

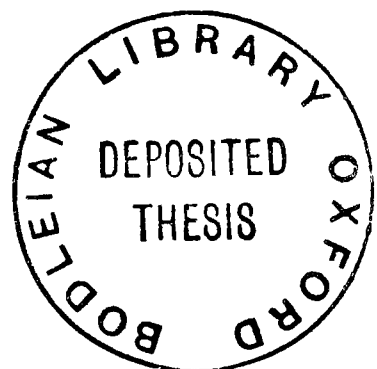


Roman Public Libraries

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Oxford

Matthew Nicholls,
The Queen's College

Michaelmas Term, 2005.



'Roman Public Libraries'

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
Matthew Nicholls, The Queen's College, Oxford.
Michaelmas Term 2005.

Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate the development and functions of public libraries in Rome and the Roman world. After a preface with maps of libraries in Rome, Section I discusses the precursors for public library provision in the private book collections of Republican Rome, and their transfer into the public domain with the first public libraries of Asinius Pollio and Augustus.

Section II contains three 'case studies' of public libraries' different rôles. The Augustan library programme is used in Ch.II.1 to examine the role of imperial public libraries in literary life and the connections between Rome's libraries and those of Alexandria. Chapter II.2 concentrates on the libraries of Trajan's Forum to explore the intersection of imperial public libraries and monumental public architecture. This chapter responds to an important recent article by arguing for the continued identification of the Forum's libraries with twin brick buildings at its northern end, and suggests a series of correspondences between these libraries and its other monumental components. The conclusions of this chapter are important when considering the public libraries of the wider empire, several of which seem to have been inspired by the Trajanic libraries. Chapter II.3 considers imperial public libraries and leisure by looking at the evidence for libraries within bath-house complexes, concluding that their presence there is consistent with the archaeological and epigraphic evidence and fits in well with what we know of the intellectual and cultural life of these structures.

Section III examines various aspects of the practical function of Roman public libraries: their contents (books and archives), division into Latin and Greek sections, provisions for shelving and cataloguing, staff, usership, architectural form, decoration, and housing of works of art. The picture that emerges is of carefully designed and functional buildings intended to sustain public, monumental, and practical functions.

Section IV uses a variety of texts to examine the way in which libraries were viewed and used. Ch. IV.1 discusses the evidence for use of libraries by scholars and authors such as Gellius, Galen, Josephus, and Apuleius. Ch. IV.2 examines parallels between library collections and compendious encyclopaedic elements within Roman literature and considers how library collections came to be canon-forming institutions and vehicles for the expression of imperial approval or disapproval towards authors. The channels through which this imperial influence flowed are investigated in Ch. IV.3, which looks at the directors and staff of the public libraries of Rome.

The final section (V) of the thesis concerns public libraries outside the city of Rome. Provincial libraries provide a useful case study in 'Romanisation': they reveal a range of influences and are shown to embody local, personal, and metropolitan imperial identities.

There follows a brief conclusion, and a bibliography. There are also five appendices of numismatic and epigraphic material discussed in the text. This material has not been adequately or completely gathered elsewhere and is intended to assist the reader; where appropriate it includes illustrations, transcriptions, and translations.

Roman Public Libraries

List of figures	iii
Preface	v
I - THE ANTECEDENTS & ORIGINS OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES AT ROME..	1
i) Republican libraries and literary life.....	1
Imperial acquisition of Republican book collections.....	10
Rome's first public libraries.....	13
The first imperial public libraries	17
II - THE FOUNDATION & ROLES OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES AT ROME: THREE 'CASE STUDIES'	21
II.1 - Imperial public libraries and literary activity: Augustus' library programme and the library of the Porticus Octaviae	21
i) Roman libraries and Alexandria.....	23
ii) The Aedes Herculis Musarum and the library of the Porticus Octaviae.....	31
II.2 - Imperial public libraries and monumental identity: the libraries of Trajan's Forum.....	43
i) The architecture, decoration, and operation of the libraries of Trajan's Forum.....	45
ii) Their function as libraries	53
iii) The design history of Trajan's libraries and their connection to the rest of the Forum	60
iv) Trajan's Forum: Libraries, Column, and Temple	70
The Column	73
The Temple of the Deified Trajan	78
v) Conclusion: the libraries in their monumental context	85
vi) Chronology	89
II.3 - Imperial public libraries and leisure: libraries in bath houses	92
i) The evidence for bath-house libraries	93
The Baths of Trajan	98
The Baths of Caracalla	102
The Baths of Diocletian	107
ii) Intellectual and cultural activities in Roman bath-houses	111
III - PRACTICALITIES: THE OPERATION OF ROMAN LIBRARIES.....	127
Library Contents: books.....	127
Library contents: archives	130
Libraries as guarantors of text.....	134
Latin and Greek sections	137
Use of public libraries	143
Catalogues and shelving	144
Seating and reading	152
Borrowing.....	154
Staff	156
Library design, decoration and identity.....	160

List of figures

Figure 1 Public libraries in the city of Rome.	ix
Figure 2 Public libraries in central Rome – enlarged from Figure 1.	x
Figure 3 Plan of the Porticus Octaviae and Aedes Herculis Musarum.	36
Figure 4 Plan of the Forum of Trajan.	45
Figure 5 Western library of Trajan's forum: current and original plans.	47
Figure 6 The interior of one of the libraries of Trajan's Forum.	49
Figure 7 The Basilica Ulpia and Trajan's libraries on Forma Urbis fragment 29.	62
Figure 8 Alterations to the interior of the west library in Trajan's Forum.	65
Figure 9 Stairway access between the western library of Trajan's Forum and the Basilica Ulpia.	67
Figure 10 Coins showing Trajan's Column surmounted by an owl.	76
Figure 11 Reconstructed elevation and cross-section of the Temple of the Deified Trajan.	80
Figure 12 The Baths of Trajan, Rome.	98
Figure 13 Details of western part of the Baths of Trajan.	101
Figure 14 The peribolus of the Baths of Caracalla, with library detail.	103
Figure 15 The peribolus of the Baths of Caracalla, with library marked G.	104
Figure 16 Elevation of the west library of the Baths of Caracalla by the Anonymous Destailleur (HDz 4151, fol. 32 recto).	105
Figure 17 Western library of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome, showing central apse, niches, and vestiges of stepped podium.	106
Figure 18 The Baths of Diocletian, Rome.	107
Figure 19 Bathing complex at Civitavecchia. Possible library labelled Lib.	110
Figure 20 Kaisersaal in the bath-house at Sardis.	121
Figure 21 Eastern Baths, Ephesus. Western 'library' room/kaisersaal labelled M.	124
Figure 22 Baths of Faustina, Miletus. Mouseion indicated with letter M.	125
Figure 23 Censorial records on the "Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus". Late first century BC (Stilp 2001).	132
Figure 24 Censorial records on the Trajanic plutei (early 2 nd C AD), Rome.	132
Figure 25 Public archive building (nomophylakion) at Cyrene, Libya.	134
Figure 26 Libraries of the Palatine Apollo complex.	139
Figure 27 Cupboard in the library of the Villa Silin, Libya.	149
Figure 28 Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum. Library room marked with L.	150
Figure 29 Books and shelves in a 17th century drawing of a lost Roman relief sculpture from Neumagen in Germany.	151
Figure 30 Inscribed rules of the library of Pantainos, Athens.	154
Figure 31 Possible depiction of a library interior from Oplontis: NB podium, doors, and <i>imagines clipeatae</i>	163
Figure 32 Copy of a late 2nd C AD relief from Neumagen.	182
Figure 33 Locations of provincial Roman public libraries.	269
Figure 34 Statues of the Iliad and Odyssey from the library of Pantainos, Athens.	277
Figure 35 Plan of the Library of Pantainos, Athens.	278
Figure 36 Hadrian's Library at Athens (left) and the Templum Pacis at Rome (right).	280
Figure 37 Hadrian's library in Athens.	281

Figure 38 Flavia Melitene's library at Pergamum.	284
Figure 39 Plan of Flavia Melitene's library at Pergamum.....	285
Figure 40 Imperial and provincial library foundations on a reign-by-reign basis.	287
Figure 41 The location of the Celsus library (55).....	292
Figure 42 Plan of Celsus' library at Ephesus.....	294
Figure 43 Cross section of Celsus' library at Ephesus, showing sarcophagus.....	295
Figure 44 Facade of the library of Celsus at Ephesus.....	295
Figure 45 Podium and niches in the library of Celsus at Ephesus.....	296
Figure 46 Plan and internal elevation of library at Nysa.	297
Figure 47 The library at Timgad (Pfeiffer 1931, Pl. 16-18).	299
Figure 48 Statue of Sophia at Celsus' library, Ephesus. NB fasces at right.....	302
Figure 49 Possible library building at Cremna.	304
Figure 50 Possible library building at Side (flanking rooms on east side).....	305
Figure 51 Plan and elevation of possible library at Nîmes.	307
Figure 52 Possible library building on Byrsa Hill, Carthage.	308
Figure 53 Possible library building on Byrsa Hill, Carthage (no. 6 on plan).....	310
Figure 54 Plan of the library at Sagalassos.....	312
Figure 55 The library at Sagalassos.	313



Preface

Rome's first public library, built by Asinius Pollio in 39BC, was swiftly followed by others. Augustus and his successors came to see libraries as a valuable component in their pattern of euergetism at Rome; several provincial counterparts followed. Certain emperors took a particularly active interest in literature, most notably Augustus, while others sought to resemble him in their fostering of the arts. Domitian, for example, spent a great deal of money restoring the libraries of Rome after a fire in AD 80.¹

Libraries constructed and stocked by the emperors of Rome are shown on the maps on pages ix and x. They include those of the Temple of Palatine Apollo (after 29BC)² and the Porticus Octaviae (c.23BC)³ under Augustus; the Temple of the Deified Augustus⁴ and the Domus Tiberiana⁵ under Tiberius; the Templum Pacis⁶ under Vespasian and the Bibliothecae Ulpiae⁷ in the Forum Traiani under Trajan, both known

¹ Suetonius *Dom.* 20.

² **Library of Palatine Apollo:** the lost fragment 20b of the Marble Plan has a plan of this library. It is attested by *Schol. Hor. Epist.* 1.3.17; *Serv. Georg.* 4.10. Its numerous images: Horace *Epist.* 2.1.214-8; Porph. *Hor. Epist.* 2.1.214; *Schol. Hor. Sat.* 1.4.21; Tacitus *Ann.* 2.37, 83. Its librarians: Pompeius Macer (Suetonius *Div. Iul.* 56.7; *PIR P* 472) and C. Iulius Hyginus (Suet. *Gram.* 20; *PIR I* 357). Poetic readings and auditions here: *Schol. Hor. Sat.* 1.10.38; Calp. *Ecl.* 4.157-9.

³ **Libraries of the Porticus Octaviae:** Livy *Periochae* 140 and Plutarch *Marc.* 30.11. Funerary inscriptions name the librarians, the first of whom was C. Melissus, a freedman of Maecenas (*PIR M* 38; Suet. *Gram.* 21.3): *CIL VI* 2347-9, 4431-5, 5192. Cassius Dio includes this library among his list of buildings burned in the fire of 80AD, so perhaps it was among the libraries restored *impensissime* by Domitian (Suetonius *Dom.* 20).

⁴ **Library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus:** artworks there: Suetonius *Tib.* 74, Pliny *HN* 34.43 and possibly *HN* 35.131. Rebuilt under Domitian after fire: Martial 12.3.7-8; Suetonius *Dom.* 20. Military *diplomata* placed here between the 27th of October 90AD and the 7th of January 298AD: *CIL XVI*, p.196f.. The *Curiosum* of the 4th century (Reg. VIII) says that the statue of Minerva mentioned by Martial 4.53.1 was still in place, so perhaps the library was still functioning at that date. Sometimes associated with Domitianic structures formerly occupied by the Church of S. Maris Liberatrice.

⁵ **Library of the Domus Tiberiana:** rebuilt after the fire of 64 by Domitian: Suetonius *Dom.* 20. Attested by two ancient authors who used it: Gellius 13.20.1 in the second half of the 2nd century AD, and Flavius Vopiscus at the time of Maxentius (*SHA Prob.* 2.1) – in use, therefore, both before and after the great fire of AD 191, which destroyed so much of the Palatine and the House of the Vestals (Orosius *Hist.* 7.16.3, Dio 72.24.1-2).

⁶ **The Library of the Templum Pacis:** Aulus Gellius cites obscure grammatical treatises there: *N.1* 16.8.2, 5.21.9.

⁷ **The Libraries of Trajan's Forum:** referred to as *Bibliotheca Ulpia*: *SHA Tac.* 8.1; *Prob.* 2.1; *Car.* 11.3; *Ulpia Bibliotheca*: *SHA Aurelianus* 1.7, 10; 8.1; 24.7; *Bibliotheca Templi Traiani*: Gellius 11.17.1; βιβλίων ἀποθήκας Dio

from archaeology and the Marble Plan; the Capitoline library, of unknown date, which burned in AD 188;⁸ Hadrian's Athenaeum, a poorly understood cultural complex;⁹ M. Aurelius Severus Alexander's library in the Pantheon;¹⁰ and several others including the possible libraries in the *thermae* of Trajan, Caracalla and Diocletian.¹¹

The chronological, as well as the geographical, span of Roman public library provision was extensive. From the period of Augustus until the bath-house libraries of Caracalla and Diocletian, public library provision enjoyed a 340 year history at Rome. By AD 378 Ammianus Marcellinus (14.6.18) lamented Rome's *bybliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis*. By then pre-eminence in book-collecting had already passed to Constantinople and to the early Christians: there was a Christian library in Alexandria well before the end of the second century AD, at Jerusalem some time before 250, and at Caesarea a Christian library and school founded by Origen (c.182-251 AD). From there an unbroken succession of church, monastic, civic, university, and public libraries leads to the present day. This thesis, though, must concentrate on the secular public libraries of the Roman empire, taking Ammianus' remark as a convenient *terminus ante quem*.

The subject of public libraries in the Roman world has been neglected. Clarence Boyd's slim book of 1915, Makowiecka's 1978 *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of Roman Library* (sic), and general surveys by Thompson (1940) and Casson (2001) are the principal English-language books on the subject; the main detailed accounts are long articles by Callmer (1944), Tønberg (1976), and Strocka (1981). All these accounts offer

68.16.3; *Proc[uratori] bibliothecarum divi Traiani*; CIL XIV 5352. For the libraries' contents: *libri lintei*, SHA *Aurel.* 1.7; *Libri elephantini*, SHA *Tac.* 8.1; *Edicta...praetorum*, Gellius 11.17.1.

⁸ **The Capitoline Library**: Orosius 7.16.3: *fulmine Capitolium ictum ex quo facta inflammatio bibliothecam illam, maiorum cura studioque compositam, aedesque alias iuxta sitas rapaci turbine concremavit*.

⁹ **The Library of the Athenaeum**: Sidonius *Ep.* 2.9.4. See also below p196.

¹⁰ **The Library of the Pantheon**: mentioned only in a papyrus of the 3rd century AD (p. Oxy. 412, 65ss.), a fragment of the *Kestoi* of Sextus Iulius Africanus, a catalogue of works of art kept at Rome.

¹¹ See Section II.3 below.

descriptive catalogues of archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence for various libraries, organised geographically or chronologically.

Since these works were produced, new archaeological evidence has continued to emerge: the discovery of a new library building at Sagalassos and further excavations at Rome and Alexandria have contributed to our understanding of the libraries there. The sorts of questions ancient historians want to ask about these libraries have also changed; they have much to tell us about, *inter alia*, the importance of (competitive) collection and display, the development and expression of imperial cultural identity at Rome and elsewhere, and the perennial question of the nature of ‘Romanisation’: libraries provide an example of category of building in which various local, personal, and Roman identities combine.

There is a need, then, for a new study of the Roman public library. It is impossible to cover every angle within the scope of a doctoral thesis while avoiding the duplication of material that is already available (albeit imperfectly and scattered in a variety of places). This thesis therefore does not consist of a full catalogue of known Roman libraries, though all those that we know about appear in its text, maps or appendices. It is organised instead around analyses of various aspects of the functions (in the broadest sense) of public libraries in the Roman world. My aim is to explore the ways in which Roman public libraries operated, the reasons for their foundation, and the functions and identities they came to sustain. Within that structure I have also tried to organise the material along very broad chronological and geographical lines.

Accordingly, there follows a brief account (Section I) of the republican developments that preceded the founding of the first public libraries at Rome, and then three detailed case studies (Section II) which take as their subjects individual public libraries or groups of libraries. These studies are intended to address particular currently unresolved questions about Roman libraries; they also present a broad overview of the

development of imperial libraries in Rome from one of the earliest foundations under Augustus, through Trajan's Forum to the bathhouses of Caracalla and Diocletian.

Each covers an important aspect of public library provision. The libraries of the Porticus Octaviae are considered as an imperially-sponsored literary resource. The libraries of Trajan's Forum are discussed in their context within a state monument, and the existence and nature of bath-house libraries is examined as an aspect of imperial provision of leisure facilities. These categories are instructive but artificial: there was a great deal of overlap between these libraries in their appearance, function, and purpose.

There therefore follows in Section III a discussion of the practical arrangements and appointments of Roman public libraries in general. Section IV considers the purpose and function of Roman public libraries, and Section V concerns public libraries in the provinces of the Roman empire.



Pantheon

Porticus
Octaviae

*Central
libraries: area
enlarged on
following page*

Baths of
Caracalla

Baths of
Trajan

Baths of
Diocletian

Figure 1 Public libraries in the city of Rome.
After Lanciani 1893.

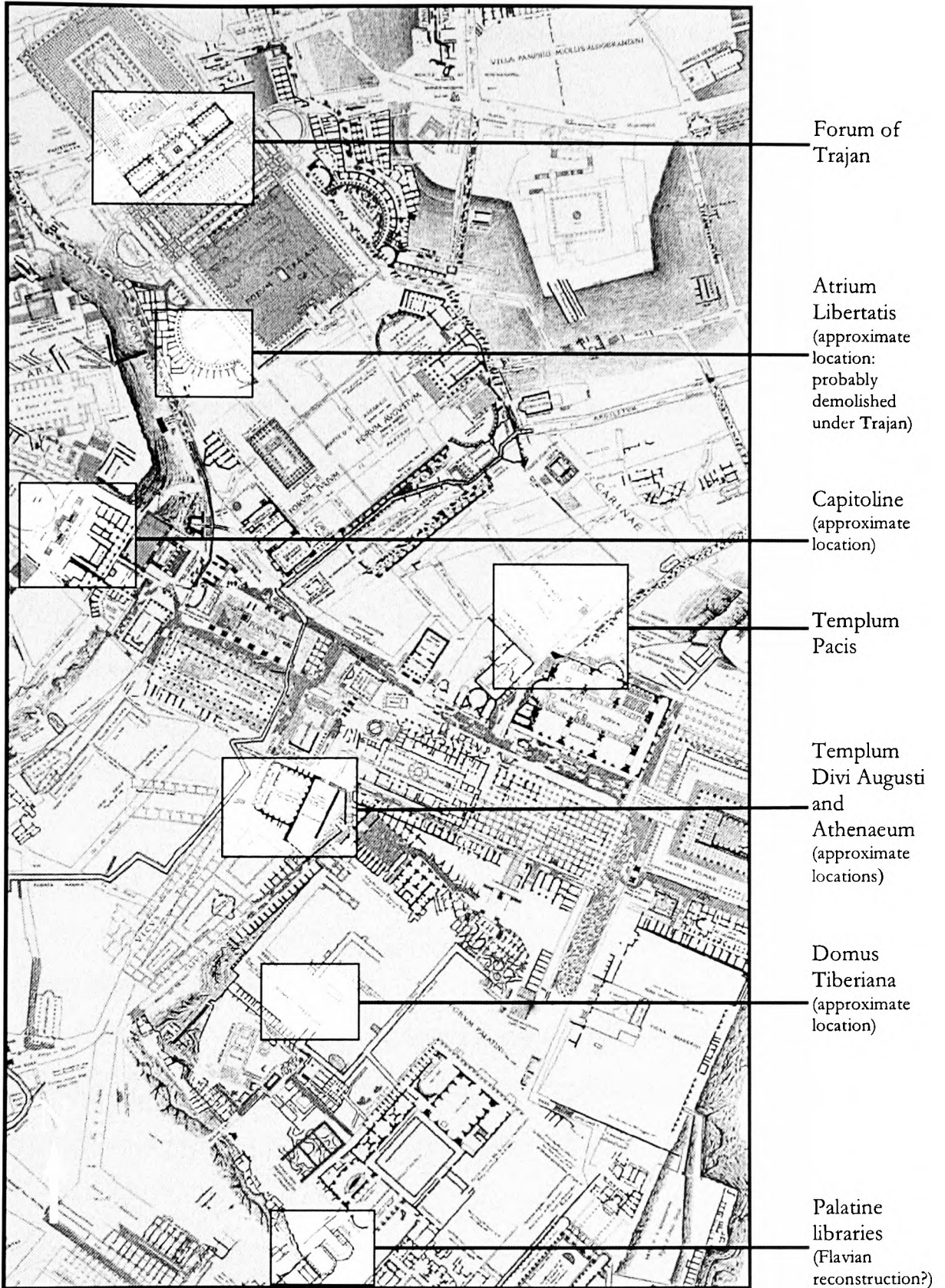


Figure 2 Public libraries in central Rome – enlarged from Figure 1.
 After Lanciani 1893, Tav. XXII, XXIX, XXXV.

I - THE ANTECEDENTS & ORIGINS OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES AT ROME

i) Republican libraries and literary life

The earliest public libraries of first-century BC Rome drew on long-established private book collections in the city; these in turn developed from precursors in the Greek world.

The Pisistratean recension of Homer attracted books and scholars to Athens in large numbers, establishing the core of a collection which later authors (influenced, perhaps, by their own understanding of how civic book collections operated) regarded as a public library.¹² Two centuries later Lycurgus erected bronze statues of the city's great 5th century tragedians and had public master copies of their plays made and stored: ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν¹³ The great gymnasia and philosophical schools of Athens also had large book collections, establishing a link between libraries and learning that was later echoed by Roman public libraries. Aristotle's Lyceum book collection eventually came to Rome,¹⁴ while the Ptolemaion was supplied with books by ephobic donations under the terms of a decree.¹⁵ Gymnasia in smaller cities such as Rhodes, Cos, and Tauromenium also developed book collections and this, too, was later reflected in the bath-house libraries of Rome.

The collection of books into institutional libraries was taken to new heights by the Hellenistic monarchs. The most famous of these was that of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, indexed in the *Pinakes* of the scholar-poet Callimachus. Other kings, to

¹² Isidore, *Etym.* 6.3.3-5; Tertullian *Apologeticus* 18.5; Gellius *NA* 7.17.1-2 *libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum praebendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus.*

¹³ Plutarch *X. Orat.* 841.

¹⁴ See below p.4.

¹⁵ *JG* II², 1009, 1029-30, 1040-43. See Appendix 5 No. 4 for an example.

whom our sources attribute both jealous rivalry¹⁶ and philanthropic zeal,¹⁷ founded their own libraries. The Attalid library at Pergamum is known both archaeologically and from numerous textual references, and there were also collections at King Archelaus' Pella in Macedonia and Seleucid Antioch in Syria.¹⁸ The kingly patrons of Hellenistic libraries went to great lengths to maintain the size and prestige of their collections: Plutarch says that the library at Pergamum held two hundred thousand volumes, and Tzetzes states that the library at Alexandria held as many as half a million.¹⁹ The books at Pergamum, where traces of the library room and bookshelves have been found, were housed in considerable splendour befitting a prestigious royal collection;²⁰ Rome's imperial libraries followed this tradition, housing their books in opulent surroundings.

Roman interest in literature grew throughout the third century BC, and in the first half of the second century the Macedonian wars and the wars with Antiochus increased Roman exposure to Greek culture and introduced her generals to the libraries of Pergamum,²¹ Athens,²² Alexandria²³ and Antioch.²⁴

Aristocratic Romans began to acquire the habit of collecting large libraries; among the rich collections of cultural objects and personnel brought or attracted to Rome as her military successes continued were, from the mid-second century onwards, large collections of books and with them scholars and library staff – M. Cato, for

¹⁶ E.g. Pliny HN 13.70 *aemulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemaei et Eumenis*; Galen *Comment. In Hippocrates De Medici Off.* II.128: τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκούς βασιλέας... πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμουμένους περὶ κτήσεως βιβλίων.

¹⁷ Vitruvius 7 *prooem.* 4 *reges Attalici magnis philologiae dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bibliothecam Pergami ad communem dilectionem instituisent...* Is V. thinking of Augustus here?

¹⁸ Callmer 1944, 153-4.

¹⁹ Plutarch *Ant.* 58.9; Tzetzes, *Prolegomena de Comoedia* 11a.2.10-11 Koster.

²⁰ Hoepfner 1996, 9-13. Callmer 1944, 148-53.

²¹ Vitruvius 7.pr.4; Plutarch *Ant.* 58.9

²² Gellius *NA* 7.17.1.

²³ E.g. Gellius 7.17.3; Ammianus Marcellinus 12.16.13; Isidore *Etym.* 6.3.5; Vitruvius 7.pr.4.

²⁴ Suidas, s.v. Εὐφορίων (I., pt. 2, p.478, Adler).

instance, imported Athenodorus from Pergamum.²⁵ After the defeat of Persius at Pydna in 168, Aemilius Paulus' two sons were able to acquire his library.²⁶ This was the first large book collection to be brought to Rome as booty and seems to have had an immediate effect on the literary life of the city and of the Aemilii Pauli in particular: the younger son, Scipio Africanus, became the patron of the historian Polybius,²⁷ who spent 17 years in Rome and wrote that historical research required a "town rich in documents or a library close by".²⁸ Polybius was only one of innumerable Greek émigrés, exiles and fortune-seekers who were drawn to Rome by the resources of books, patronage and pupils to be found there, and who in their turned stimulated and contributed to the further growth of the city's literary reputation and resources.²⁹ Later, such men would be among those commissioned to establish and administer Rome's public libraries.³⁰

The process that led to the establishment under successive emperors of ever-growing numbers of public libraries at Rome, and the effects that the presence of large book collections had in the city, can therefore be traced back to the Republican period. Direct links, in the form of continuity of books and personnel, are discussed below. Equally important are contemporary developments that created the opportunity and demand for public libraries. As the production and reception of literature at Rome continued to scale new heights in the second century BC critical editions and commentaries began to be produced. The oeuvre of Plautus, to take one example, was revived on the Roman stage in the mid-second century and soon grew to include numerous plays of doubtful authorship, prompting a long-lived scholarly investigation of

²⁵ Plutarch *Cat.Min.* 10; cf. Strabo 14.5.14.

²⁶ Isidore *Etym.* 6.5.1; Plutarch *Aem.* 28.11. Plutarch calls the two sons, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, φιλογραμματοῦντες.

²⁷ Polybius 31.23-4.

²⁸ Polybius 12.27.40-5.

²⁹ For instance, Suetonius *Gram.* 2 names Crates of Mallos, a Pergamene ambassador to Rome in 168BC, as the father of grammatical studies in Rome. See also Rawson 1985.

³⁰ E.g. Appendix 2, nos. 3, 6, 9,10.

his canon.³¹ This metaliterary and scholarly activity was an important precursor of the eventual establishment of libraries (indicating the scholarly ‘market’ for library facilities, as well as the sort of concern for reliability and completeness that is discussed in connection to public libraries in Section IV).

Numerous grammarians and commentators flourished in late Republican Rome;³² of these one was able to sell a commentary on Ennius for 16,000 sesterces,³³ suggesting a lively (indeed, overheated) market for literary works, and others worked for the men who would eventually found Rome’s first libraries.³⁴ The purchase and commissioning of books by private patrons fed this market and contributed to several collections that would eventually find a place in Rome’s public libraries, as is discussed below. Cicero, who provides the best example of this sort of collector, borrowed library staff and books to copy from his friend Atticus, commissioned copies of his own, collected sculpture suitable for the decoration of the library and lecture room of his villa at Tusculum, and arranged for the purchase of an entire library from Athens.³⁵

Meanwhile, further large Greek libraries came as booty to Rome in the first part of the first century BC. Aristotle’s library was probably brought from Athens by Sulla and set in order by Tyrannio in a manner which foreshadowed the arrangement of public libraries arranged by favoured scholars under Pollio and Augustus; the books also attracted commercial booksellers, whose haste to make (bad) copies for sale suggests a

³¹ Accius began the process and was followed into the late Republican period by Aelius Stilo, Aurelius Opillus, Servius Clodius, Volcatius Sedigitus, Manlius, and finally Varro, who established the accepted Plautine canon.

³² Valerius of Sora: Cicero *De Or.* 3.43, *Brutus* 169; Gellius 2.10.3. Porcius Licinius: Gellius 17.21.45 Saevius Nicanor: Suetonius *Gram.* 5.

³³ M. Pompilius Andronicus, a Syrian resident at Cumae: Suet. *Gram.* 8. Horace’s teacher later purchased these works. Cf Gellius 2.3.5.

³⁴ M. Antonius Gripho, of Caesar’s household and instructor to Cicero: Suet. *Gram.* 7; L. Ateius Praetextus “Philologus”, working for Sallust and Pollio: Suet. *Gram.* 10.

³⁵ *Att.* 4.4a.1, 4.5.3 (staff). *Att.* 2.20.6; 2.22.7 (loan of books); *Att.* 2.4.1 (commissioning of copies); *Att.* 1.7.1; 10.4; 11.3; 4.3 (purchase of a library in Athens in 67/6BC); *Att.* 1.4.3, 1.11.3, *Fam.* 7.23.2-3 (decoration of Cicero’s library and “Academy” at Tusculum).

ready market.³⁶ Another important looted book collection was part of the Pontic booty of L. Licinius Lucullus, Sulla's literary executor and *triumphator* (eventually) in 63BC.

Book collections acquired by conquest from various other sources can be detected at Rome. Pollio's libraries were founded *ex manubiis*,³⁷ although it is unlikely that his Latin books were acquired by conquest. The suggestion that books from the libraries of Pergamum and Alexandria passed into Augustus' hands, and thus into his libraries, via the estate of Antony is discussed more fully in Ch. II.1 below. Other monarchs collected books and lost them to Rome: Pliny tells us that Pompey acquired and had translated into Latin Mithridates' personal collection of medical texts and that this was accounted a benefit both to medicine and to the state: *vitaque ita profuit non minus quam reipublicae victoria illa*.³⁸ The implication is that the books or their copies survived Pompey's downfall, passing in all likelihood into Julio-Claudian hands and thence into the imperial book collections displayed in the city's public libraries. The same might be true of the books captured at Asculum by Pompeius Strabo and passed onto Pompey *fil.*

Pliny also tells us that Punic Carthage had libraries (*bibliothecae*) which the Senate presented to the African princes when the city had fallen in 146BC,³⁹ implying both that they escaped the conflagration and that they were substantial enough to warrant the attention of the Senate; it is certainly clear that Carthage had a lively literary tradition in both Punic and Greek.⁴⁰ Here, then, was a Roman state intervention in literary appropriation several decades before the better-known Stullan acquisition of Athenian book collections.

³⁶ Strabo 13.1.54; 13.4.2; Athenaeus 1.3 a-b; 5.214 d-e; Plutarch *Sull.* 26.1; Sallust *Iug.* 95.3; Lucian *Ind.* 4. Athenaeus says some of the collection went to Alexandria, although this is disputed. Some scholars doubt Strabo's provenance of the library (that it went via Scepsis on the Scamander to Apellicon of Teos, who took it back to Athens in time for Sulla to capture it). It seems likely, though, that at least some of Aristotle's books came to Rome with the Dictator.

³⁷ Pliny *HN* 7.30.115 The victory was over the Parthini of Illyria in 39BC.

³⁸ Pliny *HN* 25.3.6-7.

³⁹ Pliny *HN* 18.5.22-23. Sznycer 1968, 142 suggests that Carthaginian royal and priestly book and document collections could date back several centuries.

⁴⁰ E.g. Hannibal's patronage of the historians Silenos and Sosylos; Cornelius Nepos *Hannibal* 13.3; his bilingual *Res Gestae* at Cape Lacinion: Livy 28.46.16

It was from these Carthaginian collections that the influential works of Mago the agronomist were translated (into Latin by Silanus, and then into Greek by Cassius Dionysius of Utica),⁴¹ and into them that the Punic sacred parchments mentioned by Plutarch, hidden underground at the time of the sack, might eventually have been reabsorbed.⁴² Sounder evidence for the survival of these Carthaginian book collections comes from Sallust, who says (credibly) that his writings on the population of north Africa were based on a translation *ex libris Punicis qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur*.⁴³ Hiempsal (106 – 60BC) was descended from the princes into whose hands the libraries had passed after 146BC, and his dynasty came to an end when his successor Juba sided with Pompey and shared the latter's downfall.⁴⁴ Sallust's claim to have seen the books is therefore credible: if he had access to them when he was Africa Nova's first governor in 46-44BC, it seems likely that at least parts of the Numidian royal collections were intact up until the battle of Thapsus and fell into (Caesarean) Roman hands thereafter.

What happened to Sallust's Punic books after the death of Caesar is unknown, but the similar trajectories of the great Hellenistic book collections outlined above and on p.10ff., which underwent frequent changes of ownership before ending up in Julio-Claudian possession through the vicissitudes of civil war, suggest that sooner or later the surviving volumes would have been likely to find themselves in an imperial public library, either in Rome or in Carthage. Here they would have formed a part of a confident display of cultural artefacts brought into the sway of Rome the cosmopolis; we might remind ourselves in passing of Apuleius' deliberately exotic-sounding list of magicians to be found in north African public libraries.⁴⁵

⁴¹ For Mago's continuing influence on Latin agronomists, see Martin 1971, 37-52.

⁴² Plutarch *De facie* 26-30. See also Lancel 1995, 358.

⁴³ Sallust *Iug.* 17.7.

⁴⁴ For a different identification of Hiempsal (which does not materially alter the argument here), see Kontorini 1975, 89-99.

⁴⁵ Apuleius *Apol.* 90. See below p.178.

The initial destination of those captured or purchased books that reached Rome, though, was the private collections of leading men. Lucullus' booty augmented his own library, which also functioned as the core of a kind of private academy, attracting large numbers of scholars and authors. Plutarch praised his liberal upbringing, fluency in Latin and Greek, and love of literature, manifested in this famously large library.⁴⁶ Cicero indicates that he and other men of letters could visit and use the library with Lucullus' approval: the *De Finibus* mentions the presence in Lucullus' library of volumes of Stoic philosophy and many commentaries on Aristotle;⁴⁷ fragments of the lost *Hortensius*, which Cicero set there, suggest that it included holdings in tragedy, comedy and lyric poetry.⁴⁸ Plutarch suggests that it was open to visiting Greek scholars who flocked there 'as if to some lodging of the Muses'.⁴⁹ For an indication of the likely feel of such villa libraries we might compare the combination of a small library storeroom with gardens and peristyles in the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum or, on a smaller scale, the Villa of the Menander in Pompeii.⁵⁰

Cicero himself purchased the library of Sulla from the latter's heir Faustus, who had fallen into financial difficulties, and seems to have taken over the services of Tyrannio as well; the latter held classes in Cicero's house in 56BC, and helped restore Cicero's Antium library after his return from exile, aided by three *librarioli glutinatores* loaned by Atticus.⁵¹ By the end of his career Tyrannio had accumulated his own collection of over 30,000 volumes.⁵² Other scholars were attracted to the household:

⁴⁶ Plutarch *Luc.* 1.3-5.

⁴⁷ Cicero *Fin.* 3.7 – 3.10.

⁴⁸ *Hortensius* (ed. Grilli 1962) fr. 8 (tragedy); 11, 13-15 (history); 10 (comedy); 12 (lyric poetry).

⁴⁹ Plutarch *Luc.* 42; cf. Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.2.

⁵⁰ For the Villa of the Papyri see below pp.149f. For the House of the Menander see Richardson 1977, 394-402. Cf. Cicero *Div.* 2.8.

⁵¹ Cicero *Att.* 4.4a; 4.5.4; 4.8.2; 5.3.3; Nepos, *Att.* 13.3-4.

⁵² Suidas, s.v. Τυραννίων (I. pt.4, p. 607 Adler 1928).

Diodotus was resident in Cicero's house for years, and Pomponius Dionysius was his literary aide.⁵³

With large quantities of books arriving through private collection and as booty, then, a lively bibliocentric intellectual scene had developed at Rome by the time of the late Republic. It consisted in private libraries with "academies", and scholarly circles like that of Lucullus or perhaps the owner of the Villa of the Papyri, and commercial book sellers and copyists. Several important book collectors are known to us by name. They include Lucullus, the prominent antiquarian Varro (described below), and Cicero⁵⁴ with his brother Quintus⁵⁵ and friend Atticus (who let Cicero use his Quirinal library in his absence, furnished him with library staff and copies of books, and sought out sculpture for his library).⁵⁶ To these wealthy and well-connected men we can add (mostly from Cicero's circle) the young Brutus,⁵⁷ the Epicurean M. Marius,⁵⁸ the biographer Cornelius Nepos,⁵⁹ L. Cornelius Sulla Faustus,⁶⁰ Quintus Cornificius,⁶¹ Balbus,⁶² Crassus,⁶³ and Caerellia.⁶⁴ The frequent exchange of personnel and books within in this circle of privileged collectors, and the frequent description of such exchange in published letters, suggests that book collection and participation in the scholarly life of the capital was a widespread phenomenon and a thoroughly established part of aristocratic self-definition.

⁵³ Cicero *Att.* 5.9.3; 6.2.3; 7.18.3; 10.16.1.

⁵⁴ Cicero's library at Rome: *Fam.* 13.77.3; at Antium by 59BC: *Att.* 2.6.1; at Tusculum: *Att.* 12.3.1, *Fam.* 7.23.3, *Topica* 1; at Arpinum: *Leg.* 2.1. Cf. Cicero *Div.* 2.8; and. Pliny *Ep.* 2.17.8 for a working book collection in his Laurentine villa.

For a list of Cicero's probably library holdings see Clift 1945, 16-17.

⁵⁵ Cicero *Q. fr.* 3.4.5; 3.6.6.

⁵⁶ Cicero *Att.* 4.14.1 (use of Atticus' library); for further Ciceronian library references see n.35. For a discussion of the probable prose and poetical works in Atticus' library see Clift 1945, 14-15; Rawson 1985, 101-4; Horsfall 1989, on Nepos *Att.* 14.1.

⁵⁷ Cicero *Att.* 13.40.1.

⁵⁸ Cicero *Fam.* 7.1.3

⁵⁹ Cicero *Att.* 16.5.5

⁶⁰ Cicero *Att.* 4.10.1

⁶¹ Cicero *Fam.* 12.17.2

⁶² Cicero *Att.* 13.21a.1; 22.2-3.

⁶³ Plutarch *Crassus* 2.6.

⁶⁴ Cicero *Att.* 13.21a.3; 22.2-3.

These libraries and book collections of these men were not public access depended on being an *amicus* or *cliens* of the owner, as Cicero was with Atticus and Lucullus – but in their ostentatious deployment of expensive resources, and systematic collection and provision of books to scholarly readers, they did anticipate some of the important functions of the city’s imperial public libraries.

ii) From private to public

Imperial acquisition of Republican book collections

After the upheavals of the civil war, several republican private book collections probably contributed to Rome's first public libraries. While copying, purchase, and gifts or commissions from successful authors certainly supplied some of these new libraries' needs, as it had for their private republican predecessors,⁶⁵ the core collections of the Augustan-era libraries probably consisted in captured, confiscated or inherited collections originally amassed by the rival scholars and politicians of the late Republic (the word *publicare*, as applied by various authors to libraries in the passages quoted below, carries overtones of the conversion to public use of confiscated resources). By tracing the likely history of various late republican book collections, we can see that Augustus would have found himself in possession of an unprecedented number of books, explaining the very rapid expansion of the city's public library provision in the early years of the principate (from no public libraries to three within 15 years) a phenomenon which has baffled some commentators.⁶⁶

One prominent republican bibliophile whose collection may have passed into imperial control was the polymathic author M. Terentius Varro, Cicero's *diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis* and the man commissioned by Julius Caesar to found Rome's first public library.⁶⁷ His efforts (which must have reflected the talent for compendious research and organisation of material displayed in his *Lives* and other works) came to

⁶⁵ Acquisition by copying: Suetonius *Dom.* 20 with *CIL* X 1735 for imperial bookbinders. Ovid *Tr.* 3.1 for an unsuccessful attempt on the part of an author to give a work to the Augustan libraries; Martial *Ep.* 5.5 for a similar petition; cf p.185f. for Galen's works presented to the Templum Pacis.

⁶⁶ E.g. de Vleeschauwer 1958, 65: "difficile d'imaginer un raison plausible".

⁶⁷ Cicero *Brutus* 60; cf. *Acad. Post.* 1.9. Julius Caesar's commission: Suetonius *Iul.* 44.

nothing after the political landscape changed in 44 BC. The libraries did eventually come to fruition under Augustus, like many of Caesar's abortive projects, and Varro's continuing influence was evident; Pollio included his bust in the Atrium Libertatis library, uniquely for a living author. It is possible that Varro's own books were eventually redeployed in public libraries after passing by confiscation into the hands of Antony and thus to Augustus. Cicero (*Philippics* II.103-5) informs us of Antony's attempted expropriation in 47BC of Varro's estate at Casinum where he did much of his research, and so where it is supposed that many of his books were kept. Gellius (*NA* 3.10.17) records that Antony eventually succeeded in 43BC. As objects with a Varronian provenance, such as a marble cupid by Praxiteles, ended up on display in the Porticus Octaviae it is not impossible that his books were held in the library there.⁶⁸

Cicero is another major literary figure of late republican Rome who may have contributed inadvertently to the city's first public libraries. Asconius' mid-first century commentaries on Cicero draw on a great deal of material now lost, including Tiro's life of Cicero and his *commentarii causarum*, the original version of the *Pro Milone*, and speeches by contemporaries.⁶⁹ The cementing and canonisation of Cicero's reputation must have been due in large part to the careful collection and preservation of such papers and books after his death, and for these to have survived until the age of Asconius we might imagine that they were kept as an integral collection. Cicero himself was proscribed and killed by Antony, so his own book collections from Rome and his villa at Tusculum could well have ended up passing eventually into imperial hands along with Varro's: the Augustan libraries are therefore likely homes for his book collection and archives.

Yet another figure whose property we might detect in a Roman library is Caesar's opponent M. Cato. A passage of Aulus Gellius (*NA* 13.20) refers to a text kept in the

⁶⁸ Pliny *HN* 36.35; see also below p.28 and Palmer 1978, 114ff.

⁶⁹ "All this first hand material...probably was preserved in the Augustan and Tiberian libraries." Clift 1945, 27.

Domus Tiberiana library by a relative of Cato so obscure that a debate about his identity arises; the volume is therefore not one in common circulation and may well be an autograph, or at least an antique copy of the sort mentioned by Gellius in other library anecdotes.⁷⁰ Gellius goes on to say that he also read the *Laudationes Funebres* of the Catos and the *Liber Commentarium De Familia Porcia*, and letter of Fronto mentions duplicate copies of a speech by Cato held in both the Domus Tiberiana and Palatine libraries.⁷¹ All in all, it seems that a large amount of original Catonian material came into imperial possession at about the period of the first library foundations. M. Porcius Cato died by his own hand in implacable enmity to Caesar at Utica, provoking a flurry of encomiastic and critical literature in equal measure and ensuring that his books and papers would have been highly prized.⁷² His daughter Porcia and her husband Brutus (a noted literary collector and author of several works including an encomium of Cato) also eventually committed suicide, the latter when he was defeated at Philippi in 42BC. Whatever library collection remained in the family at this point could have been appropriated by the victorious triumvirs, surfacing in the remarks of Gellius and Fronto two centuries later; we might reasonably add a Catonian collection to the books of Cicero and Varro gracing the shelves of the Julio-Claudian libraries.

The list continues. The possible trajectory of Pompey's various books has already been mentioned, and Augustus' lieutenant Agrippa might have inherited the book collection and staff of the great bibliophile and correspondent of Cicero, T. Pomponius Atticus: Atticus' library was probably inherited by his daughter Caecilia, who married Agrippa.⁷³

⁷⁰ E.g. Gellius 18.9 *librum verae vetustatis*.

⁷¹ Fronto, *Ep.* 2.5

⁷² Cicero began an encomium, Hirtius responded with a pamphlet, and Caesar wrote a two volume *Anticato*. Brutus also wrote an encomium. Fantham 1996, .21.

⁷³ Seeck 1885, 90 with n.75; Horsfall 1993, 59 with n.10 suggests that the Palatine library may have inherited Atticus' copying staff. Cf id. 1991, ch. 2.

The overall effect was to concentrate in Augustus' hands a very large number of important book collections. Making these available for public use was a suitably and typically magnanimous gesture, duly lauded by poets and historians. The circumstances of these books' acquisition would nonetheless have turned their public display into a political gesture, as with many imperial collections.⁷⁴ Augustus' libraries would have reminded readers who remembered looking for a certain book in private collections before the civil war just how much the political landscape had changed.

Rome's first public libraries

Rome's first public libraries therefore had strong links to the book collections of the Republic. Although their foundation and appointment is discussed below in relation to imperial patronage and imperial cultural identity, these roots in the Republican tradition of aristocratic library collection are important. They helped to establish the library as one of the elements of aristocratic cultural identity in which the new principate, and its successors, aimed to provide on an unprecedented public scale: we might also think of bath-houses, pleasure-gardens, sculpture collections, and religious and secular civic architecture of every kind. All had their precedents in republican élite behaviour, and all were transformed by the use the principate made of them.

The speed with which Augustus was able to establish his own public libraries at Rome indicates, as has been suggested above, that a large number of books were at his disposal, but also that the various practical problems of acquisition, classification, shelving, architecture, and reading arrangements that would have faced the founders and directors of Rome's first libraries had already begun to be addressed: Augustus' libraries owed much to the precedents established by M. Terentius Varro and C. Asinius Pollio,

⁷⁴ See below Ch. II.1.i.

who illustrate further connections between Rome's first public libraries and the republican cultural milieu from which they emerged.

We have already encountered Varro, whom Julius Caesar chose to direct his abortive library project and whose books may have ended up in the Augustan library of the Porticus Octaviae. His *De Bibliothecis*, whether product of or qualification for the task with which Julius Caesar entrusted him, indicates an interest in Caesar's Rome with the royal libraries and the Alexandrian mouseion (which Caesar would have seen during his own Alexandrian sojourn): these must have been among the libraries Varro wrote about, and were presumably in his mind as he began to make arrangements for the first public library at Rome.⁷⁵ It is clear that Varro was at the heart of late Republican Rome's literary scene, and had a formidable reputation as a man of letters: Gellius tells us that he had written 490 books by the time he was 77;⁷⁶ Augustine and Cicero praise him for securing the religious customs of Rome for posterity and for creating a literary identity for the city and this, as we shall see below, is also important for the student of Roman libraries.⁷⁷ His involvement in early public library projects at Rome suggests very strongly that these were intended to be serious, useful scholarly resources, a suggestion which is explored throughout this thesis.

Pollio, who founded Rome's first public library in the Atrium Libertatis,⁷⁸ was also an important figure in late Republican literary Rome. He had a high reputation in several branches of literary endeavour: as a tragedian, as an Atticist orator (he was a critic of Cicero and Caesar), and as an historian (his *Historiae* were used as a source by Plutarch and Appian). He was also a poet and friend of poets, the dedicatee of the opening poem of Horace's second book of *Odes* and of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*.⁷⁹ Ovid's hope that the

⁷⁵ De Vleeschauwer 1958, 17-18.

⁷⁶ Gellius 3.10.17.

⁷⁷ Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 6.2. = 1 fr.2a; Cicero, *Acad.* 1.3.

⁷⁸ Library of Asinius Pollio: Pliny *HN* 7.30.115, 35.2.10; Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.2. Callmer 1944, 156-7.

⁷⁹ Pollio is also mentioned at Virgil *Eclogues* 3.84.

Tristia might have found a place in the Atrium Libertatis, with its collection of *doctis... libellis*, suggests that these poetic and literary interests were reflected in the library's holdings.⁸⁰ Pollio's library was therefore an important part of his literary persona, and his decision to make it a public institution marks an important moment in literary history at Rome, paralleled in other forms of euergetism, in which the élite resources enjoyed by men like Lucullus and Cicero began to be deployed as public, civic benefactions.

That Pollio deliberately sought to make his library part of this trend is evident from another of his literary innovations: Seneca states that he was the first man in Rome to hold public recitations of his works (it is interesting to note in this context that Vitruvius connects public libraries, albeit those of Ptolemaic Alexandria, to public readings and agones).⁸¹ Previous recitations at Rome had been held in private houses to invited audiences. While this practice was not supplanted Gellius, Juvenal, Martial, Statius and others all attest to the continuing importance of the private literary salon⁸² Pollio's innovation, alongside his public library foundation, strongly suggests that he had recognised and was attempting to appeal to a new, public 'market' for acts of literary euergetism. The same is true, according to Pliny, of Pollio's sculpture collection, which he put on display because he wanted as many people as possible to see it.⁸³ The cultural life of first century Rome was rapidly expanding beyond the confines of a few élite houses with their coteries of aspirant authors and Greeklings.

Any act of public patronage in Rome was a political act. The history of the Roman library as a building with a symbolic political meaning beyond its functionality as a library can be traced back to Rome's earliest public library foundations, including Pollio's library. This introduces a second important aspect of public libraries: as well as

⁸⁰ Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.71-2. See below p.18.

⁸¹ Dalzell 1955, Vitruvius 7.4-7.

⁸² See below p.249.

⁸³ Pliny *HN* 36.4.33; for more on the ancient collections, see below p258ff.

sustaining a significant intellectual function, public libraries were significant landmarks in the townscape, signalling their donor's intentions and political identity.

The exact motivations for Asinius Pollio's foundation are hard to recover, as is its location,⁸⁴ but their outline is clear. Though a supporter and sometime colleague of Caesar and Antony, Pollio had a reputation for independent thinking of a republican bent. His choice of Varro, patriot, polymath, and partisan of Pompey, as the only living author to be honoured by a bust in his library must have looked in 39BC, as it does now, like a studied political gesture. The library's location in an extended Atrium Libertatis (restored by Pollio *ex manubiis*) also gave it a political identity. *Libertas* was a precious concept in the 30s BC, as the tectonic plates of the dying republic shifted and began to break up. Though Pollio's principled independence can hardly be called resistance, his choice of project therefore had a certain piquancy. We may note in passing that later imperial libraries followed Pollio's example: Vespasian included a library in his Templum Pacis, and Trajan's Forum seems to have incorporated a dedication to *Libertas* as well as libraries.⁸⁵

The inclusion of a literary library in the restored Atrium Libertatis was a clever choice. It corresponded well to Pollio's known personal interests and resources, and was also, perhaps, able to draw on groundwork already done by Varro for the abortive Caesarian project. It was not an overtly, threateningly political gesture, but it responded to the increasingly public, political rôle of literature in Rome that would reach its apogee in Augustus' golden age of Latin letters. It attached this literary endeavour to the name of Pollio and also to the idea of *libertas* – freedom of expression was an important concern

⁸⁴ Purcell 1993 identifies the Atrium Libertatis with the structure normally referred to as the Tabularium; Amici (s.v. "Atrium Libertatis", *LTUR* V 229, figs. 92-93) locates it north of the Curia Iulia. Fragment 29 of the Severan Marble plan implies that Trajan's Forum incorporated the Atrium Libertatis, though this is not necessarily a guide to the whereabouts of its earlier incarnations. La Rocca 1998, 233-35 suggests that the libraries of Trajan's Forum replaced those that were originally established in Pollio's building.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Makowiecka 1968, 49.

under the so-called second triumvirate and into the imperial period – providing the pattern that Augustus would follow with his own libraries.⁸⁶

The Pollio library's connection to official archives is an important part of this symbolic identity. The archival deposit and recording of official documentation was a constitutional form which even the members of the second triumvirate took care to respect; inscriptions claim their proper deposition of copies in named locations in archives.⁸⁷ The Atrium Libertatis traditionally served as an archive of the censors and for certain bronze copies of laws.⁸⁸ The public library added by Pollio was thus from the outset connected (at least conceptually and probably physically) to the storage of state documents and archives as well as works of literature, the first example of a deliberate and long-lived political association between library collections, state documents, and public ownership or display. The natural affinity between libraries and archives is discussed below, but the particular circumstances of Pollio's choice of location make this look like a matter of more than convenience or coincidence: the library and the archives both reflected aspects of the *libertas* of the Roman state and the transmission of those ideals to posterity.

The first imperial public libraries

The public library, with its symbolic value, its potential to bring large numbers of authors within the imperial ambit, and its usefulness in fostering a cultural zeitgeist, appealed deeply to Augustus. His own library foundations, in the Porticus Octaviae and especially on the Palatine, developed the projects of Julius Caesar and Pollio into national and dynastic monuments on a grand scale. Whether he regarded Pollio's precursor as a

⁸⁶ See below Ch. IV.2.ii p.215ff. for imperial promotion and repression of authors through libraries.

⁸⁷ See e.g. Reynolds 1982, nos. 6, 10-13, 38-41.

⁸⁸ Livy 43.16; 45.15; Fest. 241; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.726.

challenge or a useful model is not clear, but it seems that by the end of his reign Rome's first public library, for all its vaunted associations with *libertas*, was firmly within his sphere of influence. Suetonius lists the Atrium Libertatis among the civic building projects encouraged by Augustus;⁸⁹ Ovid, exiled and despairing of his book's admittance to a public library in Rome, describes its rejection from both Augustan libraries and also from Pollio's Atrium Libertatis:

ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei...

*quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.
quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,
quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.
quarentem frustra custos me sedibus illis
praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.
altera templa peto, vicino iuncta teatro:
haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.
nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,
atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.*

Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1.60, 63-72.

The irony of a personified *Libertas* standing between author and public might be a deliberate barb; at any rate, if we take Ovid's words at face value, the acquisitions policy of all three libraries in Augustan Rome was influenced (as we might expect) by imperial favour. The direct involvement of emperors with the control of their libraries is the subject of Chs. IV.2 - IV.4.

The efforts of scholars like Varro and Pollio had thus been absorbed by the Augustan period into a nascent system of imperially-founded, imperially-controlled libraries. These imperial public libraries eventually covered multiple sites, occupying some of the most prestigious monumental complexes in Rome and requiring the attentions (as we shall see) of their own procuratorial administrator and staff.

The first of these libraries were founded at Rome in an age when a new form of government was experimenting with conspicuous public provision of cultural amenities

⁸⁹ Suetonius *Aug.* 29.

of many kinds. Collections of art in various media are a recurrent theme of first century BC cultural history and were dramatically augmented and reorganised under the empire's new supreme patron after 31BC.⁹⁰ The reasons behind the deployment of imperial resources in various public contexts were complex and plural, and changed over time. One common strand, however, was the fact that the principate was simultaneously in possession of unprecedented cultural resources and confronted by a need to win or maintain public favour by deploying those resources for public enjoyment; in the specific case of libraries we have seen that very extensive book collections were concentrated into the hands of Augustus' new regime at precisely the time when he was seeking to establish his own cultural identity within the city.

The Augustan collection and display of information in libraries was part of a wider series of projects intended to influence Romans' understanding of their own cultural, civic, and political identities in the same way. Examples are numerous and include Augustus' recension of the Sibylline books, discussed below,⁹¹ or the biographical descriptions displayed beneath the statues of Roman heroes in his Forum Augustum. Here the public display of Augustus' version of the past played an especially conspicuous part in shaping Rome's identity in the present. An editorial line is detectable: those statue bases that survive tend to present more favourable versions of their dedicatee's career than the account found in, say, Livy.⁹² The parallel with the Augustan libraries, stocked with a growing collection of imperially fostered and approved literature, is evident.

The new regime's attitude to its cultural patrimony was demonstrated by a speech made by Agrippa on the need to display works of art of every kind in public (*de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis*) in 33BC.⁹³ The foundation of public libraries attracted similar

⁹⁰ See e.g. Haug 2001.

⁹¹ p.130.

⁹² Luce 1990. Cf Zanker 1988, 210-215; Fantham 1996, 100-101.

⁹³ Pliny *HN* 35.9.26.

language. Several passages use *publicare* or cognates in their discussion of libraries, or refer to public access to their collections:

bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare
Suetonius *Iul.* 44

bibliothecas publicavit Pollio Graecas simul atque Latinas
Isidorus *Etym.* 6.5.2

bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est
Pliny *HN* 7.115

Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit
Pliny *HN* 35.10

quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique | pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent
Ovid *Tr.* 3.1.63-4

For comparison (libraries at Alexandria):

reges Attalici... cum egregiam bybliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent
Vitruvius *De Arch.* 7.3-7

ταμεία... ταῖς βίβλοις, τοῖς φιλοπονοῦσιν ἀνεωγμένοι φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πόλιν ἅπασαν εἰς ἐξουσίαν τῆς σοφίας ἐπαίροντες
Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* 12.48 (Rabe 1926).

The location of these libraries in great imperial monuments where art works and other treasures were displayed reinforced their public, civic identity (the display of art in libraries and the connection between public library provision and other sorts of imperial collection is discussed further below, pp.160ff and 258ff). This brings us to the first of three ‘case studies’.

II - THE FOUNDATION & ROLES OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES AT ROME: THREE 'CASE STUDIES'

II.1 - Imperial public libraries and literary activity: Augustus' library programme and the library of the Porticus Octaviae

The connections between public library provision, Roman literary endeavour, and imperial emulation of the great library centres of the Hellenistic world have a clear bearing on the broader question of emperors' reasons for establishing public libraries at Rome.

In general, scholars such as Horsfall have been cautious about drawing too close a connection between the literary activities attested in Augustan or later imperial library complexes and the direct patronage of the emperor: 'it should be stressed that there is no evidence whatsoever for connecting that temple [of Apollo on the Palatine] with any form of [literary] *collegium* or for supposing that the recitations held there were the object of special imperial favour or design.'⁹⁴ Similarly, comparisons with Alexandria are ruled out: "there is nothing to suggest that the lavish facilities of the Alexandrian museum were reproduced in the Aedes Herculis Musarum, or that the vast range of scientific and literary studies that the Museum probably embraced was imitated at Rome".⁹⁵

Section IV examines this question of the relationship between libraries, imperial patronage, and scholarship in Rome, and concludes that closer connections can be seen than this assessment allows. By the time of Galen's and Gellius' accounts of the Templum Pacis in Rome or the archaeologically attested library of Hadrian in Athens, Roman public libraries were provided with large arrays of specialist books in a variety of subjects and lecture rooms for debate and instruction; they also had a close connection to the emperors that founded and maintained them and, as we shall see in Section V,

⁹⁴ Horsfall 1976, 84.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

could be imitated by provincial patrons as a symbol of imperial connections and metropolitan literary aspirations.

This chapter looks at the earliest stage of this imperial provision, concentrating on Augustus' library in the Porticus Octaviae and its relationship with literary life at Rome. In its probable association with pre-existing literary communities this library, like Pollio's, formed an important point of continuity and change between late republican and imperial Rome, shaping the way readers used Roman public libraries and the aims and intentions of emperors in providing them.

This examination of the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae will also touch on two related questions raised above by Horsfall. The much-debated question of the rôle of the Aedes Herculis Musarum and its possible connection with a republican Collegium Poetarum can be addressed in light of Augustus' decision to locate an important public library next door to it. The Porticus Octaviae library is also relevant to the further question of whether and how the libraries at Rome were intended, among the many functions and meanings with which they were invested, to achieve parity (or to act as a respectable basis for the claimed appearance of parity) with the famous institutions of the Greek east and chiefly those at Alexandria. It is to this question that I will turn first.

i) Roman libraries and Alexandria

Reports of the fiery destruction of the Alexandrian library in 48/7 BC are exaggerated.⁹⁶ Strabo, writing only twenty years after the fire, does not mention any destruction of the library, and Caesar claims that he was in one of the palaces during the conflagration; it might be that a storehouse rather than an entire library was destroyed.⁹⁷ Indeed, a number of later references indicate not only that the library continued to function, but that it now came under close imperial supervision. Crucially, Strabo states that immediately after the fall of Egypt to Rome, Augustus assumed control of the Mouseion through the appointment of the chief priest, “who was formerly appointed by the kings, but now by Caesar.”⁹⁸ This direct involvement with the priesthood of the Mouseion at Alexandria makes it at least likely that Augustus had it in mind when he constructed his own libraries in Rome.

The intention to construct at Rome rivals to the great libraries of the Hellenistic world predates Augustus himself. Julius Caesar’s plans for a public library at Rome are inserted by Suetonius into a list of wildly ambitious projects ‘for adorning and improving the city, and also for the protection and increase of the empire’,⁹⁹ which range from turning the Tarpeian rock into the *cavea* of a vast theatre, to an invasion of Parthia, to that perennial white elephant of Classical tyrants, the canalisation of the Isthmus of Corinth. The provision of a public library seems, from its place in such a list, to have been perceived as the sort of adornment which a city of Rome’s size and importance *ought* to enjoy at the hands of a beneficent ruler; Caesar saw himself as the man to

⁹⁶ Plutarch *Caes.* 49.6 (‘great library’ destroyed); Seneca *Tranq.* 9.4-5 (40,000 books burned); Dio 42.38.2 (‘very many books’ burned); Ammianus Marcellinus 22.16.13-14 (700,000 books burned; too large a figure, and some confusion between the Serapeum and Brucheion libraries); Orosius *Historiae adversum paganos* 6.15.31 (400,000 books burned in a storehouse). See also Barnes 2004, 70-74, who underestimates continuing Roman involvement with the library.

⁹⁷ Caesar *B. Civ.* 3.112; Strabo 17.1.

⁹⁸ Strabo 17.1.8.

⁹⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 44.

provide it. In such a context, the euergetic founding of a public library is surely intended to smack of regal largesse, aping the library of the Ptolemaic Mouseion at Alexandria or the library of the Attalids at Pergamum.¹⁰⁰

Caesar's aim to make Rome a city worthy of her rôle as *caput mundi* was inherited by Augustus, as his famous dictum about finding Rome built of bricks and leaving her of marble suggests.¹⁰¹ Adequate cultural provision was an important contribution, and the cultural comparison with Alexandria seems explicit in (for example) the overlapping references to both Apollo and Actium in the Palatine complex that housed his library. Firstly, Augustus' intention that his Palatine project would foster the arts and poetry in particular is made explicit by his choice of the cult statue in the Temple's *cella*: it was a piece by Scopas, and bore the attributes – a long robe and a lyre – of the god in his capacity as the divine patron of poetry.¹⁰² The link between Augustus, his favoured god, and the poetic function of the site are clear; the fact that the senate frequently met in the Palatine libraries can only have reinforced the connection between Augustus, literature and the *Res Publica*.¹⁰³ Secondly, the battle of Actium had occurred near the Temple of Leucadian Apollo, and frequent references to the god and to Egypt helped impress his military victory there in the public consciousness in much the same way as his display of Antony's captured rostra in the Forum Romanum, or the obelisks he scattered across the city.¹⁰⁴ This multivalent imagery, surrounding the Palatine home of one of Augustus' libraries, suggest that he intended the audience of these buildings to recognise an implied

¹⁰⁰ Wendel 1949, 412-3 goes so far as to suggest that Roman library design derived from Julius Caesar's observation of wall niches at Alexandria, which in turn derives from Egyptian New Kingdom architecture such as the buildings at Tell el-Amarna. This is a cumbersome explanation which Makowiecka 1978, 33 sensibly dismisses, but the link between Julius Caesar and the libraries at Alexandria is worth retaining. De Vleeschauwer 1958, 68-70 argues that Julius Caesar had intended the foundation of a national library supporting a coterie of scholars and authors on the Alexandrian model.

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Aug.* 28.

¹⁰² For the provenance of the statue of Apollo, see Pliny, *HN* 36.4.25. A lyre-holding statue with the legend *Apollo Pal[atinus]* appears on silver denarii of Commodus.

¹⁰³ See p.267.

¹⁰⁴ An Egyptian obelisk acted, for instance, as the gnomon of the Horologium Augusti at the north end of the Campus Martius; the great granite Heliopolis obelisk in the Circus Maximus was placed there by Augustus in 10BC.

challenge to, or identification with, Alexandria's Birdcage of the Muses (especially if, like Strabo, they knew that Augustus was now priest of that Mouseion as well as Apollo's advocate in Rome). A symmetrical dedication in Alexandria reinforced the link: by Philo's time a temple to Augustus on Shipboard, commemorating the surrender of Alexandria in 30BC, graced the Sebasteum in that city, and Philo tells us that it contained libraries.¹⁰⁵

Another suggestion that the builders of Augustan Rome were well aware of the heritage of Alexandria comes from Vitruvius, whose anecdote about Aristophanes of Byzantium and the librarianship at Alexandria provides several interesting elements whose significance will emerge below: a literary contest of the sort described by, for instance, Horace as happening in Rome;¹⁰⁶ an association between libraries, Apollo, and the Muses; and a suggestion that libraries could act as guarantors of literary authenticity.¹⁰⁷

The desire to portray Rome as a successor or equivalent to Alexandria gathered momentum throughout the early imperial period, and Roman writers began to portray their city as a literary capital. Various authors contributed towards this "re-writing of the city as a literary hub, a sort of prototype of Johnson's London or Joyce's Paris."¹⁰⁸ Woolf points as a precedent to the 3rd C BC when a single generation of Latin authors, "funded and directed by the Roman aristocracy" created a naturalized literary culture in Rome.¹⁰⁹ The great Latin poets of the 1st C BC, who deliberately translated and adapted Greek forms into Latin, created another element in Rome's literary identity, as did the satirists

¹⁰⁵ Philo *Leg.* 151.

¹⁰⁶ Horace *Sat* 1.10.38.

¹⁰⁷ Vitruvius 7 *praef.* 4-7: Ptolemy organised contests in honour of the Muses and Apollo. He turned to those *qui supra bibliothecam fuerunt* to find a seventh judge for the poetry contest, and was recommended Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes recommended that the poet who had least pleased the crowd should win the prize, on the grounds that the others had been plagiarising from texts he could remember. To prove his point, he brought out texts from certain bookcases and pointed out the relevant passages. Aristophanes was rewarded with the head librarianship.

¹⁰⁸ Woolf 2003, 213.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 215.

and prose authors of the first and second centuries AD. These authors describe a Rome full of literary activity: *si quando urbs nostra liberalibus studiis floruit, nunc maxime floret.*¹¹⁰

Direct library links between imperial Rome and Alexandria continued in later reigns. Claudius famously enlarged the Mouseion in his own name, and instituted an annual reading of his Etruscan and Carthaginian Histories there; he also appointed its quondam director Tiberius Claudius Balbillus to several positions in the imperial administration including the secretaryship *ab epistulis*.¹¹¹ Hadrian rewarded the poet Pancrates with σίτησις at the Mouseion¹¹² and constructed a new 'library' in Alexandria which seems to have been a legal archive.¹¹³ Rome's libraries employed staff from Alexandria: Dionysius Alexandrinus (Appendix 2 No. 6) was recruited from his chief priesthood of the Alexandrian Mouseion to tutor Nero and then serve as a Flavian *procurator bibliothecarum*, a pattern repeated with the appointment of Julius Vestinus (Appendix 2 No. 10) under Hadrian. Later still, the Severan rebuilding of the Serapeum in Alexandria preserved a library which was still in use in the second half of the fourth century AD.¹¹⁴

In the first century Domitian turned to Alexandria to restock *impensissime* Roman libraries whose collections were lost in the fire of AD 80,¹¹⁵ which ravaged the Campus Martius and Capitoline. Cassius Dio explicitly states that the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae were burned in the blaze,¹¹⁶ so the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae were presumably among those restocked with Domitian's copies from Alexandria (other possible contenders include the Atrium Libertatis or Capitoline Libraries).

¹¹⁰ Pliny *Ep.* 1.10.

¹¹¹ Suetonius, *Claud.* 42. Balbillus: Appendix 2. n.2

¹¹² Athenaeus 15.677 d-f; Bowie 1989, 201.

¹¹³ See below p.133 with n. 341.

¹¹⁴ See below p.106f. with n.275.

¹¹⁵ Suetonius *Dom.* 20.

¹¹⁶ Dio 66.24

Why did Domitian have to send copyists to Alexandria in 80AD? By then there were at least six libraries operating in the city (those of the Palatine, the Porticus Octaviae, the Atrium Libertatis, the Templum Pacis, the Templum Divi Augusti, and the Domus Tiberiana), and many other important collections in Italy that could have been used as source material. The implications are several, and include:

- 1) That at least some holdings were not duplicated between Rome's libraries (otherwise Domitian could have copied his books locally at less expense);
- 2) That Alexandria continued to be important as a functioning library, as Strabo's statement above suggested;
- 3) That the act of sending scribes to Alexandria was noteworthy, and that Domitian was keen to capitalise on the reputation for lavish subsidy of Rome's literary life;
- 4) That Domitian's library restorations could be seen as part of a programme that involved substantial deployment of Egyptian and Egyptianising material. The effect would have been simultaneously evocation of exotic and Augustan values. We might compare the obelisk from the Iseum Campense, brought to Rome and engraved with hieroglyphs to mark Domitian's restoration of that sanctuary;¹¹⁷
- 5) That a substantial quantity of library holdings in the Porticus Octaviae might have been taken or copied from Alexandria in the first place by Augustus who controlled, as we have seen, the priesthood of the Mōuseion.

This last suggestion is worth pursuing. The libraries in the Porticus Octaviae were dedicated by Octavia in memory of her son Marcellus, Augustus' nephew.¹¹⁸ After the death of her husband Marcellus in 40, Octavia was married to Mark Antony to seal the

¹¹⁷ Platner and Ashby 1929, sv *Obeliscus Isei Campensis* and *Iseum*.

¹¹⁸ Plutarch *Marcellus* 30; cf Ovid, *Ars Am.* 1.69-70, Strabo 5.3.8 C 236, Festus 188. Suetonius *Aug.* 29 and Dio 49.43.8 say that Augustus built them in the name of his sister.

pact of Brundisium. She divorced him in 32. Marcellus was to have been Augustus' heir but died during his aedilate in 23BC; the Porticus Octaviae complex adjoined the theatre named after him (dedicated in 13/11 BC). The emphasis on Octavia's previous marriage to Claudius Marcellus deliberately eclipsed her marriage to Mark Antony, an inconvenient passage in the history of the imperial household.¹¹⁹ It would therefore have been entirely appropriate to house books in the Marcellus Library within the Porticus Octaviae that had been either removed from or copied from Alexandria, having passed into Octavia's ownership after the death of Antony: it would constitute a clear statement of Roman primacy over Alexandria, and Augustan triumph over Antony and Cleopatra.

We have already seen that Varro's books may have passed into Antony's ownership in the proscriptions of the 'second triumvirate' and thence into Augustus' hands after Actium via Octavia:¹²⁰ it seems reasonable to suggest that the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae could have been stocked with these books, or other that passed by the same route from an Alexandrian collection. Plutarch records an accusation by a follower of Caesar that Antony had given Cleopatra the 200,000-volume library of Pergamum as a present; if there is any truth in this charge, it indicates that there was just such a ready-made collection of library books waiting at Alexandria for Augustus' agents to collect.¹²¹

Further evidence for the suggestion that Augustus' library absorbed a ready-made collection of some sort can be found in the epigraphic record, which suggests that the staff of this library was differently constituted to that of Rome's other libraries. Of the 23 library staff named in Appendix 3, only two are public slaves (15 and 17); they both worked in the Porticus Octaviae. The other three inscriptions mentioning library staff attached specifically to the Porticus Octaviae all come from the Monumentum Marcellae,

¹¹⁹ We can compare the modification of the adjacent Temple of Apollo Medicus Sosianus to incorporate Augustan imagery after its initial founder fought for Antony at Actium: LaRocca 1988, 121-29 and *id.* 1985, 83-102; cf. Claridge 1998, 245-7 and Pliny *HN* 13.53, 36.28.

¹²⁰ See above p.11.

¹²¹ Plutarch *Ant.* 58. Cf. n.381.

a columbarium with connections to the household of Octavia.¹²² It looks, then, like the library staff of the Porticus Octaviae were taken over from the household of Octavia and as such given by Augustus to the state as *servi publici*, while other libraries were staffed directly from the *familia Caesaris*.¹²³ This in turn suggests that a ready-made library, complete with staff, existed at the moment of the foundation of the Augustan public library in the Porticus Octaviae. Notwithstanding this different set-up, and the different origins it suggests, Augustus certainly exercised as close a control over the Porticus Octaviae library as over that on the Palatine, appointing its director (C. Melissus, appendix 2 no. 2) and ensuring that Ovid's books were not admitted there after the poet's exile.¹²⁴

With this possible transfer of books from Alexandria to Rome, the long-lasting connection between the imperial libraries of Rome and the Ptolemaic libraries of Alexandria was established, just as the Flavian chair of rhetoric and the Hadrianic Athenaeum later invited comparison with Athens. This connection, though, is not sufficient to prove that Rome's libraries were intended to form part of an equivalent to the entire Alexandrian Mouseion. For that we would need to seek instances of libraries being used as devices for stimulating or controlling literary output. Although (if we discount the rather exiguous evidence for the Hadrianic Athenaeum) there is little sign in Rome of an organised library-based academy along Alexandrian lines, passages cited below (Ch. IV.1), such as Galen's testimony that the Templum Pacis became a centre of debate and discussion by the second century, do suggest that Rome's public libraries did develop such a function informally. The Aedes Herculis Musarum and its possible connections to the Collegium Poetarum offer the possibility of a similar centre existing in

¹²² Manacorda 1999.

¹²³ Houston 2002, n.43 suggests a comparison with contemporary aqueduct administration: Agrippa's aqueduct slaves were left to Augustus and made *servi publici*. cf Bruun 1991, 208–9.

¹²⁴ Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.59–72.

Augustan Rome or even earlier; this (naturally) affects the way in which public libraries would have been understood to function in imperial Rome.

ii) The Aedes Herculis Musarum and the library of the Porticus Octaviae

There is a strong body of evidence for the existence from the start of the second century BC of some sort of collegiate body of professional writers, initially grouped with actors and associated with the Aventine temple of Minerva.¹²⁵ This enigmatic body has been the subject of considerable debate: as Horsfall writes, ‘the Collegium Poetarum is an enigma. Between claims that it is the answer to almost every problem of Roman literary history and virtual denials that it ever existed, let alone exerted influence, *grammatici certant et adhuc sub indice lis est.*’¹²⁶

What is clear is that a body widely known as the Collegium Poetarum was in existence by the start of the first century BC, when the prickly octogenarian poet Accius offended the patrician C. Iulius Caesar Strabo, *in collegium poetarum venienti*, by failing to stand up to mark his arrival.¹²⁷ This passage suggests that the Collegium Poetarum occupied a physical place, and that while the dilettante patrician littérateur Iulius (the principal advocate of wit in Cicero’s *De Oratore*) could drop in, at least one of its members felt that the onus of courtesy was on the visitor: there seems to have been a degree of professional pride in evidence. Here, then, we have an important piece of evidence for the existence of a large body of professional writers, occupying a particular building.

I believe that there is enough evidence to suggest that this Collegium Poetarum (or a less formally organised successor body of poets, of roughly equivalent social status and purpose) was among the intended usership of Augustus’ libraries in the Porticus Octaviae. Pliny states that the same Accius set up a statue to himself in the Aedes

¹²⁵ Lindsay, 1930, 446 29ff. cf Livy 27.37ff. for a date of 207 BC.

¹²⁶ Horsfall 1976, 79ff.

¹²⁷ Valerius Maximus 3.7.11.

Camenaarum,¹²⁸ providing a first possible link between the Collegium and the Aedes Herculis Musarum at the southern end of the Campus Martius, next to the future site of the Porticus Octaviae with its twin libraries.¹²⁹

This temple was built *ex manubiis* by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (cos. 189BC) after his successful Ambracian campaign, and adorned with a set of statues of the Muses which he had brought back among his booty. The joint dedication to the Muses, Fulvius' patronage of Ennius, and his own literary aspirations (he wrote a commentary on the *Fasti* which was displayed in his temple),¹³⁰ have led many to see this complex as a focus of literary activity in Republican Rome and possibly the location of the Collegium Poetarum itself.¹³¹ This interpretation must be treated with a degree of caution: the booty from Ambracia must have been deployed in all sorts of contexts, and Fulvius (though he did take Ennius with him to Greece) was not necessarily deliberately Hellenising, or seeking to create a Tiberside Mouseion.

