

Cosmopolitan Capito: architectural benefaction by a Roman official in Late Julio-Claudian Miletus

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Abstract

This article explores the architectural benefactions of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, a wealthy resident of Late Julio-Claudian Miletus, who held a number of positions in the Roman imperial administration prior to constructing the baths and theatre stage building in his home city. Through a detailed study of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence associated with Vergilius Capito, this article sheds light on when and why he built his public monuments and will demonstrate how members of the provincial elite like Capito, who had also been involved in local and wider imperial society, were represented through architecture. It will also show how culturally bilingual individuals could play a fundamental role in promoting Roman cultural influence in Greek provincial settings and will advocate a more individual-focussed approach when discussing the influence of Rome on its provinces. The article concludes that Capito's Roman-Milesian citizenship enabled him to mediate between the world of the Greek polis and that of the Roman imperial system and uses the medium of architectural benefaction as a vehicle for driving cultural change in provincial settings.

Özet

Bu makale, memleketi Miletos'da hamamları ve tiyatro sahne binasını inşa etmeden önce Roma imparatorluk yönetimi içinde çeşitli görevlerde bulunan, Geç İulius-Claudiuslar Dönemi Miletos'un varlıklı bir sakini olan Gnaeus Vergilius Capito'nun mimari bağışlarını araştırmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Vergilius Capito ile ilgili arkeolojik ve epigrafik kanıtların ayrıntılı olarak incelenmesi yoluyla, onun kamusal anıtlarını ne zaman ve neden inşa ettiğine ışık tutacak ve aynı zamanda Capito gibi yerel ve daha geniş çapta imparatorluk tebasına da dahil olan eyalet seçkinlerinin mimari aracılığıyla nasıl temsil edildiğini de gösterecektir. Aynı zamanda, kültürel olarak iki dilli bireylerin Yunan taşra yerleşimlerinde Roma kültürel etkisini teşvik etmede nasıl temel bir rol oynayabileceğini gösterecek ve Roma'nın, eyaletleri üzerindeki etkisini tartışırken daha bireysel odaklı bir yaklaşımı savunacaktır. Capito'nun Roma ve Miletos vatandaşlığının, Yunan şehirleri dünyası ile Roma imparatorluk sistemi arasında arabuluculuk yapmasına olanak sağladığı ve eyalet yerleşimlerinde kültürel değişimi yönlendirmek için mimari bağışları bir araç olarak kullandığı sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, a Milesian-born Roman citizen and official, built Miletus' theatre stage building and bath complex, including the Ionic portico which ran between the complex and the Sacred Way. He dedicated his monuments to the reigning Emperor Nero, Apollo and the people of Miletus, and he was honoured with numerous statues and an eponymous festival. This article has the following aims. Through a study of Capito's life and career, and the epigraphic and architectural remains of his buildings, it will demonstrate how members of the provincial elite could use public architecture as a means of representing themselves and their

relationships to their home city and to Rome. It will also demonstrate how provincial residents who had been involved in wider imperial administration were able to use the medium of architectural benefaction to introduce aspects of Roman culture into provincial settings.

Architectural benefaction in Roman provincial society

For the purpose of this study, architectural benefaction is defined as a contribution to the entire, or partial, cost of a public monument. Arjan Zuiderhoek considered architectural benefaction to be the largest and most expensive form of ancient benefaction, undertaken by only the wealthiest of

elites (Zuiderhoek 2009: 23). Architectural benefaction was a complex process, with a number of motivating factors: necessity, love of one's city, career obligation, ambition for advancement and desire for commemoration are just some of these (Ng 2015: 120). Regardless of the motivation, construction of a public monument, and the rewards that the benefactor received in thanks for their benefaction, was a 'public, political act, with very specific political and ideological aims and consequences' (Zuiderhoek 2009: 9). This article will demonstrate that a particular ideological aim of

architectural benefaction in Julio-Claudian Asia Minor was to present the relationship of the benefactor to Rome and to their home city. It will also examine how these representations can be used to understand Roman provincial culture.

The study of benefaction in the ancient world has been transformed over the last half century by Paul Veyne's seminal 1976 work *Le pain et le cirque* and the responses to it in both Anglophone and Francophone scholarship. In *Le pain et le cirque* and a related preliminary article published in 1969, Veyne defined, and refined, the concept

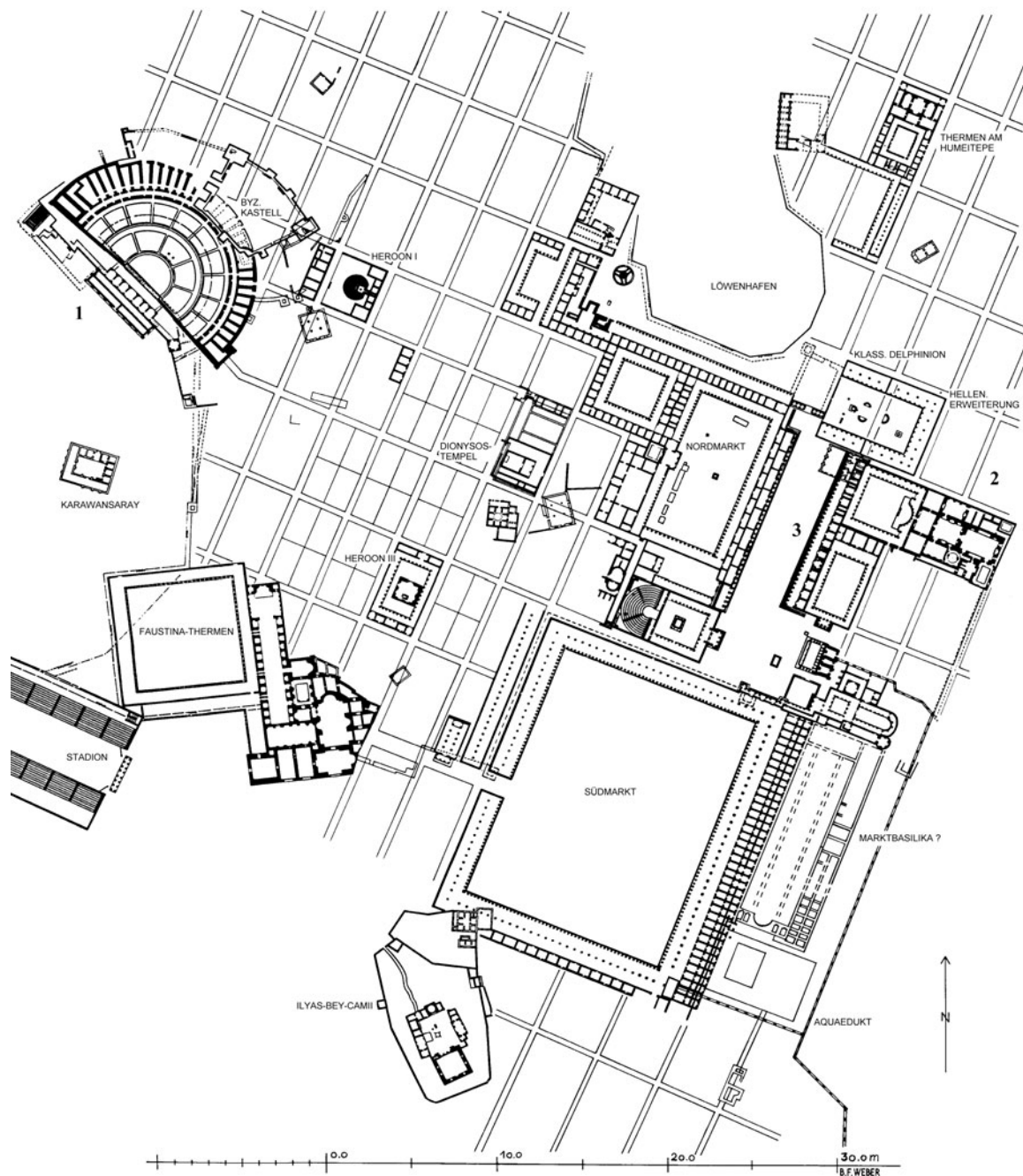


Fig. 1. Map of Miletus with Capito's monuments numbered 1) Theatre Stage Building. 2) Baths Complex. 3) Ionic Portico (adapted after Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH Weber 2007: 352, fig. 17) (source: DAI).

of euergetism as a process of reciprocal generosity that was expected of a city's notables (Veyne 1969: 785; 1976: 20, 185). Veyne argued that benefactors undertook their work in order to receive public recognition or commemoration in one form or another. However, despite the large scale of Veyne's study, architectural benefaction was given relatively little attention (Veyne 1976: 16, 25–26, 211, 233–34, 284, 287–89, 434, 638–42). Subsequent extensive studies of ancient benefaction, such as those by Philippe Gauthier (1985) and Marc Domingo Gygax (2016), also lack rigorous discussion of architectural benefaction, focusing instead, respectively, on the rewards given to benefactors for their work and on how different forms of gift exchange can be used to chart the development of euergetism, extending and calling into question Veyne's chronological boundaries. Where public monuments are discussed, they are considered alongside and on the same terms as other gifts. Zuiderhoek and Diana Ng have argued that giving a form of gift that involved a greater commitment of time, effort and money than most others could only be undertaken by the richest in society, and then only in certain circumstances. This article will argue that despite the exclusivity of the practice, architectural benefaction can be used as a means to understand not only the influence of Roman culture and practices on an individual benefactor, but also how benefactors' projects helped to promote Roman cultural influence in provincial cities.

