XI Nea Olympias*. The names of the remaining two *phylai* are known to be the *Nerva* and the *Dios Taenôn*, but there is no indication as to which was *phyle X* and which *XII*.²⁵ On the other hand, as the *VI phyle* is apparently named for Augustus, the *VIII* for a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and the *XI* ostensibly for Hadrian (for after 128, he was often associated with the name *Olympios*), it could be that the 'imperial' *phylai* received their names in chronological order.²⁶ Indeed, as the chronologically first of this group was the *VI Sebaste* and the last the *XI Nea Olympias*, it has been deduced that *phyle X* was *Nerva* and *phyle XII* *Dios Taenôn*. In which case it has been argued that there were originally six *phylai* (the *I Maruragene*, *II Pakalene*, *III Menorizeitôn*, *IV Hiermene*, *V Dios Trapezôn* and *VI Sebaste*), two being added under Claudius (*VII (?) -mene* and *VIII Claudia Athenaëa*), two more under Nerva (*IX Hiera Bulaea* and *X Nerva*), and a final two under Hadrian (*XI Nea Olympias* and *XII Dios Taenôn*).²⁷

If this restored sequence did indeed reflect an authentic chronological situation, it would indicate that the population of Ancyra might well have doubled in size between the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian.²⁸ However, the number of *phylai* in a community bore absolutely no relation at all to its physical size,²⁹ and while it was a common practice to name a newly created *phyle* in honour of an imperial patron, it was equally common to rename an existing one for the same reason. In other words, any idea that the nomenclature of the *phylai* at Ancyra can be used to demonstrate an incremental growth in population has to be rejected. Indeed, it is more than likely that the original constitution

²⁴ Cf. Plato *Leg.* 745.

²⁵ French 2003, 60-61.

²⁶ Bosch 1955.

²⁷ Mitchell 1977, 80-81, using later evidence to develop on Bosch 1955.

²⁸ Mitchell 1977, 81.

²⁹ E.g. Jones 1940, 158-159, quoting the examples of Ilium, with twelve *phylai*, and Ephesus and Alexandria with five, although it might be noted that Antioch – larger in size than Ephesus and equal in area to Alexandria – had no less than 18 *phylai*.

for Ancyra envisaged twelve *phylai* from the start, for this number is commonly found in many other Hellenised *poleis*, as, for example, at Prusa in Bithynia.³⁰

This being the case, the names of the Ancyra *phylai*, as they have been handed down to us, reflect a variety of influences. For example, the locative suffix *-ene* reveals that four of the *phylai* – the *I Maruragene*, *II Pakalene*, *IV Hiermene* and *VII (?) -mene* – took their name from districts. These were presumably locations within the territory of Ancyra, and quite possibly the names of existing communities joined together in a synoecism when the unit of the Sebasteni Tectosages Ancyranī was first created. This being so, it is quite possible that all of the Ancyran *phylai* were originally named for geographical entities, as was quite probably the case of the *III Menorizeitōn*, which appears to have been named for a place of worship linked with the god Mēn; and the *V Dios Trapezōn* and the *Dios Taenōn*, probably named after places associated with the worship of Zeus. Likewise, perhaps, the *IX Hiera Bulaea*, for as this *phyle* was named for the personification of Ancyra's self-government, it could well have been centred on the same ward as Ancyra's *bouleuterion*, the meeting-place for Ancyra's council. As for the remaining *phylai*, as we have seen, the *VI Sebaste* probably honoured Augustus himself, and the *VIII Claudia Athenaea*, was presumably (re)named for a member of the Julio-Claudian family.³¹ However, at first sight, quite why the *phyle Nerva* should have taken its appellation from that emperor is a mystery, until it is observed that during Nerva's short reign of 16 months – 18 September 96 to 28 January 98 – no less than thirteen separate Ancyran coin-types were issued showing a hexastyle temple.³² The precise significance of the coin-type apart, the implication of this large range of coin types, and presumably an equally large coin-issue, is that the people of Ancyra had good reason to commemorate Nerva on an appropriate scale for some significant donation he had made to their *polis*, perhaps a temple, perhaps something else. Finally, we should note that although the name of the *phyle XI Nea Olympias* is usually taken to be a reference to Hadrian, the only inscriptions from Ancyra that specifically refer to him use the agnomen *Nea Dionysos* rather than *Nea Olympios*.³³

Each of the *phylai* was headed by a *phylarchos*, and as some of the Ancyran inscriptions are 'dated' with reference to the current phylarch,³⁴ they were evidently elected on an annual basis.³⁵ The office is found in many Hellenic communities, as at Prusa, where there were two phylarchs for each of the twelve tribes, but quite what their duties were is uncertain. It has been claimed that the phylarchs served some form of

³⁰ Jones 1940, 158, and Ameling 1984, 23: cf. Plato *Leges* 745.

³¹ Whichever Julio-Claudian it was, it is noteworthy that a significant number of Ancyra's citizens with *tri nomina* had the imperial *gentilicium* Tiberius Claudius, while many of those with *duo nomina* have the names of either Tiberius or Claudius or both.

³² Appendix 2.6

³³ Bosch 1967, nos. 128 and 129.

³⁴ E.g., Bosch 1967, nos. 108 and 117.

³⁵ Those confirmed in office may have assumed their duties on 23 September, Augustus' birthday, that date having been chosen by the province of Asia as the start of its official year: cf. Mitchell 1986, 21.

policing or local registration duty, but this is now thought unlikely.³⁶ On the other hand, a phylarch of Roman date was honoured in the rural territory of Thracian Philipopolis for supervising matters in groups of villages in such terms as to indicate his post encompassed jurisdictional matters.³⁷ In truth, the probability is that the duties of a phylarch varied from *polis* to *polis*, and therefore they had no single precisely definable role, although it might be inferred that in those places with a constitution based on the *lex Pompeia*, they had somewhat analogous responsibilities to the *vicomagistri*, the local magistrates and religious leaders found at Rome.³⁸

What is clear, however, is that the phylarchs were chosen from a comparatively low social background. For example, while one is known to have been a member of the *boule*,³⁹ and another was wealthy enough to donate an unspecified building to the *polis*,⁴⁰ none of the inscriptions listing men who served in the higher magistracies at Ancyra ever include the rank of phylarch among their previous offices.⁴¹ More ominously, while phylarchs were frequently involved in the business of erecting inscriptions to the senior magistrates of Ancyra and others, it seems that they themselves were never epigraphically honoured for their services while in office, although two did receive honours in the *ekklesia* and *boule* for other services to the community.⁴²

A relatively low social origin for at least the majority of the phylarchs is also suggested by their names. While almost all of those Ancyrans who held the higher civic and other public offices in the *polis* have *tri nomina*, indicating Roman citizenship status, only a scant few of the phylarchs have this type of nomenclature.⁴³ Of the remainder, however, slightly less than half are ambiguously recorded with *duo nomina*, lacking a *cognomen* and thus leaving the question of their citizenship wide open.⁴⁴ Some at least of these men could also have been Roman citizens, for not all *peregrini* would or could adopt the full *tri nomina* when they were enfranchised.⁴⁵ Consider for example a first century inscription at Coptos, which records the *duo nomina* 'Eintrittsnamen' of several Galatian legionary recruits, and the Spanish municipal charters, which indicate that possession of *tri nomina* only began to be a required feature of Roman citizenship in the Flavian period.⁴⁶ On the other hand, those Ancyran phylarchs who are recorded in the

³⁶ Ameling 1985, 23-25.

³⁷ *IGR* 1.721, from Hissar, recording a phylarch's 'humane' and 'law-abiding rule'; cf. also *IGR* 1.728, from the same place, recording another but without indicating his duties.

³⁸ Rüpke 1998.

³⁹ Bosch 1967, no. 357.

⁴⁰ Bosch 1967, no. 201.

⁴¹ Likewise at Prusa, where none of the 200 or so known phylarchs are known to have held any of the higher offices, conforming the relatively low status of the position: cf. Ameling 1984: 24, n.30.

⁴² Bosch 1967, nos. 202 and 262.

⁴³ Appendix 1.1, nos. 1-5 (no. 5 is included here on the basis of what survives of the names of the wife and sons). Cf. Appendices 1.4-1.14 for the dominance of the higher magistrates by those with Roman style names.

⁴⁴ Appendix 1.1, nos. 6-14.

⁴⁵ Cf. Alföldy 1966, 47-52.

⁴⁶ Bosch 1967, 49, for the Coptos inscription; and cf. González 1986, 196, for the Spanish evidence. It might be added that third century records of Roman citizens commonly lack a *praenomen*.

Hellenic fashion, with a single name and usually, but not always, their patronymic, and who make up just over half of the number, reveal by their nomenclature that they were most probably not Roman citizens.⁴⁷ Even so, a few could have been, as there are cases in which a man was known by both a formal Roman name and an informal Hellenic sobriquet or *signum*, as for example the Ancyran Flavius Heliodoros, ‘who is also known as Zarmos’.⁴⁸ However, it must be conceded that there are no grounds for assuming this to have been the case here, even in those cases where a phylarch’s single name is ‘Roman’ in origin, and so these men must be adjudged members of the lower (Hellenised) social stratum.

The phylarchs were assisted by a junior officer, the *astynomos*, who was probably also elected on an annual basis. None of the inscriptions from Ancyra specify the role of the *astynomoi*, but they were presumably responsible for the same range of duties as those carried out by their namesakes in other Hellenic communities. These are most clearly defined at Pergamum, where the responsibilities and powers of the *astynomos* were precisely defined by the so-called *lex de astynomis Pergamenorum*, a law of Attalid date but still in force in the early Roman imperial period.⁴⁹ According to this, their principal duty was the maintenance of the roads and streets within the community, including overseeing the cleaning of streets and other public areas, and ensuring that all private drains were built as underground structures. No less important, however, was their responsibility as building inspectors, making certain that private buildings were kept in good condition and repaired when necessary, and that the integrity of party walls between adjoining properties was maintained. A third and likewise important role was to ensure the good condition of the water pipes leading from the aqueduct and supplying the public fountains, toilets and drains, and also the quality of private cisterns.

Little can be said regarding the background of the *astynomoi* of Ancyra, for they are only recorded on four inscriptions. However, while Plato recommended that the *astynomoi* be of the highest calibre, chosen from among the members of the upper property classes,⁵⁰ this would not seem to have been usually the case at Ancyra: all three of the Ancyran *astynomoi* whose names survive exhibit nomenclature of the simple Hellenic form, a single name with patronymic.⁵¹ Thus, while all three of these men were later elected as phylarchs, as was the *ignotus* referred to on the fourth inscription, and although all four are indicated as having followed highly successful and profitable careers, it might be concluded that in general, they and probably most of the *astynomoi*, came from a lower social stratum than was usual among those Ancyrans who usually achieved the rank of phylarch.

⁴⁷ Appendix 1.1, nos. 15-27.

⁴⁸ Bosch 1967, no. 76; for other examples at Ancyra, Bosch 1967, nos. 98.15, 98.32, and 98.74, and 332 and 359. See Cagnat 1914, 55-59, for a discussion of the practice in Latin inscriptions.

⁴⁹ Klaffenbach 1954 = SEG 13.521; cf. Dio 55.8, on the ‘*stenoparchontes*’ or street commissioners of Rome, and *Digest* 43.10.

⁵⁰ Plato *Leg.* 763C.

⁵¹ Appendix 1.2.

The *Demos* and the *Ekklesia*

In a community that conformed to the Hellenic democratic ideal, the *phyle* provided the *politai*, the body of citizens who constituted the *demos* and its *ekklesia* or public assembly, with the power to approve or reject honours and decrees proposed by a community's governing *boule*. It is only to be expected, therefore, that both *demos* and *ekklesia* feature in Ancyra's epigraphic record.⁵² Yet while the basis of all Hellenised democratic systems was that all citizens had equal political rights, this was not always so in the Anatolian *poleis*, and especially those newly or re-constituted by Rome: in many of these, only a select group of citizens were classed as *ekklesiastai*, that is, members of the *ekklesia* with the right to vote in that assembly.⁵³ Such seems to have been the case in Ancyra, for while there are roughly equal numbers of epigraphic references to the *demos* and to the *ekklesia*, the latter is always referred to in the sense of being the body where the pronouncements of the *boule* and the *demos* are formally declared⁵⁴ suggesting it was more of a representative group chosen from among the *demos* rather than an ecumenical democratic unit.