Nonetheless, a wide range of evidence and some reasonable assumptions suggest that the Collegium Poetarum (or some organised community of writers) *was* located in or near the Aedes Herculis Musarum, and that this influenced Augustus in his choice of location for the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae.

Horace writes of his works that they *neque in aede sonant certantia iudice Tarpa/Nec redant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris*.¹³² [Sp. Maecius] Tarpa was entrusted with the task of approving the plays at, for example, the opening of Pompey's theatre in 55 BC (*probavisset*: Cicero *Fam.*7.1.1), and Horace's *certamina* (for determining what plays would be put on) happening here sounds not unlike the competitions at the Alexandrian

¹²⁸ Pliny *HN* 34.19.

¹²⁹ Tamm 1961 insists that the only possible temple to the Muses at Pliny's date was the Aedes Herculis Musarum, and that it would have been quite proper for Pliny to refer to it simply as an Aedes Camenaarum.

¹³⁰ See e.g. Censorinus *DN* 20, Macrobius 1.12.6; Horsfall also cites Schanz-Hosius i.235, *Inscr.Ital.* xiii.2xx^f.

¹³¹ cf Eumenius *Pro Instaur. Scholis* 7.3 and Cicero *Tusc.* 1.3 and *Arch.* 27 for Nobilior's literary aspirations and affinity with the Muses.

¹³² Horace *Sat* 1.10.38.

Mouseion, albeit not for prizes or laurel crowns, as there, but for the right to public performance; this indicates that the *aedes* where this process took place had a strong connection to the literary life of the city.

Porphyrion's commentary on the Satires tells us that Horace's *aede* here refers to the *aedes Musarum ubi poetae carmina sua recitabant*. At *Ep.* 2.2.90 Horace makes a further reference to a literary ἀγών, which took place outside a temple which was open to Roman poets. Porphyrion places this scene, too, in the *aedes Musarum*, and Ps.Acro both in *aede Apollonis* and in *aede Musarum*. The Temple of Palatine Apollo must therefore be added to the list of possible locations for this sort of contest, but the Aedes Herculis Musarum remains a likely candidate, especially given Horace's reference in line 92 to the *novem musis*: it is hard to understand why he envisaged all *nine* muses attending an ἀγών between a lyric and an elegiac poet, unless he was thinking of Fulvius' statues. (Martial confirms, as we might have guessed, that statues of the Muses were found in Roman libraries).¹³³

Here, then, we have a series of references, the aggregate effect of which is to suggest strongly that the Aedes Herculis Musarum had some connection to the creation and reception of literature in Rome that extended beyond the mere presence there of Fulvius' statues of the Muses. As Tamm writes, 'on voit que les passages s'expliquent les uns les autres (surtout Hor., Cic., et Val.Max.) et qu'ils se complètent. On est ainsi amené à conclure qu'il y avait à Rome un temple destiné à des réunions de poètes qui rivalisent en déclamant, et que ce temple était dédié aux Muses.'¹³⁴

What are the implications of this excursus into the history of a republican *collegium* for the subject at hand, the public libraries of the imperial period? Clearly, any centre of literary activity could have been a significant forerunner of public library

¹³³ Martial *Ep.* 12.3. cf Pliny *HN* 36.34 for Muses in the Porticus Octaviae itself.

¹³⁴ Tamm 1961, 159.

provision, given the scholarly impetus for the foundation and use of such libraries. In the case of the Collegium Poetarum, however, this logical connection is reinforced by several factors. Firstly, the display of Fulvius' own *Fasti* in the Aedes Herculis Musarum indicate at least some archival or library function, even if restricted to that one work; there is also the parallel example of Maron's library in the shrine of the Muses at Antioch eighty or so years later.

Secondly, several of the passages quoted indicate that that complex served an active rôle in the literary topography of the city: it was not just a meeting place or clubhouse for poets, as the Accius incident mentioned above might be taken to indicate if read in isolation, but a centre of literary endeavour. The building would have provided a suitable home for the literary readings and προαγῶνες which Horace apparently describes, perhaps making use of the sheltered courtyard, away from the noise of the streets, which appears in a later incarnation of the complex on the Marble Plan (Figure 3).

It is extremely likely that any such centre would have incorporated some sort of book collection. Ever since Livius Andronicus' debut in 240 BC and Plautus' adaptation of the Greek New Comedy of Menander, Philemon and Diphilos for the Roman stage, Roman authors had been translating or calquing Greek works into Latin. The process was ongoing: even in the last decades of the first century, Horace was able to boast that he was *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos*.¹³⁵ This sort of work clearly required access to texts of the Greek precedents, and authors like Plautus, who Gellius tells us was so poor that he was reduced to turning a baker's millstone,¹³⁶ were not always in a position to buy these works for themselves. Given the attitude to players displayed in the passage of Nepos quoted above, it is unlikely that a humble theatrical scrivener could have gained access to the private libraries of the aristocracy which, at any rate, were

¹³⁵ Horace *Odes* 3.30.13f.

¹³⁶ Gellius 3.3.14.

unlikely to have held extensive collections of Greek New Comedy. Casson speculates that access to collections of these Greek texts, and the Latin versions based on them, was provided through the private collections of theatre managers.¹³⁷ This is probably true, but I would suggest that another likely point of access to collections of texts for men of slender means or status might have been provided by collegiate associations. We have already seen that in the early literary life of Rome the low-status *bistriones* and *scribae* shared a *collegium*, and it is entirely possible that their Aventine facility held the earliest library at Rome that was not in the private ownership of a wealthy individual; later, when the Collegium Poetarum became established as a separate body, it is possible that it too built up a collection of books for the benefit of its members.¹³⁸

Thirdly, the location of the Aedes Herculis Musarum, and specifically its close proximity and possible communication with the Augustan Porticus Octaviae, in which Rome's third public library was established, also suggests a literary function and, as a corollary of this, a library function.

It is at this point that the libraries of Augustus in the Porticus Octaviae, next to the Aedes Herculis Musarum, enter the discussion. Established by a member of the imperial family and possibly stocked, as we have seen, with Varro's own proscribed library, or with books taken from Alexandria, these constituted a third of Rome's public library resources at the time, and fully half of Augustus' own library buildings.

¹³⁷ Casson 2001, 64.

¹³⁸ Moreover, the previous building on the site of the Porticus Octaviae, the Porticus Metelli, seems to have borne more than a passing resemblance to the Temple of Athena at Pergamum; since the building of the Porticus Metelli coincided in date with the presence in Rome as an envoy to the Senate of Crates of Mallus, the Pergamene librarian, it is just possible that the Porticus Metelli contained at his behest some sort of library facility which was continued and expanded in Augustus' Porticus Octaviae. This is merest conjecture, though, best left in a footnote.

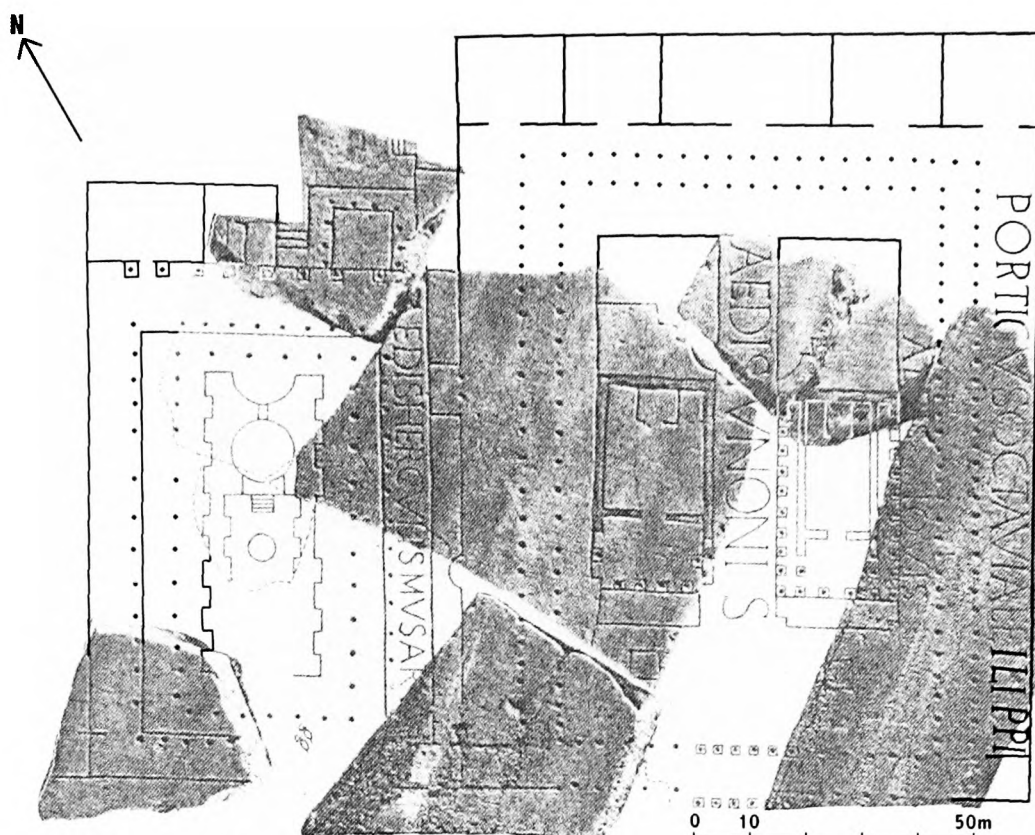


Figure 3 Plan of the Porticus Octaviae and Aedes Herculis Musarum.

Illustration: author, after Richardson 1992, 317. The northern reconstructions are conjectural.

The common link between each of the Augustan library projects is a temple to Apollo: that of Apollo Palatinus in the case of the Palatine complex, and the rebuilt Temple of Apollo Medicus Sosianus near the Porticus Octaviae. This latter temple had been associated with a theatre since at least 179 BC (and probably before that with some sort of performance space for the Ludi Apollinares, instituted in 212 BC). We know from Horace and Festus that the Collegium Poetarum probably had some function in determining the choice of plays put on or verses sung in Rome; its location close to an important focus of dramatic production, if we place it in the Aedes Herculis Musarum, therefore seems more than coincidence. The precinct of the Aedes Herculis Musarum, the Porticus Octaviae with its libraries and the Temple of Apollo Medicus Sosianus, all built or rebuilt under Augustus, stand adjacent to Augustus' Theatre of Marcellus: here,

then, is a treble link to drama and poetry in an area thought to have had some long-standing association with a College of Poets who had a hand in writing and selecting plays for public performance.¹³⁹

The temptation to see Augustus' Porticus Octaviae and its libraries as associated with this literary corner of the city and the Collegium Poetarum in particular is therefore substantial. There is further circumstantial evidence: an inscription, probably datable to between 17 and 13 BC and found in the centre of the Piazza Labicana, refers to a P. Cornelius Surus as the *magister* of the *scribarum poetarum*, who *fecit* [perhaps a *scholam*] in or near the *theatro lapidio*.¹⁴⁰ It has been argued that Surus' *scribae [et] poetae* are not the same as Accius' Collegium Poetarum, but are more likely to be the poetasters of cheap epigraphs, or government scribes; this, however, does not damage the argument at hand here, for it simply adds more weight to the suggestion that the area was a honey-pot for poetical bees of various sorts.

The Collegium Poetarum could well have been dissolved along with the majority of Republican colleges under Caesar or Augustus,¹⁴¹ but references in Martial to a *schola poetarum* indicate that a similar if less formally instituted body continued to meet somewhere in the city, shorn of its collegiate status and therefore without the power to snub Augustus in the same way as Accius had snubbed Iulius Caesar Strabo.¹⁴² Augustus therefore seems to have used the provision of libraries and meeting rooms to win the

¹³⁹ Here we might consider Wiseman's contention that Roman historiography grew partly out of popular dramatic representations such as those at the Ludi Scaenici (Wiseman 1994). Taken together with evidence from the period immediately preceding the first library foundations for the increasing importance of the book in Roman historical self-definition, we might see in Augustus' library foundations in the Porticus Octaviae an attempt to harness a popular phenomenon of historical self-definition that had long associations with the area through its association with the Ludi Apollinares, etc.

¹⁴⁰ Jory 1968.

¹⁴¹ Suetonius *Iul.* 42.3; *Aug.* 32.1.

¹⁴² Martial 3.20.8ff. and 4.61.3f. Martial does not provide any information about the location of the *schola poetarum* but it is interesting that he groups it as a venue for an *otiosus* litterateur with the *porticum...templi*: perhaps the library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus, referred to by an almost identical phrase with specific reference to a library in *Ep.* 12.3 (*limina templi*) and again in 4.53 as the haunt of a Cynic philosopher (*templi limina...novi*).

favour of opinion-forming poets at roughly the same time as the professional autonomy they enjoyed from their *Collegium* may have been removed.

Perhaps Augustus encouraged these poets to make the short move from the *Aedes Herculis Musarum* to his new *Porticus*; perhaps he didn't. The evidence for the function and practices of the *Collegium Poetarum* at this date is so unsatisfactory that we can't be sure. In this instance, though, it doesn't make much difference; indeed, Viscogliosi suggests that the *Porticus Octaviae* might have communicated directly with the adjacent *Porticus Philippi*, built on exactly the same alignment to surround the *Aedes Herculis Musarum* by L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 38 BC).¹⁴³ Fragment 33 of the *Marble Plan* indicates that the adjacent porticoes were thought of as a single entity: the title of both the *Porticus Octaviae* and the *Porticus Fil[ippi]* are written inside the south-east side of the courtyard of the *Porticus Octaviae* (Figure 3). Some continuity of function between the two complexes therefore seems likely; if we accept that the *Collegium Poetarum* or a successor body met in the *Aedes Herculis Musarum*, then it seems probable that its members also used the libraries of the new *Porticus Octaviae* and the *schola* that Pliny locates there.¹⁴⁴

The implications for the history of the imperial libraries in the *Porticus Octaviae* are significant. It seems sensible to suggest that by creating new and splendid library provision in an area long associated with theatrical production and the activities of the *Collegium Poetarum*, Augustus was seeking to win the favour of this important constituency and bring it within his own sphere of influence. Viewed in this light, the library becomes a vital piece in the Augustan jigsaw of cultural and architectural patronage which extended throughout the city of Rome.

Augustus' library provision, backed by imperial wealth and possibly by the confiscated library of Rome's greatest antiquarian bibliophiles, would easily have

¹⁴³ A. Viscogliosi, *LTUR*, s.v. *Porticus Philippi*, Vol.IV,146-8.

¹⁴⁴ Pliny *HN* 35.114, 36.22.

surpassed any resources at the Collegium's disposal and attracted the frequent attendance of its members, as well as generating new activities nearby (such as Surus', if Horsfall is right to distance him from the Collegium proper). What we see here is the monumentalisation of a cultural *quartier*, imposing a new and distinctively Julio-Claudian character on an area of the city long used for republican festivals and manubial display, and long frequented by literary types. The theatre and temple were not new, just vastly grander than what preceded them; it seems reasonable to suggest that the same was true of the provision in the same row of buildings of a new library and *schola*.

Further pieces of evidence point to functions for the literary complex in and around the Porticus Octaviae beyond the remit of the Collegium Poetarum, which Horsfall believes to have been limited, at least initially, to tragedy. Pliny's reference to passage a *schola* in the Porticus Octaviae occurs in the context of a discussion of famous paintings; he tells us that a painting depicting the epiphany of Minerva to Philip and Alexander was located there. The Minerva connection to the Collegium Poetarum might be significant (for more library connections with Minerva see below on Trajan's Forum p.75 with nn.209 and 210), but the subject of the painting is more germane to the writing of history than of plays or poems. The possible deployment in these libraries of Varro's confiscated books also strongly indicates an historical function. Secondly, Martial's mention of the *schola poetarum* in 3.20.8ff. connects it to the writing of *lepore tinctos Attico sales*: if we are to believe that Martial's *schola* (and Pliny's?) is that of the Porticus Octaviae, we must assume, then, that it was, or had become by the 80s AD, a haunt of lyric poets as well as tragedians. Finally, Ovid's *Tristia* 3.1.69f laments that his book, after exclusion from the Palatine, seeks *altera templa, vicino iuncta theatro* but is forbidden entry there, too. This is surely a reference to the Porticus Octaviae, with its twin temples (pace Cancik)¹⁴⁵ and proximity to the Theatrum Marcelli. If Ovid's books could have expected

¹⁴⁵ Cancik 1969, 327.

admission to these libraries had they been exprimed by another, undisgraced hand, we must again expand the list of the genres collected there.

Parallel instances in which Augustus provided cultural and leisure facilities, monopolising for himself and his family a long-standing republican tradition of public monumental euergetism, can be seen across Rome and especially elsewhere in the Campus Martius. Augustus' dynastic tomb and the structures surrounding it near the Via Flaminia (the Ara Pacis, the Horologium) dominated the northern approach to the area, enlarging on a tradition of republic aristocratic roadside tombs; to the south, open space gave way to gardens, parkland and porticoes, furnished with art works ostentatiously placed on public display.¹⁴⁶ The process had begun under successive republican benefactors, most notably Pompey, whose stone theatre opened in 55BC; Julius Caesar planned further improvements,¹⁴⁷ but it was Augustus who completed them. New facilities for leisure effectively corralled Romans seeking the benefits of *otium* into a series of Julio-Claudian spaces, each replete with appropriate imagery and carefully bearing the names of loyal family members rather than of Augustus himself – the Aqua Virgo and baths of Agrippa, a great lake (the *stagnum Agrippae*) and a Euripus, the basilica of Neptune, the Saepta Iulia, the theatre of Marcellus, and expansive parkland. The libraries of the Porticus Octaviae fit well into this array of public buildings. Although their readership may have comprised a relatively small number of people, their location in a series of prominent imperial monuments in a popular part of the city indicates that their symbolic value had a wider intended audience. If the Porticus Octaviae was open to crowds of theatre-goers from the adjacent Theatre of Marcellus in the manner of a

¹⁴⁶ See below e.g. n.657

¹⁴⁷ Cic. *Att.* 13.33

conventional Roman *porticus post scaenam*, the libraries could have been displayed to very large numbers of people.¹⁴⁸

In conclusion, then, we can see the libraries in the Porticus Octaviae as an important literary resource provided for scholars and professional writers in an area of the city which had a long standing connection to the literary arts, as well as an important element in the symbolic gesture-politics of library provision (discussed further below). It is not necessary to suggest that Augustus relocated the Collegium Poetarum to his Porticus, which encompassed a wider range of literary genres than the Collegium itself; but the historic presence of the Collegium in the area, and even the architectural form of its buildings at the neighbouring Aedes Herculis Musarum, seems to have affected what Augustus built and where he chose to build it.

The Augustan library project in the Porticus Octaviae therefore seems to have been aimed at accommodating the needs of a pre-existing constituency; Julius Caesar had recognised the need for public libraries, and Augustus fulfilled that need by targeting provision to a group of scholars and writers in an established location. In the case of the Collegium Poetarum, at least, the ancient sources also indicate that the writers in question were not exclusively the élite men of letters frequently posited in modern scholarship on ancient libraries, but also included workaday members of a profession which Romans of the stamp of C. Iulius Caesar Strabo could look down on. A touch of Accius' professional pride is evident in Horace. These days, complains the poet, everyone turns their hand to versifying, even those who have no talent for it:

¹⁴⁸ For more on the symbolic, public value of libraries see Chs. II.2 (the libraries of the Forum of Trajan) and IV.4.

*navem agere ignarus navis timet; habrotonum aegro
non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est
promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri;
scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.*

Horace *Epist.* 2.1.114ff

The true poet, meanwhile, has no love of worldly gain and dines on *siliquis et pane secundo*. This unworldliness is a literary conceit, of course, but one that finds fairly frequent echoes. We can compare Martial's description of a low-status dishevelled Cynic at the library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus, or Apuleius' description of his own scruffy appearance and limited means in a passage which also talks about public libraries.¹⁴⁹ We are justified, then, in envisaging men of this status, *inter alios*, in Roman public libraries and particularly in one which maintained a connection to a school of poets. The perception of the genuinely public quality of Rome's libraries is a theme upon which this thesis touches at several points.

Augustus' libraries also fulfilled another important public rôle, acting as monuments to imperial power, wealth, generosity, and cultural prestige. This underlay Julius Caesar's unrealised plans and was expressed by Augustus' location of his libraries, with their possible Egyptian resonance, in the political and dynastic monuments of the Porticus Octaviae and Palatine. This was an aspect of imperial library provision which was imitated and valued by Augustus' successors, culminating in the elaborate libraries of Trajan's Forum. These are the subject of the second 'case study' chapter.

¹⁴⁹ Martial *Ep.* IV.53 and Apuleius, *Apol.* 4; 22; 25; see further below p.178.

II.2 - Imperial public libraries and monumental identity: the libraries of Trajan's Forum

Rome's public libraries existed to accumulate and make available literary collections in the manner discussed above, but they also served as impressive public statements of imperial cultural identity and priorities: monumental grandeur and imperial symbolism were important aspects of their function. Augustus' and Tiberius' libraries set the pattern, and the Flavian Temple of Peace, a famously beautiful building dedicated in AD75, contained a library as a prominent part of Vespasian's conspicuously public cultural programme for the city. The earliest surviving substantial public library remains in Rome, however, are those of Trajan's libraries in his imperial Forum.¹⁵⁰ These buildings are therefore an invaluable resource, and this second case study considers their rôle in this monumental tradition of library building in two ways.

Firstly, the archaeological remains allow an investigation of the design (II.2.i) and operation (ii) of the Trajanic libraries, discussed in the first section of this case study as one of the best surviving indications of how Roman imperial libraries looked and functioned.

Secondly, the location and internal configuration of these libraries indicate that they were considered part of the suite of monuments (at the northern end of the Forum) that commemorated the Deified Trajan, and as such they carried a symbolic, monumental public function separate from (though related to) their practical function as libraries (iii). Specifically, alterations made during the design and construction sequence of the interior of the Trajanic library buildings, considered alongside numismatic evidence, suggests a careful integration with the other monuments of the Forum,

¹⁵⁰ The form of Pollio's Atrium Libertatis is not known. The pair of apsidal colonnaded chambers on the Palatine, known from the marble plan and usually associated with the Augustan library there, probably date from the Flavian remodelling of the imperial complex (Callmer 1944, 158-9; Stročka 1981, 307). The marble plan also shows parts of the Porticus Octaviae and the Templum Pacis, but the details of the libraries there are not known.

including the column and possibly the Temple of the Deified Trajan. Study of the Trajanic libraries may therefore also shed some light on the vexed question of the location of this elusive temple.

This in turn sets up some very interesting resonances between libraries and commemoration in provincial examples, concerning both the function of the buildings as libraries and their rôle as civic monuments, designed to impress readers and visitors alike. As we will see in Section V, a number of libraries cropped up in various places in the Roman world in the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods; many of these incorporated architectural features derived from the Trajanic libraries as well as similar imperial imagery and personal commemoration of the donor. At least two such libraries actually contained the tombs of members of the donating families, in the same way as the base of Trajan's Column contained the deified emperor's ashes.¹⁵¹ It seems very likely that the echoes of Trajan's libraries in these provincial buildings were quite deliberate. As the arguments in this thesis about the place of the library in the Roman world therefore rely heavily on the identification of these Trajanic buildings as archetypes on which the builders of provincial libraries drew, it is important that their architecture and appointments are properly investigated.

¹⁵¹ Dio 69.2.3; Eutropius 8.5.3. For archaeological evidence for the interment of Trajan and Plotina in the Column Base, see Coarelli 2000, 25-6.

i) The architecture, decoration, and operation of the libraries of Trajan's Forum

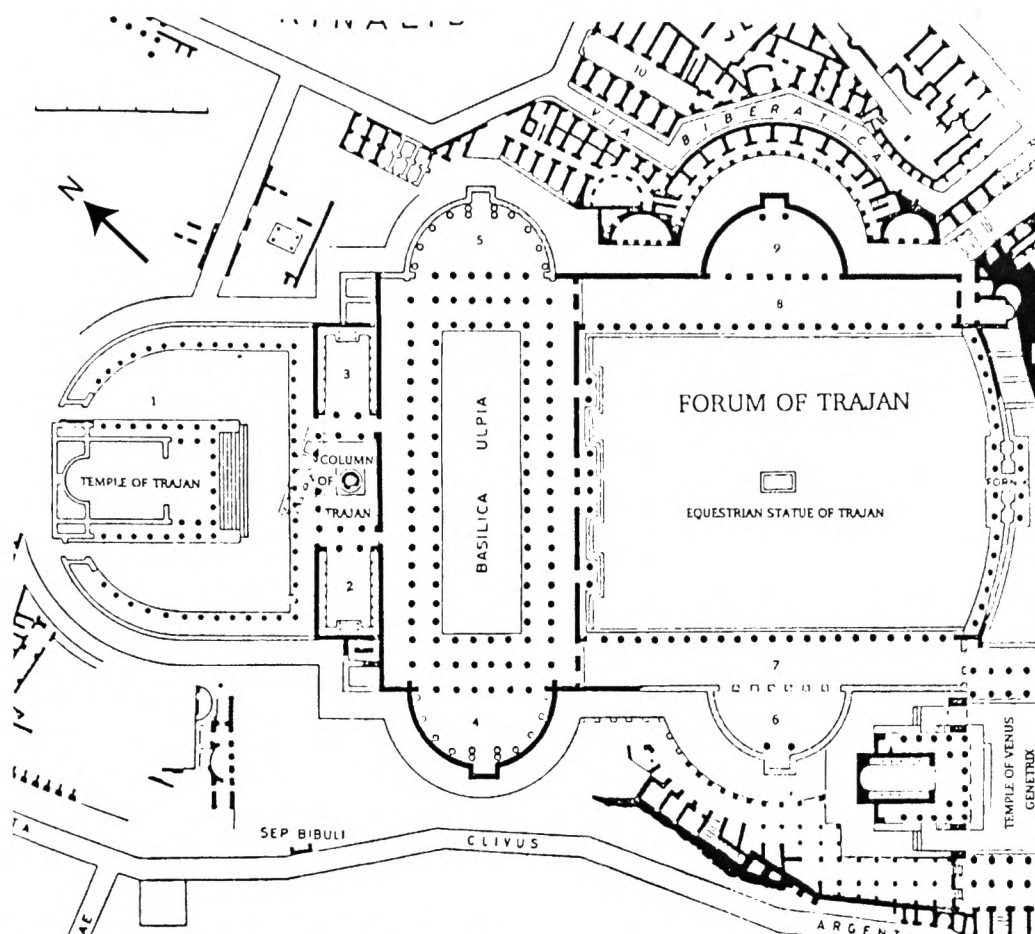


Figure 4 Plan of the Forum of Trajan.

From Packer 2001, 8, Fig. 3.

The libraries in Trajan's forum have traditionally been located in a pair of brick structures (Figure 4 Nos. 2 and 3) flanking the courtyard of the famous Column with its helical frieze, which were uncovered in the Napoleonic excavations in the early nineteenth century and cleared in 1930-2. Several ancient sources mention the presence of a library or libraries in the complex containing Trajan's Basilica Ulpia abutting this courtyard at the northern end of the Forum,¹⁵² an enormous complex of buildings, possibly begun under Domitian, which celebrated and was funded by Trajan's Dacian victory and was dedicated in AD 112/3.

¹⁵² See below nn.180-182. The entire Forum is on a north-west to south-east axis, but for simplicity I will use only cardinal points of the compass when discussing the orientation of the libraries.

Each of the library buildings in Trajan's forum consisted of a large, rectangular hall suitable for meetings or readings. Of these two structures, the western one is by far the better preserved: it survives to around head height and measures 20.1m wide x 27m long (68.5 x 90 Roman feet). It is presumed from the evidence of the marble plan and some surviving fragments of wall that the eastern building was identical.¹⁵³ Estimates of the libraries' original height converge at around 14.7m (50 Roman feet), and though this must be broadly correct given the size of the buildings, their height and roofing are necessarily matters of conjecture.

The feature which most readily identifies these buildings as libraries is the presence of seven niches along the length of the surviving north wall of the western building, which at the time of the 1932 excavation survived to a height of nearly 4m. These niches begin 1.56m above the floor level of the library, and 73cm above the level of the platform that runs beneath them. They are 2.05m wide and between 0.6 and 0.8m wide and one (0, at the western end) has been blocked up. Foundation traces of the western and southern walls have been excavated but none of their superstructure survives; nonetheless, the symmetrical proportions of the building and the uniform internal appearance of all three of these walls on the marble plan means that similar niches can confidently be envisaged here as well. If these buildings were libraries, the niches would have been used to house wooden *armaria* which would in turn have contained the books. Although no trace of this arrangement now survives, earlier chroniclers of the eastern building (in which a single niche survives) did note remains of metal fittings, possibly hinges, which strongly supports a library function by effectively ruling out the use of the niches to hold statues or other works of art.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ E.g. Nibby 1818, 349.

¹⁵⁴ Nibby 1818, 349.

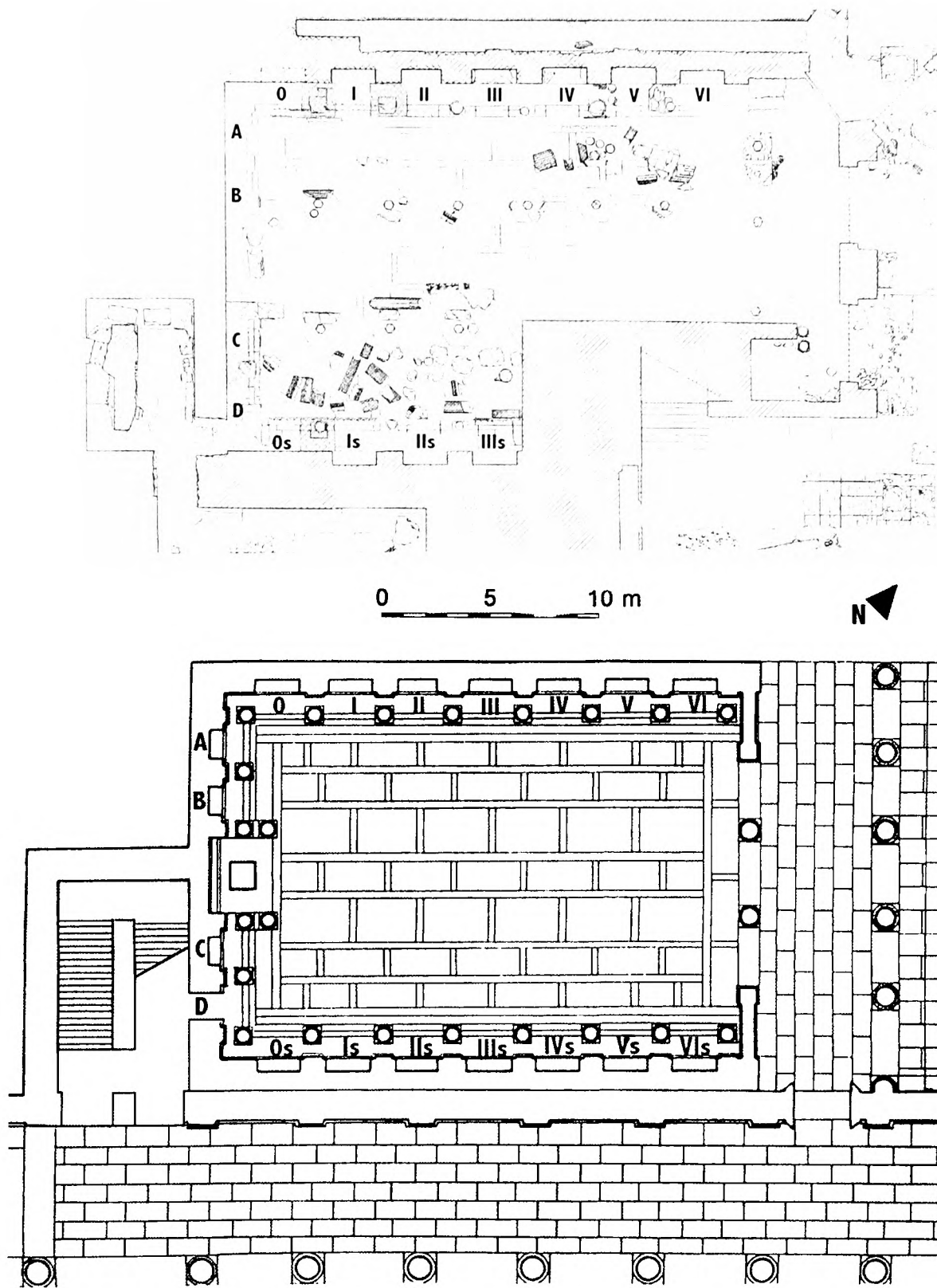


Figure 5 Western library of Trajan's forum: current and original plans.

Top: Getty Plan: Meneghini 2002, 676 Fig. 12.

Bottom: reconstruction on the same scale and orientation: author, after *ibid.* 674 Fig. 10.

Contiguous with the northern, southern and western walls of the western building was a platform 0.8m above the floor level and 1m wide, reached by a continuous crepidoma of three steps. This platform was also constructed of brick-faced concrete, and was punctuated (at intervals corresponding to the gap between each niche and its neighbour) by travertine blocks carved to fit the line of the steps. Surviving fragments show that the entire structure was revetted in marble veneer.

The travertine blocks carried an order of columns. Clamp marks in the surface of the stone and surviving column fragments indicate that these were 24 Roman feet (7.051m) tall, not enough to reach the ceiling of the building, and reconstructions universally envisage a second order of columns sitting on the architrave of the first. Fragments of column bases, capitals and entablatures of both orders all survive; each was of pavonazzetto marble and had fluted shafts. The upper order seems to have been three-quarters of the size of the lower one, as Vitruvius prescribes (i.e 18 RF or 5.288m).¹⁵⁵ The arrangement leads one to suspect the existence of an upper row of niches accessed from a balcony supported by these columns; drawings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries confirm that these upper niches did indeed exist.¹⁵⁶

These niches can be presumed to have held books as well, since arrangements seem to have been made to give access to them. The marble plan shows staircases opening into the Basilica Ulpia, and excavation work around the western library has found traces of at least one set of stairs ascending to the presumed gallery level. The exact arrangement of these staircases is uncertain and will be discussed further below. It is generally agreed, however, that they were intended to facilitate access to a gallery level

¹⁵⁵ Vitruvius 5.1.3. The calculation of height: Packer 1993, 423 and nn. 16 and 18

¹⁵⁶ The drawings are by E. Du Pérac, (1574-8), and A. Giovannoli (1619). See Meneghini 1993, 18-19 and *id.* 1996, 67-68 and fig. 28 on p.70. Also e.g. Packer 1997 Vol. 1, 27 fig 10.

within the libraries; each library building accordingly contained a possible maximum of 36 niches containing *armaria* for books.¹⁵⁷

The buildings, uniquely in Trajan's forum, are constructed of brick-faced concrete; the shell of the libraries in Ephesus and Sagalassos are also (unusually for those cities) brick-built, a significant point of comparison. Roman library architects were concerned, according to Vitruvius,¹⁵⁸ about the possible penetration of damp to the books, and they seem to have felt that brick had preferable hygroscopic properties to stone.

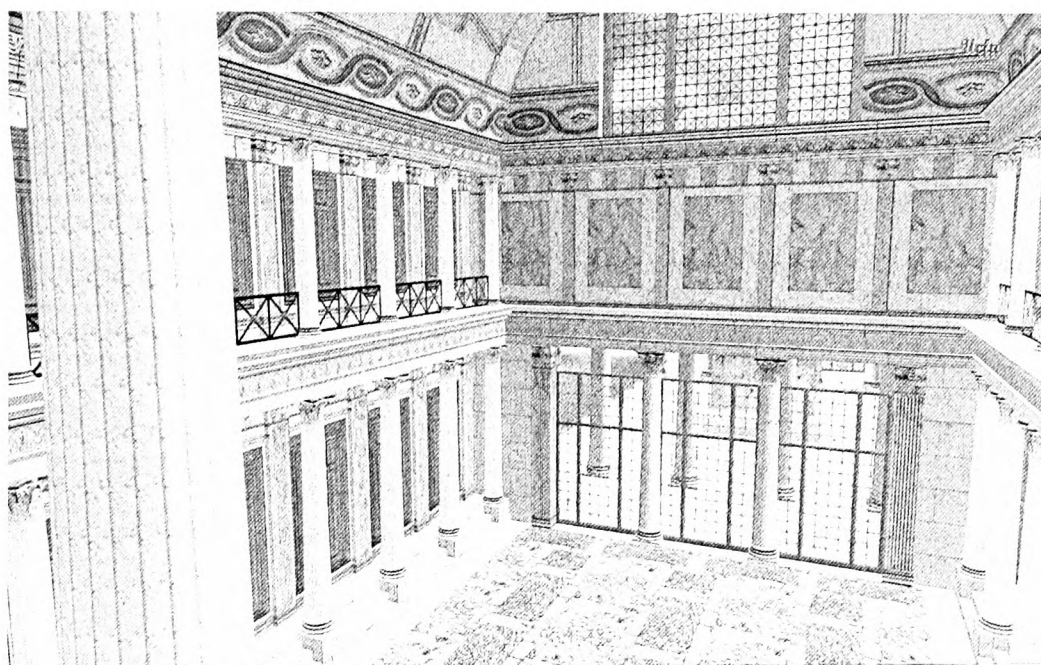


Figure 6 The interior of one of the libraries of Trajan's Forum.

Packer 2001, 215 Fig. 169.

Further evidence for the architect's concern to include damp-proofing elements in the buildings' design can be found in the depth of the niches and also in their height from the floor. The depth of the niches in known Roman public libraries is always sufficient to allow for the installation of protective cupboards with closing doors.¹⁵⁹ The depth of the niches in the Trajanic buildings – 62.5cm – would have allowed for the

¹⁵⁷ E.g. Casson 2001, 88.. Cf Packer: *LTUR*, *sv* Forum Traiani; Meneghini 2002, 663 fig. 5.

¹⁵⁸ Vitruvius 6.5.1.

¹⁵⁹ See below p.129.

installation of such cupboards of a depth of, say 55cm with a gap at the rear to allow air circulation and prevent the transmission of damp from the masonry to the wood of the *armarium*.

The presence of the continuous stepped podium beneath the niches indicates that the libraries' architect wanted to overcome their inconvenient distance from the floor (the upper reaches of each niche are some 4.5m from floor height). This podium, and similar structures elsewhere, are frequently referred to as "giving access to" the books; in possible libraries where a podium is absent, such as that in Sagalassos, the height of the niches above the floor is cited as a factor against identifying the structure as a library. It remains to be considered why the architects of Roman public libraries consistently set their books well above a height at which they could be easily reached and then proceeded to "solve" this problem by the addition of a podium. At least two answers occur to me; firstly, the need to set books as high off the floor as possible to prevent the transmission of damp to the library stock, and secondly the need to control access to the books in institutions open to the public (discussed below).¹⁶⁰

The interior decorative scheme of the Trajanic libraries was extremely rich. Surviving fragments and the imprint of floor slabs in the concrete which supported them show that the floor was paved in alternating rectangles of grey Aswan granite and strips of yellow Numidian marble. The walls and podium were veneered in pavonazzetto, the same marble as was used in the internal columnar orders. The frames of the niches were of white marble, as were capitals, cornices, and base mouldings. There was a large recess between the two pairs of niches on the rear wall, framed in columns of giallo antico marble, which presumably held a large statue, perhaps of the emperor (a white marble hand belonging to a colossal male statue was found in the library in the 1930s

¹⁶⁰ cf Makowiecka 1978, 102-3.

excavation).¹⁶¹ It is also likely that these libraries, like most others at Rome, were decorated with works of art and portrait busts of authors and other worthies, either in the central floor area or in frames above the niches.¹⁶²

The front wall of each library consisted of a tetrastyle colonnade; it is probable that here, as elsewhere, bronze screens between the columns controlled access, provided a degree of weatherproofing, and secured the library at night.¹⁶³ Hinge-pits and clamp-holes on the travertine floor blocks at the front of the western library suggest the presence of some sort of closing mechanism.

The roofing arrangements of the library are a matter of some debate; Meneghini and Bianchi argue for a flat coffered ceiling, partly because their reconstruction of the northern end of Trajan's Forum requires the library buildings to rise to a third storey. Opponents of this interpretation argue that a 16th century drawing shows attachment points for the trusses of a flat, coffered ceiling, but this is far from clear.¹⁶⁴ A coffered ceiling sitting above the architrave of the second internal order would leave room for windows in the libraries' end walls facing the Column as their only light source. These would scarcely be sufficient: they would be cast into partial shade by the Column and could admit light only for part of the morning into one library and part of the afternoon into the other, as various commentators have observed.¹⁶⁵ A barrel vault, by contrast, would allow large windows to be incorporated in the eastern and western walls, increasing the useful daylight working time in both libraries; a groin vault would have allowed even more light to enter from lateral windows on the long sides of the building as well, allowing for use during more of the day (although south facing windows may

¹⁶¹ Packer 1993, 427 and n.39.

¹⁶² See below pp.160ff.

¹⁶³ Two fluted pavonazetto shafts with sockets for the screen came to light in the 1928-32 excavations: Packer 2001, 46.

¹⁶⁴ For the drawing, by Du Pérac, see above n.156. For arguments in favour of a coffered ceiling see Meneghini 1993, 13-21; *id.* 2001, 51-3; *id.* 2001b, 248-51. A summary of these arguments and a refutation can be found in Packer 2003, 129-132.

¹⁶⁵ E.g. Packer 2003, 132; Ballarin and Berti 2001, 265-6.

have been somewhat overshadowed by the Basilica Ulpia). Fragments found within the west library suggest a vaulted ceiling,¹⁶⁶ and the thickness of the surviving walls does seem (*pace* Amici) great enough to have supported a vault. Parallels for similar second century groin vaults include the Great Hall in the Markets of Trajan, the Baths of the Seven Sages and the House of Serapis at Ostia (the latter two sprang directly from the walls, as they must have in the libraries)¹⁶⁷

These features are all visible in Packer's reconstruction of one of the library halls (Figure 6). What can we deduce from the form of such a building about the way in which it was designed to be used?

¹⁶⁶ Packer 1993, 428 fig. 9 (letter J denotes a vault fragment). c.f. *id.* 2003, 131 with n.74.

¹⁶⁷ For Trajan's Markets MacDonald 1982, Vol. I 189; for the buildings at Ostia, Calza 1941, fig. 14.

ii) Their function as libraries

The library buildings' capacity seems a good place to start. Calculating this is extremely difficult, not least because both the fixtures and fittings housed in the niches and the disposition of the books within them are unknown, but a very approximate figure can be reached: if we assume that books were stored end on and only one deep, we can divide the area of the niches by the area of the end of an average sized scroll to find the library's theoretical capacity.

There were seven niches on each of the buildings' long sides in the original design, and probably four across the back wall; as will be seen below, it seems that one or (by symmetry) two of the ground floor niches of the western library were blocked up at some point in its existence, so that the total number of niches along the long sides of each building was between 12 and 14. It seems probable that the same arrangement obtained on the upper storey of each library.

The niches in the long walls in Trajan's library are c. 1.6m wide (although, as is described below, their original width was about 2.05m). The four stretches of podium stairway between the travertine column base blocks on the western (end) wall of the library are c.50cm narrower than those of the long sides, indicating that any niches on that wall would have been four in number and about 1-1.5m wide. Today the west library is encased in the foundations of a paved area at the northern end of the Via dei Fori Imperiali, but an excavation sketch made in 1932 shows a maximum surviving niche height of 2.2m. The likely original height of the niches, based on their proportions and the antique sketches mentioned above, seems to have been round 3m; this is the height on Meneghini and Bianchi's own reconstructed elevation, for example.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Meneghini 2002, 681 fig. 17. For similar calculations see Packer 1993, 423-4 and *id.* 1997, Vol. 1, 454. Packer's ground-floor niches reach a slightly greater height of 3.18m based on a 2:1 ratio of height:width, which he admits is conjectural. The true height of the niches must remain a matter of conjecture, as (in fact) must the total number of niches in the library (for which see the discussion of staircases below). The calculations of capacity which follow, for which I have used round figures in metres to allow for the

That gives a total niche area of $(12 \text{ to } 14 \times (3\text{m} \times 1.6\text{m})) + (4 \times (3\text{m} \times 1\text{m}))$ for the niches on the ground floor of each library: that is, between 69.6m^2 and 79.2m^2 . The probable height of the upper rows of niches, given the overall height of the building and the likely dimensions of the upper order of columns, was c. 2.5m (perhaps more if the upper row sacrificed cornices to allow more storage capacity). Accordingly, a niche area of between 58 m^2 and 66m^2 can be calculated for the upper floor of each library. Assuming an identical configuration in each library, this gives a total available niche area for both buildings of between 255.2m^2 and 290.4 m^2

A generous estimate for the diameter of Roman scrolls seems to be around the 8cm mark.¹⁶⁹ Allowing a little extra width for protective slip-covers or other embellishments befitting imperial library-standard copies gives a figure of 10cm diameter and an cross-sectional area, therefore, of c. 0.008m^2 per scroll. The theoretical maximum capacity of the two library buildings can therefore be estimated, very roughly, as between 31,900 and 36,300 scrolls, though there are variables that could push that figure in either direction: the need to account for possible wooden fittings (simple shelves or even *locumenta*) within the niches and the fact that round scrolls tessellate imperfectly suggest that the figure is too high, while conversely it is also possible that sometimes scrolls were small enough to be stacked two deep.¹⁷⁰ It is also likely that not all the library's holdings were scrolls: it is possible, as is suggested later, that these buildings also contained the large codices used to record public debts. These, though far larger than scrolls, would have stacked more neatly on the shelves and accordingly increased, as it were, the library's total data capacity.

accommodation of fixtures and fittings, must therefore be regarded as speculative. Calculations regarding the different *proportions* of space in earlier and later stages of the libraries design are accurate, although they too rely on a notional figure of niche height and assumptions about the symmetry of the two library buildings.

¹⁶⁹ Sève 1990; Callmer 1944, 153 n1.

¹⁷⁰ Packer arrives at a figure of 21,000 scrolls which he suggests could be doubled to 42,000 if "two rolls of scrolls were stored end to end on each shelf", though he does not allow for stacking the scrolls more than one row deep per shelf. Clearly a precise figure is impossible. Packer 1997 Vol. 1 p.454.

The library complex shows clear signs of having been designed to be accessible to large numbers of people, which in turn suggests the presence of staff to guide them and protect the library's stock from theft and damage; the ways in which the design of the building shelters the books hints at the ways in which access to those books was controlled and facilitated.

Firstly, the size of the library buildings and the opulence of their decoration are in themselves clear indications that a fairly large number of visitors was expected to enter them. The internal floor area of each library hall was 542.7m², of which at most only 5.75% (31.25m² over two storeys) was given over to book storage. Naturally floor space was also needed for readers to circulate and read, but comparisons with modern libraries suggest that there was still an overprovision of floor area relative to the capacity of the library. The new British Library, for example, devotes about 25% of its floor area to permanent "pure" book storage.¹⁷¹ With books thus relegated to the perimeter walls and open floor spaces capable of accommodating scores or hundreds of people at once, Trajan's libraries were clearly grossly inefficient buildings if their purpose was simply to store books. Accordingly, it is likely that an important part of their designed function was a visual grandeur capable of accommodating and impressing visitors who were not necessarily readers. The expensive and impressive materials used in the decoration of the building support this interpretation, as does the evidence for the subsidiary functions that Roman public libraries seem to have sustained (including activities ranging from

¹⁷¹ Modern comparisons are difficult since calculations of the capacity of Trajan's libraries are at best approximate. In the British Library's St Pancras building 27,100m² are allocated to 'pure' book storage out of 112,000m² total floor area. Areas not included but which do hold books are the exhibition areas and the reading rooms. Source: personal communication with Mr Harry Wanless, British Library Estates Manager, Sept. 2004.

Another measurement is possible. If we assume (rather generously) that each 3m tall niche on the ground floor contained ten shelves, and the 2.5m tall niches of the upper storey 8, then the maximum linear shelf space in each library would have been 450m, giving a ratio of linear metres of shelf space: square metres of floor space of 0.83. By contrast, the same ratio for the new British Library building is 5.58 (625km of shelf space in 112,000m² of floor area. Source: www.bl.uk). The arguments below relating to the removal of some niches to allow access to staircases make the imbalance even more marked.

meetings of the senate¹⁷² to recitals and discussions to housing works of art).

The location of the library buildings is also important. They are part of an enormous imperial public complex, and no effort was made to seclude them from the public. They are sheltered from the main area of the forum – and perhaps, therefore, from the noisiest activities and thoroughfares of the complex – by the Basilica Ulpia, with whose juridical and administrative functions they may have had some connection, but they flank the famous Column; the suggestion that the library staircases offered access to a balcony for inspecting the Column's friezes is an attractive idea, discussed below. Recent investigations of the forum have suggested that the massive concrete underpinnings of the Column courtyard indicate heavy traffic was expected to flow through it, either to the large entrance portico in Meneghini's reconstruction or the Temple of the Deified Trajan which others locate there.¹⁷³ Either way, we should imagine a large number of people passing by the libraries and looking in through the openwork screens which separated them from the courtyard (a good reason, alongside the admittance of light, for using screens rather than solid walls with doors).

The library buildings, then, appear to have been designed to impress large numbers of people. Ancient books, and *a fortiori* library copies, were valuable commodities whose keepers took pains to preserve them from damp and theft.¹⁷⁴ We should therefore expect to find measures introduced to prevent the corollary of these two facts – that unscrupulous persons would intrude themselves into the public library and abscond with its valuable stock.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² For senate meetings see p.267.

¹⁷³ Concrete underpinnings: Amici 1982, 63-7. New reconstructions: Meneghini 2002, 663 fig. 5; for the Temple of the Deified Trajan see below, pp78ff.

¹⁷⁴ See below pp.127ff.

¹⁷⁵ Book theft was a problem, for the Romans as for modern librarians. Cicero *Fam.*13.77.3 complains that one of his slaves has absconded with a number of his books. Efforts to catch the miscreant were protracted but ultimately fruitless: Vatinius, the army commander in the area, reports in *Fam.* 5.10a.1 that he has been unable to fulfil Cicero's request.

The presence of screens between the columns of the library entrance-ways has already been suggested, and this would have helped to control the comings and goings of visitors to the building. To complete the picture we should also envisage the presence of permanent staff, evidence for whom is discussed elsewhere in this thesis. In Trajan's libraries the understairs space at the back of the library hall is plastered rather than revetted in marble, so perhaps this can be interpreted as a suitably humble backroom for the use of the library's staff. Even with staff keeping an eye on the clientèle, the prudent architect of Trajan's libraries incorporated features intended to safeguard the books in the design of the buildings' interiors.

One such aspect can be seen in the three-step stylobate that we have now encountered several times. It has been stated that it allows access to the books; so it does, but that access is only necessary because the books have been placed out of reach in the first place, in niches set some distance from the floor. Even with the stepped platform, portable library steps would have been needed to reach the upper shelves of each *armarium*. This distance could have been interposed between library stock and library patron for several reasons – damp-proofing has already been mentioned – but one important factor must have been security. In Trajan's Forum, with the imperial purse to fund plentiful staffing and no frontage directly onto the street, the library designer decided that visitors could be allowed to step up to the cabinets themselves. At Ephesus, a smaller library opening directly onto a busy street, the platform is not stepped. A user wishing to get to a bookcase would therefore have had to use temporary steps (kept, perhaps, by the custodian) or scramble up the vertical face of the platform, which would have taken time and drawn attention. Even though access doors to the library's side passages led off the podium, there were no steps to these either. This confirms that practicality of access was outweighed in the builders' mind by other concerns: the height of the Celsus library's books above its floor was therefore clearly intended by the

building's architect as an obstacle between reader and books, and the platform offers deliberately limited assistance in reaching them.

Moreover, although the platform in both libraries runs continuously beneath the niches, the assumption that it therefore offered free passage from one bookcase to another is mistaken. The disposition in discrete recessed niches immediately makes the books rather harder to consult than the continuous shelving or carrels of modern libraries, and designed-in prevention of easy movement from niche to niche compounds this problem. Clamp holes in the surface of the platform of both libraries indicates that the columns situated between the niches would have blocked much of the width of the platform. When the thickness of the marble veneer believed to have coated the walls of each library is also added, it becomes apparent that the gap between the columns and the wall that divided each niche from its neighbour would have had to be squeezed rather than sauntered through. Its width in the Trajanic libraries was c.43cm; at Ephesus c.50cm, though that does not allow for the thickness of whatever veneer was applied to the walls.¹⁷⁶ It seems that originally even this gap was not envisaged by the Trajanic libraries' architect if, as is argued below, wider columns that would have almost touched the library walls were originally intended to stand on the podium.

Given that it seems likely that each niche housed an *armarium* with doors which would have opened outwards, and that portable steps would certainly have been required to reach the upper shelves of each niche, the process of wandering from niche to niche to browse seems to have been something the library's designer decided to make difficult. A user would have had to leave his reading position in the centre of the room and collect some library steps; walk up the flight of steps to the podium, lean the portable steps against a column, open the cupboard doors; retrieve and climb the steps and locate the desired scroll; dismount the steps and put the scroll down somewhere safe because, as we

¹⁷⁶ Author's own on-site measurements.

have seen, these were valuable items; move the steps again and lean them somewhere; shut the cupboard doors; pick up the portable steps, and then either squeeze through the gap between the columns and the library walls, or carry them down the podium steps, through the library, and up the steps in front of the next cupboard. On the upper gallery the use of steps in these circumstances would have required a head for heights, and on neither level could two readers have passed through a gap together.

The difficulty of moving from niche to niche now gives us scope to argue for the likelihood of a cataloguing system of some sort: the fact that it was not intended that a user should be able to move easily between the bookcases strongly implies that he was expected to know where to find what he was looking for, so that he could proceed straight to the correct shelf and then return to his place in the central floor of the library. This would have required either library attendants with eidetic memories or (more likely in a library of some 36,000 volumes) a permanent catalogue: the probable existence of such catalogues is discussed below.¹⁷⁷

Again, there is no reason why these libraries had to be laid out like this; there must have been a reason why their designers chose to introduce features which made using their buildings rather more difficult than it might have been, just as there must also have been a reason for adopting the 'inefficient' floor plans that both also share.

The reason, I would suggest, is that a degree of in-built security was needed, because the interior of each library was intended to be visited by large numbers of people: if an architect is forced to compromise the functionality of his library by designing in barriers between visitors and books, it suggests that there is a large potential number of visitors to the library. These were truly public buildings.

¹⁷⁷ Pp.144ff.

iii) The design history of Trajan's libraries and their connection to the rest of the Forum

An account of the libraries of Trajan's Forum must take into account the arguments advanced in a recent article by Roberto Meneghini, who for some years has been engaged in the new excavations in Trajan's Forum in which he determines that the internal layout of the buildings described above as libraries underwent a thorough revision at some point during their construction.¹⁷⁸ On the basis of these findings Meneghini then suggests that the twin buildings on either side of the Column were not initially designed as libraries; his conclusion is that the collection of books described by several ancient authors as located within Trajan's forum are to be placed elsewhere on the plan of the complex.¹⁷⁹

This conclusion, I think, is unsustainable. Several reasons for retaining the traditional designation of these buildings as the libraries attributed to Trajan's forum by several ancient sources are examined further below. The chief deficiency of Meneghini's article is its failure to compare these buildings with any of the other known library buildings of the Roman world, many of which are contemporary, and above all with the analogous structure at Ephesus, which is known beyond doubt to have been a library and which bears numerous points of architectural and functional correspondence with its imperial cousin in Rome – brick construction with air circulation spaces, and a large central floor space with books relegated to masonry niches accessed by a continuous crepidoma which also supported a columnar order.

This resemblance of the twin brick buildings flanking Trajan's Column to other Roman public libraries argues strongly that this is what they too must be, as do coins,

¹⁷⁸Meneghini 2002.

¹⁷⁹The corollary is that another function must be found for the brick buildings, but M. offers nothing convincing. His unlikely comparison of the structures to the Temple of Dionysus at Baalbek (Meneghini 2002, 687) may be a hint that he sees them as temples of Trajan and Plotina, but the differences far outweigh the similarities.

discussed below, which link the Column to the libraries. I will explore the nature of this relationship later in this thesis.

Meneghini's first objection to the twin brick buildings is that the ancient sources speak for the most part of a single library, not two.¹⁸⁰ In favour of libraries plural Meneghini cites only Cassius Dio.¹⁸¹ To this, though, should be added *CIL* XIV 5352 (*Proc[uratori] bibliothecarum divi Traiani*) and while it might be argued that this inscription could refer to single library in the Forum and others elsewhere (such as in Trajan's baths), the further evidence of Sidonius seems unambiguously in favour of a double library in the Forum: *cum meis statuam perennem / Nerva Traianus titulis videret / inter auctores utriusque fixam / biblyiothecae.*¹⁸² Moreover, since references to a single Bibliotheca Ulpia might equally well be taken to indicate a functionally unified library sharing the twin buildings, I do not think that Meneghini's rejection of the buildings flanking the Column as libraries is strengthened by the evidence of the ancient sources (though I agree that the traditional separation into Greek and Latin sections is less well supported: this is discussed below).

Meneghini instead suggests the Basilica Ulpia as the home of the homonymous library cited in the sources, arguing that the juridical and magisterial character of the library's holdings meant that it must have functioned as a working resource for the administrators of justice and the state and that the apsidal shape and wall niches of each end of the Basilica "è caratteristica di molte biblioteche."¹⁸³

However, the hemicyclical library of Rogatianus at Timgad and even the apsidal halls in the peribolus of Trajan's baths which are often identified as libraries, are tailor-made, single purpose rooms conforming to the niche-and-podium model followed by the twin brick buildings of the Forum and in the library at Ephesus. The apses of the Basilica

¹⁸⁰ See n.7.

¹⁸¹ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας Dio 68.16.3.

¹⁸² Sidonius *Ep.* 9.16.25-8.

¹⁸³ Meneghini 2002, 668.

Ulpia, in contrast, cannot have followed this layout. Section 29 of the marble plan (Figure 7) shows lines dividing these apses into sections. The wall niches revealed by excavation in the brick library buildings do not appear at all on the plan, so if we are to assume that its representational conventions remained consistent the markings which Meneghini takes to indicate a similar arrangement in the apsidal ends of the Basilica must actually represent something quite different, probably structural elements, such as the ressauts of a columnar screen, rather than mountings for book cupboards. Many Roman public buildings, from Basilicas to bath-houses, were provided with decorative columnar screens housing statues of this sort; statues of the emperor or other suitable figures would have formed an appropriate backdrop for a courtroom. Placing the libraries in the twin apses of the Basilica Ulpia is also incompatible with Meneghini's earlier argument that there was a single library rather than a pair.

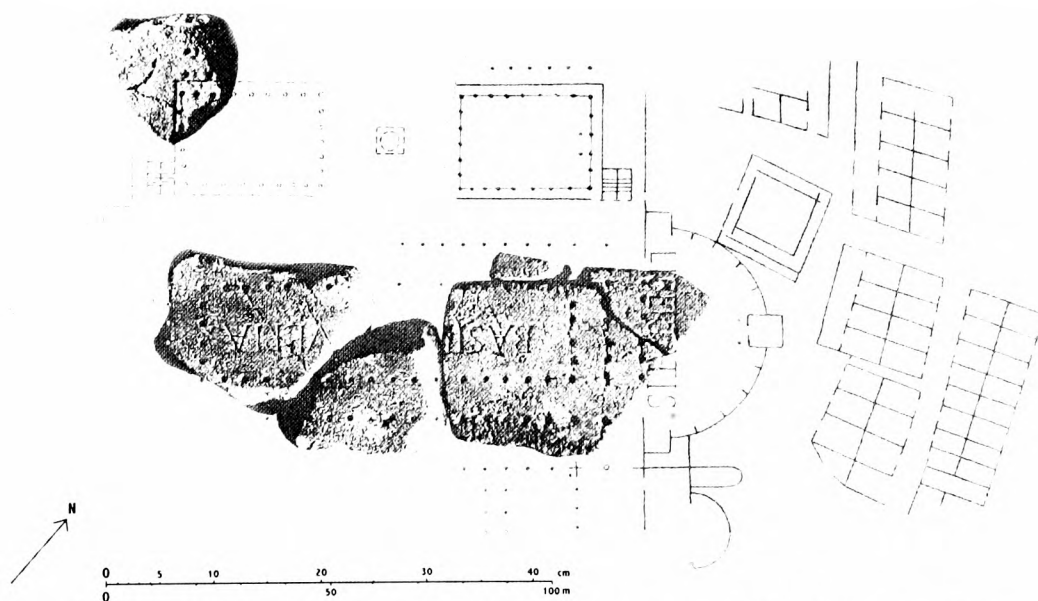


Figure 7 The Basilica Ulpia and Trajan's libraries on Forma Urbis fragment 29.
After Packer 2001, 147 Fig.130.

Furthermore, although Meneghini asserts that propinquity to the courts which sat in the Basilica would have been a requirement of the libraries, an equally strong argument could be made for separating the mutual distractions of courtroom and research resource

from each other by more than the columnar screen which the marble plan places between the apses of the Basilica Ulpia and its nave. It seems much more likely that archives or libraries were consulted in the preparation for a case than while it was actually in progress, by men such as the imperial juriconsults discussed below in connection with Roman imperial libraries.¹⁸⁴ As such the slight detachment of libraries from courtrooms becomes an advantage of the brick buildings' location rather than a shortcoming. The same is true of the need to consult precedents before the promulgation of magisterial edicts, which could be better carried out in a secluded part of the Forum than in its principal public hall. Finally, it will be seen below that there is every indication that the libraries did in fact communicate with the Basilica, either directly or through a stairway corridor to which each building had access, explaining why the library was sometimes referred to, either officially or by association, as the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*.¹⁸⁵

Moreover, the resemblance of the interior arrangements of Trajan's library buildings to those of other types of structure in the Roman civic repertoire – the Basilica, or the eastern temples with which Meneghini adduces a parallel – does not obstruct their identification as libraries. The ambiguity is a constructive and deliberate one, making the libraries visibly part of a category of imperial commemorative public buildings without compromising their identity as libraries.

The questions Meneghini raises about the construction phases of the buildings in Trajan's forum remain to be addressed, but they do not pose any serious problems for their identification as libraries; other solutions can be found which do not blunt Occam's require his proposed refutation of library function. These phases amount to an apparent revision, part way through the construction of the library buildings, of several elements

¹⁸⁴ See below p.236.

¹⁸⁵ And, of course, Aulus Gellius refers to the library as *Templi Traiani* (n.7), suggesting that the libraries could be associated *both* with the Basilica Ulpia *and* with the Temple of the Deified Trajan. To get round this Meneghini proposes elsewhere (LaRocca 1998b, 165) that the temple had separate archives and it is to these that Gellius refers. This seems an uneconomical argument.

of their internal layout. The sequence, as far as it can be determined from the archaeological record, seems to have been as follows.

The ground plan of the library buildings was established at the inception of the forum project and was never changed: the rectangular halls were envisaged from the outset as an integral part of the courtyard complex flanking the Column. Several brickstamps indicate that the brick outer walls of these library buildings, including the niches, were begun between 107 and 115 AD (more probably the earlier end of this range, since the complex as a whole was dedicated in AD 112/3).

At some subsequent point the design of the library interiors was changed. The large travertine foundation blocks which supported the columns of the buildings' internal colonnades (T in Figure 8) were cut back to support the more slender shafts of a double order rather than the massive single shafts which seem to have been envisaged originally.¹⁸⁶ Since the overall height of the columns remained more-or-less constant between the two designs, and there is no sign that any elements of the abortive taller order were ever installed, it seems that this is evidence of a rethink during the course of building rather than a radical redesign.

The brick steps of the podium were inserted between these travertine blocks after they were cut back. Meneghini argues that this means the buildings were not originally intended to have a podium at all, and therefore were not libraries, but this is not convincing.¹⁸⁷ The architect would have had to suspend the installation of steps until the upper blocks were cut back, and at any rate in other nearly contemporary public libraries the platform under the niches was either not stepped (Ephesus, Hadrian's library at Athens) or absent altogether (Sagalassos), in order to guard against theft by making the books difficult to reach. In these instances we should envisage attendants with ladders or steps, and perhaps this is how the Trajanic libraries were originally intended to function.

¹⁸⁶ Meneghini 2002, 677-9.

¹⁸⁷ Meneghini, 2002, 687.

At about the same time, and certainly before the buildings' decorations were installed,¹⁸⁸ the westernmost niche of the north wall (labelled 0 in Figure 5 and Figure 8) was blocked up and the other ground-floor niches were asymmetrically narrowed with inset brick walls (e.g. W1, W2) to line up with the new columns. The overall effect is a reduction by about a third of the library's ground floor niche capacity: a puzzling intervention, to be certain, but not one which forces the radical reinterpretation of the buildings' designated function which Meneghini suggests.¹⁸⁹

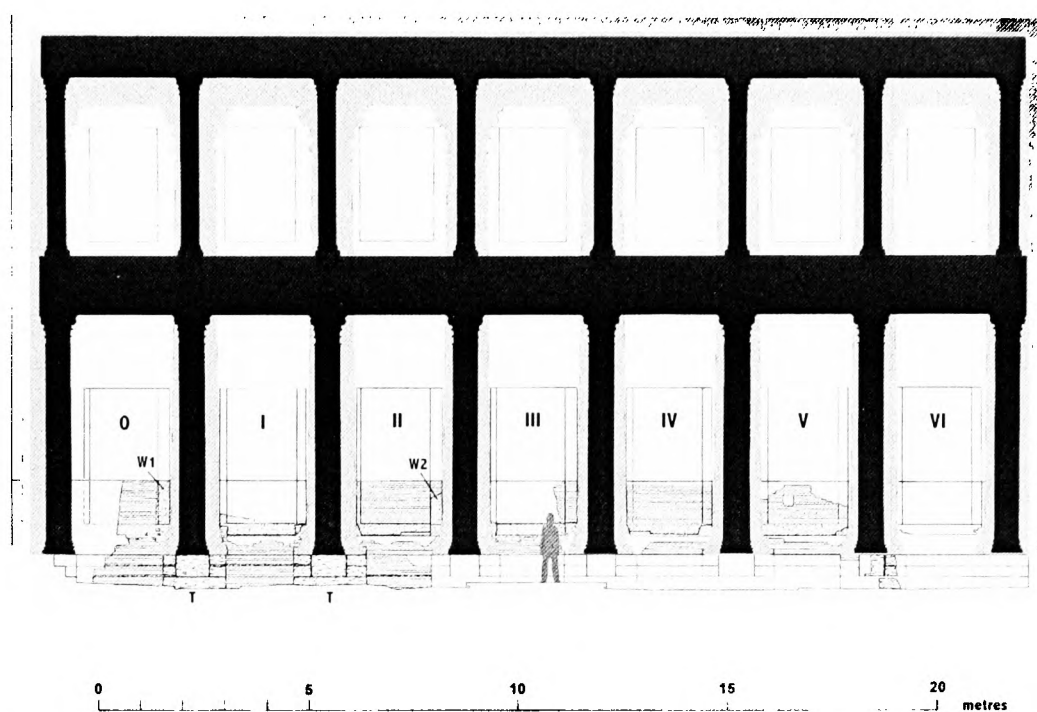


Fig. 17 – Prospetto comparativo delle due fasi decorative delle c.d. biblioteche. Al tratto = prospetto analitico dei resti della parete nord dell'aula occidentale (fig. 11). In nero pieno = ingombro dell'ordine doppio effettivamente realizzato. In grigio = ingombro dell'ordine unico relativo alla fasi progettuale e costruttiva delle aule. Le misure degli ingombri come quelle delle nicchie del secondo ordine e la stessa altezza delle nicchie del primo ordine sono, come è ovvio, altamente indicative perché basate su una media delle ricostruzioni correnti utilizzata in assenza di precisi riscontri metrici (realizzazione R. Meneghini-E. Bianchi)

Figure 8 Alterations to the interior of the west library in Trajan's Forum.
Meneghini 2002, 681 Fig. 17. Relabelled by the author.

¹⁸⁸ The bricks and mortar of the inset wall are very similar in proportions and fabric to those of the original curtain wall, suggesting a contemporary date. There is no indication of the installation of revetment or application of plaster on the internal surfaces of the niches where they have been covered by the inset walls, so this amendment was almost certainly made before the interior decoration of the library was installed. The marble frames of each niche projected 0.196m into each side (Packer 1993, 423 n.22) – an amount very close to the width of the brick inserts, suggesting that the frames were designed for already-narrowed niches. Cf Meneghini 2002, 682.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. Meneghini 2002, 684.

The decision to install a double order of columns, as well as necessitating these changes, made possible the addition of an upper row of niches served by a balcony resting on the architrave of the lower order. Meneghini is probably right to state that the upper niches' utility as book cupboards would have been severely compromised without this balcony,¹⁹⁰ though it is possible that they were originally intended for statues and paintings instead of books. The way in which access to this balcony was arranged can be associated with the alterations made to the original layout of the library niches in a way not considered by Meneghini or his critics, confirming that the rethink in the libraries' design was connected to the decision to add an upper level.

The precise number and configuration of staircases to the libraries' upper level is uncertain, but it is clear is that there was a double staircase at the southeastern corner of the east library opening into the Basilica Ulpia, as it is shown on the relevant section of the marble plan; excavation has revealed its twin behind the western library building.¹⁹¹

The parallel chambers of this staircase are linked by a doorway. As Packer observes, this arrangement makes little sense unless the ground-floor void space of the right-hand chamber in turn communicated with the library interior, connecting the ground floor of the library and the stairs leading to its upper floor.¹⁹² The doorway linking the two parallel chambers of the staircase is opposite a niche in the library's short western wall (D in Figure 5), so it seems likely that this niche provided the necessary access by housing not bookshelves but a doorway leading to the stairs. This arrangement could have been repeated on the first floor to give access to the balcony. It is this configuration that Packer includes as an addendum to his reconstructions of the Forum

¹⁹⁰ Meneghini 2002, 686-7.

¹⁹¹ See e.g. Packer 1993, 428 fig. 9 (letter H denotes the staircase).

¹⁹² Packer 2001, 199.

buildings, pictured in Figure 9, and that Meneghini himself adopts in his 2001 reconstruction.¹⁹³

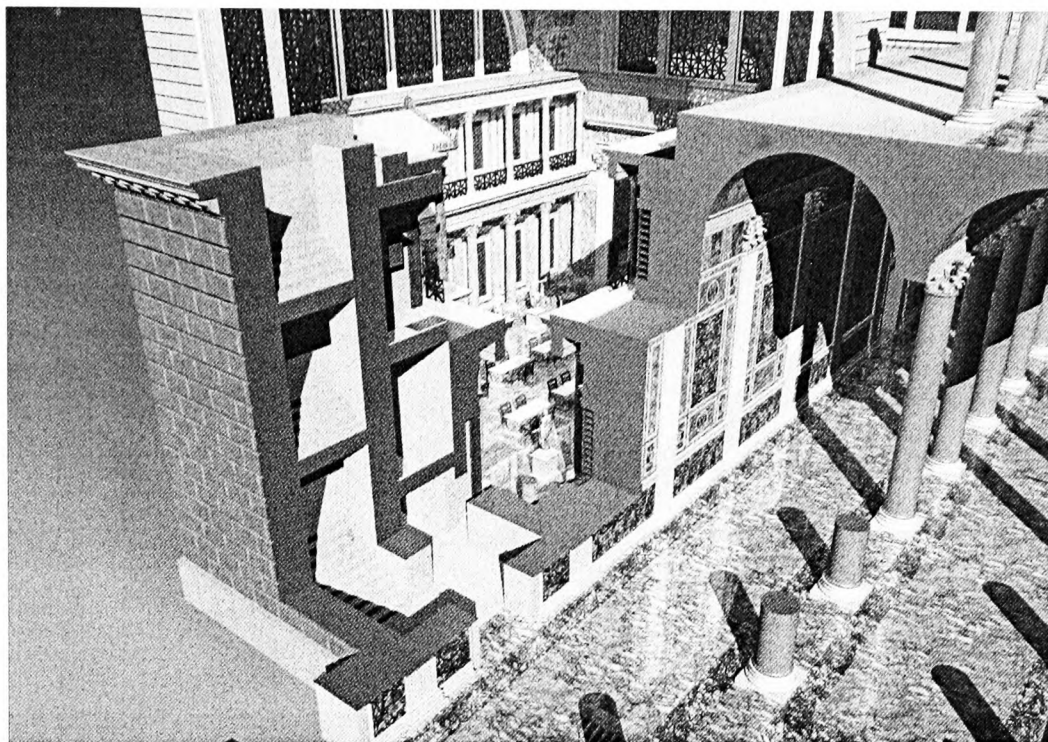


Figure 9 Stairway access between the western library of Trajan's Forum and the Basilica Ulpia.

Packer 2001, 213 fig 167.

Three possible solutions to the puzzle of the reduced and blocked niches emerge in light of this positioning of a stairway access in the western wall. Firstly, the transformation of niche D into a doorway meant that the adjoining niche 0s would have become an unsuitable location for a bookcase: that corner of the library, with its narrow podium, would have become a thoroughfare to the Basilica Ulpia and the staircase, converting the western most bay of the library into a circulation area. Accordingly niche 0s could have been bricked up, meaning that 0, its opposite number on the north wall was filled in to preserve the symmetry which was such an important component of the building's design. Secondly, we might also choose to insert a doorway into niche A, providing access to the same stairway corridor or maybe to a disputed separate northern

¹⁹³ Meneghini 2001a, pl.12.1.

staircase serving the northern half of the upper balcony. In this case the reason for blocking up niche 0 would have been even more pressing. Thirdly, there is also the possibility that niche 0s was not bricked up at all, but opened into a doorway directly into the north aisle of the Basilica Ulpia (leading its opposite number to be deleted for symmetry) in the same way that its neighbour to the west contained a doorway to the staircase corridor. This is what the marble plan (Figure 7) seems to indicate for the easternmost bay of the eastern library, where the T-shaped conventional mark for a doorway is inserted into the library wall by the staircase entranceways, although no recent commentator has incorporated it into a reconstruction.¹⁹⁴

The slightly *ad hoc* nature of all of these solutions is a consequence of the fact that, as Meneghini demonstrates, the decision to include a second level of niches with its own access was taken once the construction of the libraries had already begun. We can compare, though, the library at Ephesus and the Hadrianic library at Athens, where stairs were also located in ancillary passageways opening off the book podiums.¹⁹⁵

It can be seen, to sum up, that a series of alterations to the internal configuration of the library chambers was made at some early stage of their construction, all of which were connected to the single decision to include a double order of columns and, concomitantly, an upper level of niches for books. What are the implications for the intended functions of the buildings? Meneghini's conclusion is an uncompromising rejection of the identification of these buildings with the Forum's libraries,¹⁹⁶ but his own accurate recognition of the essentially cosmetic nature and compressed timescale of the

¹⁹⁴ In fact the marble plan seems to place this doorway in a position overlapping the eastern edge of the easternmost niche, but its depiction of the relationship of columns and niches is suspect anyway: it appears to show eight bays rather than seven, probably because of confusion about the relationship between the western elements of the library's internal order and the screen order of the façade. All excavation plans and reconstructions agree on a seven-bay arrangement, and there would only have been room for the doorway in a niche bay.

¹⁹⁵ Altering the number of niches in the libraries naturally affects the calculations of capacity made elsewhere (pp.53ff.). In fact a reduction in niche number would accentuate most of my points: it would increase the "inefficiency" of the libraries' ratio of floor space to shelf space and reduce to only 16.28% the total capacity difference between the planned single storey and built two-storey incarnations of the library.

¹⁹⁶ "Appare dunque chiaro che...le due aule non erano destinate a fungere da biblioteche." Meneghini, 2002, 687-8.

alterations made in these buildings shows that we do not need to look for a total change in their intended function: all the changes are in accordance with the buildings' continuing (indeed, enhanced) function as public libraries and it seems that the architect simply changed his mind as the building progressed, for reasons that are discussed below. Furthermore, even if we were to accept that when the foundations for these buildings were dug they were not intended to be libraries, the fact remains that by the time they were finished, probably not that long afterwards and certainly within the scope of the original construction phase of the courtyard complex, libraries was what they certainly resembled.

iv) Trajan's Forum: Libraries, Column, and Temple

The alterations made during the construction of these Trajanic structures do not, then, pose any real obstacle to our continuing to suppose that it was in these buildings that the Forum library was housed. However, details of the finished project – the podium between the niches, the niches in the gallery level – find echoes in other libraries across the Roman world; they seem to have set a pattern for public library buildings, and it remains to be explained why the project was changed part way through its construction to incorporate them.