Architectural benefactions had the ability to communicate not only the prestige of the benefactor, but also wider socio-cultural changes and practices across a far wider space. A building would have been seen by both residents of and visitors to a city, as both a single monument and a part of the wider built landscape, and these layers of visibility must be taken into account (Schröner 2017: 90). Rinse Willet (2020: 210) stated that within the cities of Roman Asia Minor each building, with its unique decoration and in its unique place in the urban plan, resulted in a viewer having a unique feeling and experience in response to the monument and its setting. This, he suggests, contributed to the creation of both local and regional identities. However, Willet's arguments must be furthered so that we can understand the fundamental role this aspect of architectural benefaction played in representing both its benefactor and wider socio-cultural change under Roman rule. In order for a building to contribute to the creation of local and regional identities, its appreciation by those viewing it cannot and should not be unique. Rather it should be a shared experience, as without at least some sense of communal understanding, a sense of shared identity could not have been created. With these considerations in mind, this article will also argue that Capito's architectural benefactions were not simply motivated by a desire for commemoration and honour, but were a visual representation of his place within the Roman world.

Capito's life and career

Gnaeus Vergilius Capito was once thought to have originated from Tarracina in Italy (Stein 1950: 31). Tacitus describes the desertion of a slave belonging to a Verginius Capito to L. Vitellius during the siege of Tarracina in AD 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 3.77). However, the one-letter difference in spelling between Vergilius and Verginius is now thought to be a copying error (Moore 1931: xiv). More recent work has confirmed that Capito and his family had connections to Miletus (Thonemann 2011; *I.Milet* 6.3.1131). Capito was probably born late in the reign of Augustus, and held the positions of tribune and prefect at Rome – both the *praefectus fabrum* and *praefectus vigilum* have been suggested – most likely in his late teens or early twenties, perhaps during the reign of Tiberius. He was one of the founders of the cult of the emperor Gaius at Miletus, having previously served as the high priest of Asia. He then held the positions first of Procurator of Asia and then Prefect of Egypt during the reign of Claudius. Capito travelled widely throughout his career, holding positions that certainly took him to Rome, Cos, Amyzon and Alexandria (for epigraphic and papyrological evidence for Capito's *cursus* see: *I.Didyma* 148 ll. 4–6, 149; *SEG* 57.1109bis; *CIL* 3.6024; Pflaum 1960: 32–33, no. 13bis, no. 4; Robert, Robert 1983: no. 69 (PH); *BE* 1984: 431; *SEG* 45.1067; *IG* 12.4.2, 869; *P.Oxy.* 39, tr. Grenfell, Hunt 1898: 83; for studies of Capito's *cursus* see: Cagnat, Merlin 1935; Campanile 1994; Eck 1995; Faoro 2016; Günther, Ehrhardt 2008; Reinmuth 1935; Riçl, Akat 2007; Robert 1949). Capito's citizenship of, and connections to, both Rome and Miletus shaped the forms that his public monuments took, but also situated him ideally to influence cultural interactions in a provincial setting.

Although it is not attested epigraphically, as Procurator of Asia, he would certainly have spent time at headquarters in Ephesus (Haensch 1997: 317–21). There, he would have seen the Roman buildings erected in the Julio-Claudian period by members of the *conventus civium Romanorum*, such as the temple in the Upper Agora, the Mazeus and Mithridates Gate, which contained elements reminiscent of a triumphal arch, and the aqueduct and stoa-basilica constructed by Gaius Sextilius Pollio and Gaius Offilius Proculus (*IvE* 2.402, 404, 405, 407; 3.717A, 851; 7.1.3004, 3006, 3092). In Rome and Alexandria in particular, Capito would have seen and, given the nature of the buildings he later commissioned, also appreciated monument types and decorative features that were not present in Miletus. As I will demonstrate, these interactions would not only have influenced the visual aspects of Capito's monuments, but would also have brought him into contact with aspects of Roman culture, such as theatre spectacles and bathing practices, that would be played out within the contexts those monuments provided. These experiences during his

political career shaped not only the physical form of his public monuments in Miletus but also their wider socio-cultural functions. Upon retiring from his provincial administrative posts, Capito returned to Miletus, a city that, architecturally, was less touched by Roman influence and had less political significance in comparison with other places he had travelled to (Müller-Wiener 1996; Gorman 2001: 165). He gave his public buildings, the locations of which are shown in figure 1, to the city during the reign of Nero. Vitruvius tells us that the benefactor of a private monument was the one who had the final say on the materials used in a building and how it looked (*Vitr.* 6.8.9). This article hypothesises that as sole benefactor, Capito would have had some say in the form of his monuments and in obtaining the materials required. It will take into account his life and career, and will demonstrate that these, and Capito’s self-positioning in the Roman world, directly affected the form and function of his monuments.

The stage building of the theatre

The dedicatory inscription

Gnaeus Vergilius Capito is the most likely candidate for the benefactor who dedicated the new stage building of the theatre. This monument is discussed first because dating evidence regarding the stage building calls into question scholarship on the dating of the baths, including Erich Altenhöfer’s (1986: 173) insistence that the theatre post-dates the baths. Three pieces of the dedicatory inscription depicted in figure 2 were found in situ on the entablature of the first storey above the central door (Sturgeon 2004: 419) and read:

AYTO [-----]
 KAI [-----]
 OYE [-----]TOY
 KAI [-----]I (Herrmann 1986: 176)

A fourth fragment of the inscription, found in the bouleterion, has a rasura on its left side (Herrmann 1986: 180). This fourth piece contains the letters Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ on one line, and ωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ τῶι Δήμῳ below. Prior to the discovery of the fourth fragment, Gaius, Claudius, Vespasian and Titus, and Titus and Domitian were suggested as honorands (for an overview, see Altenhöfer 1986: 171; Herrmann 1986: 176, 179). Peter Herrmann (1986: 182) went on to suggest Nero as a potential honorand but left the question of the meaning of OYE and its relationship to AYTO in the first line unanswered. In an appendix to Herrmann’s article, Donald McCabe proposed an alternative suggestion, that OYE formed the first letters of Vergilius, rather than Vespasian. He concluded that Capito was the benefactor of the monument and that it was probably dedicated to Nero (McCabe 1986). The first publication of all the fragments in *SEG* in 1986 acknowledges the rasura just before Καίσαρι, and this suggests that Nero was the honorand (*SEG* 36.1057). McCabe’s reconstruction of the text, depicted in figure 3, reads as follows:

Αὐτο[κράτορι [[Νέρωνι]]] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ[ι]
 καὶ [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ τῶι Δήμ[ωι]
 Οὐε[ργίλιος Καπίτων ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου]
 καὶ Ἀ[σίας ἐπίτροπος ἀνέθηκε]ν (McCabe 1986: 188; *I.Milet* 6.2.928).

To the Emperor Nero Caesar Augustus, Apollo of Didyma and the People, Vergilius Capito, Prefect of Egypt and Procurator of Asia dedicated (this).