That apart, the language of these inscriptions is illuminating and instructive, as in only one case can it be deduced that the '*demos*' (i.e., the *ekklesia*) may have voted on something on its own initiative. Such is implied by an inscription on a column recording Lucius Papirius Alexander, for the text notes that he was honoured by 'the *demos* and the *boule*' in that precise order.⁵⁵ In all other cases, the relevant inscriptions refer to honours being voted to specific individuals by 'the *boule* and the *demos*' of Ancyra. The truth of the matter was, of course, that Roman style constitutions, as with that imposed on Ancyra, favoured oligarchic rule, the most extreme form of democracy. Consequently neither the *demos* nor the *ekklesia* of Ancyra paid any real or active role in the management of the *polis*: their mention in Ancyra's official documents was simply a charade to maintain the pretence the *polis* conformed with time-honoured Hellenic practices.

The *Boule*

As in any other Hellenised *polis*, the principal administrative organ of Roman Ancyra was nominally its *boule*, and the names of four *bouleutai* survive, one with Roman *tri nomina*, the others with single names.⁵⁶ There is no indication in the epigraphic record for the size of the Ancyran *boule*, although it was probably somewhat less than the 450 *bouleutai* indicated for Ephesus on an inscription of Trajanic date, yet somewhat more than the 50 'interim' *bouleutai* who constituted the inaugural *boule* for Tymandus in

⁵² E.g., Bosch 1967, nos. 72, 92, 103, 139, 144, 159, 201, 202, 262, and 289.

⁵³ Cf. Abbott and Johnson 1926, 75, with *IGR* 3.409, from Poglæ in Pisidia, and *IGR* 3.800 and 801, from Sillyon in Pamphylia. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.21-22 indicates that the linen-workers at Tarsus were excluded from its *ekklesia*, despite being citizens of the place.

⁵⁴ E.g., Bosch 1967, nos. 103, 144, and 202.

⁵⁵ Bosch 1967, no. 141.

⁵⁶ Appendix 1.3.

the third century.⁵⁷ However, while the *bouleutai* in a Hellenic *polis* were elected or chosen by lot on an annual basis by the *ekklesia*, this was probably not so in Ancyra, for its charter was based on the *lex Pompeia*, a Roman-style statute that emphasised life-long membership. Instead, the founding members of the Ancyran *boule* were most probably originally chosen from a clearly defined and restricted social and property-owning class, their number subsequently maintained through the annual election of younger men from the same families to the junior magistracies, periodic additions of other notables being made when necessary or desired.

The day-to-day control of the Ancyran *boule* was vested in a group of magistrates collectively known as the *synarchia*.⁵⁸ An official usually known as the *protos archon*, or first magistrate, but occasionally recorded as the *synarchos* chaired the *synarchia*, and the epigraphic record provides the names of four men who held this position, two of them twice.⁵⁹ The existence of this office at Ancyra with further records that refer to other men (and one women) having simply held the rank of *archon*, with no qualifying adjective,⁶⁰ confirms that Ancyra's political constitution was close to that of Prusa, where the day-to-day workings of the *polis* were controlled by an executive college of five *archontes*, including the *protos archon*.⁶¹

The *synarchia* was aided in its duties by a number of other, but junior, magistrates, although it is not clear if all of these posts were filled by election or, indeed, even if they were annual appointments. Inscriptions suggest that two posts were held on a regular basis, of which one, the *agoranomos*, or 'market supervisor', was almost certainly appointed annually by the *ekklesia* or the *boule*.⁶² The other position, however, that of *eirenarchon*, or 'chief constable', was probably a gubernatorial appointment, a new *eirenarchon* being chosen (or re-confirmed) when a new governor assumed his position.⁶³ Two other posts were also probably 'irregular', in the sense that they were not filled on an annual basis. A *boulographos*, for one, was necessary only for ensuring that potential magistrates and members of the *boule* met the required property and other qualifications, while the *politographos* was needed only to determine who was eligible for membership of the *demos* and *ekklesia*.⁶⁴ It seems more than probable, therefore, that these positions were only filled every five years or so when a census of the *demos* was required. Such apart, the Ancyran inscriptions unfortunately provide no clear evidence for the ranking order – if any – in which these magistracies were held, although it does seem that the post of *boulographos* was above that of *politographos*.⁶⁵ More to the point, even though they

⁵⁷ Ephesus: Wankel 1979, no. 27, line 223; Tymandus: *CIL* 3.6866 = *ILS* 6090.

⁵⁸ Bosch 1967, no. 99; for other *synarchia*, cf. IGR 4.1294 (Julia Gordus); *Stud. Pont.* 3.141 (Amaseia); and Babelon 1898, no. 2165 (Antioch by Caria).

⁵⁹ Appendix 1.4.

⁶⁰ Appendix 1.5.

⁶¹ Ameling 1984, 24-25, and 1985, 38.

⁶² Appendix 1.6.

⁶³ Appendix 1.7.

⁶⁴ Appendix 1.8 and 1.9.

⁶⁵ Only Claudius Caecilius Hermianus (Bosch 1967, nos. 187 and 188) is recorded in more than one junior magistracy,

are not represented as yet in the epigraphic record, we should expect on the basis of the Bithynian evidence that Ancyra had the full range of other less politically and socially important posts that were nonetheless necessary (indeed vital) for the proper running of a *polis*: a *grammateus* (secretary); an *ekdikos* (lawyer); a *logistes* (public works commissioner); and a *dekaprotos* (tax officer).⁶⁶

The *Koinon* of the Galatians

Ancyra was the location for the principal provincial temple to the cult of Augustus and Roma, making the place the *neokoros*, or ‘temple warden’ of the Imperial Cult in Galatia. For some reason, however, this title was not used on the Ancyran coinage or on inscriptions until after the *polis* received its second *neokoria* during the reign of Gallienus (253-268).⁶⁷ It may have been that as Ancyra was the only obvious urbanized centre in Galatia, then it was not considered necessary to identify the place as *neokoros* until it received its second award.⁶⁸ Whatever the precise circumstances behind this delay, there can be no doubt that as Ancyra possessed *neokoros* status, it was also the centre for the socio-political and religious grouping known as the *koinon* or ‘commonality’ of the Galatians.⁶⁹

The precise function of the Galatian *koinon* remains elusive, although its main duty was the supervision of the imperial cult and its associated festivals, and thus logically the creation of the *koinon* at least belongs to the early years of the province of Galatia. The organizational structure of either the *koinon* or the imperial cult are likewise not entirely clear, although during the principate of Tiberius the imperial cult was headed by an annually elected man with the title of *hierophantes* of the god Augustus and the goddess Roma, and the majority of the office-holders in that period had a Hellenic-style single name and patronymic.⁷⁰ By the early 2nd century, however, the title had changed to that of *archiereus*, and it was sometimes more precisely qualified as the *archiereus* of the Galatian *koinon*.⁷¹ In addition, the position could now be held by either a man or woman, all of them with *tri* or *duo nomina*,⁷² and they were entitled by virtue of the rank to wear purple garments.⁷³ The change in titulature is unlikely to represent a simple move away from specific cults for particular emperors in favour of a single generic cult for all of

as *boulographos* and *politographos*, but the two inscriptions listing his offices are contradictory: one gives *politographos* then *boulographos*, the other the reverse. However, it seems the listing on the first inscription is more accurate, the second being somewhat confused.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ameling 1985, 19-23.

⁶⁷ Burrell 2004, 172-175, citing Mitchell 1982, no. 403, and coins of Gallienus, for which see now Arslan 2004, 190-214.

⁶⁸ Cf. Burrell 2004, 344.

⁶⁹ Cf. Price 1984, 15-16, and 18-19, on the equivalency between social, political and religious elements in the period.

⁷⁰ Bosch 1967, 30, and Mitchell 1986, 19; also Appendix 1.10.

⁷¹ Bosch 1967, no. 102, a man with the imperial *nomen gentilicium* Cocceius, indicating citizenship (probably) ultimately derived from the emperor Nerva, suggests the date.

⁷² Appendix 1.11.

⁷³ Mitchell 1977, 6.

them, as at least four Ancyrans who were *archiereis* were also *sebastophantei* at some point in their career:⁷⁴ this might indicate that there was a distinction between being the head priest of the imperial cult and the reigning emperor, and a more junior office as priest of the imperial family and/or deceased emperors. Alternatively, the *sebastophantes* may have been a civic official simply connected with the administration of the Temple to Augustus and Roma.⁷⁵

To confuse matters even further, several Ancyran inscriptions also report the office of *Galatarchon*, or ‘leader of the Galatians’. Moreover, some of the people thus recorded also held the office of *archiereus*, indicating they were not identical positions.⁷⁶ It could be, therefore, that the Galatian *koinon* had two principal post-holders, one the *hierophantes* or *archiereus*, responsible for all priestly and cultic activities, the other, the *Galatarchon*, dealing with all other socio-political matters.⁷⁷ In any case, this changeability and multiplicity of titles surely indicates that the organisation of the Galatian *koinon* and the Galatian Imperial Cult was neither imposed nor supervised from above, but was instead a purely local phenomenon.⁷⁸

When the imperial cult was originally established at Ancyra, its chief priests were expected to contribute to the welfare of the community, a type of euergetism that normally came in the form of ephemeral but satisfying gifts such as public shows and banquets, and donations of olive oil and grain.⁷⁹ Eventually, however, the Galatian *koinon* started to copy the long-established Hellenistic *poleis* of western Asia Minor, in instituting their own organised public festivals or *agones* on a four-yearly cycle. Consequently, although many of the Ancyran *archiereis* still gave the kinds of benefactions that their predecessors were famed for,⁸⁰ the *polis* was eventually host to three much more famous festivals, that known as the *Megala Augusteia Actia* probably being the earliest. The name indicates that it mirrored the Hellenic-style ‘games’ instituted at Nicopolis by Agrippa in 27 BC, although exactly when this festival was established at Ancyra has been the subject of debate. It is not referred to on the ‘priest-list’, and so it was presumably inaugurated some time after Tiberius, yet the earliest and only epigraphic evidence belongs to the mid-2nd century or later, while it is not named on the Ancyran coinage until the reign of Gallienus.⁸¹ An inaugural date under Valerian and Gallienus has been suggested, as most festivals named *Augusteia* are of that period:⁸² yet the style of the one inscription naming the event suggests an earlier date, and it would be quite natural for the Galatian tribes to honour their primary benefactor as early as was

⁷⁴ Appendix 1.12.

⁷⁵ Mitchell 1977, 74, with further references.

⁷⁶ Appendix 1.13: those both *archiereis* and *galatarchontes* are: Bosch 1967, nos. 100, 139, and 142.

⁷⁷ Cf. Rossner 1974.

⁷⁸ Cf. Mellor 1981, 1004.

⁷⁹ Cf. Bosch 1967, no. 51; Mitchell 1993, 108-111.

⁸⁰ E.g. C. Julius Severus: Bosch 1967, nos. 105-106.

⁸¹ Bosch 1967, no. 288; Arslan 2004, no. 223.

⁸² Robert 1960, 367.

possible. By contrast, the introduction of the second Ancyran festival, the *Agones Mystikoi*, an artistic event, can be precisely dated, for an inscription informs us it was inaugurated on 7 December 128.⁸³ As for the third festival, the *Megala Isopythia Asclepieia Sotereia (Antoneineia)*, this was evidently inaugurated during the reign of Caracalla, and was perhaps established on the personal initiative of Titus Flavius Gaius, an Ancyran ambassador to that princeps.⁸⁴

Each of these festivals was organised and supervised by an *agonothetes*, or ‘superintendent of the games’. The *agonothetai* in Ancyra were apparently elected to their particular festival as and when the occasion demanded, quite unlike the system in Prusa, where the presiding first archon automatically became the *agonothetes*,⁸⁵ and it might be speculated with a degree of certainty that those who were elected to these posts in Ancyra were people who saw the post as a means of winning higher office.⁸⁶ Yet while it doubtless won a person great popularity among the *hoi polloi*, it naturally would have incurred vast personal expense, especially so as the agonistic games increasingly became a professional rather than an amateur matter for the participants.⁸⁷ Hence, perhaps, the post of *agonothetes* of the Galatian *koinon*,⁸⁸ presumably responsible solely for those shows that were promoted or sponsored by the *koinon* itself – the *Megala Augusteia Actia*?

THE PHYSICAL TOPOGRAPHY

After surveying the political background of Ancyra, *metropolis* of the province of Galatia, it remains to consider the physical effect of its elevation to a provincial centre, a natural starting point being to what extent Lollius or any of his successors might have materially assisted the people of Ancyra with the introduction of a physical infrastructure for their new *polis*. As it is, the whole question of ‘imperial involvement’ in the urbanisation of the ‘barbarian’ provinces – a group to which Galatia belongs – is one of those issues in Roman archaeology for which opinion perennially swings from one extreme to the other. Briefly stated, the evidence for the existence or the extent of any ‘hands-on’ activity on behalf of the imperial administration is both scant and contradictory, but it nonetheless does exist: thus it becomes a matter of squaring the circle. For example, Dio, with a dramatic date immediately before AD 9, claims that in Gallia-Germania, ‘*poleis* were being founded (and) the barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, becoming accustomed to holding markets, and meeting in

⁸³ Bosch 1967, no. 128; cf. Robert 1960, 367-368, and Oliver 1989, 96A-C.