It could be argued, not unconvincingly, that these alterations were just one of those things that from time to time happens during a major construction project. The scope of the Forum complex was vast and it would be very surprising if many changes had not been made to the initial scheme by the time the final stone was laid. The granite used in the shafts of the Basilica, which Meneghini suggests were to have been the same as the columns of the libraries' initial design, came from Aswan in southern Egypt; the pavonazzetto and giallo antico of the columns that were actually installed from Docimium in Phrygia and Chemtou in Numidia. These quarries are sufficiently far distant, and the quarrying and transporting process sufficiently lengthy, that we might imagine that the foundations and the first courses of the buildings had been completed by the time that its builders were able to confirm the change of plans (indeed, prudent project management might have demanded that construction continue while the matter was under discussion). For a comparison we can look to the Pantheon, completed only a few years later: here the original design of the columnar pronaos abutting the drum seems to have incorporated shafts of greater height and (concomitantly) diameter than

those which were eventually supplied and installed; no functional or aesthetic reason for the change can be discerned.¹⁹⁷

This is not a particularly satisfying solution, though, and a stronger (or at any rate more strongly argued) case could be made for these changes having arisen from the deliberate decision to install a second level of niches and from the consequences of having to arrange access to them. This decision to install a second level of accessible book niches could itself have sprung from one or more of several different motives: to accommodate more books; to allow access to a gallery level designed to view the spiral friezes of Trajan's Column; or to introduce a greater correspondence between the library interiors and the cella of the Temple of the Deified Trajan. None of these suggestions excludes the others.

The first suggestion is the weakest. Although the addition of an upper row of niches has seemed to some scholars a radical revision of the buildings' functional capacity – an apparent doubling¹⁹⁸ – the figures show that in fact a far more modest increase was achieved when the simultaneous reduction in the libraries' ground floor capacity is also taken into account. The alterations to the number and size of the ground floor niches reduced their capacity by about 35%. If the capacity of the upper niches is added, though, that figure turns into a net increase of about 27%.¹⁹⁹ One can think of several reasons for such an increase, none of which requires us to envisage a total rethink of the buildings' scope or function as libraries: a new acquisition of books,²⁰⁰ a decision

¹⁹⁷ See e.g. Claridge 1998, 203.

¹⁹⁸ E.g. Packer 2001, 79: "Indeed, without such second-storey niches the storage space in the libraries would have been halved."

¹⁹⁹ Each library's original ground floor configuration had a niche area of c.104.1m². The new ground floor configuration, with its narrowed and blocked niches, had 65.12% of this storage capacity (c.67.8m²). Adding the storage capacity of the new upper level brings the net figure to 126.85% of the library's original capacity (a further c.64.25m²). This calculation assumes that there were four niches on each level of the west wall of the library, which were narrowed by the same amount as the niches on the north wall to align with the new, smaller columns; and that there were seven niches along both the north and south walls on the upper level. If we remove a pair of niches from the western wall of each floor to allow for stairway access, the net total increase in the library's capacity falls to just 16.28%.

²⁰⁰ For the possibility that the cores of public library holdings were composed of existing collections taken over ready made see above pp10ff.

to house another set of official archives or records in the libraries, an increase in or recalculation of their endowment which meant that room for more future book purchases needed to be built in.²⁰¹ The installation of a new level of niches certainly created the attractive possibility of more shelf space, but if that was its principal *raison d'être* it seems perverse to have begun by reducing the niche capacity of the ground floor.

The second and third suggestions link the buildings very closely to the monumental function of the libraries within the Forum complex, connecting them (respectively) to the Column and the Temple of the Deified Trajan. Such an association draws strongly on the commemorative identity of the Roman public library with its allusions to immortality which were, as we shall see, readily understood and imitated in contemporary and subsequent provincial libraries. The appropriateness of libraries in close proximity to the Column and temple is another argument against Meneghini's non-library interpretation of the twin brick buildings, and, in the case of the Column specifically, one that can be redeemed from charges of *a posteriori* reasoning by a very helpful pair of coins. It is also the case that the libraries were clearly intended to belong to the area north of the Basilica; although access between libraries and Basilica was possible, the doors which allowed it were not large and do not seem to have corresponded with the principal elements of the Basilica's layout or decoration. The libraries' principal formal entrances are those which face onto the Column courtyard; as it is to this part of the Forum that their architect intended them to belong, it is reasonable to look here for the factors which influenced their design.

The suggestion that changes to the interior layout of the libraries was made to bring them into line with changes in other elements of the Column or Temple is corroborated by numismatic evidence. Several coin issues indicate that the designs of these elements were changing during the period in which the libraries were being built.

²⁰¹ For examples of library endowments for book purchasing see Appendix 4 nos. 4 and 9.

The most relevant coins are mentioned below; a full selection with explanatory notes is catalogued for the reader's convenience in Appendix 1.

The Column

We know that the Column was dedicated a little later than the Forum itself,²⁰² but Trajanic coins clearly show a spiralling design on the outside of the column in issues made as early as c.107.²⁰³ A careful examination of the many Trajanic coin types depicting the Column leaves room to argue that the actual process of carving the reliefs occurred some way into the construction process of the Forum (as one would naturally expect).

The Trajanic coins featuring the Column catalogued in Appendix 1, Table 2 share certain features – an heroic statue with a sceptre or spear, a spiral frieze, an eagle-topped carved podium with a doorway in it (suggesting that either the tomb, or the internal staircase, or both, were designed in *ab initio*) – but the presentation of these features varies considerably between coins in a manner that would be surprising if the mint were being asked to portray an existing rather than a proposed structure. The presence of the Column on so many coins indicates that it was intended to achieve immediately recognisable iconic status, and so these fairly substantial variations in its depiction on coins suggest that it cannot have been finished when some of the coins were struck: the presence of the Column in the Forum and the lineaments of its design were already well-enough established for coins to be struck, but the details had not yet been fully worked out or put into execution.

This inconsistency in the coins, and the suggested sequence of works on the Column itself that it was erected and possibly fluted (vestiges of fluting remain at the

²⁰² See nn.242-243 below.

²⁰³ Appendix 1, Table 2.1.

top); and that the scaffolding was then at some point re-erected to rough out the frieze from the bottom up and then complete it from the top down (since the irregularity of the spacer course between spiral levels is always caused by intrusions from the lower level upwards) are helpful to us here in that they establish a delay between the decision to erect the column and the process of decorating it. It is this second stage that might have led to a rethink of the interiors of the library buildings and the insertion of staircases, since most modern reconstructions use the presence of an upper level to give access to a gallery in the courtyard facing the column.²⁰⁴ It is also possible that this rethink led to the removal of a planned external two storey colonnade (a viewing gallery?) to the north west of the libraries, where Nibby found an identical cutting back of travertine foundation blocks to that observed by Meneghini within the libraries.²⁰⁵

The main objection to this suggestion is that in the absence of any surviving archaeological material above the ground floor level, no direct connection between the library interiors and the galleries overlooking the column can be established. Many reconstructions choose to make the galleries accessible from the upper levels of the basilica instead, so that although the modifications to the libraries' communication with the staircases are certainly rather extemporised, the existence of the staircases themselves could be argued to have belonged to the Basilica since its inception. This weakens the connection between the need to incorporate viewing facilities for the Column frieze and the adaptation of the library interiors. It is also the case that a spiral frieze of some sort seems always to have been envisaged even if its execution was delayed, making its inclusion on the Column an unlikely trigger for a substantial design change in the neighbouring libraries.

Although there is therefore no firm basis for arguing that the alterations to the libraries were made to accommodate viewing galleries for the Column, it is important

²⁰⁴ E.g. Bandinelli 1978, 139; Meneghini 2001a, fig. 19.2; Packer 2003, fig. 26.

²⁰⁵ Lepper and Frere 1988, 197; Nardini 1820, ii.350, with plan on 348.

that the numismatic record indicates that the Column's helical decoration and surmounting statue were under active consideration at around the same time as the libraries' interiors were being fitted: coins from the period of Trajan's fifth and sixth consulships show the decorated Column and its podium doorway, and the architect and patron of the complex were therefore well aware of the part the libraries would play in the Trajanic heroön into which the northern end of the Forum complex was developing (the same is true of the Temple of the Deified Trajan, as will be shown below). This strong association between the Column and Trajan's libraries is neatly illustrated by three Trajanic sestertii which, as far as I know, have not yet played a part in the study of the libraries. The coins also corroborate the construction chronology suggested here.

These coins show a Column surmounted not by a statue of Trajan, but by an owl.²⁰⁶ The presence of Trajan's statue on other Column coins indicates that, as one would expect, the structure was always intended to be crowned with a statue of its patron emperor in the tradition of other existing Roman honorific columns.²⁰⁷ The owl should therefore be understood as a metaphorical device rather than as a depiction of a real or proposed statue on top of the Column.²⁰⁸

The meaning of this numismatic metaphor is not hard to deduce: the owl associates the column clearly and directly with the libraries that flanked it, through its association with the goddess Minerva. Minerva was the appropriate goddess to preside over libraries, according to Martial, Juvenal, and Cicero *inter alios*,²⁰⁹ it is possible that statues of her stood in the libraries of Trajan's Forum and in other imperial public

²⁰⁶ Appendix 1, Table 2.1, nos. 1, 29-30. Not all commentators have agreed on the bird's identity, but Becatti 1960, 27 convincingly quashes those who suggest it might be an eagle.

²⁰⁷ E.g. Tiberius' statue on a granite column, dominating his civic complex in the Forum of Antioch on the Orontes (Malalas *Chron.* X. 300-1). Cf coins of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome showing statues on columns flanking the temple: *BMCEmp.* III p.476 1554n.

²⁰⁸ As Lepper and Frere 1988, 194ff. sensibly conclude (*pace* e.g. Haftmann 1939, 29 and Hartleben 1926).

²⁰⁹ Martial *Ep.* 5.5; Juvenal 3.219; Cicero *Att.* 1.4.3.

libraries such as those of Athens, Tingad, and Ephesus.²¹⁰ Since the tabernacle at the centre of each library's end wall was probably bisected by the continuous balcony, most reconstructions assume a statue of Trajan on the lower level and of Minerva in the smaller, upper gallery level: this association between images of emperor and goddess is very similar to that created by the owl-and-column combination on the coins and evoked by other Trajanic coin issues portraying Minerva.²¹¹



Figure 10 Coins showing Trajan's Column surmounted by an owl.

Left (Vienna coin): Becatti 1960, Tav. 2; Centre (London coin): author, courtesy of the coin room staff of the British Museum. Right (Paris coin): Strack 1931 Taf. IX.

The earliest of the owl coins pictured here (c. AD 107; left in Figure 10; Appendix 1, Table 2.1), from the Vienna Bundessammlung, also helps to reinforce the construction chronology adumbrated above: that the decoration and symbolic meaning of the Trajanic heroön including the Column was on Apollodorus' drawing board at precisely the time when the libraries' interiors were undergoing their design change and final fitting out. The Column depicted on this coin is unmistakably that of the Trajanic Forum, as is evident by comparing it with the other coins described in Appendix 1. It

²¹⁰ For a Minerva at Ephesus, see Heberdey 1904; Tingad: Cagnat 1909, 105. cf Callmer 1944, 189 and P. Pensabene 1989. See also e.g. Thiersch 1938, 211; Becatti 1951, 175ff. cf Pliny *HN* 35.114 for a Minerva painting in the schola of the Porticus Octaviae.

²¹¹ Four are included for comparison in Table 4 of Appendix 1 (coins 5-8), including one whose obverse shows an owl and another with a spear covered by a shield: Minerva was a versatile goddess who could legitimately be associated both with war and with the benefits and arts of peace. The Minerva-library symbolism of the owls in question here would also accord well with Trajanic *Providentia* and *Sapientia* coinage markings.

depicts the column with a partially worked base and a clockwise spiral frieze. Both of those features (and the coin's comparatively early date) suggest that the moneyer was working from a proposed rather than a completed version of the Column's decoration: the frieze, for example, eventually rose anticlockwise. The Column had become a useful symbol in Trajanic coinage before its design was finalised or, at least, before it had been put into execution, but its relationship to the libraries was already established and well known.

The other owl coins (centre and right in Figure 10; Appendix 1 Table 2.29-30), are later in date; according to Strack's dating criteria they belong to a group of coins issued in AD 114-6, well after the dedication of the Column.²¹² The British Museum coin omits the spiral frieze, but this is not unusual among coins issued at this date.²¹³ The inclusion of the owl reinforces the message of the earlier issue: even after its dedication the Column's connection to the libraries was thought worthy of reinforcement on Rome's coinage.

It is apparent, then, that the Column was perceived as closely connected to the neighbouring libraries – a strong argument for retaining the traditional identification of the twin brick buildings – and that the development of its design seems to have coincided in time with the changing configuration of the library interiors. There is no evidence, though, for a direct connection between the carving of the Column friezes and the decision to install galleries in the libraries.

²¹² The third owl coin, from Paris (App. 1 Table 2.1 No. 30), has the same obverse datable to c.107; the titulature on its reverse, though, might suggest a hybrid type of c.114-6: Lepper and Frere 1988, 195 following Strack 1931, App. I no.14.

²¹³ For a sound refutation of variant identifications of this column see Lepper and Frere 1988, 195.

The Temple of the Deified Trajan

This brings us, then, to the third explanation for the modification of the libraries that it was intended to bring them into a closer correspondence with the scheme chosen for the interior of the Temple of the Deified Trajan and this seems the strongest interpretation.

The location and form of this temple are, of course, deeply disputed. The jury must remain out for now, since comprehensive excavation beneath the Palazzo Valentini is impossible. Regardless of the possible proximity of the temple, it is worth noting that libraries *per se* would have constituted a fitting part of the memorial complex dedicated to Trajan, which eventually housed the spiral Column and his ashes. Moreover, the arguments advanced below are relevant to whatever structure incorporated the architectural fragments found north of the Column, whether temple or propylon: they cohere with, and therefore might explain the design of, the library interiors.

Nonetheless, a sound case can be made for interpreting the changes to the libraries as a response to the finalisation of the design of this notional temple to the north. Such an interpretation of the interior disposition of the library buildings has important implications for their symbolic meaning and, if accepted, might also be used to reflect some light back onto the sequence of the temple's own design and construction.

Numerous architectural fragments have been discovered in the area north of the libraries which seem to have belonged to a large monument of some sort; they are usually attributed to the Temple of the Deified Trajan.²¹⁴ Pieces of enormous grey granite column shafts unearthed in the area to the north of the library are often attributed to the temple, though Meneghini envisages a huge rectangular propylon instead.²¹⁵ At c.22m (c.75 Roman feet), these shafts are far larger than any attested in a Roman portico;

²¹⁴ Packer 2003, 113-4, Tables I & II, has a useful catalogue of these fragments.

²¹⁵ Meneghini 1996, 75-8; *id.* 1998, 147.

indeed, the only comparable shafts in imperial Rome were all used in temples.²¹⁶ Excavations in the 19th century also uncovered “des fragments de jaune antique et de pavonazzetto trouvés dans la cour de palais Valentini... Enfin divers fragments de plus petites diameters...appartenir à des colonnes & décorations & niches, portes, etc.”²¹⁷

These permit a reconstruction of the internal appearance of the temple (or whatever building existed to the north of the libraries) that is strikingly similar in its materials, configuration and proportions to the internal appearance of the library buildings as described above. Frieze elements of palmettes surrounded by an oval band and acanthus plant with flanking s-scrolls²¹⁸ are comparable to the lotus-and-palmette frieze of the libraries' lower order and the horizontal anthemion of their second, although these are common devices political, as Packer says, “only in their neo-Augustan simplicity.”²¹⁹ More striking in their correspondence to the libraries is the temple's double order of cabled, fluted columns bracketing niches in the walls which may have held aediculae, where the libraries had bookshelves. Fragments of the entablature of the temple's upper order survive and show that it was identical in size to the entablature of the portico surrounding the Column in the space between the libraries, which in turn “echoed the colours of” the library interiors.²²⁰ The lower interior order was in pavonazzetto like that of the libraries.²²¹ On the rear wall of the temple's cella was another element that found an echo in the libraries: “a projecting two-storey tabernacle [on the rear wall of the cella] that takes the place of a more conventional apse and resembles the similar structures in the libraries.”²²² While the upper and lower orders of

²¹⁶ Wilson-Jones 2000, 208. The only buildings in Rome with even 50ft shafts were the temples of Mars Ultor, Concord, and Venus and Rome.

²¹⁷ Guadet 1867, 35.

²¹⁸ E.g. MPGP 10107, MN 151; Inv. No. 2544, 2546, 3022.

²¹⁹ Packer 1997, Vol. I 279

²²⁰ Packer 1997, Vol. I 272. The fragments of the Temple's upper interior entablature are e.g. Inv. No. 5990 = cat. No. 161, in Packer 1997, 364-5.

²²¹ E.g. Inv. No. 2557 = cat.no. 62 in Packer 1997, 317.

²²² J. Burge, 'Appendix 2. Notes on the reconstruction of the Temple of the Deified Trajan' in Packer 2003, 133. The existence of the tabernacle is based on the shape of another entablature fragment, Inv. 2546.

the libraries were in pavonazzetto, the two-storey tabernacles in the centre of their rear walls were emphasised by their use of giallo antico shafts.²²³ a giallo antico fragment of an upper order shaft from the temple survives, and this may have formed part of the temple tabernacle reconstructed by Burge.²²⁴ This temple arrangement, the evolution of whose design might be visible on coins described below, therefore matches precisely, in form and colour, that which was eventually installed in the amended, two-storey library interiors (as pictured in Figure 6).



Figure 11 Reconstructed elevation and cross-section of the Temple of the Deified Trajan.

Packer 2003, 1211 Fig. 14.

²²³ Packer 1997, vol. 1 p125 with cat. No. 38, 39, and 41.

²²⁴ Inv. No. 2548, cat. No.44 p.308 in Packer 1997.

The changes made to the interior layout and decoration of the libraries might therefore be interpreted as a decision to impart a greater degree of visual unity to the complex containing temple and libraries (recall that Gellius refers to them as the *bibliotheca Templi Traiani*).²²⁵ The Forum complex as a whole is possessed of a high degree of visual and symbolic cohesion in its choice of materials and decorative schemes, and so it is apparent that elements in the revised library scheme also correspond to elements in the Basilica Ulpia. Given, though, that the size of the columns envisaged in the original library scheme was identical to those of the basilica, but that they were substituted by a double order in the same materials used in the double order of the temple, it seems that the alterations made the library interiors were designed with the temple rather than the basilica interior in mind.²²⁶

Such an interpretation assumes that the Temple of the Deified Trajan was foreseen as part of the Forum complex at least by the time the interior layout of the libraries was finalised. This need not be a problem: such a sequence would be compatible with what little we know of the construction history of the structure to the north of the libraries: as its temenos wall is bonded into the north wall of the libraries, it is evident that construction here was already envisaged and possibly underway at the time when the forum buildings, including the libraries, were being built, “contribuendo ad acreditarre l'ipotesi che esse fossero tutte previste nel progetto originario del monumento.”²²⁷

Various elements of the detailing of the Forum complex can be understood to allude to the intended presence of the temple as Lepper and Frere, Packer, Ward-Perkins, and Coarelli broadly concur, the last-named stating that although the realisation of the scheme must have fallen to Hadrian (as the dedication date indicates), its lineaments were most probably anticipated by Trajan who was “certainly able to foresee his future

²²⁵ Gellius 11.17.1

²²⁶ Meneghini 2002, 679.

²²⁷ Meneghini 1993, 17. cf. Packer 2003, 128 with figs. 5 and 11.

apotheosis and thus to predispose the material structures whereby it was to take place.”²²⁸ Ward-Perkins suggests that such a temple could have been projected in Trajan’s lifetime as a temple to Divus Nerva and Trajan’s own deified father and sister; Lepper and Frere concur, positing a series of changing designations for the temple throughout the period of the Forum’s construction that began with a dedication to Nerva c.103, added the five previously deified emperors c.107 and Trajan’s deified father c.111-2, and eventually changed posthumously to Trajan himself.²²⁹ We might compare the imperial temple at Sagalassos, begun under Hadrian but finished later and dedicated to Antoninus Pius.²³⁰

The numismatic record helps to confirm this chronological framework for the changing projection of the temple’s eventual design during Trajan’s lifetime and the construction of the rest of the Forum. The appearance of an octastyle Corinthian temple, often identified as the temple eventually dedicated to the deified Trajan, on two groups of coins dateable to between 103 and 111-2 and generally associated with Trajan’s decennalia in 105-7, indicates that it was envisaged as part of the complex *ab initio* (as does the bonded temenos wall) and well underway by the time of the libraries’ probable opening in 112. Such of these coins as are held in the collection of the British Museum are catalogued in Appendix 1, Table 1.²³¹ While other elements of the Forum portrayed on coins (such as those collected in Appendix 1, Table 3) are labelled, the temple is not; if it was the future Temple of the Deified Trajan, the lack of label leaves the building’s eventual designation in “tactful doubt.”

The small variations in detail visible on these coins, as on those showing the Column, indicate that while the overall lineaments of the proposed temple were well

²²⁸ Lepper and Frere 1988, 12 and 197ff.; Packer 1997, Vol. I. 279; Ward-Perkins 1976, 349-50; Coarelli 2000, 22. Contra: Boatwright 1987, 78-98.

²²⁹ Lepper and Frere 1988, 12-13 and 199ff.

²³⁰ Ward-Perkins 1976, 351; Sagalassos: Vandeput 1997, 64-77.

²³¹ Dating of App. 1 1-5: c.AD 105-7, followed by Packer *et al.*: Hill 1965, 158; c. AD 111: Lepper and Frere 1988, 200; Strack 1931, 149ff. App. 5 6-17: AD 105-7: Hill 1970, 31ff.; *id.* 1989, 9 with Fig. 1; c.107-8: Lepper and Frere 1988, 199; Strack 1931, 147ff.

known (and thus recognisable on a coin), various points of details were still being considered. This fits with the lack of label and correlates exactly with the construction sequence for the libraries proposed above, which hinges on a change to the interior scheme of the temple prompting a corresponding alteration to the library interiors when the latter were already under construction some time between 106 and 112.

Either or both groups of coins may represent the temple in question.²³² Each depicts an octastyle Corinthian temple with the same pedimental group of a seated figure flanked by longicaudate reclining figures (perhaps the Danube and Tigris or Euphrates), housing a cult statue and flanked by colonnades. There are several small design changes or rethinks evident among these coins, just as there were multiple variations in the configuration of Trajan's Column on coins from the same and slightly later periods. These inconsistencies include variation in the number of steps in the temple's stylobate (between one and four) and of columns in the flanking porticoes (between four and five), slight alterations to the pediment, acroteria, pedimental sculpture, steps, and colonnades.²³³ Most interesting for our purposes are the changes which indicate a rethink of the arrangements for housing the temple's cult statue. The first group shows a seated statue; in the second one coin (Appendix 1, Table 1.8) appears to show the cult statue occupying half the height of the cella and standing beneath an arch, while others (Appendix 1, Table 1.9 and 1.13) depict it occupying the full height of the cella and

²³² Packer 1997, Vol. I, Appendix 11, 'The Numismatic Evidence', 467ff. ; Lugli 1946, 295-6 (fig. 87); M. Pensa 1970, 265-74; Nibby 1839, 207; Donaldson 1859, 33-5 (he wrongly attributed the type to Hadrian); Lepper and Frere 1988, 199ff. The evidence for alternative identifications is very exiguous indeed. Brown 1940, 15, Rosati 1955, 81-2, and Nash 1968, Vol.1 p.34 (fig. 87) think that the temple portrayed is the refurbished Temple of Venus Genetrix (but this lacked the frontal staircase clearly portrayed on the coins); Hill 1965, 159-60 and *id.* 1989, 33 thinks that it is a temple to Jupiter Victor, though later coins clearly show this as a hexastyle temple with a differently shaped colonnade. Hill 1989, 9-10 states that the second group shows a Temple of Honos, but admits that "unfortunately it is impossible to identify this temple exactly, since we do not know enough about the architectural details of [the] three temples [of Honos in Rome]... Why Trajan chose the type for his anniversary series is uncertain...it is possible that he restored the temple, although there is no record of such a restoration." This is not a strong identification, then, and the *LTUR* (sv *Honos et Virtus, Aedes*, Vol. III, 32) is duly sceptical. Its preferred candidate (a Temple of Fortuna), however, is even less well supported: the only evidence for the existence of such a temple is a single 6th century source, John Lydus (*De Mensibus* 4.7): *LTUR* sv. *Fortuna, Aedes*, Vol. II p.273.

²³³ For a more detailed enumeration of these variations see Packer 1997, Vol. I, 468-70: Packer identifies five variant issues with a further two sub-variants.

standing beneath a horizontal architrave: if, as is suggested above on the basis of architectural fragments, the temple eventually housed its cult statue of Trajan not beneath an arch but in a tabernacle, these coins could offer direct evidence of a change in the temples' design that precipitated the installation of identical two-storey giallo antico tabernacles in the adjacent libraries which were under construction at this point.

v) Conclusion: the libraries in their monumental context

The numismatic evidence indicates, then, that the principal elements of the Trajanic heroön at the northern end of the Forum complex were under consideration during the period of the libraries' design and construction, and correspondences between the libraries and surviving architectural elements of the temple suggests that the latter may well have influenced the design of the former. What are the implications for the way in which we interpret the meaning of the libraries within the complex?

The Forum of Trajan was rich in symbolic or propagandistic meaning, an "architectural complex that led the visitor, from south to north, through a series of monuments that successively revealed and visually summarized, while persuasively propagandizing for, the greatest achievements of its age – imperial and military, civil and religious."²³⁴ The culmination of such a journey was the column-heroön containing Trajan's mortal ashes and probably the temple dedicated to his godhead; it was in this part of the Forum that the libraries were located and with which they chiefly communicated, and as such they must have been (as has already been suggested) important public monuments that sustained a symbolic function independent of and complementary to their practical utility as library resources.

This impressive conceptual topographical élan was part of the message of the Forum in which the libraries at the Column's base, echoing Vespasian's library at the opposite end of the suite of imperial fora, played their part. As imperial library foundations they connected Trajan to Vespasian and also to Augustus, continuing the imperial project to make Rome a worthy cultural *caput mundi*; like Pollio's and Vespasian's libraries they were founded *ex manubiis*; as storehouses of the canon of ancient letters they connected Trajan and his forum to the literary and historical achievements of

²³⁴ Packer, 2003, p.128.

generations past; as records of the government and judiciary of Trajan's reign, and testament to the cultivation of the authorial *libertas* and artistic *nitor saeculi* celebrated by loyal Trajanic authors,²³⁵ they played an important part in the way in which the schema of the Forum defined and transmitted to posterity his image and, by extension, that of the Trajanic SPQR. As such they were entirely suitable companions to the Temple and the Column and were celebrated accordingly, as we have seen, on Trajanic coinage.

The proximity of the libraries to the Column-tomb and temple, and the apparent connection of their design to that of the temple's interior, also makes sense of the connection between library and heroön that crops up repeatedly in the near-contemporary provincial library buildings. Dio's library at Prusa and Celsus' library at Ephesus, for example, both contained family tombs, and the Neon library at Sagalassos housed a series of inscriptions commemorating the donor's family. The suitability of associating heroön-style family tombs with libraries, stewards for posterity of the *immortales animae* of authors,²³⁶ is discussed further in Ch. V.2 (pp.333ff.). For now it suffices to point out that since these provincial libraries took various other aspects of their form and function from Trajan's libraries, it seems reasonable to imagine that their elements of personal and imperial heroön-commemoration could have been similarly inspired by the proximity of Trajan's libraries to his Column-tomb and temple.

The location of the libraries between the Basilica Ulpia, with its administrative, legal, and juridical functions, and the memorial complex dedicated to Trajan, is therefore, *pace* Meneghini, a deliberate component of their meaning and that of the Forum complex as a whole. Coarelli's attractive comparison (following Birt, Strzygowski, et al.) of the spiral frieze of the Column with a scroll in the adjacent libraries is relevant here: "the

²³⁵ For discussions of authorial *libertas* by Trajanic writers see e.g. Tacitus *Agr.* ("a document of Roman political literature, a manifesto for the Emperor Trajan and the new imperial aristocracy" Syme 1958, 125) 2.1f: *sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur.* Cf. *Agr.* 3.1; *Agr.* 45.1 with Pliny *Ep.* 7.19.5 (and Suetonius *Dom.* 10.1-3); Tacitus *Ann.* 4.34 (Cremutius Cordus), etc. *Nitor saeculi*: Pliny *Ep.* 10.23

²³⁶ Pliny *HN* 35.2.9ff.

column is ultimately just an eternal projection, a translation into figurative language of the *commentarii de bello Dacico* housed in the nearby library, intended to exalt, by visualising it in monumental forms, the *sapientia* – as well as the exploits – of Trajan. Through this monument, Trajan was glorified in death as *vir fortis sapientisque*. Only in this way can the overall concept implicit in the monument – both funerary and honorary – be coherently explained as an integral part of the entire surrounding complex, as well as a combined monumental and figurative summary of the same.”²³⁷ Coarelli’s hypothesis that the Column is an analogue for Trajan’s written campaign diaries is useful but not essential; the connection between the libraries and the imagery of the Column would hold fast without it. The deliberate correspondence between Roman libraries and nearby monumental displays of text or image is explored further in Section III. The military symbolism of the Column and the civic, literary value of the libraries thus complement rather than contradict one another, as is suggested by the Column-and-owl coins discussed above.

Similarly, the placement of the libraries either side of the Column has suggested to some the disposition of standards and archives in the *principia* of a Roman military camp, especially if campaign diaries and histories were accommodated in the libraries and imitated on the scrolled relief of the Column; given the reliefs of captured weaponry around its base it might also be intended to evoke the trophies paraded in triumph.²³⁸ This idea is not universally accepted, and Trajan’s libraries owe more to immediate precursors such as Vespasian’s *Templum Pacis* and in all probability Asinius Pollio’s *Atrium Libertatis*.²³⁹ On the other hand, if such interpretations suggest themselves to modern interpreters of the Forum it seems unlikely that they would have escaped its builders’ attention, especially as trophies and military standards were devices of Trajanic

²³⁷ Coarelli 2000, 13-14. cf Strzygowski 1901, 4, Birt 1907, 269ff.

²³⁸ For perceived resemblance to a military camp see e.g. Rodenwaldt 1926, Sear 1982, 159f; Zanker 1970. Contra: Ward-Perkins 1948, 62.

²³⁹ e.g. Ward-Perkins 1970, esp. 6- 10, 17-19.

self-presentation often used on coins to indicate the Dacian victory commemorated by the Column.²⁴⁰ The combinations of buildings in the Forum can sustain different identities and meanings simultaneously, and any military allusions in the complex north of the Basilica Ulpia need not preclude its funerary, literary or civic symbolism.

In summary, the association between the libraries and their monumental neighbours contributed to these libraries' own function and meaning, strengthening the case made above for an identity that was dependent on their character as highly visible public symbols as well as (as much as?) on their actual use as literary resources: in this we can compare them to Augustus' libraries (see e.g. pp.264f. below). Both of these factors make a decision to model the interior of the libraries on the interior of the proposed Temple of the Deified Trajan a likely reason for the decision to alter their layout once building had already started, and this conclusion is supported by the archaeological and numismatic evidence.

²⁴⁰ For a representative selection of these coins see Appendix 1, Table 3: trophies nos. 1-2, standards nos.3-4.

vi) Chronology

Establishing a chronology therefore becomes important. Determining the point at which the libraries were built, and when the decision was taken to alter their interior layout, will be valuable not only in the context of the study of these and other Roman libraries, but also for the light it might shed on the knotty problems concerning the Temple of the Deified Trajan.

Construction of the Trajanic Forum began in 106-7,²⁴¹ possibly on land cleared for a large imperial forum complex by Domitian (Aurelius Victor states that Domitian began the construction). The Forum was dedicated by Trajan in 112,²⁴² the Column in May 113,²⁴³ and the temple by Hadrian by 128.²⁴⁴ There is no reason not to suppose that the Forum's libraries did not open along with the rest of the complex by the time of its dedication in 112; the libraries, as has been seen, were an integral part of the complex and seem to have been part of the building project *ab initio*, even (on the evidence of the Vienna owl coin) before the Column design had been finalised or executed. Work on the Column and then on the Temple could have continued for a while beyond the construction of the libraries; Meneghini suggests that a Hadrianic brickstamp found in the underpinnings of the Column courtyard means that continuing works there rendered the libraries inaccessible, using this as an argument to locate them elsewhere in the Forum.²⁴⁵ In fact, though, the building works to the north* (presumably connected with the completion of the Temple of the Deified Trajan) need not have closed the libraries if, as has been suggested, access was still possible through the stairways and the doors

²⁴¹ Packer 1997, 5.

²⁴² Vidmen 1982, 48 pl.12: *[K. Ia]nuar Imp. Traianus Forum suum et [bas]ilicam Ulpiam dedicavit.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 48 pl.13; *CIL* VI.960.

²⁴⁴ The temple's dedicatory inscription to Trajan and Plotina states that it was dedicated during Hadrian's third consulship, which Leon puts between (necessarily) the death of Plotina and the bestowal of the title *pater patriae* in 128/9. Leon 1971, 39.

²⁴⁵ Meneghini 2002, 690.

indicated in the archaeological record and on the marble plan as communicating between the Basilica Ulpia and the libraries.

If the Trajanic libraries were opened at the time of the Forum's dedication, the date of the decision to change their design – and thus, perhaps, the date at which the design of the interior of the Temple of the Deified Trajan was first sketched out – can be set at some point between 106 and 112; given that the alterations were clearly made before the interior elements were fitted and probably before the walls had reached above the level of the first storey, a date towards the beginning of this period is preferable and is corroborated by the coin issues of 105-6.

Indeed, the flurry of provincial library dedications surrounding the dates of the forum's inception and completion suggests that the Trajanic buildings attracted enough attention to function as archetypes and stimuli to provincial élites, possibly even before the complex was formally dedicated. Pliny's letter I.8 indicates that library dedication was beginning to be considered a useful euergetic gesture by the public-spirited aristocrat as early as 96-7, perhaps hinting (along with Aurelius Victor) that Domitian's extensive library restorations were preparatory to the foundation of a new library; a little later, once Trajan's planned libraries were becoming a reality, various provincial imitators followed suit (Flavius Soclarus at Delphi some time around the turn of the century; Pantainos whose library in Athens was dedicated jointly to Trajan, Athena and the city after AD 100; Dio at Prusa c.111; T. Flavius Severianus Neon in Sagalassos c.120; Celsus in Ephesus after 110; Hadrianic libraries in Athens, Pergamum, and, probably, Suessa Aurunca).²⁴⁶ This suggests that libraries were on the drawing board as part of a Trajanic project as early as the turn of the century, and that by the second decade of that century – when the Neon and Celsus libraries were being built – their architectural form was established and widely known. This case is strengthened by the fact that the designs of

²⁴⁶ For the dates, see Section V., esp. pp.287ff. with n.711, and Appendix 4.

several of these provincial libraries deliberately echo elements of Trajan's buildings: this is discussed further in Section V.

II.3 - Imperial public libraries and leisure: libraries in bath houses

The libraries discussed thus far were attached to great state monuments in Rome. Another category of library that could have attracted a wider audience on a more regular basis comprises those which are thought to have been located in Roman public bath-houses. Since these expansive and multi-functional complexes were explicitly intended to attract enormous numbers of people of every rank and station, it is reasonably inferred that libraries located there (invariably in the suites of perimeter rooms rather than the warm and steamy environment of the baths themselves) could have had a genuinely public function.²⁴⁷ If the libraries of Trajan's Forum contribute to our understanding of the political context of public library buildings in Rome, bath-house libraries offer similar insight into their social and cultural context.

²⁴⁷ E.g. Dix 1994, 288: "The general public, on the other hand, may have frequented a different group of libraries, those in the great imperial bath buildings of Rome." Cf. Morgan 1998, 112 n.84.

i) The evidence for bath-house libraries

The evidence for Roman bath-house libraries is varied in type and in quality. One inscription mentions a possible bath-house librarian. There are substantial archaeological remains that have been interpreted as libraries at two of Rome's great imperial *thermae*, the Baths of Trajan, dedicated in AD 109, and the Baths of Caracalla (or Antonine Baths) of AD 216. A dubious historical source, the *HA Life of Probus*, adds a third, claiming that the Bibliotheca Ulpia had by the author's lifetime been moved to Diocletian's baths, dedicated in AD 305 or 306:

usus autem sum, ne in aliquo fallam carissimam mihi familiaritatem tuam, praecipue libris ex Bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea Thermis Diocletianis, et item ex Domo Tiberiana.

SHA *Prob.* 2.

Though historically doubtful, this and other library references in the *HA* do seem to aim at verisimilitude to win credibility; the passage in question here names two other libraries more reliably attested elsewhere as well as the Diocletianic bath collection, making it less likely that the last named is a mere invention. We can reasonably conclude at least that readers would not have found it strange to think that library collections could be moved to bath-houses.²⁴⁸

Any study of Roman public libraries must therefore examine the question of whether libraries are to be reconstructed in Roman bath houses, but in doing so must

²⁴⁸ For a discussion of the reliability of the SHA's library evidence, see below pp.196ff and 147. NB also that Sidonius *Ep.*9.16.20 suggests that the Ulpian library in Trajan's Forum was still in use in the 5th century; if there is a kernel of truth in the SHA's claim, then, perhaps it refers to a partial transfer of books from the Forum or from a library or from libraries in Trajan's baths. Various library scholars have accepted that at least some books could have been moved to the baths: Castellani 1844, 56-7; Garbelli 1894, 159; Ihm 1893, 521; Clift 1945, 30; Milkau and Leyh 1950, vol. 3 pt. 1, 123; Tønsberg 1976, 50, 59-60; Thompson 1968 vol. 26 p.23; Götze 1937, 240; Callmer 1944, 164.

contend with a lacunose and ambiguous body of evidence. Libraries in bath-house buildings are assumed to have looked like their antecedents in other imperial complexes, and are accordingly identified largely by the niches in their walls; the dangers of accepting a typological model of Roman library buildings founded on these niches is evident, since many Roman buildings incorporate similar features.²⁴⁹ In the case of bath-houses the niched rectangular or apsidal halls that may have housed libraries look very like the *Kaisersäle*, or imperial sculpture halls, which were prominent feature of many Roman *thermae*, and identifications of such rooms tend to oscillate between the two functions: this is methodologically problematical and runs the risk of falling into circular or sterile arguments (see Johnson 1984).

Since the bath-house librarian inscription and the archaeology of the libraries of Rome's imperial baths have already been extensively (though not always accurately) treated I will confine myself here to a brief summary of each with the relevant bibliography, and to those remarks which I believe to be original and pertinent to the wider debate about bath house libraries.

With these imperial buildings in mind it will then be possible to consider other sorts of indirect evidence for the likelihood of libraries in Roman baths: the precedents of library collections in Hellenistic gymnasia, and inscriptional and literary evidence for extensive cultural and intellectual activity in Roman baths which appears to follow in the same tradition. There is also some evidence for the archival storage of public documents in Trajan's baths that suggests a public, monumental library of the sort more usually associated with that emperor's Forum.

The interpretation of the only inscription to record a connection between a bath-house and a library is not straightforward.

²⁴⁹ See further pp.303ff.

D M ONESIMVS CAE[s. n.]
 VILIC THERMAR
 BYBLIOTHEC GRA[ec]
 CRESCENTI ALV
 MNO SUO
 VIX AN VIII MES I
 B M FECIT

CIL VI 8679 (= Appendix X no. 20)

The usual reconstruction of this text is *vilicus thermarum bybliothecae Graecae*, making the imperial slave Onesimus the bailiff of a bath-house library.²⁵⁰ However, it is not clear whether the inscription gives a single position or lists two, held sequentially (*vilic(us) therma[r(um) et a] bybliothec(a) Gra[ec(a)]*); the latter option would remove the connection between bath-house and library.²⁵¹ Because of this, and since the text (uniquely for *thermae* inscriptions in *CIL VI*) does not specify which baths Onesimus worked at, this tantalising inscription is of limited value here.

The archaeological evidence for bath-house libraries is also open to different interpretations. Scholarly consensus favours the continued identification of pairs of apsidal and rectangular rooms at (respectively) the Baths of Trajan and Caracalla as libraries; a similar pair of rectangular halls, no longer extant, in the Baths of Diocletian are often labelled as libraries on the basis of the *HA* passage and an architectural similarity to these better-known precursors. Objections to these identifications are usually grounded in the observation that the niches in these buildings are excessively tall and high off the ground, and would thus have been hard to reach.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Nielsen 1990 Vol. I, 165 says this inscription refers “without doubt one of the imperial *thermae*.” Yegül 1992 p.179 also accepts it at face value and suggests that a nearby inscription (*CIL VI 8676*) mentioning the baths of Nero indicates that these were the baths in question. See also Ihm, 1893, 527.

²⁵¹ Houston 1996 favours the latter reading, largely on the basis of word order. See also *id.*, 2002, Table 1 No. 23, with n. 1. Weaver and Wilkins 1993 cite another inscription naming an Onesimus as *vilicus* of the *balineum Caenidianum*, and they and Houston suggest that this is the same man.

²⁵² E.g. Johnson 1984, 149-84. Yegül 1992, 448, n.128, with Sève 1990, 173-9.

The exceptionally high niches and steps of some bath-house libraries need not be a problem, though: it is suggested several times in this thesis that these are normal elements of Roman library design which make sense as security features if the libraries are seen as buildings that would attract a large number of people. This is true *a fortiori* of bath house libraries, and the high steps which Johnson (*inter alios*) thinks would have served better as seats could well have served that purpose if we imagine readings and lectures taking place in bath-houses, as seems sometimes to have been the case.²⁵³

Another feature of these libraries which suggests a large and non-specialist audience is their duplication on opposite sides of the bath house perimeter. Although only one of each pair survives at the Baths of Trajan and of Caracalla the existence of an identical mirror-image building on the opposite side of the peribolus can be safely assumed on the evidence of renaissance drawings and the complexes' otherwise impeccable binary symmetry. As each building is in itself enormous this duplication suggests a confident forecast of large numbers of library users and simultaneous recitals or similar events (as well as the bath builders' taste for ostentatious gigantism). The duplication of library buildings cannot in these cases be ascribed to the usual division between Latin and Greek collections (which is questioned in Section III). Although Makowiecka favours such a division, citing the inscription discussed above, practical considerations weigh against it.²⁵⁴ If these were serious scholarly libraries it would make no sense at all to separate the collection on linguistic (or any other) lines and interpose a distance of about a fifth of a mile between them. Although other sorts of division within the baths' library collection can be envisaged (the most likely candidate, given the epigraphic evidence below, is between literary and archival or state documents), the exact duplication of the library buildings' architecture and size can best be explained either by

²⁵³ Steps or seats at Trajan's library: Johnson 1984, 111-118. For educational and intellectual activities in Roman bath-houses see below on the Faustina Baths of Miletus and Eastern Baths at Ephesus, and Yegül 1992, 178.

²⁵⁴ Makowiecka 1978 p. 61.

duplication of holdings or by an intended function that was aimed at entertainment rather than serious research, more appropriate facilities for which already existed in several public libraries elsewhere in the city (including the libraries of Trajan's Forum, roughly contemporary with those of Trajan's baths). The concentration of serious scholarly or archival material in these other imperial public libraries, which are mentioned fairly often as sources or places of research (as we will see in Section IV), would explain the silence of the literary sources on the subject of bath-house libraries.

The Baths of Trajan

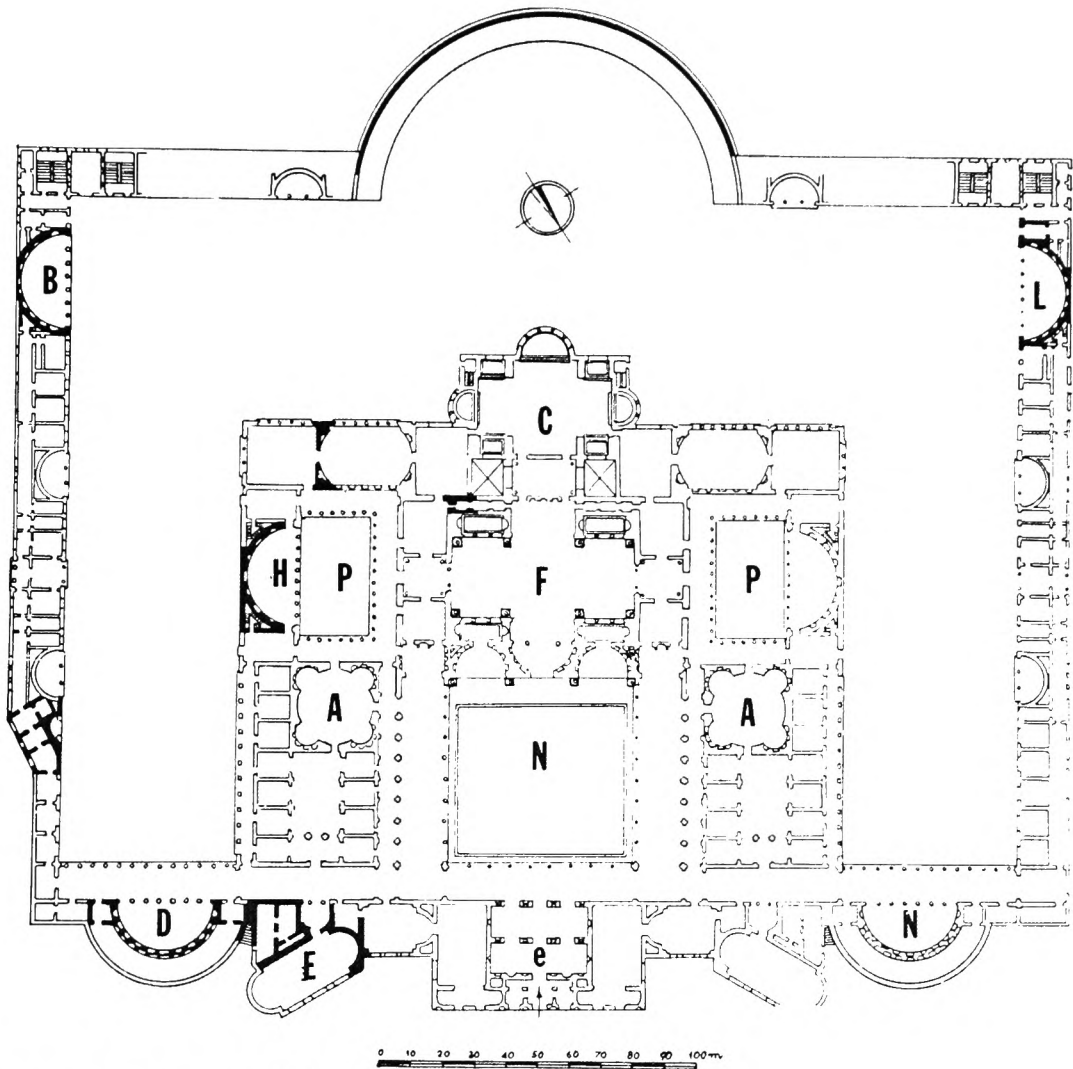


Figure 12 The Baths of Trajan, Rome.

After Yegül, *Baths and Bathing* p.143 fig. 154. Libraries marked B and L.

The library buildings of Trajan's baths (AD 109) are located in a pair of exedrae at the south-west and southeast corners of the outer peribolus or perimeter enclosure of the baths, which contained numerous rooms of varying size and plan. Trajan's baths, dedicated in AD 109,²⁵⁵ were the first to incorporate this outer perimeter circuit of

²⁵⁵ *Inscr. It.* XIII p.I., n.5 and corroborated by brickstamp evidence: Bloch 1947, 36-49. See also Pausanias

rooms, although the overall effect might have been similar to the provisions in separate locations of baths, gardens, statuary and parkland in Agrippa's Campus Martius projects.²⁵⁶

Apart from occasional sondages the baths have not been comprehensively excavated and modern reconstructions rely largely on renaissance drawings (although restoration and excavation works of the library were in progress when I last visited the site). The identification of the buildings in question as libraries, one of which is among the most prominent surviving elements of the baths, is not unanimous. Most authorities accept it, though, including the most recent published excavation and survey of the visible remains,²⁵⁷ and I am inclined to agree.²⁵⁸ Those who question the building's library function do so on the basis of the height of the shelves and steps, and these problems have already been discussed above.²⁵⁹

Each structure measures 29 x 15 m, and is separated from the baths' gardens or courtyard by a colonnade (an arrangement also found in the Baths of Caracalla and the libraries in Trajan's Forum). Each exedra contains a large central apse, with 5 niches to each side. A second storey survives, duplicating this arrangement with slightly smaller niches.²⁶⁰

Numerous features of the exedral buildings are consistent with a library function. In the first instance, their removal from the core of the bath block places their collections well away from the twin dangers of damp and fire, vital to any bathing

5.12.6 and Dio 69.4.1.

²⁵⁶ Yegül 1992, 142.

²⁵⁷ de Fine Licht 1974.

²⁵⁸ In favour of a library identification: Callmer 1944; 164, Strocka 1981, 311; Makowiecka 1978, 61-62; Yegül 1992, 142-6 with fig. 158; 179; Platner and Ashby 1929 *sv* *Thermae Traiani*, 534-6; Nash 1968, *sv* *Thermae Traiani*, vol. 2, 472-77; Coarelli 1973, 202-4. Nielsen 1990, Vol. I 144-5 with n.15

²⁵⁹ Against a library identification: Johnson 1984, 111-118 ("meeting hall"), Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, *sv* *Thermae Traiani*, pp. 397-8 ("probably not a library"). Johnson states that the steps range from 17 cm at the bottom of the flight to 50 cm at the top, and that the niches at 4.5m would require ladders. The same unwieldiness is also true, though, of the best-preserved Roman libraries, those of Trajan's forum and of Celsus at Ephesus. See below pp. 58 and 292.

²⁶⁰ Dimensions from Johnson 1984, 111-118: the ground-floor niches are 76 cm deep, 2.13m wide, and 4.5m tall. Those on the upper level are the same width and depth but measure 3.36 m in height. The podium is 1.15 – 1.4 m wide.

establishment but inimical to books.²⁶¹ A continuous podium with steps follows the curve of the wall, an arrangement common to all known Roman library buildings. As elsewhere this podium aids access to the books slightly, but not completely: portable steps and/or library staff would have been needed, ensuring a measure of security to the books. The steps could also have functioned as seats for recitals.

The plan of the baths by the Anonymous Destailleur shows careful architectural arrangements in the library exedrae (Figure 13, left) – the building has two staircases (one broad public-looking stair, another smaller one, maybe for staff), niches with only rectangular backs (suitable for bookcases), and ample provision of associated ancillary spaces for staff or storage. As these features are not incorporated in an otherwise very similarly proportioned second pair of exedrae in the baths' peribolus (Figure 13, right), some sort of specialized function requiring access to the upper floor seems probable: a library seems the likeliest candidate.

²⁶¹ Makowiecka 1978, 61 agrees.

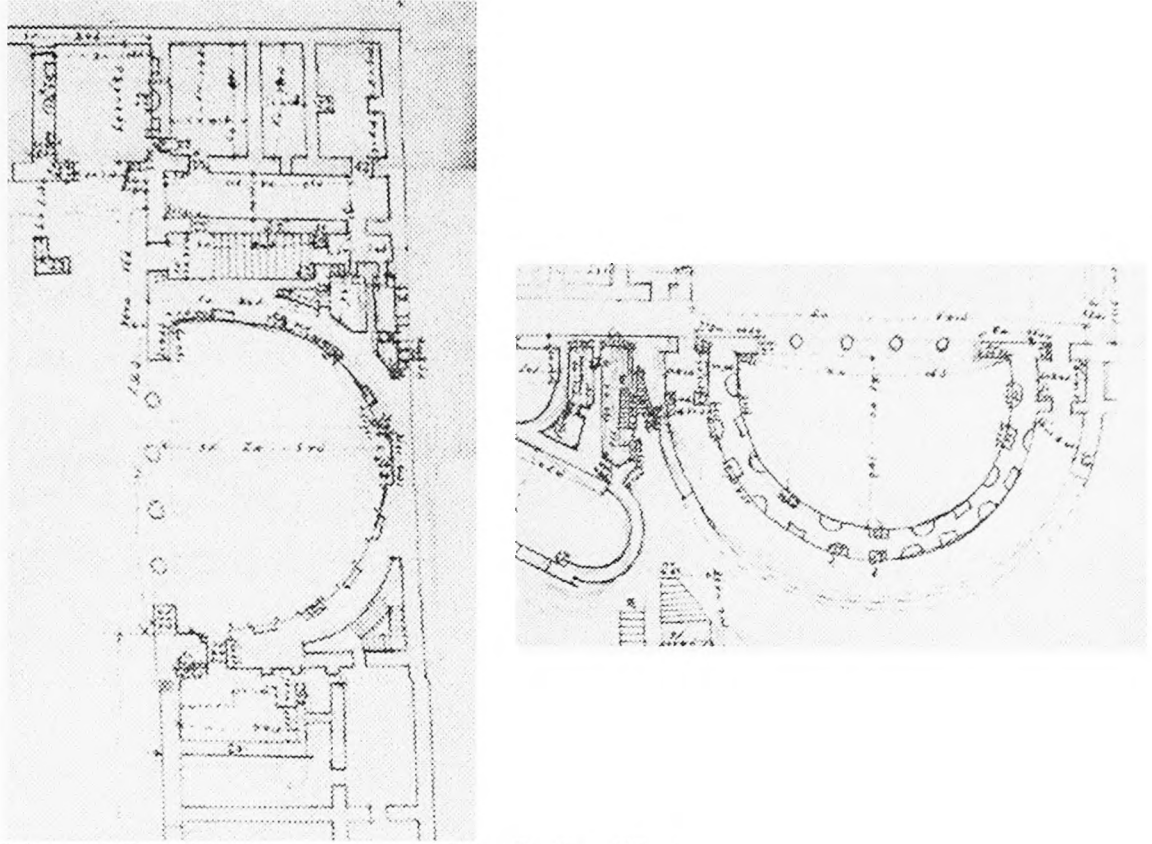


Figure 13 Details of western part of the Baths of Trajan.

Anonymous Destailleur (Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek, Berlin fol. 21 recto). Picture from: Yegül 1992, 145 fig. 157b.

The Baths of Caracalla

The Baths of Caracalla (dedicated AD 216) also contain well-preserved remains of what appears to be one of a pair of library buildings, located 260m apart and, as in the Baths of Trajan, occupying the south-east and south-west corners of the peribolus either side of a large exedral recess in the perimeter wall. The remaining library building was originally excavated in 1911-12²⁶² and subsequent scholars have accepted that the building was probably a library.²⁶³ Recent excavations under Piranomonte and Capodiffero support this conclusion very firmly: “quanto al problema del riconoscimento delle funzioni di quest’aula, se analizziamo gli elementi ritenuti caratteristici delle biblioteche vediamo come questi si riscontrino tutti, significativamente, nel nostro caso.”²⁶⁴ They go on to list:

- 1) The isolation of the building’s exterior by a series of rooms acting as cavities and storerooms;
- 2) a big rectangular room with a large central niche opposite its colonnaded entrance;
- 3) a marble podium wide enough for consulting scrolls on;
- 4) 32 rectangular niches, 16 on each floor.

The dissenting voices are mostly those who also doubt that similar elements in the Baths of Trajan identify libraries there, and the same response can be made.²⁶⁵ The plan of the Severan building is rectangular rather than apsidal, but corresponds in points of

²⁶² Ghislanzoni, 1912, 311-2.

²⁶³ In favour of a library identification: Callmer 1944, 64-5; Strocka 1981, 315-6; Makowiecka 1978, 91-3; Nash 1968, vol. 2 434-441 and fig. 1237; Yegül 1992, 155 with n.127, 179; Gregori 1937.16-18; *LTUR* Vol. V. *sv* *Thermae Antoninianae*: “l’unica rimasta delle due biblioteche, definitivamente riconosciuta come tale solo dopo le ultime ricerche”. Platner and Ashby 1929, *sv* *Thermae Antoninianae*, 520-4; Coarelli 1973, 332-335; Nielsen 1990, Vol. I 144-5 with n.15.

²⁶⁴ Piranomonte and Capodiffero 1994, 334.

²⁶⁵ Johnson 1984, 119-124 and Tønsberg 1976 argue that the niches are too high and would have contained statuary; Richardson, *sv* *Thermae Antoninianae*, 387-9 says that the rooms are too large and that there are reservoirs behind the walls.

detail to the library of Trajan's baths. It consists of a rectangular hall of about 22 x 40 m with a large central apse and a columnar screen entrance;²⁶⁶ a crepidoma of 3 steps (27cm in height each) gives access to a podium 1.2 m deep. There are 16 niches on the ground floor, beginning at a height of 2m above the podium and measuring 75cm x 1.8m x 4.1m, with two smaller niches on the south side.²⁶⁷ This would give the libraries a storage capacity some way in excess of (for instance) the libraries of Trajan's Forum, suggesting a large book collection and therefore a large potential usership.²⁶⁸

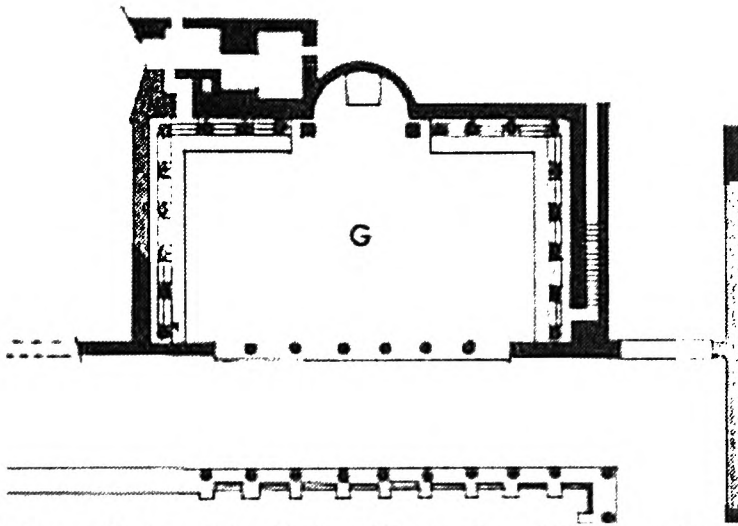


Figure 14 The peribolus of the Baths of Caracalla, with library detail.
From Yegül 1992, 156 fig. 169.

Johnson's observation that the statue base in the central apse is designed to match the bottom of the niches in height is accurate, but this need not suggest that the niches were intended for statues rather than books: at Ephesus the central apse statue was intended to stand directly on the podium and aligned with the book cases rather than other statues.

²⁶⁶ There is some confusion about the size of this room: Callmer gives dimensions of 25 x 42 m, Johnson 22 x 36m, and Yegül 20 x 40m.

²⁶⁷ Dimensions: Johnson 1984, 119-24.

²⁶⁸ See above pp.53ff. for conjectures about the capacity of Trajan's libraries.

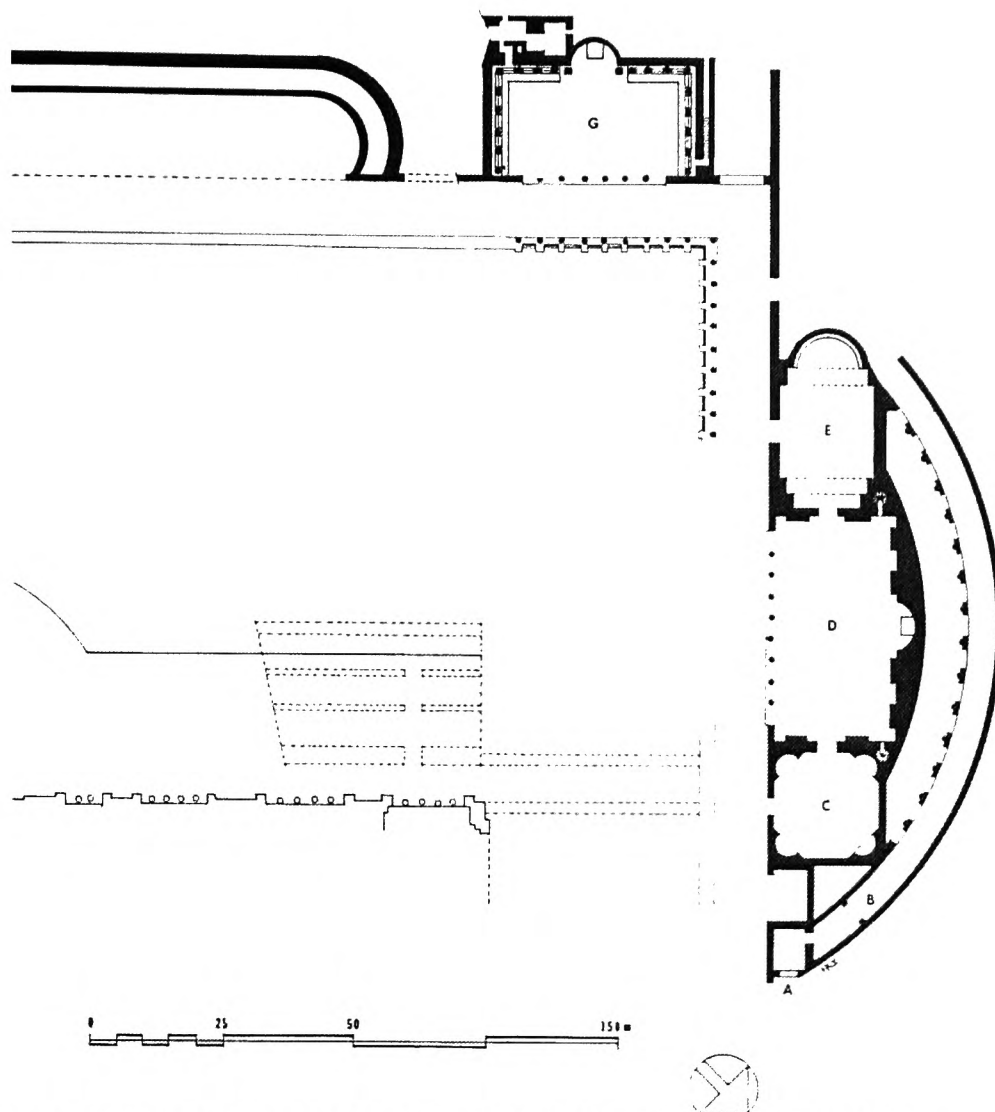


Figure 15 The peribolus of the Baths of Caracalla, with library marked G.
From Yegül 1992, 156 fig. 169..

The building has arrangements for stair access to an upper level, suggesting a function other than the display of statuary, and again there are flanking rooms for ancillary purposes (Richardson's objection that the libraries abutted the baths' cistern is wrong: these ancillary rooms are interposed between the two). The arrangements for stairs are similar to those proposed below for the libraries of Trajan's Forum and found at Ephesus, though they are not included on all plans:²⁶⁹ a pair of doors opens from the interior of the library room, leading to passageways giving stair access. One of the

²⁶⁹ Stroocka 1981, 319 abb. 9 and Yegül 1992, 149 fig. 162 (after W.S. Smith) both omit the stairs and doorways giving access to them.

doorways, only 1.3m in height and therefore probably for staff access, is set into the north-east corner of the library.²⁷⁰ The absence of a balcony on the Anonymous Destailleur's elevation of the library (Figure 16) is not a serious obstacle to reconstructing a second level of book niches, though it has been raised as grounds for rejecting a library identification.²⁷¹ This drawing is better interpreted as imaginative than descriptive: it omits a number of features which excavation has revealed in the building, including the stepped podium, the central apse statue base, and the doorways; the drawing's engagement of a flat lintel with the top of the central apse is an architectural solecism unlikely to have been built as depicted.

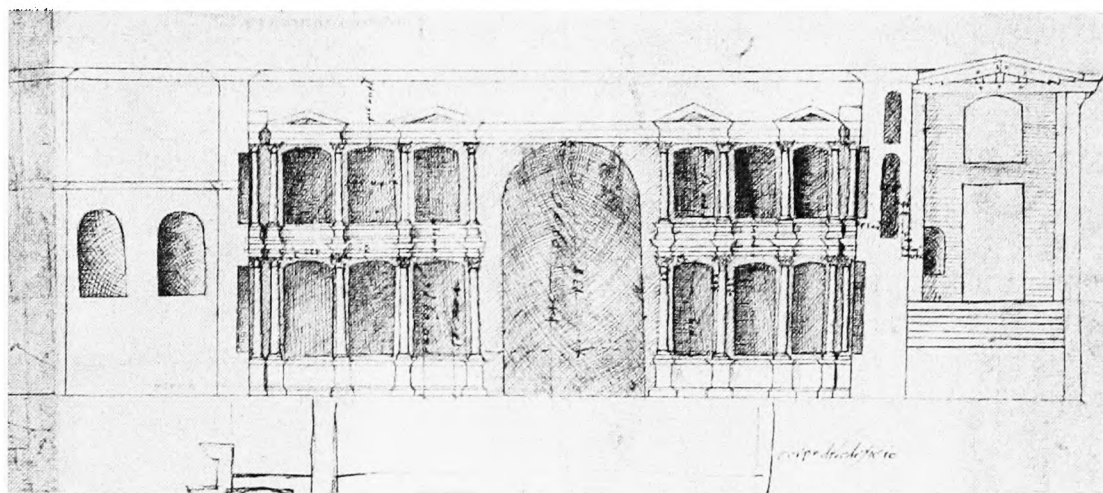


Figure 16 Elevation of the west library of the Baths of Caracalla by the Anonymous Destailleur (HDz 4151, fol. 32 recto). Yegül 1992, 157 fig. 172.

A few decorative details survive, including fragments of a sumptuous marble opus sectile pavement and figured capitals with Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates, later reused in S. Maria in Trastevere.²⁷² The rich ornamentation confirms that the buildings were intended to impress as monuments, and the Egyptianising capitals hint at typically Severan interests; they are also well suited to the Baths' overall Asiatic richness of ornament and

²⁷⁰ Piranomonte and Capodiferro 1994, 333.

²⁷¹ E.g. Yegül 1992, 448 n.12. cf. Tønsberg 1976.

²⁷² Pavement: Piranomonte and Capodiferro 1994. Capitals: Kinney 1986.

form.²⁷³ More particularly, though, they might allude to the Severan rebuilding of the Serapeum in Alexandria, now dated to exactly the same period as the Baths in Rome.²⁷⁴ Tertullian, writing c.AD 197, mentions a library (of Ptolemaic books) in the Serapeum, as does Aphthonius in the fourth century (who describes it as a public library and locates it in rooms in the stoas around the courtyard).²⁷⁵ The Serapeum library, of uncertain foundation date, therefore survived the Severan rebuilding, and the decorative scheme of the libraries in the contemporary Baths of Caracalla might be another reminder at Rome of imperial involvement in Alexandrian library provision.



Figure 17 Western library of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome, showing central apse, niches, and vestiges of stepped podium.
Photograph: author.

²⁷³ “Questo riferimento al mondo Greco e asiatico sembra richiamare il gusto orientale, tipico della dinastia dei Severi.” Piranomonte and Capodiferro 1994, 335.

²⁷⁴ McKenzie, Gibson, and Reyes 2004, 98-100.

²⁷⁵ Tert. *Apol.* 18.8; Aphthonius: see above p.20.

The Baths of Diocletian

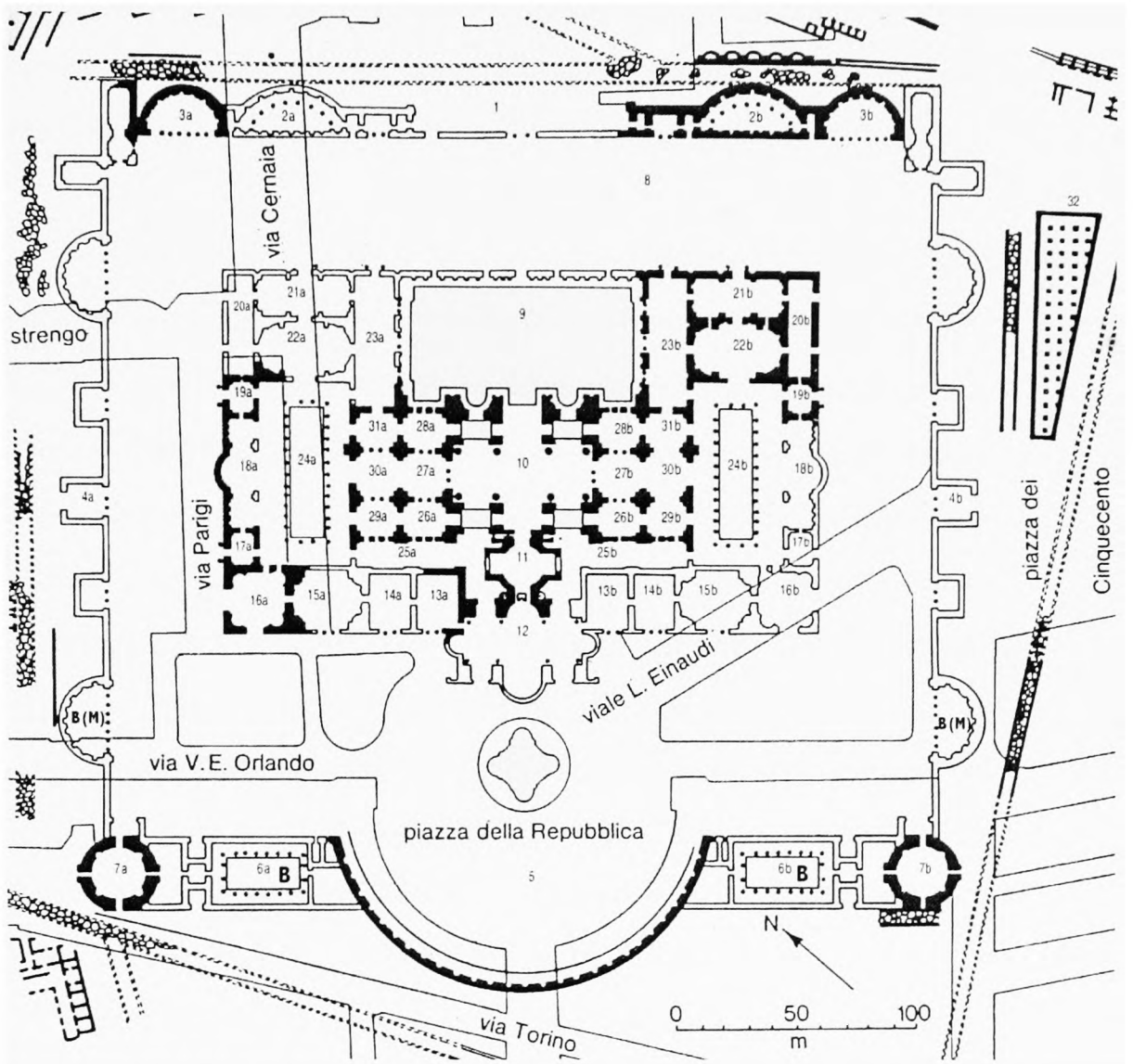


Figure 18 The Baths of Diocletian, Rome.

Based on Museo Nazionale Romano *The Baths of Diocletian*, 11 fig. 5

The evidence for libraries at the Baths of Diocletian is less strong. As the buildings of the Baths' peribolus have now disappeared, we rely on the passage from the *HLA Life of Probus* mentioned above and renaissance drawings of the ruins. Various scholars have argued for the location of the libraries, after the model of the Baths of Caracalla, in a pair of rectangular halls flanking the great semi-circular exedra that is now the Piazza della

Repubblica (marked B on the plan),²⁷⁶ or, after the model of the Baths of Trajan, in a pair of exedrae (marked B(M) on the plan).²⁷⁷ Without further excavation it is hard to advance this debate any further, although I will suggest below that elements of the Baths' decorative programme are consistent with a cultural or intellectual function.

Finally, the spa complex at Civitavecchia (also known as the Taurine baths) provides an example of an Italian bath complex outside Rome that might have included a library.²⁷⁸ A rectangular room opening onto a long peristyle has been interpreted as a library; it shares the characteristic features of imperial libraries, including wall niches, marble revetment and an opus sectile floor.²⁷⁹ It corresponds in date to a Trajanic and Hadrianic expansion of the bath complex, contemporary both with the general flourishing of libraries in the Roman world and, more specifically, with the supposed libraries in Trajan's baths at Rome. Moreover, excavations of the Civitavecchia site revealed a large number of votive offerings and a Hadrianic altar, inviting comparison with other libraries at healing sanctuaries – the Hadrianic library in the Asclepieion at Pergamum and C. Stertinius Xenophon's foundation at Cos. Architecturally, Civitavecchia's niched chamber with a pair of flanking reading or storage rooms can be compared to the supposed library of the Domus Augusta or the later libraries of Caracalla's baths and of Rogatianus in Timgad;²⁸⁰ culturally, the inclusion of a library is entirely consistent with the expansion of the site to include residential "hotel" accommodation and a greater degree of architectural grandeur: it might be thought of as

²⁷⁶de Gregori 1937, 9-24; *LTUR* Vol. V *sv* Thermae Diocletiani; Paribeni 1932, 26f.; Lugli 1938, 363; for the location of the Trajanic libraries to these spaces, see Merten 1983, 29-31 and Heinz 1983, 114.

²⁷⁷ Makowiecka 1978, 96-7. There is something to be said for this idea, but not much. An early drawing of one of the exedrae (which are now vanished) does bear a striking similarity to the surviving library structure in the Baths of Trajan, but the Diocletianic exedrae, in all available plans and drawings, lack the ancillary rooms and staircases we see in other imperial bath house libraries. Moreover, Makowiecka fails to mention that there are four such exedrae in the Baths of Diocletian and assigns no function to the other two.

²⁷⁸ Heinz 1986; Strocka 1981, 315.

²⁷⁹ Yegül 1992, 112-117 with fig. 127.

²⁸⁰ Domus Augusta: Bruce 1986, 518-21; Carettoni 1969, 24-5; McKay 1975, 72; Carrettoni 1983, 32-3. Baths of Caracalla, pp.102ff.; library at Timgad, pp.297ff.

attracting a larger clientele by imitating the cosmopolitan grandeur of Rome's imperial *thermae* which themselves, as is discussed below, were by this time beginning to incorporate Roman versions of the intellectual and cultural elements of the Hellenistic gymnasium, making them suitable homes for libraries.

In summary, the scholarly consensus favours on balance the continuing attribution of a library function to rooms within the Baths of Trajan, Caracalla and Diocletian. If this is agreed, the consequences for our understanding of the Roman public library are considerable: the high shelves and large rooms show that these were facilities designed for large numbers of visitors, and their wide separation suggests that they were primarily for a popular rather than a serious scholarly audience. However, we have also seen that the archaeological evidence for libraries in Roman bath-houses is not unproblematic. At Civitavecchia as elsewhere the identification of the building as a library cannot be certain: there is an ambiguous similarity with other elements of Roman garden and bath architecture. Although such ambiguities are in themselves interesting, they stand in the way of definite identification for this and other possible bath-house libraries.

As Dix writes, "in general...while the presence of libraries in the imperial baths has generally been taken for granted, caution seems to be in order in the identification of those libraries."²⁸¹ We need to move away, as I suggested above, from the important but rather circular debate about whether buildings with wall niches can be identified as libraries: there is little chance of an answer from this sort of archaeological speculation alone.

What we can do instead is examine the plentiful non-architectural evidence for intellectual and cultural activities in Roman baths, which makes the incorporation of libraries there more likely.

²⁸¹Dix 1994, 288.