Although the text is fragmentary, there are no traces of a phrase indicating Capito’s financial involvement in the project, such as ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. However, it can be reasonably suggested that Capito was the sole financier of the

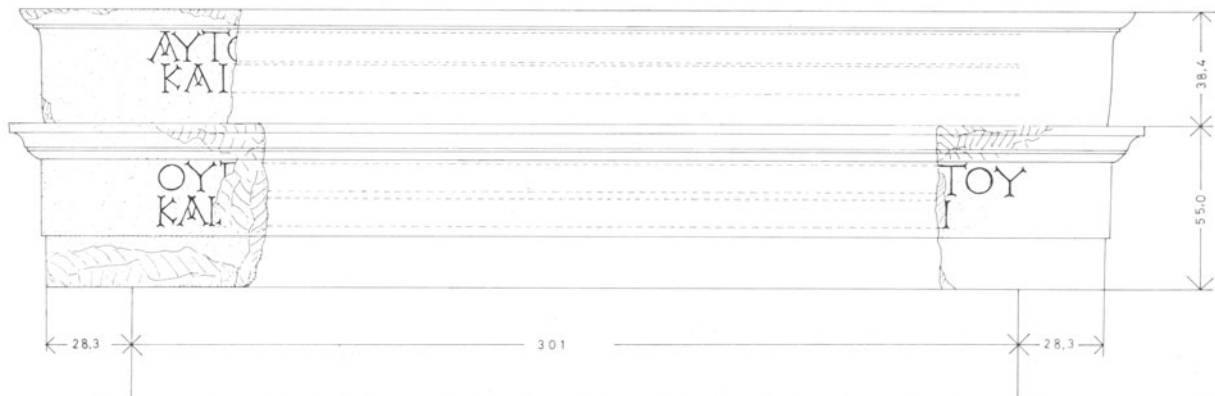


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the in-situ elements of the dedicatory inscription from the theatre stage, Miletus (*Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH* Herrmann 1986: 178) (source: DAI).

theatre stage building. Two, albeit later, legal statements from the Justinianic *Digest* suggest that the one who had provided the funding for a building would have been the one whose name was inscribed upon it:

Ne eius nomine, cuius liberalitate opus exstructum est, eraso aliorum nomina inscribantur et propterea revo-centur similes civium in patrias liberalitates, praeses provinciae auctoritatem suam interponat.

Anyone who, through liberality and not because of indebtedness, has devoted his income for a time to the purpose of completing public works, is not forbidden to obtain the reward of his generosity by having his name inscribed upon them (*Dig.* 50.10.2, tr. S.P. Scott 1932).

Inscribi autem nomen operi publico alterius quam principis aut eius, cuius pecunia id opus factum sit, non licet.

It is not lawful for any other name to be inscribed on a public building than that of the emperor or of the man by whose money it was built (*Dig.* 50.10.3, tr. S.P. Scott 1932).

These two statements suggest that it was expected that the name of the person who had paid for a monument would be inscribed upon it, and that there were rules and expectations as to whose name could and should be included in a building's inscription. Fikret Yegül and Diane Favro conclude that one most likely to have paid for a Roman public monument would have been named last, after the imperial family and any patron deities (Yegül, Favro 2019: 601–2), as seen here at Miletus. Later in the *Digest* is another passage which may add some clarity to Capito's role in the construction of the theatre stage:

if private individuals add some money from their own resources for buildings which are being erected from public funds, it is laid down ... that they should organise the inscription in a way as to record the sum which they had contributed to the building (*Dig.* 50.10.7).

This implies that if the city of Miletus had paid in part for the theatre stage and Capito had only made a contribution, then this would have been made clear in the inscription. The lack of specific financial attribution to Capito here, if anything, strengthens the case that Capito had sole financial responsibility for the theatre stage, rather than having no responsibility at all.

A further factor which must be taken into account when determining Capito's contribution to the theatre stage is the capacity in which he was acting when the monument was constructed. All the extant epigraphic and papyrological evidence for Capito's *cursus* date both his procuratorship of Asia and his prefecture of Egypt to the reign of Claudius (*I.Didyma* 149; *SEG* 57.1109bis; *CIL* 3.6024; *P.Oxy* 39; *BE* 1984: 431). As Nero appears to be the most likely imperial honorand of the theatre stage, Capito therefore cannot have been working in the capacity of either of these roles when he dedicated it. This, alongside the legal considerations for how financial contributors to monuments should be represented epigraphically, means we must rule out the possibility that Capito was playing a ceremonial role here, overseeing the dedication of a monument that had been funded by either imperial or local funds under the auspices of his procuratorship of Asia.

This dedicatory formula is different from many other known architectural benefactions from Julio-Claudian Asia Minor. The dedicatory inscriptions from the monuments of Gaius Iulius Zoilus at Aphrodisias do not honour the emperor, although Zoilus was an imperial freedman (*I Aph.2007* 1.2, 8.1, 8.5). The formula also differs from the dedicatory inscriptions of Pollio and Proculus at



Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the dedicatory inscription of the theatre stage building in Miletus, taking into account the text of the fourth fragment (Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH McCabe 1986: 188) (source: DAI).

Ephesus (*IvE* 404, 7(1) 3092) and the families who built Aphrodisias' Sebasteion (Graham 2018: 286–88; *I Aph2007* 9.1, 9.25, 9.112), which honour the city deity, then the emperor and finally the *demos*. In this dedication, the emperor is the primary honorand. As someone who had been heavily involved in imperial administration and owed to Rome at least an element of his status and ability to construct these monuments, Capito honoured the emperor in a way he deemed appropriate. As benefactor, he would have had the freedom to choose the way that he honoured the emperor, and the city's patron deity and people. This represented the benefactor's relationship to each of the honorands and indicates how they themselves recognised the influence of Rome.

The inscription from Capito's stage building appears to be one of the earliest surviving dedications to use the emperor-first dedicatory formulation. Capito's roles in both local and Roman society could explain the order in which he presented the dedication. As a former provincial official who was now dedicating public buildings in his home city, he could use his status to ensure that the honorands were presented in the manner which he considered most appropriate. Capito is represented as owing much of his influence and prestige to the Roman administration, so whilst the local deity and people of his city are included in the dedication, his primary and worthiest recipient was the emperor. It cannot be stated that this development in, or at least adaptation of, dedicatory practice was instigated by Capito. However, what can be stated is that this dedicatory formula demonstrates how Capito wanted to represent his place in the world as both a former Roman official and a Milesian resident, and how he used his architectural benefaction to commemorate local and Roman honorands. Furthermore, he also ensured that his life was celebrated and that he gained lasting remembrance alongside the emperor, Apollo and the *demos* of Miletus.

It is noteworthy that an early use of the emperor-first dedicatory formula appears on a theatre stage dedicated to Nero. Nero was devoted to the theatre, and performed in both poetry and musical competitions; he also founded two theatres himself, at Iconium in Galatia and Curium in Cyprus (Sturgeon 2004: 418). In addition, Mary Sturgeon notes that the theatres at Athens, Aphrodisias, Corinth and Ephesus were all transformed during the reign of Nero, with dedications to him known at Athens and Ephesus (Sturgeon 2004: 412, 420–22). Most strikingly of all, the rebuilding of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens in a Roman style, undertaken by the general Claudius Novius in either AD 54/55 or 61/62, was dedicated to Nero and to Dionysus Eleutherius (*CIG* 2-3 2, 3182; Sturgeon 2004: 422 for discussion of the date of the monument). These two early uses of the same dedi-

catory formula, in relation to the same emperor, on the same type of building, by two Roman officials building in their home cities, cannot be coincidental. It must indicate that the benefactors in question considered Nero to be the most appropriate honorand for the work to update their respective theatres in a Roman manner. The dedication of Roman-style modifications of earlier Greek theatres by Capito and Novius, with Nero as the primary honorand, emphasises how architectural benefactions can be used to demonstrate the dual identity of the donors and encourage interaction with Roman culture, both in terms of the style of entertainment and honouring the emperor. Capito's stage building, literally and metaphorically, provided a platform for these connections and interactions between Miletus and Rome, both during his lifetime and long after the original benefaction was made. With these considerations in mind, the following sections will discuss the physical remains of the theatre stage and the role that it played in representing and commemorating its benefactor, before demonstrating the roles that architectural benefactors played in introducing Roman architectural and cultural practices into provincial settings.