⁸⁴ Bosch 1967, nos. 246 and 249-253, and Mitchell 1977, nos. 7 and 8; cf. also Robert 1960, 360-365. The date the games were introduced is shown by local coins of Caracallan date, the most common types showing a single agonistic urn or an (oil) amphora, with a palm branch: Arslan 2004, nos. 150-161.

⁸⁵ Ameling 1984, 24-25.

⁸⁶ At least two of the five known *agonothetai* became high priests: Gaius Julius Severus (Bosch 1967, 105-106) and Tiberius Claudius Procillianus (Bosch 1967, no. 142).

⁸⁷ Cf. Bosch 1967, no. 246, and Mitchell 1977, no. 8, with Robert 1960.

⁸⁸ Appendix 1.15.

peaceful assemblages', but nowhere does he hint at any official physical involvement in the process.⁸⁹ Tacitus, on the other hand, when describing the activities of his father-in-law Agricola while governor of Britannia in 77-84 gives him a more active role, claiming that he 'urged individuals and helped communities to build temples, public squares and houses'.⁹⁰

The probability is that as a rule, Rome took a laissez-faire approach to the matter of how any newly created city-state proceeded to create for itself an appropriate urban centre. So long as a centralized place existed for the proper administration of the designated territory and above all the collection of taxes, then the physical form of that centre was of little concern to Rome itself. As we learn from Pausanias, and the oft quoted example of Panopeus in Phokis, even as late as the early 2nd century, a *polis* in the strict sense, as an independent political unity, did not require an urbanised centre for its successful internal administration and government: physical amenities such as government offices and a market place, or a gymnasium and a theatre, never mind fountains and a water supply, were quite simply not essential in political terms.⁹¹ But it should not be forgotten that Pausanias drew attention to Panopeus precisely because it was unique in the Hellenic world, for the general opinion held that, just as Plato opined, a *polis* was a physical reality, not a theoretical concept, and a place that included, *inter alia*, civic buildings, *gymnasia* for the young and warm baths for the old, as well as the other amenities needed to satisfy the demands of its *politai*.⁹²

Likewise for Rome, for the law codes dealing with who was and who was not a resident of a *civitas* defines the first group as those who have access to and use of its civic amenities, explicitly defined as a forum, a bath house (*balneum*), regular shows (*spectacula*) and organised religious feast days (*festi dies*), and thus by implication, temples.⁹³ Similarly for writers of the Roman period, as with Lucretius, who described the growth of Rome in terms of its rise to a city-state, while Tacitus stressed how the '*urbium cultus*' was the defining fact of civilized life.⁹⁴ Aelius Aristides, for his part, noted that 'the whole civilized world' was formed of 'localities full of *gymnasia*, fountains ... (and) temples', Tertullian adding that *fora* and *balnea* were among God's gifts to mankind (although he defended a Christian's right not to participate in certain communal activities such as *spectacula* and temple maintenance).⁹⁵ Philostratus claimed that after the gods and religion, man's primary need was for the city, a theme echoed by Cassiodorus, who was at pains to emphasise the civilizing influence of the urban centre.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ Dio 56.18.2.

⁹⁰ Tacitus *Agr.* 21.

⁹¹ Pausanias 10.34.

⁹² Plato *Res.* 2.369b, and *Leg.* 6.761c.

⁹³ *Digest* 50.1.27.1 (Ulpian), and 50.1.53 (Modestus).

⁹⁴ Lucretius 5.925-1240; Tacitus *Ann.* 2.52.

⁹⁵ Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 97; Tertullian *Apol.* 42.2, 4-7, and 9.

⁹⁶ Philostratus *Ep. Apol.* 11; Cassiodorus *Ep. Var.* 8.31.

These references make it clear that – Panopeus apart – the classical city was not just a political entity. It was a place with a concentration of people where the appropriate public buildings and facilities could be found to facilitate a shared life-style and communal activities, whether these activities were politics, religion, or leisure. Yet the precise stimulus that occasioned newly annexed groups of people to re-locate and create an urban centre in those newly formed provinces that lacked these entities, such as Galatia, remains obscure. Tacitus, however, gives a clue: according to him, with Agricola's encouragement the British aristocracy, 'who had previously disdained the Roman language now most wanted to be articulate in it. Then they gave prestige to our form of dress and the toga began to be commonly seen. Slowly they adopted those charming vices, porticoes, bath-houses and smart dinner parties, those things which are called civilisation ...'.⁹⁷ In other words, while there was a degree of positive official encouragement, and quite possibly some direct sponsorship (in the form of tax relief) in the 'Romanisation' of Britannia, the principal impetus came from the British aristocracy itself.

In which case, therefore, we might assume that the urbanisation and monumentalisation of Ancyra occurred simply because the richest and most influential members of Galatian society desired this to be the case, once they had learnt to associate urban life with civilisation. After all, while Deiotarus' *nea polis* might have been a stillborn project, the Galatian aristocracy was credited with being 'near' civilised in the Hellenic sense: hence the common use of the term '*Gallo-Graeci*' to refer to them.⁹⁸ That being so, the re-location of the aristocracy to a fixed political centre, and its embellishment with suitable public buildings, physically expressed their possession of *politeia*, and showed a willingness to adopt a new *bios*, a new lifestyle, in the same way that other 'barbarian' territories annexed by Rome set about transforming themselves.⁹⁹ Hence the abandonment of the established ancestral centres in favour of a new site where a suitably urbanised centre could be established *de novo*, with the appropriate allocation of land within it for the Galatian aristocracy and for the building of its monuments.

The Urban Framework (Fig 1)

Archaeology will not (unfortunately) allow us to identify the precise stages in the processes that led to the monumentalisation of Ancyra. It is commonly assumed that a primary step in the formation of a new classical city was the creation of an orthogonal street plan, although this was apparently not as essential as is often assumed.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, such orthogonal plans were usual and the presence of a regular street-grid in the newly formed *polis* of Ancyra would at the very least point to a communal decision by the local aristocracy and the *koinon* of the Galatians to create an urban centre on the Hellenic model. In which case, it is of interest that von Vincke's 1839 plan of Angora

⁹⁷ Tacitus *Agricola* 21.

⁹⁸ E.g. Strabo 12.5.1 (566), and Livy 38.17.9.

⁹⁹ Cf. Strabo 4.1.5 (180-181), and 4.1.12 (187), with regard to the process in Massilia and Narbonensis.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. MacDonald 1986, 17-31.

indicates that certain of the contemporary street and property alignments conformed to a regular north-south and east-west pattern:¹⁰¹ it is therefore a reasonable assumption that this regular pattern originated in an earlier planned layout of classical date.¹⁰²

This conjecture finds some support in a number of correspondences between the 19th century plan of Angora and observed or inferred details of Graeco-Roman Ancyra. To begin with, when von Vincke prepared his plan, the focus of Ottoman Angora was the open space which later became the original centre of the Republican capital, and which is now represented by the Hükümet Meydanı, or 'Government Square'. Before the creation of the Turkish Republic and the construction of office buildings around this space, the Temple to Augustus and Roma evidently dominated it from the east, while the so-called 'Column of Julian' originally stood at the southwest of this area before it was moved to its present position in the centre during the 1920's.¹⁰³ Such ceremonial columns would naturally occupy a prominent public place at the time of their erection, which, together with the relationship between the square and the Temple to Augustus and Roma, strongly suggests that this open space could well be of some antiquity, and thus the location of the *agora* of classical Ancyra, a place indicated by the previously mentioned post of *agoranomos*. Indeed, such speculation might find support from the excavations on the Ulus Eski Çarşısı site in 1995-1996 (Fig1.1), on the south side of the square, for these revealed the back wall of a north-facing building at least 31 m long: while the date of this structure remains to be determined, both its scale and style suggest it belonged to a substantial edifice, conceivably a *stoa*, as would be usual along one side of an *agora*.¹⁰⁴

Whether or not the Hükümet Meydanı represents the descendant of the *agora* of classical Ancyra, there is other circumstantial evidence to support the idea that the place had an orthogonal plan. For example, one of the 19th century streets recorded by von Vincke appears to correspond with the 5.8 m. wide classical-period north-south avenue, with 1.5 m. wide pavements on either side, found at the Ulus Eski Çarşısı site (Fig 1.1). In addition, at least one building in Ancyra, the 'Askeri Cezaevi' bath-house in Soğukkuyu (Fig 1.5), is aligned exactly on a north-south and west-east axis in such a way as to suggest it occupies a previously defined rectangular space – in other words, an *insula*. From this admittedly circumstantial evidence, then on the basis of von Vincke's plan, it can be inferred that Ancyra was provided with an orthogonal layout with regular *insulae* in the order of 140-160 m. square. If so, there is one clear exception to this arrangement, namely the northwest – southeast colonnaded street located in 1931 immediately north of the Çankırıkapı Bath-house.¹⁰⁵ However, this could well preserve the line of a pre-

¹⁰¹ Eyice 1971, Pl. 39. These arrangements were substantially altered and modified during the re-urbanisation of Angora in the 1920's and 1930's, following the decision to make it the capital of the newly created Republic, to the extent that the present street and property plan of the Ulus and adjacent districts bears little resemblance to that of 19th century Angora.

¹⁰² Cf. the situation at Antioch on the Orontes, where substantial sections of the original planned street layout are preserved in the street system and property boundaries of modern Antakya: Poccardi 2001.

¹⁰³ Akok 1955, Fig. 2: the decoration of the column's capital suggests it is probably a 6th century monument: cf. Kautzsch 1936, 202.

¹⁰⁴ Temiszoy, *et al.*, 1996, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Dalman 1932, 122-133, and Fig. 3.

existing route, and quite probably that of the ancient trans-Anatolian highway linking Ancyra and Gordion via a ford or bridge over the Ankara Çayı.

The Temple to Augustus and Roma (Fig 1.2a and 2b; and Fig 2)

Making the collective decision to found a new urban centre from scratch with an orthogonal plan was one thing: giving it the appropriate buildings and physical infrastructure was another, and such was the case in the new province of Galatia. The monumentalisation of Ancyra was a slow process, as it depended entirely on the availability of architects, craftsmen, and manpower; access to suitable building stone and other necessary materials; and above all the resources of the local aristocracy. Thus the earliest securely dated building of Graeco-Roman Ancyra, its Temple to Augustus and Roma, was not completed until the early years of the reign of Tiberius, some forty years after the province of Galatia was formed.

The date of this building is indicated by the well-known ‘priest list’ inscribed on the left-hand *anta* of the *pronaos*. It begins with an introduction stating that this is a list of those who were the successive ‘priests of the Galatian koinon for the god Augustus and the goddess Roma’, virtually certifying that this structure was the principal cult temple of the Galatian *koinon*.¹⁰⁶ These men are listed in their order of office, along with details of the benefactions that all of them except one provided during their annual term of office, while the palaeography indicates that in each case, the individual name and relevant details were added during or at the end of each priest’s term of office. However, although the list begins with the title of the priesthood, followed by the names of three consecutive priests of the cult and their benefactions, it is then interrupted by a single line entry indicating that a man identified by his *nomen* as Metilius was in office as governor of Galatia. The list then continues with the names of another 17 or so priests of Augustus and Roma, along with their benefactions, where appropriate, but it is broken up into groups at intervals corresponding to every four or five years by the names of Metilius’ successors.¹⁰⁷ More to the point, the last named governor on the list, Basila, can be securely dated as governor of Galatia in the closing years of Tiberius’ reign, revealing that the beginning of the list - and thus the first use of the temple as a completed building - cannot be any earlier than about 18/19.¹⁰⁸ To which it can be added that while the name of the presiding governor is a constant repetitive feature in the list, it is absent from the beginning, suggesting that the list as it survives is a continuation of one that existed elsewhere. This tends to confirm that work on the temple must have started before c. 18/19, and suggests that the consent for its construction (and perhaps for the Imperial Cult itself) was given immediately after Augustus’ death in AD 14.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Mitchell 1986, 18.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bosch 1967, no. 51; Mitchell 1986, 28-29, and 1993, 108.

¹⁰⁸ Mitchell 1986, 28-29, and 1993, 108; Leschhorn 1992, 334-336.