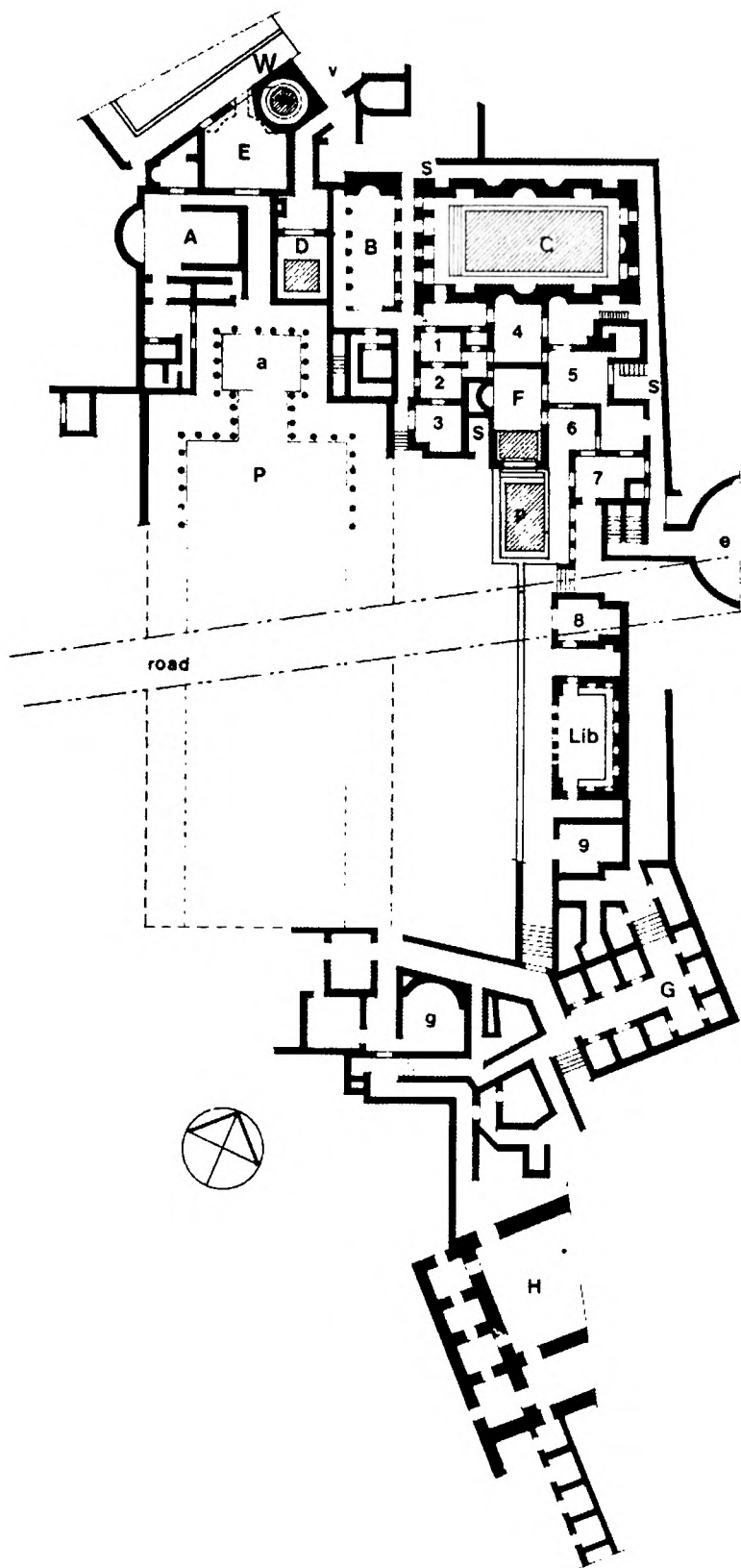


Figure 19 Bathing complex at Civitavecchia. Possible library labelled Lib.
Yegül 1992, 113 Fig. 127.

ii) Intellectual and cultural activities in Roman bath-houses

The inclusion of libraries in Roman bath-houses has roots in the intellectual and cultural functions of the Hellenistic gymnasium. This is an important evolutionary route for Roman public libraries, to be placed alongside the emulation of the great royal collections of the Hellenistic east. Several studies of Roman *thermae* trace their evolution from the eastern bath-gymnasium type; libraries in these Roman buildings “are always associated with the palaestra, which reflects their precursors, the great Hellenistic gymnasia, which also boasted libraries.”²⁸² The intellectual functions of the gymnasium seem to have become attached to Roman *thermae* in the mid-first century AD, mediated perhaps through luxury villas.²⁸³ The prevalence of libraries in Hellenistic gymnasia suggests that libraries would have been regarded as a natural element of such an architectural-cultural development.

Various Hellenistic gymnasia are known to have incorporated libraries, including Pergamum,²⁸⁴ Rhodes,²⁸⁵ Tauromenium in Sicily (where an inscribed library catalogue survives, indicating a specialised political holding in this 2nd C BC gymnasium),²⁸⁶ Cos,²⁸⁷ and Nysa²⁸⁸; indeed, it seems that the gymnasium was the usual location for Hellenistic libraries.²⁸⁹

²⁸² Nielsen 1990, Vol. I p.166. On the relationship between library and gymnasium in the Hellenic world cf Yegül 1992, 14-15; Nicolai 1987; Morgan 1998, 29 nn 94-5: she agrees that “the evidence for libraries and the meetings of philosophers and literati in gymnasia is strong.” Cf Harris 1989, 134-5 and Nicolai 1987, 21. For doubt cast on the quality of evidence for non-bathing activities in the baths, see Yegül 1992, 172-3.

²⁸³ Delorme 1960, 316ff.; Nielsen 1990 Vol. I, 12.

²⁸⁴ Intellectual spaces at Pergamum (2nd C BC): Delorme 1960, 171ff. and Schazmann 1923, 80ff.

²⁸⁵ For an odeon and library in the poorly preserved gymnasium below the acropolis at Rhodes: Konstantinopoulos 1990, 68. A recent epigraphical discovery there: Papachristodoulou 1990, 500f. Cf. Platthy p.148-50 no. 117 and p.151 no. 119 for a library there in the 2nd C B.C.

²⁸⁶ Mangaro 1974; Robert 1979.

²⁸⁷ Platthy p.146 no. 112 – no actual mention of a library.

²⁸⁸ 2nd C A.D. archeological remains. Nicolai 1987, 22 n.22 and 37 with n.66.

Julius Africanus, P.Oxy. 412, Col. II p.39. cf Robert 1940, 144-148.

²⁸⁹ Burzachechi 1963, 75: “altre ancora e forse la maggior parte furono connesse ai ginnasi”. Callmer 1944, 147-54 thinks that the Athenian Lyceum, where he locates the books of Aristotle, served as a model for the Alexandrian library.

The best attested example is the Ptolemaion at Athens, where there is abundant epigraphical evidence for the donation of books by successive “graduating classes” between 116 and 38 BC.²⁹⁰ This gymnasium, founded with contributions from Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-45BC) and adorned with an eastern building by Attalos II (159-138BC) continued to function into the Roman period – Cicero and Pausanias mention it²⁹¹ and in Section V(pp.275f.) it will be suggested that its library was an important inspiration and precursor for the nearby Trajanic and Hadrianic libraries at Athens. Both of these later Roman libraries were founded by individuals rather than by frequent collective donation of books; in this and in their architectural form they illustrate how the Roman library differed from its Hellenistic precursor, but the historical connection to a gymnasium library is important.

The association between Hellenistic gymnasia, study, and libraries was noticed and emulated by educated Romans in the Republican period, many of whom travelled to Greece. It naturally found its expression in the villa architecture of these rich men: the library of Cicero’s villa in Tusculum, for example, was located in that area which he referred to as his Lyceum. Vitruvius includes *exedrae* for intellectual lectures and debate in his description of the ideal palaestra (which he classifies as *non... Italicae consuetudinis*):

Constituantur autem in tribus porticibus exedrae spatiosae habentes sedes in quibus philosophi rhetores reliquique qui studiis delectantur sedentes disputare possint. •

Vitruvius 5.11.2

Porticoes and *exedrae* of the sort Vitruvius describes were widely used in Hellenistic gymnasia for meetings, lectures and the like, and notwithstanding the

²⁹⁰ App. 5 No.4; *IG* II/III.1.2.1029, 1030, 1040-1043 = Platthy p.110 nos. 29-35 respectively. See also Nicolai 1987, 33.

²⁹¹ Cicero *Fin.* 5.1.1 (he listened to Antiochus there with M. Piso) and Pausanias 1.17.2.

difficulties in identifying Hellenistic gymnasium libraries archeologically it seems clear from the epigraphic evidence that they are to be located in this sort of context.²⁹² The various library rooms we have already encountered in the peribolus ranges of Roman imperial *thermae* follow this precedent.²⁹³

Similar cultural activities took place in some Roman bathhouses. Although Agrippa built a public bath-house on the Campus Martius, the establishment founded by the philhellene Nero seems to have been the first consciously to evoke the culture of the Greek gymnasium. It was the first in Rome to be called by that name, and the literary record unambiguously links it to an important cultural programme.²⁹⁴ Suetonius *Nero* 12.3 records that Nero's baths and gymnasium were contemporary with his establishment of triple games *more Graeco* including a literary component (in which Nero competed and, unsurprisingly, won in the Latin oratory and verse events). Tacitus records with characteristic disapproval the Hellenising cultural activity which inaugurated these baths (*degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpis amores exercendo*), but if they irritated the old guard they seem to have caught the popular imagination: Martial famously asks *Quid Nerone peius? Quid thermis melius Neronianis?* and Tacitus admits that *oratorum ac vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis adlaturas*.²⁹⁵

Little survives of these baths; the majority of the ruins sketched by Palladio are probably best ascribed either to his imagination or to the baths' rebuilding under Alexander Severus.²⁹⁶ Later imperial *thermae* developed the gymnasium elements introduced by Nero on a grand and quintessentially Roman scale. Over time such

²⁹² Delorme 1960, 332. See Nicolai 1987, 28-9 for a useful table summarising scholarly opinion on various cases of gymnasium libraries.

²⁹³ Nicolai 1987, 18. cf Maccanico 1963, 33 and 57.

²⁹⁴ For Nero's baths being called Gymnasium, see Tamm 1970. c Yegül 1992, 175.

²⁹⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.20-21; Martial *Ep.* 7.35.5. A much later source, Libanius *Or.* 3.6.16, also mentions music and dance in bath houses.

²⁹⁶ Yegül 1992, 179 suggests that exedral structures in Palladio's plan of Alexander Severus' reconstruction of Nero's baths might have been libraries. The semicircular exedrae echo those of Trajan's baths, and the niches are rectangular on the inside (as befits a library) and semi circular on the outside (for statues?). This is pure speculation.

elements probably lost the racy exoticism that tainted them in Nero's time: the standardization of the plan of imperial *thermae* after Trajan's (not himself an emperor inclined to ostentatious philhellenism) suggests that a certain set of facilities including extensive perimeter rooms for non-bathing functions came to be regarded as essential.

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the intellectual and cultural aspects of Roman bath-houses continued to be important into the period of the surviving imperial *thermae*, strengthening the likelihood that libraries were to be found there. The epigraphic evidence for the cultural life of the baths of imperial Rome is heterogeneous but convincing. The extraordinary Ursus Togatus inscription (App. 5 No.1 = *CIL* VI 9797) – datable to after AD 126 by its reference to the third consulship of M. Annius Verus – records all four major bath-houses of Hadrianic Rome (Agrippa, Nero, Titus and Trajan) as sometime haunts of the dedicatee, a sort of bath-house sage and entertainer who describes an environment therein of (more or less literally) wine, women, and song attended by large audiences (*laudante populo maximis clamoribus*). Among the ball-players, lovers, and draughts of neat Caecuban, though, there are also hints of literary culture: the subject asks to be described not only as *hilarem, iocosum, pilicrepum*, but also *scholasticum*; he describes himself as a protégé of the three times consul Verus and as his *exodiarius* (usually an actor in a comic drama; here perhaps a metaphor, but an ostentatiously learned one). Notwithstanding its rather laboured series of puns on truth and falsehood, this verse inscription seems to portray a bath-house environment in which light-hearted intellectual and cultural pursuits were not out of place.

A series of inscriptions in Greek and Latin found under the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome, on the former site of the Baths of Trajan, indicates that a College or synod of athletes from Asia Minor connected to the Cult of Hercules had its headquarters somewhere in the Trajanic *thermae*.²⁹⁷ This collegiate body's request to

²⁹⁷ *CIL* VI 10153, 10154; *CIG* III 5906-5913; *IG XIV* nos. 1054-55 and 1102-10.

Hadrian for a permanent home in the baths (App. 5 No 2 = *CIG* III 5906; 5th May AD 134), and a similar subsequent request to Antoninus Pius (App. 5 No. 3 = *CIG* III 5907; 16th July AD 143) was handled by M. Ulpianus Domesticus, the archpriest of the synod and an official in charge of the baths. Each emperor agreed to provide a space for the synod to meet and to store sacred objects and documents; Antoninus Pius also specified special storage space for the paraphernalia used by the synod in the celebration of the Capitoline games.

These Capitoline games, founded in AD 86 under Domitian,²⁹⁸ included extensive literary contests of a type which, as we have seen, was first introduced to Rome in a gymnastic context under Nero at the same time as he dedicated his gymnasium. The Capitoline games sprung from the same cultural climate that prompted Domitian's extensive restoration of Rome's libraries, and kindled (or responded to) a high degree of literary enthusiasm in Rome (well illustrated by the charming tomb of the infant poet Servius Sulpicius Maximus, to take one example). These synodic inscriptions constitute a further piece of evidence connecting the celebration of such games to imperial *thermae*, this time Trajan's. While athletes in the Heracleian synod clearly took part in the athletic aspects of the games, the connection between Trajan's Baths and the Hellenising Capitoline synthesis of physical and intellectual contests in a resonantly Roman imperial context²⁹⁹ usefully reinforces the suitability of libraries in imperial *thermae*.³⁰⁰

These inscriptions are all the more interesting in this regard because of the provision they make for the storage of documents somewhere within the bath complex: this firmly establishes for the first time the existence of an archival/literary storage facility for documents (γράμματα) in a bath-house. As other inscriptions discussed below

²⁹⁸ Suet. *Dom.* 4.4.

²⁹⁹ For which see Caldelli 1993, 105-7.

³⁰⁰ On the basis of three late fourth century texts Marrou 1932, 93-110 argues that the exedrae of Trajan's forum and parts of the Forum Augustum were used as *scholae* by grammarians and teachers. Yegül 1992, 178 suggests on this basis that this means that the exedrae and rooms of bath-house perimeters could also have been used for educational and intellectual functions: an attractive speculation which accords well with the epigraphic evidence presented here.

indicate the existence of official state archives in the same baths, it is not inconceivable that the athletes were to be allocated some secure storage space in a place designed specifically for the storage of archives, perhaps in one of the perimeter rooms identified above as a library (the Hadrianic inscription is the most promising in this regard, allocating as it does both a meeting place καὶ οἶκημα ὡς τὰ γράμματα ἀποτίθασθαι; the Antonine inscription seems to record a more general storage space).

Notwithstanding the storage place of the athletes' documents, these inscriptions link Trajan's baths to the athletic and cultural world of the Capitoline games, and this corroborates the argument advanced above for regarding this complex as a suitable home for libraries in the tradition of the Greek gymnasium.

There is a similar suggestion in the sculptural decoration of Diocletian's baths that an environment suitable for intellectual and cultural pursuits – and therefore suitable for libraries – was to be found there as well. The sculptor and architect Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605) describes the discovery of a series of eighteen busts of philosophers in his account of sixteenth century excavations in Rome.³⁰¹ Fourteen of these have now been identified in the collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.³⁰² A headless herm of Ennius was also found in the grounds of the baths. The baths of Diocletian therefore had a sculptural programme devoted, *inter alia*, to literary portrait busts of the sort that Pliny tells us were installed in libraries. Whether the busts in question adorned a library at the baths we cannot now know. Literary portraits were suitable for deployment in a variety of contexts, but their installation in an imperial bath-house indicates that a library would have been by no means out of place there. Like much of the sculpture in the baths the philosophers and the Ennius appear to be earlier pieces; if a large imperial library collection was relocated to Diocletian's baths, these statues might well have come with it.

³⁰¹ Vacca 1594, 104.

³⁰² *Baths of Diocletian* 2003, 16.

The inclusion of various sorts of diversion in the *thermae* including works of art and libraries is entirely consistent with the imperial agenda underlying the baths' provision.

Grimal calls Roman *thermae* "the villas of the plebs."³⁰³ Spaces and facilities for public entertainment, athletics and other sporting contests, gardens, meeting halls, running water, displays of statuary and art, and libraries all had a long pedigree in Rome, in private and latterly in public architecture;³⁰⁴ over time these were consolidated in bath houses, which, after the completion of Trajan's Forum came to be the principal expression of imperial euergetism in the city of Rome, providing a wide range of amenities for *otium* in a single complex in the manner of the elite villa. Agrippa's and Nero's baths, for example, took advantage of the large agglomeration of leisure and cultural facilities which already spread across the Campus Martius. Nero's baths were adjacent to Agrippa's gardens and Domitian added an odeon and a stadium to the west; the trend found its ultimate expression in the enormous complexes of Trajan, Caracalla, and Diocletian, all-encompassing venues for the edification of the body and mind – the Hellenistic gymnasium writ large and Romanised.

The SHA *Probus* passage, with its claims that a Trajanic library was moved into a bath-house, fits exactly with this trend and therefore has a claim to be taken seriously.

This model has implications for the public quality of libraries – if the trend was the aggregation into the *thermae* of various different elements of imperial euergetic architecture which had succeeded in attracting or impressing the public at large, it is interesting to find libraries in this category. We have already seen that the remains usually identified as bath-house libraries adopt and magnify elements of library design intended to keep books secure from a large visiting public, suggesting a large potential usership. Indeed, in their architecture surviving bath-house libraries are clearly related (or, at least,

³⁰³ Grimal 1969, 195.

³⁰⁴ Dix 1994, 282; cf Nielsen 1990, Vol. I p.58.

are identified on the basis of their similarity) to monumental public libraries of a distinctively Roman type, with their large and richly decorated chamber, book niches, podia and statuary. We might usefully compare works of art, another category of imperial cultural collection which was first displayed in civic and religious monuments but which came to be deployed extensively in imperial *thermae*, where the emperors' munificence would have found an especially wide audience.³⁰⁵

The inscriptions of the synod of athletes from Trajan's baths introduced the idea that provision could be made within the baths for the storage of official documents. It is unlikely that such a group would have generated particularly copious written records, although the explicit imperial provision for their storage suggests that their collection was not negligible. Much stronger evidence for the systematic collection of documents in Trajan's baths is to be found in a pair of inscriptions indicating that a collection of imperial rescripts was made and deposited by at least two emperors not (as we might expect) in the Bibliotheca Ulpia, where other sources record the storage of official papers, but "in the portico of the Baths of Trajan".

The first of the inscriptions is a rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the Imperial estate at Tymion, promising action against illegal exactions.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ The public display of art was an important element of Augustan cultural policy. Agrippa is said to have made a speech *de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis* (Pliny *HN* 35.9.26), a theme already voiced by Cato the Elder in his speech *Uti praeda in publicum referatur* (Malcovati 1955, no. 98): cf. Strong 1973, 248-249. Art works in the baths: Manderscheid 1981 and Marvin 1983, 347-384. The baths were also used as a display venue for honorific statues (i.e., a good place to catch an audience): *CIL* X 3714 (Liternum) for the transfer of honorific statues to the baths. See also Manderscheid 1981, 34ff.

³⁰⁶ Hauken 2003.

ΕΚΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΒΕΒΛΗΜΕΝΟΝΕΚΤΕΥΧΟΥΣ
 [ΒΙΒΛΙΔΙ]ΩΝΕΠΙΔΟΘΕΝΤΩΝΤΟΙΣΚΥΡΙΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ
 [ΤΟΡΣΙΚΑΙ]ΠΡΟΤΕΘΕΝΤΩΝΕΝΠΕΡ[Ι]ΣΤΟΩΘΕΡΜΩΝΤΡΑΙ
 [ΙΑΝΩΝ<ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ>]ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΚΑΘΩΣΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ

ἐκγεγραμμένον
 καὶ ἀντιβεβλημένον ἐκ τεύχους
 [βιβλιδί]ων ἐπιδοθέντων τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοκρά-
 [τορσι καὶ] προτεθέντων ἐν περ[ι]στώφ θερμῶν Τρα-
 [ιανῶν <ἀντίγραφον> ἀντιγραφῆς καθ'ὼς ὑποέγραπται

The second is a rescript of Gordian III (238-244) found inscribed in Bulgaria (Thrace).³⁰⁷

BONA FORTUNA
 FVLVIO PIO ET ρΟΗΤΙΟ ΠΡΟCVΛΟ CONS XVII KAL IAN DESCRIPTVM EI RECOGNITVM FACTVM
 ΕΧ ΛΒΡΟ ΙΒΕΛΛΟΡVΜ RESCRIPTOΡVΜ Α ΔΟΜΙΝΟ Ν ΙΜΡ CΑS Μ ΑΝΤΟΝΙΟ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟ ΠΙΟ FΕLΙCΕ ΑVΓ
 ΕΤ ΠΡΟΡΟΙΤΟΡVΜ ΡΟΜΑε ΙΝ ΡΟΤΙCη theRΜΑRVM ΤΡΑΙΑΝΑRVM ΙΝ VΕRΒΑ · q. Ι S S
 DAT PER AVR PVRRUM MIL COH X *pr p f g*ΟΡΔΙΑΝΑε 7 ΠΡΟCVΛΙ CΟΝΗCΑΝVm ET CΟΝΡΟESSOREM

Both inscriptions refer to a collection of imperial rescripts in book form which is to be found in the portico of the Baths of Trajan. Other documents that advertise an original copy in Rome often refer to an inscription to be found there; a large number of military *diplomata*, for example, refer to original copies in a location which can be associated with the library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus in the Forum at Rome.³⁰⁸ These third century texts, however, refer to a book or books, and the implications are several: that book collections – even of state papers – were not impossible in bath-houses; that such collections were housed in the porticoes of imperial *thermae*, where all the buildings identified as bath house libraries (including those of Trajan's baths) are to be found; and that they had a public quality of sorts, being at least nominal guarantors of an inscribed text's genuine provenance and accuracy. An archival function is entirely compatible with the usual function of Roman public libraries; the first

³⁰⁷ CIL III 12336

³⁰⁸ CIL XVI p.196f: military diplomata kept in the Templum Divi Augusti ad Minervam from 27th October AD 90 to 7th January AD 298.

such was founded in the Atrium Libertatis, where censorial records were kept, and there are numerous references to the storage of official papers in the libraries of Trajan's Forum which may have superseded Pollio's complex.³⁰⁹

There is, then, a wide variety of evidence which strongly suggests the presence in Roman imperial *thermae* of cultural activity, some of it connected to great festivals that were imperially sponsored and redolent of Greek gymnasium culture; this, together with the strong evidence for libraries in Hellenistic gymnasia themselves, strengthens the case for the positive identification of buildings in Trajan's and Caracalla's baths as libraries (identifications which the most recent excavations in each structure have affirmed), or at any rate makes it very likely that libraries could have been located somewhere within these complexes. The evidence for the collection of volumes of official papers in Trajan's baths offers further corroboration.

If libraries were incorporated in the great imperial *thermae* of Rome, we might also expect to find them in the provinces. Eastern bath buildings and in particular those of Asia Minor continued to incorporate a palaestra element which derived from the gymnasium, creating a new hybrid "bath-gymnasium complex" which combined local and Roman influences and which continued to house intellectual pursuits.³¹⁰ Since we have seen that Hellenistic gymnasia incorporated libraries well before their establishment in Rome, we might expect to find evidence for the incorporation of libraries in these bathing complexes.

None has yet been identified. The known public libraries of the Roman Greek East were stand-alone benefactions rather than part of bath-houses. The library at Nysa

³⁰⁹ For which see e.g. Lepper and Frere 1988, 12, and below, pp.131f.

³¹⁰ Yegül 1992, 250ff; Ward-Perkins 1981, 292. For intellectual pursuits in Eastern bath-houses in the Roman period, see Maccanico 1963, 59, citing Philostratus *VA*. 8.26. on Apollonius of Tyana and Aelius Aristides *Ἱερῶν Λόγων* B.I 487 D. For educational functions of provincial libraries see below p.323f.

is an example: although it is described as part of the gymnasium, the second century AD archaeological remains identified as the library are fully 150m away and built in the manner of a Roman public library.³¹¹

Rooms within bath-houses which contain many of the architectural features characteristic of Roman libraries (marble decoration, multi-tiered columnar screens, central statue apse, niches, and grandeur of scale and ornament) are often identified as 'Kaisersäle'.³¹² In its grandest manifestations, such as the marble hall of the Harbour Baths at Ephesus or the similar space at Sardis (Figure 20), this kind of architecture (lacking the stepped podia, staircases and ancillary rooms characteristic of libraries) is unambiguously designed to house statues, often of the emperor.



Figure 20 Kaisersaal in the bath-house at Sardis.
Photograph: author.

³¹¹ See above n.288.

³¹² Yegül 1992, 422-23. Examples include The Harbour, Eastern and Vedius baths at Ephesus, and baths at Sardis, Hierapolis, Anakra and Aphrodisias.

On a smaller scale, however, such rooms do begin to look very like libraries. Nielsen recognises this architectural ambiguity and comes down firmly in favour of identifying more such spaces as libraries, writing that “It is also likely that the so-called Kaisersäle in the bath-gymnasia of Asia Minor were in fact libraries.”³¹³

Re-labelling rooms as libraries on the basis of their architectural features can quickly become a methodologically suspect exercise, as the arguments involved risk collapsing into circularity or mere speculation (as in Bruce’s article on palace libraries).³¹⁴ Nonetheless, there are at several bath houses in Asia Minor which contain rooms whose context and decoration suggests at the least an intellectual or cultural function, and whose architecture makes them suitable for the housing of Roman-style libraries (which need not, of course, exclude the traditional kaisersaal identification: many provincial Roman libraries seem to have contained statues of the emperor). Without claiming a definite identification, two such rooms are worth a brief look as, with or without a library function, they contribute to the picture of intellectual activity in Roman-era bath-houses outlined above.

The Eastern baths at Ephesus, excavated in the early 1930s but now sadly overgrown, contain a porticoed palaestra housing a facing pair of eastern and western rooms, dated by Maccanico to a rebuild in the Severan period (Figure 21).³¹⁵ An intellectual or cultural function for the eastern room of this pair can be established on the basis of its lecture-theatre architecture: its interior was richly decorated and fitted with

³¹³ Nielsen 1990, vol I. 166; cf. *ibid.*, 163: “In the bath-gymnasia of Asia Minor there was often a so-called Kaisersaal, presumably for the emperor cult and at the same time used as a library.” Cf. Maccanico, 1963, 51-3 though Maccanico does not attribute a library use to these rooms.

³¹⁴ Bruce 1986.

³¹⁵ Miltner 1958, 75-78. Dating on the basis of the architectural forms and of an inscription “appartanente al tipo iconografico di Settimio Severi”: Maccanico 1963, 44-5.

tiers of seats, clearly designed for meetings of some sort.³¹⁶ The statues of a diademed priest of the imperial cult and a seated woman found in the building's portico have been identified as the well-known Ephesian sophist Flavius Damianus and his wife Vedia Phaidrina,³¹⁷ daughter of Vedius Antoninus, the eponymous donor of another set of public baths in Ephesus. Phaidrina's name can be reconstructed on a very partial inscription in the gymnasium's entrance hall. If Damianus was involved with the life of the baths or responsible for their refurbishment, facilities for lectures and disputations seem possible.

This raises the question of the likely function of the corresponding western room, which appears on plans of the building to have been fitted with an interior colonnade on a low podium. Yegül suggests that this was another kaisersaal,³¹⁸ but the proximity of a lecture hall suggests that a book collection would not have been out of place in this bath complex, and this room was certainly suitable for housing it. Passages of Galen discussed in Ch. IV.1 and the Hadrianic library at Athens (pp.279ff.) demonstrate a close connection between lecture theatres and public library collections, and a statue of Asclepius (rather than of an emperor) found in the room's central apse suggests a connection with the city's medical school.

Another bath-house with architectural and decorative elements suggesting an intellectual function is the Baths of Faustina at Miletus (c.AD 160). Here a long ambulatory lined with recesses for private dining or conversation (sometimes also interpreted as an apodyterium) terminates in a roofed exedra lined with niches and bordering a palaestra (M in Figure 22). This room is known as the Mouseion or "Muses Hall" from the statues of Apollo and the Muses found there and subsequently kept in

³¹⁶ It is possible, though, that the room was used for non-intellectual pursuits, such as meetings of a gerousia or other civic or collegiate body.

³¹⁷ Maccanico 1963, 54. Damianus: *Forschungen in Ephesos, veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut* III 161, n.80 and 168, n.8; Phaidrina: 167 n.7.

³¹⁸ cf Thomas 1993, 154 and Pl. LXXVII Fig. 4.1.27.

Istanbul.³¹⁹ This decorative programme clearly suggests a cultural function,³²⁰ the possible presence of private chambers as well as the larger space of the apsed room might indicate that both public lectures and private discussions took place here. The presence of books, perhaps kept in one or more of the ten niches of the Mouseion, would not have been inappropriate to either function.

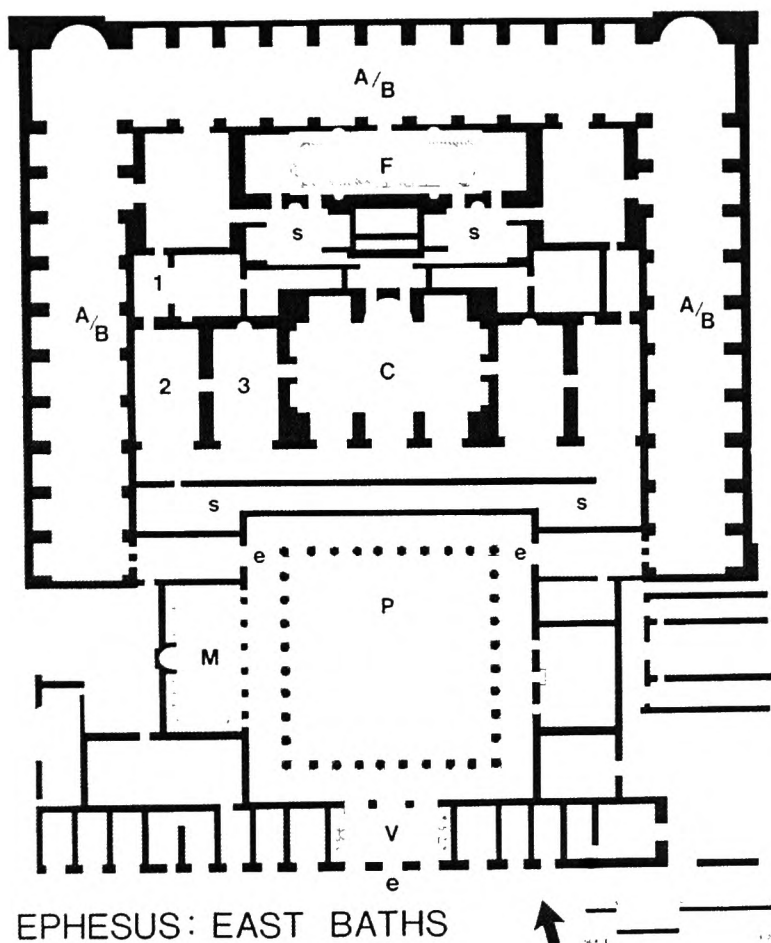


Figure 21 Eastern Baths, Ephesus. Western 'library' room/kaisersaal labelled M. Yegül 1992, 280 fig. 351.

³¹⁹ Yegül 1992, 291 and 414.

³²⁰ For the obvious associations between libraries and statues of Apollo and the Muses and libraries, see e.g. pp. 32, 36, 224, 248.

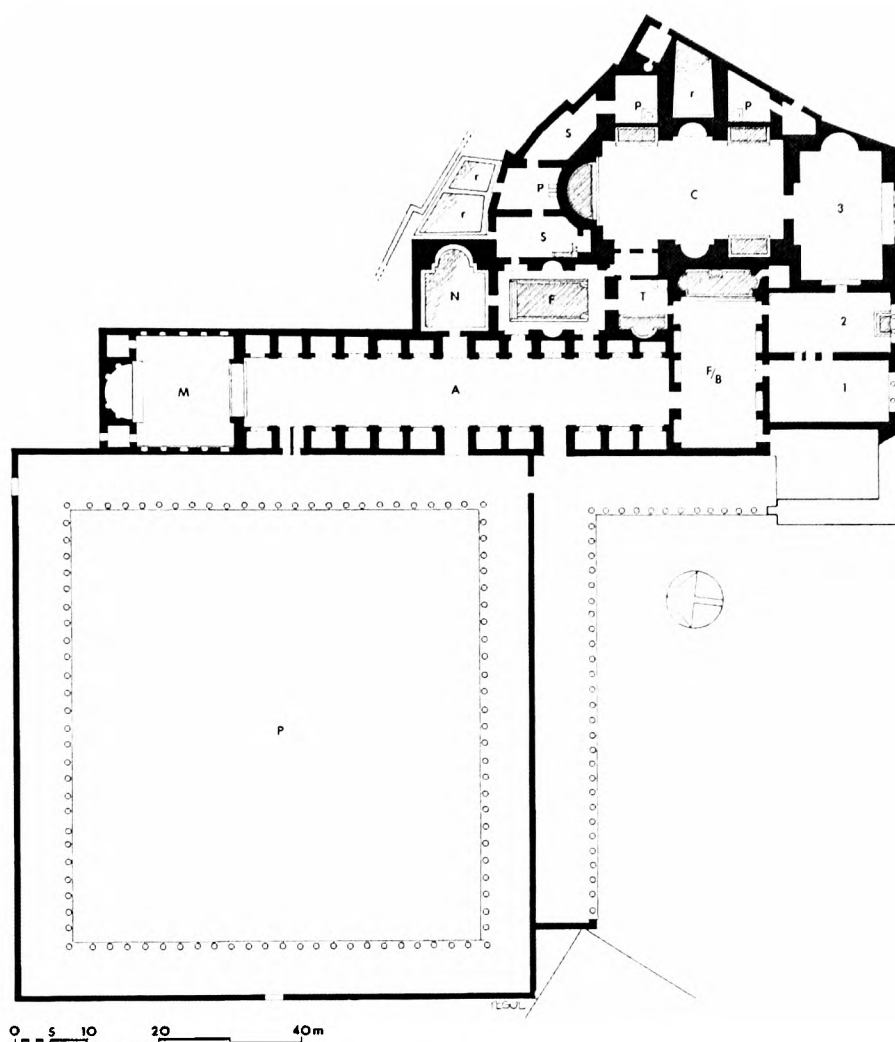


Figure 22 Baths of Faustina, Miletus. Mouseion indicated with letter M.
Yegül 1992, 292 fig. 373.

Whether or not these rooms ever held libraries – and that must remain a matter of speculation – it is clear that the baths in which they are found incorporated other architectural and decorative elements which are highly suggestive of literary, intellectual and cultural activity. As such they reflect the combination of aspects of the Hellenistic gymnasium with Roman bath buildings which in Rome gave rise to the large imperial *thermae* described above. In each case the presence of architecture that at least looks similar to that employed in Roman public libraries is illuminating; the fact that library buildings in the Roman world were deliberately fashioned to resemble other types of

monumental or commemorative building is an important aspect of their design and reflects their public identity.

III - PRACTICALITIES: THE OPERATION OF ROMAN LIBRARIES

Library Contents: books

With such a large range of materials in their collections, Rome's libraries soon became established as prestigious and useful literary institutions, and began to attract copies of contemporary works. The ready-made collections re-housed by Augustus thus functioned as seed capital, establishing the imperial collections as Rome's premier resource for both research and prestigious "publication" (both are discussed in Section IV). As existing collections were bought up or inherited by the public libraries, the proclivities of their previous owners may have survived on the shelves of their new homes.

Though emperors enjoyed a huge head-start through their acquisitions of ready-made collections, it is suggested below that the imperial libraries were also intended to stand as testaments to the cultural output of the reigns of the emperors who built them; the regular provision of new libraries must have been due in part to the filling up of old ones, and if the majority of works that filled at least the Latin sections of the imperial libraries were roughly contemporary with the buildings that housed them, then widespread duplication of holdings would be avoided. Celsus' library at Ephesus was provided with an endowment for the regular purchase of new books, and it is not impossible that patrons guided the acquisitions of their respective libraries to avoid excessive duplication of material already held elsewhere.

Each library, though, would also have held identical cores of literary 'classics'; Suetonius claims that Caligula tried to ban Livy and Virgil from all his libraries, which indicates that they all held copies.³²¹ Since Ovid's book in *Tristia* 3.1 attempts entry into all three public libraries of Augustan Rome, it seems that all three would have contained

³²¹ Suetonius *Calig.* 34.2.

contemporary poetry, for example, and maybe even duplicate copies of works held elsewhere in the library system. This arrangement of the libraries' acquisition policies would not have allowed extensive specialisation. Casson disagrees, arguing that Gellius' stories of finding obscure grammatical works in the Library of the Templum Pacis demonstrates that this library specialised in such works.³²² This is possible, but the specialism cannot have been an exclusive one: Galen, writing at around the same time, states that the Templum Pacis was also a centre of medical disputation, holding *inter alia* many of Galen's own works.³²³

The great majority of texts surviving from antiquity, including all those from the Villa of the Papyri, were written on scrolls, and books in scroll form would have formed the core collection of Roman libraries. Ancient libraries were arranged for the *volumen*, not the codex, although it is suggested below that certain archival documents in the libraries may have been recorded on media other than the standard papyrus scroll.³²⁴ Though there is some speculation about the titlature of many ancient works, it seems clear that they did have titles and that these were often written on tags at the end of each scroll to identify the volume.³²⁵

It is clear from many authors, including Catullus, Ovid, Petronius, Lucian, and Martial that presentation copies of books had several decorative and functional embellishments such as slipcases, smoothed and oiled surfaces, tituli, coloured inks, and

³²² Casson 2001, 101; citing Gellius 16.8.2, 5.21.9 for which see below pp.172ff.

³²³ Galen returned to Rome in AD 169; Gellius' *NA* were published in around AD 180. See Ch. IV.1 for a discussion of library references in both authors.

³²⁴ Higher quality papyrus (with longer pith strips) could be manufactured into sheets of greater width, so there was a correlation, according to Pliny *HN* 13.21.68ff., between the size and the quality of the various grades of papyrus. The premium grades, interestingly, are named after members of the imperial house: Claudia, Augusta, Livia, hieratica, amphitheatrica, anniana, Saitica, Taentiotica, emporetica. This may be a pretty piece of sycophancy on the part of papyrus producers, or it might indicate serious imperial interest in or regulation of the book trade; recall Pliny's fable about the invention of vellum having arisen from a dispute between a Pergamene Euemenes and an Alexandrian Ptolemy, and that Augustus assumed control of the priesthood of the Egyptian mouseion.

³²⁵ e.g. Cicero *Att.* 4.8: *nihil venustius quam illa tua pegmata, postquam mi sillybis libros inlustrarunt.* Cf Figure 29 and Kenney 1989. For titles of ancient books, see Horsfall 1981.

winding bosses of ivory or even gold;³²⁶ Ovid in particular suggests that imperial library copies were the acme of the bookmaker's art,³²⁷ while Martial describes a luxury presentation copy thus:

*numquam grandia nec molesta poscit
quae cedro decorata purpuraque
nigris pagina crevit umbilicis.*

Martial *Ep.* 5.6.13-15

Library copies were both prestigious and, presumably, made strong to enough to survive the rigours of library life. This made them expensive items,³²⁸ and it is not surprising that surviving library buildings incorporate a number of features designed to protect them: damp-proof double walls, high podia to raise the books as far off the floor as possible and to keep them out of easy arm's reach, and *armaria* deep enough to be provided with protective doors.³²⁹

Although it isn't easy to tell how big ancient library books would have been, papyrus finds at Elephantis and Herculaneum, and a collection of petition documents from Egypt, suggest a mean length of 20-30cm, with a few exceptions at either end of the scale.³³⁰ Since the depth of the wall-niches in surviving Roman libraries varies from 50cm to 76cm,³³¹ it is clear than papyri could be stacked end on with plenty of room for wooden fittings, shelves, book cases and doors.

³²⁶ Lucian, *Ind.* 7 for gold umbilici. For more on umbilici, see Sève 1990 and Blümner 1916 who is of the opinion that there was a baton at each end of the scroll; Hunger 1961, 44 thinks not – he envisages, like Birt 1907, 94 a single, loose roller not attached to the book.

³²⁷ *Tr.* 3.1.13

³²⁸ Martial *Ep.* 1.117 10ff states a price of 5 denarii for a moderately nice copy of his own works.

³²⁹ For doors, see Sève 1990 and Wendel 1943, esp. 268. Attested only for later ages: see also Husson 1983a, 117-118, and *id.* 1983b, 156. – a reference in the law of St Pachome to putting books away under key at night.

³³⁰ Sève 1990, 175. p.13-15. Elephantis: Rubensohn 1907, 5. Herculaneum: Cavallo 1983, 14-19 and 47-8. Egyptian petitions: Guéraud 1931, xix-xx.

³³¹ Sève 1990 tabulates their depths.

Library contents: archives

The study of ancient archives is a separate and growing field. There are clear parallels, though, between the creation and storage of archival material and the foundation of libraries.³³² Sometimes there is a direct overlap: at least some public libraries also sustained an archival function for the storage on record of various types of public document; the distinction between library and archive was not clear-cut in the ancient world. We have already seen that the Atrium Libertatis, which housed Pollio's first public library, also contained censorial records and the bronze tablets of the law, beginning an association between public libraries and the public storage of documents that found expression in several later libraries.³³³

Republican Rome had a long history of collecting archives of various sorts, including the *commentarii* of various offices and priesthoods, the *Acta Senatus*, *Fasti*,³³⁴ the senatorial *codices librariorum* with which the mob fired Clodius' funeral pyre in 52BC,³³⁵ records of treaties and dispatches to the senate,³³⁶ and census figures.³³⁷

The Sibylline books offer an interesting link between this world of separate archival deposits in temples and state buildings and the new imperial libraries. The prophetic books were recopied after the fire of 82BC destroyed the original collection in the Capitoline temple, in an effort of collection and recension which recalls the Pisistratean recension of Homer. By the early principate variant copies were in

³³² E.g. Beard 1998, 99: 'legitimizing the day to day practice of recording, documenting, writing, inscribing and consulting, was the presence of the emperor himself – the perfect implied reader of every priestly archive.' Cf *Mémoire* 1994, 1998.

³³³ E.g. the library at Aphrodisias, App. 5. No. 15.

³³⁴ For an association between the display of *Fasti* and a possible literary/library building, see pp.32-34.

³³⁵ *Asconius Mil.* 33. For arguments that these codices were wooden or wood-and-wax tablets of the conventional sort, see e.g. Cencetti 1940, 14 n.29.

³³⁶ Numerous instances of senatorial dispatches are recorded, chiefly by Livy (e.g. 22.30; 22.56; 23.11; 23.21; 23.29; 23.48; 23.38, and many (over a hundred) others). It seems likely that such dispatches were kept in a senatorial archive, and/or in the private collections of the statesmen involved.

³³⁷ Livy also seems to have had access to detailed census figures. A list of statements of Rome's population by ancient authors shows that only Livy's figures regularly end in a precise number, rather than a figure rounded to the nearest thousand: Brunt 1971, 13; cf. Toynbee 1965, vol. 1 438ff. I am grateful to Mr Jakob Schulz for these references.

circulation, and Augustus ordered all to be delivered to the praetor urbanus, forbidding private ownership (the severity of this edict suggests that anti-Augustan prophecies might have been circulating). The majority of the texts thus gathered were burned, with those considered genuine *conditique duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi*.³³⁸ Here, then, we see an imperial interest in the control and display in an Augustan space of important documents; the final home of the approved books was in a part of the Palatine already used for the public housing of other approved books under the tutelage of Apollo.

There are also references to the storage and consultation of state papers in Rome's public libraries themselves. The *HLA* locates in the library of Trajan's Forum both the *libri lintei* and an ivory book containing a senatorial decree.³³⁹ More reliable is Gellius who found a praetorian edict there (*NA* 11.17). The Marble plan suggests that the Atrium Libertatis was rehoused in Trajan's Forum.³⁴⁰ As the burning of public debt records is attested in this Forum on two occasions, we might imagine that the libraries there also included the heavy folios of censorial records shown on earlier reliefs (Figure 23, Figure 24), as well as the records of manumitted slaves kept in the Atrium Libertatis and the imperial censorial records which would have accumulated after Domitian assumed the perpetual censorship in AD80; these would be doubly appropriate in a complex which united imperial and censorial collections.

A pair of inscriptions discussed above in the context of bath-house libraries indicate archival collections of imperial rescripts in book form, while outside Rome the words for library and archive can be interchangeable: the Κεστοί of Julius Africanus say that a variant passage of Homer can be found ἐν τε τοῖς ἀρχείοις of Jerusalem and Nysa (for which library see n.288 above and p.296 below) as well as Rome, and a papyrus from

³³⁸ Suetonius *Aug.* 31. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.

³³⁹ *Libri lintei*: SHA *Aur* 1; ivory book Tac. 8.

³⁴⁰ On the evidence of the Forma Urbis, frg.25; above p.16 with n.84. Cf. Sidonius *Carm.* ii.544-45. Menghini 2002 p.661 and 666-7 is in favour of this interpretation; Purcell 1993 against it.



Figure 23 Censorial records on the “Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus”. Late first century BC (Stilp 2001).
Ramage and Ramage 1995, 66 fig. 2.23.

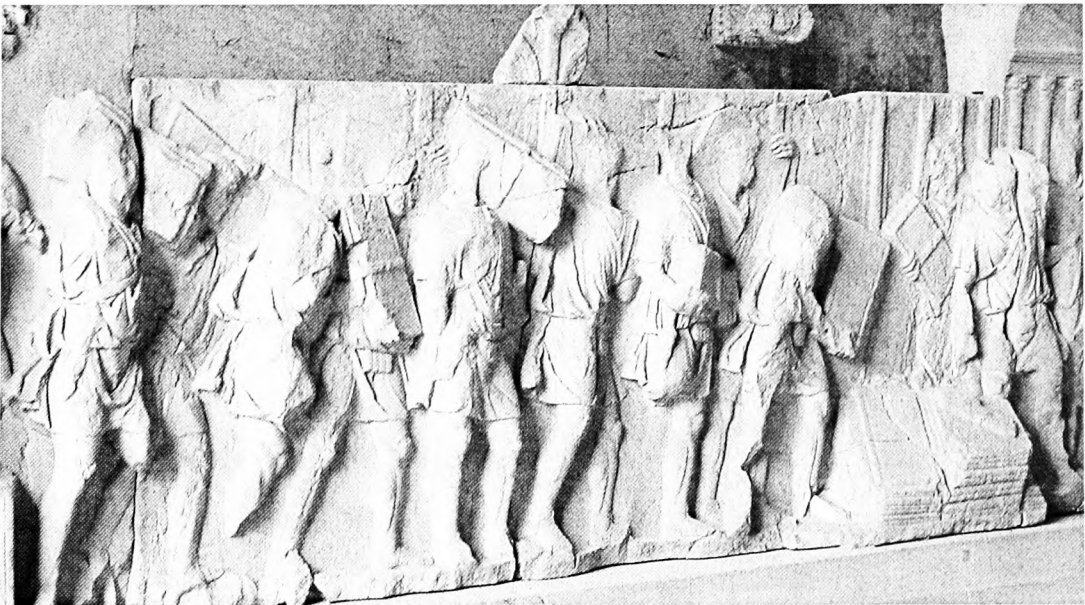


Figure 24 Censorial records on the Trajanic plutei (early 2nd C AD), Rome.
Photograph: author.

Oxyrhynchus preserves a proclamation of the *praefectus Aegypti* Titus Flavius Titianus relating to the deposition of legal documents in a purpose-built archive at Alexandria known as ἡ Ἀδριάνου βιβλιοθήκη.³⁴¹ A fifth century AD inscription from the library of Hadrian in Athens mentions both a μυθῶν and a θεσμῶν ταμῆς, suggesting both a literary and an archival function.³⁴² A similar overlap of functions is suggested by an inscription of AD 193 (Appendix 4 no. 15) which records the writing of an honorary decree in the public library in Suessa Aurunca in Southern Latium, implying that it also functioned as a civic archive. This library was named after Matidia, Hadrian's sister-in-law, a niece of Trajan's sister and aunt of Antoninus Pius, making it likely that there was an imperial connection here too; the *HLA* tells us that Marcus Aurelius ordered the establishment of provincial archives.³⁴³

Various public archives in the Greek-speaking Roman world are attested epigraphically and in papyri.³⁴⁴ The archive building at Cyrene in north Africa provides an interesting point of comparison between the architecture such archives and public libraries. The imperial-era archive building can be identified on the basis of inscribed lists of archivists found there which date back to 17BC,³⁴⁵ and a large number of clay signet-ring impressions. It consists of a small courtyard (with a Domitianic inscription) and an adjacent rectangular hall rebuilt after a destructive event that might coincide with the Jewish revolt of AD 115. With its courtyard, internal colonnade, provision for air circulation where the wall abuts an adjacent temple structure, and especially its wall

³⁴¹ Nysa: *POxy* III.412, lines 59-62. cf Callmer 1944, 167. Alexandria: *POxy* I.34, col.3.5f – [βιβλιοθήκης] διὰ τοῦτο κατασκευασθείσης μάλιστα [ὄ]πως μηδὲν τῶν παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον πρασσομένων ἀγνοῖται.

³⁴² App. 5 no 5 with Sisson 1929, 64.

³⁴³ *SHA Marc.* 9.7-9.

³⁴⁴ E.g. at Priene in von Gaertringen 1906, Nos. 113 and 14, late first C BC decrees of Zosimos relating to the collection and custody of books of public documents. Platthy Nos. 154-56

³⁴⁵ Goodchild 1993, 48-9. *SEG* IX.1.131 l.1; *ibid.* n°. 132 l.1; *ibid.* n°. 133 l.6, 11.16-18; *ibid.* n°. 134 ll.5-6; *ibid.* n°.135 l.1; *SEG* XX n° 736 ll.11-13.

niches for document storage, the building bears more than a passing resemblance to the architecture of Roman public libraries.



Figure 25 Public archive building (nomophylakion) at Cyrene, Libya.
NB the storage niches and column base on the right-hand wall. Photograph: author.

Libraries as guarantors of text

There are interesting parallels between this important civic function of public libraries and the monumental display in other contexts of documents that could not be meaningfully consulted in a practical way: both are connected to the symbolic value of the public library and the way that emperors' generosity with information of various sorts asserted their ownership of it. Luigi Moretti, for example, observes that the inscribed *acta ludorum saecularium* could not have been read by an observer at ground level, since it is

written in tiny characters on a stele three metres tall.³⁴⁶ The Severan Marble Plan, attached to a wall some 17m tall,³⁴⁷ is a similar case, as are the bronze diplomata deposited in the Temple of the Deified Augustus for over two hundred years:³⁴⁸ in all these cases the collection, preservation and display of archival documents are more important than presenting the documents in a way conducive to easy consultation.

The parallels with public libraries are clear. Even if we decide that the readership of these libraries was relatively small, the buildings themselves formed part of the Roman predilection for public display of collected documentation or knowledge. The number of Romans who actually wanted to read Lucius Aelius' *Commentary on Axioms* in the Library of the Templum Pacis was probably minimal,³⁴⁹ but so was the number who wanted to take detailed measurements of obscure buildings in outlying regions of Rome from the adjacent Forma Urbis: an important point of both monuments was the public display of imperial mastery over, and generosity with, information of various sorts. This explains the public aspect of library architecture described above, with encompassed wide-open ground-level entrances, monumentalised public-style decoration and a marked inefficiency of space which can only be accounted for by the need to maintain a monumental public character. Although I argue elsewhere that there seems, in fact, to have been quite a high level of demand for public library resources, it is important to make clear that Roman libraries were truly public buildings which played an important public rôle dissociate from the number of readers they may have accommodated.

Another library connection becomes apparent when considering the examples mentioned above: it is likely that in some of these cases the keeping of copies in a more accessible form compensated for the practical non-utility of the documents or archives

³⁴⁶ Moretti 1984.

³⁴⁷ E.g. Carettoni *et al.* 1960; Rodríguez-Almeida 1981.

³⁴⁸ See n.308.

³⁴⁹ Gellius 16.8.2.

on monumental display. The epigraphic version of the *acta ludorum saecularium* complemented archival copies in a more accessible form; the buildings housing the bronze military diplomata (Tiberius' Temple of the Deified Augustus in the Roman Forum) and the marble Forma Urbis (Vespasian's Templum Pacis) also housed libraries which could have held archival copies of those documents.³⁵⁰ The same is true, of course, of one of antiquity's most famous and elaborate illegible monuments, the Column of Trajan, which stood between the two libraries of Trajan's Forum. Coarelli argues that the Column can be read as "a figurative version of a written text, which we have proposed as Trajan's *commentarii de bello Dacico*, probably housed in the Bibliotheca Ulpia (*commentarii* are archive documents by definition)."³⁵¹

If we accept that library copies complemented the monumental display of these various types of document, then an interesting new aspect of library function is revealed. Even if we discard Coarelli's colourful but controversial suggestion, the deliberate proximity between these monuments and public libraries still sheds light on the perceived rôle of each within the urban landscape: libraries themselves seem to have been seen as public displays of information and text in the same way as unreadable but impressive epigraphic and iconographic displays such as those mentioned above. Whether or not large numbers of people read the books in them is only one aspect of their function.

³⁵⁰ The original cadastres on which the Forma Urbis was based may have been kept in the adjacent office of the urban prefecture, but the point is still valid. Coarelli 1991.

³⁵¹ Coarelli 2000.

Latin and Greek sections

It is a commonplace of Roman library history that the public libraries of Rome were divided into Latin and Greek sections, housed in separate buildings. This assumption is widely voiced but frequently goes unchallenged, and has been allowed to determine the interpretation of archaeological remains. The twin library rooms in Trajan's Forum and the imperial *thermae*, for instance, are frequently labelled as 'Greek' and 'Latin' libraries³⁵² and, even when there is no archaeological evidence for the form of a library building, a reconstruction of separate Greek and Latin rooms is posited on the basis of this supposedly consistent element of Roman library design.³⁵³

There is in fact very little evidence for the systematic architectural separation of book collections by language. The assumption that such separation was a common feature of Roman public libraries is based on an unsound combination of epigraphic and literary evidence for Augustan libraries with the archaeological remains of later structures, ignoring the monocalamular buildings which make up a large proportion of identifiable library remains. It is certainly possible that some Roman public libraries contained a formal division between their Latin and Greek sections – the Augustan libraries, and particularly those of the Palatine (referred to both in the singular and the plural by different authors),³⁵⁴ are the most likely candidates – but it is certain that others did not.

The literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that parallel collections of Greek and Latin books were very important elements of the identity of the first public libraries

³⁵² E.g. Makowiecka 1978, 61 and n.30 on Trajan's baths: "The two semi-circular exedrae... corresponded to the division of books into Greek and Latin collections."

³⁵³ E.g. de Vleeschauwer 1958, 50 and Makowiecka 1978, 29, which suggests that Pollio's Atrium Libertatis library introduced "one innovation, namely that of the introduction of two separate halls for storing Greek and Latin collection" There is no evidence whatsoever to support this. Callmer 1944, 159: "Im allgemeinen hatten die römischen Bibliotheken eine griechische und eine lateinische Abteilung."

³⁵⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; plural: Suet. *Gram.* 20 - *Palatinae bibliothecae*, (though NB the existence of the library in the Domus Tiberiana on the Palatine); Dio 53.1.3 - τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων.

at Rome. Julius Caesar's abortive library plans explicitly included texts in both languages; Pollio's library, the first at Rome, and Augustus' Palatine library were also identified by later authors as having had bilingual collections:

bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare

Suetonius *Iul.* 44

bibliothecas publicavit Pollio Graecas simul atque Latinas

Isidorus *Etym.* 6.5.2

Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit... addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque

Suetonius *Aug.* 29.

This conspicuous inclusion of both Latin and Greek collections accorded with the cultural spirit of the times, as statesmen and authors of the first century BC sought to establish Rome's parity with the great cultural centres of the Hellenistic east, translating, imitating and adapting Greek models in order that *Graeciae nihil cedamus*.³⁵⁵ In this process the Augustan libraries were, as Horsfall writes, an "essential symbol of cultural pride and... [a] powerful stimulus to literary activity."³⁵⁶ It is hardly surprising to find that Augustus and other library-minded men of the period intended their collections to house both Greek and Latin works.

But was this bilingualism necessarily reflected in the architecture and organisation of the libraries? A culture of Latin emulation of Greek works might just as well shelve precedent and successor together by genre as separate them by language. The linguistic evidence by itself is not sufficient to argue that bicameralism was standard practice,³⁵⁷ and there is little firm evidence for the architectural form of any library at Rome before the age of Trajan. A fragment of the *Forma Urbis* showing a pair of identical apsidal halls is often interpreted as showing the Palatine libraries (Figure 26), but these structures are

³⁵⁵ Cicero *Leg.* 1.5. cf. Virgil *Buc.* 6.1; Propertius 3.1.2f.; Horace *Carm.* 3.1.2f; 3.30.13f. *Epist.* 1.19.23f; Ovid *Ars. Am.* 3.346. Horsfall 1993, 62-4.

³⁵⁶ Horsfall 1993, 58.

³⁵⁷ Corbier 1992, 899.

now thought to date from a Flavian remodelling after fires in AD 64 and 80, partly on the evidence of brickstamps found in the excavation of the area.³⁵⁸ The relevant portion of the Porticus Octaviae is unexcavated and missing from the Forma Urbis, and Asinius Pollio's library was probably obliterated in the massive redevelopments of the imperial fora throughout the first and early second centuries AD.

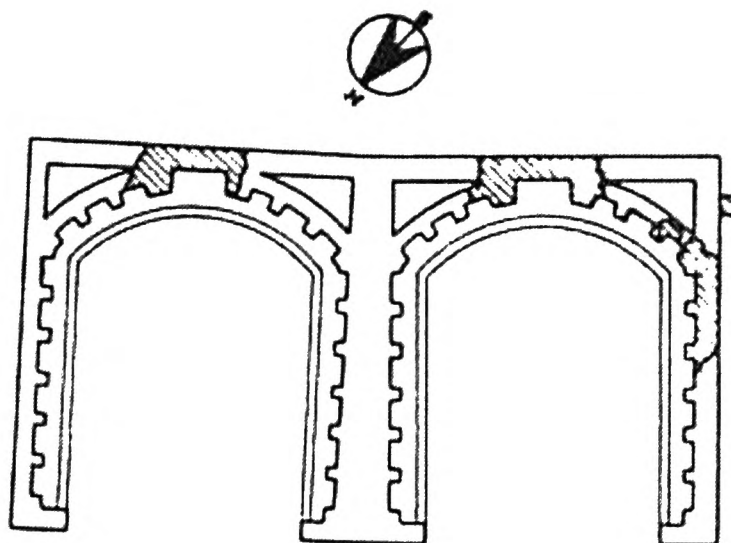


Figure 26 Libraries of the Palatine Apollo complex.

After de Gregori 1937, S.13.

There is some evidence for a division of library staff along linguistic lines. Various inscriptions name directors of Rome's *bibliothecarum Latinarum et Graecarum* or βιβλιοθηκῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν.³⁵⁹ No inscription mentions a director only of one language or the other, however, and even if such a post existed it would not necessarily imply that individual libraries were divided into two sections under the purview of different officials. There are inscriptions recording attendants and *vilici* of the

³⁵⁸ For the fire: Dio 62.18.2 and Tacitus *Ann.* 15.39 *et palatium et domus et cuncta circum* were destroyed. On the marble plan's library buildings: in favour of the Flavian date is Thompson 1981. Bruce 1986, 554 agrees. Cf Corbier 1992. Strocka 1981, 308 disagrees, arguing that the Flavian building follows the earlier library design.

³⁵⁹ Appendix 2 nos. 9-10.

Latin and Greek libraries of the Porticus Octaviae and the Palatine Temple of Apollo.³⁶⁰ These indicate specialism but not necessarily language-based collections held in physically separate spaces. The collections could have been held together but cared for by staff with a specialist knowledge of one or other language, and other divisions of the libraries' holdings, perhaps by genre, seem at least equally plausible: Horsfall states that "it is highly unlikely that Roman librarians did not follow the main lines of the Alexandrian (and probably Pergamene) divisions of literature in genres for which canons existed (epic, tragedy, iambi, lyric, oratory, elegy, etc.);"³⁶¹ we might compare the subject divisions of Callimachus' *Pinakes*. In the same important article, Horsfall (who, like most commentators, seems to accept the existence of separate Latin and Greek libraries) argues that the Palatine library was intended to provide an 'instantly striking and verifiable...visual representation of... poetic aspirations [to primacy in Latin]', and this would have been much easier to achieve in a library organised by genre rather than language. Moreover, it is possible that material from outside the traditional canon of Classical παιδεία was held in Roman libraries, in the same way that the Ptolemaic library at Alexandria held a translation of the Septuagint:³⁶² a universal, cosmopolitan display of knowledge would strain at the conventional division into Latin and Greek works.

The evidence for bicameral division by language is at best ambiguous; in the case of the Palatine library the balance might be tipped in favour of dual Latin and Greek library rooms by Suetonius' use of the plural *bibliothecae* and a papyrus fragment recording the reception of an Alexandrian embassy by Augustus [ἐν τῇ Ρωμαϊκῇ βιβλιοθηκῇ (*sic*),³⁶³ but the scholia to Juvenal suggest a quite different division which appears to have escaped most writers on the subject: *bibliothecam iuris civilis et liberalium studiorum in templo*

³⁶⁰ Appendix 3 nos. 2-6, 9-10, 13-14, 17, possibly 20.

³⁶¹ Horsfall 1993, 62. Cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 207; Horsfall 1992, 123ff.

³⁶² e.g. Carthaginian material or Apuleius' list of mages: see pp.6, 178. Septuagint: *Letter of Aristeas* 9-11, Josephus *AJ* 12.2.

³⁶³ Suetonius *Iul.* 56.7 with White 1992, 214 and n.14; *P. Oxy.* 2435 verso. Lobel and Turner 1959, 108.

*Apollinis Palatini dedicavit Augustus.*³⁶⁴ Suetonius also mentions plural libraries in the Porticus Octaviae, where we know nothing of the architectural arrangements.³⁶⁵

Even if the Augustan libraries were bicameral and divided by language, there is little reason to suppose that later libraries necessarily followed the Augustan precedent. The first archaeological remains of a bicameral library are those of the Bibliotheca Ulpia (Figure 4). These are conventionally identified as Greek and Latin libraries, an identification which persists in the latest studies of the Forum and its buildings.³⁶⁶ There is, however, no evidence at all that the library's holdings were thus organised, and other divisions seem at least equally likely. We have seen, for example, that a large quantity of archival material was held there; we might therefore imagine a division between archives and state papers in one library, and works of literature in the other. The fifth century aristocratic author and high official Sidonius Apollinaris boasts of having his statue in both libraries;³⁶⁷ a division at this date between literature and official papers, in both of which fields Sidonius could have contributed items to the libraries, would make more sense of such a claim than a notional division between Latin and Greek.

The other surviving bicameral library buildings are those of the great imperial bath-houses of Rome, where the twin library rooms stand on opposite sides of the bath complexes' perimeter walls – a distance of over 300m at the Baths of Trajan. Such an arrangement would have made any kind of systematic division of the collection an impediment to serious readers, and a linguistic division deeply eccentric. Duplication of holdings, or division by genre, seems more likely here.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴ Scholia to Juvenal 1.128. cf de Vleeschauwer 1958, 64.

³⁶⁵ Suetonius *Gram.* 21.

³⁶⁶ E.g. Packer, 2001, 39, 78.

³⁶⁷ Sidonius *Ep.* 9.16.25-8. See also below, p225.

³⁶⁸ We might compare papyrus finds bearing lists of books, which do not seem to show division by language but do display some organisation by genre: e.g. Otranto 2000, nos. 3, 6, 8, and 14-19; Cockle 1987, 22, n.14; Funghi and Savorelli, 1992, 77.

There are also plenty of monocameral libraries, including all known provincial examples and at least two great “state” libraries built by imperial sponsors. Vespasian’s *Templum Pacis* certainly held works in both Latin and Greek, but seems to have been housed in a single room.³⁶⁹ Hadrian’s library in Athens closely followed the Flavian complex in its design, and here too the library was accommodated in a single, central hall. The library of Celsus at Ephesus, with its bilingual dedicatory inscriptions and ample reference to the cultures of East and West in its decorative programme,³⁷⁰ is certain to have held books in both languages; but here, too, all the books were housed together in a single room.

In summary, then, there is plenty of evidence for the existence of Greek and Latin book collections in the public libraries of the Augustan era, when Roman parity with Greece and comparisons with the great libraries of Pergamum and Alexandria were important aspects of Rome’s swiftly evolving cultural identity. There is less evidence for an architectural manifestation of this bilingualism, and none at all to connect it to those later libraries (by no means all) that adopted twin chambered configurations.

³⁶⁹ Works housed there included medical texts by Galen and a work on axioms in Latin mentioned by Gellius: see below Ch.IV.1. For the location of the library within the *Templum Pacis*, see Makowiecka 1978, 42-49.

³⁷⁰ Smith 1998, 56-93, and below Ch. V.1, esp. pp.291f. and 302.

Use of public libraries

The services and facilities offered by the libraries to readers are also difficult to reconstruct from the sources. Several different views are expressed by modern scholars, but the prevailing trend is to view the ancient library as a difficult place to work, certainly unsuited to mass usership: uncatalogued, sparsely furnished and suitable only for groups of scholars with attendant slaves or pupils for copyists. This view depends on very slender evidence, and counterarguments can be levied against it.

It seems sensible to reconstruct a reader's experience from start to finish; the first question, then, is how a reader might have been granted or refused access to a library (although the audience to whom these buildings was wider than just those who wanted to enter to read; this is discussed below).

Whether or how their entry to the buildings was controlled is a matter for speculation; some degree of access control seems likely, but the monumental architecture of surviving public libraries and their location of several libraries in prominent imperial monuments, busy streets or public baths seems to indicate that they were also intended to be accessible or at least visible to a numerous population of mixed socio-economic status. Whether access was limited is therefore no means clear; the ancient sources are silent on the matter, and there is insufficient archaeological evidence.

There was presumably some control on entry to prevent theft and preserve an appropriately calm atmosphere.³⁷¹ At Ephesus the closing of the library's door has worn deep scratches into the marble threshold. The architecture of Roman libraries in general, with interiors on show but protected by metal screens and with podia keeping the books just beyond easy reach, shows a careful balance between accessibility, display and protection which would be consistent with a monitoring of entry, but what form this

³⁷¹ See n.175 above for book theft.

took is unattested and may have varied from library to library. Langie goes so far as to propose that library users had to present a reader's ticket in order to gain admittance. Quite how such a system could have been operated in an age before printing is hard to see, and only one piece of evidence is adduced, a reference in Cicero to a man who managed to forge confidential state papers by forging the signatures of the *sex-primi*, a Collegiate board of *decuriones*.³⁷² Although the ticket idea is an attractive one, since it allows access to more readers than simply those known to the doorman, it is not proven: Langie's Cicero reference probably refers to a written permit necessary to view specific documents rather than to gain entrance to the building where they were held which, at any rate, cannot have been a public library at this date but was more likely the tabularium or a temple archive. On the other hand, Ovid's portrayal of his books' being refused entry to Rome's Augustan libraries, and Marcus Aurelius' reference to a bribeable custodian suggest the presence of porters or door staff of some sort.³⁷³

Catalogues and shelving

Once inside a library, most scholars concur that a reader would have depended on trained attendants to bring him his books in the absence of a catalogue. Small, for example, states that 'alphabetic library catalogues did not exist before the twelfth century, and it was not until the fifteenth century that both shelf-lists and alphabetical listings were considered necessary.'³⁷⁴

Public library architecture does indeed impose a slight distance between readers and books, and I will argue below that the libraries were staffed by trained specialists. However, it also seems that the holdings of Roman libraries were well organised and

³⁷² Cicero, *Nat. D.* 3.74.

³⁷³ Ovid *Tr.* 3.1.67-8: *custos me sedibus illis praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.*

³⁷⁴ Small 1997, 45.

equipped with some sort of catalogue which readers (and staff) could consult for themselves. An aprioristic argument from the physical disposition of the libraries suggests that a library whose holdings were divided into discrete cupboards of limited size, often set over more than one storey, would operate much more efficiently if the disposition of its holdings (which ran to tens of thousands of scrolls)³⁷⁵ were recorded and accessible to staff or visitors. One might compare the instinct for tidiness, symmetry, and order evident in the libraries' overall design and decoration, and the contemporary Roman urge to collect, classify, and compare evident in, for example, the works of Athenaeus and the Elder Pliny. Roman archival practice also relied on principles of alphabetical ordering and numbered storage locations.³⁷⁶ All of this, and the fact that the libraries seem to have been designed for and to have received regular use, make it possible that their contents were properly ordered.³⁷⁷

This is all very well, but it requires the support of evidence; fortunately enough survives to give a useful impression. The library list and catalogue were not Roman inventions. Callimachus' *Pinakes* may have been a catalogue of the holdings of the library of Alexandria, although it was almost certainly not a tool for library users. Inscriptions from several Greek libraries also give lists of books. Lapidary catalogues would have been of limited utility, being permanent and unportable, but they do show that ancient libraries kept a record of their contents and sometimes, it appears, tried to direct readers to the books they required. The wall of the gymnasium library of Tauromenium bears an inscribed partial catalogue,³⁷⁸ that looks as if it was intended to inform readers what the library held and, possibly, where it might have been located; there is a similar 2nd-1st C BC

³⁷⁵ For calculation of the capacity of Trajan's library, see pp.53ff.

³⁷⁶ Hopkins 1991, 141-2.

³⁷⁷ For more on book collection and compendious reading, see below pp.207ff.

³⁷⁸ SEG 26.1123.

list from Piraeus.³⁷⁹ Since republican Rome imported several Greek libraries in their entirety, it seems likely that this practice would have been known in Rome by the age of the first institutional library foundations. Plutarch records that the library of Aristotle, captured and brought to Rome by the dictator Sulla in 86BC, was subsequently set into order (ἐνσκευάσασθαι) by Tyrannion and that library lists still extant by Plutarch's time (τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακας) were then drawn up by Andronicus of Rhodes.³⁸⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in Augustan Rome, refers to the Περγαμηνοῖς πίναξι as if to a published catalogue.³⁸¹

Moreover, the care of Caesar, Pollio and Augustus to set established scholars over these libraries indicates that the arrangement of their contents into a useful collection was the object of considerable care and attention: these were not just showy treasure-houses of looted books, but institutions intended to have a working life.³⁸²

Roman literary sources corroborate this impression by suggesting the existence of catalogues and trained staff. Quintilian, for example concludes a long list of Greek authors with the words:

Nec sane quisquam est tam procul a cognitione eorum [sc. poetarum Graecorum] remotus non indicem certe ex bibliotheca sumptum transferre in libros suos possit.

• Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.57.

This indicates that library catalogues or indices in Quintilian's Rome (post AD 68) were commonplace as a basic resource, and also that they were provided in a form that one

³⁷⁹ IG II² 2363 I and II.

³⁸⁰ Plutarch *Sull.* 26.1-2. cf Strabo 13.1.54-55.

³⁸¹ Dionysius Halicarnassus *De Dinarcho* c.I. Or perhaps a reference to book-lists which accompanied the Pergamene collection of Antony to Augustus' Rome? See above p.28.

³⁸² For the directors of the imperial public libraries see Appendix 2 and Ch.IV.3.i.

could pick up and copy from – a tablet, perhaps, or a scroll, either of which could be regularly amended or provided in multiple copies. The implication that students at a fairly elementary level would find the consultation of a large, catalogued library both possible and useful is also significant. Quintilian does not specify what sort of library he has in mind, but he was closely connected to Flavian literary activity and it seems likely that he would have been at least aware of the arrangements of the Flavian libraries, and possible that he was personally involved in their establishment and operation.³⁸³

Later texts continue to suggest that Roman public libraries had some sort of cataloguing and/or collocation system, and that readers could browse the shelves for themselves. Aulus Gellius writes that while using the library of Trajan a text he had not been looking for came into his hands, suggesting that he was able to browse there rather than requesting specific texts;³⁸⁴ Flavius Vopiscus also advises readers to check for themselves in the *sexto armario* of the same library (which, moreover, indicates that the *armaria* of Trajan's library carried numbers).³⁸⁵ As Small writes, 'although it is generally held that virtually all the references to such documents in the *Historia Augusta* were made up to give a rhetorical air of authenticity, none the less, the way of referring to a book by its location in a numbered series of cases probably does reflect contemporary practice.'³⁸⁶ Vopiscus' comment is entirely consistent with the design of known libraries, where the *armaria* were discrete units rather than continuous carrels like those of a modern library. Any numbers on these cases must have corresponded to some other record – that is, to some sort of catalogue – although the exact nature of such a record cannot be

³⁸³ For Quintilian's connection to imperial literary circles, see below pp.210, 237.

³⁸⁴ Gellius 11.17.1.

³⁸⁵ SHA *Tac.* 8.1.

³⁸⁶ Small 1997, 48. In contrast, Domaszewski (*SHA* 1916, 7A, 9; 1918, 13A, 49-52) believes that all the SHA references to libraries are fictional; he proposes the unlikely alternative reading that the 'author' was curator of another imperial library in Nemausus. For further discussion of the reliability of the SHA, see below pp.196f.

determined; it could have been ordered in a number of different ways.³⁸⁷ Cassiodorus (writing in the sixth century AD) also offers firm evidence for numbered bookcases: *epistulas a Iohanne Chrysostomo expositas Attico sermone in suprascripto octavo armario dereliqui, ubi sunt graeci codices congregati.*³⁸⁸

Martial offers firmer evidence for the practice of collocation, albeit in a commercial bookseller's establishment rather than a library.

*contra Caesaris est forum taberna
scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,
omnis ut cito perlegas poetas.
illinc me pete, nec roges Atrectum
(hoc nomen dominus gerit tabernae):
de primo dabit alterove nido
rasum pumice purpuraeque cultum
denaris tibi quinque Martialem.
"Tanti non es" ais? Sapis, Luperce.*

Martial *Ep.* 1.117 10ff

Atrectus' shop has a list of poets posted outside it, informing the reader what is held within. There seems to be some sort of relationship between this list and a system of ordered pigeon holes inside the shop. The nature of that relationship is not specified; Martial's conspicuous specification of the *primo...nido* might allude to a sort of best-seller position, but even if the disposition of the rolls within the shop were entirely governed by the caprice of Atrectus, the passage offers us the best evidence we have of a relationship between a list of authors and the systematic housing of their works at determined points in a shelving system. The passage also gives us the price of a deluxe edition, and this information will be useful later.

³⁸⁷ Perhaps a division by genre and then some secondary taxonomic principle (the possibilities are numerous: author, work title, number of rolls, accession date, even perceived literary merit).

³⁸⁸ *Inst.* I.8; cf. *id.*, I.14.

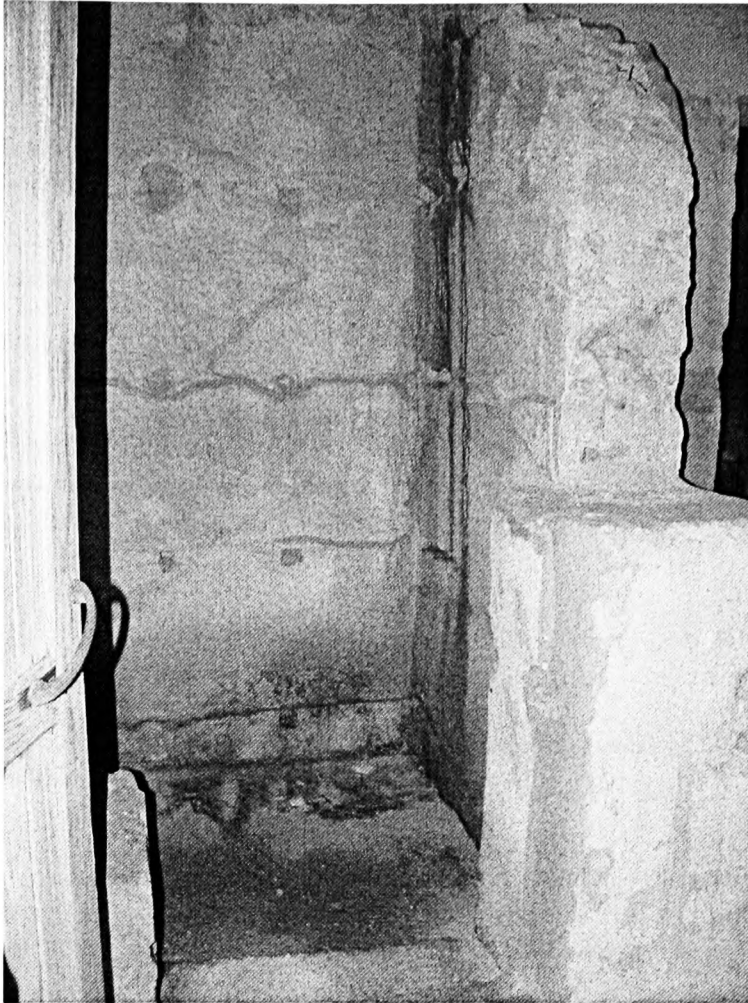


Figure 27 Cupboard in the library of the Villa Silin, Libya.
 Photograph: author.