The archaeological evidence for Capito's theatre stage

Although the surviving remains are almost entirely Roman, the Milesian theatre was Hellenistic in origin, with the earliest phases dating to the third quarter of the third century BC (Müller-Wiener 1996; Sear 2006: 344). A series of excavations carried out in the early 20th century identified four different stage buildings predating the additions by Capito. The earliest phase of construction has been dated to the mid-third century BC, with the second occurring possibly within a few decades of the first. The third and fourth phases are thought to have been constructed in the mid- and late second century, respectively (Krauss 1973: 5–61). With a front measuring 140m across and an estimated capacity of 15,000, it was probably the largest theatre in Asia Minor (Kleiner 1968: 69; Krauss 1973: 63; Müller-Wiener 1996). The *cavea* originally had three tiers, and it was slightly more than a semicircle (Kleiner 1968: 69–70; Sear 2006: 343). The Hellenistic stage building was dismantled down to its lowest levels, which were then incorporated into a limestone platform that formed the foundation of the new Roman stage building (Altenhöfer 1986: 167). To accommodate this, the orchestra was lowered by approximately 0.7m from its Hellenistic level (Krauss 1973: 66, 184). Capito's stage building occupied the entire front of the theatre, measuring approximately 40m wide, and had two storeys (Krauss 1973: 62; Müller-Wiener 1996). The theatre stage building at Ephesus at this time also had two storeys, and Zoilus' stage at Aphrodisias had three (Altenhöfer

1986: 172). A third storey was added at Miletus in the second century AD. Rising from the orchestra, immediately in front of the *scaenae*, was a podium, 1.762m high (Krauss 1973: 76). Within the podium there were seven uniformly distributed niches that were decorated, framed with marble, and had coffered ceilings (Krauss 1973: 70–73). The Roman stage building, like its Greek predecessor, was not connected to the parodos wall (see figs 4–5). A more typical feature of Roman construction at this time would have been for the stage building and *cavea* to be connected (Altenhöfer 1986: 171). Capito's new stage building was not designed to impose a carbon-copy of a Roman monument into a provincial, architecturally Hellenistic city. Nor was it designed to look exactly like other theatres in western Asia Minor. Instead, it can be suggested that the Milesian theatre stage was designed to complement, rather than contrast with, the existing Hellenistic urban fabric of Miletus, reflecting the developing cultural trends associated with the introduction of Roman forms of drama and entertainment into the province of Asia, the taste and choices of Capito, and his role and place in the world as both a Roman and a Milesian.

The walls of Capito's stage were mainly constructed of white limestone and were faced with white-grey marble slabs. Brown and white *poros* and gneiss were used in its foundations (Krauss 1973: 69–70). Although Friedrich Krauss offers no details as to the origins of these materials, they were probably locally sourced (de Bernardi Ferrero 1974: 32). The blocks were of uneven size, and the joints between them varied throughout the building. Some were filled with smaller stones and others were mortared (Krauss 1973: 69–70), while the façade was richly decorated (Krauss 1973: 70). Whilst Altenhöfer remarks that Capito's stage building brought a completely new style of architecture to Miletus, as there were no other similar façades in the city (Altenhöfer 1986: 171), it would be more accurate to state that the amalgamation of local and Roman elements created a new style of architecture not previously seen in Miletus. Similar façades from Julio-Claudian Asia include the recessed arch of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate at Ephesus and the Sebasteion's propylon at Aphrodisias. It is not unreasonable to say that Capito had acquainted himself with these prestigious constructions in his home province, and had adopted and adapted them into his own buildings in Miletus.

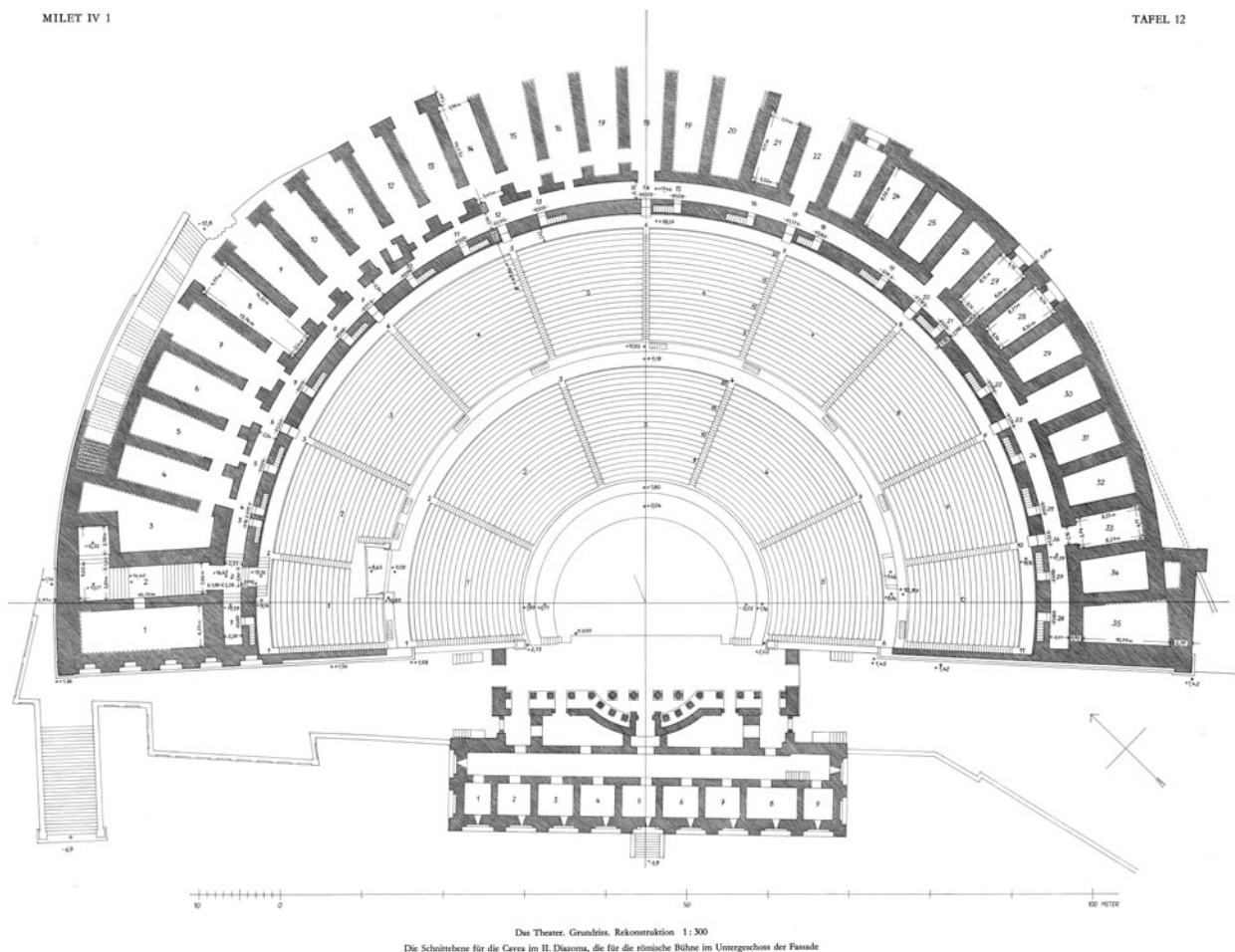


Fig. 4. Plan of the Theatre at Miletus (Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH Krauss 1973: pl. 12) (source: DAI).



Fig. 5. The remains of the theatre, including the stage building built by Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, Miletus (April 2011; photograph by author).



Fig. 6. The Library of Celsus, Ephesus (April 2011; photograph by author).

Altenhöfer notes that Capito's stage building is the oldest known example in Asia Minor of what he describes as *Tabernakelversetzung* (Altenhöfer 1986: 172). This refers to the arrangement of the aediculae on the façade so that those on the upper storey are offset in relation to those on the lower storey, rather than being directly above them. A famous example of this arrangement of aediculae is found on the façade of the second-century AD Library of Celsus (fig. 6). Although not mentioned by Altenhöfer, a closer example, both geographically and chronologically, of the same arrangement of aediculae is found on the façade of the Domitianic Nymphaeum in Miletus, built by Marcus Victor Ulpus Traianus, the father of the emperor Trajan (Gros 1996: 428; Hülsen 1919: 53; Longfellow 2011: 7, 61). The form of the Domitianic Nymphaeum, built less than 20 years after the stage building, was influenced by the new form of decorative façade introduced into Miletus by Capito.