¹⁰⁹ This would only allow four years or so from the start to the finish of the temple. Such is not impossible, for the Temple to Jupiter Tonans in Rome, a building of apparently modest size (Augustus allegedly called it the lobby of the

Busbecq, Ferdinand I's ambassador to Süleyman the Great in 1553-1555, was the first to report on the temple in post-classical times. Academic interest in the building subsequently focused on the *Res Gestae* - Mommsen's 'Queen of inscriptions' - the Latin text carved on the inner walls of the *pronaos*, the Greek text on the outer south-east face of the *cella*, in both cases, the in-situ masonry surfaces having been smoothed down to receive the text. Thus it was not until 1926 that the site was archaeologically explored for the first time, further work being carried out in 1928, and again in 1939.¹¹⁰ This revealed that the substructure of the *crepidoma* consisted of a grid based on a series of 6 m. deep piers, the load-bearing supports for the columns, which were linked at a higher level by a series of low walls to help distribute the weight of the temple superstructure, and also act as coffer-dams to contain the earth, clay and rubble fill that formed the foundation for the stylobate and the temple pavement.¹¹¹ It is a method of construction that accords with the description provided by Vitruvius for such work, and thus not too much should be made of the similarity in the technique used here and for the foundation of the temple at Pessinus.¹¹²

The outer edge of the *crepidoma* consisted of a continuous line of blocks tied together with swallow-clamps, and calculations showed that the temple platform was accessed by a flight of nine steps.¹¹³ However, the original form of the temple superstructure has been the cause of debate. The excavated evidence showed that the foundations of the *peristasis* and the *pronaos* were built together, and that the overall form of the structure was that of an octastyle pseudo-dipteral building with a tetrastyle prostyle *pronaos* and a distyle *in antis opisthodomos*. The use of this plan, and certain aspects of the ornamentation on the *cella* walls, convinced the excavators that the temple belonged to the 2nd century BC. As it was, the earliest examples of Ancyra's coinage that were then known, of Neronian date, depicted an Ionic tetrastyle temple, but no octastyle structure was shown on the coinage until the time of Caracalla. The excavators consequently concluded that there had been a lengthy delay in the construction of this building, resulting in the *cella* standing by itself for a long period, and thus the tetrastyle building shown on the Neronian coinage was the tetrastyle *cella* of the unfinished temple, its completion with the octastyle *peristasis* being celebrated on the coins of Caracalla.¹¹⁴ From this combination of 'evidence', the excavators suggested that the temple might have been originally intended for a local Anatolian god, perhaps Mên, with or without his consort, Meter Theon, and that it was only later adapted for use by the Imperial Cult.¹¹⁵

nearby Temple to Jupiter Capitolinus: Suetonius *Aug.* 29.1 and 91), was vowed in 26 BC and consecrated four years later in 22 BC: cf. Richardson 1992, 226-227; and Hasselberger, et al, 2002, 157.

¹¹⁰ Krencker and Schede 1936, 9; Koşay 1957 a and b; Guterbock 1989.

¹¹¹ Krencker and Schede 1936, 23-26, 38 and 30.

¹¹² Vitruvius *De Arch.* 3.4; cf. Waelkens 1986, 39-42.

¹¹³ Krencker and Schede 1936, 43.

¹¹⁴ Krencker and Schede 1936, 13, 23-27, and 42-43; cf. Guterbock 1989, 156-157.

¹¹⁵ Krencker and Schede 1936, 40-42; cf. Tuchelt 1985, 317-319, and Varinlioğlu 1992.

Doubts were immediately cast on this theory,¹¹⁶ and subsequently a very detailed analysis of the separate architectural elements, verified that the temple was designed as an octastyle pseudo-dipteral building in the Corinthian Order in the late Augustan period, and completed as such under Tiberius, when the ‘priest list’ began to be inscribed on the left-hand *anta*.¹¹⁷ That the structure is purely Hellenistic in form and was not designed in an ‘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, is to be explained by structures of the later type as having been commissioned by Italic colonists.¹¹⁸ More to the point, given its location and date, the finished temple must have dwarfed anything else then standing in Ancyra, especially if, as is possible, it was surrounded by a *temenos* wall enclosing the entire summit of the Ulus hill. Such is suggested by a c. 55 m. length of walling running parallel to and 40.75 m. distant from the north-west side of the cella (Fig. 1.2b), for although the visible superstructure is certainly late Roman in style and defensive in character (it includes at least two square towers), it apparently stands on foundations built in an ‘early Roman’ manner some 10 m. below the level of the temple’s *crepidoma*.¹¹⁹ Whether or not such a *temenos* wall did exist, the decision to build and complete the temple does in itself, as S. Mitchell commented, mark a crucial step in the advance of civic life at Ancyra,¹²⁰ on a par with the decision by the Galatian aristocracy to relocate to and focus urban development on this area.

The Theatre (Fig 1.3, and Fig. 3)

Ancyra’s theatre, discovered on the western slopes of the Kale Hill in 1982,¹²¹ is quite likely to have been among the buildings constructed in the initial stages of the monumentalisation of Ancyra. After all, theatres expressed Hellenisation, for they were an indispensable adjunct to the Hellenic *bios*, and the entertainments held in them a vital aspect of civic life. The structure itself, however, is purely Roman in design, for it was built in the 180 degree Roman style with a storied *scaenae frons*, not the open horseshoe plan favoured in the Hellenic world. Indeed, there is a degree of similarity in the overall design of this building with the late Flavian south theatre at Gerasa in modern Jordan, for both share the unusual feature of conjoined *itineria versurae* and *aditus maximi*, a plan not apparently found elsewhere in Anatolia.¹²² This might indicate they are of a similar date, especially as that the earliest pottery found at the Ancyra theatre site belongs to the same period, and that swallow-tail clamps were used extensively in its construction. Whether or not the architect responsible for the Ancyra theatre was familiar with the plan of that at

¹¹⁶ Wiegand 1937, 419.

¹¹⁷ Waelkens 1986, 48-57, and 57; cf. Mitchell 1986, 29.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Waelkens 1986, 71.

¹¹⁹ Mamboury 1949, 97 and 100, suggesting it was part of an enclosure wall measuring 118 x 156 m.

¹²⁰ Mitchell 1986, 33.

¹²¹ Bayburtluoğlu 1986. The following structural and other details regarding the theatre are all taken from that report with the addition of more recent personal observation.

¹²² Cf. Bennett 2003, 5-6.

Flavian Gerasa, however, he certainly made the maximum use of the topography in his design. Thus the *ima cavea* and the central section of the *summa cavea* were carved from the bedrock, while the remainder was built of andesite, local 'marble' being used for decorative details.

Although the structure had been badly robbed in antiquity, doubtless in connection with the building of the medieval defences on the Kale hill, sufficient survived to show that 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. Above this was a further 10 or 12 rows of seating in the *summa cavea*, giving an overall diameter for the theatre of c. 56 m. The *scaenae frons* still visible at the site is clearly part of the original plan, and has the usual three doorways, while putlogs show that it was originally provided with a wooden floor. The currently visible *proscena*, on the other hand, which uses both brick and stone blocks in its construction, is equally evidently a later addition of more than one phase, and perhaps replaces an earlier timber version. Despite such indications of economy in construction, the *scaenae frons* was decorated with statuary, which included a cloaked male figure, possibly an emperor; a seated philosopher(?); and a standing Pudicitia figure: the only piece of architectural embellishment found at the site, however, was a voussoir in the form of a Silenus head.

The Çankırıkapı Bath-house (Fig 1.4, and Fig 4)

Ancyra's principal public bath-house, the Çankırıkapı Bath-house, was first investigated in 1931, when the building of Çankırı Caddesi revealed an open area surrounded by a series of rooms.¹²³ Then identified as the 'forum' of Roman Ancyra, it was correctly recognized as the palaestra of a bath-house after further excavations in 1938-44,¹²⁴ and it is now classed with that group of Anatolian bath-houses defined as the 'Bath-gymnasium' type, in which the Roman-style bath-house is built together with a large Hellenic-type gymnasium.¹²⁵ Indeed, it may have been among the largest of its type, for if it were ever completed, then it would have covered an area of about 160 x 200 m.. However, excavation of the extreme south-east of the complex in 1944 uncovered walls and rooms of a completely dissimilar plan to those on the north west, and while the published report of this work provides no information of their date or their physical relationship with the bath-house proper, their method of construction shows they belong to the late- or even post-Roman period.¹²⁶

As designed, the Çankırıkapı bath-house was certainly an ambitious edifice, with a *palaestra* that had 32 columns on each side (thus 128 in total), each one c. 6 m. high with Corinthian capitals. The central room on the northeast side may have been a 'Kaisersaal', while the rooms to the north were presumably offices, the paired rooms found on the

¹²³ Dalman 1932, 121-32.

¹²⁴ Arik 1937, 49-51; Dolunay 1941, 264-266; Akok 1968.

¹²⁵ Yegül 1995, 251-313

¹²⁶ Akok 1955, 311-315 and Fig. 3, and 1968, fig 6.

northwest and southeast sides of the *palaestra* perhaps being libraries and/or lecture halls. The bath-house proper was built of alternating courses of 4-rows of brick and of andesite blocks, with local 'marble' for the decorative details, and it was fronted by a range of three rooms, the central one with a *natatio*, flanked by hypocausted rooms that were presumably *apodyteria*. Behind this front range was a centrally-located *tepidarium*, with a plunge-pool and other rooms, the rear of the complex being taken up by the *caldarium* with its associated external furnaces. A number of service corridors, some underground, provided the access routes for maintenance, and there was evidence that the superstructure was lavishly decorated with floor and vault mosaics, marble veneer, statues, and sculptured friezes, including a figure playing a cithara.¹²⁷

The date of the Çankırıkapı Bath-house is uncertain. It is usually assigned to the early third 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.¹²⁸ Some have even linked its construction with Ancyran inscriptions recording an emperor 'Marcus Aurelius Antoninus', suggesting a visit by Caracalla on his way to the east in 215, for it is known that many of the eastern *poleis* began ambitious building projects in anticipation or in hope of his visit.¹²⁹ However, one Tiberius Julius Justus Julianus, named as *archiereus* and *ktistes* ('founder') of the *metropolis* Ancyra, is usually credited with the construction of the Çankırıkapı Bath-house as a series of matching inscriptions stylistically dated to the third century, and erected by the *phylai* of Ancyra, honour him for his gift of a *balaneion* to the *polis*, it being assumed that this must be the same structure.¹³⁰ This could be the case. But the whole basis of the argument is that most of the coins found at the Çankırıkapı Bath-house are from the reign of Caracalla, yet all they really show is that the complex was in use at the time these coins were in circulation - and it must in any case be remembered that (on the basis of the number of types), Ancyra's most prolific coining period was under Caracalla. Moreover, the dating of either an inscription or a building method on stylistic grounds is a most inexact science, to which it must be added that a structure of the magnitude seen in the Çankırıkapı Bath-house would be better described as a *thermae*.¹³¹ The whole point being that an earlier date for the construction of this complex is possible, and is indeed suggested by the fragments of an architrave found on the site in 1931, decorated in what was then at least considered to be a 'Hadrianic' style.¹³²

The Aqueduct (Fig 1.10)

Although the Çankırıkapı Bath-house is located only about 200 m. from the Ankara Çayı, it is some 45 m. above this stream, and it was supplied with the necessary

¹²⁷ Dolunay 1941, Pls. 84 and 85.

¹²⁸ Cf. Dolunay 1941, 266; Foss 1977, 62 and 87; Arslan 1996; also Dodge 1987, 112, on the building method.

¹²⁹ Bosch 1967, no. 260; Mitchell 1977, 64-65; cf. Dio 77.9.6-7.

¹³⁰ Bosch 1948, and 1967, nos. 255-258; cf. Broughton 1938, 778; Erzen 1946, 98-99; Mitchell 1993, 114-116 and 214.

¹³¹ Cf. Yegül 1992, 488, on the distinction between the two terms.