The wooden fittings of most Roman libraries have decayed long since, leaving only the masonry niches to guide our reconstructions of shelving methods. The four cupboards in what is usually thought of as the library of the second century AD Villa Silin in Libya show attachment points for shelves behind a sturdy door (Figure 27).³⁸⁹

Wooden fittings were partially preserved at Herculaneum, where the successive pyroclastic surges of the eruption of August 79 carbonised organic materials and sealed and preserved the Villa of the Papyri together with the library after which it is named.

³⁸⁹ Dal Bosco and Grassi 2000, 161-3.

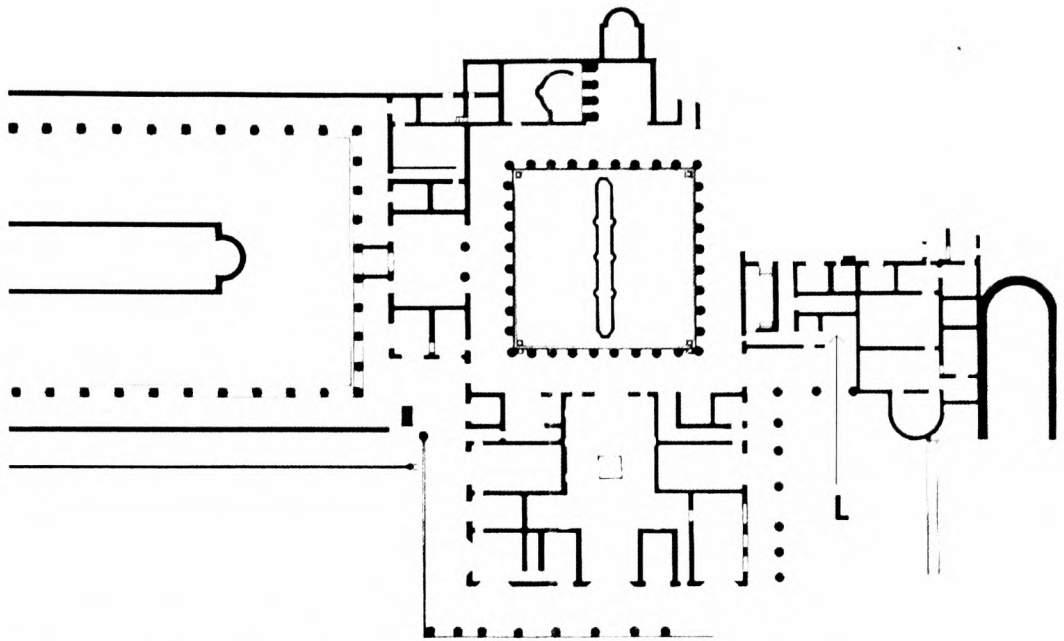


Figure 28 Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum. Library room marked with L.
After Wojcik 1986, Tavola IV.

Excavators reached the library room in 1752, initially discounting as charcoal the carbonised scrolls that they found there in abundance.³⁹⁰ The papyri were found in three locations. The majority came from a single small room, measuring slightly less than 12 feet on each side (Figure 28). Here there was a wooden *armarium* of some sort in the middle of the room with two-sided shelves.³⁹¹ The carbonised remains of wall shelves were also discovered. These lined the walls to a height of 1.8m and ran the length of the room; they were separated into compartments by vertical dividers. Each compartment was deep enough to hold scrolls stored end on, and wide enough to hold about three or four stacked rows of about ten scrolls side by side.³⁹² This shelving arrangement is consistent with the way in which the library's books were grouped and stored. Letters

³⁹⁰ Jensen 1979, 13. The excavation logs are published in Ruggiero 1885. Cf Stroocka 1981, 298ff.

³⁹¹ Bruce 1986, 512. Cf Callmer 1944, 155-6.

³⁹² Gallavotti, 139: "la profondità di uno scaffale era naturalmente determinate dall'altezza dei rotoli: con un buon margine possiamo dire che poteva essere profondo da quaranta a cinquanta centimetri." Cf. Kenyon 1970, 83.

and documents of the original Bourbon excavators often mentioned fused piles of 6-12 papyrus rolls, as if volumes were often stored together in small groups.³⁹³ This arrangement matches that portrayed in the well known relief from Neumagen (Figure 29). It maximised efficient use of the room's potential storage volume, allowing rolls to be stacked in configurations that would permit dense packing of books into easily locatable segments, while limiting compression damage to the books and preventing 'avalanches' when the required roll was removed from the bottom of a pile.³⁹⁴

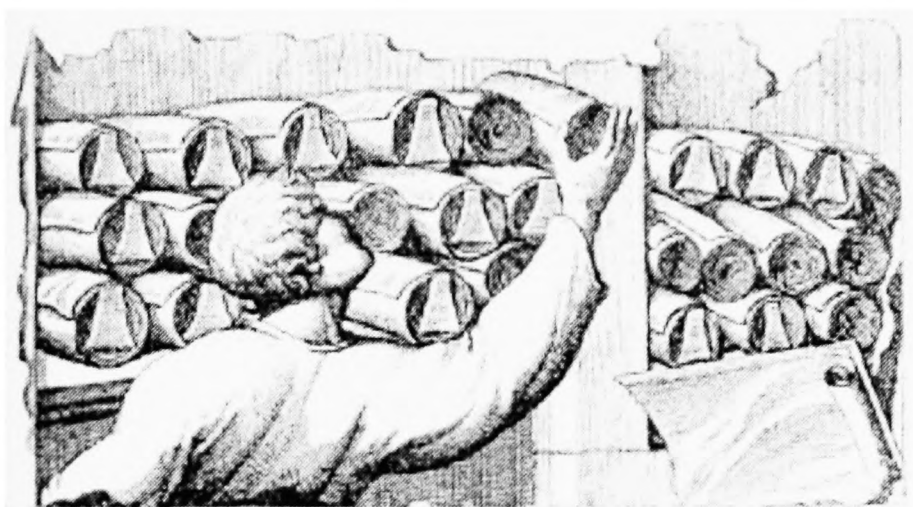


Figure 29 Books and shelves in a 17th century drawing of a lost Roman relief sculpture from Neumagen in Germany.
Sandys 1925, 239 fig. 24.

Moreover, the whole system looks to be designed to allow rapid and accurate location of a particular text: the arrangement would allow scrolls to be stacked end on, displaying their titles to the room, and the separation of the shelving into separate units would have allowed for logical arrangements of texts. Sadly the imperfect excavation records of the time mean that any system of collocation has been irretrievably lost, but finds of inscribed thin metal shelf-plates in and near the library room indicates that the

³⁹³ E.g. Weber's plan, documenting finds up until 20th July 1754, noted inter alia "Papiros cerca 87 en 19 montones". Gallavottii 1941, 139-40.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Cicero's comments on his bookshelves: see n.325.

shelves were labelled.³⁹⁵ The remains of writing tablets, documented in the excavation reports but now lost, suggest active scholarly use of the library; one particular such tablet, found on the 24th of February 1754, measured 33x13x9cm, and it has been suggested that this large writing-surface could have held a library catalogue.³⁹⁶

Seating and reading

Once the reader had acquired his *volumen*, he had to find somewhere to read it. Here Small, Nicolai and other scholars are influenced by iconographic representations of readers and writers to argue that 'la presenza di tavoli per la consultazione, prevista da alcune ricostruzioni moderne, è giustamente messa in dubbio. L'uso simultaneo di più testi doveva essere estremamente difficile e non ne esiste documentazione figurativa fino al XIII secolo.'³⁹⁷ Small draws a series of parallels from Medieval and Renaissance libraries, none of which used writing desks with a horizontal surface, to argue that Classical libraries also lacked them (the first recorded use of a horizontal writing table in western art is apparently in Carpaccio's *St Augustine visited by the soul of St Jerome* of 1502). This argument, like an unwieldy scroll, is hard to sustain: the later libraries which she cites were designed for codices rather than *volumina*, which are more difficult to use without a flat surface to hold them on; at any rate, it seems strange to assert that because twelfth century scriptoria used slanted writing desks, the libraries of imperial Rome cannot have been equipped with tables.

Packer thinks that the Libraries of Trajan did have writing tables, and includes

³⁹⁵ de Jorio 1825, 72f.: "frammenti di altre laminette dello stesso metallo [argento]...ed i caratteri che in quella si leggono incisi...Chi sa se non fosse servita per etichetta da collocarsi in fronte degli stessi armadi?" cf. Gallavotti 1941, 137-141.

³⁹⁶ Gallavotti 1941, 141: "si potrebbe supporre che queste tavolette costituissero il catalogo della libreria greca ivi esistente."

³⁹⁷ Nicolai 2000, 345.

them in the splendid reconstructions in his recent book on Trajan's Forum.³⁹⁸ This inclusion is based on his reconstruction of the floor decoration: "there are two rows of smaller slabs aligned with the columns of the tabernacle at the west end of the room and with the columns in antis at the entrance. These, I assumed, marked the position of conjectural tables just as changes in pavements marked the position of tables in *trichinia* in Pompeii and other Roman sites."³⁹⁹ To this argument Small offers no convincing challenge; as she admits, "extraordinarily little information exists today about the mechanics of reading and writing in Classical antiquity".⁴⁰⁰ Small's experiments in reading and writing on scrolls balanced on one's thigh cannot have worked for library books, which the reader was presumably not encouraged to annotate: a reader wishing to take notes would have needed a stenographer or a table. Plentiful ancient literary sources talk about conversations or debates among groups sitting in libraries (see e.g. pp.188ff.) and holding books, and similar scenes in relief sculpture (such as Figure 32) suggest at the very least the presence of chairs in Roman public libraries.

If borrowing was usually forbidden (for which see below), books must necessarily have been read within the library. While some libraries had a small courtyard attached to the book room where readers could presumably sit or stroll and read in the best traditions of the Greek stoa, others did not, meaning that facilities for reading and writing were probably provided within the book room itself.⁴⁰¹ It is also possible that the

³⁹⁸ Packer 2001, 214. Although the reconstruction is an accurate and attractive portrayal of the architectural and decorative elements of the library interior, I would question several small details. The chairs look rather modern; I cannot think of any comparable ancient example or iconographic representation. Packer does not show any library steps, portable or otherwise, despite the height of the *armaria*. Packer's *armaria* do not carry numbers, although SHA *Tac.* 8.1 implies that the originals did. The statues are not painted, as many Roman statues were, and no pictures are visible despite the extensive ancient sources which state that libraries often contained extensive works of pictorial and plastic art.

³⁹⁹ Personal communication quoted in Small 1997, 163.

⁴⁰⁰ Small 1997, 144.

⁴⁰¹ Libraries with attached courtyards: e.g. Timgad, library of Dio at Prusa, and of Pantainos at Athens. Without: e.g. Sagalassos, library of Celsus at Ephesus. In other cases it is hard to tell whether the enormous monumental courtyard into which the library faces is to be considered in the same way: probably not (the libraries of Trajan's Forum and the Templum Pacis, for example, or those of the imperial *thermae* at Rome).

rooms which often flanked the main hall of Roman libraries contained furniture or working space.⁴⁰²

Borrowing



Figure 30 Inscribed rules of the library of Pantainos, Athens.

Photograph: author. Cf. Appendix 4 no. 5b.

It is generally thought that books were confined to the libraries, brought for readers by attendants. In favour of this assumption might be cited the inscription from the library of Panatainos in Athens (Figure 30), which states that ‘Books shall not be taken out of the library, and it shall be open from the first to the sixth hour.’ The fact that the librarian erected this inscription and added a stern “We have sworn it” (ὠμόσαμεν) suggests that clients were not above requesting the occasional under-the-

⁴⁰² Such rooms flank the library in the Temple of Peace, the Library of Hadrian at Athens, the bath-house libraries of Trajan and Caracalla, and the library at Timgad, for example.

counter loan. Two anecdotes suggest that borrowing could occur, but only illicitly and for the privileged few with the appropriate connections. Aulus Gellius records the borrowing of a volume of Aristotle borrowed from Tibur's library,⁴⁰³ and in Marcus Aurelius' correspondence with his tutor Fronto, Rome's heir apparent mentions that he has been reading some speeches of Cato, and then suggests that Fronto might want to borrow them: "Hey," you say to your slave, "go as quickly as you can and bring me these speeches from the library of [Palatine] Apollo." You'll be sending him in vain, for those volumes have followed me here! You must therefore ingratiate yourself with the librarian at the Library of Tiberius. You might offer him a tip (which he and I will share equally when I return to town).⁴⁰⁴ Whether Marcus Aurelius and his tutor enjoyed privileged library status is uncertain, but the casual reference to tipping a library worker suggests that books could sometimes be borrowed illicitly.

On the whole, then, borrowing from libraries seems to have been a rarity or an infraction of the rules. Their books were, as we have seen, valuable objects and were sometimes of irreplaceable antiquarian value, and the protective architecture of the libraries suggests that their designers intended to protect the integrity of the book collections housed there.⁴⁰⁵ These collections of these libraries were institutional, put into public ownership by their patrons and not, therefore, simply an extension of the private network of reciprocal exchange and gift which characterised the great private libraries.⁴⁰⁶ The permanence and public quality of these library collections enabled them, as we will see, to act as guarantors of a text's longevity and fame and as guardians of a literary canon; discouraging borrowing would have been an important factor in maintaining their integrity.

⁴⁰³ Gellius 19.5, discussed below, pp.201f.

⁴⁰⁴ Fronto *Ep.* 2.5.

⁴⁰⁵ For antiquarian books, see pp.183ff., 253ff.

⁴⁰⁶ See the quotes on p.20 for the perceived public quality of these libraries.

If the Roman public library were to function in this way as a safe haven for the preservation and transmission of texts, then the tasks of management and maintenance, as in a modern library, were important: books and premises had to be maintained, readers assisted and controlled, books purchased, and copyists and restorers employed to keep the stock up to date.⁴⁰⁷

Staff

We have some epigraphic and literary evidence for the nature of the library staff who carried out these tasks. Their possible provision by the imperial household is discussed further in Ch.IV.3; in privately founded libraries they were paid for by donation or endowment: Pliny's library at Comum and Celsus' at Ephesus were provided with endowments of 100,000 HS.⁴⁰⁸ In his study of the staffing of Roman libraries, Houston has stated that they "were not so large that the workers in them would need to be assigned to distinct areas of professional responsibility", suggesting instead that non-specialist staff were employed, limiting the libraries' usefulness.⁴⁰⁹

This may be so; the epigraphic sources simply give us the titles or designations of library workers without telling us what their rôles entailed or demanded, but this does not mean those rôles did not exist. We might compare the epigraphic record relating to bath-house personnel: while we know from archaeological study and the literary record that large numbers of skilled (as well as non-skilled) personnel would have been needed to operate the great imperial *thermae* of Rome, the epigraphic record does not preserve these specialisations and skills particularly well.⁴¹⁰ Some staff associated with libraries

⁴⁰⁷ For *glutinatores*, Cicero *Att.* 4.4a.1; for *antiquarii*, *Codex Theodosianus* 14.9.2; cf. Suetonius *Dom.* 20.

⁴⁰⁸ Endowments: Ch.V.1.iv. Comum: Appendix 4 No. 4; Ephesus: Appendix 4 no. 9a.

⁴⁰⁹ Houston 2002, 148.

⁴¹⁰ *Balneatores* are epigraphically rare despite fairly frequent literary mentions (*TbLL* II, 1703f. s.v. "*balneator*") while other bath-house workers turn up in inscriptions with even less frequency. (e.g. *lotores*:

may not have epitaphs that readily identify themselves as such: one such is M. Ulpius Domesticus, the ἐπὶ βαλανείων whom we met above (p.115) and who appears to have regulated access to document storage areas in Trajan's Baths.

As we have seen, the design of Roman libraries shows some familiarity with the problems of housing, protecting and facilitating access to books, while numerous passages citing scholarly activities of various sorts in libraries suggest busy and active institutions. A degree of expertise existed at some level in the staff of these buildings, then. I will suggest in Ch. IV.3.i that many of the known directors of Rome's imperial libraries were men of some learning and likely ability in assembling or maintaining useful library collections. The same ought to be true of the men who ran the libraries' day-to-day activities. At the least one would expect a proportion of the staff to be literate, and to a fairly high degree: there are enough references to the bringing and fetching of books by staff to suggest that they were aware of the libraries' holdings and able to locate them, and this would require the ability to read the labels which identified each scroll.⁴¹¹

A literate staff suggests slaves or freedmen of a high (and expensive) calibre, and we can add further skills and functions. The acquisition, maintenance, and copying of books would require literary, practical and financial ability and trustworthiness; Houston argues that these functions might have been handled separately by staff from the *ratio castrensis*, but there is no evidence for this and it is not consistent with the endowment arrangements made for provincial public libraries, all of which suggest a self-sufficient staff who are explicitly charged (in the case of the Library of Celsus in Ephesus) with buying new books. The existence of library catalogues has already been argued for above,

Bruun 1993. *Perfusores* and *unctores*. Nielsen 1990, 127-131 and Wissemann 1984 (who however do not mention *lotores* anywhere)). Bruun 1991, 190-1. De Ruggiero 1895, *sv.* "*balneum*", esp. 968f., registers only six occurrences. See also Nielsen 1990, Vol. I 127f., 134. Moreover, *balneator* is a broad term and can denote not only an assistant, but also the owner or leaseholder of privately owned baths. Cf Houston 2002, n.24, which acknowledges the failure of the epigraphic record to preserve some of the known titles of, for example, aqueduct workers (*silicarii*, *tectores*, and *dispensatores*).

⁴¹¹ Gellius 13.20; see further below pp.189ff.

and these would need to be maintained. Marcus Aurelius' letter mentions a bailiff able to bend the rules for a bribe, indicating that the same man unbribed, or faced with a less prestigious visitor, could enforce them.⁴¹² The library at Ephesus, as we shall see (Ch.V.1.iv), had an annual staffing and books budget of about 4600 sesterces, enough to purchase fairly skilled labour.

Cicero's letters provide an important source for the different sorts of specialised labour needed to run even an (admittedly substantial) private library. In his letters to Atticus Cicero requests for the loan of *librarioli* who are to act as *glutinatores* (binders) and builders of bookcases.⁴¹³ He mentions that he needed the services of the experienced librarian Tyrannio to arrange his books in order, aided by two Greek-named assistants, and comments that this has given the whole building a *mens* of its own.⁴¹⁴ The cupboards that Atticus helped provide are an elegant addition, and labels have been added to the volumes to identify them.⁴¹⁵

Moreover, *pace* Houston the surviving epigraphic record does indicate some specialisation and differentiation of function within the staff of Rome's public libraries: one inscription names a mid-first century *medicus a bybliothecis*,⁴¹⁶ while six others are named *vilici*, or overseers.⁴¹⁷ Of these *vilici* four (Appendix 3 nos. 4,16,14, 20) describe themselves as attached specifically to Latin or Greek sections of a specific library, as do seven of the non-*vilicus* staff (Appendix 3 nos. 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17): we might imagine that this indicates some specialism of knowledge or language, though this cannot be

⁴¹² Fronto *Ep.* 4.5

⁴¹³ Cicero *Att.* 4.4a.1, 4.5.3.

⁴¹⁴ *offendes dissignationem Tyrannionis mirificam librorum meorum, Att. 4.4a; postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis aedibus. qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysi et Menophili tui fuit, Att. 4.8.*

⁴¹⁵ See n.325

⁴¹⁶ Appendix 3 no.11.

⁴¹⁷ Appendix 3 nos. 4, 6, 14 19, 20, 21 .

certain. More convincingly, we also have epigraphic evidence for specialist book-binders in the *familia Caesaris*, which Houston does not take into account:⁴¹⁸

MANNIO STICHIO
TIBERII CAESARIS
GLVTINATORES

CIL X 1735 Naples

Perhaps specialised artisanal staff of this sort were shared between all the Julio-Claudian libraries, while *bibliothecarii* (who often name specific libraries in their inscriptions) were attached to particular buildings.

There is enough here to suggest that the designation *a bibliothecis* by itself implies a degree of specialisation, and so, as for the procurators and library directors discussed in Ch. IV.3.i below, there is every reason to think that Rome's libraries were run by competent staffs.

⁴¹⁸ Glutinatores: *CIL* X 1735, 1757 and Dorandi 1983.

Library design, decoration and identity

Thus far I have looked at the way in which Roman public libraries stored and provided books to readers; this was, of course, their ostensible function and is a good place to begin. The proportion of Rome's population who wanted to make use of this facility can never have been especially large, and it is often asserted that Rome's libraries were open only to the "learned and respectable",⁴¹⁹ a stratum of society that is naturally presumed to be narrow; consequently, a small number of library users is envisaged. Langie's opinion is typical of several: "il faut reconnaître que les bibliothèques publiques de Rome ne furent pas très fréquentées...chacun, semble-t-il, n'était pas admis librement dans les bibliothèques, et il paraît résulter de ce que disent Quintilien et Ovide qu'un certain degré de culture était exigé des personnes qui se présentaient."⁴²⁰

If the sole intended function of Roman public libraries was to store a large number of books for the use of a narrow literary élite, then as buildings they were designed with a cavalier inefficiency and a marked profligacy of both space and materials. Large areas of floor space and lofty halls were features of Roman public libraries from their earliest development, judging by the senate meetings in Augustus' Palatine library and the 50ft bronze Apollo kept in Tiberius' library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus.⁴²¹ Inefficiency is hardly what we expect from the architects and engineers of the Roman empire. The answer, of course, is that wherever they survive Roman public libraries can be seen to have been designed not merely to house and give access to books, but to form part of the grandiose landscape of architectural euergetism that shaped and defined the Roman city.

⁴¹⁹ In this instance: Harris 1989, 228.

⁴²⁰ Langie 1908, 151.

⁴²¹ Senate: p.267 below; bronze Apollo: n.4 above.

Several features shared by many of the surviving libraries strongly indicate that an important secondary (or even primary?) purpose was to impress passers-by and non-reading visitors, as well as readers, with the resources and vision of the donor. These features include a wide and unobstructed central ground floor area, with books relegated to wall-mounted cases (common to all known public library buildings). The need to avoid damp reaching the books was well known to Roman architects, and to overcome this problem their libraries might more easily have been located in compact and modest accommodation on the first floor of buildings. The need for a large and visually impressive space visible and directly accessible from street level must therefore have seemed more important to the builders of the surviving public libraries; this indicates a wider constituency than a small clique of regular readers.⁴²²

Certain details of these libraries' internal configuration also indicate that they were designed to allow for the presence of quite large numbers of people within the buildings, not all of whom might have been there to read. The books, as we saw in Trajan's libraries, were kept out of the range of the casual visitor in such a way that reaching them required a small expenditure of time and effort. This, as any librarian will confirm, both reduces the incidence of casual depredation or damage that library stock inevitably suffers in a public space, and increases the extent to which library staff can keep a watchful eye on visitors. The incorporation of such design features strongly indicates that these buildings had a genuinely public character. •

The same is true of the architectural magnificence with which these buildings were adorned, both inside and out. As Laura Johnson writes, 'libraries during the Roman period attained an important public status which makes it difficult to distinguish between

⁴²² It has been suggested that the Roman development of window glass, probably for large public baths, made it possible for the first time to locate substantial book collections in large and well-lit spaces without the danger of rainwater penetration. Hoepfner 1996, 9 (though the argument here is not entirely convincing) and Baatz 1991, 4ff.

monumental construction and features assigned library functions.⁴²³ The Austrian anastylosis of Celsus' library at Ephesus (Figure 44) provides the most striking surviving example of a rich library exterior, and it is important to note that much of the architectural effort expended on this building was directed towards the public face it presented to the street: as will be seen in Ch. V.1, the library forms part of the imperial monumentalisation of Ephesus' streetscape, and as such addresses the casual passer-by as well as the reader or visitor who ventured within. The same is true of Trajan's libraries in his Forum at Rome, which faced the famous column with its spiral frieze and whose interiors lay open to its courtyard through wide columnar screens.

Strong writes that 'in both the public and private sectors, works of art became the essential furnishing of architectural monuments and in some cases dominated their setting...in the first century BC, no major building would be planned without suitable works of art to furnish it.'⁴²⁴ Libraries were no exception: all of them, it seems, were richly ornamented with pictures and sculptures of various sorts. Prominent artwork and rich architectonic decoration was a feature of Roman public libraries from the outset:

Primum autem Romae bibliothecas publicavit Pollio... additis auctorum imaginibus in atrio, quod de manubiis magnificentissimum instruxerat.

Isidorus *Etym.* 6.5.2

The practice of decorating libraries with author portraits was widely followed;⁴²⁵ in Trajan's Forum two late sources talk of their own statues standing between the libraries or in the Forum,⁴²⁶ suggesting that the commemorative and decorative programmes of the libraries overlapped with those of the complexes that contained them. Pliny records several other important works of art in the *Asinii Pollionis*

⁴²³ Johnson 1984.

⁴²⁴ Strong 1973, 247ff.

⁴²⁵ See below p.224 and e.g. Pliny *HN* 35.2.9ff, Suetonius *Tib.* 70 with Oliver and Palmer 1954. Sidonius *Ep.* 9.16.

⁴²⁶ See nn.574-575.

monumenta;⁴²⁷ the Augustan libraries of the Palatine contained an ancient bronze inscription from Delphi,⁴²⁸ while those in the Porticus Octaviae were full of art works including the pictures of Alexander and Philip mentioned above; the adjacent and contemporary Porticus Philippi contained a Helen by Xeuxis, and a Dionysos, a young Alexander and a Hippolytos by Antiphilos.⁴²⁹ The library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus, built under Tiberius and rebuilt by Domitian, was full of works of art: dominated by the famous giant statue of Apollo Temenitus taken from Syracuse,⁴³⁰ it may also have contained a painting of Hyacinthus by Nicias which Augustus had liked.⁴³¹ Something of the overall effect can be seen in a fanciful wall-painting from the atrium of the villa at Oplontis.⁴³²

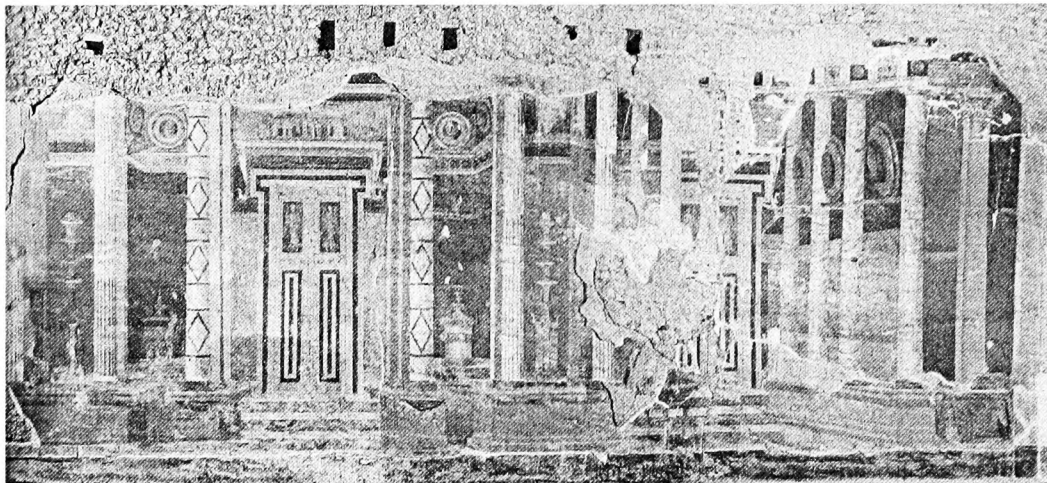


Figure 31 Possible depiction of a library interior from Oplontis: NB podium, doors, and *imagines clipeatae*.
De Franciscis 1975, 21, Fig. 4.

The sort of fire- and weather-proofing and security measures needed for the protection of books would have made libraries eminently suitable as venues for the

⁴²⁷ Pliny *HN* 36.23-5, 33-4.

⁴²⁸ Pliny *HN* 7.210.

⁴²⁹ Pliny *HN* 35.66; 35.114.

⁴³⁰ Suetonius *Tib.* 74 (cf. Cicero *Verr.* II.4.119), Pliny *HN* 34.43.

⁴³¹ Pliny *HN* 35.131.

⁴³² For a library identification (not wholly convincing): Ferrari 1999, 372.

display of artworks. There was a long history of cultural tourism in the ancient world; the two young ladies in the fourth *Mimiambos* of Herodas gaze in wonder at the finer items among the bric-a-brac often stored in temple interiors, while Cicero writes that the only reason for going to Thespiae was to see the famous Cupid there.⁴³³ Public libraries, with their lavish architectural ornamentation and valuable collections of decorative artworks, came to be seen as suitable additions to complexes noteworthy for their artistic adornment, such as the *Templum Pacis* in Rome or the *Serapeum* at Alexandria,⁴³⁴ and were intended to take their place as *mirabilia* of a similar sort, attracting visitors to the imperial spaces in which they were located and contributing in no small measure to the sense of cultural identity established by these buildings. The artworks stored in libraries, as much as the books they housed or the exotic coloured marbles of their internal architectural elements and pavements, were reminders of the extent of Roman dominion and the power, wealth and euergetic generosity of the emperors who built them.

It is therefore important to state clearly that the audience upon which Roman library buildings were designed to have an impact was not limited to those who read the books held there. The authors who tell us that they entered the libraries to read books there are only the most visible representatives of one of a number of categories of people who experienced the building in one way or another.⁴³⁵ These authors, in fact, give a picture of libraries that were fairly lively and busy places, used by people of more than one profession and status: this is discussed in Ch. IV.1. Scholarly readers and writers can only ever have constituted a numerically small (though important) group, but there are

⁴³³ Herodas *Mimiambi*; Cicero *Verr.* 2.4.4.

⁴³⁴ Pliny *HN* 34.84, *Amm. Marc.* 22.16.2

⁴³⁵ Modern comparisons can be useful. The British Library's public quality, for example, does not depend solely on its number of registered readers, but also on its location, design, history, and the public display of national "treasures" on its ground floor. 149,285 people held passes to the St Pancras building's reading rooms in 2003-4, making a total of 397,940 reading room visits – a mere 0.25% of the UK's population. Sources: British Library 31st Annual report, 2003-4; for a UK population of 59.6 million, the National Office of Statistics at www.statistics.gov.uk.

other sorts of audience for whom these buildings were intended – pupils and students,⁴³⁶ the sort of non-specialist reader whom a Quintilian or Apuleius can tell to go and look something up,⁴³⁷ people who came to look at the artworks on display, those who attended meetings and lectures there,⁴³⁸ and those who simply walked past the impressive façades that adorned these buildings, perhaps reading the dedicatory inscriptions or observing through the entrance screen the rows of book cupboards within. It is clear that a building like the library of Celsus at Ephesus, with its prominent location, and an elaborate façade with multiple statues of the donor and his personified virtues, bilingual inscriptions, and matching iconography, addresses a much broader and larger constituency than only those who read its books.

This presentation of a monumental identity shapes the identity of Roman public library buildings and makes the use of the adjective ‘public’ appropriate; the complicated plural nature of this public identity is discussed further in Section V. It also makes public libraries, and the readings and meetings associated with them, a point at which men and women of small status and literacy could encounter the world of high culture. When writers on ancient literacy try to account for high popular awareness of and appetite for literary culture within a population with a presumed low literacy rate, the monumental public library may, like theatrical performances, public displays of art and processions, and street-storytellers, be part of the answer.⁴³⁹ Even if overall literacy rates in the Roman world were low, “the mass of literates, ... and the volumes of their stored knowledge, significantly altered the experience of living in the Roman empire.”⁴⁴⁰ Public libraries were an important means by which these “volumes of stored knowledge” were displayed to the wider population.

⁴³⁶ Gellius 13.20; see below pp.189ff.

⁴³⁷ Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.57; Apuleius *Apol.* 90-91.

⁴³⁸ Senatorial meetings in the Palatine library: see below pp267f.

⁴³⁹ E.g. Horsfall 1991a, 72-3.

⁴⁴⁰ Hopkins 1991, 144.

IV - THE PURPOSES & FUNCTIONS OF ROMAN PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Introduction

Having looked at the physical design of Rome's public libraries and the practical arrangements by which they were stocked, staffed and run, we can now consider the various functions which they fulfilled.

Various angles of approach are possible here. Firstly, a collection of texts can be assembled that directly illustrates different sorts of interaction between scholars and libraries, indicating that they were perceived and portrayed as useful intellectual resources for reading, discussion, and writing (IV.1).

Beyond the libraries' immediate day-to-day use by communities of readers we can also examine the influence they exerted on Roman writers in different genres, both directly and indirectly. Besides the direct use of libraries as resources for research, broader parallels can be drawn between the first and second century Roman culture of compendious reading and note taking and the provision of large public book collections (IV.2.i).

The influence of libraries on the shape of Roman literary activity raises the question of their political importance, and suggests one means by which emperors could guide readers and writers at Rome in desirable directions without having to posit the blunter tools of direct imperial patronage or censorship. The importance of access to rare books, the value to scholars of including their works in a secure library canon and the imperial favour this implied, and the associated rôle of libraries in assisting circulation and readership are all treated below (IV.2.ii): these made libraries a powerful imperial asset, as well as a potent statement of imperial identity and cultural priorities. The

question of imperial involvement with Rome's public libraries is further addressed through an examination of their management (IV.3.i) and staffing (IV.3.ii).

The question remains of whether the imperial library founders led the cultural movement that produced both public libraries and a great flourishing of Roman letters, or whether they responded to it. By considering imperial public libraries in the context of book- and library-collecting in general, and of other kinds of imperial collection, it is apparent that the answer is both (IV.4). Libraries offer us a chance to compare imperial euergetism on a grand scale with the activities and interests shaping the priorities of men in lower strata of social and economic power. Aristocratic interest in reading and book-collecting continued to be a marker of social prestige in the imperial period as it had been in the late Republic, and emperors needed to excel. Public library provision allowed them to establish their credentials as supreme patrons and collectors, and to display ostentatious generosity in making these collections public.

This opens up a wider audience than just the intellectuals and authors discussed hitherto, suggesting that the emperor's libraries presented him as a literary patron to a wider Roman population, and explains the prominent location and grandeur of imperial public library buildings. The impact that these libraries had is suggested by their widespread imitation in the provinces, where local donors turned the public library into a statement of Roman cultural and political identity on the model of Rome and also a monument to local, personal, and family identity. This is the subject of Section V of this thesis.

IV.1 - Scholars and libraries

Literary life in Rome is often regarded as the preserve of men of high birth and high rank: Pliny and Tacitus, authors and consuls; Suetonius, biographer and imperial secretary *ab epistulis* and *a bibliothecis*;⁴⁴¹ Marcus Aurelius and Fronto, prince and consular tutor⁴⁴²; Cassius Dio, provincial governor, twice consul, and historian. Alongside these privileged imperial appointees is found a slightly wider class of upper-class Romans who made use of their *otium* to indulge in literary pursuits, such as Aulus Gellius, friend and pupil of imperial tutors including Fronto, and the Roman knight Decimus Laberius, who took part in a play of his own composition in Caesar's games.⁴⁴³ The circumstances of these aristocrat authors are often extrapolated to form a picture of a literary *beau monde* in which all the participants belonged to a socio-economic élite, and wrote almost exclusively for each other's personal attention and benefit: an extension, in other words, of the republican practices outlined in the opening pages of this thesis.

It is in this reconstructed élite intellectual milieu that the usage of Rome's public libraries is usually placed: if Rome's scholars and authors were aristocrats and imperial favourites, then it is tempting to assume (as many have) that her libraries must have been used by the same class of person. As Harris writes, "Augustus' libraries and the modest number of others attested in various provinces provide evidence of the reverence with which the Graeco-Roman upper classes regarded the literary classics, and must to some degree have helped make the texts available *to the learned and the respectable* [my italics]. It

⁴⁴¹ See n.587.

⁴⁴² Fronto *Ep.* 2.5.

⁴⁴³ Suetonius *Inl.* 39.

would be crudely anachronistic to suppose that the sum of these efforts had any large scale effect on the diffusion of the written word.⁴⁴⁴

I have already argued that certain architectural features held in common by the surviving Roman libraries indicate a higher degree of public access than Harris allows. The nature of the buildings erected in Rome and the provinces indicates that they were intended to have a powerful monumental and conceptual function quite independent of the literary uses to which their book collections were put, and which extended far beyond the confines of the narrow social stratum suggested above. In the subsequent sections of this chapter a wide range of literary evidence indicates a popular appetite for libraries and book collections which, taken together with this literary material, also suggests a wider usership for Rome's libraries and (in Section V) their provincial imitators.

These arguments should be borne in mind during the following pages. The subject discussed now, though, is the direct evidence for the use of Roman public libraries by authors and scholars. Although I will argue that this evidence suggests a fairly wide range of possible library uses and users, the world of the "learned and respectable" remains of great importance. One of the arguments of this thesis is that the total 'audience' of Roman public libraries consisted of more than just those who read and wrote books there, but such users were the libraries' core constituency; they can never have been more than a small proportion of the city's population.

Some of these Roman writers mention public libraries directly. From these we can glean a reasonable amount of information about who used these libraries, and how and why they did so.

The use of works such as Galen's *On My Own Books*, Apuleius' *Apology* and Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* as historical sources requires careful justification. Galen writes in

⁴⁴⁴ Harris 1989, 228.

polemical defence of his approach to medical practice and writing; Apuleius creates a scintillating rhetorical *tour de force* defending himself – if the speech as we have it was ever heard in court – on a capital charge; and Gellius' objective in recording the anecdotes of the *NA* is not to illuminate the workings of Roman public libraries, but to add colour and variety to his material. The authors' private assumptions and agenda underlie and shape their literary texts, and this must compromise their value to us as historical documents of literary society in the Antonine era.

Gellius portrays his researches and conversation as proper occupations of the *otium* of the well-to-do. He was wealthy enough to have studied at Rome and Athens, and had no need to work for a living; he presents his literary activities as an agreeable diversion from his more important judicial or administrative business.⁴⁴⁵ Libraries are one setting among many for these diversions; others include bookshops, the imperial *salutatio*, visits to private villas or to friends when sick, simple meals at the home of Athenian philosophers, and evening strolls at Ostia and sea-voyages.⁴⁴⁶ It could be reasonably be objected, then, that whatever incidental details about libraries are to be found in Gellius are located within a social and intellectual spectrum defined by the scope of Gellius' book rather than by a concern for historicity; but while one can doubt the veracity of individual episodes, it would be a mistake to discount entirely the evidence which Gellius furnishes for the operation of Roman public libraries. The world he evokes must have seemed at least plausible to his readers. •

⁴⁴⁵ E.g. *NA* pr.23 ; 11.3.; 14.2.

⁴⁴⁶ Discussions in libraries: the domus Tiberiana – *NA* 13.20.1; the Templum Pacis - 5.21.19, 16.8.2; the Forum of Trajan – 11.17.1. *Salutatio*: 4.1, 19.13, 20.1. In town houses and country estates: the villa of Herodes Atticus (1.2.1); at the table and the villa near Antium of the philosopher Favorinus (2.22.1, 17.10.1); the country place of a rich friend at Tibur (19.5.1); Gellius' own possible retreat at Praeneste (11.3.1); visits to sick friends (2.26, 12.5, 16.3, 19.10). Public areas: the Titian baths (3.1.1); the square of the Forum of Trajan (13.25.2); the park of Agrippa (14.5.1); among the booksellers in the vicus Sandalarius (18.4.1, 5.4); in the shrine of Carmentis (18.7.1); in the area Palatina (20.1.2). Other occasions: e.g. a simple meal (17.8); an evening stroll (18.1). cf Champlin 1982, 106-7 for elite suburban literary *otium*.

It would be a harsh critic who dismissed as wholly factitious the episodes in which Gellius quotes directly from a manuscript he claims to have found in a library, even going so far as to describe marginalia.⁴⁴⁷ It is harder to argue for truth in the instances where Gellius describes conversations that took place in or about libraries, but in both types of anecdote Gellius' accounts would be still be interesting to us (perhaps even more interesting) if they could be proved false: a library provenance or setting was recognisable and credible to his readers and added authority to a citation of a text or conversation. The key to interpreting the information we find there is that Gellius, even if he can occasionally be caught practising an amiable deception on his readers, takes some care to keep his stories credible.⁴⁴⁸ He mentions real people and places, recognisable situations, and books both commonplace and obscure as references. His anecdotes recreate the life of a man of letters in Antonine Rome in much the same way as the letters of the Younger Pliny round out a portrait of the Trajanic *utilis senator* as he would like to be seen. In both cases we can doubt the veracity of individual episodes, but without suggesting that each library episode in the *Noctes Atticae* or the details of every Plinian dinner party and harvest contract are literally true in every particular, we ought to agree that the authors' aim is verisimilitude. Gellius "no more expected full faith and credit for his narratives than historians for their speeches or philosophers for their dialogues,"⁴⁴⁹ but it should be remembered that his purpose, and in different ways that of Apuleius and Galen, was to create a convincing portrait of himself and his activities; all three authors would undermine themselves badly if details intended to add colour and weight jarred on a reader (or a jury) as improbable or evidently false.

⁴⁴⁷ *NA* 18.9, 9.14 (for the marginal correction).

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Anderson 2004, 116, Holford-Strevens 1982, 65-8; *id.* 2003, 71-2. The same objections can be levelled, *a fortiori*, at the mentions of libraries by the SHA, and the same response can be made.

⁴⁴⁹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 72.

We ought to be able to gain from these texts, then, an impression at least of how Rome's public libraries were understood to work in the second century, and approached with sufficient caution, they do indeed furnish us with useful information about the functions and userships of several such institutions.

In the episodes recounted by Gellius the monumental buildings described above are repopulated with communities of scholars and students looking up references or browsing through books that fall serendipitously into their hands, and engaging in good-natured debates and less good-natured public disputations. The libraries are, naturally, regarded primarily as authoritative collections of texts, a final recourse to confirm a disputed reading in Livius Andronicus or to settle the question of whether drinking melted snow harms the digestion. Other functions also emerge, though, and these fit well with the architectural details of the libraries described above: the large enclosed floorspaces become places for scholars to sit in discussion, with the books safely removed to wall niches from where attendants can fetch them; often these books are volumes of considerable rarity and antiquity, making the libraries an important part of a literary culture that prized early sources and comparisons between readings, and explaining the secure housing of the books demonstrated above. The decorative schemes of the libraries ensured that all of these activities took place in the presence of imperial imagery and statues of great authors, placing scholarly activities under the imperial aegis as Gellius' and Fronto's researches in the Domus Tiberiana, or Galen's deposit of books in the Templum Pacis, also imply.

NA 5.21 is a good place to start. Gellius here "records" an argument between a friend of his and an arrogant but ill-educated acquaintance. The latter accused the former of having committed a solecism (he had used *pluria* rather than *plura* in conversation). Gellius' friend replies with a string of six reliable authorities for such usage – Marcus

Cato, Quintus Claudius, Valerius Antias, Lucius Aelius, Publius Nigidius and Marcus Varro (5.21.6). The arrogant interlocutor objects that these authorities are *ex Faunorum et Aboriginum saeculo repetitas*; the friend then ends the argument by appeal to a letter collection of Sennius Capito, *doctissimi viri*, which justifies and explains the use of *pluria*. This collection is to be found in the library of the Templum Pacis (*epistulae sunt uno in libro multae positae, opinor, in templo Pacis*: 5.21.9), and the learned friend helpfully tells his adversary what is written on the title page so he can go and find it.

The library volume of Capito in this discussion thus acts as a final arbiter; its authority trumps that even of a series of venerable authors. This volume's place in the Vespasianic library confirms its authority and is attributable to its fitness for the grammatical collection that seems to have been held there (for which see further below p.181). In this passage, then, the imperial library functions as a resource sufficiently extensive and reliable to act as an authoritative guarantor of truth in a fairly obscure lexicological debate. By collecting authoritative texts into a single place, the imperial library has come to be regarded as an authoritative source of information sufficient to settle an argument.

Gellius' story can also tell us something about access to the imperial collections. Gellius' friend has seen the volume in person, and can remember what is written on its title. Moreover, he is able to refer the doubter to the book in question and the strong implication in his rather catty riposte is that his adversary could be expected to be able to go to the library, find it, and look at it for himself: *ad Capitonem igitur te dimittimus. Ex eo id quoque simul disces, si modo assequi poteris quod in ea epistula scriptum est...* (NA 5.21.12).

Typically enough for a Gellian anecdote, neither party appears to be a professional scholar. Gellius' friend is learned and widely read, but *ad vitae officia devincta* (5.21.1); he only rises to the bait because *a magis seriis rebus otium est*. His ill-informed rival

also appears to be a dilettante rather than a professional grammarian.⁴⁵⁰ Both men assume that access to the library is possible for them and for our purposes this is most interesting in the case of the *reprehensor audaculus*, the Thersites in Gellius' gathering of lordly belletrists. If such a man can be told to go and look it up without demurring, then membership of a particular set or class seems not to have been a prerequisite of admission to the library in question.

Of course caution is needed in taking such a tale at face value. Holford-Strevens for one rightly points out the absurdity of Gellius' assertion that his learned friend had not made a conscious effort to study early languages, but could name from memory six sources who used the disputed form; nonetheless, as he also says, "we should be slower to accept the historicity of the dialogues than the verisimilitude of their settings".⁴⁵¹ Gellius incorporates plausible-sounding library references to add authority to his argument in a context that maintains his structuring conceit of the *NA* (that his material was accumulated largely in conversations with other gentleman dilettanti). The impression given here of the operation of the library of the Templum Pacis is consistent with what we learn about this and other libraries in further passages of Gellius and from Galen.

There is also a comparable episode of earlier date in the preliminary remarks of the seventh book of Vitruvius, in which a literary contest in Ptolemaic Alexandria is decided by Aristophanes, a scholar of the library previously unknown to the king, who *fretus memoriae certis armariis infinita volumina eduxit* and thereby proves all but one of the contestants to be plagiarists.⁴⁵² These particular events probably never happened, of course, but that is not the point. The passage presents a similar interpretation of the

⁴⁵⁰ *reprehensor audaculus verborum, qui perpauca eademque a volgo protrita legerat habebatque nonnullas disciplinae grammaticae inauditivunculas*: 5.21.4

⁴⁵¹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 71 and n.27.

⁴⁵² Vitruvius 7.3-7

function of a great state library to those which we have met in Gellius, this time from an Augustan author: it is a reference resource, guaranteeing originality and meaning and inhabited by scholars not necessarily known to the library's regal patron. It can be used to settle literary questions with authority, and the breadth of its collections equips those who study there with a knowledge surpassing that even of the six other judges in the contest, all of whom failed to spot the plagiarised lines.

Vitruvius' tale is set in 4th century Alexandria, but its context surely suggests an analogy with his own times. The library episode leads into a dedication to Augustus, who like the Attalids and Ptolemy of the story had presided over the creation of his capital's first libraries *ad communem delectationem*,⁴⁵³ and then to a detailed catalogue of Vitruvius' own sources whose intention is to avoid a like charge of plagiarism. The implications of this comparison between past and present are discussed further below – the passage suggests the place of libraries in the Augustan cultural project – but here we can read it for a hint of how one educated man understood public library collections to work and the influence that they could have.

Another such hint, from another learned man in a different place and time, is found in Apuleius' *Apology*. This speech offers us the opportunity to look at public libraries in a wider cultural and social context, but whatever library deductions may be drawn from this work must be prefixed by the usual caveat: the *Apology*, which is written as a speech against an charge of magic brought by the family of Apuleius' new wife Pudentilla, is not a work of history, but of forensic oratory. Except for the name of the judge, Claudius Maximus (cos. 142, proconsular governor of Africa Proconsularis in 158-9), the historicity of the speech can only be judged by internal evidence; Apuleius does not even mention the trial in any of his other works, and "the literary character of the

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.* 7.4

text is so pronounced that we are fully entitled to ask to what extent the text reflects a real live performance in court.⁴⁵⁴ The length and density of the speech suggest a degree of later revision, though at least one scholar has argued that the speech was a literal record of what was said in the court at Sabratha (where it is set),⁴⁵⁵ and most concur that it bears at least some relationship to reality.⁴⁵⁶

Whatever the *Apology's* intended audience and function, consistent strands of self-presentation are woven into it by Apuleius. The speech takes pains to portray the speaker as an innocent and learned, and his accusers as venal and ignorant. So, the opening of the speech sees Apuleius present himself as a typically dishevelled intellectual whose *continuatio etiam litterati laboris* has ruined his looks and his health, which were never better than mediocre to begin with.⁴⁵⁷ As the speech progresses he continues to develop this learned and ingenuous persona, and flatters his audience (and particularly the judge), with constant quotations, allusions and references to poets, historians, philosophers and dramatists. These include “great names like Homer, Virgil and Aristotle...anecdotes on Pythagoras (31) and Sophocles (37), and the long, precious fragment of Ennius (39). Many other names are dropped as well. Quotations from his own works and brief learned discussions contribute to the picture of Apuleius as a man of science.”⁴⁵⁸

One structuring principle of the work is, then, that Apuleius, his audience, and the judge are learned, and it is clear that this learning proceeds from reading. At various points in the speech Apuleius presents his accusers with a reading list – Aristotle, Theophrastus, Eudemus, Lycones and minor Platonists at 36, or the *Katoptrika* of

⁴⁵⁴ Hunink 2001, 21.

⁴⁵⁵ Winter, 1969, 607-12.

⁴⁵⁶ Stok 1985 and Sallman 1995, for example, argue that the speech was constructed as an exercise in declamation, intended to amuse and instruct, but also to have a practical forensic function.

⁴⁵⁷ *Praeter formae mediocritatem continuatio etiam litterati laboris omnem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenuat, sucum exorbet, colorem obliterat, vigorem debilitat. Capillus ipse...horrore implexus atque impeditus stuppeo tomento adsimilis et inaequaliter hirtus et globosus et congestus...* Apuleius *Apology* 4. Many of us may sympathise with Apuleius in this matter.

⁴⁵⁸ Hunink 2001, 17

Archimedes at 16 – and says that had they but read more widely they would never have brought the charges in question.⁴⁵⁹ The wider implications of these characterisations of Apuleius himself and of his accusers are discussed below in reference to provincial libraries, but what is of interest in the present discussion is that this culture of wide and intelligent reading is linked explicitly at two points in Apuleius' text to public libraries, presumably those of the cities of the Roman north African littoral where both the speech and the events it describes took place.

At 40-41 Apuleius defends himself against the absurd charge of having cut up a raw fish (which his accusers have made the grounds for vague accusations of magical haruspicy). Apuleius counters that there is, as it were, nothing at all fishy about this activity: he was conducting what we might now call a scientific dissection. "I closely study Aristotle's works and supplement them...Do you accuse me of what Maximus and I admire in Aristotle? Unless you banish his books from the libraries and wrench them from the hands of the scholars, you cannot accuse me."⁴⁶⁰

Here, as in the Gellius passages cited above and below, there is at the least an association between libraries and scholars, and the suggestion that libraries (plural) in the area held copies of Aristotle on fish or anatomy in general. Apuleius' comments might be taken to imply that his own readings in Aristotle took place in such libraries, but neither this nor the identification of these libraries as public can be confidently asserted on the evidence of this passage alone.

Fortunately Apuleius is more explicit in the second passage. Here he reads a list of famous mages, then lampoons the predictable gasps of horror from his opponents:

⁴⁵⁹ Apuleius *Apol.* 17.

⁴⁶⁰ *Libros Aristoteli et explorare studio et augere...Hoc in me accusas, quod ego et Maximus in Aristotele miramur? cuius nisi libros bibliothecis exegeris et studiosorum manibus extorseris, accusare me non potes.* Apuleius *Apology* 41.

[90] ... *ego ille sim Carmendas vel Damigeron vel his Moses vel Iohannes vel Apollobex vel ipse Dardanus vel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.*⁴⁶¹

[91] *Vide quaeso, Maxime, quem tumultum suscitavit, quoniam ego paucos magorum nominatim percensui. quid faciam tam rudibus, tam barbaris? doceam rursus haec et multo plura alia nomina in bybliothecis publicis apud clarissimos scriptores me legisse an disputem longe aliud esse notitiam nominum, aliud artis eiusdem communionem nec debere doctrinae instrumentum et eruditionis memoriam pro confessione criminis haberi an, quod multo praestabilius est, tua doctrina, Claudii Maxime, tuaque perfecta eruditione fretus contemnam stultis et impolitis ad haec respondere?*

Apuleius *Apol.* 90-91.

Apuleius plainly states that he read in public libraries (plural again), and that their holdings included works which mentioned magical persons considered taboo by the ignorant. This is consistent with what he says elsewhere in the speech: not for Apuleius the Gellian *beau-monde* of elegant literary conversations in the villas of the wealthy. Indeed, this is the only point in the speech at which he explicitly says where he found and read any of the scores of books and authors he mentions. We might well suspect that private collections supplemented his researches – at 53 he mentions a room in Pontianus' house to which he had access and which contained at least some books, and at 55 this is called a *bybliotheca* – but he plays this down, preferring instead to rely on the image of scholarly indigence built up in the preamble to the speech. He has depleted a once-substantial patrimony through gifts and extensive travel, and as he travelled he took with him only a very few books; in fact, his opponents accused him of possessing only a staff and a single bag.⁴⁶² The implication, then, is that he has read extensively in public libraries, and it is of interest that this claim is consistent with his simultaneous claim to respectable simplicity and modesty of lifestyle. With the disordered haircut and poor physical appearance outlined at the start of the speech he is a long way from the world of the élite library user often envisaged by recent writers on the subject. No doubt this is a rhetorical pose, a well-tried courtroom tactic, but Apuleius seems to expect his audience

⁴⁶¹ The inclusion of Moses in this list may seem surprising, but see Gager 1972, 134-40.

⁴⁶² Depleted patrimony: *Apol.* 23. Small personal book collection: at *Apol.* 63 Apuleius says that he usually carried a wooden statue of Mercury around with him, *quoquo eam...inter libellos conditum*. This indicates that Apuleius' own travelling collection of books is fairly small; certainly too small to have furnished the compendious range of references and quotations in the speech. Bag and staff: *Apol.* 22, 25.

not to have found the idea improbable – and we might compare a passage of Martial in which a Cynic precisely matching Apuleius’ self-styled shabby appearance is described as a familiar fixture at an imperial library in the heart of Rome, no less:⁴⁶³

*Hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae
Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, novi
Cum baculo peraque senem, cui cana putrisque
Stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit,
Cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati,
Cui dat latratos obvia turba cibos,
Esse putas Cynicum deceptus imagine ficta.
Non est hic Cynicus, Cosme: quid ergo? Canis.*

Martial *Ep.* 4.53

The fact that Apuleius presents himself as reading extensively in public libraries is only one element that can be extracted from these two passages of the Apology. In both, I would suggest, we also find the library used to establish a common literary culture between Apuleius and his audience, and by extension as a sort of guarantor of respectability. Apuleius is accused of practising black and secret arts, and his refutation is one of openness and accountability. He frequently appeals to the learning of the judge and flatters the courtroom audience (and/or his readers) with numerous quotations and references, and by stating twice that the works he has consulted are in libraries he removes them from the realm of the suspicious. He may be able to recite the names of famous mages, but that should incur no penalty: all the names are there to be found in the *bybliothecis publicis*, a subtler version of Gellius’ friend’s injunction to go and look something up in the Templum Pacis. In both instances the library defines what is legitimately knowable.

The logic of *Apology* 41 is particularly illuminating: *nisi libros bybliothecis exegeris et studiosorum manibus extorseris, accusare me non potes*. If ‘public’ libraries were perceived as the personal fiefs of their patrons and favoured scholars, this claim would make no sense –

⁴⁶³ The library in question is probably that of the Temple of the Deified Augustus, for which see above n.4 and cf Martial *Ep.* 12.8.

Apuleius' boorish accusers can certainly have no personal connection to them, and it would be meaningless to suggest that their holdings could exculpate a man accused in a public court. For Apuleius' barb to be effective, such libraries must have been regarded as institutions with a civic identity and a universal claim to determine what kind of books were respectable (the architecture of public libraries speaks very clearly about integration with the cities and monuments in which they were located, as we have seen above and will see again). Not only are Apuleius' fields of study to be found in the works of *clarissimos scriptores*, but the books of those writers are in the public libraries and, as such, libraries can determine the sorts of literature a society can deem acceptable in its courts.

Libraries are connected to another sort of scholarly display by Apuleius in his *Florida*. Here his rhetoric is not forensic but epideictic: he is showboating before the crowds on the stage of Carthage's theatre in a classic instantiation of second sophistic self-presentation. At one point in his speech he suggests to his audience that if he should say anything particularly erudite, they should imagine themselves looking it up in a library:

Ut poetae solent hic ibidem varias civitates substituere... non secus et mihi liceat nullam longinquam et transmarinam civitatem hic, sed enim ipsius Karthaginis vel curiam vel bybliothecam substituere. Igitur proinde habetote, si curia digna protulero, ut si in ipsa curia me audiatis, si erudita fuerint, ut si in bibliotheca legantur.

Apuleius *Florida* 18.

Here again we find an appeal to the written word in a library to back up what Apuleius says in a speech.⁴⁶⁴ Carthage's library is associated with the world of theatrical display but also with the authority of the local senate: as will be argued in Section V, public libraries were an important part of civic monumental landscapes. The crowd in the theatre is a large one (*tanta multitudo ad audiendum convenisti...pro magnitudine frequentiae locus*

⁴⁶⁴ The association between auditoria used for lectures and libraries emerges several times in this thesis: see e.g. p.194.

delectus est), so Apuleius' comments seem to imply that Carthage's library had, or could have been understood to have had, a genuinely public identity.

In Apuleius, then, we find a particularly clear suggestion of the values that attached to public libraries in 2nd century Africa Proconsularis, and these are exactly the values that this thesis strives to attribute to Roman public libraries in general.

Returning to episodes set explicitly in Roman libraries, we find at *NA* 16.8 another passage of Gellius that shows the library of the *Templum Pacis* to have been an authoritative collection, and which also suggests that it was useful to students at different stages of learning. Here Gellius describes his studies in the discipline of logic. After introductory exercises (εἰσαγωγάς) he was troubled by ambiguity in Varro's interchangeable terminology on the subject, and so sought hard (*studiose*) for the *Commentarium de Proloquiis* of Lucius Aelius, Varro's tutor. This he found, eventually, in *Pacis bibliotheca* (*NA* 16.8.2).

Gellius does not mention at what stage in his career he took up the study of logic, though the vivid closing sentence of *NA* 16.8 hints that he is treating it as a study to be taken up by adults rather than schoolboys.⁴⁶⁵ His self-portrayal as an absolute beginner in the subject can be considered disingenuous: recourse to Aelius as an aid to reading Varro was surely a sign of unusual diligence, as the book's rarity suggests. Nonetheless, Gellius offers us the pleasing possibility that the library in the *Templum Pacis* was a resource open and useful to elementary or intermediate students in a subject and could help even those, like Gellius, who had a large private book collection to draw on: his portrait of the diligent student chasing up a definition in a library collection was presumably intended to ring true. The bookishness of ancient education, even at a fairly young age, is illustrated in a number of reliefs such as Figure 32 or the late first century

⁴⁶⁵ Ne...tu quoque in illis dialecticae gyris atque meandris, tamquam apud Sirenios scopulos, consenescas. *NA* 16.8.17.

tomb of Servius Sulpicius Maximus in Rome.⁴⁶⁶ It seems quite plausible that as their educations progressed, students who had not built up a private collection through youth or lack of means would have visited public libraries in the course of their studies, especially as Gellius elsewhere (*NA* 13.20, for which see below) describes in a library setting a gathering that includes his own former teacher, the noted grammarian Apollinaris Sulpicius,⁴⁶⁷ and a young man who appears to be the latter's pupil.



Figure 32 Copy of a late 2nd C AD relief from Neumagen.
EUR Museum, Rome.

We can add to Rome's libraries' potential usership, then, autodidacts like Gellius and those under instruction, as well as the professional scholars and men of letters whom we meet there in other passages. The same educative function was sustained by provincial libraries, as is attested by Dio's hope that his statue will stimulate the νέους to emulate him,⁴⁶⁸ and by an inscription from the walls of Aphrodisias which records civic honours paid to one Gaius Julius Longianus, poet, in Halicarnassus: these included the placing of his books in the city's libraries (plural) "so that the young men may be educated in these also, in the same way as in the writings of the ancients".⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ cf Lieu 2004.

⁴⁶⁷ Gellius' first meeting with Apollinaris Sulpicius: *NA* 18.4.1

⁴⁶⁸ See n.572.

⁴⁶⁹ Appendix 4 no.11 = Roueché 1993, no. 88.

Both of the passages of Gellius cited above also suggest that the library of the *Templum Pacis* held more than a collection of popular or obviously useful volumes. Both the *Aelius* and the *Capito* volumes seem to have an antiquarian value, and may have earned their place in the library collection through rarity or commercial value as much on an assessment of their potential use. Gellius describes the *Aelius* in particular as if it were an unpublished autograph.⁴⁷⁰ This corroborates, incidentally, the suggestion made above on p.11 that the proscribed collection of Varro may have formed an important part of imperial library holdings, though for our purposes here it is a useful indication that the imperial libraries were envisaged not only as resources for scholars like Gellius and his acquaintances, but also as a sort of national archive, storing the papers of recognised writers and thinkers. The function of national literary treasure houses would attach an important cultural and political significance to Rome's imperial public libraries, as is argued elsewhere in this thesis. It would also enable their patron emperors to display and make available their own book collections, and this act of display was itself a politically charged one.

Remarks by and about Josephus, and in Galen's *On My Own Books* (*Libr. Propr.*), confirm this rôle of Rome's imperial public libraries, illustrating the benefit to both author and library patron of using public libraries to house important works.

Josephus, writing in Rome as a protégé of the Flavians, famously received Titus' own autograph imprimatur for the dissemination of his history of the Jewish wars:

ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος οὕτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι των πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν.

Josephus *Vit.* 363

⁴⁷⁰ *In eo nihil edocenter neque ad institutendum explanate scriptum est, fecisseque videtur eum librum Aelius sui magis admonendi quam aliorum docendi gratia: NA 16.8.3.*

For its composition Josephus consulted Vespasian and Titus' campaign diaries (kept, perhaps, in the Templum Pacis like Trajan's Dacian campaign diaries in his own victory forum – see p.87), and the guerdon of his efforts was the inclusion of his books and statue in a public library at Rome (surely also the Templum Pacis):

ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναθέσει ἀνδριάντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τιμηθῆναι πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ σπουδασθέντας αὐτῷ λόγους βιβλιοθήκης ἀξιωθῆναι

Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.9.2

[*libri*] *et bibliothecae publicae traditi sunt et ob ingenii gloriam statuam quoque Romam meruit.*

Jerome *De vir. ill.* 13.1

Here, then, the author's proximity to the emperor was rewarded by inclusion in a public library, a process directed by Titus τῆ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ and linked by the author to the widespread availability of his work.⁴⁷¹

Galen provides similar evidence for the operation of the Templum Pacis library a century later. He was a native of Pergamum and travelled widely in the Roman empire, studying in Pergamum, Corinth, Smyrna, and Alexandria. He wrote and published very extensively throughout his career - his collected works fill 22 volumes in the 19th century Teubner edition – but it was at Rome that he was most productive, finding there, simultaneously, the patronage in some form of the late Antonine emperors and of powerful men such as the consul Boethus, the necessary research resources, and an intellectual climate of debate and rivalry that prompted the need to set down his opinions in writing and created a receptive audience (we might compare, in earlier generations, Diodorus Siculus whose researches at Rome lead to a universal history called his βιβλιοθήκη, or the prolific Augustan rhetorician, critic and historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Released from further military service by Marcus Aurelius in 169, Galen

⁴⁷¹ Cf Cohen 1979, 131.

travelled to Rome for the third time; he stayed until AD 175 and found there all he needed to embark upon a protracted period of research and writing.⁴⁷²

By the time of this third trip to Rome Galen had made a substantial reputation for himself and had become some kind of imperial protégé, having won the confidence of Marcus Aurelius by treating him on campaign in Germany.⁴⁷³ Accordingly, he describes his second visit to Rome as “at the summons of the emperors”, and his return to Rome for a third time was precipitated by an imperial summons to military service in Aquileia and then the flight of the imperial court back to Rome after an outbreak of plague.⁴⁷⁴ He is thus at pains to indicate a continuing relationship with the imperial house, whether hoped for or real, and one fruit of this relationship was that the works he wrote during this time were deposited in the library of the *Templum Pacis*:

Τὰ πλεῖστα [τουτῶν τῶν βιβλιῶν] διεφθάρη κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πυρκαϊάν, ἐν ἧ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ἅμα καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκαύθη.

Galen, *Libr. Propr.* 2.19

Here Galen states not only that that most of his works of this third period at Rome were stocked in the *Templum Pacis* library, but that many of them were lost when that library burned in AD 191. This implies that the imperial library there held the only copies.⁴⁷⁵ This implication is repeated at 11.41, where Galen states again that some of his books were lost in the *Templum Pacis* fire in contrast to others which were preserved by (also?) having been given to friends.⁴⁷⁶ Clearly, then, some of Galen’s works must have been held only in the public library in the *Templum Pacis*, alongside the grammatical works Gellius recorded there: its collection is beginning to look like an important intellectual resource.

⁴⁷² See n. 498 below for the works from this period.

⁴⁷³ Galen *Prognosis* 11, K xiv.660.

⁴⁷⁴ Galen *Libr. Propr.* 1.15; 2.18.

⁴⁷⁵ For the fire, see Dio 72.24.1.

⁴⁷⁶ ἔγραψα δ’ ἄλλα πολλὰ γυμνάζων ἑμαυτόν, ὧν ἕνια μὲν ἀπώλετο κατὰ τὴν γενομένην πυρκαϊάν, ἡνίκα τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ἐκαύθη, τινὰ δὲ φίλοις δεδομένα διασωθέντα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ νῦν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἡμέτερα.

At this time Galen was (at least by his own assessment) a leading practitioner and theoretician of medicine at Rome. He had no difficulty in ensuring the circulation of his books. Quite the reverse: the introduction to his *Libr. Propr.* states that his reason for writing the work was to establish which of the many works in circulation under his name were genuine and which were forgeries:

διὰ τ'οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ διότι πολυειδῶς ἐλωβήσαντο πολλοὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βιβλίοις, ἄλλοι κατ'ἄλλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ὡς ἴδια μετὰ τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἀφαιρεῖν, τὰ δὲ προστιθέναι, τὰ δ'ὕπαλλάττειν, ἄμεινον ἡγοῦμαι δηλῶσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τοῦ λελωβῆσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν, εἶτα περὶ τῶν ὄντως ὑπ'ἐμου γεγραμμένων ἥτις γε καθ'ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐστὶν <ἡ> ἐπαγγελία.

Galen, *Libr. Propr.* Pr. 9-10.

This refers to Galen's early works, mostly produced for friends or pupils ὡς ἂν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔκδοσιν.⁴⁷⁷ By contrast, the works produced during Galen's third period at Rome, when his reputation and imperial connections were at their apogee, were deposited exclusively in an imperial public library.

The implication that work written under imperial patronage could be stocked exclusively in a public library indicates an important rôle for libraries in the city's literary life, and one that could not be supplanted or even emulated by the book trade or private circulation of books among the well-to-do. Galen himself makes this point: *Libr. Propr.* opens with an episode set at a bookshop in the Sandalaria, where a purported volume of Galen is exposed as a forgery. Likewise, Galen had already enjoyed, but found limiting, literary patronage of a very high but non-imperial level: he had written seven volumes at the behest of the consul Boethus during an earlier stay in Rome. The relationship had clearly been useful and productive, but when Boethus left to take up his governorship of Syria Palestina he took Galen's books away with him, interrupting their composition.⁴⁷⁸ Works composed in Rome under the direct patronage of the Antonines, on the other

⁴⁷⁷ Galen *Libr. Propr.* Pr. 10.

⁴⁷⁸ Galen *Libr. Propr.* 1.16.

hand, stayed in Rome, and were furthermore accommodated in a building which Galen later described as the heart of all intellectual activity in the city at that time (collaborating Gellius' accounts of a lively intellectual scene there) and which, as Gellius has also shown us, could be referred to as an unimpeachable guarantor of veracity.⁴⁷⁹

If Galen's reports of his own popularity are to be believed, an exclusive holding of his works would have made the Templum Pacis library, a hundred years after its foundation, an invaluable resource for students and practitioners of medicine (a very book-based subject);⁴⁸⁰ another passage of *On My Own Books*, discussed below, suggests the same thing. Indeed, as Galen says that he left all his own books behind in Asia, we might also wonder whether some of his research was conducted in this library.⁴⁸¹ This arrangement would have been beneficial both for Galen, who enjoyed the prestige and security of having his works admitted there – his repeated mentions of the library and his concern to establish an authentic canon of his own works show as much – and for the library's patron emperors, who could thereby fulfil their rôles as patrons of the literary, and in this case medical, arts.

Galen's remarks therefore illustrate, as it were, both the 'supply' and 'demand' aspects of imperial public library provision in Rome. As an author he enjoyed the enlivening debates and library resources of the Templum Pacis, and the opportunity to place copies of his books where they would be safe (a misplaced faith, given the fire), correctly attributed to him, and widely read or readable; his imperial sponsors meanwhile enjoyed an association with a leading intellect, attracted to Rome by the resources put at his disposal there, and (like Boethus) seem to have been rewarded with exclusive 'rights' to his work.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 2.21. See also below pp.215ff. for this rôle of public libraries.

⁴⁸⁰ For the importance of books and libraries to ancient medicine: Vallance 2004, esp. 108-9.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.* 6.34: οὐδ'εἶχον αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, πάντων ὧν ἐκεκτήμην βιβλίων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ μεινάντων.

This establishes the public library as a tool of imperial literary patronage in the same way that private book collections or recitations were used by patrons like a Boethus, Pliny, or Maecenas. The emperor acted through his libraries as a literary patron on a grand scale, providing resources for an extended *'familia'* that included leading scholars and ultimately, at least in the libraries' symbolically public locations and architecture, the whole *populus Romanus* and its visitors. This element of public libraries' function, and the rôle of such libraries in establishing and protecting a literary canon is discussed further below; for now we must return to anecdotes that illustrate direct relationships between Roman authors or scholars and public libraries.

The passages discussed thus far have shown that libraries acted as places where authors could deposit copies of their works to enable them to be preserved, correctly attributed to their writers, and read; they are also (and in consequence) places where men like Gellius can look up useful texts or make lucky discoveries. Another important function also emerges from authors who record the use of libraries: as well as places where Gellius or his peers could find useful books, they also appear to have functioned as places for scholarly meeting and dispute.

At *NA* 11.17, for example, Gellius describes an occasion in which he fell into discussion with a neighbour while sitting inside a library, in this case one of the libraries of Trajan's Forum. Here he was able to browse sufficiently freely to find a text (an old praetorian edict) that he was not looking for.⁴⁸² The implications of this passage for our understanding of the location, operation and holdings of the libraries of Trajan's forum is discussed elsewhere in this thesis (pp. 61 with n.180, 81, 131): it indicates, for example, that authors were able to browse archival holdings in public libraries. Of interest here is

⁴⁸² *Edicta veterum praetorum sedentibus forte nobis in bibliotheca templi Traiani et aliud quid quaerentibus cum in manus incidissent...*

the fact that the passage indicates that the Trajanic library, like that of the Domus Tiberiana, was a place for scholars to meet and sit in discussion on unpremeditated subjects; in this instance an anonymous friend *nobiscum sedens* is able to provide a (questionable) definition of the meaning of *retanda* in an old praetorian edict during a spontaneous discussion prompted by the arrival of an unexpected book.

A similar situation is recounted at *NA* 13.20, where Gellius relates an anecdote which he says took place *in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca* and involves another unexpected library find. While sitting there with his former tutor Apollinaris Sulpicius *et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiaris, prolatus forte liber est inscriptus: M. Catonis Nepotis*. A lively discussion among Gellius' group began on the subject of the identity of this Cato, and was taken up by an *adulescens quispiam...non abhorrens a litteris* and the learned Apollinaris.

There are several points of interest here. The existence in the Domus Tiberiana of a library that was open to at least a proportion of the public is interesting. As Domitian rebuilt this palace on the north-western part of the Palatine after the fire of AD80, the library might well be among those which he restored *impensissime* at the same time.⁴⁸³ The *Historia Augusta* tells us that the emperors of Gellius' period still lived in Domitian's rebuilt Domus Tiberiana,⁴⁸⁴ and this suggests a particularly close association between those emperors and the life of this library. Indeed, Marcus Aurelius suggested to Fronto with knowing familiarity that he might bribe the custodian of the Domus Tiberiana library in order to borrow a book from it (an imperial prerogative, perhaps), so it appears that the library and its holdings were well known to the Palatine's most illustrious residents.⁴⁸⁵ We can compare passages in the *HA*, which indicate that in and

⁴⁸³ Suet. *Dom.* 20.

⁴⁸⁴ *SHA Ant. Pius* 10; *Marcus* 6; *Verus* 2, 6.

⁴⁸⁵ Fronto, *Ep.* 2.5.

around the period of Gellius' anecdotes, various Antonine princes were educated by leading scholars in the Domus Tiberiana.⁴⁸⁶

The core of the Domus Tiberiana's book collection may have been assembled by or under Tiberius. Suetonius records that Tiberius took an active interest in libraries and it is a reasonable assumption that the Antonine library in the Flavian-rebuilt palace could trace its roots back in some way to an early Julio-Claudian antecedent, especially as Gellius records the presence there of a number of late Republican books (the possible provenance of these holdings was discussed on pp.11f). By a curious coincidence both the Gellius and the Fronto passage refer to collections of speeches by Cato (whether or not the same Cato is unclear).⁴⁸⁷ The letter to Fronto indicates that the library of the Domus Tiberiana had holdings overlapping with those the library of Palatine Apollo (since the same book was to be found in both). It is striking that two libraries so close to each other should carry the same stock, but since Marcus Aurelius' letter to Fronto describes an occasion on which the same book was required by more than one reader it seems that this level of provision was based on a predictably high demand for access to these books, indicating in turn a fairly high usership (which accounts, of course, for the fact that a further library had to be added to the Palatine at all).

Libraries have been identified in other imperial palaces with varying degrees of certainty, many on very slender evidence.⁴⁸⁸ That at Antium, though, is attested

⁴⁸⁶ SHA *Ant. Pius* 10.4 – the Stoic philosopher Apollonius of Chalcis is summoned by Antoninus to the Domus Tiberiana to tutor Marcus Aurelius (he refused to go); *Marv.* 6.3: Marcus Aurelius, designated as Pius' colleague in power, was ordered to take up official residence there (in AD 139; if Marcus continued rhetoric lessons until the age of 20 he would therefore have had two years' of instruction there). *Verus* 2.4-5 Verus receives instruction there from grammarians, rhetoricians and philosophers. Langie 1908, 63 uses these passages as evidence for the existence and function of the imperial libraries; their reliability is discussed below (pp.196ff).

⁴⁸⁷ Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.9) also mentions autograph manuscripts of Cato: perhaps they were also part of this collection?