The theatre stage at Miletus combined architectural and decorative elements that were new and innovative for the city with ones that would have been more familiar in a provincial context. The arrangement of the aediculae sat alongside older Hellenistic architectural decorative features, such as egg-and-dart motifs and bands of alternating open and closed palmettes (Krauss 1973: 71). In addition to the innovative arrangement of the columns on the façade, Capito's stage included unfluted monolithic columns of coloured marble, some of Euboean cipollino (Papageorgakis 1964) and others with red-to-blue veins (Kleiner 1968: 71). Gerhard Kleiner gives no further description of this latter marble, but its colouring suggests that it may be pavonazzetto, sourced from the Phrygian quarries (Waelkens 1985: 646). Frank Sear (2006: 344) simply refers to the stones as being 'polychrome', whilst

Daria de Bernardi Ferrero (1970: 91) is equally elusive on the theatre's coloured marbles, making no mention of any stones matching the description of either cipollino or pavonazzetto, though referring to columns and decoration on the logeion being made of black and red marbles.

The introduction of these new architectural elements can be attributed to Capito's connections to the Roman administrative system and experience of Roman cultural practices in Italy and beyond. The use of coloured marbles was very unusual before the Late Hellenistic period but became increasingly popular under Augustus and his immediate successors (Dodge 1984: 72; Ward-Perkins 1992a: 21). Cipollino in particular was hardly used by the Greeks but was extensively exploited by the Romans between the first century BC and second century AD (Dodge 1984: 92; Sutherland 2013: 17). There is evidence for its usage at this time in Italy, mainland Greece and the Islands, Asia Minor, North Africa, the Near East and Dalmatia (Sutherland 2013). Whilst Kleiner identified the marble used at the theatre as cipollino in his 1968 publication, Jeanne Sutherland makes no mention of it in her catalogue of cipollino distribution (Sutherland 2013: 17–118). Cipollino was particularly favoured in both Rome and Campania for public and official buildings, usually, as here, for columns (Ward-Perkins 1992a: 21, 1992b: 23). From an early date, the source of cipollino, the Carystian quarries, was imperially owned (Dodge 1984: 92). It was not an unusual case; by the reign of Tiberius, most of the major quarries of the empire were under imperial control (Suet. *Tib.* 49; Waelkens et al. 1988: 109). Under this system, a practice of bulk-production and stockpiling of architectural elements began to be put into place. J.B. Ward-Perkins (1992b: 25) suggests that such systems were established in the empire's quarries by the

second half of the first century AD, when Capito's building projects were underway. Capito's status as an important, well-connected, wealthy provincial elite individual, recently retired from a Roman administrative career, may well have enabled him to become an early beneficiary of the imperially controlled marble trade. Access to a port at Miletus would have further facilitated the use of expensive foreign-sourced marbles (de Bernardi Ferrero 1974: 32). The use of coloured marbles alongside local limestone for Capito's stage building represented a marked difference in building styles and the introduction of Roman materials into a Greek context.

There are other elements of Capito's stage façade that have been used as evidence for the introduction of Romano-Italic architectural elements into Greek contexts. One is using a colonnaded façade in front of the old rectangular stage building to create a curvilinear appearance, a design seen in Italy a century before and common by the Augustan period (Sear 2006; Thomas 2013: 162; Ward-Perkins 1981). This was different from the usual scheme of such buildings in Asia Minor, where the colonnaded façade was straight rather than curved (Thomas 2013: 162; for a catalogue of stage building designs, see Sear 2006: 325–84). Another unusual feature was that instead of the triple recessing seen in Greek theatre stages, there was a single, shallow but unusually wide, curved recess. Sear mentions three Western theatres that date from between the late Republic and the reign of Tiberius whose stage buildings displayed this characteristic: Herculaneum; Nuceria Alfaterna, which like Capito's stage building utilised coloured marbles in the form of veneering, and Arles (Sear 2006: 124, 128, 247–48). Stage buildings of Western theatres usually had a round niche in the centre, and some had two lateral rectangular niches on either side of the rounded one. The only other Eastern example is the theatre at Pessinus, which is undated (Bittel 1967: 142–50; Sear 2006: 363–64). Four freestanding columns on podia, unusually, stood in front of the niche at Miletus. Some Greek features were retained, such as the presence of five entrances, rather than the three that were usual in Latin theatres (Sear 2021: 37; Thomas 2013: 162–63). This new form of stage building represented a translation of Latin theatrical and architectural practices into a format that 'matched the taste and expectations of the local audience' (Thomas 2013: 163). Capito was not attempting to copy directly or to imitate Latin theatrical and architectural practices but to incorporate them into local contexts and practices, with no detriment to Greek forms.

In the Roman period, theatres were used not only to stage dramas, but also for competitions, religious events and public assemblies (D'Arms 1988: 56; Sear 2006: 13, 40–41; Yegül, Favro 2019: 627–28). As a result, the theatre was one of the most visited public monuments across the

whole social spectrum of locals and visitors alike (Raja 2012: 207–8). The visibility of the theatre stage, and the number of potential contexts in which people could interact with it, emphasises how architectural benefaction could act not only as a means of communication about the benefactor or the honorand, but also to provide a place in which communication and interactions could take place. A comparable example is the Roman theatre stage dedicated by Zoilus at Aphrodisias, which, rather pertinently, was the only monument he built in the city which represented him as both a local official and an imperial freedman. Like Capito's stage, it was constructed in a way that allowed for Greek and Roman forms of drama to take place (de Chaisemartin, Theodorescu: 2017). Capito's theatre stage would have presented its viewers with both architectural forms and ways of honouring both emperors and architectural benefactors that were as Roman, and as Milesian, as its benefactor.

The representation of Capito through the theatre stage building

The introduction of a stage building that had Roman characteristics while retaining elements of a traditional Greek theatre stage represented a gradual introduction of unfamiliar practices into a familiar context. The retention of the old and introduction of the new form a continual theme throughout Capito's work and in how he was represented as both an official of Rome and a resident of Miletus. The theatre of Miletus would have still looked familiar from the outside, blending into the older, Hellenistic cityscape. Once inside, a visitor would have been aware that they were viewing a different type of monument, as well as the potential space for a different type of performance. Capito's theatre stage also demonstrates how benefactors could use their architectural benefactions to shape the perceptions of the viewers and users of the monuments both of Roman culture and of themselves as benefactors. Another, later, example is the Fountain at Olympia, dedicated by Herodes Atticus and his wife Regilla (*I.Olympia* 614–17; Gleason 2010). Here, the form of the monument, and the representation of the Greek and Roman sides of the family through the statues, have been described by Maud Gleason as a site of 'negotiation between multiple identities' that was 'designed to convey the decorum of a harmonious but not homogenised world' (Gleason 2010: 130, 133). Greg Woolf (2010: 196) has argued that 'biculturalism', or at least a person's perception of themselves as bicultural, was unusual in the Greek East at this time, otherwise men like Herodes Atticus would not have made such an effort to claim it. Capito's dual identity, given that he was working several generations earlier in a province that had been part of the Roman Empire for less time, may have been even more unusual than when Atticus

was alive. Capito's exceptional position within the Roman world, with few precedents to follow in Miletus or elsewhere in the empire, allowed him the freedom to use the theatre stage to demonstrate this dual Roman-Milesian identity. In one of Miletus' most frequently visited public monuments, Capito used architecture and epigraphy to advertise himself as a successful, generous, cosmopolitan, praiseworthy individual. The use of the theatre long after Capito's death ensured his memorialisation as both a Roman and a Milesian. Furthermore, the theatre stage provided a place to communicate Miletus' interactions with Rome, and a space in which her residents could continue to interact with Roman culture, forming their own relationships and concept of place within the world in the same way that Capito had done.

The Baths of Capito

The dedicatory inscriptions

Capito's other building project was the bath complex now known as the Baths of Capito (figs 7–8). The date of the baths has also been subject to debate, both by archaeologists and by epigraphists. It was initially dated to the reign of Claudius. Its dedicatory inscription, found in the early 20th century, was published first by Theodor Wiegand (1908), and then by Ludwig Mitteis and Ulrich Wilcken (1912), who reconstructed it thus:

Αὐτοκράτορ[ι Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι
Γερμανικῶι Γναῖος Οὐεργίλιος Καπίτων ἑπαρχος τῆς
Αἰγ]ύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτ[ρο]πος τὸ βαλανεῖον
ἀνέθηκεν.

To the Emperor [Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, son of Gnaeus, prefect of Egypt and procurator of Asia dedicated the baths (Mitteis, Wilcken 1912: 375).