¹³² Dalman 1932, 125; cf. Cooke 1998, 47.

water by a conduit that approached the site from the south-east.¹³³ This in turn was probably fed by the aqueduct of the inverted siphon type that crossed the valley of the Ankara Çayı east of the Kale hill, and whose line was indicated by the pierced blocks of andesite found at the Cebeci railway station and at the Saraç Sinan mosque in 1944-45, more than thirty others being re-used in the nearby early medieval defences on the south-eastern summit of the Kale hill.¹³⁴ The blocks used for this conduit are on average 65 x 65 cm in section, and 55 cm. deep, with a bore of about 16 cm. Each has a raised flange or 'male' joint at one end, generally 30 cm. in diameter, and the other end having the recessed 'female' receptor joint, at 32 cm. diameter. The joints were sealed with a white lime-based mortar, while several blocks have a hole in the upper surface for cleaning purposes, others having both upper and lateral holes, indicating they were junction pipes. The origin of this aqueduct system is unknown, although as it evidently passed through the Atpazarı Meydanı, at an elevation of about 980 m. then its source was probably the headwaters of the Ankara Çayı on the northwest slope of the Elma- or Küredağı, some 30 km. southeast of Ancyra.¹³⁵ In which case a *castellum divisorium* structure perhaps existed somewhere in the area of Atpazarı Meydanı, to filter and aerate the supply, before the aqueduct continued down the line of Anafartalar Caddesi, where it was located in 1947-48.¹³⁶ The date of the system is also unknown, although the earliest known inverted siphon system in Asia Minor is thought to be that at Patara, built in the Flavian period.¹³⁷

Other Buildings (Figs 1.5 and 5)

Remarkably little has been fully reported concerning any other buildings of Roman Ancyra. For example, although the north-south street found on the Ulus Eski Çarşısı site (Fig. 1.1) was lined with a series of back-to-back rooms on the west, apparently part of a single 24 m. wide building, and another building(s) was located on the east, their exact date, form and function are yet to be determined.¹³⁸ Likewise very few details – yet excellent plans, section and reconstructions drawings - are available for the remarkably well-preserved hypocausted building found at the Soğukkuyu 'Askeri Cezaevi' site in 1946 (Fig 1.5 and Fig. 5).¹³⁹ This measured some 30 x 30 m, with walls still standing up to 4 m., and it would seem to have been a bath-house of bi-axial type, the construction method, of alternating rows of bricks and andesite, suggesting a 'late' rather than an 'early' Roman date. It was elaborately decorated, with black and white marble flooring and wall veneers, and provided with subterranean service tunnels, but it cannot be determined if it was a private or a civic building. However, its relatively small size and

¹³³ Firatlı 1951, 352-353.

¹³⁴ Firatlı 1951, 350-351.

¹³⁵ Mamboury 1937, 138-139, and Firatlı 1951, 350.

¹³⁶ Firatlı 1951, 351.

¹³⁷ Coulton 1987, 80; cf. Hodge 1995, 147-160, for a general discussion of the inverted siphon aqueduct system.

¹³⁸ Temizsoy, *et al.*, 1996, Pls. 1 and 2.

¹³⁹ Akok 1955, 322-29.

the presence of adjacent rooms terraced into the hill slope, and also what seems to have been a courtyard wall, suggests this structure was a private complex, to be associated with a large town house.

Much less is known and quite probably will never be known concerning the very few other recorded remnants of classical Ancyra's buildings. For example, it seems almost certain that comparatively recent building work has destroyed whatever was left of the building found in 1947 at the Nurettin Ersoy Otel site, directly east of the Çankırıkapı Bath-house (Fig 1.6).¹⁴⁰ This structure, apparently abandoned and/or destroyed in the 3rd century, had at least one apsidal room with a hypocaust and floors of *opus signinum*, while some of its walls were covered with frescoes incorporating geometrical designs, others having a marble veneer. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that continued excavation will reveal more about the nature and date of the hypocausted room found to the south-west of the Çankırıkapı Bath-house in 2002, for field observations suggests that rather than being part of the nearby complex, it is quite probably a private town house of the same type as that found at the Nurettin Ersoy Otel site.¹⁴¹ As for any other buildings of early Roman date in Ancyra, however, the available evidence is perfunctory at best, although Roman structures were observed during work on the west slope of the Kale hill,¹⁴² at the sites of the Second Grand National Assembly Building (Fig 1.7) and the Ziraat Bankası (Fig 1.8),¹⁴³ and also during the construction of the Belediye (Fig 1.9), where one of Ancyra's most important surviving art works, the life-size bronze *imago clipeata* of Trajan, was found.¹⁴⁴ Somewhat further away from the traditional centre of Ancyra, other building remains and a roadway have been reported at the former Halk Evisi, now the National Museum of Art and Sculpture,¹⁴⁵ while several 'Roman' tombs and the remains of a further bath-house, decorated with mosaics were observed in the vicinity of the Railway Station and in the adjacent Gençlik Park.¹⁴⁶

To supplement the physical remains, some other aspects of Ancyra's urban topography can be deduced from those inscriptions that either specifically refer to standing buildings, or which imply the existence of buildings or areas set aside for specific purposes. For example, several of the benefactions in the 'priest-list' refer to gifts of olive oil, implying that as early as the reign of Tiberius, Ancyra possessed a gymnasium, a touchstone of Hellenic cultural values.¹⁴⁷ Likewise there are several references in the same list to the entire range of Roman *spectacula*, including gladiatorial (one event involving 50 pairs); equestrian (including chariot racing – at Rome itself, the

¹⁴⁰ Akok 1955, 315-322.

¹⁴¹ Denizli, et al., 2003, 10.

¹⁴² Arık, 1937, 47-49.

¹⁴³ Akok 1955, Fig. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Gülekli 1948, 89 and fig 11; cf. Bennett 2001, Pl. 2D.

¹⁴⁵ Arık, 1937, 47-49; Akok 1955, Fig. 1.

¹⁴⁶ Jerphanion 1926, 223; Koşay 1939, 61.

¹⁴⁷ This could just possibly be the same as the 'gymnasion of Polyeidos' referred to on a late Roman inscription: cf. Bosch 1967, no. 289, with no. 306.

sport par excellence); and *venationes* (with bulls and wild-animals). To which it might be added that the phrasing indicates that these activities took place in the immediate vicinity of the temple itself, although this does not mean that there was a permanent structure devoted for the performance of these *spectacula* – whether in the form of an amphitheatre or a circus.¹⁴⁸ Gladiatorial games, for example, which continued to be popular at Ancyra well into the imperial period,¹⁴⁹ could be held in any open space within or close to the city, if suitably enclosed and provided with seating on a temporary basis.¹⁵⁰ Consequently, these events at the least could well have been held in the *agora*, and perhaps at a later date in the theatre. The equestrian and other animal events, on the other hand, demanded a large open space, and they perhaps took place at the Ancyran locality named as ‘*Campus*’ in late Roman sources.¹⁵¹ This was quite possibly the low-lying U-shaped valley located between the Temple to Augustus and Roma and the theatre, and which the Central Dolmuş Station now occupies, for this forms a natural circus arena.

Later inscriptions attest to the existence of a range of other buildings in Graeco-Roman Ancyra. Five almost identical texts, to begin with, honour Tiberius Julius Justus Junianus for providing many buildings to the city, among them a *balaneion*, which, as already noted, may be the same as the Çankırıkapı Bath-house.¹⁵² The majority of the other inscriptions, however, are much less specific. Thus Titus Octavius Rufus, who describes himself as a senator, gave a building of uncertain function to Ancyra, as did the former phylarch Zotikos, whose gift was apparently located within a park.¹⁵³ Cocceius Seleucos, on the other hand, commissioned a structure that was apparently made of white marble, while Titus Co... contributed a building that required an architrave.¹⁵⁴ Two much later texts, however, commemorating the work of unknown benefactors, are much more instructive. One, for example, reports the restoration of a building referred to as the ‘*gymnasion* of Polyeidos’,¹⁵⁵ while the other commemorates the restoration and repair of several structures, including the ‘Hall of Polyeidos’ (presumably the same building as the *gymnasion*); the ‘building of Theodotus’; the aqueduct and the water distribution system; the prison; the re-roofing of an unidentified building and the ‘*palatium*’, and the ‘marbalisation’ of a second unnamed edifice.¹⁵⁶

To the epigraphic evidence we should add those literary sources and coin-types that also give evidence for the urban topography of Ancyra. First among these is

¹⁴⁸ Purpose-built amphitheatres are in any case exceedingly rare in Asia Minor, surviving examples only being known of at Pergamum, Cyzicus, and Anazarbos.

¹⁴⁹ E.g., Bosch 1967, nos. 149-152, 188-194 and 276; and Mitchell 1977: 72-75; Erzen 1946, 97-98.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the timber amphitheatre erected for a two month period recorded on an inscription at Antioch by Pisidia: Mitchell and Waelkens 1988, 224-225.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Mitchell 1982b, 104-105

¹⁵² Bosch 1967, 254-258.

¹⁵³ Bosch 1967, nos. 167 and 201.

¹⁵⁴ Bosch 1967, nos. 102 and 145.

¹⁵⁵ Bosch 1967, no. 289.

¹⁵⁶ Bosch 1967, no. 306: the *palatium* could well be the same structure as the ‘*praetorium*’ referred to in the Life of St. Clement, who was executed under Diocletian: cf. Mitchell 1982b, 104-105.

Pausanias' record of the Ancyra Temple of Zeus, presumably dedicated to either Zeus Trapezeus or Zeus Taenos, while as Apollo was the favoured deity at Ancyra in the early 4th century, there was probably also a temple in his honour.¹⁵⁷ Then there are references in the Life of St. Plato, a mid-3rd century Ancyran martyr, to the 'basilica' opposite the 'Temple of Zeus' where he was tried before being executed at the '*Campus*'.¹⁵⁸ Ancyra's coinage, on the other hand, although comparatively prolific in producing pieces with temple-types on the reverse, is less helpful with reconstructing the physical appearance of the *polis*.¹⁵⁹ In only four cases can the various di-, tetra-, hexa-, octa- and decastyle structures shown on these coins be associated with any specific temple in Ancyra: the limits of die-engraving capability and flan-size meant that even if the temple-type depicted on the obverse of these coins was intended to represent a specific building, the die engraver often chose or was forced to show this in a stylised way. Thus all that can be said of the many types available is that there is a strong probability that those coins showing an octastyle temple associated with an eagle or a shield in the pediment are generally likely to be illustrations of the Temple of Augustus and Roma, while the one octastyle type (of Caracalla) that shows an anchor is presumably meant to be the Temple to Zeus reported by Pausanias. Those coins that show the local Anatolian deity Mên with either a di- or hexastyle temple, on the other hand, presumably indicate a temple in his honour – but exactly what its architectural style was cannot be ascertained from the coins themselves.¹⁶⁰ Then there is the large number of types issued under Nerva showing a hexastyle temple, but while this might well indicate a cult building commissioned by him, they could equally well commemorate some other benefaction awarded to Ancyra during his reign. Finally, it needs to be observed that while there was evidently a temple built in honour of Gallienus, allowing Ancyra to claim its second neokorate, the coins that commemorate this structure are of the most basic type, and of no use at all in assessing its actual form.¹⁶¹

CONCLUSION

This essay began with the stated intention of rescuing the archaeology of Graeco-Roman Ancyra from obscurity to give it the primacy it deserves as the *metropolis* of the province of Galatia. More to the point, it was hoped that in doing so, it would establish firstly, to what extent Ancyra or its inhabitants were 'Romanised'; and secondly, expose to wider view the comparative wealth of material that demonstrates the extent to which Ancyra had the required features of a true classical city: a defined political system; public and civic buildings; and a communal life revolving around shared cultic and leisure activities.

¹⁵⁷ Pausanias. 1.4.5; cf. the *V Dios Trapezôn*, and the *XII Dios Taenôn*; for Apollo, cf. Mitchell 1982b, 94.

¹⁵⁸ Mitchell 1982b, 104-105.

¹⁵⁹ Appendix 2.

¹⁶⁰ Arslan 2004, 32-34 (Galba, showing a hexastyle structure), and 64-65 (Trajan, with a distyle structure).

¹⁶¹ Cf. Arslan 2004, 209 and 210, with two opposed distyle temples, the usual way of indicating that a place was twice *neokoros*, although in this case no emphasis should be placed on the reality of the representation: cf. Burrell 2004, 174.

To deal with the second of these matters first, the evidence for the urbanization of Ancyra at a relatively high level is there, most clearly in the epigraphic record for the political structure of the *polis*. The physical aspects of this process are less clear, although what there is available demonstrates that it was slow and probably piecemeal. This presumably came about because – as the evidence suggests – there was little positive action in the process on the part of the imperial administration. True, there are building inscriptions not considered here that record the names of the presiding governor and others in the imperial machinery, but there is nothing to specifically indicate that these inscriptions belonged to structures erected as the direct result of any form of imperial initiative. Instead, both the scheme and the resources seem to have come from the local aristocracy. Yet the citizens of Ancyra were evidently able to raise the funds and the wherewithal for those public buildings and spaces considered necessary for communal activities, both cultic and festive.