⁴⁸⁸ Bruce 1986 collates the available evidence, accepting a number of unsound identifications resting on perceived similarity to public library architecture.

epigraphically and by Philostratus,⁴⁸⁹ while the likeliest candidate among several structures at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli variously identified as libraries bears a strong resemblance to many Roman public libraries, suggesting at least that it was designed to accommodate a fair number of books and readers and to call to mind imperial public facilities.⁴⁹⁰

The arrangement calls to mind the aristocratic villa libraries of the late Republic such as that at Herculaneum, or the library of Lucullus in which Cicero set part of his *De Finibus*, with the important difference that the imperial library of which Gellius writes seems to have been at least a nominally public resource. Marcus Aurelius' letter to Fronto indicates a very rarified class of library user, but Gellius' passage identifies a library usership composed of a wider variety of persons. He and his friends are a group of scholars, but not all part of a single clique: the young man who speaks first and some of Apollinaris' companions are not known to Gellius. It seems, then, that likeminded individuals could gather in the libraries and fall into conversation with one another without previous acquaintance. The composition of Gellius' group is important. While Gellius himself and Apollinaris were well known *littérateurs*, the young man sharing (and making inaccurate contributions to) their conversation was not. References are repeatedly made to his youth (*adulescens quispiam... te, mi fili, quod in tantula aetate...*" NA 13.20.3, 5): he appears to have been still a student, perhaps hoping to impress his elders with a pertinent remark. Sadly for him, his efforts fell flat; but his youth is useful to us in that it suggests, again, an educative rôle for libraries open not only to the well-known scholar, but also to the aspirant. It is worth noting in passing that this anecdote also provides

⁴⁸⁹ Philostratus *VA*. 8.20: Hadrian kept a work of Pythagorean philosophy and some letters at Antium. For the epigraphy, see below n.620.

⁴⁹⁰ Bruce 1986, 535; Lugli 1927, 183-4; de Gregori 1937, 27; Callmer 1944, 176; Makowiecka 1978, 73-4; Tønsberg 1976, 63-5.

information about points of library operation and holdings that are dealt with elsewhere in this thesis.⁴⁹¹

Though the point of Gellius' anecdote about the Domus Tiberiana might partly have been 'name-dropping' a prestigious library that he had used, the substance of his anecdote therefore suggests a usership wider than a small set of imperial favourites or professional grammarians (if any imperial library were restricted to such a group, it would surely have been this one, located as it was within the walls of an imperial palace). It also adds Rome's libraries to Gellius' list of places suitable for a pleasant literary discussion with friends or strangers.⁴⁹² This is an important ancillary function for the city's libraries, and goes some way to explaining their incorporation of large areas of floor space or, in some cases, courtyards.⁴⁹³ The implication is that the Domus Tiberiana library was constructed as a public space of this sort with room for sitting, rather than simply as a store-room for books in the manner of a villa library. As such it would have been part of a growing tradition of public rather than private library architecture: Roman public libraries were spaces that were designed to accommodate and impress large numbers of people, as we have seen.

We can compare a passage of Martial which suggests a similar rôle for libraries in the poetical life of the city. In the introduction to *Ep.*12 Martial apologises for the three year interval between this and his last book of Epigrams. He has been and still is in Spanish *provinciali solitudine*, and misses urban life and in particular his Roman audiences:

Illam iudiciorum subtilitatem, illud materiarum ingenium, bibliothecas theatra convictus, in quibus studere se voluptates non sentiunt, ad summam omnium illa quae delicati reliquimus desideramus quasi destituti.

Martial *Ep.* 12 preface.

⁴⁹¹ i.e., that Gellius and friends are handed a book they didn't ask for – which suggests the presence of attendants bringing books. See above pp.156ff. for library staff.

⁴⁹² See n.446.

⁴⁹³ Courtyards: n.401.

Bibliothecas are referred to as places completely familiar to the audience he addresses, part of the world of literary ‘meeting places’ where he and the *aures civitatis* can seek edifying pleasure. The juxtaposition with theatres is interesting; as well as pleasant literary discussions of the sort Gellius records, then, this passage of Martial suggests poetical readings and discussions took place in Rome’s libraries (the possible connection between the writing of poetry and the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae was the subject of Ch. II.1).

A different aspect of Rome’s libraries’ rôle in scholarly conversation and debate is found in Galen, whose references to the Templum Pacis’ holdings of his own works (pp.183ff. above) indicate that that library held an extensive medical collection not long after Gellius had used it for specialised grammatical works. It therefore seems that the Templum Pacis was a centre of intellectual endeavour in general rather than grammatical and lexicological works in particular, and this universality is confirmed by Galen’s description of the Templum Pacis as “general meeting place for all those engaged in learned disputes even before the fire”:

καθ’ ὅ τι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καυθῆναι πᾶσιν ἦν ἔθος ἀθροίζεσθαι τοῖς τὰς λογικὰς τέχνας μεταχειριζομένοις.

Galen *Libr. Propr.* 2.21.

(Galen’s καὶ here implies that the building retained this function after the fire of 191, implying a swift restoration).⁴⁹⁴ Galen claims that his detractors met here καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν to criticise him in discussion with one another, and this accords well with Gellius’ portrait of library life. The daily meetings of many of Rome’s medical scholars in the Templum Pacis confirm that it was an important resource for this element of the city’s intellectual life, in much the same way as Gellius’ impromptu meetings and

⁴⁹⁴ This restoration is also implied by the installation of the Severan Forma Urbis and by renewed praise for the Templum Pacis in later sources: Herod. 1.14.2; Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.14.

conversations in libraries suggest a regular population of literary scholars: both authors portray libraries as busy and useful places. “Trebellius Pollio”, the *nom de plume* of the author of SHA *Tyr. Trig.* states that this function continued into the Constantinian period. This is scarcely a reliable source, though in this case there may be some truth in the claim;⁴⁹⁵ at any rate, it indicates that the author(s) of the *HA* believed that references to learned debate in the Templum Pacis would lend an air of scholarly verisimilitude to their work.

The rôle of the Templum Pacis as recorded by Galen extends beyond its convenience for private or informal gatherings of like-minded medical scholars. In *Libr. Propr.* 2.21-22 it appears to have been the venue for a formal refutation of his critics in the format of a public lecture and demonstration. This interesting passage, set in Rome in the early 170s, before the fire in the Templum Pacis, connects libraries and book collections to the highly charged atmosphere of intellectual rivalry, channelled into public disputation, that is a familiar element of the second sophistic. The location of this demonstration is not specified by Galen, but there is good reason to think that it too took place in the Templum Pacis. In the immediately preceding paragraph Galen remarks that this building was a universal meeting place for intellectuals, including his detractors, and in 2.19 and 11.41 he names the Templum Pacis library as a place which held copies of his own works. The demonstration is to take place κατά τι τῶν μεγάλων ἀκουστηρίων. The Templum Pacis is usually described as having had lecture halls as well as a library; the Hadrianic library in Athens, whose design is often said to be based on the Vespasianic complex in Rome, contained a pair of lecture halls which appear to have communicated directly with a large library room;⁴⁹⁶ a similar conjunction might have

⁴⁹⁵ SHA *Tyr. Trig.* 31.10. Bruce 1981, 558 thinks that this reference is credible. Cf p.196 below. For the continued function of the Templum (Forum) Pacis into this period: Langie 1908, 69-70; Boyd p.60; Clift 1945, 28; Milkau and Leyh 1950, vol. 3 pt. 1 122; Ihm 1893, 521.

⁴⁹⁶ See below p.281; Boatwright 2000, esp. 153-7; Travlos 1971 *sv.* ‘Hadrian, Library of,’ 244-52; Spetsieri-Choremi 1995, 137-47.

existed in the Eastern Baths at Ephesus (for which see above, pp.122ff.) and the Hadrianic Athenaeum at Rome.⁴⁹⁷

At any rate, the building where Galen spoke incorporated a large hall suitable for lectures and, it seems, an extensive collection of medical books. Galen began his bravura refutation by setting out before him τὰ τῶν ἀνατομικῶν ἀπάντων βιβλία τὴν ἐξουσίαν. His self-consciously theatrical showmanship seems to have relied on his mastery of the entire written medical corpus: he invites his detractors to pick any part of the body and any authority; he will refute it. This must have involved a truly enormous range of books: Galen's next paragraphs list the summaries and commentaries that he subsequently made from a selection of those works, and these by themselves occupy 159 volumes, with a further 217 volumes of commentary on philosophical and logical proof.⁴⁹⁸ Galen might be supposed to have brought his own copies to the lecture, of course, but the sheer number of texts weighs against that, as does the fact that front-row hecklers interrupt him to suggest that he starts with a text (itself a compendious summary) that he had apparently not considered: as such, it was probably part of the library rather than a book from his own collection which, at any rate, he later tells us he had left in Asia.⁴⁹⁹ It is likely, then, that Galen's lecture hall contained or was attached to a medical library. The Templum Pacis is the most likely candidate, but the episode provides a valuable insight into the rôle of the book collection in Roman intellectual life with or without a positive

⁴⁹⁷ See p.196.

⁴⁹⁸ The works that Galen says he wrote during his third stay in Rome filled, at his own estimation, 515 volumes including 159 of medical commentary, summary or refutation (including 84 on Hippocrates alone); 90 volumes of commentary on works of use in the context of logical proof; 127 volumes of philosophical commentary. Galen *Libr. Propr.* 3-17.

⁴⁹⁹ Galen *Libr. Propr.* 6.34. For another mention by Galen of medical research in a library, this time at Pergamum, see *Comment. In Hippocrates De Medici Off.* 1.18.2 (630K).

identification of its setting, implying the importance of book-based learning to at least one intellectual discipline.⁵⁰⁰

A similar range of rôles seems to have been sustained by the Athenaeum, built in Rome by Hadrian as a school for the liberal arts (*ludus ingenuarum atrium*).⁵⁰¹ Its location and architectural form are unknown,⁵⁰² but the functions attributed to it by various authors correspond to those which we have now encountered in various imperial public libraries. It was an assembly hall used for literary declamations and readings,⁵⁰³ as well as meetings of the senate⁵⁰⁴ and judicial gatherings.⁵⁰⁵ It contained a library room arranged in *cunei* (suggesting the semicircular form seen in the libraries of Trajan's baths and Timgad),⁵⁰⁶ which seems also to have been used for readings, providing a useful link between public book collections and public intellectual displays.⁵⁰⁷

Evidence for library location and use from the *Historiae Augustae* has now been cited several times. There are several references to Rome's imperial libraries in the *HA* which, taken at face value, offer information on everything from library governance to the fact that the bookcases in the Bibliotheca Ulpia were numbered, and suggest that the work's author(s) can be added to the list of scholars who cite Roman libraries directly.⁵⁰⁸ The reliability of the *HA*, however, is a perennially thorny question; the most comprehensive work on the subject of libraries in the *HA* concludes that information in

⁵⁰⁰ For Roman assumptions that medicine relied on book collections, see Pliny *HN* 29.1.4 and Tzetz *Chil.* 7.963-65 (ed. Kiessling 1963). Both impute a collection of texts to Hippocrates on Cos. Cf the imperial doctor C. Stertinius Xenophon's library on Cos, Appendix 4. no. 3.

⁵⁰¹ Aurelius Victor *Caes.* 14.2-3

⁵⁰² The *LTUR* (Coarelli) fairly convincingly locates it in the forum at the head of the Vicus Tuscus, behind the temple of Castor and Pollux, communicating with Domus Tiberiana. See e.g. *Not., Cur. Reg.* VIII, and *Chronogr.* a.354 (p.146, 16 M): *templum Castorum et Minervae, CIL XVI: in muro post aedem divi Augusti ad Minervam.*

⁵⁰³ *SHA Pert.* 11.3; *Alex. Sev.* 35.2; *Gordian* 3.4

⁵⁰⁴ Dio 74.17

⁵⁰⁵ Symm. *Epist.* 9.89.2

⁵⁰⁶ Sidon. *Ep.* 2.9.4 – *huc libri adfatim in promptu (videre te crederes aut grammaticales pluteos aut Athenaei cuneos aut armaria exstructa bybliopolarum).*

⁵⁰⁷ *Id.* 9.14.2 *dignus omnino, quem plausilibus Roma foveret ulnis, quoque recitante crepitantis Athenaei subsellia cuneata quaterentur.*

⁵⁰⁸ E.g. *SHA Tac.* 8.1-2

the earlier lives, such as the passages about the Domus Tiberiana⁵⁰⁹ is more or less reliable, but that the frequent references to libraries made by the later author “Vopiscus” are worthless: “The entire offering gives scant information for library history. Fiction cannot be made into fact, and it must be accepted that there is little value in the remarks about libraries in the *HA*’s third-century biographies.”⁵¹⁰ For matters of individual detail, this conclusion is right. Vopiscus writes, for instance, that the city prefect arranged for him to read *lectites Graecos* and the linen books in the Library of Trajan, where he also consulted imperial letters and official archives: each element of this story has been called into question.⁵¹¹

Notwithstanding its deficiency in points of detail, the evidence of the *Historiae Augustae* is not to be written off entirely.⁵¹² Vopiscus’ library stories, even if false, are based largely on earlier examples from more reliable sources. Even if the information they contain is unreliable, then, the fact that they are included at all is interesting: for “Vopiscus”, who claims a Constantinian authorial date but who may have been writing as late as the 390s, reference to imperial public library collections is one way in which his work can be made to appear more authentic. It is the fact that the author uses public libraries to make his work sound reliable that is valuable here, rather than the specific information that he conveys (a point to which Bruce’s article overlooks): for the author (and presumably the readers) of Vopiscus’ confabulations, research in public libraries is a key element of credible historical writing, and mentioning public libraries by name and

⁵⁰⁹ See n.486.

⁵¹⁰ Bruce 1981, 564.

⁵¹¹ SHA *Aurel.* 1.1-10. Doubt about the urban prefect’s authority over library access: Bruce 1981, 560; Langie 1908, 138-9 sums up the argument but is non-committal; cf. Tønsberg 1976, 125, Thompson 1968, vol. 26, 32, and de Vleeschauwer, 118. Doubt about the linen books: Chastagnol 1962, 19-20; Magie 1932 vol. 3 p.194; Bruce 1981, 560. Contra Ihm 1893, 521; Langie 1908, 116; Boyd 1915 38-9, 56; Garbelli 1894, 158.

SHA *Aurel.* 8.1-15 quotes verbatim a letter from Valerian to the consul Antoninus Gallus (not attested elsewhere); *Aurel.* 9.1-7 quotes a letter found *ex scriniis praefecturae urbanae* in the library. These purported documents “contains numerous administrative procedures which contradict reality. There is nothing in these letters to commend.” Bruce 1981, 561 (cf. Magie 1932, vol. 3 211).

⁵¹² For e.g. Vopiscus on catalogues, see p.147.

showing familiarity with their workings is a convenient authorial shorthand by which to impress and convince the reading public. The passages of more reliable authors discussed above suggest that reference to public library collections was a frequent enough authorial device to be worth imitating in the *HA*.

Several points of detail also suggest that Vopiscus aimed at verisimilitude. The imperial award of a statue to Apollonius of Tyana in AD 272, for example, is described in circumstances which strain belief, but the practice of installing busts of favoured authors and philosophers is well attested in ages either side of this date.⁵¹³ The *HA*'s claim that the emperor Tacitus ordered ten copies of his namesake historian's works to be made and placed in the public libraries has been widely disbelieved, probably rightly, but we will encounter below far more reliable evidence for earlier emperors' direct influence over the works that were included or excluded from the city's public libraries: again, the *HA* author has used an earlier historical tendency to bolster his own credibility.⁵¹⁴ If credibility is the aim of the *HA* author(s), then we need not dismiss as entirely worthless the information the work provides about the way libraries were perceived by its readers and used and remarked upon by earlier authors.

Public libraries outside Rome have been encountered in Apuleius and are also documented in Aulus Gellius and other sources. Their function appears to be similar to those in the capital. We do not find accounts of conversations taking place inside provincial libraries, but this does not mean that such conversations didn't occur: Gellius, for one, is necessarily a visitor in these places, rather than part of the local intellectual community, and at any rate can find in conversations with his hosts the necessary

⁵¹³ SHA *Aurel.* 24.2-9. Cf pp.224f.

⁵¹⁴ SHA *Tac.* 10.3. Syme 1958, Vol. I 59 dismisses this passage, though Langie and Boyd accept it. For imperial control of library holdings, see pp.215ff.

backdrop for the anecdotes he wants to recount.⁵¹⁵ The provincial buildings described in Section V included large halls similar to those in Roman libraries, designed for meetings.

Two passages cite provincial libraries for old and reliable texts which preserve interesting readings (Gellius generally believes that older manuscripts contain more reliable texts, a logical though not always correct assumption). In *NA* 18.9, a discussion about the legitimacy of the word *insecenda*, Gellius refers again to a text he found in a library, this time at Patrae in Achaea: *offendi enim in bibliotheca Patrensi librum verae vetustatis Livii Andronici... illic igitur aetatis et fidei magnae libro credo*. Here, then, a provincial library can contain a book of unique value even to a metropolitan littérateur. The story seems reliable enough, and the library at Patrae was probably founded on a Roman model: Holford-Strevens suggests that its manuscript of Livius Andronicus was “no doubt taken there by one of Augustus’ colonists into whom the text had been beaten as it had into Horace... we need neither deny that Gellius personally inspected the manuscript of Livius and devised the arguments of §§6-8 himself, nor make Velius the source of §§9-11.”⁵¹⁶

Gellius records a similarly useful find in a Quintus Claudius text in the library at Tibur in *NA* 9.14. Here he discovers a book which offers alternative readings in the text and a marginal comment: *meminimus etiam in Tiburti bibliotheca invenire nos in eodem Claudii libro scriptum utrumque ‘facies’ et ‘facii’. Sed facies in ordinem scriptum fuit et contra per i geminum ‘facii’*. The marginalium in the library’s copy suggests regular use and the sort of helpful infraction of library etiquette that will be familiar to users of modern research libraries; we can compare marginalia in the manuscripts from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum as evidence of their frequent use by a community of scholars.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁵ As at 19.5, where the library reference occurs in the context of a discussion at a private villa.

⁵¹⁶ Holford-Strevens 2003, 169

⁵¹⁷ “Countless marginalia and commentaries in the manuscripts” at Herculaneum: Sider 1990, 540.

Both passages relate to a particular *bête noire* of Gellius, the unscholarly emendation of correct but unusual linguistic forms. Philological discussions arising from variant readings were an important part of the intellectual life of Rome's scholars and grammarians; such discussions appear at several points in the *Noctes Atticae* and in the title to *NA* 1.7 Gellius upbraids those who *bonos libros violant*. Generally Gellius and his circle prefer to rely on readings from earlier manuscripts, and place a premium on those which had some demonstrable connection with the author or his circle.⁵¹⁸ The hazards of poor copying and the damage to or degradation of old books discussed above made such volumes rare articles indeed, and Gellius' discussions of them confirm the importance of large and reliable manuscript collections to certain branches of Roman scholarship and illustrate the high value attached to copies with an impressive provenance.

Many of Gellius' variant readings, to be sure, are found in manuscripts from the private collections of the author or his friends and acquaintances; the importance of these collections as a spur to imperial public library provision is discussed below.⁵¹⁹ In the passages discussed here, though, we see also public (imperial) library collections mentioned or alluded to. In the two passages above, 9.14 and 18.9, Gellius mentioned libraries directly. In *NA* 1.21 we might construe a library connection: Gellius cites a commentary of Hyginus on Virgil's *Georgics* which made use of a copy *qui fuerit ex domo atque ex familia Vergilii*. Hyginus was in charge of the Augustan Palatine library, so his copy of Virgil, if not itself a library book, is at least illustrative of the culture of book

⁵¹⁸ E.g. *NA* 1.7, where a variant reading of a future infinitive in Cicero (*Verr.* 5.167) is checked in a copy called *libro spectatae fidei, Tironiana cura atque disciplina facto*; or *NA* 18.5.11 for a copy of Ennius edited by Naevis' editor C. Octavius Lampadio, *librum summae atque reverendae vestustatis*, acquired *studio pretioque multo* to check a variant reading of *equus*. See also *NA* 1.21 and 9.14, discussed here with regard to their connexion with libraries, and *NA* 2.3.5 for a costly copy of Virgil's *Aen.* II. Seneca *Ep.* 108.32 discusses old forms like *reapse* and *seipse* in Cicero's *De Republica*; Fantham 1996, 15, who miscites this letter as 88, suggests that Seneca saw this text in a library.

⁵¹⁹ Pp.253ff.

collection, manuscript study and commentary writing that was supported by the *princeps* and which led to the foundation of Rome's first public libraries.

At any rate, and importantly, we meet in Gellius' anecdotes a class of men engaged in philological and literary study and debate that centres around a continual search for authenticity and reliability, and especially around choice among variant readings; taken together with frequent complaints about the unreliability of commercial copyists this suggests at least a potential rôle for libraries as guarantors of textual integrity and as showcases for extensive imperial collections, as successive generations of authors were honoured by the incorporation of first editions into their holdings.

A livelier story containing several equally typical Gellian elements is found at *NA* 19.5. Here Gellius and a group of likeminded friends are staying as the guests of a wealthy friend in Tibur, and drinking *aquam multam ex diluta nive*. A member of the party, a devotee of the Peripatetic school and well-versed in Aristotle, objected to the practice, citing Aristotle's verdict that snow-melt was *hominibus potu nimio insalubrem*. The snow-drinkers were disinclined to believe him until he was able to produce the relevant volume of Aristotle and implore them to read it: *huius saltem...sapientissimi viri verbis credite ac desinite valitudinem vestram profligare*. Thereupon the party variously ceded defeat.

The point of the story is humour, as is clear from Gellius' mock-military conclusion (*ita postea ego bellum et odium nivi indixi, alii indutias cum ea varie factitabant*), and it is one among many Gellian episodes which first and foremost creates a charming world of good-natured dinner-party banter in gracious villas. There is something to be said here, perhaps, about the primacy of the written word in debates of this sort, but although the authority of the Aristotle book is unimpeachable, Gellius' last sentence contains a laconic hint that not all his friends followed his lead.

What is interesting, though, is how the party obtained the book: the anxious and unheeded Peripatetic went into Tibur's library and brought it back to his friends.⁵²⁰ This suggests a lending library, though only in the same way that Fronto's letter above suggests that books could be borrowed from the Domus Tiberiana library. Gellius' host is a rich man with a house nearby and might have been able to exercise powers of persuasion. What is striking is that a provincial town contained a library which Gellius describes as fairly well stocked, and which even the guests in a wealthy and learned villa find a useful aid. Roman book collectors liked to think of their private libraries as all-encompassing (see Athenaeus' comments on Larensis, below), but here Gellius has no such qualms – he and his friends only believed one of their peers when he was able to prove his point by consultation of a public library.

⁵²⁰ *Cum bibendae nivis pausa fieret nulla, promit e bibliotheca Tiburti, quae tunc in Herculis templo satis commode instructa libris erat, Aristotelis librum eumque ad nos adfert.* NA 19.5.4. The sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tibur dates from c.50BC and contained, in common with many Italian sanctuary complexes, a theatre structure (Boethius 1978, 159-78). A library would be an interesting extension of the site's cultural programme, though Gellius' *tunc* implies that it had recently moved. Cf. NA 9.14.

IV.2 - The effects of libraries and book-collections on Roman literature

Introduction

We have seen a range of cases in which authors and scholars offer direct evidence for their use of Roman public libraries. We might therefore expect to be able to perceive the influence of these libraries on the production and consumption of literature at Rome.

We have already seen some instances in which authors in this category mention public libraries directly,⁵²¹ but we can also use their work to illuminate the literary culture from which public libraries emerged.

This section begins by examining the culture of compendious reading, excerpting, and note-taking that developed in parallel with the public library provision of Rome (IV.2.i). It is impossible to say how far the emperors (or other members of Rome's cultural élite) directed and stimulated this development, either through the provision of libraries or through other forms of literary patronage. To speak of an imperial cultural "policy" in this area would be too crude a reduction of a complicated pattern of intellectual currents; it is suggested below that emperors may have been responding to trends in Roman intellectual life as much as directing them.

What we can do, though, is acknowledge that both the provision of public libraries and these tendencies in the literature of the age grew out of a movement in intellectual life towards universal collection and categorisation of knowledge, and that the similarity of the priorities which drove them are evident, especially when (as we will see

⁵²¹ In other instances, conjecture is attractive: Pliny, for example, consulted manuscripts: an autograph of the Gracchi, Cicero, Augustus and Virgil. The first named was in the library of the tragic poet Pompeius Secundus, but the latter three one might imagine in an imperial library. Pliny *HN* 13.83.

below) the personnel who oversaw the establishment of Rome's public libraries – men like Varro, Hyginus, Melissus and Suetonius – were exactly those who were producing diligently researched commentaries, compendia and biographies. It is difficult to group under one heading different genres of Roman writing – *excerpta*, epitomes, miscellanies, genuine encyclopaedias, compendia of various sorts – but a certain common tendency towards wide reading and detailed compilation does seem to characterise much of the prose writing of the imperial period.⁵²²

Even without being able to establish direct links between authors of such works and public libraries, it is worthwhile to consider the encyclopaedia, miscellany and commentary culture of literary Rome alongside the emergence of large public library collections. The organisation of material into large collections of excerpts and summaries echoes the rôle that libraries played in allowing Roman emperors to present themselves as controlling and limiting knowledge; this is discussed below with particular reference to Pliny the Elder.

The second half of this chapter (IV.2.ii) discusses the direct influence of the provision of public libraries on literary life at Rome. Libraries preserved texts and contributed (among other agents) to the formation of a literary canon. It is also clear that imperial favour or displeasure expressed through library collections was felt by Rome's readers and writers. There is plentiful evidence for close connections between the creation and stocking of imperial libraries, from Augustus onwards, and the granting or withholding of imperial favour from certain authors and works. Studying these connections permits an approach to a challenge laid down by Nicholas Horsfall in an influential article: "What 'direction' or 'reward' have to do with the library (or libraries) – if anything – is a question that does not require to be answered here."⁵²³

⁵²² For these common characteristics between different genres see Vardi 2004, esp. 165-7. De Vleeschauer 1958, 21 links library provision to encyclopaedic literary genres.

⁵²³ Horsfall 1993, 65.

i) General influence

The mechanisms by which the imperial collections influenced the writing of literature were subtle and varied. Firstly, the very existence of substantial library holdings in the city, both private and public, opened up greater resources than ever before to the city's authors. The process gathered momentum, as we have seen, in the late Republic and its effects were immediately felt – Augustus' was the generation which finally established Roman parity with Greece in the arts, literary and otherwise – and continued throughout the *aurea aetas* of public library provision which followed over the next century and a half. These imperial libraries should be seen both as contributor to and consequence of the literary ferment that characterised the intellectual life of the city during this period. The effects of public library collections, and of the culture of compendious reading that resulted from and was made possible by them, is evident in the works whose composition they enabled, and which they eventually held on their shelves. Rome's was a literature of precedent and genre: as Fantham writes, "for the understanding of both prose and verse artists we need to know whom they looked to as masters in their genre, both Greek and Roman, and how they saw the histories of their genre up to their own time."⁵²⁴ Large imperial libraries, which contained and to an extent defined these genres, were one means by which authors and readers could arrive at this understanding.

Suetonius (AD 70 – c.130) provides an example of this stratum of "learned and respectable" scholarly library users. He was an imperial *a bibliothecis*, and may have assisted in the creation of the Bibliothecae Ulpiae in the Forum of Trajan. As a scholar-librarian he continued the tradition established by Varro and Pollio at the very end of the

⁵²⁴ Fantham 1996, 7, citing Pliny *Ep.* 5.3 and 1.2 as examples.

Republic and continued by Augustus' first librarians, Pompeius Macer and the freedman grammarians listed below. Suetonius' very extensive biographical writings include the *Illustrious Men* with its hundred-plus subjects and the *Caesars*, which cites private products of the imperial pen, both literary works (Claudius' memoirs;⁵²⁵ Nero's poems;⁵²⁶ Domitian's *On Looking After Hair*)⁵²⁷ and correspondence.⁵²⁸ Both works show signs of considerable lucubration (albeit of varying quality) on a scale which suggests systematic access to large quantities of sources, such as might have been stored in the imperial libraries. Suetonius' professional interest in library administration coloured his intellectual interests: he also wrote a *De Bibliothecariis*, now sadly lost.

Indeed, the compendiary biographical genre as a whole has strong links to the history of the Roman public library: of the four Roman predecessors named by Suetonius in his preface – Varro, Hyginus, Nepos and Santra – the first two were, like Suetonius a hundred and forty years later, personally involved in establishing the earliest libraries at Rome. The third, Nepos, whose *floruit* was just before the age of library provision, is generally thought to exhibit considerable deficiencies in his treatment of documents (he seems not to have read many of the primary sources he cites; had he had access to the imperial libraries, his research might have been more thorough). Of Santra, a first century tragedian and biographer, little is known.

In the generation of writers immediately preceding Suetonius, Pliny the Elder (AD 29- 79) provides a different case of the influence of library collections on literary scholarship: writers like Pliny may have used libraries in their researches, but the scope and structure of their work, and the research that underpins it, also illustrates a characteristic element of imperial Roman literary priorities and methods which found

⁵²⁵ *Claud.* 41.3.

⁵²⁶ *Nero* 24.2.

⁵²⁷ *Dom.* 18.2.

⁵²⁸ e.g. Caesar's unusual letters: *Iul.* 56; Augustus' autograph correspondence: *Aug.* 71.

parallel expression in the collection of books and the foundation of libraries, public and private, Roman and provincial.

Compendious reading and note-taking

The first book of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* consists of a synopsis of the entire work complete with a list of the authors and works from which Pliny had taken material. So enormous and, in parts, so recherché is the list of authors he cites – over a hundred – that it is clear that he must have enjoyed access to large and organised collections of source texts; the likely venues for at least some of his research are the public libraries which existed in Rome at the time of his writing, since these held the largest collections of books in at least the western Mediterranean.⁵²⁹ As Pliny says in his preface, quoting Domitius Piso, “it is not books but store-houses that are needed” (*thesauros oportet esse, non libros*). Such storehouses were needed to contain the expanding volume of information controlled and used by Rome's writers.⁵³⁰

Pliny, who claims to have accumulated 20,000 facts from 2000 books, was not alone in his compendious reading and excerpting, though the portrait his nephew leaves us of his working methods is singularly intimate.⁵³¹ Later authors continued and refined his methods. There are plenty of anthologies, summaries and compendia in Roman literature from this period: the great majority of these Roman miscellanies were compiled from the mid-first century onwards, the period in which Roman library provision also reached maturity and developed to its maximum extent. As Vardi states, “modern scholarship tends to regard this flourishing of miscellaneous collections, together with a similar increase in the production of other types of selective compilations of learned

⁵²⁹ It is also possible that the library founded at Comum by Pliny's nephew and heir (Appendix 4 No. 4) was intended to house part of all of his personal book collection.

⁵³⁰ Pliny *HN Praef.* 17.

⁵³¹ Pliny *Ep* 3.5.

material...as reflecting a cultural moment in which, even among the literati, mastering all the knowledge accumulated through the ages in the various disciplines of Hellenic research was felt to be beyond the abilities of an average individual".⁵³²

This sort of compilation, then, depended on the existence of a wider body of literature of various sorts from which it could be excerpted. This body existed in private libraries and in the collections and minds of scholars, but we have also seen references in epitomising authors such as Gellius and Galen to the rôle of public library collections; Gellius' occasional mentions of public libraries make them part of the backdrop of continuous reading that makes his work credible. Here, then, is a rôle for libraries as guarantors and custodians of knowledge.

Pliny's inclusion of a lengthy bibliography and list of contents was followed by Gellius, who included a series of summaries at the start of his *Noctes Atticae*:

capita rerum quae cuique commentario insunt, exposuimus hic universa, ut iam statim declaretur quid quo in libro quaeri inveniri que possit.

Gellius *NA Praef.* 25.

For all that Gellius' work can be accused of unsystematic excerpting and over-reliance on anecdotal and isolated examples, recent work has begun to acknowledge that it is based on wide reading and note-taking, and that it was intended to have an instructive or even educational value.⁵³³

The diligent reading and note-taking that enabled such works to be written sprang from the same impulse that in the last years of the Republic led men like Varro and Pollio to assemble Rome's first public libraries, and to engage in extensive book-based scholarship, such as Varro's multidisciplinary researches or Atticus' *Liber Annalis*.

⁵³² Vardi 2004, 166-7.

⁵³³ e.g. Morgan 2004.

This seems to have been presented as a particularly Roman form of work. Pliny complains that Greek books have marvellous titles but that there is nothing in them,⁵³⁴ Gellius “adopts and adapts this same complaint, saying in effect that there is nothing in the other miscellanies and far too much.”⁵³⁵

Particularity of reading is needed and had not always been achieved in the past:

Namque illi omnes et eorum maxime Graeci, multa et varia lectitantes, in quas res cumque inciderant, “alba”, ut dicitur, “linea” sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati converrebant, quibus in legendis...animus senio ac taedio languebit...Ego vero, cum illud Ephesii viri summe nobilis verbum cordi haberem, quod profecto ita est πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει.

Gellius, *NA Praef.* 11.

Roman works of this period sought to avoid the problem, and presented their achievement as novelty. The opening words of Pliny’s encyclopaedia, addressing Vespasian, are *Libros Naturalis Historiae, novitium Camenis Quiritium* (*HN Praef.* 1). Pliny repeats and enlarges this claim to primacy at *Praef.* 14: *nemo apud nos qui idem temptaverit, nemo apud Graecos qui unus omnia ea tractaverit.* We might usefully compare the preface to Vitruvius’ seventh book, with its dedication to Augustus:

ego vero, Caesar, neque alienis indicibus mutatis interposito nomine meo id profero corpus neque ullius cogitata vituperans institui ex eo me adprobare, sed omnibus scriptoribus infinitas ago gratias quod egregiis ingeniorum sollertiis ex aevo conlatis abundantes alius alio genere copias praeeparaverunt, unde nos uti fontibus haurientes aquam et ad propria proposita traducentes facundiores et expeditiores habemus ad scribendum facultates talibusque confidentes auctoribus audemus institutiones novas comparare.

Vitruvius *De Architectura* 7 *Praef.* 10.

That Vitruvius’ dedicatory comments follow immediately from a passage in which he has discussed (Hellenistic royal) libraries as guarantors of originality and providers of source material supports the point underlying this discussion: the extensive reading, excerpting, commenting, summarising and annotating that characterised much imperial literature, and that was talked of by the authors themselves as something new

⁵³⁴ Pliny *HN Praef.* 24

⁵³⁵ Holford-Strevens 2003, 165.

and distinctively Roman, developed from the same culture of collection and classification that led to the establishment of imperial public libraries.

The fruits of this culture of compendious reading are visible in many surviving works of Roman literature in various genres. The researches of Varro among archives and collections of various sorts (priestly, family, state), aimed in part at the establishment under Julius Caesar of a public library, seems to have had an immediate effect. In the decade or so between the writing of the *Brutus* and the *De Oratore* even Cicero's knowledge of earlier Roman literature seems to have improved markedly, a change sometimes attributed to his contact with Varro.⁵³⁶

Frequent references to earlier literature continued to be a Roman literary commonplace throughout the era of public libraries: "When Cicero notes that Appius Claudius Caecus' speech against Pyrrhus was still extant or Asconius mentions the invective of Antony against Cicero or Quintilian refers to the speech of Hortensius for Verres and the invective of Sallust against Cicero – that evidence is not to be taken lightly."⁵³⁷ We have already seen that public libraries played their part in this process: Gellius' reading of a rare Cato manuscript on the Palatine, in a milieu of discussion and debate, is a good reflection of this literary culture.

The importance of libraries to the compilation of exhaustive encyclopaedic and lexicological works seems to have become a commonplace: Quintilian (the first rhetorician to receive a salary from the *fiscus* under the library-founding emperor Vespasian, tutor to the library-founding consul Pliny the younger, and to the great-nephews and heirs of the library-restoring emperor Domitian),⁵³⁸ refers to library research as a shorthand for the kind of work he is trying *not* to write:

⁵³⁶ Clift 1945, 152.

⁵³⁷ Clift 1945, 153. The references are: Cicero *Brut.* 61; Asconius *In Toga Candida* p.72 17 Strang; Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.23 (Hortensius), 4.1.68 (Sallust); Clift 1945, 89 cites library resources as a reason for Quintilian knowing this speech.

⁵³⁸ Hieron. *Chron.* 211 and 216; Suet. *Vesp.* 18; Pliny *Ep.* 2.14; 6.6. Quintilian *Inst.* 4 pr 2.

sunt et alii scriptores boni, sed nos genera degustamus, non bibliothecas excutimus.

Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.104

The large number of learned commentaries written (especially in the 2nd century AD) was another manifestation of the same phenomenon. Such an activity depended upon access to, and was symptomatic of, an intellectual culture with an interest in the literary works of past generations. It relied on the availability of reliable literary archives; we have already encountered in Gellius and Galen the rôle of the public library in safeguarding unique manuscripts, and (in Section I) seen that several republican collections may have ended up in imperial hands. A direct library connection can occasionally also be made: we will see below that Tiberius' inclusion of his favourite poets in Rome's public libraries stimulated a flurry of sycophantic commentary-writing.⁵³⁹ This cultural climate also produced works such as Tacitus' *Dialogus*, whose agenda was an explicit comparison of past and present literature. Such a project could only be undertaken when literary collections containing past works were readily accessible.⁵⁴⁰

Organisation and control of knowledge

Gellius goes on from the passage quoted above (p.209) to claim that he selected only passages which could offer his busy readers a short-cut to useful learning:

Ex his eaque sola accepi quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent aut homines aliis iam vitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque verborum imperitia vindicarent.

Gellius *NA Praef.* 12

⁵³⁹ Suetonius *Tib.* 70.

⁵⁴⁰ Tacitus refers to works of Lucius Crassus, Caesar, Asinius Pollio (significantly for the library historian), Calvus, Brutus (34.7), Corvinus, Servius Galba, C. Carbo, C. Gracchus, Cato and Crassus (18), Laelius (25.7), Gallio and Maecenas (26.1), Canutius, Attius, Urnius, Toranius and Calvus (21.1).

This brings us to the next question with a bearing on the connection between these texts and public library provision: for whom were these compendia and miscellanies intended, and how were they organised?

All the excerpts quoted so far imply that the authors saw their oeuvre as a body of works that could transmit recondite but necessary knowledge and truth to a wider audience; men like Vitruvius, Velleius Paterculus, Gellius, Pliny, and Athenaeus excerpt and collate to interpret to those who, in Gellius' conceit, don't have time to do it themselves. A knowledge of words, things and the useful arts makes a man cultivated and redeems him from ignorance. As has been argued in a recent study of Athenaeus, "the educated man after the Classical period is one imbued with the *paideia* of his community, whether this is a contemporary culture, or more likely a prior one constituted by a series of authoritative and canonical texts, or both. Specifically, the learned reader becomes a textual regulator and authenticator; he is the back-up for the physical library."⁵⁴¹

The idea that literature redeems and defines a man is itself a literary construct; this is discussed further below. If for now we accept that mastery of a wide range of literary and intellectual disciplines was seen as at least one way in which a cultured and successful Roman could define himself, then another parallel can be adduced between public library provision of this sort and the tendency towards the sort of literature under consideration here. What a Pliny or a Gellius did for individual readers, imperial libraries did for the *res publica*: the public provision of largest possible book collections gathered and secured the world's knowledge and made it at least nominally public property. This goes some way towards explaining the repeated emphasis on the public nature of libraries in the historical sources, their symbolic locations at the heart of great imperial complexes, and their majestic decoration. Caesar's intention, the model for later imperial libraries,

⁵⁴¹ Too 2000, 115. cf. Eunapius (346 c.414) on Longinus as a 'walking library'.

was (according to Suetonius) precisely *bibliothecas... quas maxime posset publicare*.⁵⁴² As well as providing a practical and useful resource, well housed and suitably staffed, imperial public libraries recognised, responded to, and prompted a trend towards universal collection and organisation of knowledge.

This trend is reflected in works such as Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, the organisation of which has been increasingly studied in recent years. The *HN*'s 37 books (containing by Pliny's own estimation 20,000 facts) have long been mined for illuminating nuggets, but the encyclopaedia has suffered critical neglect as a cultural artefact in its own right, characterised as a lapidary accumulation of fact upon dry fact with apparently slight regard for critical appraisal or interpretation. In fact, as various recent publications have acknowledged, the selection and organisation of material within the encyclopaedic works of Pliny and other ancient compilers and excerpters like Gellius and Athenaeus reveals a great deal about the cultural assumptions and priorities of the authors and their times.⁵⁴³

The *HN*'s bravura parade of knowledge, claimed by Pliny (as we have seen) as a specifically Roman feat of scholarship, reflects Rome's cosmopolitan rôle as an organiser and orderer of chaos: the city is frequently seen in the encyclopaedia as a central point, unifying, measuring and subduing the inhabited world. Pliny's work is less a practical gazetteer than a work that examines various sorts of extreme in order to 'demarcate... and stabilise... the boundaries of the known, and so of Roman power', as one recent study puts it.⁵⁴⁴ Pliny constantly compares the peripheries of empire and knowledge with Italy, and specifically Rome, at the centre, as at 37.201-5 or 27.2-3 (where he lets his reader survey the margins of the known world from a notional high place to see that Rome illuminates and orders the whole). The incorporation of extremes of

⁵⁴² Suetonius *Iul.* 44.

⁵⁴³ There are works on Pliny's attitude to science and technology (Healy 1999), the philosophical underpinnings of his approach to the natural world (Beagon), and to art in the Roman Empire (Carey 2003). See also Murphy's book below for Pliny's approach to ethnography and geography. For Gellius, see Holford-Strevens 2003 and *id.* and Vardi 2004. For Athenaeus, see Braund and Wilkins 2000, chs. 6, 7, 14.

⁵⁴⁴ Murphy 2004, 213 with review: Nicholls 2005.

physiognomy in the case of the Sciapodae or the speechless horripilant Choromandae of India, of behaviour in the case of the primitive Chauci - serves to imply the totality of the *HN*'s (and Rome's) knowledge, showing that 'no possible declension of human morphology has been left unrecognized.'⁵⁴⁵

The corollary is that the *HN*'s organisation and display of knowledge had a political dimension, bringing it again into contact with the motivations and concerns that also underlay imperial library provision. Murphy argues that that the control of knowledge in the Roman world was a matter for the emperor, citing familiar tales of library foundations and burning of banned books, and observes that in the *HN* the collection of knowledge is often an imperial prerogative or imperially sponsored (being the fruits of Pliny's travels as an imperial administrator, for instance, or his researches into imperial triumphs). We might therefore see in the organisation of works like the *Historia Naturalis* a reflection of an imperial tendency to control, classify and define knowledge, manifested in part in the foundation of public libraries and the sponsorship of authors. The mechanisms by which public libraries helped emperors to do this are discussed further below.

The influence of public libraries on Roman writers extended beyond the generations of first and second century authors, as we have seen from the *Historiae Augustae*.⁵⁴⁶ By the late fourth century, though, the influence of public libraries was waning. Ammianus Marcellinus (14.6.18) lamented Rome's *bybliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis*. Thereafter the rôle of book-collecting passed largely to the early Christians: Eusebius' mentor Pamphilius, for instance, established a library of 30,000 volumes at Caesarea.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁵ Murphy 2004, 215.

⁵⁴⁶ See above pp. 93, 196.

⁵⁴⁷ Eusebius *Hist Eccl.* 6.32; Hieron. *Ep.* 34; *De Script. Eccles.*, c. 81.

ii) Libraries, canonicity, audiences, emperors, and control

As inclusion in a public library came to be seen as the acme of authorial achievement, these libraries began to affect the literary canon of the Roman world. Getting one's book or statue into an imperial library became an important accolade. The best known evidence for this comes from an author to whom that accolade was denied: Ovid's *Tristia* 3.1, quoted on p.18 above, records his book's failure to be admitted to the three public libraries of Augustan Rome.

There were several reasons why an author would have been keen to have his work given a place in the holdings of a public library; in fact, given that little or no financial reward seems to have been possible for ancient authors through publishing, inclusion in a prestigious library could satisfy all of an author's motives for writing – the winning of social acceptance or fame, the cultural or literary desire to have a work read by numerous peoples now and in the future, the political and historical ends of histories, biographies, and autobiographies, and the personal advantage to be gained through an imperial connection.

Preserving and promoting texts

One important way in which a imperial library could help fulfil these goals was through its public preservation of an accurate *urtext*. In an age before copyright this ensured that an author's reputation was as safe as it could be from the depredations of plagiarists or the unreliability of commercial copyists. Galen, for example, was goaded by inferior books circulated under his name to publish in his own lifetime a catalogue establishing the canon of his own works (from which several excerpts have been discussed above); Quintilian composed the authoritative version of his *Institutio Oratoria*

for the same reason,⁵⁴⁸ while Cicero worried that an early version of *De Finibus* copied by Caerellia from Atticus' library would get into circulation and damage the work's reputation.⁵⁴⁹

Public library provision offered authors a measure of security against unauthorised copying or imitation, and an answer to the problem of circulation of incomplete or obsolete versions. Clift's monograph on Latin pseudepigraphica devotes an entire chapter to libraries, arguing that "the establishment of well-staffed state libraries under careful supervision guaranteed the permanence and the authenticity of the literature admitted to their shelves. False attribution now had scarcely a chance of remaining undetected except when unusual circumstances intervened... for the most part pseudepigraphical literature now diminished to a negligible quantity."⁵⁵⁰ We have already seen Gellius using public library copies as authorities.

Besides the problem of inaccurate or plagiarised copies of works was an author's natural desire, commonplace in the ancient world as now, to see his work preserved as a κτήμᾳ τε ἐξ αἰῆι or, as it might be, a *monumentum aere perennius*. Catullus outlines the fate that awaited the works of authors to whom posterity was unkind: their works might be used as wrappers for mackerel or, in the case of the *cacata charta* of Volusius' *Annals*, given over to uses best left to the reader's imagination.⁵⁵¹ While the Romans knew that a good copy could last,⁵⁵² Horace spells out the threats to a book's longevity: it might be worn away by frequent handling, eaten by moths or sold on to the provinces, never to see Rome again.⁵⁵³ Popular works could circulate in cheap, unattractive and impermanent versions.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁴⁸ Quintilian *Inst. Praef.* 7.

⁵⁴⁹ Cicero *Att.* 13.21a.

⁵⁵⁰ Clift 1945, 153.

⁵⁵¹ Catullus 95 (mackerel); 36 (*cacata charta*).

⁵⁵² Pliny *HN* 13.26.83ff.; Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 9.4.39. Cf Birt 1892, 364f.

⁵⁵³ Horace *Ep.* I.20.9ff.

⁵⁵⁴ e.g. Ovid, *Tr.* 3.1.81f.; Martial *Ep.* 1.2, 13.3.

Inclusion in a public library, on the other hand, guaranteed the attention of the finest copyists and *glutinatores* at the emperor's disposal, and was as close to a guarantee of immortality as an author could hope for. Domitian (as we have seen) was sufficiently keen to ensure accuracy in the imperial holdings that he sent copyists to Alexandria to compare Roman texts against copies held in the great libraries there;⁵⁵⁵ Ovid lovingly describes the treatment denied to his excluded books in *Tristia* 3.1.13: *quod neque sum cedro flavus nec pumice levis, erubui domino cultior esse meo*.

Two passages of Horace can be used to illuminate the way in which a Roman poet could think about this aspect of a library's function:

*Quid mihi Celsus agit? Monitus multumque monendus
privates ut quaerent opes et tangere vitet
scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,
ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
furtivis nudata coloribus*

Horace *Epist.* 1.3.15-20 (c. 20BC).

Here the contrast between *privates opes* and the library collections of Palatine Apollo suggests that the latter has a qualitatively different, public aspect. The passage is further evidence libraries' function as guarantors of legitimacy and originality, suggested above by (*inter alia*) the passage from Vitruvius about Aristophanes of Byzantium and echoed very strongly in Martial *Ep.* 5.5 and 12.3 (for which see below).

The second passage of Horace adds another dimension:

*Verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt
quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,
curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
ut studio maiore petant Helicon virentem.*

Horace *Epist.* 2.1.214-218 (addressed to Augustus).

⁵⁵⁵ Suetonius *Dom.* 20.

A contrast appears to be drawn here between books which require diligent personal study through reading and those which are more frequently encountered at public recitations. Horace does not *quite* say that Augustus' Palatine library was used for scholarly or poetic research, but he comes close: the fruits of diligent lucubration and of personal reading of a text are to be preferred in connection with the library. If books made *lectoribus* are suitable material for inclusion, then we should envisage readers there.⁵⁵⁶

Moreover, the stocking of the library is intended as a *calcar* for poets, making Palatine a new route to Helicon, by enabling authors either to reach a wide readership, as Dix suggests,⁵⁵⁷ or (perhaps more likely) to gain a place in the body of imperially favoured work.

Libraries were therefore central to the canonicity and accurate preservation of books, and for this reason came to exercise a guiding hand on the production of literature and works of scholarship in Rome. Indeed, the libraries' rôle in creating a canon partly explains the sheer number of them in the city. If inclusion in their holdings did constitute the acme of literary achievement, they would come to stand as storehouses of the cultural achievements of the emperor in whose reign they were built; naturally, future emperors would want their own books stored in their own libraries, and so the process of library foundation would become self-perpetuating. Moreover, Roman public libraries were not designed for an ever-expanding stock of volumes. They were, as was explained in Sections II and III, not economical with space, being preoccupied for their own valid reasons with grandiloquent monumentalism, and usually contained largely empty halls with book cupboards let into niches in the walls. The consequence was that shelf space was limited: the libraries filled up and new ones had to be built to make room

⁵⁵⁶ Though undoubtedly other ancient sources and the design of surviving Roman libraries indicate that recitations and other public meetings did occur in the libraries as well; cf. pp.194ff.

⁵⁵⁷ Dix 1994, 285. A tempting reading and one to which I return below.

for the next generation of authors. The fairly regularly spaced construction of new libraries in the first century of the empire – under Augustus in the 20s BC, under Tiberius, under Vespasian in the 70s with Domitianic restorations, and under Trajan in the 110s – might reveal the rate at which this happened. Eventually enough of a precedent was established for emperors to feel honour-bound to prove their cultural worth by attending to library provision: even (and especially?) “unscholarly” emperors such as Domitian and Trajan displayed an interest in libraries.⁵⁵⁸

Publication in the Roman world necessitated circulating hand-made copies of one’s work to interested parties or persuading a bookseller to set his own copyists to the task for commercial gain. Library holdings could therefore provide authors with a route to a wider readership. This is true *a fortiori* in the case of works for which it is difficult to envisage a mass ‘market’, such as (say) the famously obscure works of Nigidius Figulus or the one-off grammatical treatises and manuscripts mentioned by Gellius.

We have seen from the episodes discussed above that libraries were important to Roman authors and scholars as places to find and read reference texts. The corollary of such a function is that the libraries would also allow these authors’ own books to win exposure to a like audience of browsing and consulting readers, and several authors refer to actual or hoped-for accessions of their own works by the capital’s libraries. The passages from Gellius have already shown how certain works and authors could only be consulted in libraries, but many of the volumes in question were rare antiquarian books. By contrast, Galen’s *Libr. Propr.* states that some of his work was written specifically for deposition in the imperial library of the Templum Pacis, with no other copies put into circulation. Alongside Gellius’ recherché antiquarian readings in the Templum Pacis, then, it seems that a leading practitioner of an intellectual discipline living and writing in

⁵⁵⁸ Suetonius *Dom.* 20: *liberalia studia imperii initio neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset.*

Rome to high acclaim and under imperial patronage could write single copies specifically for immediate deposition in the same public library.

In this Galen may not have been unusual. Various braches of intellectual endeavour in the Roman world seem to have been intended to be consulted as written reference works, rather than read aloud. Varro's *Antiquitates* and Verrius Flaccus' *De Verborum Significatu*, for example, "were singularly ill-suited to public declamation, and indeed they seem to have been designed to be reference works."⁵⁵⁹ To these antiquarian works we can add technical treatises on various subjects, such as the medical volumes which we encountered in Galen's public lecture. Size, complexity, expense and specialism must have precluded many of these books from achieving really widespread circulation; the fact that so few of them survive suggests as much. Of Varro's *Antiquitates* Stevenson writes "Atticus *may* have had a copy; Cicero did not, and references to the work often suggest that it has been consulted in a library. We should perhaps not underestimate the extent to which the libraries of Rome served as reference institutions and to which works were written for deposition in them."⁵⁶⁰

Varro's large work was the fruit of widespread reading among a vastly larger body of source material, and it was of course Varro, who was a prolific collector and among other things an early historian of the book, to whom Julius Caesar turned to found the first of Rome's public libraries, and Varro whom Asinius Pollio uniquely honoured with a portrait bust in the Atrium Libertatis' gallery of authors;⁵⁶¹ the nature of his researches and the fruit they bore tell us much about the rôles which these libraries were intended to fulfil. The imperial appointment of noted scholars to oversee Rome's libraries is discussed in the next section; for now we must continue to explore the impact of library collections on Roman literary life.

⁵⁵⁹ Stevenson 2004, 138.

⁵⁶⁰ Stevenson 2004, 132.

⁵⁶¹ Varro as a book historian: Pliny *HN* 13.21.69f.; Caesar and Varro: Suetonius *Iul.* 44.2. Varro's portrait bust: Pliny *HN* 7.30.115

Imperial favour and displeasure

To the list of reasons for wanting one's work included in a public library can be added the factor of the prestigious implication of having earned the emperor's favour.

It was not only the authors of difficult or obscure works who could benefit from inclusion in a public library. The implied honour of inclusion could benefit even popular authors. We should surely envisage, for example, a presentation copy of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* in the Palatine library of its commissioner, Augustus, alongside much other Augustan poetry (for which see the second Martial passage, *Ep.* 5.5, below). While Horace, or a Martial or Ovid, or even a writer in a popular professional field such as Galen, could expect a high circulation, inclusion in a library might be able to raise it still further and was also a mark of honour. As Dix says, "both Horace and Ovid, writing in an age when Rome received her first public libraries, implied that these libraries were open to readers. Both seem to have believed that these libraries could have made their own works available to a wider audience."⁵⁶²

To these poets we can add Martial, who a century later implied much the same thing. The envoi to his Book XII, published in AD 101/2, depicts the book being sent from Spain to Rome where is offered a choice of destination: either to one of Rome's public libraries or to the house in the Subura of the consul Arruntius Stella (cos. 101), a patron of the poet:

⁵⁶² Dix 1994, 285.

*Iure tu veneranda novi pete limina templi,
reddita Pierio sunt ubi templa choro.
Vel si malueris, prima gradiere Subura;
atria sunt illic consulis alta mei:
laurigeros habitat facundus Stella penatis,
clarus Ianthaeae Stella sititor aquae;
fons ibi Castalius vitreo torrente superbit,
unde novem dominas saepe bibisse ferunt:
ille dabit populo patribusque equitique legendum
nec nimium siccis perleget ipse genis.*

Martial *Ep.* 12.3

The passage recalls Ovid's *Tristia* 3.1; Martial clearly hopes that his book will find acceptance, though, and hints that such acceptance will broaden its readership. It is interesting that both Ovid and Martial, writing from the provinces, think of the distant libraries of Rome as symbols of the city's lively literary life and the benefits of circulation and readership to be found there (cf. p. 192 above).

In an earlier poem Martial, no doubt with Horace and Ovid's passages again in mind, had petitioned for his work's inclusion in the Palatine library (now identified with the imperial favour of Domitian by a reference to Minvera):

*Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,
ingenio frueris qui propiore dei
(nam tibi nascentes domini cognoscere curas
et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet),
sit locus et nostris aliqua tibi parte libelli,
qua Pedito, qua Marsus quaque Catullus erit.
Ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli
grande coturnati pone Maronis opus.*

Martial, *Ep.* 5.5

The topos of seeking or winning admission to public libraries, once one starts to look for it, turns up fairly frequently. An epigram of Marcellus of Side records that Hadrian and Antoninus Pius presented his books to the public libraries of Rome,⁵⁶³ and Hadrian ordered the inclusion of the philosopher Secundus in a 'sacred library', perhaps

⁵⁶³ Bowie 1989, 201 Cf. Horsfall 1993, 60.

that of the *Templum Pacis*.⁵⁶⁴ Smaller public libraries could imitate this function of their imperial models: Appendix 4 No. 10 (lines 15-18) gives a provincial example of the honorific civic inclusion of texts in a public library in Halicarnassus. At a more mundane level, the bath-house inscriptions discussed in Ch.II.3 indicate that successive Antonine emperors could grant or withhold space (through a petition-and-rescript exchange under the intercession of an imperial *ἐπὶ βαλανείων*) in some sort of documentary archive, possibly one of the libraries of Trajan's baths.⁵⁶⁵ The implication is that mechanisms existed under which emperors could, if they chose, exercise a fairly high degree of control over what was admitted into the buildings that bore their names. We have already seen that Rome's public libraries were part of the literary world described and inhabited by authors of various kinds. These passages show that while private recitations and book collections also played a part, public libraries were also part of the network of patronage that simultaneously supported and directed these authors' work in several ways.

Quite apart from the patronage exercised through a Maecenas or a Pollio, this use of libraries as a means of simultaneously currying the favour of writers and controlling the distribution of their output provided Rome's emperors with another, rather less blunt tool for use in their programme of cultural patronage. The acquisition policy of the imperial libraries could therefore be used as an indication of imperial favour or disapproval of a work and this, it seems, had serious implications for the standing of an author. Several ancient authors also indicate that the prestige and importance attached to securing a place for their works in the Palatine libraries (and, later, in other imperial foundations) was specifically due to their imperial connections.⁵⁶⁶ This in itself indicates that the imperial patron(s) of the library was able to influence the sort of works that were admitted there.

⁵⁶⁴ *Secundus*: Cassel 1891, 352-53. Platthy 1968 43. Τότε Ἀδριανὸς... ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ τὰς βιβλους ἐν τῇ ἱερατικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ ἐντεθῆναι Σεκούνδου τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

⁵⁶⁵ See above pp.115ff. and Appendix 5 nos 2-3.

⁵⁶⁶ For example, *Juvenal* 8.38; *Calpurnius Siculus* 4.158f.; *Martial Ep.* 5.5, 12.3; *Ovid Tr.* 3.1.59ff.

We have already seen in the case of privileged writers such as Galen that a connection with an emperor could be demonstrated by a privileged connection with an imperial library. The case of the Porticus Octaviae, considered above (Ch.II.1), demonstrates how the imperial family was able to assert “ownership” of a place in which libraries and literary endeavour were located, imposing a powerful imperial presence on the reading and writing that happened there. Several factors suggest a similar deliberate imperial presence in Augustus’ Palatine complex: it is hard to see how authors reciting their works in the courtyard of the Temple of Apollo, having researched and, perhaps, composed them in the adjacent libraries, could fail to be mindful of the imperial architect of the space they stood in. It is quite clear, notwithstanding the confused state of the archaeology of the Palatine, that Augustus’ own house stood next to the Temple of Apollo and was itself regarded as a state monument of sorts.⁵⁶⁷ Later imperial libraries also employed this strategy. Vespasian’s library, for example, stood in his *Templum Pacis*, an iconic piece of urban planning which articulated a clear link to Augustus’ projects (sharing its cardinal axes with the Forum Augustum and Forum Iulium) and emphasised the public-spirited use of the Flavian’s booty from Jerusalem; the enormously evocative location of Trajan’s libraries was discussed in Ch.II.2.

The decoration of these public libraries also mattered: great prestige could accrue to an author through the placing of his painted portrait or bust there. This was the ultimate accolade, the dream of Juvenal’s garret-bound aspirant authors.⁵⁶⁸ Pliny ascribes its invention specifically to Rome’s first public library, where Varro, the first man to put authors’ portraits into circulation, earned this then unique distinction in his own lifetime (an honour equal in Pliny’s eyes to the naval crown Varro received from Pompey).⁵⁶⁹ Evidence for the practice is plentiful: Tacitus mentions a portrait of Hortensius which

⁵⁶⁷ Ovid *Tr.* 3.1.33ff. describes the oak crown and laurels over the door.

⁵⁶⁸ Juvenal 7.29; cf Horace *Carm.* 1.1.29.

⁵⁶⁹ Pliny *HN* 35.2.9f (see p.262). Varro’s bust in Pollio’s library: Pliny *HN* 7.30.115.

was used as a debating ploy when the senate met in the Palatine Latin library, and Germanicus was honoured after his death in AD 19 by a medallion bust in the same place.⁵⁷⁰

This practice, like the control over the admission of books, seems to have been within the purview of the emperor himself. Germanicus might have been admitted to the Palatine gallery *qua* author (he translated Aratus' *Phaenomena*), but he was also Tiberius' nephew and adopted son. Tiberius' placing of busts of his own rather eclectic choice of favourite poets (Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius) in the libraries was considered sufficient endorsement – or at least offered sufficient hope of gaining imperial favour – to stimulate the writing of several commentaries on them, a neat indication that the libraries were indeed a prime influence on the activities of scholars in Rome;⁵⁷¹ we can compare Dio's pleasure at being honoured with a statue in the public library at Corinth.⁵⁷² Josephus' statue in a public library at Rome was a result of the favour he found with Titus.⁵⁷³ As late as the fifth century Claudian and Sidonius regarded the presence of their effigies in the Forum of Trajan as a source of great pride.⁵⁷⁴ In Claudian's case the inscribed statue base survives:⁵⁷⁵ it states that the statue was erected at the behest of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius because of their confidence in their own judgement of the poet's worth. Trajan's memorial complex was still being used to demonstrate imperial favour to authors three centuries and more after its foundation.

⁵⁷⁰ Hortensius: Tacitus *Ann.* 2.37; Germanicus: Tacitus *Ann.* 2.83.

⁵⁷¹ Suetonius *Tib.* 70.

⁵⁷² Dio *Or.* 37.8: ἡμᾶς δὲ δις ἐπιδημήσαντας οὕτως ἀσμένως ἐπείδετε ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν ἐπειρᾶσθε κατέχειν, ὀρῶντες δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄν, ἀλλά γε τὴν εἰκὼ τοῦ σώματος ἐποιήσασθε καὶ ταύτην φέροντες ἀνεθήκατε εἰς τὰ βιβλία, εἰς προεδρίαν, οὐ μάλιστ' ἂν ᾤεσθε τοὺς νέους προκαλέσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔχουσιν.

⁵⁷³ See p.183.

⁵⁷⁴ Claudian *De Bello Getico* Pr. 7.f; Sidonius *Ep.* 9.16 (quoted above p.61).

⁵⁷⁵ Appendix 5 No. 5 and p.263.

The collection of literary busts was also widely imitated in private libraries,⁵⁷⁶ and the practice of garlanding statues to confer especial honour was widespread. The dedicatory inscription from the Celsus library in Ephesus extends this honour to the statues of the library's eponymous founder, blurring the boundaries between library patron and the authors whose works it housed.⁵⁷⁷ The ways in which patrons used libraries and their statues to appeal to posterity is discussed below (pp.262ff. and 333ff.).

As well as actively encouraging some authors, emperors were able to step in (as one might expect) to forbid the inclusion of works which attracted their particular adverse attention. Thus Augustus banned the undignified juvenilia of Julius Caesar by writing to his librarian Pompeius Macer,⁵⁷⁸ and appears to have excluded Ovid's work from Asinius Pollio's library in the Atrium Libertatis as well as from his own imperial foundations;⁵⁷⁹ Caligula, in a moment of characteristic caprice, tried to expel the works of Virgil and Livy from Rome's libraries.⁵⁸⁰ The salutary case of Cremutius Cordus indicates the swinging of the pendulum of imperial favour: although the unfortunate historian was prosecuted and forced to suicide under Tiberius,⁵⁸¹ his work was published in abridged form under Caligula and his relatives had his work readmitted to the public libraries by an ostentatiously generous act of the same emperor.⁵⁸² Burnings of banned books were not unknown,⁵⁸³ while Domitian crucified copyists who had copied treasonable works.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁷⁶ For the collection of portrait busts in private libraries: Pliny *Ep.* 1.16.8; 3.7.8; 4.28.1; 8.18.11; Cicero, *Att.* 4.10.1; Ovid *Tr.* 1.7 *init.* warns friends to remove the garlands from their busts of him lest they fall foul of the emperor.

⁵⁷⁷ Inscription: Appendix 4 No. 9.

⁵⁷⁸ Suetonius *Iul.* 56.

⁵⁷⁹ Ovid *Tr.* 3.1.71f. Ovid's complaint, with its personification of Libertas, that *nec me...atria Libertas tangere passa sua est* is rather barbed: such is the emperor's control over the content of libraries, Ovid implies, that he is infringing the *libertas* of the author.

⁵⁸⁰ Suetonius *Calig.* 34.2

⁵⁸¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 4.34f.

⁵⁸² Publication: Dio 57.24.4; restitution in the public libraries Seneca *Cons. Marc.* 1.3, *ac restituisti in publica monumenta libros quos vir ille fortissime sanguine suo scripserat.*

⁵⁸³ Such as the burning of Veiento's books in 62BC (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.50); the second trial of Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus which may have concerned his tragedy *Atreus*: seven published Orations were burned (according to the elder Seneca); the histories of Cremutius Cordus, says Tacitus, were responsible for his

Tacitus believed that stern repression such as that shown in the case of Cordus and Fabricius Veiento was usually counter-productive, though it provides a useful illustration of how important, and how potentially dangerous, Rome's emperors considered the literary life of the city to be. More usually the imperial mood could influence literary activity without resorting to extremes. In the dangerous final years of Nero's reign the elder Pliny, for instance, kept his head down, writing works that his nephew admits were limited by the tenor of the times, *cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset*.⁵⁸⁵ Later his career revived under the Flavians – a library-founding dynasty – who allowed him to dedicate the enormous *Historia Naturalis* to Vespasian; the reigns of later library-minded emperors saw the voluminous output of Tacitus and Suetonius.

Marshall believes that Augustus was more 'a Republican *patronus* writ large' than a would-be Ptolemy setting up a Roman *mouseion*: the imperial libraries 'although housed in state buildings, were not so much Carnegie-style institutions, 'public' in the modern sense, as the emperor's libraries generously thrown open to his *amici* and urban clients as a form of patronage'.⁵⁸⁶ There is something to be said for this view; Augustus certainly did seek to create through his library provision (which, as we have seen, was very closely associated with his own residence on the Palatine) a personal *clientela* of poets and authors who could do him useful service, in the same way that republican patrons like Lucullus and Piso gathered coterie of *lettrés* among their households.

indictment in 25 (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.34f.; Seneca *Cons. Marc.* 1.2; 22.4); the writings of Labienus were burned under Augustus; Cassius Severus's libels of Roman nobles, says Tacitus, brought upon him an indictment for treason by Augustus (Sen *Contr.* 10 pr. 5,8; Tacitus *Ann.* 1.72.4; Suet. *Calig.* 16.2). See also Tacitus *Agr.* 2.1; Pliny, *Ep.* 7.19.6; Suetonius *Aug.* 31; *Tib.* 61.3. cf Cramer 1945.

⁵⁸⁴ Suetonius *Dom.* 10.1.

⁵⁸⁵ Pliny *Ep.* 3.5.5.

⁵⁸⁶ Marshall 1976, 261.

The Augustus-as-Lucullus argument does not, however, go far enough. It seems that from the outset imperial libraries were intended to exercise a monopolistic control over the contents of the élite canon of Roman literature: the desirability of inclusion in this canon, for the reasons outlined above, gave emperors a lever of patronage with which to control the literary output of the city. A Virgil or a Horace could be encouraged directly, and Ovid's lament at the start of *Tristia* III makes clear that in the age of Augustus there was already a very substantial discrepancy in authorial prestige between those books that were allowed into the imperial libraries and those which were not; Galen concurs. The sad example of an Ovid or (later) a Cremutius Cordus could, at a stroke, serve as an eloquent warning to *all* authors working in Rome.

IV.3 - Channels of imperial influence: the directors and staff of Rome's public libraries

If, as is argued here, the emperors were able to exercise a guiding influence over the contents and users of the libraries they founded, then it is important to understand how the libraries were run and staffed, and by whom: links between the imperial court and the libraries must be established. An examination of the directors of the city's public libraries (information on whom is collected in Appendix 2 and discussed here in IV.3.i) and of the staff who worked for them (Appendix 3 and IV.3.ii) does, in fact, allow for such an interpretation.

Our knowledge of the directors and staff of Rome's imperial libraries is imperfect; Suetonius' own position as *procurator bibliothecarum* or *a bibliothecis*, for example, has only been known about since the publication of epigraphic fragments from Hippo Regius in 1952.⁵⁸⁷ Work has been done on Roman library staff at both the senior⁵⁸⁸ and junior⁵⁸⁹ levels of the system; however, the evidence allows for a more generous interpretation of the capabilities and functions of these library staff than has hitherto been envisaged.

Lorne Bruce, for example, concludes from her study of library procurators that "Libraries and directors obviously depended on the personal patronage of the emperor and his decisions regarding the range of services...Consequently, Rome's city libraries were essentially passive institutions, greatly dependent on the emperor's appreciation."⁵⁹⁰ This must be right, but does not necessarily support her corollary that "Libraries were not an integral part of educational institutions or used frequently by cultivated Greco-Roman writers."⁵⁹¹ We have already seen numerous passages in which cultivated Greco-

⁵⁸⁷ Marec and Pflaum 1952.

⁵⁸⁸ Bruce 1983.

⁵⁸⁹ Houston 2002; see below.

⁵⁹⁰ Bruce 1983, 156

⁵⁹¹ Bruce 1983, 157.

Roman writers *did* use libraries, extensively and in a variety of ways, and an examination of the careers of the men appointed to run the libraries serves to confirm, rather than diminish, their likely importance in the literary life of the city.

i) Emperors and library directors

In looking at the careers and characters of the directors of Rome's public libraries, we see:

i) The growing complexity of the office over time, indicated by an increasing number of formal appointments. This reflects a trend generally visible in Roman government, and suggests both growing and active system of public libraries and an increasingly complicated management of library resources.

ii) The direct control of the emperors in making appointments and therefore indirectly controlling the library system. This is not necessarily, as Bruce would have it, a sign of a moribund system, but of one that was taken seriously and mattered to the emperors. This is demonstrated by:

iii) The fact that successive emperors seem to have taken care to appoint men with real literary ability and reputation, both before and after the mid first-century shift to equestrian procurators.

In the first century freedmen appointees from the *familia Caesaris* were widely used to look after imperial properties or administer public offices, such as those supervising libraries, aqueducts, roads, and mints.⁵⁹² The first five known directors of the imperial libraries, whose precise job titles are unknown, were intimates or freedmen of the imperial family. Bruce is rather disparaging about the qualifications of such men,

⁵⁹² A comparison with aqueducts is illuminating: at around the same time as Rome's library resources were expanding and being restructured, Trajan added an equestrian procurator to his aqueduct staff, supplementing the existing curator and freedmen and reflecting the construction of a new aqueduct. Similarly, the Trajanic works at Portus led to the creation of a *procurator ad Miniciam* and a *procurator annonae Ostii*. Boulvert 1970, 262-67, and Houston 2002 n.56.

who “benefited by receiving promotions because of their proximity to the emperor... and [could therefore] attain public office without previous administrative experience.”⁵⁹³

In fact, the men who were entrusted with the foundation and upkeep of the first Roman public libraries suggest that emperors intended these buildings to have a serious intellectual function, and to appeal to the city’s important constituency of poets, authors and scholars: the men connected with Rome’s first public libraries all had scholarly and bibliophile credentials. Both Varro and Pollio were noted scholars (see above pp.13ff.), and their libraries seem to have been intended to enable the serious pursuit of letters.

The imperial libraries were also presided over by scholars of eminence who had won imperial favour.⁵⁹⁴ Augustus’ choice for the initial setting in order of the Palatine libraries was Gnaeus Pompeius Macer (Appendix 2 No. 3). Though probably not, as had been thought, the son of the Pompeian historian Theophanes of Miletus, it is possible that he was the same Macer praised as friend and poet by Ovid.⁵⁹⁵ Scholarly ability, rather than high birth, seems to have been the most important qualification for the job. C. Iulius Hyginus (Appendix 2 No. 1), for example, a grammarian of note and a friend of Ovid and the consular historian Clodius Licinus, was appointed by Augustus to oversee the running of the Palatine Library and continued to teach pupils and produce written works such as a commentary on Virgil and works on agriculture, history, religion, and archaeology. His work was influential and much quoted by later authors including Pliny, Gellius, and Macrobius.⁵⁹⁶ C. Melissus (Appendix 2 No. 2), also a well-educated freedman (of Maecenas) and the author, we are told, of *fabula trabeata* and a volume of 150 *ineptiae*, was put in charge of the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae.⁵⁹⁷ Rome’s libraries

⁵⁹³ Bruce 1983, 148.

⁵⁹⁴ Rodriguez Valcárcel 2004 mentions some of Rome’s scholarly library directors and has a very partial list of library staff.

⁵⁹⁵ White 1992.

⁵⁹⁶ The works of Hyginus (for references: Smith 1875, 534-51): *De Urbibus Italicis*, *De Proprietatibus Deorum*, *De Diis Penatibus*, *De Virgilio Libri*, *De Familiis Trojanis*, *De Agricultura*, *Cinnae Propempticon*, *De Vita Rebusque Illustrium Virorum*, *Exempla*, *De Arte Militari*.

⁵⁹⁷ Suetonius, *Gram.*, 20-21.

were directed from the outset by men capable of running centres of intellectual activity rather than mere repositories of books, an indication of the high regard in which the practice and personnel of scholarship were held at court.⁵⁹⁸

The best example of this process of the advancement of men of letters is afforded by Dionysius of Alexandria (Appendix 2 No. 6), active in Rome from the reign of Nero to that of Trajan, who was appointed Procurator Bibliothecarum and also to influential imperial secretaryships.⁵⁹⁹ Dionysius was a scholar of sufficient note to have been appointed to the directorship of the Mouseion at Alexandria before moving to Rome.

Pappus, an intimate of Tiberius, was appointed as overseer of the whole library system as it continued to grow: by the end of Tiberius' reign there were libraries on the Palatine and in the Porticus Octaviae, the Domus Tiberiana, the Templum Divi Augusti, and the Atrium Libertatis.

Around the middle of the first century AD the management of Rome's libraries was entrusted to equestrian procurators rather than imperial favourites (Appendix 2 No. 5 onwards).⁶⁰⁰ Throughout the late first and second centuries equestrian procurators were widely used in a variety of offices, governing small provinces, looking after aspects of imperial finance, holding secretariats in the emperor's own administration (*ab epistulis, a patrimonio, a libellis, a studiis, a cognitionibus, a rationibus*), or holding one of the four prestigious equestrian prefectures at the top of the career pyramid: the *praefecti annonae, vigilum, Aegypti, and praetorio*.

The shifting of library directors into this sphere might be thought to indicate a new appraisal of the job's significance, making it in effect a state rather than a private

⁵⁹⁸ Pace e.g. Fedeli 1988, 55-6.

⁵⁹⁹ *Suda. s.v. Dionysios Alexandreus*, Christ-Schmid, II, p. 677.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Suetonius *Dom.* 7.2: half of the imperial procuratorships were reserved for *equites*.

appointment. The salary attached to it was a large one: procuratorial offices were divided into four pay grades whose values broadly indicate the perceived importance and prestige of the rôle. The *procurator bibliothecarum* in the early second century ranked in the second highest of these grades, that of *ducenarius*, commanding a salary of 200,000 sesterces – half the equestrian census value and equal to the amount earned by the governors of Britain and Spain.⁶⁰¹

Nonetheless, Bruce is equally critical of these procuratorial appointments: they were for her the result of “Roman social prejudice...There was no emphasis on library education or training – the directorship of libraries was an office open to men from diversified backgrounds with a general aptitude for public service. In this case, the consequences for developing a comprehensive library service were mostly negative. There was seldom attention to management issues or new plans for providing services; instead, career advancement or loyalty to the existing regime were prevailing sentiments”⁶⁰²

This misjudges how the Roman imperial administration worked: we shouldn't attempt to judge its likely efficiency by modern standards of staffing and procurement. At any rate, Rome's libraries were never an independent professional institution. Rather, as this chapter is seeking to establish, they were closely controlled by the emperors who founded and funded them, and who used them as elements in the programmes of civic euergetism that helped define their identities as emperor. This does not preclude genuine care to ensure a proper literary function, though, and in fact when we look at the men chosen to run Rome's libraries we can reach a more generous conclusion than Bruce's.

Scirtus (Appendix 2 No. 5) is the first firmly attested procurator, appointed under Claudius. Bruce argues that the appointment should be seen in the light of Claudius'

⁶⁰¹ Bruce 1983, n.9

⁶⁰² Bruce 1983, 148-9.

personal involvement in literary and library activities.⁶⁰³ It is true that Claudius had library interests which may have influenced his interest in Rome's library provision, but also true that the system begun by his predecessors required maintenance and control as it grew, and that even "unscholarly" emperors like Domitian took good care of it.⁶⁰⁴ Care is needed here not to confuse cause and consequence: the appointment of procuratorial directors could suggest both increasing imperial organisation and control, and the growing complexity of the task of running a popular and burgeoning library system.