Albert Rehn reconstructs the text slightly differently to Mitteis and Wilken, condensing Capito's honours:

Αὐτοκράτορ[ι Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι
Γερμανικῶι Γναῖος Οὐεργίλιος Γναίου υἱὸς Καπίτων
Αἰγ]ύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτ[ρο]πος τὸ βαλανεῖον
ἀνέθηκεν.

To the Emperor [Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Gnaeus Vergilius Capito son of Gnaeus] procurator [of Egy]pt and Asia dedicated the bath (*I.Milet* 1.328/329).

Christian Habicht also supports a Claudian date for the baths. He suggests that Capito was Procurator of Asia, then left the province in late AD 47 to become prefect of Egypt, before returning to Miletus after he had served his term as prefect to see the buildings dedicated to Claudius before October AD 54 (Habicht 1959: 163). Reinhard Köster, in a study of architectural ornamentation at Miletus designed to establish a chronology based on securely dated monuments, also supports an earlier date. On the basis of the honorific inscription for Capito from Didyma (*SEG* 57.1109bis), which states that he was prefect of Egypt under Claudius, and the presence of the title on the baths' inscription, Köster allows the possibility that the baths were constructed during the reign of Claudius (Köster 2004: 33–35). McCabe, however, suggests that they, like the theatre, were dedicated to Nero. Nero's name is only two letters shorter than Claudius' and would take up a similarly sized space when inscribed: Αὐτοκράτορ[ι Νέρωνι Κλαυδίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶι] (McCabe 1986: 188). There is no other evidence from the excavation of the baths which can accurately date the structure, but the Neronian date that has been established for the



Fig. 7. The standing remains of the Baths of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, Miletus (April 2011; photograph by author).



Fig. 8. View from inside the Baths of Capito. The Ionic Portico that fronted the building is visible between the gaps in the standing wall (April 2011; photograph by author).

stage building, combined with our knowledge of Capito's *cursus*, suggest that the most likely scenario is that both monuments were dedicated in the early years of Nero's reign.

The findspot of the dedicatory inscription is recorded as the north side of the Ionic portico (Köster 2004: 35), which seems to refer to the portico that ran parallel to the Sacred Way. The description states that the final two blocks are complete, whilst the first is fragmentary, suggesting that the surviving parts of the text were found in situ, or nearly so. Wiegand suggested that there were 22 letters across six architrave blocks, and his calculations were used to reconstruct the text. The monument was dedicated to the emperor, and Capito is called procurator (*ἐπίτροπος*) of Egypt and Asia. Although Capito no longer held either of these offices when the monument was constructed, his titles should read *ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπος*, 'prefect of Egypt and procurator of Asia' (Magie 1950: 1398), as preserved elsewhere (*SEG* 57-1109bis). Capito's former titles are presented here, and elsewhere, not to acknowledge the capacity in which Capito gave his benefactions but to recognise and honour him as a successful member of Roman society. Alongside a lack of any mention of local connections or offices in these dedications, implying that Capito had gained such renown within Miletus that he did not need to justify his actions to his fellow citizens, it can be suggested that the inclusion of his former titles in these inscriptions had a wider aim: Capito wanted to represent his prestigious place within the empire, to the empire.

Colonnaded streets and porticoes, features whose origins can be traced to a number of earlier influences, became characteristic of the plans of many cities of Asia Minor during the Roman period (Beck 1985; Burns 2017; Hammond 2013; Parrish 2001: 39; Waelkens 2020: 863; Willet 2020: 208). Such streets are generally considered to demonstrate unity and a sense of grandness and splendour (Bean 1968: 105; Parrish 2001: 39; Willet 2020: 208). They also defined the location of the most important public monuments, and acted as a place for the collation of honorific statues and inscriptions, drawing a traveller's attention to the city's historical claims and the works of its most notable residents (Waelkens 2020: 862). Ross Burns suggests that the prestige of an architectural benefactor's work would have been immensely enhanced if the monument contributed to the presentation of a well-ordered, functional city, developing Beck's work on the concept of 'view planning' – the concept of cityscapes as deliberately scenographic displays (Beck 1985: 143; Burns 2017: 79, 88). This deliberate use and manipulation of space suggests that Capito's construction of the Ionic portico that fronted Miletus' main thoroughfares, and most importantly, the inscribing of his name upon it, served to

represent Capito as a highly prestigious individual to everyone passing through the city. The Ionic portico's dedicatory inscription leaves no doubt as to the influence of Rome, but its columns would have ensured that it retained a familiar look within the cityscape. Jean Delorme questions the function of this portico, wondering whether it could have been used as part of the complex's training facilities, but its internal length of around 94m is approximately half the usual length of the running event in an athletics competition (Delorme 1960: 269). These dimensions alone are enough to convince Delorme that the Ionic portico could not have been used as an exercise space. In addition, the fact that the portico fronted a row of shops, the north end of which opened onto the palaestra and separated the bath complex from the street, indicates it was not part of the training spaces of the Baths of Capito but provided an ornamental frontage to the street, and sheltered the shops and their users from the elements.

The archaeological remains of the Baths of Capito

Described as 'the earliest and clearest example illustrating the combination of a gymnasium and a bath' (Yegül, Favro 2019: 687) (see fig. 9), and as setting a provincial precedent (Mitchell 1993: 216), the Baths of Capito had an impact on the appearance of the old city, combining familiar and unfamiliar architectural elements. In particular, what has been described as a Campanian bathing complex centred around a *laconicum* was adapted to fit into the axis of the Greek city plan (Thomas 2013: 156). In his analysis of Greek gymnasia and palaestrae, Delorme suggests that the two buildings, although similar in function, should be considered as two separate institutions. He states that they held different legal statuses and had different facilities, and that the latter may have served to cultivate the physical, rather than the intellectual, development of the city's youths (Delorme 1960: 260). Regardless of the supposed differences between gymnasia and palaestrae, according to Delorme, regardless of who owned or managed them, palaestrae in the Greek world were not public spaces (Delorme 1960: 261). Vitruvius makes it clear that the palaestra was a Greek architectural feature: 'Though not used by the people of Italy, it seems proper that I should explain the form of the palaestra and describe the mode in which it was constructed by the Greeks' (*Vitr.* 5.11.1). He continues by describing how it fitted into Greek hot and cold bathing practices. Large, open exercise spaces were less familiar as elements of Italian bathing complexes, and the elaborate suites of rooms associated with Italian baths were less familiar in Greek contexts. In a traditional Greek gymnasium only the *loutron*, a room with basins for washing in cold water, had a specific bathing function (*Vitr.* 5.11.2; Yegül 2013: 83). By the Late Hellenistic period, more elaborate bathing facilities began to appear in Greek