However, while Galatia and Ancyra, as the leading city of the province, were both Roman creations, and the Galatian aristocracy evidently enthusiastically adopted certain Roman practices, most notably gladiatorial events, they were much more eager to adopt the Hellenic mannerisms of their immediate neighbours. Greek was used for their inscriptions, Hellenic-style architecture for their cultic and leisure activities, except in the case of the theatre. It seems that the members of the Galatian aristocracy were, on the whole, content to remain large fish in a small pool, choosing to be first in their native *polis* rather than in serving the empire at large.¹⁶² Thus, despite the rapid rise in the number of ‘easterners’ entering the Roman Senate during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, only three Ancyrans are known to have taken that particular path.¹⁶³ All in all, therefore, one is left with the clear impression that there was no such thing as a ‘Roman’ or even a particularly ‘Romanised’ Ancyra: while some Roman fashions and cultural traits were eagerly adopted, Ancyra and its inhabitants were more at home in the Hellenised world – hence ‘Graeco-Roman’ Ancyra.

The most obvious conclusion that comes from this account, however, is that much of what we ‘know’ about Ancyra relies on supposition and informed speculation. This is indeed true for most of the other classical *poleis* in Turkey that are likewise sealed beneath modern cities. Even so, through careful analysis of the available data, it is possible to reconstruct certain aspects of Ancyra’s socio-political (and religious) structure, as well as something regarding its physical appearance. True, we are in effect looking through a dark glass that distorts our view: but at least we can start to redress the imbalanced view of the urbanisation process in Anatolia under imperial Rome.

¹⁶² Cf. Étienne 1958, 231.

¹⁶³ C. Julius Severus the elder (Bosch 1967 nos. 156-157); C. Julius Severus the younger (Bosch 1967, no. 158); and Titus Octavius Rufus (Bosch 1967, no. 167). Note, however, Titus Flavius Gaianus (Bosch 1967, nos. 249-253) and Tertullus Varus (Bosch 1967, no. 280), who were members of the equestrian order.

Bibliography

- Abott, F.F., and Johnson, A.C., 1926 – Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (New York).
- Akok, M., 1955 – Ankara Şehri içinde Rastlanan İlkçağ Yerleşmesinden Bazı İzler ve Üç araştırma yeri, *Belleten* 19 (1955) 309-329.
- Akok, M., 1968 – Ankara Şehrindeki Roma Hamamı *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 17 (1968) 5-37.
- Akok, M., and Peñe, N., 1941 – Ankara İstanyonuda Bulunan Bizans Devri Mezarının Nakli, *Belleten* 5 (1941), 617-622.
- Alföldy, G., 1966 – Notes sur la relation entre le droit de cité et la nomenclature dans l'Empire romain, *Latomus* 25 (1966), 35-57.
- Ameling, W., 1984 – Das Archontat in Bithynien und die lex provinciae des Pompeius, *Epig Anat.* 3 (1984), 19-31.
- Ameling, W., 1985 – Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium (= *IK* 27: Bonn 1985).
- Arik, R. O., 1937 – Les résultats des fouilles faites à Ankara par la société d'histoire turque *La Turquie Kémaliste* 21/22 (1937) 47-56.
- Arslan, M., 1996 – Greek and Greek Imperial Coins Found during the Çankırıkapı Excavations at Ankara, in Ashton 1996, 107-114.
- Arslan, M., 2004 – Galatya Krallığı ve Roma Dönemi Şehir Sikkeleri/The Coins of Galatian Kingdom and the Roman Coinage of Ancyra in Galatia (Ankara).
- Ashton, R. (ed), 1996 – Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey (London).
- Bayburtluoğlu, İ., 1987 – Ankara Antik Tiyatrosu, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi – 1986 Yıllığı* (1987), 39-43.
- Bennett, J., 2001 – Trajan Optimus Princeps (London).
- Bennett, J., 2003 – Ancyra, Metropolis Provinciae Galatiae, in Wilson 2003, 1-12.
- Bosch, E., 1948 – Ankara'daki Antik Devir Hamamının Müessisi, *III Türk Tarih Kongresi 1943* (1948), 576-581.
- Bosch, E., 1955 – Ankara I: Die Phylen, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 1 (1955), 57-67.
- Bosch, E., 1967 – Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum (Ankara).
- Burrell, B., 2004 – Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors (Leiden).
- Cagnat, R., 1914 – Cours d'épigraphie latine (Paris).
- Cooke, S.D., 1998 – The Monuments of Roman Ancyra Reviewed (unpublished MA Dissertation, Bilkent Üniversitesi, Ankara).
- Coulton, J.J., 1987 – Roman Aqueducts in Asia Minor, in MacReady and Thompson 1987, 72-82.
- Dalman, K.O., 1933 – 1931'de Ankarada Meydana Çıkarılan Asarı Atika, *Türk Tarihi, Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi* 1 (1933), 121-133.
- Denizli, H., Ateşoğulları, S., and Esen, İ., 2003 – Ankara Roma Hamamı 2002 Yılı Kurtarma Kazısı, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi – 2002 Yıllığı* (2003), 28-55.
- Denizli, H., Ateşoğulları, S., and Esen, İ., 2005 – Ankara Roma Hamamı 2004 Yılı Kurtarma Kazısı, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi – 2003-2004 Yıllığı* (2001), 7-39.
- Dodge, H., 1987 – Brick Construction in Roman Greece and Asia Minor, in MacReady and Thompson 1987, 106-116.
- Dolunay, N., 1941 – Türk Tarih Kurumu adına yapılan Çankırıkapı Höyüğü Hafriyatı, *Belleten* 5 (1941), 261-276.
- Dolunay, N., 1948 – Çankırıkapı Hafriyatı, *III Türk Tarih Kongresi 1943* (Ankara), 212-218.

- Dueck, D., 2000 – Strabo of Amasia (London).
- Emre, K., Hrouda, B., Mellink, M., and Özgüç, N. (eds), 1989 – Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tasin Özgüç (Ankara).
- Erzen, A., 1946 – İlkçağda Ankara (Ankara).
- Étienne, R., 1958 – Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (Paris), 231.
- Firatlı, N., Ankara'nın İlk Çağdaki Su Tesisatı, *Belleten* 15 (1951), 349-359.
- Fittschen, K., 1985 – Zur Datierung des Augustus-Roma-Tempels in Ankara, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1985, 309-315.
- French, D.H., 2003 – Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions of Ankara: a selection (Ankara).
- González, J., 1986 – The Lex Irnitana: a new copy of the Flavian Municipal Law, *JRS* 76 (1986), 146-243.
- Guterbock, H.G., 1989 – The Temple of Augustus in the 1930s, in Emre, et al. (eds) 1989, 155-157.
- Gülekli, N.C., 1948 – Ankara, Tarih Arkeoloji (Ankara).
- Hänlein, H., 1981 – Zur Datierung des Augustustempels in Ankara, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1981, 511-513.
- Halfmann, H., 1986 – Zur Datierung und Deutung der Priesterliste am Augustus-Roma-Tempel in Ankara, *Chiron* 16 (1986), 35-42.
- Jerphanion, G. de, 1926 – Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne (Beirut).
- Jones, A.H.M., 1940 – The Greek City (Oxford).
- Kautzsch, R., 1936 – Kapitellstudien (Leipzig).
- Klaffenbach, G., 1954 – Die Astynomeninschrift von Pergamon (Berlin).
- Koşay, H. Zübeyr, 1939 – The Strata of Civilisation in Ankara, *La Turquie Kémaliste* 31 (1939), 58-64.
- Koşay, H. Zübeyr, 1957a – Ankara Augustus Mabedi Kazısı, *Anatolia* 2 (1957), 133-135.
- Koşay, H. Zübeyr, 1957b – Augustus Tempel in Ankara, *Anatolia* 2 (1957), 137-138.
- Krencker, D., and Schede, M., 1936 – Der Tempel in Ankara (Berlin).
- Lavan, L. (ed), 2001 – Recent Research in Late-antique Urbanism (Portsmouth RI).
- Leschhorn, W., 1992 – Die Anfänge der Provinz Galatia, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 315-336.
- Lintott, A., 1993 – Imperium Romanum: politics and administration (London).
- MacDonald, W., 1986 – The Architecture of the Roman World: an urban appraisal (London).
- MacReady, S. and Thompson, F.H., (eds), 1987 – Roman Architecture in the Greek World (London).
- Mamboury, E., 1937 – Ankara: Guide Touristique, (Ankara).
- Mamboury, E., 1949 – Les parages du temple de Rome et d'Auguste à Ankara, *Türk Tarih, Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi* 5 (1949), 96-102.
- Marshall, A., 1968 – Pompey's Organization of Bithynia-Pontus: Two Neglected Texts, *JRS* 58 (1968), 103-109.
- Mellor, R., 1984 – The Goddess Roma, *ANRW* 2.17.2, 950-1030.
- Metin, M., 1997 – Ulus Kazısı 1995, *VII Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri 1996* (Ankara), 199-220.
- Mitchell, S., 1977 – R(egional) E(pigraphic) C(atalogues) A(sia) M(inor), *Anat. Stud.* 27 (1977) 63-103.
- Mitchell, S., 1982a – Regional Epigraphical Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The Ankara District (Oxford).
- Mitchell, S., 1982b – The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra, *Anat. Stud.* 32 (1982), 93-114.
- Mitchell, S., 1984 – The Greek City in the Roman World: the case of Pontus and Bithynia, Acts of the 8th International Conference of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Athens), 120-133.
- Mitchell, S., 1986 – Galatia Under Tiberius, *Chiron* 16 (1986) 17-33.

- Mitchell, S., 1993 – Anatolia: land, men and gods in Asia Minor I: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule (Oxford).
- Mitchell, S., and Waelkens, M., 1998 – Pisidian Antioch: the site and its monuments (London).
- Moatti, C. (ed), 1998 – La mémoire perdue. Recherches sur l'administration romaine (Paris).
- Oliver, J.H., 1989 – Greek Constitutions of the Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri (*MAMA* 178: Philadelphia).
- Poccardi, G., 2001 – L'île d'Antioche à fin de l'antiquité: histoire et problème de topographie urbaine, in *Lavan* 2001 – 155-172.
- Price, S.R.F., 1984 – Rituals and Power: the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor (Cambridge).
- Remy, B., 1989 – Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (Istanbul).
- Richardson, L., 1992 – A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (New York).
- Robert, L., 1960 – Inscription Agonistique d'Ancyra, concours d'Ancyra, in L. Robert, *Hellenica XI/XII* (Paris), 350-368.
- Rossner, M., 1974 – Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias, *Studii Clasice* 16 (1974), 101-142.
- Rüpke, J., 1998 – Les archives des petits collèges: le cas des 'vicomagistri', in Moatti 1998, 27-44.
- Sherwin-White, A.N., 1966 – The Letters of Pliny: a Historical and Social Commentary (Oxford).
- Strobel, K., 2002 – State Formation by the Galatians of Asia Minor: politico-historical and cultural processes in Hellenistic Central Anatolia, *Anatolica* 28 (2002), 1-46.
- Tuchelt, K., and Preissshofen, F., 1985 – Zur Identitätsfrage des Augustus-Tempels' in Ankara, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1985, 317-322.
- Varınlıoğlu, E., 1992 – Meter Theon, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi – 1990 Yıllığı* (Ankara 1992), 39-43.
- Waelkens, M., 1986 – The Imperial Sanctuary at Pessinus: archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic evidence for its date and identification, *Epig.Anat.* 7, 37-73.
- Wiegand, E., 1937 – Krencker und Schede, der Tempel in Ankara, *Gnomon* 13 (1937).
- Wilson, P., 2003 – The Archaeology of Roman Towns (Oxford).
- Yegül, F., 1995 – Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity (London).