What it need not signify, however, is that (as Bruce would have it) the care of the libraries was handed to élite careerists and placemen unqualified for the task. Many of those *procuratores bibliothecarum* whose identities we know turn out to have been eminently well qualified, both socially and intellectually, for the post.

Dionysius (Appendix 2 No. 6) is the first equestrian procurator. He had formerly served as *archiereus musei Alexandrini*. Links between Alexandria's libraries and Rome's, including the fact that Augustus and his successors appointed the chief priest there, were discussed above (pp.23ff.). The recruitment of an Alexandrian director to run Rome's libraries was an important gesture: it signifies that the libraries' imperial patron wanted them to evoke the famous Alexandrian institution, and suggests that their administration still required a skilled and specialised director.

Suetonius, whose official appointments show a man intent on staying close to Rome to engage in literary activities while holding imperial appointments, is the next firmly identified *procurator bibliothecarum*.⁶⁰⁵ Much has been written about Suetonius which need not be repeated here.⁶⁰⁶ It is important to note, though, the close correspondence between his career as a courtier of Hadrian, including the post of *procurator bibliothecarum*,

⁶⁰³ Suet. *Claud.* 41.2-3, 42.2. The latter passage includes the fact that Claudius extended the Alexandrian Mouseion and had his own Etruscan history read there annually.

⁶⁰⁴ Suetonius *Dom.* 20.

⁶⁰⁵ Marec and Pflaum 1952.

⁶⁰⁶ E.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, esp. Ch. 3 and 4; Gomoll 1935.

and his writings: recent Suetonian scholarship has placed increasing emphasis on the author's scholarly abilities. His use of documents and archives, his interest in many subjects, each with their own technical vocabulary and history, and his wide research indicates his access to large book and document collections – both cause and consequence of his suitability as director of Rome's libraries.

Other second century *procuratores bibliothecarum* were equally well suited to the task. Eudaemon (Appendix 2 No. 9) knew Greek and the eastern provinces, having begun his career as a financial officer in Alexandria (*procurator ad dioecesin Alexandriae*). He was close to the emperor (if he is the same Eudaemon described as *consciis imperii* in HA *Hadr.* 15.3) and was a highly regarded administrator, his career culminating with his appointment as *Praefectus Aegypti* under Antoninus Pius in AD 142.

Vestinus (Appendix 2 No. 10) is more conspicuously scholarly: he was a well regarded sophist and writer, and another curator of the Alexandrian museum. After serving as *procurator bibliothecarum* he went on to be Hadrian's *a studiis* and *ab epistulis*. Volusius Maecianus, whose spectacularly successful equestrian career ended in adlection to the senate and the rank of consul *designatus*, was at one time a tutor of the future emperor Marcus Aurelius and a leading juriconsult who wrote *Assis distributio*, *De lege Rhodia*, *De iudicis publicis* (in 14 books) and *Quaestiones de fideicommissa* (16 books).⁶⁰⁷ T. Aelius Largus (Appendix 2 No. 13), a third century *procurator bibliothecarum*, was another skilled lawyer. All these men would have benefited from regular access to the collections of legal and archival material held in some of Rome's public libraries.⁶⁰⁸

This list of library procurators shows that throughout the first and second centuries and into the third men of high intellectual ability were appointed to direct

⁶⁰⁷ Mayer-Maly 1961.

⁶⁰⁸ See pp.130ff. for archives in Roman libraries. High-ranking juriconsults were an important part of the imperial court and its government. They included library directors and also consulars like L. Iavolenus Priscus (cos.86 and governor of Upper Germany, Syria, and Africa), Hadrian's chief legal adviser P. Salvius Julianus (cos. 148 and governor of Upper Germany, Tarraconensis and Africa). For a fuller list see Brunt 1978, 4-5.

Rome's libraries, reflecting both a general interest in scholarship among Rome's bibliophile aristocrats and also an imperial concern to find the right man for the job. The office of *procurator bibliothecarum* was one of a number that enabled the emperor to draw on a pool of able *lettrés* among his administrators, connecting the imperial libraries directly to both the political and cultural life of the court. Pflaum writes of library directors such as Suetonius (*a studiis, ab epistulis*), Eudaemon (*ab epistulis Graecis*), Vestinus (*a studiis, ab epistulis*) and L. Volusius Maecianus (Appendix 2 No. 11: *a studiis* and *a libellis* under Antoninus Pius): "Cette identité dans l'avancement confirme ce qui nous avons observé sur la carrière spéciale réservé aux hommes de lettres attachés à la personne de l'empereur et par conséquent confinés dans des emplois exclusivement urbains."⁶⁰⁹ In each of these cases the running of Rome's libraries, and their close connection to the imperial court (and thereby both to the emperor and to the aspirant *littérateurs* that surrounded him) was entrusted to men who demonstrated high scholarly ability in their own right, and it is this that qualified them for the rôle: day-to-day operations were carried out by the library staff discussed above (pp.156ff.), but if these procurators were not necessarily professional administrators or librarians, they were at least competent titular directors, able to comprehend and direct the running of large public libraries. As Pflaum says, "Nous sommes... en présence de grands savants, dont les princes ne veulent plus se séparer. L. Volusius Maecianus est un des plus grandes juristes de son temps. Antonin le Pieux a été assez sage pour l'utiliser en tant que tel."⁶¹⁰

Other imperial appointments to high-level intellectual and scholarly posts complete the picture of imperial patronage of the literary and philosophical arts. These include the lucrative appointments to tutorial positions within the imperial household (as in the cases of Livy, or Verrius Flaccus, paid 100,000 sesterces per annum under Augustus to teach the imperial grandchildren, or of Nero's tutor Seneca, or Quintilian

⁶⁰⁹ Pflaum 1961, Vol. I 224. For the rôle of the *ab epistulis* and the *a studiis*, see Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 83-88.

⁶¹⁰ Pflaum 1961, Vol. I 335.

under Domitian) and the appointments to state chairs of rhetoric, imitating the celebrated cathedrae at Athens, which began with Quintilian's appointment under Vespasian (and which also carried a salary of 100,000 sesterces and considerable prestige).⁶¹¹

Men such as these would have intersected with the world of public library provision in Rome and its empire even when they did not hold (or are not known to have held) posts directly connected with the city's own libraries. A good example is offered by C. Stertinius Xenophon, Claudius' doctor, who retired to Cos as its leading citizen and founded a public library there; Ti. Claudius Balbillus, Xenophon's predecessor as *ab epistulis Graecis*, was another learned courtier who had also been head of the Museum and library at Alexandria.⁶¹² The connections between such men and Rome's library system together with the evidence of Galen makes it likely that intellectuals of the imperial court used and understood the library facilities of the city. These high-profile appointments suggest the existence of a privileged circle of *littérateurs* attached to the imperial court from whom library directors could be drawn; the overall impression is that library foundation was part of a concerted package of Caesarean and imperial appointments and initiatives intended to foster intellectual activity in Rome, enabling the city to rival the historical centres of learning in Greece and Asia Minor.

The increasing sub-division of the procurators' rôle also indicates that the imperial administration of the libraries was regarded as a specialist task whose demands grew in complexity with the number of libraries. At some point there seems to have been a reorganisation of the library administration to introduce a number of different procuratorial posts at lower grades for men beginning their careers. This suggests a

⁶¹¹ Suetonius *Vesp.* 18. For Quintilian cf. p.210.

⁶¹² See Appendix 4 No. 3 for both men, and NB Claudius' connections to Alexandria's library, which he enlarged: n.603. Cf Appendix 2. no. 6 and 10 for other directors of the Mouseion who then ran Rome's libraries.

library system still growing in size, holdings, usage and complexity (as we would expect from the evidence of Gellius and Galen above), which would in turn have generated increasingly complicated and demanding administrative and management tasks for the libraries' director.

Annius Postumus (Appendix 2 No. 12), for example, was *proc. Augusti a bibliothecis* and *proc. Bibliothecarum divi Traiani* at some point between 117 and 161. The former office was his first or second appointment, and the second indicates some division of responsibility among Rome's still-growing number of public libraries. The lesser appointment could now be filled by a junior administrator. Aurelius Juncinus (Appendix 2 No. 14) who was *proc. Augusti bybliothecarum* at the lowest grade of 60,000HS began his career at this level before progressing to be *praefectus Aegypti* some time around AD 213.⁶¹³

Some have argued that the *a studiis* assumed responsibility for libraries in the early second century (citing Vestinus and Maecianus); Bruce thinks that "the disappearance of the ducenariate director may be linked with a division of his responsibilities between two lower-level procurators – one for public libraries, the other for libraries in imperial residences."⁶¹⁴ Other interpretations have been suggested. Houston suggests that there might have been lower-grade assistants appointed to support an unattested continued ducenarian procurator,⁶¹⁵ while Hirschfeld argues for a third option, a sexagenerian administrative procurator supported by scholars in charge of individual libraries (supported by Annius Postumus' directorship of the Trajanic libraries, but undermined by Juncinus' failure to specify a library).⁶¹⁶ This option seems unlikely given the paucity of evidence: there is only one inscription naming an equestrian director of a single library,

⁶¹³ Pflaum 1961, Vol. II 679 notes this post is not to be confused with the procuratorship of the Greek and Latin libraries, often held together with the post of *a studiis*.

⁶¹⁴ Bruce 1983, 154-5. Largus' inscription was set up in the imperial palace at Praeneste.

⁶¹⁵ Though without particular conviction: Houston 2002, 169.

⁶¹⁶ Hirschfeld 1963, 303-4.

Annius Postumus', and that may (as Houston observes)⁶¹⁷ have been a special case, a temporary or unique post necessary for overseeing the establishment of the new libraries of Trajan's Forum and baths. Overall, though, the overall trend towards specialisation is evident even if the details of these new arrangements are hard to reconstruct.

The later history of the management of Rome's libraries must remain opaque in the absence of sufficient epigraphical evidence. By AD 240 a Veturius Callistratus (Appendix 2 No. 16) was serving as financial procurator of the imperial libraries, an otherwise unattested post which implies that the Severan *ratio privata* (which replaced the *patrimonium*) was now responsible for the finances of the library system, indicating continued imperial control. The *HLA* suggests that the *praefectus urbi* took control of Rome's libraries after 240, though this is hard to rely on. The *Notitia* does not mention library officials directly.

⁶¹⁷ Houston 2002, 171. Houston also observes that if each library had an equestrian procurator, there ought to have been between 200 and 500 such men in total, none of whose careers are documented in surviving inscriptions.

ii) Emperors and library staff

The evidence for the directors of Rome's libraries has shown that they were, by and large, men well suited to the intellectual demands of running large libraries and connected to the world of scholars and authors whom the libraries were intended to serve, allowing a fairly positive evaluation of their usefulness. They were also intimate associates of the emperor, appointed (and in Suetonius' case removed) by him: the library system remained under imperial control.

A similar suitability, and a similar implication of imperial control, can be seen in the more junior staff who actually ran the libraries. There already exists a useful prosopographical study of the staff of Rome's imperial libraries, by George Houston.⁶¹⁸ Houston assembles 26 names of Roman public library staff, of whom five are certainly or probably freedmen, and the remainder certainly or probably slaves. With some additions and amendments these men are listed with their titles and dates, where known, in my Appendix 3. Nine of the slaves and four of the freedmen come directly from the *familia Caesaris* (two others were public slaves).

Houston concludes that the libraries were staffed by slaves and freedmen from the imperial household: "this observation carries important implications. The book collections, at least in origin, were the emperor's private possessions, not public services like the roads, and he might closely control their use."⁶¹⁹ In support of this view Houston cites comparable titulature from the private library of Claudius' villa at Antium.⁶²⁰ The fact that none of the slaves has any title relating to administrative or financial duties also

⁶¹⁸ Houston 2002.

⁶¹⁹ Houston 2002, 139.

⁶²⁰ Where all four library slaves are designated *a bybl*. Houston 2002, 150 Table 2. The *Fasti Antiatas ministrorum domus Augustae*. *Inscr.It.* Vol. XIII.2.201-7.

suggests that library staff belonged more naturally to the domestic branch of the *familia Caesaris* than to that concerned with public administration.⁶²¹

I have argued for a wider interpretation of the functions of library staff than Houston allows (see above, pp.156), but his conclusions about their status within the imperial household are sound, and based on a fairly good range of epigraphic evidence (albeit one limited largely to the first century AD). This has interesting implications for the function of the libraries themselves: as Houston says “the libraries of Rome were in the first instance not an administrative unit, more or less parallel to the aqueducts, the *vehiculatio*, the roads, and the like. Rather they were part of the emperor’s house. The books themselves were a set of possession that could be put to use by the emperor or presented in public to convey an impression of wealth, power, or culture... they were the property of a great man, and he made them public in the sense of allowing many others to use them.”⁶²²

As we have seen, at least one of the three Augustan libraries, the Porticus Octaviae, was staffed by men who cannot necessarily be ascribed to Houston’s *familia Caesaris* category, and the same might well be true for Pollio’s Atrium Libertatis library (for which no inscriptions survive). Houston’s analysis of the available material for low-level library staff must be broadly right, though, and is consistent with what we have seen of the men appointed to run the libraries: the emperors exercised a high degree of control over the libraries. This interpretation of library staffing is entirely consistent with the interpretation of public libraries established in this thesis in general and this chapter in particular: they were public institutions, but depended on the generosity of the emperor. The design, location and furnishing of Rome’s public libraries has been shown to be very closely connected to monuments which defined and commemorated imperial identity, while the discussion of libraries’ rôle in canon formation has shown that the

⁶²¹ The distinction is drawn from Weaver 1972.

⁶²² Houston 2002, 152.

emperors could exercise a considerable degree of personal influence over aspects of the libraries' contents. Strong imperial associations will also be evident in the provincial public libraries discussed in Section V.

Furthermore, Houston rightly observes that the sample of low-level library staff known to us dates almost entirely from the Julio-Claudian period (the exception being the Hadrianic Eutyches, Appendix 3 no. 21). The epigraphic record of the careers of library staff therefore falls silent at exactly the same time as we see a change in the library directorate from intimates and freedmen of the emperor to equestrian procurators. Procurators rarely if ever administered sections of the imperial household, and so it would be highly irregular to find such men set over slave and freedmen staffs drawn from the *familia Caesaris*. The evidence for the assignment of slave staff to a particular named library is also confined to this period, making it hard to extrapolate the details of library staffing after the mid-first century AD.

The evidence in fact points firmly towards a process of gradually more systematic and organised control of the libraries, from individual collections presided over by imperial favourites and staffed by slaves of the imperial household, through the Julio-Claudian appointment of men like Pappus to oversee the whole system, to the eventual establishment under Trajan and Hadrian of a permanent procuratorial office occupied largely by favoured *lettrés* at a high grade, to the further division of the library administration into separate branches run by procurators at the outset of their careers.

As the evidence for imperial household slaves working in the libraries disappears at the point at which the system was reorganised under procuratorial control, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the force of Houston's arguments is limited to the first decades of Roman public library operation.⁶²³ After that the increasingly formal

⁶²³ To be fair, Houston 2002, 165 realises as much: "given the paucity of evidence, certainty is beyond our grasp" There may be other reasons for the tailing-off of evidence, such as the relative scarcity of columbaria of the *familia Caesaris* from the second and third centuries: Weaver 1972, 18.

arrangement of the libraries' leadership might well have prompted a similar change in their staffing arrangements, and at any rate strongly suggests that they were seen as an important and complicated civic resource to be run on an official basis like the aqueducts or the roads, not as a mere adjunct of the imperial household.

I do not believe that this degree of imperial control necessarily implies that the libraries were of limited or restricted use, which is an assumption made by Houston, Dix, Bruce and others.⁶²⁴ The monumental nature of their locations and designs and the repeated references in ancient literature to their public character suggest that their imperial patrons successfully presented them as public benefits which retained an imperial identity. Other imperial monuments – bath-houses, fora, temples, basilicas – had a deliberately public character which complimented and compounded, rather than contradicted, an identification with their founding emperor. The passages discussed above and below indicate a fairly large and lively library usership of mixed status, and suggests that libraries soon blended into the landscape of public monuments that formed the backdrop to literary life in Rome for a Martial or a Gellius.⁶²⁵

At any rate it should be stated again that the intended audience for libraries was not confined solely to those who read there, though these of course were an important and special constituency: any visitor to Trajan's Forum, anyone strolling down Curetes street in Ephesus, and anyone tasking their ease in the peribolus of one of the great imperial bathhouses was exposed to the presence of public library collections there: the trouble these buildings took to display large and architecturally impressive monumental facades and interiors, discussed in Ch. I and III, indicates as much. This visual impact, and the impression of learned and generous benefaction, was quite independent of the details of staffing or access.

⁶²⁴ E.g., "the public who used them may have been restricted, perhaps even to a circle of scholars and friends parallel to the users of the great private libraries of the republic." Houston 2002, n.82.

⁶²⁵ E.g. Martial *Ep.* 12 pr.

IV.4 - Libraries, emperors, and literary identity

*...nunc aurea Roma est,
et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes*

Ovid *Ars Am.* 3.113-4.

We have seen various ways in which imperial libraries helped to shape and guide Roman authors, and the mechanisms by which that control was exercised. There remains the question of why such control was exercised: what did emperors have to gain by spending such large sums and courting the favour of authors? Some of the reasons have already been discussed: establishing Rome as a literary centre in a manner worthy of its status as a great imperial capital and its tradition of attracting foreign scholars and book collections, and ensuring a favourable report to posterity of individual emperors' literary merits. These are partial answers, though, and run the risk of attributing to imperial "policy" a series of decisions and expenditures that may instead have arisen from more subtle combinations of causes.

Another approach lies in regarding library foundation partly as an imperial response to wider trends in Roman literary and social life. Looking at this allows us to round out the picture of libraries as a category of imperial euergetism by considering not only the decisions and priorities of imperial patrons, but also the pressures that influenced them. Such an approach allows us to view the establishment of the imperial public libraries both as a matter of imperial will and cultural 'policy', and simultaneously as a response to social priorities and habits among the strata below the emperor – the sorts of men who developed the literary identities discussed above, and who in the provinces founded public libraries which imitated the imperial foundations at Rome.

Literary patronage and expertise was one mode of self-expression by which wealthy Romans of various statuses chose to express themselves; some, graced with resources of birth, wealth and character, were successful at it; others failed and were

lampooned by satirists. The experiences of all illustrate a social trend which shaped large numbers of Roman lives and to which Rome's public libraries were an imperial response. Simply put, the emperor maintained his position at the top of the pyramid of patronage in Rome in many fields with appropriate gestures and provisions. The creation of public libraries helped maintain his pre-eminence both as a provider of literary resources and patronage, and also as a collector of books and patron of the arts, allowing him to monopolise the literary power exercised in the late Republic by men like Atticus, Crassus and Lucullus.

Of course, the energetic portrayal of Rome as a centre of literary activity need not be regarded as a wholly artificial product of status dissonances and aspirations, and our interpretation of the city's libraries should not be founded entirely in the Grand Guignol social politics of identity and display. We have already seen that libraries *did* function as genuine centres of scholarship and research, and the economic and human resources dedicated to them by successive emperors and provincial donors suggests a genuine intellectual as well as a social and political rôle. The two are not incompatible.

We must, however, also consider the part these libraries played in establishing the identity of the city (their symbolic rôle in Trajan's Forum, for example, has already been discussed) and the identity of the emperors who built them. The proportion of the city's inhabitants who visited and used libraries as readers may never have been large in absolute terms. Although the passages discussed in Ch. IV.1 above indicate a large potential usership of diverse ages and statuses, public libraries remained specialised facilities used by a minority of their city's population. The number of authors and readers in Rome's public libraries may always have been small, but this was not their only intended audience. We have seen that libraries were large, prominently located and monumentally decorated buildings, and several aspects of their design suggests that they

were intended to be viewed and visited by large numbers of people: they were, therefore, important elements of public imperial self-advertisement.

There are at least two principal ways in which library foundation allowed emperors to maintain and display their position at the top of the pyramid of literary patronage in Rome, in much the same way as other imperial foundations gave them control of gladiatorial games, water supply, theatrical productions, priesthoods, gardens, and other forms of civic, cultural, and political influence.

Firstly, the establishment of public libraries gave the emperor a prominent position in the world of literary patronage, which remained an important part of élite Roman self-definition. Throughout the preceding sections we have seen the mechanisms by which this patronage worked, and numerous authors have placed imperial libraries into a spectrum of locations for research, conversation, reading, and writing. The emperors and their libraries were not the only such resources available to writers in Rome, though; a common theme in Roman literature of many genres is the importance of the non-imperial patron, either as he sees himself (Pliny, for example) or as he is appealed to by authors requiring his assistance (Martial, Juvenal, Ovid, and others).

A caveat is necessary. The literary life of Rome described itself in a corpus of texts that now might exercise a disproportionate influence on our picture of the cultural mores and values of Roman society. The world of bookshops, lectures, recitations, patronage and libraries portrayed in the letters of Pliny, the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, the satires of Juvenal and epigrams of Martial, the *Dialogus* of Tacitus and the sober medical works of Galen is, for all its diversity and verisimilitude, a partial world created to reinforce a particular set of statuses and identities. In this world the public library was a powerful gesture, an important piece on the board, but it must be remembered that there were other worlds in Rome which emperors addressed through other means; literature

and the creation of a literary identity was, after all, only one element in a series of overlapping (or competing?) codes of aristocratic virtue and self-definition at Rome.⁶²⁶

Nonetheless, engagement in literary activities such as recitation and composition, and the support of ‘professional’ writers, were real facets of the self-definition of at least a proportion of Rome’s élite. This support was offered in several ways, the presentation of which may also be subject to conventions of genre and taste. There is little evidence of the systematic financial support of authors, but the provision of resources, whether of books, recital space, or even ready-made audiences was important: “this sort of artistic vindication is one of the functions most commonly exercised by (or at least imputed to) those Roman personalities whom we are in the habit of calling patrons.”⁶²⁷ We have already seen ways in which public libraries could provide all of these supports to a large number of intellectuals, in the same way that aristocratic libraries could provide them on a smaller scale.

Martial’s *Ep.*12.3 (quoted above, p.222) makes the equivalence clear. In this poem he petitions for admission either to a Roman public library or to the private salon collection of the consular Arruntius Stella (cos. 101). The comparison may be intended to flatter Stella; he is depicted as having his own court, and is useful to a poet because he enables him to be read in the same way that imperial libraries can. Martial deliberately establishes an equivalence between the two sorts of library by mentioning the Muses at each.

⁶²⁶ Woolf identifies hunting as another such code (alongside music, building, genealogy, etc.), and its example is instructive. Aristocrats and emperors hunted and wrote about hunting (Pliny *Ep.* 1.6, 5.18, *Pan.* 81; SHA *Hadr.* 2.20, 26); hunting also became a complex social signifier, used in a wide range of contexts from sarcophagi to tableware; its martial associations made it an appropriately Roman activity and lent it a dignity that could function as a sort of synecdoche for an aristocratic personality; it was replicated for the urban masses in the amphitheatre, described in poetry (Martial 12.14, Ovid, etc.), and formed part of the self-defining imagery of the emperor Hadrian, “but it was in the end only one of a number of means through which the rulers of the empire and the city found a common vocation and definition.” Woolf 2003, 215.

⁶²⁷ White 1978, 75.

Instances of similar relationships between authors and elite patrons are very numerous. The Augustan poets enjoyed a comparable relationship with Maecenas, albeit one more conducive to comfort and productivity,⁶²⁸ and Martial, Statius and Juvenal all mention at some length the attendance they must pay to potential patrons or supporters. The Claudian *Laus Pisonis*⁶²⁹ and the early Augustan *Panegyricus Messallae* request admission to the privileged circle of the *dominus*, and we can compare Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.2.129-30, where we find a request to court the society of Paullus Fabius Maximus.

The opening of aristocratic houses and resources to literary friends was still an important part of Roman literary life in the first and second centuries: we have seen Gellius' accounts of discussions in private houses, and can consider, for instance, the case of Titinius Capito, whom Syme calls "the Maecenas of Trajan's Rome."⁶³⁰ Capito's support included the provision of recital space in his home and the frequenting of auditoria where readings were taking place; Juvenal *Satire* 7.36-47 mentions this rôle for the patron, too, as does Domitius Afer in Tacitus' *Dialogus* 13.

Publicity, in particular, "was an essential function, and the ancient writer's concern to exploit the friendships of his friends in finding readers is often apparent."⁶³¹ Martial *Ep.* 7.97 illustrates the importance of finding a route to a wide readership, and we can compare Statius *Silvae* 2. *Praef.* 34-6 to Atedius Melior: *haec qualiacumque sunt, Melior carissime, si tibi non displicuerunt, a te publicum accipiant.*

The list could continue. Many authors, in short, refer to support from private patrons that seems to operate in a similar way to the functions described above for imperial public libraries. They provided an important combination of practical resources, critical and social approbation, and access to an audience.

⁶²⁸ e.g. Horace *Sat.* 1.9.48-52.

⁶²⁹ *Laus Pisonis* 218-9: *dignare tuos aperire Penates / hoc solum petimus.*

⁶³⁰ Syme 1953, Vol. I 93. cf Pliny *Ep.* 8.12

⁶³¹ White 1978, 85.

Emperors could intervene in this world of powerful patrons and needy authors by establishing their own library provision, with the effects described at length above: public libraries, among other means, established them in a position of pre-eminence, and along the way enabled them to cultivate authors whose works were pleasing or favourable. Juvenal suggests that by the early 2nd C the emperor dominated the literary life of Rome:

et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum; solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas respexit...circumspicat et stimulat vos materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.

Juvenal *Satire* 7.1-3, 20-1

A second, related way in which the deployment of public libraries seems to have been a response to practices and preferences in wider Roman society is in the facility they afforded to emperors for collection and display of rare and important books.

There is plentiful evidence for the social cachet that a large book collection could confer. The *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus offers a connection between the world of book collecting and the sorts of compendious, excerpting literature discussed above. Athenaeus, like all the authors mentioned here, made heavy use of pre-existing books to shape and colour his work, creating a sophisticated miscellany drawing on and imitating several different genres of writing to produce a lively digest of facts and scholarly information. The process of reading, writing, and discussing underpins the content of the *Deipnosophistae* but also its structure: Athenaeus represents and discusses his patron Larensis as a true lover of the Muses, who had amassed more books than any previous collector including Ptolemy Philadelphus. In his house and around his library we encounter “a milieu of scholarly readers and writers...within this bookish culture anecdotes, sayings, quotations, lexicographical entries could be transmitted through one or several intermediary sources between the original text and Athenaeus’ compilation...

Thus we could consider Athenaeus as a librarian and his text as a library, a storage device for hundreds of books that were read or browsed, summarized, paraphrased or quoted by the author or his sources.”⁶³² Athenaeus’ Larensis, a bibliophile, illustrates aspects of the impulse which led to the collection of books and the creation of libraries: he collects men of learning and hosts them not just with food and drink, but with words and ideas (the large meeting spaces in public libraries, dominated by large statues of the emperor, suggest a similar rôle for the emperor as absent ‘host’ in his own institutions, especially perhaps those connected to the imperial residences on the Palatine).

Athenaeus talks about Larensis’ own library at the outset of his work: it validates his own writings by proving the extent of his research, it presents Larensis as a wealthy and cultured collector, and it provides a useful element in the work’s structuring symposiastic/domestic conceit. The library is praised and described in Book I 3a-b: the description makes comparisons ranging from Polycrates and Peisistratus, through Euripides, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Neleus to the great court collections of Pergamon and Alexandria. This outline of the development of the ancient library is broadly accurate and probably reflects Athenaeus’ knowledge of Hellenistic texts and possibly Varro’s lost *De Bibliothecis*. Larensis’ deployment of his kingly collection provides an example of the general contention that the proper use of wealth is judicious euergetism: Larensis makes his books available to his friends.⁶³³

Athenaeus does not mention the imperial public libraries of Rome in this list, but their absence is eloquent. Perhaps contemporary public libraries are not mentioned because they are seen as “competing” with Larensis’ collection: by ignoring other large book collections and collectors, the self-sufficiency of Larensis’ library is stressed, and Athenaeus can avoid denting the rather splendid hyperbole by which he compares his patron directly – and favourably – with Hellenistic royal collectors. Larensis’ collection is

⁶³² Jacob 2000, 86-7.

⁶³³ Athenaeus 1.2b.

also slightly different scope to those housed in Roman public libraries: his books are mostly Greek (Athenaeus offers only three quotations from Latin books, all of them transmitted through indirect sources), while a large number of those cited in Roman public libraries are, naturally, works in Latin.⁶³⁴ (We should note, though, that at 4.160d Larensis claims descent from Varro, whom we have met several times in his capacity as a leading Roman book-collector and proto-librarian).

Nonetheless, it is clear is that Larensis' collection of a library and patronage of the arts are depicted by Athenaeus as public gestures: at 1.3d we see him portrayed as a sort of emperor of taste and learning, compared explicitly to Alexander the Great, Conon, and a host of other prominent and safely historical Greeks. No equivalence is claimed with the unchallengeable Antonine emperors by whom Larensis had been employed;⁶³⁵ any comparison with them must remain implicit, but is surely there. Athenaeus and his Larensis preside over a cosmopolis of knowledge, organising and controlling it in the same way that we encountered with Pliny and imperial libraries above:

Οἰκουμένης δῆμον τὴν Ῥώμην φησί, λέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄν τις σκοποῦ πόρρω τοξεύων λέγοι τὴν Ῥώμην πόλιν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν ἧ συνιδεῖν ἔστιν οὕτως πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυμένας... ἐπιλείποι δ' ἄν με οὐχ ἡμέρα μία ἐξαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐρανοπόλει Ῥώμῃ ἀριθμουμένας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι αἱ κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀριθμούμεναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* (Epitome) 1.20b-c

Larensis' literary patronage and accumulation of knowledge is linked to the city's accumulation of peoples. This is seen as the proper activity for a rich and learned man:

⁶³⁴ Athenaeus 4.160c (Varro and Roman Grammarians); 4.168e: (P. Rutilius Rufus' *History of Rome* (written in Greek)); 6.273b (Cotta's *On The Roman Constitution*). See Anderson 1997 213 on the treatment of Roman matters here: "Rome remains characteristically at the margins of a sophist's world."

⁶³⁵ In a priestly capacity: Athenaeus 1.2c. He is possibly the Publius Livius Larensis, Pontifex Minor, of *CIL* VI.212

τοιούτους ἔδει καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἶναι πλουσίους, writes Athenaeus, and this injunction represents a social pressure to which emperors seem to have responded.⁶³⁶

Larensis' collection is symptomatic of a taste for extensive book-collecting which emerged in the late Republic and continued under the principate, and he was one among many collectors on a would-be imperial scale: Lucian describes another, a Syrian bibliophile who accumulated a huge book collection to impress Marcus Aurelius.⁶³⁷ Nero's freedman Epaphroditus had 30,000 rolls and was renowned for his own scholarship and writing.⁶³⁸ Literary patrons such as Pliny⁶³⁹ and Martial's Stella (or in an earlier age Cicero's Lucullus) have already been mentioned: they too had large libraries which they used to attract scholars and writers. This sort of élite competition is a significant factor in our understanding of how the imperial library projects of the emperors were perceived and motivated.⁶⁴⁰

There is plenty to suggest that book-collecting was a common enough practice to attract imperial attention in this way. Galen records that the competitive establishment of royal libraries in the Hellenistic kingdoms had stimulated a boom in the antiquarian book markets there, producing a rash of volumes of doubtful provenance.⁶⁴¹ By Roman times the collection of books had certainly acquired a social value independent of the intellectual use of the actual texts involved, and was even a common enough phenomenon to form the basis of a satirical topos.

Occasionally these collections could feed directly into imperial holdings, as when Serenus Sammonicus bequeathed the library of his father, a noted physician and scholar, to Gordian: it numbered some 62,000 rolls.⁶⁴² They could form the basis of provincial

⁶³⁶ Athenaeus 1.3d.

⁶³⁷ Lucian *Ind.* 22.

⁶³⁸ *Suda* E2004. It also says that he was "large and dark, like an elephant."

⁶³⁹ E.g. Pliny *Ep.* 1.8.

⁶⁴⁰ We can compare collections in other media: see n.655.

⁶⁴¹ Galen *Comment. In Hippocratis De natura hominis* 1.127; 2.128.

⁶⁴² *JHA* Gordian 18.2; cf Yildiz 2003, 300. For estimates for the capacity of the libraries of Trajan's Forum above, pp53ff.

public libraries, which could be created as institutions with staffs and budgets for new acquisitions, but also as monumental accommodation for existing book collections that their patrons wanted to make available to the public gaze: several texts and inscriptions state that patrons provided the original core collections of their libraries along with the buildings.⁶⁴³

While respectable book-collection earned social kudos, the unlearned collection of books could backfire spectacularly. Traces of the resentment felt towards ignorant collectors – buyers of books by the yard – are preserved in various bilious satires.⁶⁴⁴ The best-known bibliomaniac boor is Petronius' Trimalchio, and we can compare Seneca's criticism of rich collectors and Lucian's portrait of an ignorant collector under Marcus Aurelius.⁶⁴⁵ This is interesting for our purposes as it strongly implies that book collecting had ceased to be the exclusive preserve of very wealthy intellectuals, but had begun to be emulated for social reasons by less well-educated. Trimalchio is clearly an ignoramus, but still feels it important to boast to his guests that his libraries qualify him as a sage: *et ne me putes studia fastiditum, duas bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam.*⁶⁴⁶

This sort of plangent satire hit home. Larensis for one is clearly worried about attracting criticism of his intellectual and social credentials: he is quick to point out, for instance, that his learned cook is the right sort – not the cheap, gimmicky learned cook of a rival host, who makes his unfortunate kitchen staff learn the dialogues of Plato to impress his guests – and that he himself had engaged in bilingual and antiquarian researches into arcane religious and legal matters.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴³ E.g. Appendix 4 nos. 5, 7, 9, 12.

⁶⁴⁴ Other ignorant collecting was also lampooned: cf e.g. Pliny on Corinthian bronze collectors who pretend connoisseurship (*HN* 34.3.6) or those who collect and deploy domestic art wrongly (35.2.4).

⁶⁴⁵ Seneca *Tranq.* 9.4 and *Dial.* 9.9.4; Lucian *Ind.* Cf de Vleeschauwer 1958, 36-7 on the "snobisme" of some Roman book collecting.

⁶⁴⁶ Petronius *Cena Trimalchionis* 48.4.

⁶⁴⁷ The cook: Athenaeus 9.380ff. Larensis' own reading 1.2c and Braund and Wilkins 2000, 4; cf Athenaeus 4.160d for the importance of Varro to Larensis' self image.

These satirical complaints, and the way Athenaeus has to justify his patron's libraries, shows that the collection of books had become a signal of social ambition, a shorthand for the display not only of expensive artefacts, but the expensive and impressive erudition that they implied. If substantial book-collections capable of deployment as private quasi-academies existed at Rome, imperial public library provision might be understood almost as "competition" from emperors to maintain their position as top patron. The question of who was imitating whom is raised: as symbolic gestures of wealth, power, generosity, and ability to fulfil a rôle on the cultural stage of the city, the foundation of a public library was a useful gesture. Julius Caesar and Asinius Pollio were the first to attempt this expensive and potent enterprise, redolent as we have seen of Hellenistic kingly display, and the writers who described their intentions stressed in each case the public nature of the gift:⁶⁴⁸ extending this form of literary patronage to the whole city of Rome kept the donor a step ahead of even the most generous private patrons.

It was not only owning large numbers of books that mattered: as the satirists make clear, the aspiring library collector had to own the right ones. The demand for reliable copies of famous works drove their prices at Rome to exorbitant levels. During a discussion of the history of the letter *b*, for example, Gellius mentions a copy of *Aeneid* II which was thought to have belonged to Virgil himself, and which therefore commanded the astronomical price of 20 aurei in a bookshop in the Sigillaria.⁶⁴⁹ Rome's library founders, blessed (as we have seen) with inherited collections, connections to leading authors and scholars of the day, and pockets of unrivalled depth, could afford to establish themselves in this market, and the results were noticed.

The owner of the expensive Virgil manuscript, Fidus Optatus, was a grammarian *multi nominis Romae*, part of the set of Roman authors and *lettrés* to which Gellius

⁶⁴⁸See p.20 above.

⁶⁴⁹ Gellius 2.3.5. For more typical book prices (i.e., those of smart but non-antiquarian volumes) see p.318 : the mark-up here is in the order of 10,000%.

belonged. The number of those able or willing to pay such large amounts for books was small; though the establishment of a large library was a common tactic for the parvenu and arriviste, it was the really serious collectors whose holdings included antiquarian books of great age and impressive provenance, and among these holdings we can include the emperors' public libraries. With the cachet and price of antiquarian volumes in Rome so high, a market clearly existed for institutions that would collect, house, and protect such works. A guarantee of authenticity would also have been useful: many of the readings Gellius makes from these supposedly genuine antiquarian volumes appear to have been unreliable.⁶⁵⁰

Philological discussions arising from variant readings were an important part of the intellectual life of Rome's scholars and grammarians; such discussions appear at several points in the *Noctes Atticae*. Generally Gellius and his circle prefer the readings in earlier manuscripts, and place a premium on those which had some demonstrable connection with the author or his circle.⁶⁵¹ The hazards of poor copying and the damage to or degradation of old books discussed above made such volumes rare articles indeed, and Gellius' discussions of them confirm the importance of large and reliable manuscript collections to certain branches of Roman scholarship and illustrate the high value attached to copies with an impressive provenance.

All of these functions have been observed in Rome's libraries: we have seen that they became attractive to authors because of their prestige and security, and that their architecture struck a careful balance between protecting expensive stock and giving reasonably easy access to it.⁶⁵² We have also encountered episodes in which old and

⁶⁵⁰ See Holford-Strevens 2003, 190f.

⁶⁵¹ See n.518.

⁶⁵² See e.g. pp. 55ff., As in Trajan's library 292ff.

valuable books are described as being found and read in public libraries, both in the provinces and at Rome.⁶⁵³

The existence of a buoyant commercial market for rare books in Rome alongside the libraries does not diminish the importance of the latter; rather, it serves to illustrate why successive emperors felt that the collection and display of books was a field in which they had to compete and excel, as they did in the collection and display of virtually every other branch of expensive cultural endeavour.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵³ The passages are Gellius 9.14 (variant readings in a copy of Quintus Claudius at Tibur; p.199 above), 13.20 (an old volume by a Cato; p.189), and 18.9 (p.199).

⁶⁵⁴ Sidonius *Ep.* 2.9.4 suggests a perceived equivalence between an imperial library (Hadrian's Athenaeum), private scholarly collections, and commercial booksellers: see n.506.

Libraries and other imperial collections: symbolic identity

The fact that public libraries were intended in part to advertise the emperors' credentials as supreme patrons and collectors is an important aspect of their identity and rôle. It influenced their provincial imitators, and helps to explain their own architectural form and location. From Asinius Pollio's Atrium Libertatis library onwards all imperial libraries at Rome had interiors that were decorated to impress and also contained, as we have seen, numerous works of pictorial and plastic art. They were located in complexes which were constructed and decorated in the highest imperial style and which also held extensive imperial collections of art and other treasures. Vespasian's Templum Pacis, for instance, housed both a library and the extensive collection of art-works removed from Nero's reviled Domus Aurea (library users may occasionally have been disturbed by noise from the nearby construction site of the Colosseum, located on what had been the Domus Aurea's lake). In such a context the display of books achieves a political significance separate from its practical function: it is part of a rhetoric of display that maintains the imperial family's primacy as collectors and patrons in all branches of the arts, but which simultaneously insists that the resources they command are really at the disposal of the public.

The Elder Pliny remarks of Asinius Pollio:

Pollio Asinius, ut fuit acris vehementiae, sic quoque spectari monumenta sua voluit

Pliny HN 36.4.33.

It was Pollio's sculpture collection that he wanted people to see, but the remark might equally have been applied to his books; Pollio was known as a scholar and patron of letters as well as a collector of art, and the structure which Pollio built to house his art work might well have been in the Atrium Libertatis that housed his library. Indeed, Pliny's remark is located in the middle of an list of public sculpture collections at Rome,

which names all of the locations which also held public libraries: Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* (*HN* 33.27), the *Porticus Octaviae* (34, including a group of the nine muses and two Apollos) with its *schola* (29) and temples (35, 42-43), Augustus' Palatine complex (24, 36), and the imperial residences on the Palatine (38) (with the Temple of the Deified Augustus at *HN* 34.43). Rome's public libraries, then, were located in building projects designed to house large collections of art and show them off to large numbers of people.

The book collections of the libraries must therefore be seen alongside the other great imperial collections laid open to public view in Rome. Considered for their symbolic value, books fit well into a category of imperial possessions displayed both for their own intrinsic material value and worth (use, beauty) and for the symbolic, political values they embodied. Public libraries were created as institutions with staffs and budgets for new acquisitions, but also as monumental accommodation for existing book collections that their patrons wanted to make available to the public gaze: several texts and inscriptions state that patrons provided the original core collections of their libraries.

Great collections of artefacts – books, gems, statues, paintings – set on public view in monumental settings had, of course, been part of the landscape of Rome since well before the imperial period: Republican manubial complexes (such as the *Aedes Herculis Musarum*) established a tradition enlarged and monopolised by the emperors.⁶⁵⁵

The imperial collection and public display of objects invested them with new meanings derived partly from the objects themselves and partly from their contexts.⁶⁵⁶

The public provision of libraries was entirely compatible with the popularising thrust of

⁶⁵⁵ Pliny (*HN* 37.11f and 34.6) notes that collections by leading men had formed fashions at Rome. Pompey's victory over Mithridates led to an interest in pearls and gemstones; Lucius Scipio and Gnaeus Manlius prompted the collection of silverware, garments of cloth of gold, and bronze-inlaid dining couches; Mummius' capture and destruction of Corinth sparked an interest in Corinthian bronzes still aped two centuries later by Trimalchio. These private collections could be made public by very prominent (usually imperial) collectors: Pompey's collection of Mithridatic rings was dedicated on the Capitol; Julius Caesar dedicated six cabinets of gemstones in the temple of Venus Genetrix and Marcellus added one in the Temple of Palatine Apollo.

⁶⁵⁶ "Artefacts are then decontextualised from their original function, and become 'units of memory' in their new context." Haug 2001, 115.

imperial building programs such as the Saepta Iulia and the Temple of Peace, which displayed to the *populus Romanus* the treasures of pictorial and plastic art previously kept in aristocratic palaces and gardens, a policy made explicit in Agrippa's pamphlet of 33 BC.⁶⁵⁷ To house treasures of literary art in similarly accessible public buildings seems the logical extension of this policy of providing to the *populus* the facilities for *otium* previously enjoyed only by the very privileged few. Indeed, we have seen that in at least one or two cases, it was probably the very libraries of aristocratic collectors that formed the core of collections turned over to the public.⁶⁵⁸

The public display of imperial collections was a politically charged act, and libraries (like other such venues of display) therefore acquired an important symbolic value. The material value of the books, conspicuously guarded in the libraries' luxurious marble halls, was not only a display of contemporary cultural power; it also laid claim to the past, in the same way that the marble ranks of *summi viri* in the Forum Augustum appropriated the past and made Augustus its telos. The assembly of works of literature by past authors whose works had helped to establish and define Roman cultural identity laid claim to a part of that identity; Martial's plea for his book to be admitted *qua Pedo, qua Marsus quaque Catullus erit* is a plea to be admitted to a canon which the library collection defined.⁶⁵⁹ At the same time, the monumental imperial setting of the library interior altered the cultural meaning of the texts held there, laying claim to their merits and values.⁶⁶⁰

Here libraries can find their place in a cultural movement that has been explored by various scholars.⁶⁶¹ During the reign of Augustus especially the political *renovatio* of the

⁶⁵⁷ See n.305.

⁶⁵⁸ For the libraries of Lucullus, Antony, and others, see above pp.10ff.

⁶⁵⁹ Martial *Ep.* 5.5

⁶⁶⁰ "Regardless of whether objects are regarded as status symbols, furnishings (*decor*), monuments, art or as representations of personal needs and desires: [sic] the treatment of 'old' material can take on a variety of forms... A presentation of the objects in relationship to their space clearly forces a certain type of reception." Haug 2001, 119.

⁶⁶¹ Hölscher 2001 for discussion of various types of reference to the past; cf. Zanker 1977.

past went hand in hand with the encouragement of new architectural, artistic and cultural achievements. The foundation of libraries, with their accumulated collections of the distilled wisdom of past ages, was one expression of this development.⁶⁶² Later emperors chose to emulate Augustus' foundations; *their* libraries therefore also had Augustan associations. "When cultural heritage maintains its form and its function and is integrated unaltered into the present culture, it contributes to the continuation and maintenance of cultural consciousness...By this continuity of form, it [material culture] constitutes culture and founds identity."⁶⁶³

⁶⁶² For another see Zanker 1983: Augustus' placing of original Classical sculpture in the Palatine temple of Apollo rather than Hellenistic or Classicist copies or imitation, as well as the archaic terracottas and pedimental sculptures, deliberately indicated an ideological programme of *pietas* and *auctoritas*.

⁶⁶³ Haug 2001, 120. cf Assman 1997, 20: "The *Dingwelt* in which humans live has a timeline which includes not only the present, but different levels of the past."

Present and past

Libraries were one point at which access to a constructed past could be provided and controlled.⁶⁶⁴ Figures from this past could act as exemplary models of virtues or qualities valued in the present,⁶⁶⁵ the extent to which the values they expressed or represented found favour with emperors determined their place in the libraries, as has been seen above, and therefore their chances of being presented to posterity as elements of an idealised Roman past.

The collection in public libraries of authors' portraits was an important part of this symbolic function, allowing even non-reading visitors an instant visual index of the illustrious figures represented there. Section III discussed elements of library décor, and the imperial favour implied by the granting of portrait busts was mentioned above. Pliny's treatment of the topic allows us to approach it from this different angle of the creation and preservation of a public cultural identity:

non est praetereundum et novitium inventum, siquidem non ex auro argentove, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum immortales animae in locis iisdem loquuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.

Pliny HN 35.2.9ff.

This passage on the portraits displayed in libraries comes immediately after Pliny's discussion of the genealogical and funerary *imagines* kept in the homes of the well-to-do, and the conceptual connection is interesting. Provincial libraries, as we will see in Ch.V.2, were often connected to family funerary display.⁶⁶⁶ The literary continuum which the libraries represented was valued in the same way as the heritage of a noble family, gilding the present generation with the achievements of its forebears and allowing them

⁶⁶⁴ For the shaping of a deep past through "super-individual collective memory" see Haug 2001, 112. Cf. Assman 1997; Halbwachs 1985.

⁶⁶⁵ Hölscher 1993, 70.

⁶⁶⁶ cf Haug 2001, who also talks about a "*genealogical relationship* to the [recent, non-mythic] past" (her italics) which finds a natural expression in veneration of ancestors and funerary commemoration.

to aspire to an equivalent fame. The base of the statue dedicated in Trajan's Forum to the poet Claudian (Appendix 5 No. 5), for example, says that *ad memoriam sempiternam carmina...sufficiant*, but for good measure adds a Greek epigram in which he is compared to Homer and Virgil (with a self-consciously archaising Mycenaean genitive) in the same way that Martial hoped for comparison with Pedo, Marsus, and Catullus; the personified statues of the Iliad and Odyssey in Pantaionos' library in Athens' imply a similar connection between past and present authors (p.276 and **Figure 34**). We can fruitfully compare a current strand of Roman art-historical scholarship, which examines cultural self-definition through the meanings and values embodied in a canonical range of works of art.⁶⁶⁷

Claudian's inscription also shows how the canonisation of authors in imperial collections could benefit the emperors involved. Confident that Claudian's works will stand the test of time, the emperors that awarded the statue (Arcadius and Honorius) describe themselves as *doctissimi imperatores* and remind the reader that Claudian was chosen *ob iudicii sui*: as literary gatekeepers to the Latin literary canon they stood to benefit from the lasting fame of their protégés.

The present tense in Pliny's *loquuntur* is telling: the *immortales animae* of the long-dead authors are pictured speaking to readers in libraries, re-affirming the sense of continuity and heritage that these buildings encapsulated. The same could be true of living but absent authors: Dio claims that his own statue in a public library was the next best thing to his own presence, as it would stimulate students to emulate him.⁶⁶⁸ The desire to see what authors looked like seems to have been fairly widespread:⁶⁶⁹ Pliny goes on to inform us that Varro, himself the first author to have his portrait placed in a public

⁶⁶⁷ Chiefly Hölscher 2004.

⁶⁶⁸ Dio *Or.* 37.8. See above n.572.

⁶⁶⁹ Cf Cicero *V'er.* 2.4.123 – Verres removed twenty-seven pictures including some of past kings and tyrants of Sicily from the temple of Minerva at Syracuse, whose value lay partly “in the instructive record the provided of these men's personal appearance.”

library, managed *benignissimo invento* to insert portraits of seven hundred famous men into his work,⁶⁷⁰ thereby granting his subjects immortality and making them the envy even of the gods. There was sufficient demand for this novelty that copies were despatched *verum etiam in omnes terras*: once again, then, we see book and library as a guarantor and protector of cultural memory.

The symbolic value of the locations in which imperial public libraries were erected has cropped up several times in this discussion: the Augustan complexes, the leisure world of the imperial *thermae*, the great Trajanic commemorative space at the northern end of that emperor's forum, and the Flavian manubial Temple of Peace which made conspicuously public the imperial art collections of Nero. The empire's provincial public libraries, built for the most part by private donors, appreciated the multivalent symbolism of these metropolitan libraries and imitated it, creating (as we shall see) plural identities of their own: they embodied associations with learning and book collections, of course, but also with funeral and family commemoration.

These connections were apparent from the outset in Rome's public libraries: the symbolism of Pollio's foundation was discussed in an earlier part of this thesis, although its precise location and layout are unknowable. We are on firmer ground with the Augustan libraries. The literary functions of these libraries and some aspects of their symbolic identities have already been discussed; the Palatine library can also be considered with reference to its location in a complex with very strong connections to the person of Augustus himself. The Palatine library was, of course, part of the suite of buildings that included Augustus' house and the temple of his tutelary deity Apollo, and

⁶⁷⁰ Pliny's phrase *benignissimo invento* (at *HN* 35.2.11) indicates that Varro used some sort of unusual technical procedure. Given the sheer number of portraits included, and the apparent extent of the diffusion of Varro's work, I think it is necessary to assume some sort of printing technology, perhaps along the line of early woodcuts. This is not too far-fetched a hypothesis, given the widespread prevalence of (say) signet rings, brick-stamps, and standardised ceramic mouldings in the Roman world, but is outside the scope of the present discussion.

further temples to Magna Mater (restored in AD 3), Victoria, and Victoria Virgo. Its location in this context made a powerful statement of connection between Augustus' own identity and the place of the library as a landmark in Rome's developing imperial topography; the one reinforced the other. Much of Augustus' building programme in the city of Rome bolstered his personal image, securing it for posterity and his successors. These strands are not to be separated. The library, with its simultaneous ability to lend the approbation of previous ages (like the statues in the Forum Augustum) and to secure the attention of those still to come, fulfilled both objectives at once.

The political significance of Augustus' Palatine complex has been much discussed.⁶⁷¹ By choosing the Palatine, Augustus inserted his personal residence and public temple complex into an ancient topography heavy with mythical and symbolic identities: here national and imperial gods adjoined the ancestral houses of Rome's ruling élite and the relics of her earliest mythical history.⁶⁷² The boundaries of public and private were elided, and the integration of the library in the complex that also contained the imperial temples and residence merits further consideration here.

The houses of Roman aristocrats had traditionally sustained public functions, and the Palatine was their most prestigious location.⁶⁷³ Among the facilities needed in the public part of a great house Vitruvius includes libraries "similar to those built for public use" to accommodate *publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque*.⁶⁷⁴ The constructive ambiguity between public and private was a marked feature of Augustus' Palatine

⁶⁷¹ See e.g. Dumser, Haselberger, and Romano 2002, *s.v.* 'Palatium', 186; E. Papi, *s.v.* "Palatium (età repubblicana-64 d.C.)", *LTUR* IV, 22-29 with bibliography on 37-8; Richardson 1992, 227, 277-82, 308, 333; Castagnoli 1964, 173-77.

⁶⁷² The Casa Romuli: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; Varro *Ling.* 5.54; Plut. *Rom.* 20.4; Dio 53.16.5; *Reg. Cats.*, *Regio X*; Prop. 4.1.9. See also Dumser, Haselberger, and Romano 2002, *s.v.* 'Casa Romuli', 83.

⁶⁷³ e.g. Cicero's Palatine villa which he rebuilt at great expense in March 56 BC to mark his return from exile (Clodius had destroyed it in 58). Further passages illustrating the importance of the Roman house: Cicero *Off.* 1.138 (Octavius' Palatine house), the demolition of disgraced men's houses (M. Fulvius Flaccus: Cicero *Dom.* 102; L. Saturninus: Val. Max. 6.3.1c); the resonance of Pompey's house: Cicero *Phil.* 2.68ff.

⁶⁷⁴ Vitruvius 6.5.2. For the probable nature of these consultations, see Wiseman 1985, 14-16.

complex;⁶⁷⁵ there are several points of significant connection between Augustus' house and its connected libraries and temple(s). We have already seen that the directors and staff of the Augustan public libraries were drawn from the emperor's household and that imperial libraries responded to a growing trend for élite book-collection and literary patronage through libraries. The replication of these facilities on a civic scale and in a symbolically charged location was a hallmark of Augustus' autocratic government – providing public facilities which supported personal rule, making the whole city resemble the villa of a wealthy man: actions that were, with characteristic Augustan ambiguity, simultaneously democratising and autocratising.

Writing on the juxtaposition of Augustus' house and the Palatine temple of Apollo, Wiseman argues that temples and élite houses had traditionally shared the function of preserving what Cicero called the 'everlasting memory of the name' in the same way.⁶⁷⁶ The library and the aristocratic *domus* also shared connections to the public commemoration of illustrious past. Pliny's description of the ideal aristocratic atrium is useful in this context:

Apud maiores in atrii haec erant, quae spectarentur... expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilicia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familiae eius qui umquam fuerat populus. stemmata vero lineis discurrerent ad imagines pictas. Tabulina codicibus implebantur et monimentis rerum in magistratu gestarum. aliae foris et circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant adfixis hostium spoliis, quae nec emptori refigere liceret, triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis aeternae domus.

Pliny, *HN* 35.2.6-7.

⁶⁷⁵ "It is particularly in the case of king's palaces that the interpenetration of private and public functions is most obvious." Wiseman 1994, 100. Wiseman interprets Virgil's descriptions of the palace of King Latinus at *Aeneid* 7.153 (*augusta ad moenia Regis*) and 7.170-86 *tectum augustum ingens* as references to Augustus' Palatine complex. Cf. Rowell 1941.

⁶⁷⁶ Wiseman 1994; Cicero *Verr.* II.4.69 on Q. Catulus and the temple of Iuppiter O.M. Specifically Wiseman refers to the presence in both of commemorative statues, paintings, *res gestae*, and funerary imagines. Statues: temple – e.g. Cicero *Q.fr.* 3.1.14 (Tellus), Dio 53.27.3 (Pantheon). House: e.g. Dio 44.18.2 (Caesar), Juvenal 7.125, 8.3 (triumphal chariot), Tacitus *Dial.* 8.4, 11.3, Pliny *HN* 34.17 (put up by clients), 35.7 (*animorum ingentium imagines*), Virg. *Aen.* 7.177-82. Painting of *res gestae*. Temples: Pliny *HN* 35.22 (Iuppiter O.M.), Livy 41.28.10 (Mater Matuta) Propertius 4.6 (Palatine Apollo). House: inferred from Apulcius *Met.* 6 29.2, Petr. *Sat.* 29.3-6.

The presence of images and textual archives to commemorate the past and justify the present naturally calls libraries to mind, and Pliny himself made the connection: he immediately goes on to discuss the similar decoration of public libraries in the passage quoted above on p.262.

Commemorative imagery was also a significant factor in another political function of the Augustan libraries that relied on their public quality and also their close connection to Augustus: from time to time the senate was convened there.⁶⁷⁷

addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit

Suetonius, *Aug.* 29.3

Other authors tell us that the decoration of the Palatine space in which the senate met incorporated prominent images of famous orators and statesmen in the same way that Pliny (*HN* 35.9) tells us that libraries incorporated the images of those *quorum immortales animae in locis iisdem loquuntur*. These occasionally had direct relevance to the senatorial business in hand, such as in AD16 when Hortalus came to seek financial aid *cum in palatio senatus haberetur*: the decoration of the building in question included portraits of orators including Augustus himself and Hortensius (Hortalus' grandfather).⁶⁷⁸

These images were there *qua* orators rather than *qua* politicians, in the same way that the *clipeus* of Germanicus was placed here *inter auctores eloquentiae* after his death in AD 19.⁶⁷⁹ A scholia to Horace ascribes to the Palatine library in particular the practice of

⁶⁷⁷ Bruce 1986, 538; Thompson, 1981; Castagnoli 1949; D. Palombi, "Curia in Palatino", *LTUR* I, 334.

⁶⁷⁸ Tacitus *Ann* 2.37

⁶⁷⁹ Tacitus *Ann.* 2.83. The Tabula Hebana locates this image in the portico of temple of Apollo in a building which contained an image of Apollo in an aediculum: *utique in Palatio in portico quae est ad Apollinis, in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet, [inter ima]gines virorum in<I>us<t>ris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici, partis eius natural[is] fratrisq[ue] Ti. Caesaris Aug[ust]i, qui ipse quoq[ue] fecundi ingeni fuit, imagines ponantur supra capita columna[rum] eius fas[ti]gi[um] quo simulacrum Apollinis tegitur*. Text: Oliver and Palmer 1954.

library portraits described in general by Pliny,⁶⁸⁰ so it seems likely that the decorated room in which the senate met was indeed Augustus' Palatine library.⁶⁸¹

The associations between previous authors and statesmen, the emperor, the senate, the Augustan Palatine complex, and the accumulated literary past of Rome combine to make the Palatine library a location potent with multiple symbolic meanings. As firm anchors in the fast flowing stream of time, libraries were a powerful monumental statement.

⁶⁸⁰ Scholia to Horace *ad Serm.* 1.4.21 *Bonorum enim portarum carmina cum imaginibus ipsorum in bibliotheca Apollinis recondebatur et insuper authentici eorum.*

⁶⁸¹ Accordingly, Thompson 1981 locates several other Palatine senate meetings in the library, under Tiberius (Dio 58.9.4), Claudius (Josephus *AJ.*19.266-8), and Nero (Tacitus *Ann.* 13.5).

V - PROVINCIAL ROMAN PUBLIC LIBRARIES

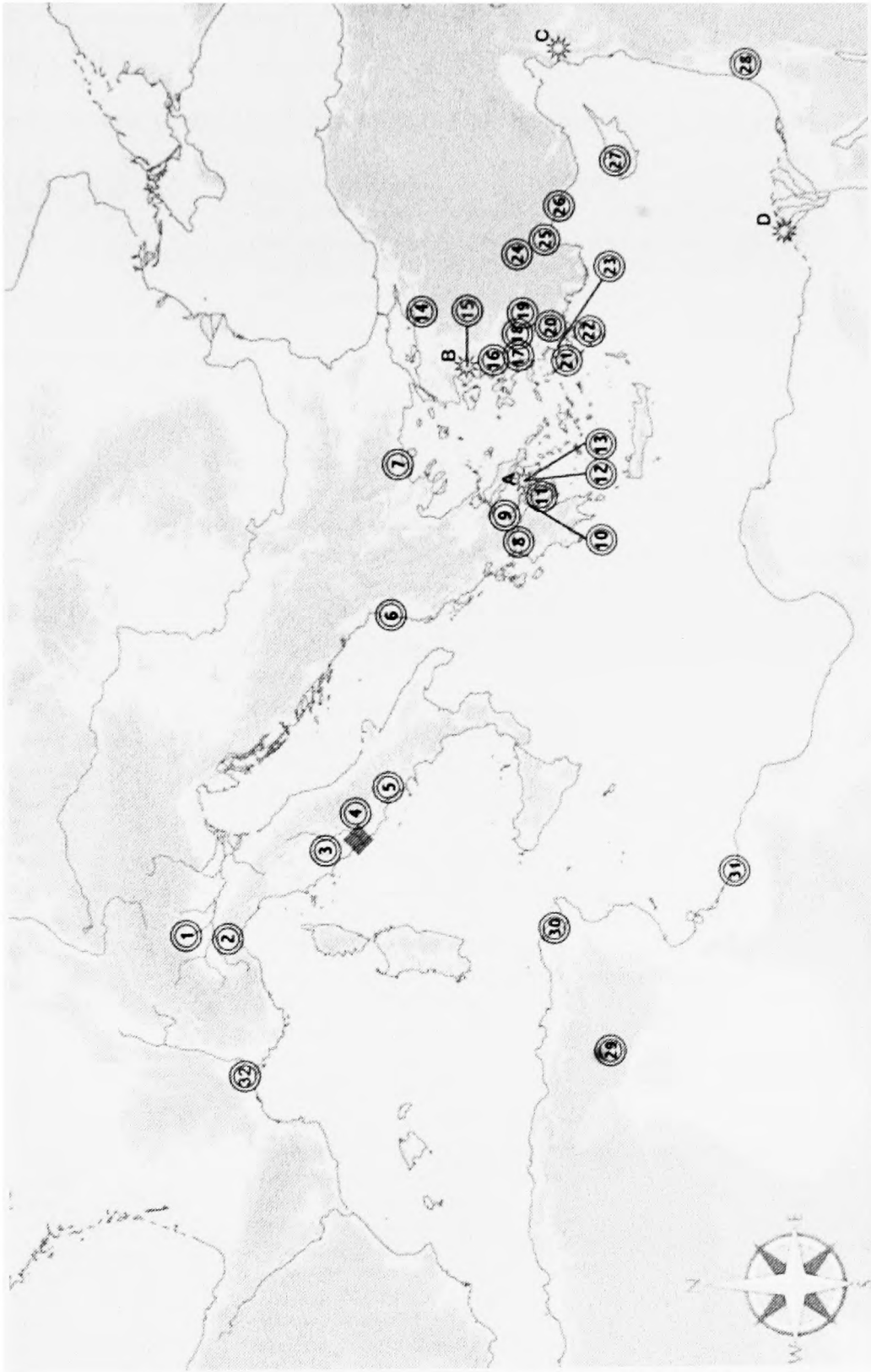


Figure 33 Locations of provincial Roman public libraries.

Key to Figure 33.

◆ ROME See pp.vff.

✻ **HELLENISTIC ROYAL LIBRARIES WITH CONTINUED ROMAN-ERA LIBRARIES:**

- A. ATHENS See p.275. (Ptolemaion) and nos. 12-13 below.
 B. PERGAMUM With the new Roman foundation of Flavia Melitene: no.15 below.
 C. ANTIOCH Hellenistic and late antique libraries here; for a possible continued library function in the Roman period, see. p.289 with Platthy 1968, 170-73 nos.166-173.
 D. ALEXANDRIA Numerous Roman interventions: see Ch.II.1.i.

ROMAN-ERA LIBRARIES

- 1 Comum Pliny *Ep.* 1.8; Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 4.
 2 Dertona Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 1.
 3 Volsinii Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 7.
 4 Tibur Gellius *NA* 9.14.
 5 Suessa Aruncia Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 16.
 6 Dyrrachium Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 6.
 7 Philippi Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 17.
 8 Patrae Gellius *NA* 18.9.
 9 Delphi Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 8.
 10 Corinth Dio *Oration* 37.8.
 11 Epidaurus Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 13.
 12 Athens: Pantainos Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 5 & remains.
 13 Athens: Hadrian Remains & Pausanias I.18.9, Eusebius *Chron. Ol.* 227, Aristides *Panathenaicus* 13.188.
 14 Prusa Pliny *Ep.* 10.81 (Dio Cocceianus).
 15 Pergamum (Roman) Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 12 & remains.
 16 Smyrna Strabo 14.1.37.
 17 Ephesus Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 9 & remains.
 18 Nysa Remains & *POxy* III.412 (Κεστοί of Julius Africanus) 1.62.
 19 Aphrodisias Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 15.
 20 Mylasa Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 19; doubtful date.
 21 Cos Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 3. •
 22 Rhodes Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 14.
 23 Halicarnassus Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 11.
 24 Sagalassos Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 10 & remains; probable identification.
 25 Cremna Remains; possible identification.
 26 Side Remains; possible identification.
 27 Soli, Cyprus Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 2.
 28 Aelia Capitolina *POxy* III.412 (Κεστοί) 1.60-1 and Eusebius *Hist.Eccles.* 6.20.1 (for a later church library).
 29 Timgad Inscription: Appendix 4, No. 18 & remains
 30 Carthage Apuleius *Florida* 18.
 31 Sabratha Apuleius *Apology* 90-91.
 32 Nemausus (Nîmes) Remains; possible identification.

Introduction: provincial libraries and Roman literary culture

The opening pages of this thesis described in outline the movement of leading statesmen-orators, poets, physicians and philosophers of the Greek world to Rome as the city, capital of a growing empire, developed a thriving literary culture of its own, including public libraries. Eminent provincials such as Apollonius of Tyana, Aelius Aristides, Dio Chrysostom, Stertinius Xenophon, and Galen continued to enliven and enrich the intellectual life of the capital in the imperial period, but increasingly the process worked both ways: provincial libraries of the Roman period indicate that returning visitors and travelling Romans exported Roman literary and euergetic tastes back to their home provinces, contributing to the spread of Roman letters and culture.

Gellius' story about the manuscript of Livius Andronicus in a library at Patrae, a little piece of Roman literary heritage exported to a provincial town library, is a case in point.⁶⁸² Public libraries were an important means of disseminating Roman literature through the provinces, just as they helped to attract foreign scholars to Rome; they are part of the solution when Fantham asks "how...did Martial acquire his culture in far away Bilbilis, or Quintilian on Calagurris, or Tacitus in his Gallic childhood, or Gellius and Apuleius in North Africa?"⁶⁸³

There was a provincial appetite for cultural exchange of this sort. The growing taste for epitomes, compendia, and encyclopaedias has already been discussed, and it seems that at least part of the appetite for such works came from provincial audiences. Authors such as Gellius and Athenaeus "carried the illusion of literary performance into the studies of remote readers for whom such learned dialogues represented the distant

⁶⁸² Gellius 18.9; see above p.199.

⁶⁸³ Fantham 1996, 10.

city,” contributing to “the new diffusion of Latin literature into a reader’s world as diverse and far flung as the empire itself.”⁶⁸⁴ Public libraries did much the same thing.

Indeed, the allure of the ‘distant city’ consisted partly in its libraries. The way in which the metropolitan public libraries of Rome contributed to the formation and preservation of literary canons has already been discussed, and that fact that writers like Ovid and Martial wrote pseudopropemptica sending their books to these libraries when away from Rome indicates that, for literary men in the provinces, Rome’s libraries symbolised chic, definitive literary tastes and the acme of authorial success. The imitation of Rome’s libraries in provincial towns, often by men for whom literary activity was an important part of their private lives and public image, is therefore not surprising.

What is interesting is that the libraries they founded often confidently incorporated Roman elements and simultaneously expressed local civic identities peculiar to the towns in which they were built or to the patrons that built them. As with all forms of imperial euergetism, potential benefactors in provincial towns and cities took notice of the grand imperial projects of the capital and adapted them to their own ends. Libraries could be, and were, used to advertise (and advance?) successful Roman and local political careers, to deploy for public use a large personal book collection, to contribute to the educational facilities of a town, to act as a heroön for the donor or members of his family, to enable a town to play a part in a regional literary culture, to act as the focus of annual celebrations of the patron, and so on. All these uses are described below.

The same is true of other products of civic euergetism, of course, many of which - the theatre, the paved and colonnaded forum, the amphitheatre, the bath-house – often followed metropolitan Roman tastes. These building types can all be regarded as quintessentially Roman, but this is in large measure due to the countless iterations of and variations on the Roman canon in which they occur outside Rome, in the empire’s

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

provinces: what provincial patrons and their architects chose to adopt and imitate defined (or at least expressed) what came to be regarded as Roman. By shaping the look and function of their towns in this manner, and combining Roman and local elements of function and design, provincial élites contributed to the ever-shifting definition and redefinition of Roman identity in the provinces.

The Roman public library provides an interesting case study with a limited set of examples in this process of the assimilation, perfection, and rediffusion of a class of building. The libraries that we find in the provinces, through archaeological remains or literary or epigraphic descriptions, bear sufficient similarities to each other to constitute a class or type of building; they also bear sufficient similarities to their antecedents at Rome to warrant an investigation of their relationship to those imperial foundations. As such, they offer an example of civic euergetism in which both Roman imperial and local identities are evident, which contributes to current debates about identity in the ancient world⁶⁸⁵ and will be of interest to students of the civic landscape of Roman towns and, given the library's close connection to local intellectual pursuits, of the second sophistic movement.

This semiotics of Roman provincial euergetism as exemplified by library building is an interesting and worthwhile field of study, but should not overshadow the actual operation of these buildings as libraries and here, as in Rome, certain details of the design and disposition of provincial libraries are helpful. •

This section therefore examines the interaction between the Roman and the local in provincial libraries, beginning with the introduction of Roman imperial control and architecture in cities with pre-existing libraries (V.1.i). It then moves on to look at libraries which were newly founded in the Roman period (ii), finding evidence for the conscious imitation of imperial precedents in the sudden 'boom' in library foundation in

⁶⁸⁵ E.g. Davis 2000, Scott and Webster 2003.

the provinces just as Trajan and then Hadrian displayed a renewed interest in imperial library provision. The debt to Rome is also evident in provincial libraries' architecture and decoration (iii), as well as in details of the financial provision for their continued operation (iv).

Having established what was Roman about provincial public libraries, this section then considers how the same libraries reflected proud local traditions of book collection, scholarship, and literary endeavour, and commemorated prominent individuals and their families (V.2).

The division between Roman and local is an artificial one: both occurred simultaneously and without conflict, and this can be seen in the frequent overlap of material between sections. The point is that the foundation of a public library allowed a provincial donor the chance to do many things at once – to wear, as it were, both the toga and the himation.

V.1 - Provincial libraries: Roman identity and control

i) Roman involvement in pre-existing library centres

As Rome's empire and cultural prestige increased, her influence began to be felt in the libraries of Greek literary centres such as Alexandria, Athens, Pergamum, Antioch, Cos and Rhodes. This interaction took many forms. Several book collections and scholars were attracted or moved to Rome, as we have seen, while prominent Romans like Cicero, Caesar and Pompey also went abroad to study. Eventually, direct imperial intervention or control was exercised over some Greek libraries. Rome's long involvement with the library at Alexandria, for example, has emerged throughout this thesis (from Antony and Caesar's interventions to Augustus' assumption of the right to appoint the priest, Claudius' personal connections to the library, Domitian's sending of copyists, the interchange of senior staff with the libraries of Rome, and the Severan remodelling of the Serapeum).

Athens was another prominent centre of Greek intellectual activity in which Roman intervention reshaped pre-existing library provision. The city had a long history of book collections, from the Pisistratid collections of Homeric books to the private libraries of dramatists and philosophers.⁶⁸⁶ The first 'institutional' library there that we know of was in the Ptolemaion, a Hellenistic gymnasium complex with stoas founded with contributions from Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-45BC) and then an eastern building from Attalos II (159-138BC): another indication, perhaps, of rivalry between the royal houses of Alexandria and Pergamum in the field of cultural benefaction beyond their own famous library emulation. Numerous inscriptions from the second and first centuries BC record ephobic donations of books εἰς τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίῳ βιβλιοθήκην.

⁶⁸⁶ Pisistratid recension: Plathy 1968, 97-110. Private libraries: *ibid.*, 121-33.

These successive donations of books suggest that the purpose of the Ptolemaion, as was typical for Hellenistic gymnasia, was connected to intellectual as well as physical training.⁶⁸⁷

The Roman conquest of 86 BC and subsequent imperial interest in the city quickly led to interventions in Athens' cultural landscape. The Ptolemaion appears to have suffered in the Sullan sack, and it is not impossible that some of Sulla's looted books were taken from what must have become a substantial collection by 86BC. At any rate, Agrippa built a 1000-seat roofed Odeon which "was intended from the beginning as an adjunct to the old gymnasium" and seems to have taken over some of its function and decorations:⁶⁸⁸ the statues of Ptolemies Soter, Philadelphos, and Philometor and of Arsinoë which had once stood in the Ptolemaion proper were outside the Odeon by the time Pausanias saw them (1.8.6-9.3). The Odeon seems to have had fulfilled an intellectual function, which might also have been taken over from the Ptolemaion: Philostratus talks about lectures there (to a mostly youthful audience).⁶⁸⁹ The institution of the Flavian chairs of rhetoric at Athens signalled a continuing imperial desire to foster and direct intellectual activity in the Greek world's most renowned capital of letters.⁶⁹⁰

The first evidence for Roman direct involvement in Athens' libraries, though, comes from the reign of Trajan. One T. Flavius Pantainos, Priest of the Wisdom-Loving Muses and son of an Athenian *διάδοχος*, donated the library and all its books from his personal resources, dedicating it to Athena Polias and to the City of the Athenians (Appendix 4 no. 5); outside stood statues of the Iliad and Odyssey personified, implying a continuity with Greece's literary past in the same way that Claudian's statue in the Forum of Trajan referred to Homer and Virgil (p.263).

⁶⁸⁷ *I.G. II*² 1106, 1009, 1029, 1030, 1040-1043 (all late 2nd – mid 1st C BC) = Platthy 1968, 110-112 nos. 28-35. See Appendix 5 no. 4 for an example. Cf. Thompson 1966, 43. For libraries in gymnasia see above, pp.111ff.

⁶⁸⁸ Thompson 1966, 44. Cf. *id.* 1950 and 1968, esp. 40-1.

⁶⁸⁹ Philostratus 2.5.4; 2.8.3-4.

⁶⁹⁰ Suetonius *Vesp.* 18; see above p.237 for similar appointments.



Figure 34 Statues of the Iliad and Odysseus from the library of Pantainos, Athens.
 Photograph: author.

The library presumably contained the scholarly and educational book collection built up by Pantainos and his school-teacher father. Pantainos' dedication (and excavation of the site) indicates a building with stoas and a peristyle as well as a library, implying a place for meeting and discussion. Certain details suggest it was adapted for Pantainos' purposes, perhaps from a pre-existing school building; its educational function may well have been comparable to that once sustained in the Ptolemaion, directly across the road from the new library. Thompson observes "youthful" graffiti on the columns of the library's portico and deduces the presence of numerous young readers or pupils: "the inference is that the Library of Pantainos is an extension or replacement of the library known to have existed in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy."⁶⁹¹

⁶⁹¹ Thompson 1966, 44.

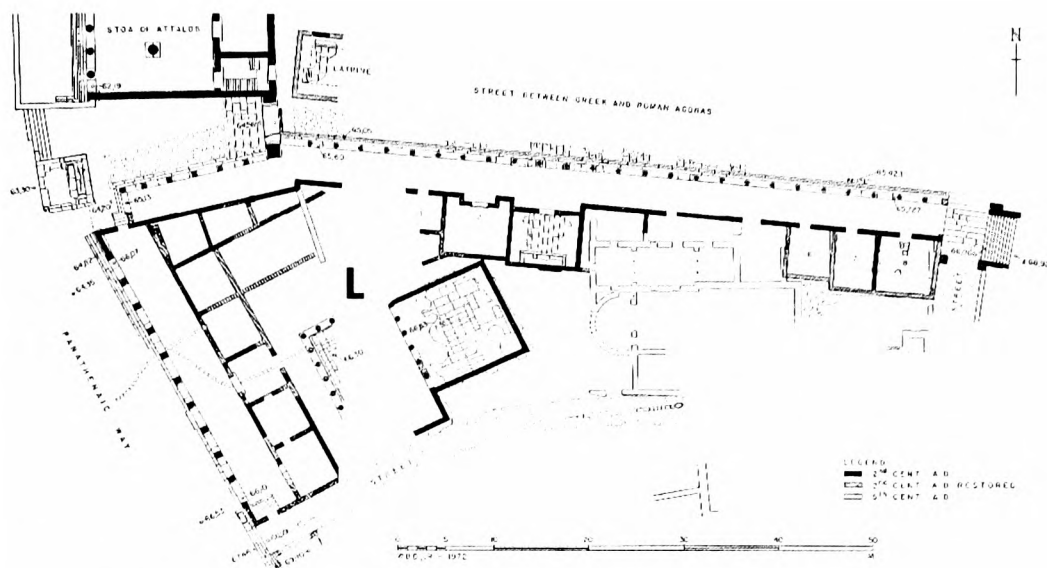


Figure 35 Plan of the Library of Pantainos, Athens.