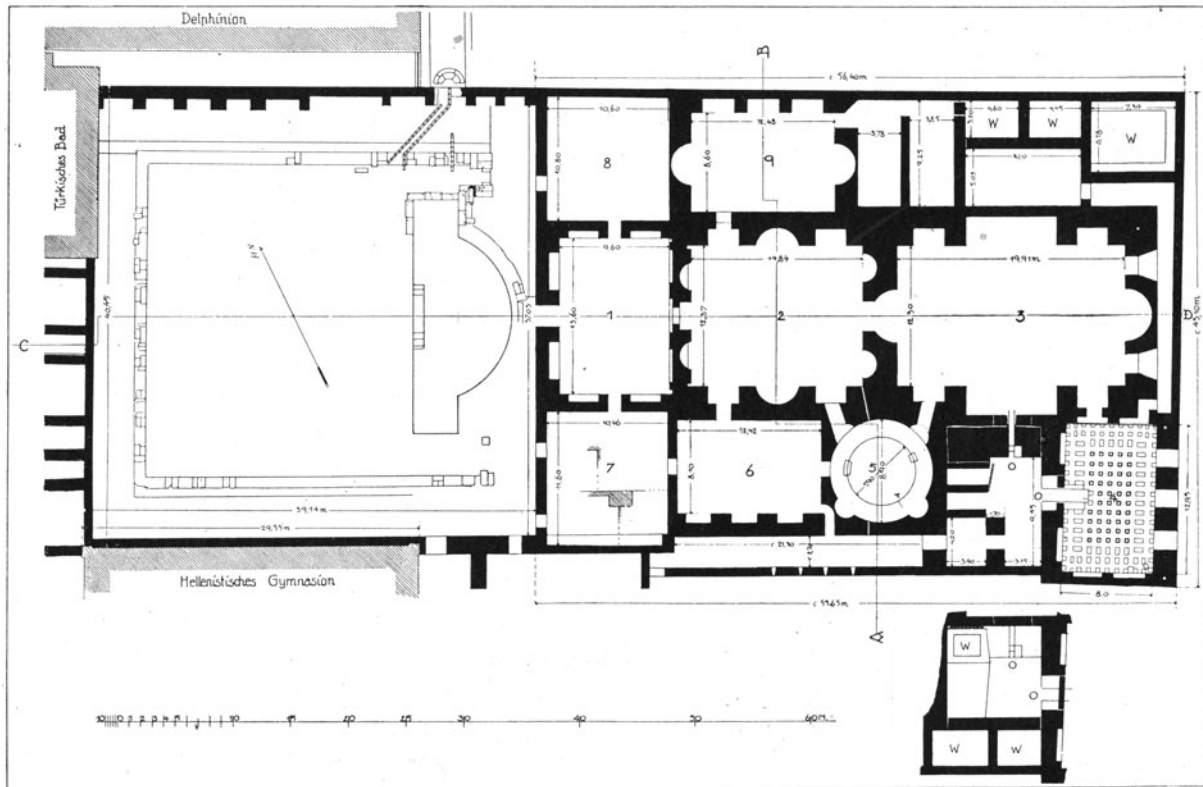


Abb. 29. Grundriß der Thermen des Capito. Erhaltungszustand.

Aufgenommen von A. Zippelius.

Fig. 9. Plan of the Baths of Capito (Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH von Gerkan, Krischen, 1928) (source: DAI).

gymnasia. In Asia Minor particularly, where the gymnasium tradition never lost its importance under Rome, complexes which combined an exercise area with a suite of bathing rooms became what are now called bath-gymnasia (Yegül 2013: 83, 85).

Bath-gymnasia, like the Baths of Capito, became prevalent in Asia Minor by the reign of Trajan (Raja 2012: 211). The form of the complex not only allowed for Roman practices of bathing but also provided a place to host sports and contests associated with the Greek gymnasium (Nielsen 1993: 98–101; Willet 2020: 204–5). In other areas of the Greek world, the bath-gymnasium did not have the same appeal as it did in early Imperial Asia Minor. In the Roman province of Achaia, bath-gymnasia only began to appear in the second century AD, and here, almost exclusively, bathing complexes are added on to pre-existing gymnasia. In the Roman Near East, there is no surviving evidence for a bath-gymnasium complex (Raja 2012: 211). Rubina Raja ascribes these trends to the presence or absence of pre-existing Greek gymnasia in these areas but does also acknowledge that these provincial bath-gymnasia were, to an extent, inspired by the city of Rome's earliest bathing complexes (Raja 2012: 211). The Italic inspiration for the bath houses of Lycia has been demonstrated by Andrew

Farrington (1995). So strong is the correlation between the structures in the two areas, Farrington has suggested that plans for the Lycian bath houses were directly brought from Italy, perhaps by architects amongst the entourage of the provincial governor (Farrington 1995: 48). The introduction of the bath-gymnasium to Asia Minor has been connected to the prosperity of the province, its ready absorption of Roman influences and its relatively high levels of urbanisation (Willet 2020: 227). The Baths of Capito raise interesting questions about the role of architectural benefactors and their gifts in shaping their cities' urban fabric and introducing Roman cultural practices into provincial settings. Bath complexes, for all their splendour, were highly practical structures designed for everyday use by the population of the city. They were also expensive to build and maintain, so showed off the wealth of the city and its ability to organise such logistics (Raja 2012: 212). The Baths of Capito changed the cityscape of Miletus, influenced the cultural practices of its residents and created a new space in which both Capito himself, as a citizen of Rome and Miletus, and his city's place, physically and culturally, within the empire would have been represented to a wide-ranging audience. It is with these functions in mind that the archaeological remains will be discussed.

The exercise area of the Baths of Capito measured 38 x 38m and was lined with colonnades 3.5–5m deep, with intercolumniations of 2.6m on the north, south and west sides, and 2m on the east (von Gerkan, Krischen 1928: 23; Kleiner 1968: 93; Striwe 2003: 4–5; Thomas 2013: 152). It is thought that elements of the Hellenistic gymnasium, which was located on the same site, were retained to form the bathing block's colonnaded palaestra (Ward-Perkins 1981: 295). Its entablature was decorated with motifs such as egg-and-dart, dentils, cassettes, lion-head waterspouts, a balustrade adorned with plant imagery and a frieze of plant scrolls (Kleiner 1968: 93; Köster 2004: 33). Many of these decorative features also appear on the stage building. Kleiner initially thought that there were two storeys of Corinthian columns on each side of the exercise area (Kleiner 1968: 93), but Köster has argued that there were two storeys on the east side only, claiming that the initial reconstruction placed building components in places where they could not feasibly fit (Köster 1993: 434–35; 2004: 36–37). The increased height of the east side of the exercise area also supports Armin von Gerkan and Fritz Krischen's suggestion that its purpose was aesthetic; to cover up the 'unadorned mass of the thermal baths' which lay behind it (von Gerkan, Krischen 1928: 23). On the front of the palaestra there was an upper gallery and central broken pediment; the latter feature also appeared as part of the theatre stage (Thomas 2013: 152). Broken pediments, as implied by Judith McKenzie (2007: 105), were a recognisable feature of Alexandrian monuments, which Capito would have encountered when he was based there during his tenure as Prefect of Egypt. As on the theatre stage, a decorative arrangement of aediculae also appeared on the upper storey of the palaestra (Köster 1993: 436). The similarities in the architectural features of these two monuments imply that the same team of architects worked on both projects. By including similar structural features on both monuments, Capito was attempting to send out a consistent message about himself and how he understood the varied architectural traditions present in the Eastern empire.

The inclusion of a palaestra in the Baths of Capito is innovative in a number of ways. The combination of the older palaestra, a Greek private space, with a new bath complex, a Roman public space, indicates an evolving spatial concept, stimulated by the architectural benefaction of a man who had demonstrable connections to both Miletus and the wider Roman world. A space that would normally have been reserved for private exercise now had to be open to the public, as access to the baths was not possible without crossing the palaestra. Furthermore, for what is thought to be the first time in the province of Asia, a space existed which would have allowed traditional Greek exercise regimes to occur alongside, and perhaps in

conjunction with, Roman bathing practices. The Baths of Capito indicate not only changes in how spaces were used in cities in the East under Rome, but also how the practices of two cultures coexisted in a provincial setting, and were brought in and developed by benefactors such as Capito. This is a clear demonstration of the role that architectural benefactors and their buildings played in encouraging interaction with Roman culture within a provincial setting, enabling Roman and local cultural practices to coexist with and complement each other within the same space.

A further innovation seen in the Baths of Capito that had its origins in Italian contexts is the use of lime-mortared rubble in its construction. In Ephesus and other cities, the use of Roman building techniques such as lime-mortared rubble, as opposed to the Hellenistic technique of ashlar construction, had begun to be used from the early Augustan period onwards; for example, in the Marnas aqueduct bridge built near Ephesus by Gaius Sextilius Pollio and Gaius Offilius Proculus (Alzinger 1974: 22; Dodge 1984: 160; Waelkens 1987: 94, 96). However, at Miletus, it was not used to construct a public building until the time of Capito. The only earlier use of lime-mortared rubble at Miletus was to construct the Augustan Big Harbour Monument (Waelkens 1987: 97) shown in figure 10. Another of the characteristic architectural features of the Baths of Capito is the extensive use of cut stone and ashlar fitted together with metal clamps and used in conjunction with mortared rubble. This technique, introduced by the Romans to Asia Minor (Waelkens 1989: 78), is found in the piers, corners, vaults and domes, and mortared rubble alone is used for some of the domes (Waelkens 1987: 97; Yegül, Favro 2019: 606).