Appendix 1: Public and Religious Officials in Ancyra

NO. OFFICE	NAME	REFERENCE
1.1. <i>Phylarch</i>		
1	M. Flavius A...	Bosch 1967: 75
2	Post. Jul. Antoninus Maximus	Bosch 1967: 251
3	Aurelius Agesilaos Secundus	Bosch 1967: 251
4	Flavius Cyriksides Valerianus	Bosch 1967: 252
5	<i>Ignotus</i>	Mitchell 1977: 11
6	Varus Logos	Bosch 1967: 105 and 107
7	Claudius Aquila	Bosch 1967: 117
8	Aelius Magnus	Bosch 1967: 117
9	Julius Chreisimus	Bosch 1967: 117
10	Julius Apollophanes	Bosch 1967: 117
11	Claudius Maximus	Bosch 1967: 117
12	Anmios Asclepos	Bosch 1967: 139
13	Valerius Timolaos	Bosch 1967: 140
14	Julianus Gaius	Mitchell 1977: 9
15	Severianus	Bosch 1967: 103
16	Aquila, son of Decimus	Bosch 1967: 117
17	Cleitarchos, son of Bokon	Bosch 1967: 117
18	Zenon, son of Artemon	Bosch 1967: 117
19	Valens, son of Gaius	Bosch 1967: 117
20	Deiotarus, son of Sarpedon	Bosch 1967: 117
21	Heracleon, son of Bassus	Bosch 1967: 117
22	Philonedes, son of Vilion	Bosch 1967: 117
23	Nikephoros, son of Alexandros	Bosch 1967: 184
24	Zotikos, son of Bassus	Bosch 1967: 201
25	...rotas, son of Diodorus	Bosch 1967: 202
26	Ponticos, son of Asclepios	Bosch 1967: 357
27	Quiricus, son of Manes	Mitchell 1977: 9
1.2 <i>Astynomos</i>		
28	Zotikos, son of Bassus	Bosch 1967: 201
29	...rotas, son of Diodorus	Bosch 1967: 202
30	<i>Ignotus</i>	Bosch 1967: 262
31	Ponticos, son of Asclepios	Bosch 1967: 357
1.3 <i>Bouleutes</i>		
32	Ponticos, son of Asclepios	Bosch 1967: 357
33	Aurelius Eutyches Mercurianus	Mitchell 1982: 181
34	Alexander	Mitchell 1982: 195
35	Diogenes, son of Alexander	Mitchell 1982: 195

NO. OFFICE	NAME	REFERENCE
1.4 <i>Protos Archon</i>		
36 (<i>Synarchon</i>)	Claudius Proclus	Bosch 1967: 99
37 (twice)	Lucius Papirius Alexander	Bosch 1967: 140-141
38 (twice)	Titus Flavius Gaianus	Bosch 1967: 249-253; Mitchell 1977: 7
39	Claudius Caecilius Hermianus	Bosch 1967: 287
1.5 <i>Archon</i>		
40	Tiberius Claudius Bocchus	Bosch 1967: 100
41	Gaius Julius Severus	Bosch 1967: 105-106
42	Latinia Cleopatra	Bosch 1967: 117
43	Aurelius Dionysius	Bosch 1967: 292-293
1.6 <i>Agoranomos</i>		
44 (four times)	<i>Ignotus</i>	Bosch 1967: 101
45	Gaius Julius Severus	Bosch 1967: 105-106
46	<i>Ignotus</i>	Bosch 1967: 263
1.7 <i>Eirenarch</i>		
47	Tiberius Claudius Bocchus	Bosch 1967: 100
48	Latina Cleopatra	Bosch 1967: 117
49 (more than once)	Lucius Papirius Alexander	Bosch 1967: 140-141
1.8 <i>Boulegraphos</i>		
50 (twice)	Claudius Caecilius Hermianus	Bosch 1967: 287-288
51	<i>Ignotus</i>	Bosch 1967: 289
1.9 <i>Politographos</i>		
52	Titus Flavius Gaianus	Bosch 1967: 249-253; Mitchell 1977: 7
53	Claudius Caecilius Hermianus	Bosch 1967: 287-288
1.10 <i>Hierophant Seb.</i>		
54	Castor, son of King Brigatos	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
55	Rufus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
56	Pylaemenes, son of King Amyntas	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
57	Albiorix, son of Ateporix	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
58	Amyntas, son of Gaezatodias	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
59	...eias, son of Diognetus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
60	Albiorix, son of Ateporix	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
61	Metrodorus, son of Menemachus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
62	Musanus, son of Artiknus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
63	...s, son of Seleucus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
64	Pylaemenes, son of King Amyntas	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
65	(? Marcus) Lollius	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
66	Seleucus, son of Philodamus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
67	Julius Ponticus	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
68	Aristocles, son of Albiorix	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
69	Quintus Gallius Pulcher	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
70	...ides, son of Philon	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
71	Pylamaenes, son of Menas	Mitchell 1993, p. 108
72	(? Julius) Aquila	Mitchell 1993, p. 108

NO. OFFICE	NAME	REFERENCE
1.11 Archiereus/ia		
73	Tiberius Claudius Bocchus	Bosch 1967: 100
74	Cocceius Seleucos	Bosch 1967: 102
75	Gaius Julius Severus	Bosch 1967: 105-106
76	Claudia Aquila	Bosch 1967: 107
77 (twice)	Latina Cleopatra	Bosch 1967: 117
78	Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus	Bosch 1967: 127
79	Memmius ...	Bosch 1967: 128
80	Julius Aelius Macedo	Bosch 1967: 139
81	Lucius Papirius Alexander	Bosch 1967: 140
82 (twice)	Tiberius Claudius Procillianus	Bosch 1967: 142
83 (three times)	Julius Justus Junianus	Bosch 1967: 255-258
84	Claudius Caecilius Hermianus	Bosch 1967: 287
85	Tertullus Varus	Bosch 1967: 280
1.12 Sebastophant/ai		
86	Tiberius Claudius Bocchus	Bosch 1967: 100
87	Gaius Julius Severus	Bosch 1967: 105-106
88	Latina Cleopatra	Bosch 1967: 117
89	Julius Aelius Macedo	Bosch 1967: 139
	Tiberius Claudius Procillianus	Bosch 1967: 142
1.13 Galatarch		
90	Tiberius Claudius Alexandros	Bosch 1967: 100
91	Julius Aelius Macedo	Bosch 1967: 139
92	Tiberius Claudius Procillianus	Bosch 1967: 142
93	Tiberius Claudius Bocchus	Bosch 1967: 100
94	Claudius Aernilius Statorianus	Bosch 1967: 143
95 (twice)	Caius Aelius Flavianus Sulpicius	Bosch 1967: 161-164
96	Claudius Caecilius Hermianus	Bosch 1967: 287 and 288
1.14 Agonothetes		
97	Gaius Julius Severus	Bosch 1967: 105-106
98 (<i>agones mystikoi</i>)	Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus	Bosch 1967: 127
99	Tiberius Claudius Procillianus	Bosch 1967: 142
100 (<i>IsoAsc.Sot.Anton.</i>)	Titus Flavius Gaianus	Bosch 1967: 249-253; Mitchell 1977: 7
101	<i>Ignotus</i>	Bosch 1967: 263
102 (<i>Augusteia Actia</i>)	Claudius Caecilius Hermianus	Bosch 1967: 287
1.15 Agon. Koinon		
103	Julius Aelius Macedo	Bosch 1967: 139
104 (twice)	Titus Flavius Gaianus	Bosch 1967: 249-253; Mitchell 1977: 7

Appendix 2: Temple Architecture on the Ancyran Coinage

No.	Emperor	Temple style	Types	Reference
2.1	TIBERIUS			
1		Hexastyle	1	Arslan 2004, p.267: Tiberius no. 1
2.2	CLAUDIUS			
2		Hexastyle	6	Arslan 2004, nos. 3-6
2.3	NERO			
3		Tetrastyle	6	Arslan 2004, nos. 7-11, M2
2.4	GALBA			
4		Hexastyle	7	Arslan 2004, nos. 32-38
2.5	VESPASIAN			
5		Hexastyle	12	Arslan 2004, nos. 39-43, B4-B8, M5-M6
2.6	NERVA			
6		Hexastyle	13	Arslan 2004, nos. 51-59, BI4-BI7, M9-M10
2.7	TRAJAN			
7		Distyle	3	Arslan 2004, nos. 64-65, M12
8		Tetrastyle	2	Arslan 2004, p.267: Trajan no. 2
9		Hexastyle	9	Arslan 2004, nos. 66-73, M13-M14
2.8A	MARCUS AURELIUS			
10		Octastyle	2	Arslan 2004, nos. 94, B28
2.8B	LUCIUS VERUS			
11		Octastyle	2	Arslan 2004, nos. Add 1, B32
2.9	COMMODUS			
12		Octastyle	1	Arslan 2004, no. F5
2.10A	CARACALLA (Caesar)			
13		Decastyle	1	Arslan 2004, no. B51
2.10B	CARACALLA			
14		Octastyle	10	Arslan 2004, nos. 142-145, B75-B91
15		Octastyle w/anchor	1	Arslan 2004, p. 268: Caracalla no. 8
2.10C	GETA			
16		Octastyle	3	Arslan 2004, nos. 168-169, M23
2.11	VALERIAN			
17		Tetrastyle	1	Arslan 2004, no. 185
2.12	GALLIENUS			
18		Tetrastyle	2	Arslan 2004, nos. 207-208
19		Distyle x 2	2	Arslan 2004, nos. 209-210

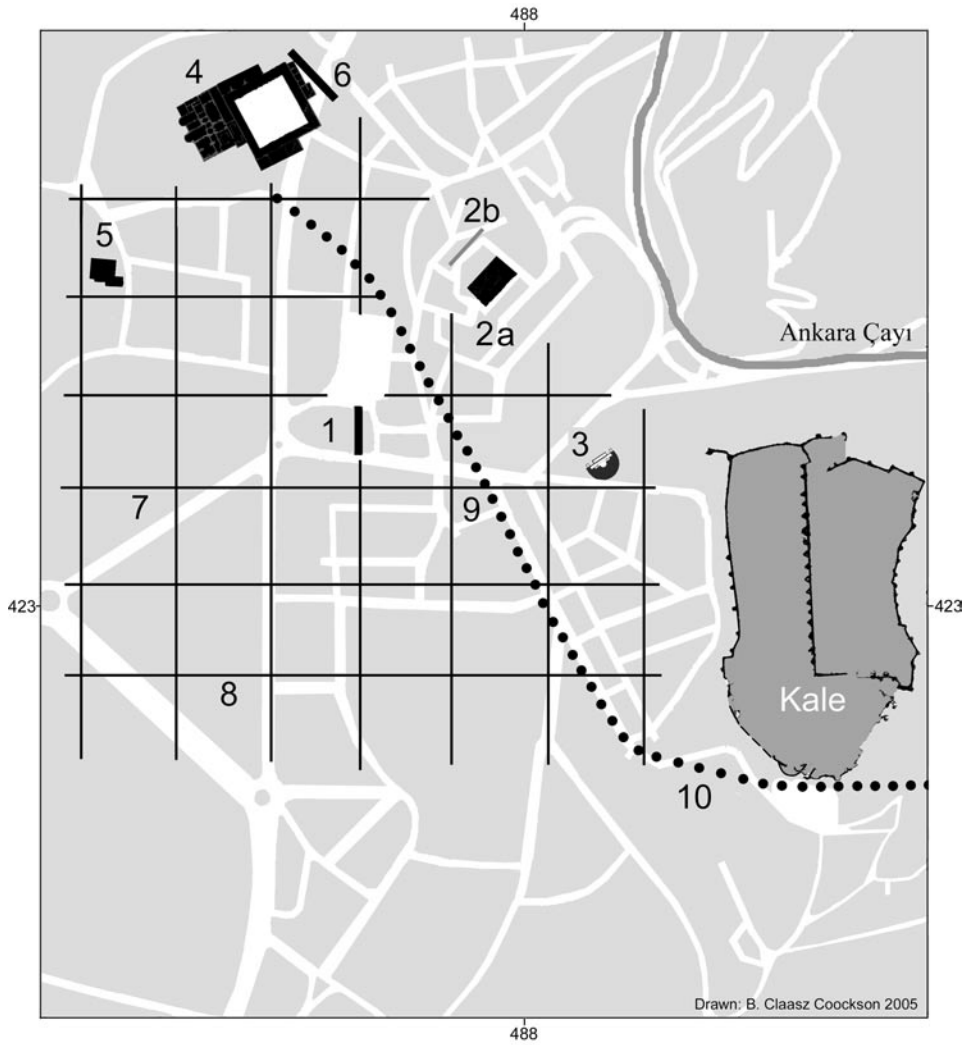
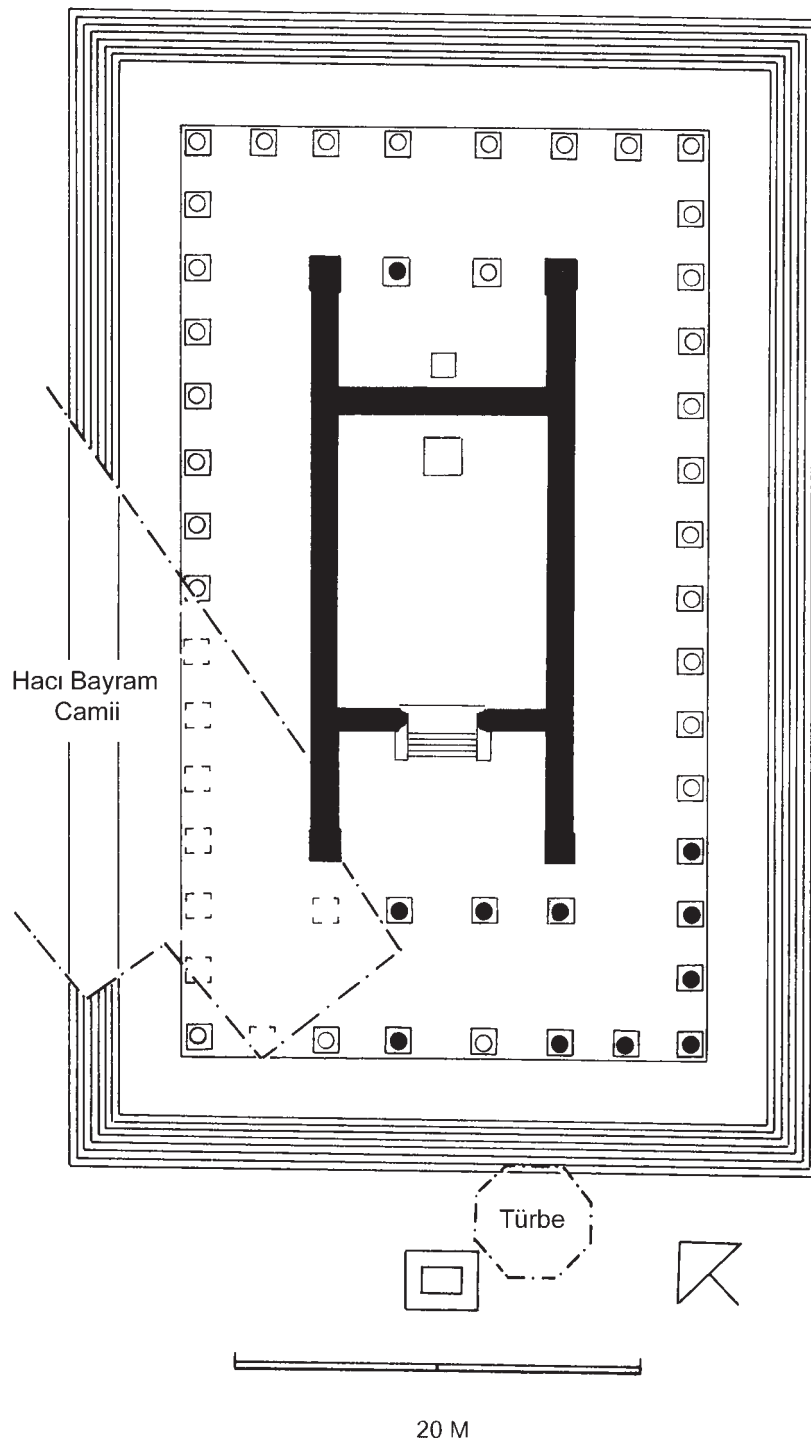


Fig. 1. The remains of classical Ancyra in relation to the medieval kale and the modern street system, with the putative orthogonal plan of the classical *polis* overlaid, and the line of the Ankara Çayı (now sealed by the Bentderesi Caddesi) indicated. Key: 1: the Ulus Eski Çarşısı site; 2a: the Temple to Augustus and Roma; 2b: the possible *temenos* wall; 3: the theatre; 4: the Çankırıkapı Bath-house, with colonnaded street to the north; 5: the 'Askeri Cezaevi' bath-house (Soğukkuyu); 6: the Nurettin Ersoy Otel site; 7: the Second Grand National Building site; 8: the Ziraat Bankası site; 9: the Belediye site; 10: the line of the aqueduct, according to Firatlı 951.



Drawn: B. Claasz Cockson 2005

Fig. 2. The restored plan of the Temple to Augustus and Roma, in relation to the Hacı Bayram Camii and the associated türbe, based on the work by Krencker and Schede 1936.

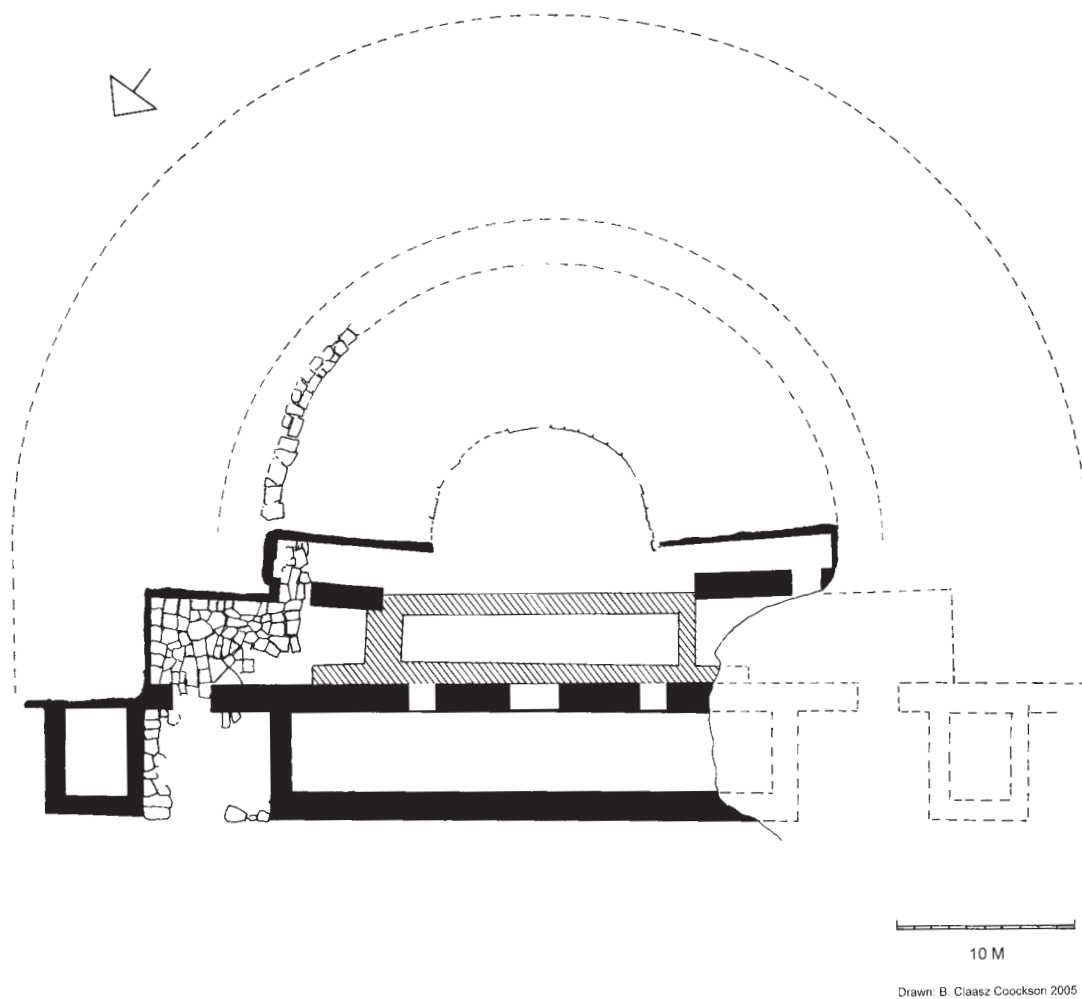
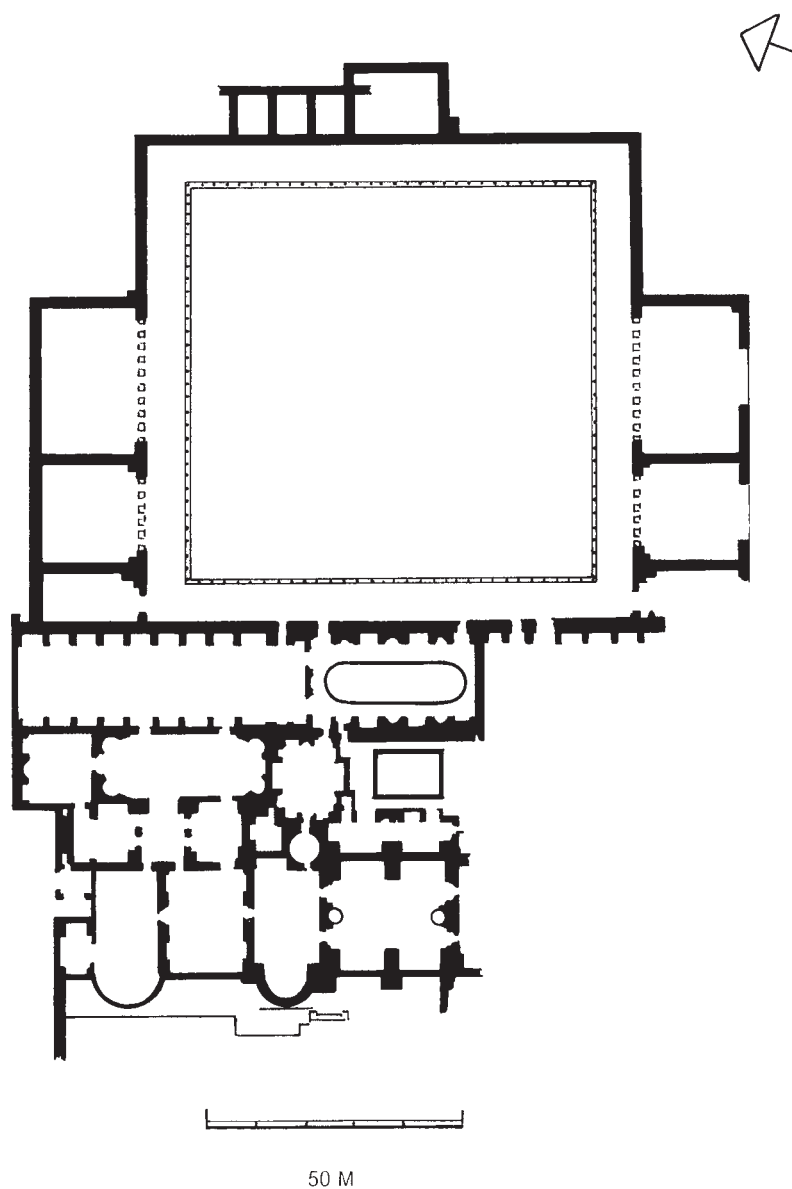
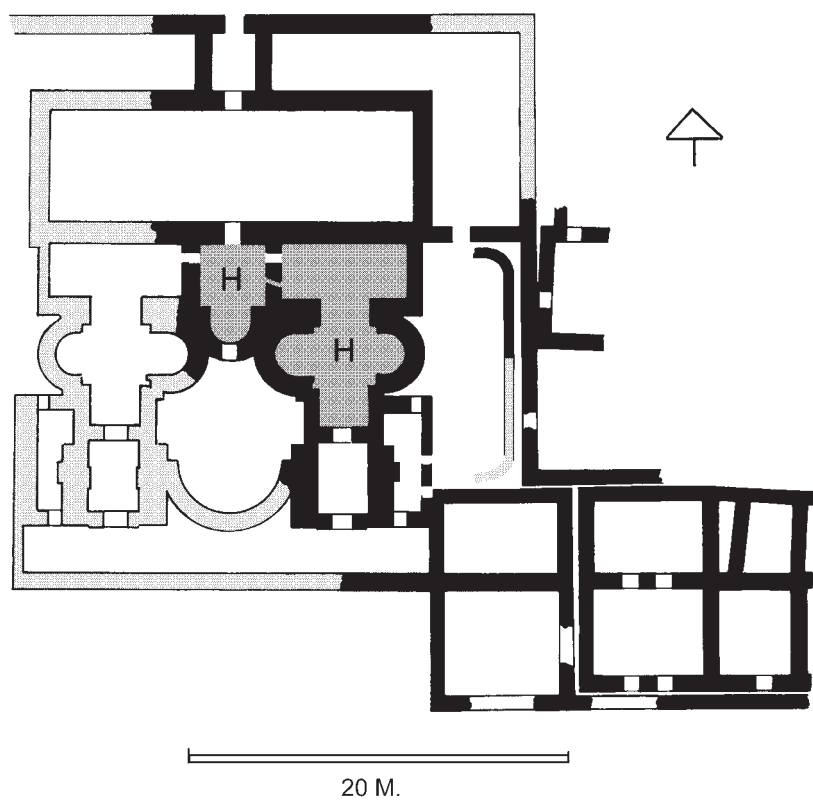


Fig. 3. The Ancyra theatre (after Bayburtluoğlu 7987).



Drawn: B. Claasz Coockson 2005

Fig. 4. The Çankırıkapı Bath-house, (after Akok 1968).



Drawn by: B. Claasz Coockson 2005

Fig. 5. The 'Askeri Cezaevi' Bath-house (Soğukkuyu: after Akok 1968).