As at the theatre, there is clear evidence for Capito's role in promoting Roman cultural influence within a provincial setting in his Baths. The new baths extended to the east of the palaestra, screened by a curvilinear colonnade which stood behind the open-air swimming pool, a feature shared with complexes such as the Central Baths at Pompeii (Thomas 2013: 149–50). Whereas the porticoes formed the familiar architectural elements of the complex, the building that housed the pools was formed of a combination of familiar and innovative architectural elements and construction techniques. The walls were constructed of rubble masonry, a building technique described as one which 'admits considerable Western influence' (Yegül, Favro 2019: 614), in the manner of Italian thermal structures, with limestone blocks to fortify the corners. The caldarium is characterised by the square niches and rounded exedrae which line the room's four walls (Kleiner 1968: 95). Both of these features are characteristically Italian in nature. Another unfamiliar Italian architectural feature of the Baths of Capito is the domed rotunda, measuring 9m in diameter, on the south side of



Fig. 10. The standing remains of the Big Harbour Monument, Miletus. (April 2011; photographs by author).

the building (von Gerkan, Krischen 1928: 32). This domed room, most likely a sudatorium or steam room (Kleiner 1968: 96–97; Striwe 2003: 8), would have resembled the round bathing halls that were constructed in Italy at this time (Thomas 2013: 147–48). Domed rooms, usually *laconica*, or dry sweating rooms, had been present in baths in Campania, but this one mirrors near-contemporary developments in Italy, such as the Central Baths at Pompeii, built in the years immediately after the earthquake of AD 62 (Farrington 1995: 30; Thomas 2013: 149; Ward-Perkins 1981: 295).

The representation of Capito at his baths

Like the theatre stage building, the Baths of Capito tell us much about Capito as a benefactor and how his own unique socio-historical context influenced not only the physical forms of his monuments, but also their role and place within Miletus and the wider cultural practices of its peoples. The epigraphic evidence from the Baths of Capito gives no clues to his dual Roman and Milesian identity. However, the architectural details not only allude to this dual identity but also to how Roman cultural practices introduced by wealthy, well-connected civic elite individuals such as Capito impacted provincial public architecture. Roman, Greek and Alexandrian architectural features were used throughout the complex, some of them retained from the old Hellenistic gymnasium. Capito would have seen all these features during his travels and long periods of residence in Italy, Asia, the Aegean islands and Egypt; and if, as Vitruvius implies, he had some say in the way the monument looked and the materials that were used, he would have incorporated and/or adapted them. The Ionic portico at its entrance, the palaestra and its colonnades, decorated with typical Hellenistic motifs, are elements that could be found in any gymnasium in any part of the Greek world, giving a Greek visitor a sense of familiarity. Once a

visitor had passed across the palaestra – through the colonnades and into the main part of the baths, with its domes and concrete walls – they would have noticed something new. Its rooms of various temperatures and swimming pool are immediately indicative of Roman practices of bathing. The concrete from which it was constructed, and the domes which crowned several of its rooms, would have been unfamiliar in a Milesian context and further indicate that this was a building influenced by Roman, or at least Italic, culture. The Baths of Capito show that the inclusion of architectural elements from Italic cultural practices in the provinces was influenced by the personality and life experience of the benefactor involved, and that such projects could play a role in the transfer of new cultural and architectural practices into provincial settings.

Conclusion

This article has aimed to demonstrate that architectural benefactors such as Gnaeus Vergilius Capito played a major role in the introduction of Roman architectural and cultural practices into provincial settings. The way Capito was represented through his buildings and the associated epigraphy has been examined. These buildings not only commemorated and celebrated Capito's life, work and achievements, but also introduced new cultural practices, and encouraged adoption of and interaction with them, by providing the space and place for them to occur. The monuments of Capito demonstrate that in Julio-Claudian Asia Minor, architectural benefaction was a fluid process, open to interpretation and adaptation by those involved. Public buildings were an outward sign of the city's prestige, wealth and culture, viewed and recognised by both locals and visitors. The use of these buildings, which enabled the adoption of Roman cultural practices, created a new locus of potential conversation between provincial citizens and the cultural message which the monument conveyed.

The use of Roman building materials, architectural techniques and dedicatory practices at the theatre and the baths at Miletus should be attributed to them being the architectural benefactions made by a well-travelled Roman citizen in Gnaeus Vergilius Capito. A comparable example presents itself in the work of another Procurator of Asia, Calvisius Ruso, who, although he had no known connections to the city, dedicated the Fountain of Domitian at Ephesus to Artemis and the emperor (*IvE* 413, 419). Constructed using Roman building materials and architectural features, such as *opus signinum* and an apsidal settling basin, and in a form that echoed a contemporary fountain in Rome, it was decorated with sculptures easily understood by Italian and Ephesian viewers (Longfellow 2011: 61, 65, 74–76). Calvisius Ruso's architectural benefaction, whilst it would have transformed the streetscape of Flavian Ephesus in a Roman manner, did so in a way that respected the cultural setting in which it was located. The Baths of Capito's unfamiliar vaults and domes shaped and changed Miletus' skyline and cityscape (Farrington 1995: 132–33), whilst the rooms they crowned provided their users with a place for further interactions with Roman culture. Capito would have seen and used such structures around the Roman Empire, and his baths testify to the agency of architectural benefactors in bringing new cultural practices into provincial settings. Furthermore, monuments like the Baths of Capito introduced the residents of their respective cities to the aspects of Roman culture experienced by their benefactors, and by providing the ideal setting, enabled provincial residents to interact with, adopt and adapt Roman practices as they chose. The work of benefactors such as Capito had cultural implications in Roman society far beyond a simple exchange of gifts for honours: they and their buildings had the power to shape cities, peoples and cultures.

The combination of a Greek palaestra with an Italian bath house at the Baths of Capito indicates the adoption and adaptation of non-local cultural practices in Miletus at this time, a phenomenon driven and enabled by architectural benefactors and their buildings. These developments and features have, alongside those seen in the theatre stage building, also been interpreted as architectural translation of Romano-Italic concepts into a Greek context in a manner that would be understood by the recipient Milesians (Thomas 2013: 156). Capito's monuments do not solely reflect how the Milesian population, whether locals or Italian immigrants, understood Roman practices of theatre stage building, drama or bathing; they also demonstrate how public architecture could communicate this understanding and provide a place for it to grow and develop further through community interaction with the monument.

This article has suggested that alongside gaining an initial reward or honour in return for a building's construction, architectural benefactors could use their monuments to represent their relationships to their city and to the empire. Under Roman rule, architectural benefactors had a degree of choice with regard to both the way that they represented the relationship between themselves and their home city and the way they constructed their public monuments. Capito used his architectural benefactions, constructed in his home city after his retirement from public life, to demonstrate who he was in relation to the world around him. Furthermore, the buildings advertised Miletus' connections with the Roman world, communicated non-Milesian ideas and practices to others and created a space for them to create their own relationships with the wider world. The way that architectural benefactors were represented resulted from the unique socio-historical and geographical contexts of the benefactions and benefactors. This meant that those involved with a building had the opportunity to choose exactly what information they wanted to include and to build in a style of their choosing. The coming of Rome did not result in an ousting of older practices in favour of new ones, but rather it gave provincial benefactors new ways of expressing their benefactions, their role in local society and their relationship with Rome.

Architectural benefactions such as Capito's functioned as visual indicators of the influence of Rome on its provinces and must be considered as more than simply a gift given in exchange for the resultant prestige and honour granted to the benefactor. On one level, they functioned as a representation of one man's perception of his place in the world. Capito's buildings featured architectural elements he would have seen across the empire, honoured Nero as reigning emperor, Apollo as patron god of the city and the *demos* of Miletus, those whom he considered most worthy, and facilitated the introduction of Roman cultural practices he must have encountered elsewhere. On another level, they represented the architectural development of Roman Miletus and the role that the benefactor played in it. The introduction of Roman buildings and their associated cultural practices into provincial cities can be attributed to wealthy local elite individuals such as Capito, who had had a Roman administrative career. This work resulted in other residents being able to interact with them, and to adopt and adapt Roman ideas to suit their own needs, circumstances or preferences. It is by this fluid, more organic means that Roman influences permeated through the provinces; Roman cultural practices were certainly not forcibly imposed. Finally, this article has shown that the monuments built by Capito had roles and functions within Miletus far beyond providing a place for enter-

tainment and bathing. They commemorated their benefactor and their city's place in the Roman world, and provided the setting for continued interactions between Milesian and Roman culture, long after the lifespan of their Roman-Milesian benefactor.

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Abbreviations

CIL = Mommsen, T. (ed.) 1863–: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3. Berlin, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

CIG = Böckh, A. (ed.) 1828–1877: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin

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