The Athenian Agora is located at the left of the picture; the Roman Agora to the right. The library is marked 'L'.

Tønsberg 1976, 79 Fig. 48.

So far, so Greek: but Pantainos also included Trajan in his dedication (using a formula that dates the library to before AD 102), and as well as cultivating the Muses he served as priest of the imperial cult (Trajan seems to have been worshipped in the library building: fragments of a statue of the emperor (including a crouching Dacian) were found there, as well as a dedication by another priest of Trajan).⁶⁹² The prominent location of Pantainos' library is almost a symbol of this new dual identity: adjacent to the Stoa of Attalos, it opened on one side onto the Panathenaic Way and the Greek agora, and on the other side to the new road (the 'Plataia') linking this area to the Roman agora. Pantainos' conspicuous loyalty to Rome and his fellow citizens paid off, since he seems

⁶⁹² Camp 1986, 190.

to have become archon in AD 102: a herm dedicated to him in this capacity was found inside Hadrian's library.⁶⁹³

Pantainos' library may have struggled to keep up with demand – the graffiti and the stern epigraphic prohibition (Appendix 4 no. 5b) on book-borrowing suggest heavy usership – and when Hadrian built a magnificent new library nearby in AD 131/2 as part of his intensive “refoundation” of Athens it was welcomed as an appropriate adornment for the city: βιβλίων ταμεῖα οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι γῆς φανερωῶς, καὶ μάλα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κόσμος οἰκεῖος, καὶ οἷα δὴ τῆς παρουσίας ἐξουσίας καὶ διαίτης.⁶⁹⁴ An inscription found in the building suggests its library was still in use in the 5th C AD.⁶⁹⁵

Hadrian's library was built in one of the styles that by now had become well-established for imperial libraries at Rome. The library's setting within a colonnaded precinct filled with artworks closely resembles Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* (and, perhaps, the *Porticus Octaviae*) at Rome, and the building's position alongside the Roman agora, itself an Augustan expansion of the original Greek agora, recalls the successive imperial fora (two of which contained important libraries) alongside the *Forum Romanum*. The resemblance to the *Templum Pacis* includes several points of detail, such as the long marble basin(s) in the centre of each library's courtyard, and the columns *en ressaute* flanking the principal entrance on the external west face of the Athenian complex's perimeter wall, which resemble the ‘colonnade’ of the *Forum Transitorium* on the exterior of the *Templum Pacis*' north wall. Whether or not one accepts Coarelli's suggestion that the *Templum Pacis* housed the office and archives of the *Praefectus Urbi*, and that Hadrian's Athenian structure copied its design so closely because it was

⁶⁹³ *I.G.* II² 2017.

⁶⁹⁴ Aristides *Panathenaicus* 13.188. The date is generally accepted: e.g. Strocka 1981, 318, Callmer 1944, 172. *Ibid.* 174-5 (writing before the excavation of Pantainos' building) expresses puzzlement at the proximity of these two libraries; the answer is to see Hadrian's library as a response to a continuing demand partly met and partly fed by local initiatives such as Pantainos'.

⁶⁹⁵ App. 5 No. 5.

intended to be the seat of the proconsul of Achaëa,⁶⁹⁶ it is clear that Hadrian's library was intended to resemble the Templum Pacis, an imperial forum that (as we have seen) developed into a renowned Roman centre of research and intellectual disputation.

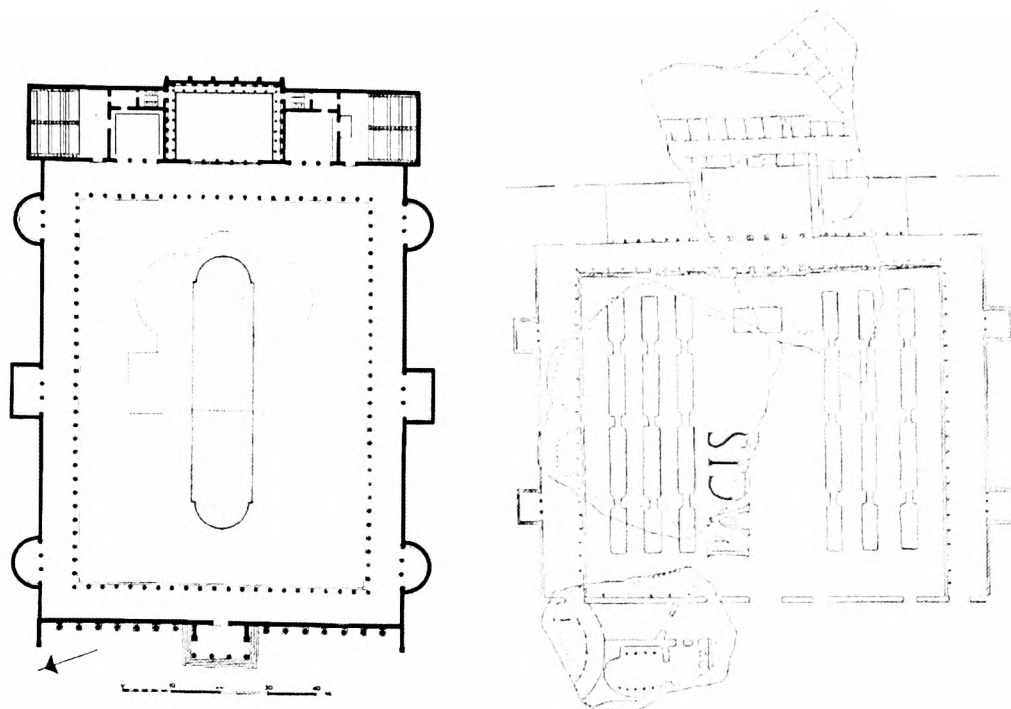


Figure 36 Hadrian's Library at Athens (left) and the Templum Pacis at Rome (right).

Not to scale. Hadrian's Library: Strocka 1981, 319, Abb. 10. Templum Pacis (from the Forma Urbis): Claridge 1998, 155.

Hadrian's Athenian building also incorporated features familiar from other Roman libraries: a monumental principal book room with a high podium, recessed masonry book niches on more than one level, and a large central niche for a statue. The decorative appointments of the new library were in keeping with precedents set in imperial Rome. The choice of facing materials was suitably opulent, including a gilded roof and alabaster revetment; Pausanias' description of the complex also mentions statues and paintings, a common feature in Roman libraries (and other imperial public

⁶⁹⁶ *LTUR* *sv.* Pax, Templum; cf Sisson 1929, 64-6.

buildings) as discussed above.⁶⁹⁷ The lecture rooms flanking the central library hall also recall the lectures and disputations of the *Templum Pacis*, described by Galen and also, perhaps, the very partial descriptions we have of Hadrian's own *Athenaeum* at Rome.⁶⁹⁸ As these rooms communicate directly with the main library hall and the staircases which led to its upper floors, we can imagine a busy coming and going of scholars and students.



Figure 37 Hadrian's library in Athens.

NB book niches (behind scaffolding), high brick podium, flanking reading and lecture rooms, colonnade, fragments of marble decoration.

Photograph: author.

Hadrian's Athenian library was therefore a distinctively Roman building. It nonetheless took account of the needs and precedents of the local intellectual community, as Aristides' response and the presence of Pantainos' herm suggest. Thompson, noting Pausanias' mention of a Hadriatic gymnasium and the presence near the library of a structure with a large drain which might be identified with it, views the

⁶⁹⁷ Pausanias 1.18.9: Ἄδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίος... καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθ' ἔστιν ὀρόφω τε ἐπιχρῦσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρω λίθω, πρὸς σὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατὰκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.

⁶⁹⁸ E.g. Sidonius *Ep.* 2.9. See also above, p196.

Hadrianic library as the last in a series of gymnasium-based educational complexes stretching back to the Hellenistic Ptolemaion.⁶⁹⁹ The Hadrianic building has no need, and shows no sign, of connection to any other structure, and the presence of Thompson's gymnasium is conjectural. Nonetheless, the discussion above of the Augustan library of the Porticus Octaviae showed how an imperial patron could deploy a new library to appeal to an existing literary community: Hadrian's Athenian library was surely intended to do just that.⁷⁰⁰

Elsewhere in Athens, Hadrian's buildings combined an acknowledgement of local precedent with a commemoration of imperial power, often suggesting a rather heavy-handed parity between the two (as in his arch with the famous inscription, "This is the city of Theseus/This is the city of Hadrian", or his completion of the Temple of Zeus Panhellenios). Hadrian seems to have valued Greek literary culture deeply as a participant and a patron,⁷⁰¹ and his library fitted in very well with the spirit of his Athenian building programme, using a flamboyant new building to promote Athens as an historical centre of Greek scholarship and to suggest a connection with earlier institutions. The emperor's direct use of his libraries to honour and advance favoured authors has already been discussed, and suggests that he intended his Athenian library to make a major contribution to Athenian literary life.⁷⁰² If Hadrian's intention was to foster in Athens the sort of lively intellectual scene created at Rome by the library of the Templum Pacis, his parallel foundation of an Athenaeum at Rome implies a symmetrical interchange of ideas between the cities rather than a direct imposition of Roman *mores*.⁷⁰³

⁶⁹⁹ Thompson 1950, 326.

⁷⁰⁰ Pace Strocka 1981, 319, which sees this library as a purely Roman imposition.

⁷⁰¹ See e.g. Bowie 1989 for Hadrian's involvement with Greek poetry in Athens and elsewhere.

⁷⁰² E.g. his promotion of certain authors: see above p.222.

⁷⁰³ Athenaeum: pp.196f.

The magnificent imperial library at Athens was a rarity, attributable to the city's unusual prominence and to Hadrian's hellophile euergetism. Pantainos' local foundation was in fact more typical: several provincial libraries were founded by men who could claim both Roman and local identities as more and more Greek families took the Roman citizenship and sought to participate in the government of the empire and the adornment of its towns. Several of these libraries were, like those of Alexandria and Athens, Roman additions to places with a long history of library provision (others, where a Roman-era foundation provided the first known library in their town, are discussed further below).

Cos provides an example. An early 2nd C BC inscription records a library there founded partly by the donation of a father and son and partly through what look like public or ephebic donations in the manner of the Athenian Ptolemaion.⁷⁰⁴ Pliny records the establishment of a collection of written cures at the Asclepieion of Cos, which were copied and then burned by Hippocrates.⁷⁰⁵ This long history of medical scholarship on Cos makes it especially appropriate that it was C. Stertinius Xenophon, personal physician of the emperor Claudius and a native of Cos, who founded the island's Roman library when he retired there. It is likely that Xenophon's library would have housed his personal book collection (which, like that of Galen, was presumably extensive) and the inscription, given in full in Appendix 4 (no. 3) makes clear its union of the island's traditional connection to Asclepian medicine with the emperor at Rome: Xenophon is described as φιλόκαισαρ; he is ἱερεὺς ... τῶν Σεβαστῶν as well as Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ὑγείας Ἀπιόνας; his library is dedicated jointly τοῖ(ς) Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ δάμωι, much like Pantainos' at Athens.

Another Roman Asclepieion library was built near Pergamum, the home of the famous Attalid library. Epigraphic evidence dates it to around AD 132, the year that

⁷⁰⁴ *BCH* LIX (1935), 421-25 = Platthy 1968, 146 no. 112.

⁷⁰⁵ Pliny *HN* 29.1.4.

Hadrian visited the city. It was donated by one Flavia Melitene, and built in the Roman style with book-niches recessed into the walls of a large rectangular room (Figure 38, Figure 39); it contained a colossal statue of Hadrian also dedicated by Flavia Melitene.⁷⁰⁶ The Pergamene Asclepieion seems to have developed a reputation as a literary centre as well as a curative sanctuary, making a library doubly appropriate: Aelius Aristides was encouraged to write melic poetry as part of his therapy, and met the melic poet Hermocrates of Rhodes there.⁷⁰⁷



Figure 38 Flavia Melitene's library at Pergamum.
Strocka 1981, Plate XXI.

⁷⁰⁶ Callmer 1944, 175-6; Strocka 1981, 320-22; Yildiz 2003, 292-6; Tonsberg 1976, 98-100. Appendix 4 No. 12 for Flavia Melitene's inscription.

⁷⁰⁷ Aristides 47.73K; cf Galen 6.46 Kühn. Hermocrates: Aristides 50.23K. For other sanctuary libraries see p.201f. (Tibur) and Ferrari 1999 for a (doubtful) identification of a library in the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste.

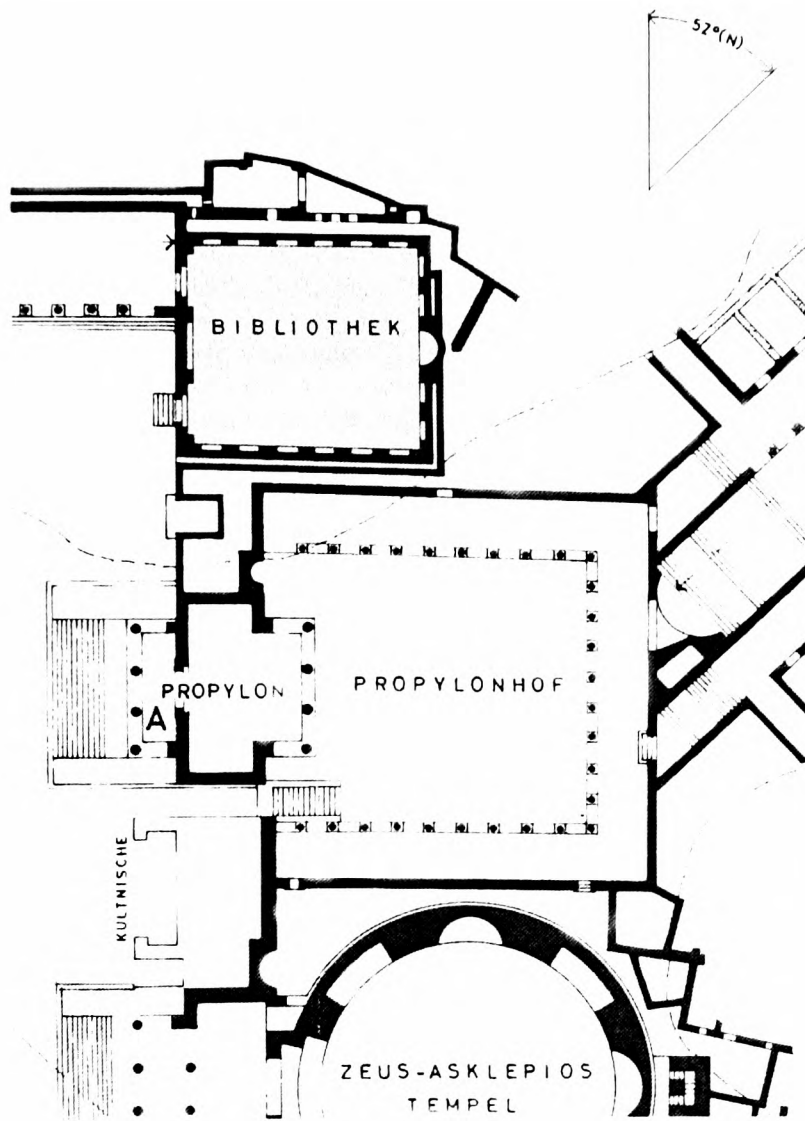


Figure 39 Plan of Flavia Melitene's library at Pergamum.
 Strocka 1981, 321 Abb. 12.

ii) New provincial library foundations: imperial Roman identities

Roman colonies are a natural place to look for library foundations with a deliberately Roman flavour. The construction of the library in the Augustan colony of Dertona (Appendix 4 no. 1), for example, was accompanied by a tidying up of the town's Forum and portico, a package of urban improvements highly characteristic of the period and reflecting the intensive Augustan building programme in Rome's own Forum; Pompeii provides another well-known example of this phenomenon. The colony at Dertona was founded after either Philippi or Actium, so its initial settlers (including, presumably, the man that paid for the library) may have been familiar with the capital's new Augustan public libraries. The library's patron is described in the dedicatory inscription as a *cives optimus*: his Romanising benefactions had caught the local mood.

Other Roman colonies built public libraries: Dyrrachium in the Trajanic period decided to construct a library whose cost was met by an impeccably philoRoman patron, one L. Flavius Aemilius Telluris Gaetulicus (Appendix 4. no. 6) He was created *equus publicus* under Trajan and had served both in the Roman army and in the principal magistracies and priesthoods of his town, where his services were rewarded with the honorific title *patronus coloniae*. His library's opening was celebrated in true Roman fashion with 12 pairs of gladiators. Public libraries were built in other colonies: in Philippi in the late second century, where the library was dedicated ...*in ho[n]orem div[i]nae do[mu]s et colo[n]iae* (but built after the manner of older Greek libraries),⁷⁰⁸ and in the neat chequerboard veteran colony of Timgad at some point in the third century, housed in a flamboyant and thoroughly Roman domed apsidal building (Appendix 4. nos 17 and 19).

The process was by no means limited to these colonial examples, however, nor to patrons with a straightforwardly 'Roman' identity. Many, probably most, were founded by men with a claim to high local *and* Roman status (the one bolstering the other) and

⁷⁰⁸ Callmer 1944, 178-81.

connections to the lively Greek intellectual and cultural milieu commonly identified by its Philostratean label, the ‘Second Sophistic’.

Nonetheless, both the chronological distribution and elements of the design and decoration of provincial libraries strongly suggests a close link to the library-building activity of the Roman emperors.

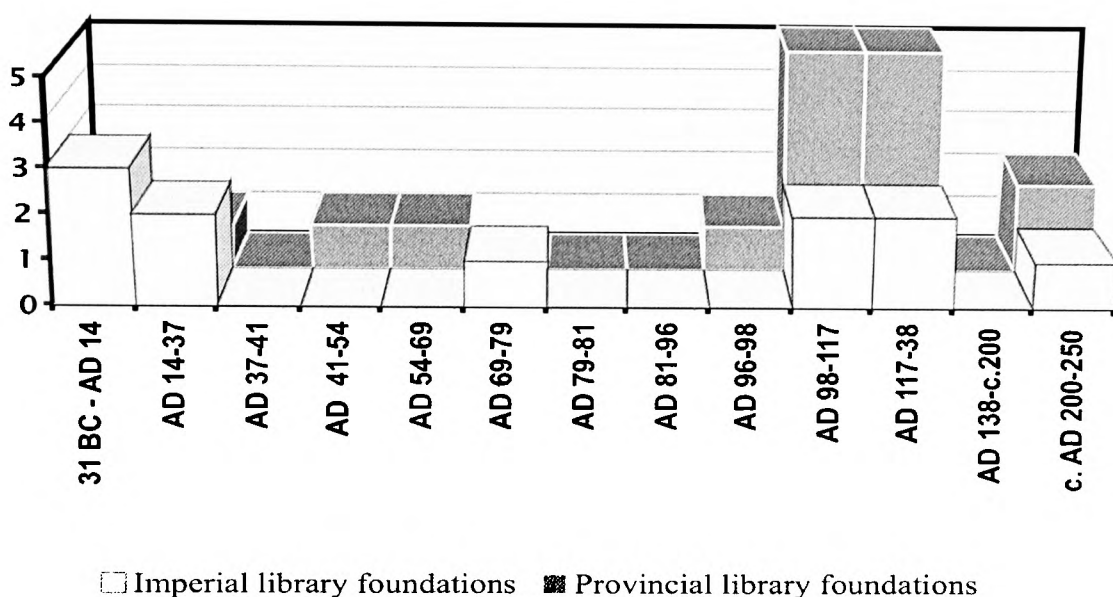


Figure 40 Imperial and provincial library foundations on a reign-by-reign basis.

The influence of imperial library foundation on provincial patrons is evident throughout the history of the Roman public library. The first Augustan library foundations at Rome, followed by libraries in Tiberius’ Temple of the Deified Augustus and the Domus Tiberiana, seem to have inspired Dertona’s library (the library at Patrae where Gellius found the manuscript of Livius Andronicus is likely to belong to this period too, but it is not on the graph because its foundation date is not known with certainty). Of the two known provincial public libraries founded in the mid-first century, one in particular Stertinius Xenophon’s foundation on Cos shows obvious links to

imperial Rome: Xenophon's patient Claudius, though not building any new libraries, took a keen interest in the Alexandrian library.⁷⁰⁹

However, the most striking correlation between imperial and local library foundations is the very marked concentration of libraries of both types founded or first attested in the first decades of the second century AD.⁷¹⁰ This was a time when Trajan and Hadrian revived imperial library foundation. The libraries in Trajan's Forum and Baths, and Hadrian's Athenaeum at Rome and library at Athens, were all major projects intended to signal important elements of imperial identity. The pronounced spurt of provincial library-building at this time suggests that they achieved this goal, and spurred a two-decade fashion for library-building by patrons for whom the imperial examples were attractive.⁷¹¹

The chronology of the design and construction of the libraries of Trajan's forum was set out in Ch.II.2. Construction of the Trajanic Forum began in AD 106-7, and it was dedicated in 112. I argued that various factors made it likely that the libraries opened along with the rest of the Forum, and that their design developed during the early phases of the Forum's construction. This is borne out by the fact that the boom in provincial library provision seems to have started at or just before the turn of the century: provincial patrons seem to have been well aware of plans for the Trajanic libraries from a fairly early date. By the time that the libraries at Ephesus and Sagalassos were being built

⁷⁰⁹ See above pp.26ff and Appendix 2 No.6 with n.2.

⁷¹⁰ cf Strocka 1981,315: 'In der Provinz gab es, zumindest im 2. Jh. n. Chr., offenbar allenthalben Bibliotheken nach dem Muster der Hauptstadt.'

⁷¹¹ The provincial libraries of this period are, in chronological order: Pliny's at Comum: AD 96-7 App. 4 No. 4; Pantainos' at Athens: c. AD 100 App. 4 No. 5; Dyrrachium: reign of Trajan App. 4 No. 6; Delphi: end of 1st C AD App. 4 No. 8; Prusa : c. AD 111. Pliny *Ep.* 10.81. ; Ephesus: c. AD 113 (Strocka) App. 4 No. 9; Sagalassos : c. AD 120. App. 4 No. 10; Halicarnassus: AD 127 App. 4 no. 11; Pergamum: AD 132 App. 4 no. 12; Suessa Aurunca: probably Trajanic or Hadrianic – see below. App. 4 No. 16; Civitavecchia: see above, pp108ff.

Not on the graph are other second century libraries of uncertain date at Volsinii, Epidauros, Rhodes, and Aphrodisias (App. 4. Nos. 7, 13-15).

The little peak at the end of the graph, incidentally, marks the installation of a library in the baths of Caracalla. It is possible that the near-contemporary libraries of Philippi and Timgad were inspired by this foundation, but this is far from certain.

in the second decade of the century, aspects of their construction were well enough known to be imitated directly, as we will see below.

To say that provincial patrons imitated Trajan and Hadrian is only to give part of the story. It was argued above that imperial library foundations both set and followed a trend, allowing emperors to maintain their primacy in a culture of learned book collection, exchange, and display. While the big imperial libraries at Rome and Athens clearly set a pattern, they equally clearly caught a mood. Libraries were a useful and conspicuous resource in the competition between towns for cultural pre-eminence, and allowed donors to display generosity, learning, local patriotism and imperial sophistication all at once: a potent combination. We can compare other buildings that prompted provincial imitations. The Colosseum is a well-known example, becoming an instant archetype echoed in towns across the empire.

The influence of the libraries of Trajan's forum, in particular, seems to have lasted beyond the period immediately following their construction. Passages from the *Suda* hint at an imperial complex or complexes in Antioch which contained a library with imperial connections. Malchus laments the burning of τῆς δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Αὐγουσταίου, while Jovian (emperor AD 363-4) is said to have burned a library installed by Julian in a restored Hadrianic ναὸν χαριέστατον dedicated to the deified Trajan.⁷¹² The existence of a library in such a structure clearly evokes the libraries of the Forum of Trajan at Rome (especially if it was one of Julian's restorations rather than a foundation *ex novo*) and it is tempting, though not provable, to link this to Malchus' public library with a gallery of emperors. The identity and dates of these buildings cannot be precisely recovered, but they do seem to fit into the pattern in which Trajan's buildings at Rome were viewed as an archetype for the provincial imperial(ising) public library.

⁷¹² *Suda*, s.v. Μάλχος 120 (Adler 1928, III, 315); s.v. Ἰοβιανός (Adler 1928, 401).

Constantinople also had an imperial institutional library, founded under Constantius in AD 356⁷¹³ and enlarged under Julian. In its setting in a colonnaded court adjacent to an imperial basilica, and its deployment of manubial spoils, it too sounds like an heir to the imperial libraries of Rome.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹³ Themistios *Orat.* 4 59b – 61d.

⁷¹⁴ Zosimus 3.11.3 βιβλιοθήκην ἐν τῇ Βασιλέως οἰκοδομήσας στοᾶ καὶ ταύτῃ βίβλιους ὅσας εἶχεν ἐπαποθέμενος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Περσῶν πόλεμον. Cf. Callmer 1944, 184-5.

iii) The physical form of provincial library buildings

There are striking similarities between the architecture and decoration of surviving public libraries at Rome and many of those preserved in the provinces. These similarities, taken in conjunction with the chronological data above, corroborate the argument that the important library projects at Rome, especially Trajan's, directly inspired provincial patrons to construct libraries of their own.

Architecture

The imperial libraries in Rome seem to have shared certain features in common. These have already been discussed above: they include the location of book storage and reading space in large and luxuriously appointed rooms, wall niches with a podium for access (and to keep users at a safe distance from valuable books), an internal colonnade supporting a balcony giving access to an upper level or levels of niches, arrangements for access to these levels in service passages adjoining the main library chamber, appropriately monumental decoration with imperial and authorial portraiture, and a tendency to use brick rather than stone.⁷¹⁵

The best-preserved and documented provincial Roman library is that at Ephesus. It displays all of these features. It stands in one of the most prominent locations in the city, at the angle between a principal street and the agora (Figure 41, and advertises its presence by an elaborate columnar façade. A triple entrance through this façade (Figure 44) leads into a large rectangular room whose most conspicuous features are a metre-high podium and a series of ten rectangular wall-niches (

⁷¹⁵ All of these are visible in the libraries of Trajan's forum, as discussed above in Ch.II.2.i. Some are also visible in the surviving incarnation of the Palatine libraries, though these are much less well preserved and of uncertain date. The overall ground-plan of the Porticus Octaviae and Templum Pacis are helpful, but the libraries there have not survived in recognisable form. The imperial bath-house libraries also incorporate these features.

Figure 42, Figure 45) flanking a large central apsidal niche which must have accommodated a large statue. Attachment points for columns on the podium and the remains of an upper row of niches suggest at least one balcony level. The resemblance to imperial libraries is obvious.⁷¹⁶

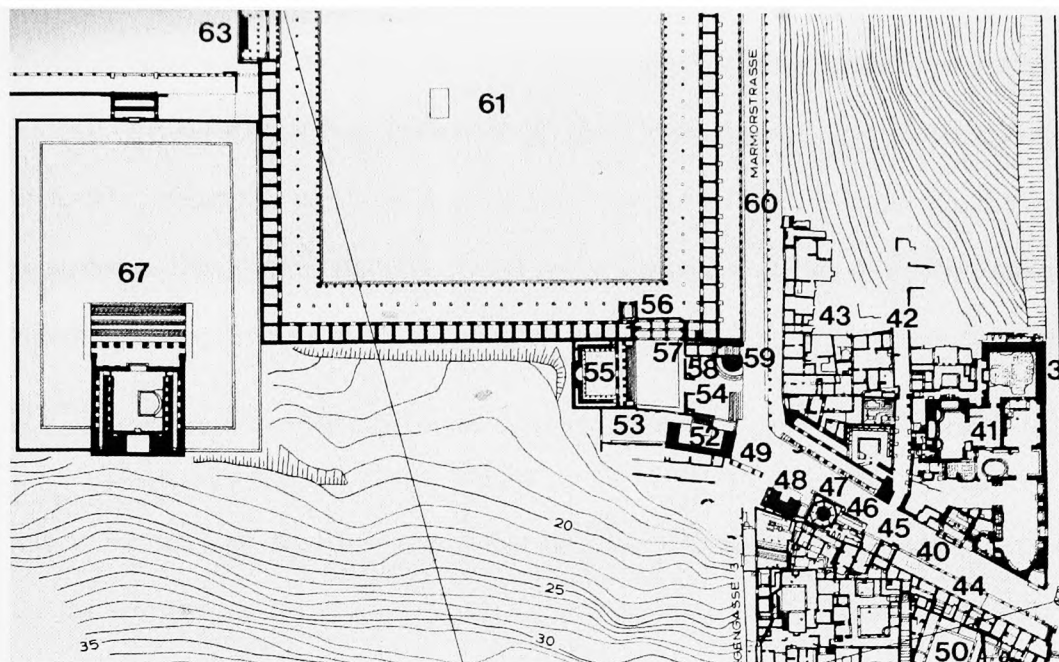


Figure 41 The location of the Celsus library (55).
Scherrer 2000, 129 Fig.1.

As in Trajan's library there is some indication that the podium was there to inhibit theft or damage rather than to ease access to the books: the gaps between columns and the wall were not sufficient to allow easy access from one niche to the next, as in Trajan's libraries, and there were no built-in stone steps to the galleries leading to the upper floor(s).

The library's brick-faced concrete construction (partly visible in Figure 45, with modern additions) is another significant indication that its builders were deliberately following a Roman imperial example. It is among the very first structures in Asia Minor

⁷¹⁶ E.g. Strocka 1981, 322: 'durch sein Podium und die Wandschränke eindeutig als Bibliothek stadtrömischen Typus erkennbar wäre.' Cf Ephesus – Callmer 1944, 170-1, Makowiecka 1978, 64.

to use this thoroughly Roman building material (the Neon library at Sagalassos is another); to say that this choice ‘advertis[ed] the *romanitas* of Aquila and Celsus’⁷¹⁷ is perhaps over-stating the case, since the brick was surely invisible behind marble revetment or plaster, but the similarity to Trajan’s libraries, the only part of his forum to use brick-faced concrete, is unmistakable to modern visitors. The podium of Hadrian’s library in Athens also uses brick, and it too is the only part of the structure to use this material. Presumably Roman architects of the period believed that concrete had preferable hygroscopic properties to stone and so would protect the books better from rising damp. The double walls of the Celsus library – a feature of several possible Roman library buildings, though not all may also be a damp-proofing measure, though this is disputed.⁷¹⁸

There are plenty of other similarities to link Celsus’ building with Trajan’s, not least in the details of its patron’s career and his use of the building as his tomb (the void for the sarcophagus is visible in Figure 43, and the apertures linking it to the library beneath the central apse in Figure 45). This is discussed below. Other purely architectural features of the building which suggest a connection include its rich acanthus mouldings and capitals which Strocka traces to Trajan’s forum, finding no parallel in Asia Minor; the similarities are strong enough for him to argue that the building was constructed by masons imported from Rome immediately after the Trajanic project was finished.⁷¹⁹

Such are the similarities between the Celsus library and those of Trajan’s forum that a direct link between them seems very likely. As such, the Ephesian library can help us to establish a probable chronology for the imperial library at Rome, as was suggested in Ch.II.2.vi. Strocka convincingly dates the Ephesus library’s completion to around AD

⁷¹⁷ Waelkens and Poblome 2000, 420.

⁷¹⁸ Callmer 170-1 interprets the double wall as an air-circulation space against damp; Strocka 1981, 322-3 says that the void space was instead a rainwater gully, as does Hueber 1997, 79. It seems possible to me that both explanations could be valid: it was not the occasional shower that the architect was worried about, but the constant seeping of damp from surrounding buildings or high ground.

⁷¹⁹ Strocka 1978, 896-8.

116-7, based on a combination of prosopography and analysis of the building's stylistic influence on other securely dated structures in Ephesus.⁷²⁰ Accepting this date means, in the face of the building's obvious derivation from and imitation of the libraries of Trajan's Forum, that the latter libraries were well known when Celsus' family made their plans. This correlates exactly with the chronology proposed for the Trajanic libraries in Ch.II.2.vi above.

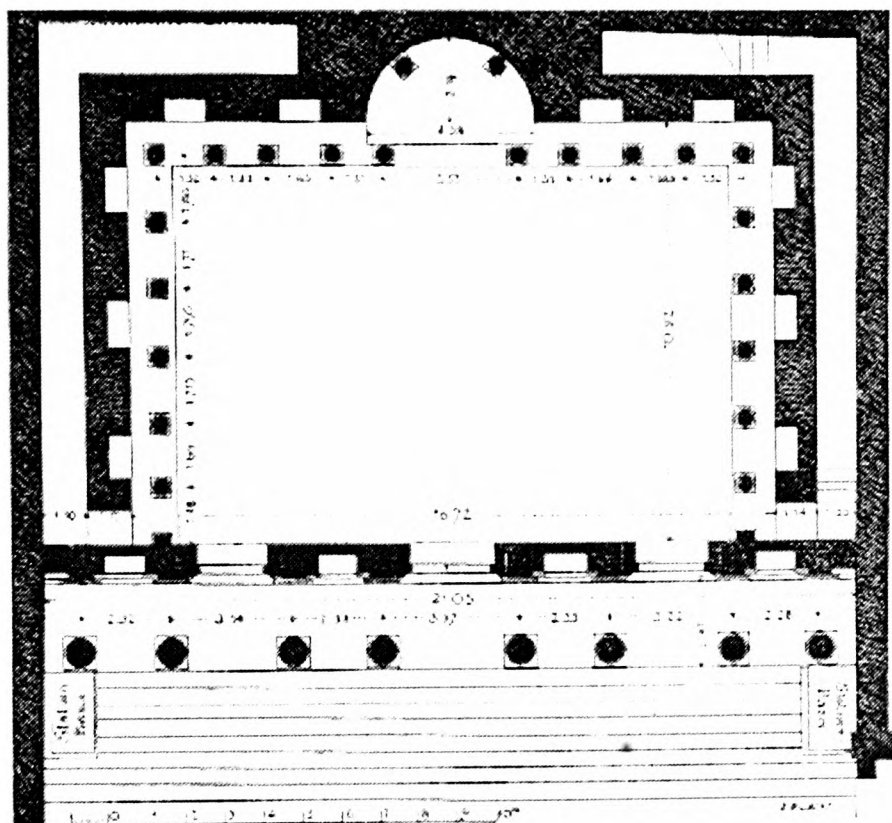


Figure 42 Plan of Celsus' library at Ephesus.

Tønsberg 1976, 90 Fig. 54.

⁷²⁰ Strocka 1978; *id.* 1981, 328.

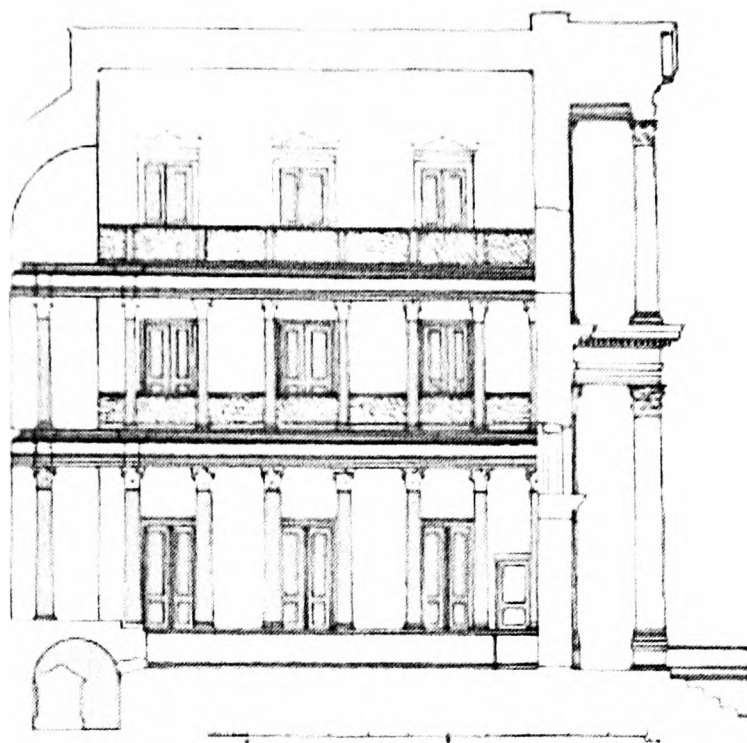


Figure 43 Cross section of Celsus' library at Ephesus, showing sarcophagus.
Strocka 1981, 324 Abb.14.



Figure 44 Facade of the library of Celsus at Ephesus.
Photograph: author.



Figure 45 Podium and niches in the library of Celsus at Ephesus.

Photograph: author.

The features which Celsus' library shares with Trajan's can be seen in other Roman public libraries of around the same period. At Nysa in Caria, where a 3rd C AD papyrus fragment informs us of a library containing works of Homer, a likely candidate is a building with many of these features including an appropriately proportioned room with niches and double walls (Figure 46).⁷²¹ Further excavation would help matters here,

⁷²¹ For the fragment see n.288 above. Original publication: von Diest 1913. In favour of identifying this building as Nysa's library: Callmer 1944, 171-2; Tønsberg 1976, 95-8; Yildiz 2003, 281-5.

but the coincidence of a literary citation with a library-shaped building makes the identification likely, especially as the structure in question is close to the city's gymnasium.

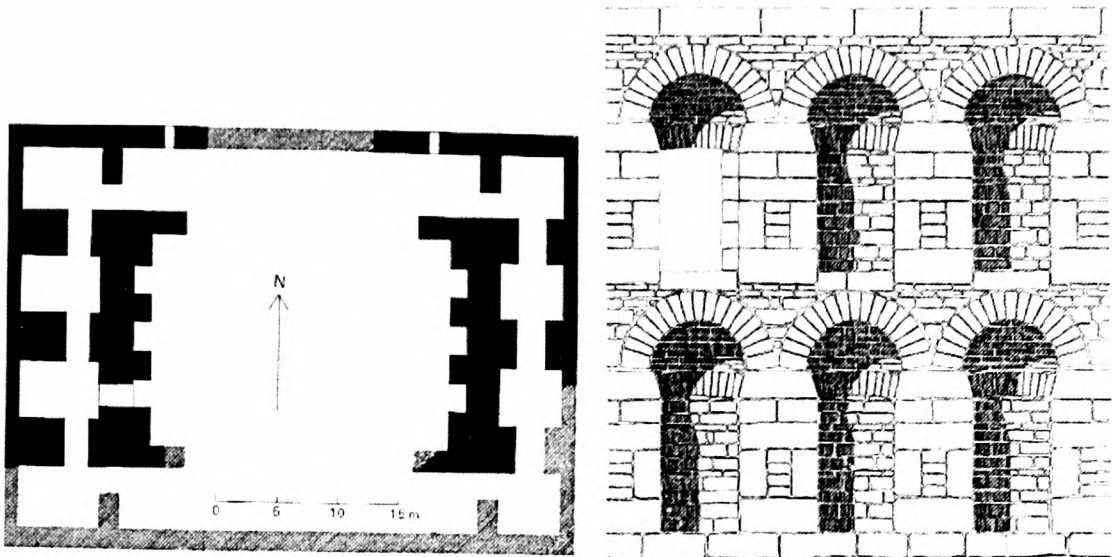


Figure 46 Plan and internal elevation of library at Nysa.
Tønsberg 1976, 95-6 Fig. 57-8.

The Hadrianic library at Athens and the Asclepieion library at Pergamum, both closely connected to Hadrian and displaying many elements typical of Roman libraries, have already been discussed.

The last well-preserved Roman provincial library is situated in the Trajanic colony of Timgad (Thamugadi) in north Africa, pictured in Figure 47.⁷²² It occupies the entirety of one of the original city blocks, its large apse extending into the street like several later structures in the town. It is a building of considerable importance, the third largest complex in Timgad, occupying a prime site on the *Cardo Maximus* in the centre of the town. An inscription discovered in 1905 (Appendix 4 No. 18) definitely identified it as a library donated by a citizen of the town, one M. Julius Quintianus Flavius Rogatianus, at a cost of HS 400,000.

⁷²² Pfeiffer 1931 and Cagnat 1906 are the principal sources. For more recent scholarship cf. Callmer 1944, 181-21 Makowiecka 1978, 82-90; Tønsberg 1976, 106-9; Strocka 1981, 316-7; Yildiz 2003, 220-225.

The library's main room was west back from the street by the width of a colonnaded portico. It was semi-circular, a striking and thoroughly Roman design evoking the large apsidal libraries of Trajan's baths in Rome.⁷²³ It contained a three-stepped podium between pairs of columns framing book niches. Smaller rooms opening off the podium may have contained additional storage space for books, or reading rooms.

The library was decorated in the magnificent style usual for high-status public libraries. In the course of excavation many fragments of coloured marble were found, probably from coloured wall panels framed by white marble.⁷²⁴ Indeed, the whole building was designed for display. Scrape marks and dowel holes suggest that the only opening of the bronze screen between the columns of the portico was in the centre – that is, right in front of the library room and immediately below the large inscription advertising the name and generosity of the donor. The design recalls the highly visible, public qualities of libraries like those at Ephesus or in Trajan's forum, where magnificent display was an important function of the buildings.

⁷²³ E.g. Strocka 1981, 317.

⁷²⁴ Pfeiffer 1931, 162.

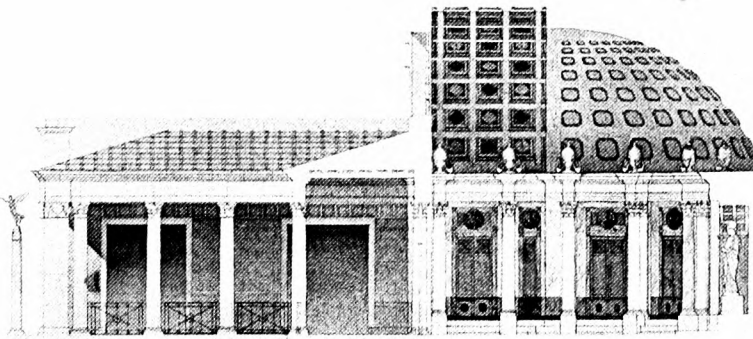
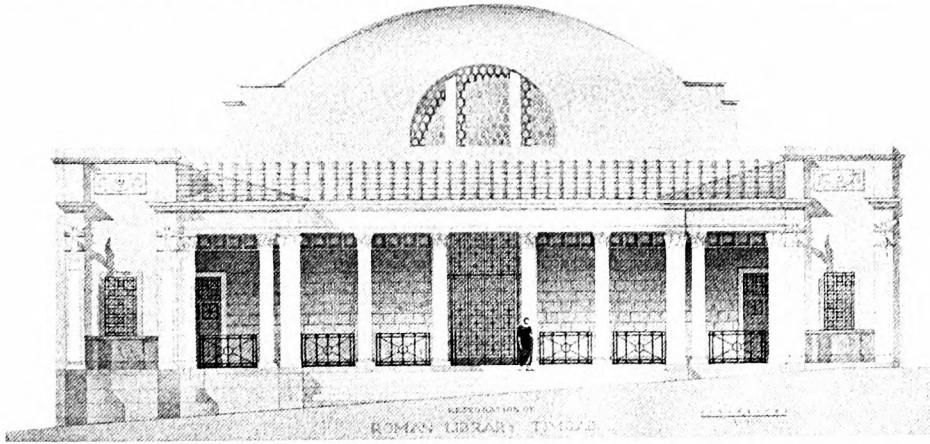
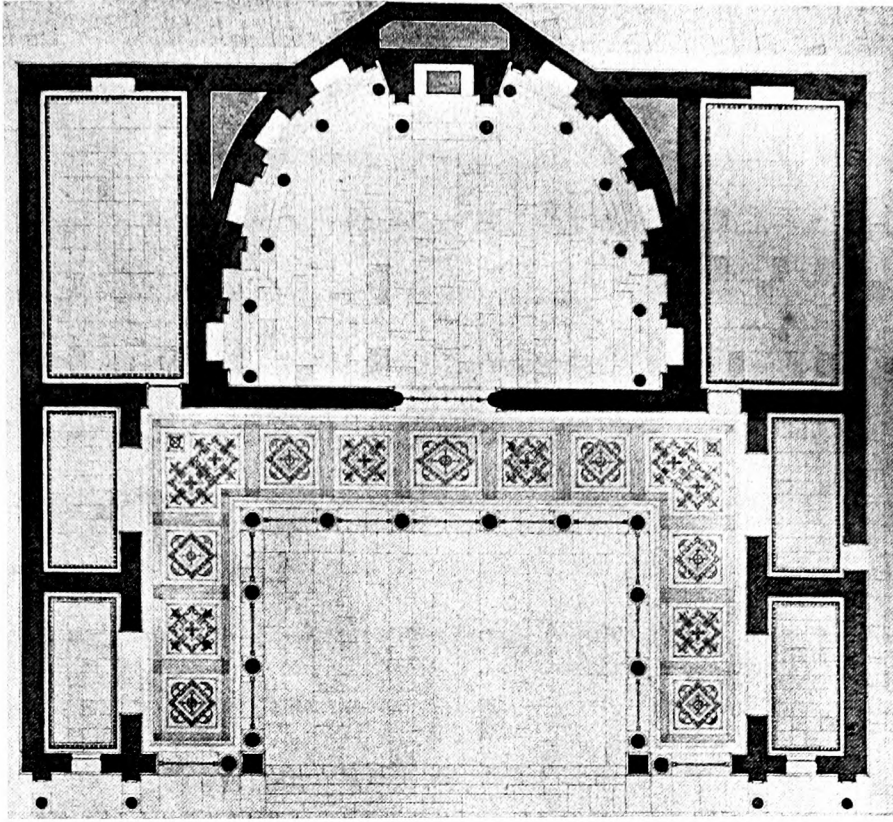


Figure 47 The library at Timgad (Pfeiffer 1931, Pl. 16-18).

Decoration

The conspicuous luxury of the Timgad library brings us to the matter of library decoration. In this respect – which, as in most Roman buildings, is really another aspect of the building’s architecture – most surviving provincial libraries are clearly part of a Roman tradition of opulent and meaningful décor which included the great imperial libraries of Rome and Athens. In their deployment of coloured marble and richly ornamented internal and external orders, architraves and mouldings, these libraries sought to earn their place in the Roman canon of euergetic public foundations: buildings like the Ephesus and Timgad libraries, with their spectacular display-architecture and prominent locations, are very significant monuments indeed.

The Roman habit of placing artworks and statues of authors in libraries has already been mentioned.⁷²⁵ Pliny describes this practice as a *novicium inventum* in Roman times and both he and Isidore date its use at Rome right back to the first public library foundation under Asinius Pollio.⁷²⁶ The use of appropriate statues to enhance the meaning of a space was therefore highly characteristic of Roman architecture in general and the public library in particular.⁷²⁷

It is not surprising that this habit, too, was widely imitated in provincial libraries, whose donors often specified what they wanted. Pantainos included πάντα κόσμον of his library in his initial foundation, as did the donor of the library in Volsinii. The second century library at Aphrodisias was one of a number of buildings with expensive fittings and decorations including figured capitals carefully recorded in the donor’s inscription. Celsus’ estate paid for παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀναθήμασι, which included numerous statues

⁷²⁵ See above p.162 with n.425, p.262.

⁷²⁶ Pliny *HN* 35.2.9f.

⁷²⁷ E.g. Vitruvius 7.5 for sharp criticism of a town which got it wrong. The practice was not uniquely Roman in origin: a space associated with the Attalid library at Pergamum seems to have contained author portraits (Callmer 1944, 150-1).

of Celsus himself.⁷²⁸ Almost all known library buildings had, like that at Ephesus, a large central statue niche, which is likely to have contained a statue, probably of either Athena⁷²⁹ or the emperor. We know of a statue of Hadrian in the library at Pergamum and of Trajan at Prusa and in Pantainos' library at Athens; the giant bronze thumb found at Sagalassos might well have been imperial digit. We can compare the imperial dedications of the libraries of Philippi and Suessa Aurunca (where the library was named after Matidia, Hadrian's sister in law: Appendix 4 No. 16).

Literary portraits were also present in numerous provincial libraries. Personifications of the Iliad and Odyssey stood outside Pantainos' library in Athens, while a passage of Dio quoted above shows that the public library at Corinth granted portrait busts to favoured authors in the same way Roman emperors did.⁷³⁰ An inscription of c.AD 127 from Halicarnassus (Appendix 4 No. 11), bestowing substantial civic honours on the poet Longianus, links the placing of his works in the town's libraries with the erection elsewhere of statues to him. The mosaic of Achilles leaving for Troy which was found in the library at Sagalassos connects the decorative repertoire of the public library to the literary mosaics, paintings and statues which decorated thousands of floors and walls in Roman villas across the empire.⁷³¹

The endowment of a public library allowed donors the opportunity to place their own image among these appropriate evocations of authors, tutelary deities and emperors. The lower row of niches at Sagalassos could have held images of authors or members of the Neon family, or both, below a giant central statue of goddess or emperor; Flavia Melitene's name was next to Hadrian's on the base of the statue she paid for at

⁷²⁸ Inscriptions in App. 4: Pantainos: no. 5; Volsinii no. 7; Aphrodisias: no. 15 (cf. Mylasa, No. 19); Ephesus: No. 9a

⁷²⁹ Juvenal 3.219.

⁷³⁰ Dio *Or.* 37.8. See above n.572 for text and cf. pp.224ff.

⁷³¹ Sagalassos: below, pp.310ff.

Pergamum.⁷³²

The decorative façade of Celsus' library at Ephesus is a particularly well preserved and instructive example. It contains numerous elements intended to reflect the career and character of the eponymous donor, who is buried there and commemorated in several statues on the library's façade. Set behind this Asiatic architectural scheme of projecting and recessing aediculae and among the statues (labelled in Greek) personifying Celsus' Σοφία, Ἀρετή, Ἐννοια, and Ἐπιστήμη, are the library's three doors. These are framed by inhabited scrolled pilasters, also in the high Hellenistic style, but each pilaster is framed by a pair of fasces (Figure 48). There are twelve in total, symbolising Celsus' Roman consular and proconsular authority. Their presence confirms that the building, like all of the provincial libraries discussed so far, stood as a symbol of the "alliance of Roman politics and Greek culture... the expression of... [a] dual identity of a Greek élite now working closely and enthusiastically with the Roman ruling power."⁷³³

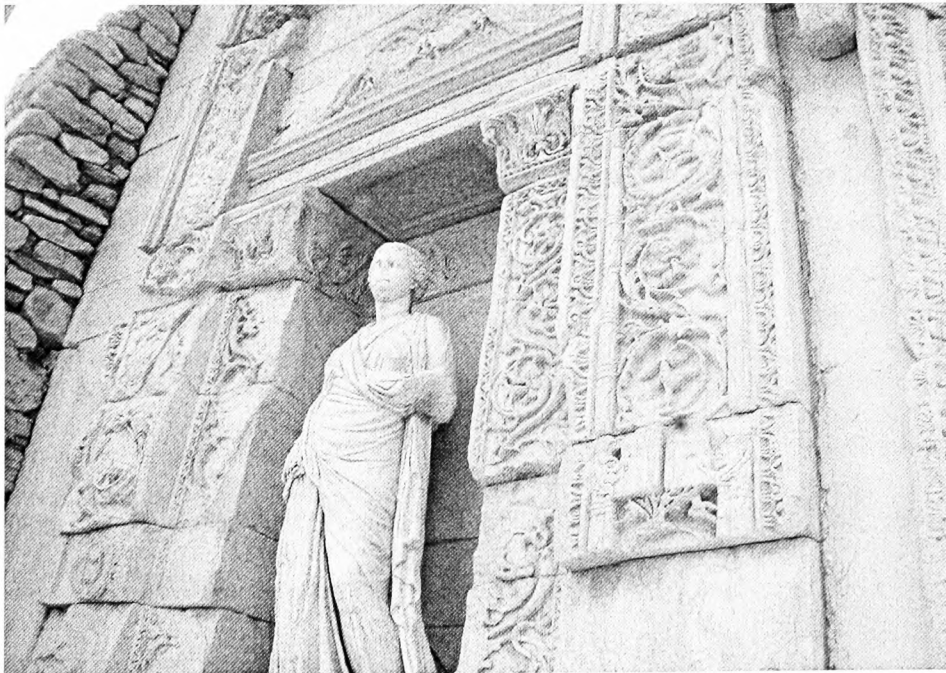


Figure 48 Statue of Sophia at Celsus' library, Ephesus. NB fasces at right.
Photograph: author.

⁷³² See p.283 with n. 706.

⁷³³ Smith 1998, 75.

Disputed provincial library identifications

Caution is needed when examining the Roman elements of provincial library buildings' design. Some scholarship on the subject seeks too hard to create detailed typologies of library building, dividing the surviving examples into (for instance) categories labelled 'Greek' and 'Roman'.⁷³⁴ The bases on which such a typology can rest are slender. We only have the Attalid library at Pergamum to serve as an archetype for a pre-Roman 'Greek' library design, and in Rome only a small number of imperial libraries survive, with those of Trajan's forum being by far the most important and best preserved. While it is clear that many Roman libraries followed their example it is equally true that others did not.

Some features crop up in certain libraries but not in others: some had a portico, for instance Pantainos, Timgad (albeit much abbreviated), Prusa while others, such as the Celsus library at Ephesus, did not: the presence or absence of a portico is not a reliable sign of a library's being 'Greek' or 'Roman' in design, nor of its date. Trajan's libraries at Rome had no portico as such, while Hadrian's library in Athens, modelled perhaps on the Templum Pacis, was set at the head of a large colonnaded square which could have served as a place to stroll and read. Other key characteristics such as a podium, a single large library room with a central apse, and recessed wall niches for book-cupboards, are found in many surviving Roman public library buildings but others, such as the library at Philippi or Pantainos' library at Athens, managed without them.

⁷³⁴ E.g. Wendel 1949, 426f. on a supposed distinction between 'Langhaus' and 'Breithaus' libraries, which in fact seem to have been built interchangeably at Rome and elsewhere according to the shape of the available site; Tønsberg 1976, 133; Callmer 1944, 181-2 on Philippi and Timgad, a 'Greek' and 'Roman' library respectively; but Philippi's epigraphy is thoroughly Roman, while Timgad C. feels the need to explain the library's single main room, though all other known Roman provincial libraries are monocameral. Makowiecka 1978 and Bruce 1986 also try to identify library 'types', and end up with some doubtful identifications.

Without the inscriptions found in these buildings it is unlikely that they would have been identified as libraries at all, but as it is their strong Roman imperial affiliations are clear.⁷³⁵

Cremna, Side, Nîmes, Carthage

The converse danger is that buildings might be identified as libraries on fairly slender evidence. Such potential libraries include structures at Cremna and Side in southern central Turkey, Nîmes in southern France, and Carthage in north Africa.

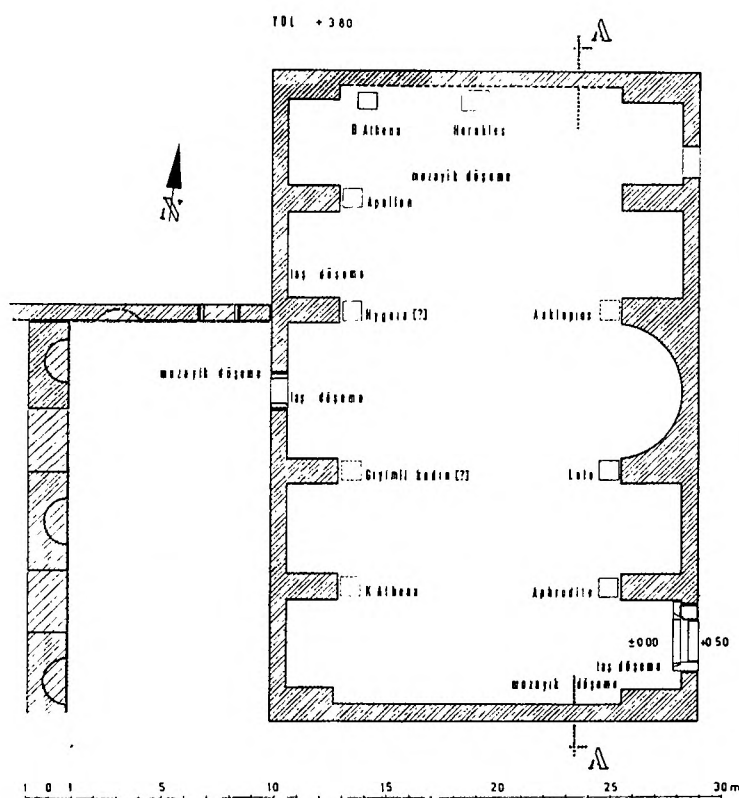


Figure 49 Possible library building at Cremna.

Inan 1970, 80 Lev. VII.

The building at Cremna, identified as a library by its excavators,⁷³⁶ consists of a rectangular room to the south of the forum and basilica in which niches of stone masonry lined the long walls; dividing each niche from its neighbour were plinths bearing

⁷³⁵ Cf. Strocka 1981, 305-6 for both libraries. App.4 nos 5 and 17 for the inscriptions.

⁷³⁶ Inan 1970; cf. Yildiz 2003, 247-53.

statues, which included Athena, Hygeia, Apollo, Asklepios, Leto, and Aphrodite (Figure 49). There was a large central apse on the east side of the room. It is possible that this building was a library, but there are plenty of other functions that can be attributed to a room with niches and statues of gods, and the identification must remain conjectural.

Side has a more likely candidate in a large colonnaded rectangular structure, usually identified as a 'state agora', whose ground plan is typical of many Roman civic buildings including the Temple Pacis and Hadrianic library at Athens (Figure 50). The large central room on the east side seems to have been an imperial statue hall. It contained numerous statues of divinities and athletes with a central apse containing an imperial statue, probably an Antonine recut to look like a later emperor (Gordian III). This suggests a mid-second century date. Flanking this hall are two rooms whose position, proportions, podium, internal colonnade, and niches suggest a library function, but without more to go on it cannot be certain that these spaces were libraries.⁷³⁷

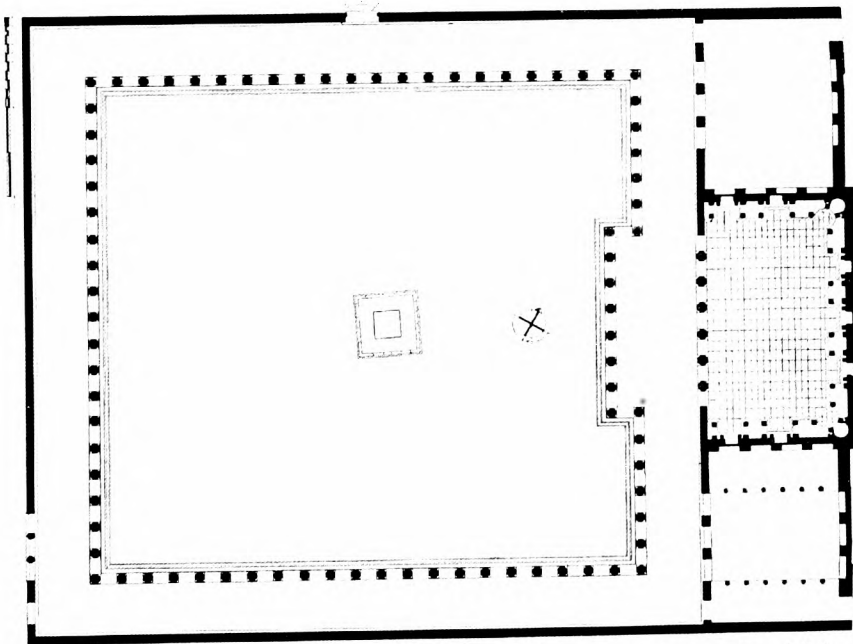


Figure 50 Possible library building at Side (flanking rooms on east side).
Mansel 1978, 171 Res. 185.

⁷³⁷ Broadly in favour of a library identification: Yildiz 2003, 244-247; Mansel 1963, esp. 118-9 and 121 (the side rooms could have been archive or library space in a state agora); cf. *id.* 1978, 169-186; Bean 1979, 70; Makowiecka 1978, 67-73, who proposes a date of c. AD 134 for the start of construction.

The only possible library building identified in the western Roman empire is at Nîmes in Gallia Narbonensis. Here a building with familiar features – wall niches and large axial niche under an aediculum, double walls with ramps to an upper level, an internal colonnade opens onto a large courtyard (Figure 51). Its date in the Trajanic or Hadrianic period fits in with the trend observed above,⁷³⁸ and its internal appointments suggest a library. A number of commentators accordingly favour a library identification.⁷³⁹

There are doubts here too, however. With no epigraphic or literary record of a library at Nîmes the identification can only be an informed conjecture, and various features of the building make this conjecture a controversial one. Wendel's objection that the niches are too high above the floor to reach without a podium is not crucial. It has already been stated that the podium functioned more as a barrier than a step, and the next library discussed below seems not to have had one either. More discouraging is the building's poor illumination: its heavy barrel vault precluded windows in the roof, while light entering from the door would have been limited because of the width of the portico later built outside.⁷⁴⁰ The illumination does not seem markedly worse than that of many other similarly shaped libraries, such as those of Trajan's forum. At any rate, the identification is not at all certain: the original publication of the site did not mention the possibility that the building housed a library, and various other subsequent writers on ancient libraries omit it altogether from their discussions.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁸ Naumann 1932, 29.

⁷³⁹ Callmer 1944, 177-8; Tønsberg 1976, 70-2; Makowiecka 1978, 76-84: broadly in favour of a Hadrianic library identification.

⁷⁴⁰ Wendel 1949, 426f.

⁷⁴¹ Strocka 1981, Houston 2001, Casson 2001, Yildiz 2003.

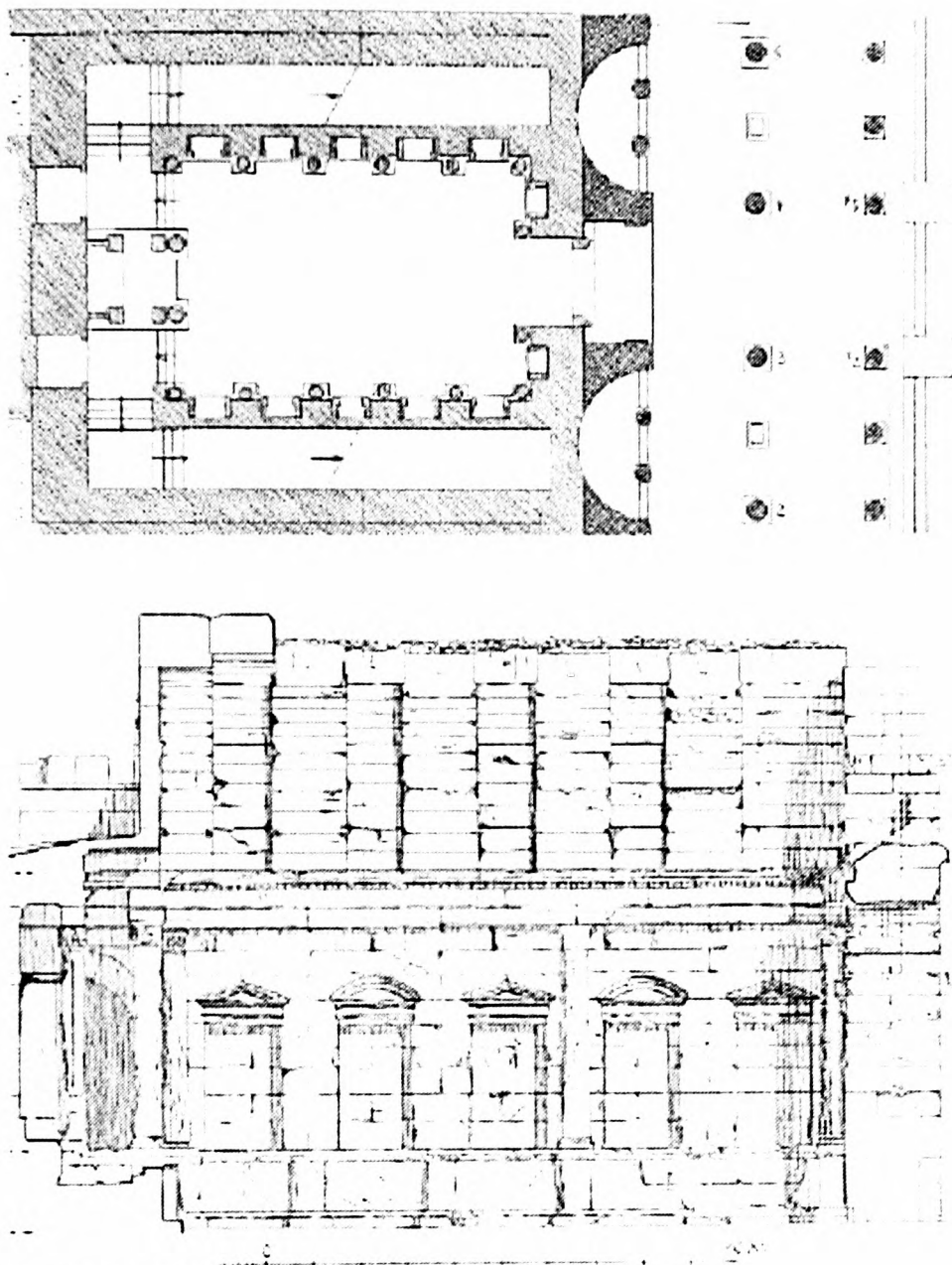


Figure 51 Plan and elevation of possible library at Nîmes.
Tønberg 1976 71, Fig. 43-44.

Apuleius' mention of a Roman library at Carthage has led to speculation about two buildings that could have held it.⁷⁴² Gros identifies a library in an apsidal space under the south-east flank of the judicial basilica (Figure 52). This room consists of a rectangular room terminating in a semicircular apse, round the inside of which a curved

⁷⁴² Apuleius *Florida* 18. For the earlier history of book collections at Carthage see above, pp.5ff.

brick podium runs. The room appears from surviving fragments to have been decorated with marble revetment. Gros identifies this structure as a library on the basis of its supposed resemblance to other apsidal libraries, such as those of the Palatine.⁷⁴³

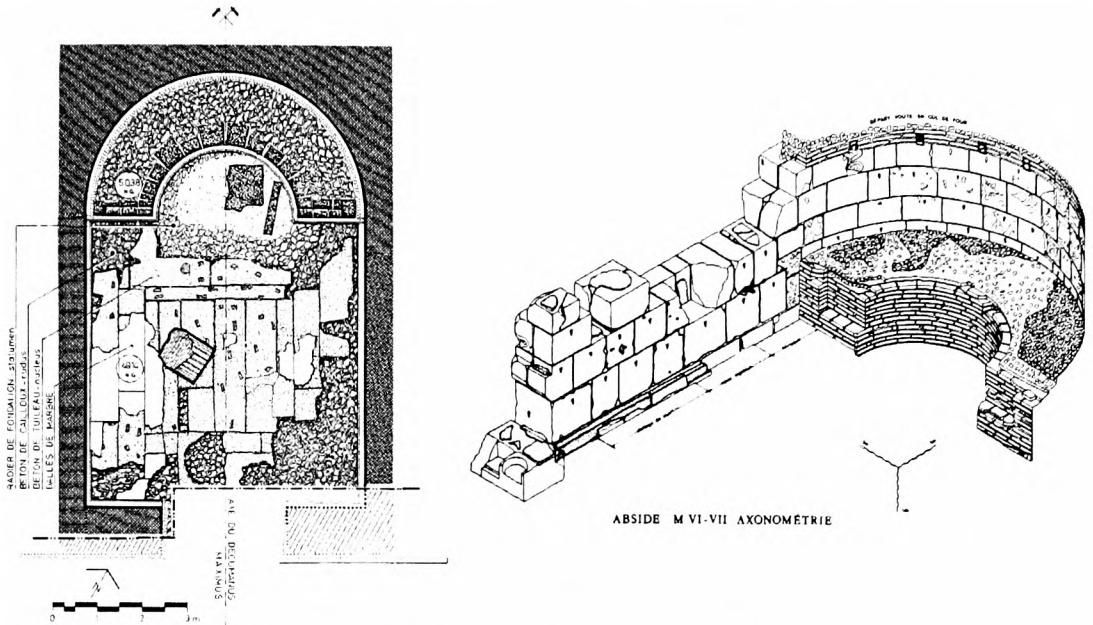


Figure 52 Possible library building on Byrsa Hill, Carthage.
After Gros 1985, Fig. 24-5.

This identification is weak. The room in question was at the centre of a series of nine apsidal chambers which formed the substructure of the upper terrace on which the judicial basilica was built. Its structural function as a terracing component makes it unlikely that a library could have been housed there: we have seen several instances in which Roman library builders showed awareness of the risk of damp affecting the books and included air circulation spaces to alleviate it, but here where the apsidal room abuts directly into a hillside there is no such precautionary measure. The room is rather small for a library (Gros suggest that it was a reading room and that flanking chambers could have served as storerooms, but this does not look likely from the groundplan of nine

⁷⁴³ Gros miscites in this context the libraries of the Baths of Caracalla, which are rectangular, and does not mention the only firmly identified semicircular library, that at Timgad.

identical apsidal chambers strung out in a line and opening straight onto the street), and except for the podium contains none of the features usually found in Roman libraries, such as wall niches.

Another, much larger structure identified on the Byrsa hill has been identified as a library by Deneauve (Figure 53).⁷⁴⁴ This is a large (65m x 22m) rectangular hall added during the Antonine building programme which also saw the construction of the great judicial basilica to the north east; it is located at the western end of the Byrsa terrace, spanning the western end of the great temple courtyard and replacing its portico, and would have been a splendid building. The floor shows traces of marble paving.

Deneauve's identification of this building as a library rests on the sturdy foundations of this building, which were tripled to a width of up to 4.25m when the temple portico was demolished. This, he suggests, was necessary to allow a wall with much projecting decoration on its exterior face, and to accommodate *armaria* niches and galleries on the inside. The resulting library would have been somewhat smaller than Hadrian's in Athens, but comparable to the total capacity of the libraries of Trajan's forum; in its position at the head of a rectangular enclosure it would have echoed both the Hadrianic library and Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*.

There is no further evidence to support this interpretation of the structure. Deneauve's posited library is more appealing than Gros', if unproveable, but Gros' argument that a library near the judicial basilica on the Byrsa hill would have interesting resonances with Trajan's Forum applies equally to both: "nous aurons... à souligner la parenté qui existe entre la basilica Ulpia et l'édifice [de Byrsa]. Or les bibliothèques du Forum de Trajan se trouvent, par rapport à l'immense vaisseau de L'Ulpienne, dans une situation comparable à celles... de Byrsa... la relation hiérarchique [entre la basilique et la

⁷⁴⁴ Deneauve 1990.

bibliothèque] reste fondamentalement le même.”⁷⁴⁵ The basilica at Carthage was certainly built with Trajan’s example in mind,⁷⁴⁶ so it is entirely possible that a library was envisaged as part of the complex: the close proximity of transverse basilica and library, by evoking the Trajanic precedent in the empire’s capital, would have strengthened the imperial identity of the entire complex. Nonetheless, without more evidence the identification is not at all certain.

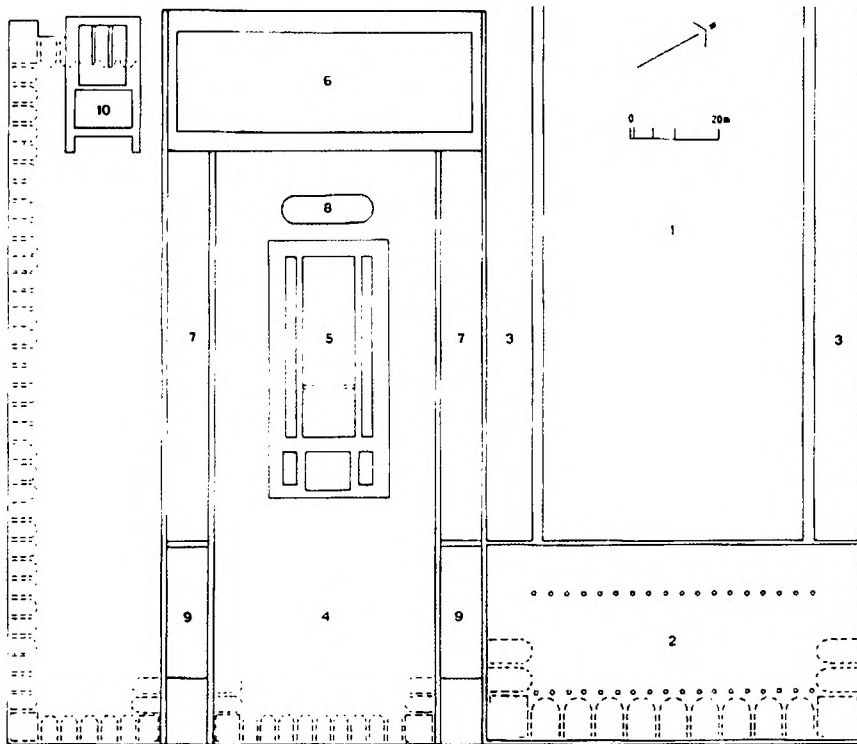


Figure 10.

Essai de restitution de l'ensemble monumental de Byrsa, deuxième phase .

1 : Forum; 2 : Basilique; 3 : Portiques du forum; 4 : Place; 5 : Temple;
6 : Grand édifice ouest (bibliothèque?); 7 : Portiques; 8 : Citerne; 9 : Escaliers;
10 : Temple ouest, en extrémité de la terrasse méridionale.

Figure 53 Possible library building on Byrsa Hill, Carthage (no. 6 on plan).

Deneauve 1990 152, Fig. 10.

Sagalassos

The possible libraries at Cremna, Side, Nîmes, and Carthage have all been discussed in print before now, though they are instructive examples worth mentioning

⁷⁴⁵ Gros 1985, 37.

⁷⁴⁶ “[Elle] représente à ce jour le jalon typologique le plus explicite que nous possédions, entre la *Basilica Ulpia* et celle du forum séverien de *Lepcis Magna*.” Gros 1985, 111-2.

here. Another possible Roman library building, excavated by the Belgian team at Sagalassos in Pisidia, is too recent a discovery to have been included in any of the books or major articles on the subject of ancient libraries (except those of Casson, who omits it, and Yildiz) and therefore deserves a fuller treatment.

Sagalassos, an important town with links to Attalid Pergamum, reached the peak of its prosperity under Hadrian and the Antonines. Numerous large buildings were erected during this time, transforming the townscape into a series of monumental spaces which included a large temple complex begun under Hadrian and dedicated to Antoninus Pius,⁷⁴⁷ an upper and lower agora, each with a large nymphaeum, a rebuilt temple of Apollo, and a large theatre. In this phase of intense public building activity, with both imperial and local aspects, Sagalassos has much in common with Ephesus: in both places increasing prosperity and a growing awareness of the town's importance within the empire led to the development of a monumentalised streetscape including a library.

Indeed, the library at Sagalassos was identified by its excavators on the basis of its similarity to the library at Ephesus, and thus to other Roman libraries.⁷⁴⁸ It consists of a large single room, reached through a triple entrance from a raised area of mosaic pavement (Figure 54, Figure 55). The side walls of this room were rebuilt at some point in its history, but enough remains to suggest a library function. The rear wall of the room, which dates from the first building phase, consists of a limestone 'podium', 2.35m high but not deep enough to stand on, which contains eight small curved and vaulted niches, presumably for statues. Above these niches in the moulding of the podium is a series of seven inscriptions.

Above these inscriptions is a large central apsidal niche which appears to have held a statue (a large bronze thumb belonging to a statue c.4m in height was discovered

⁷⁴⁷ Vandeput 1997, 64-77.

⁷⁴⁸ Waelkens and Poblome 1993, 13-15, 25-31; *iid.* 1995, 53-62, 72-89; *iid.* 1997, 110-125; *iid.* 2000, 419-446

in the building), flanked by two rectangular niches on each side: it is these that are presumed to have held bookcases, and it is possible that there was another tier of niches above them, as in other libraries. This wall, as at Ephesus and contemporary imperial libraries, was of brick. The rebuilt side walls, which may date from around the Severan period, also incorporated alternating pairs of large semicircular and rectangular niches at the height of those in the rear wall. The floor of the room contains a geometric mosaic with the central emblema signed by Dioskoros, showing Achilles leaving for Troy: a suitably literary subject.

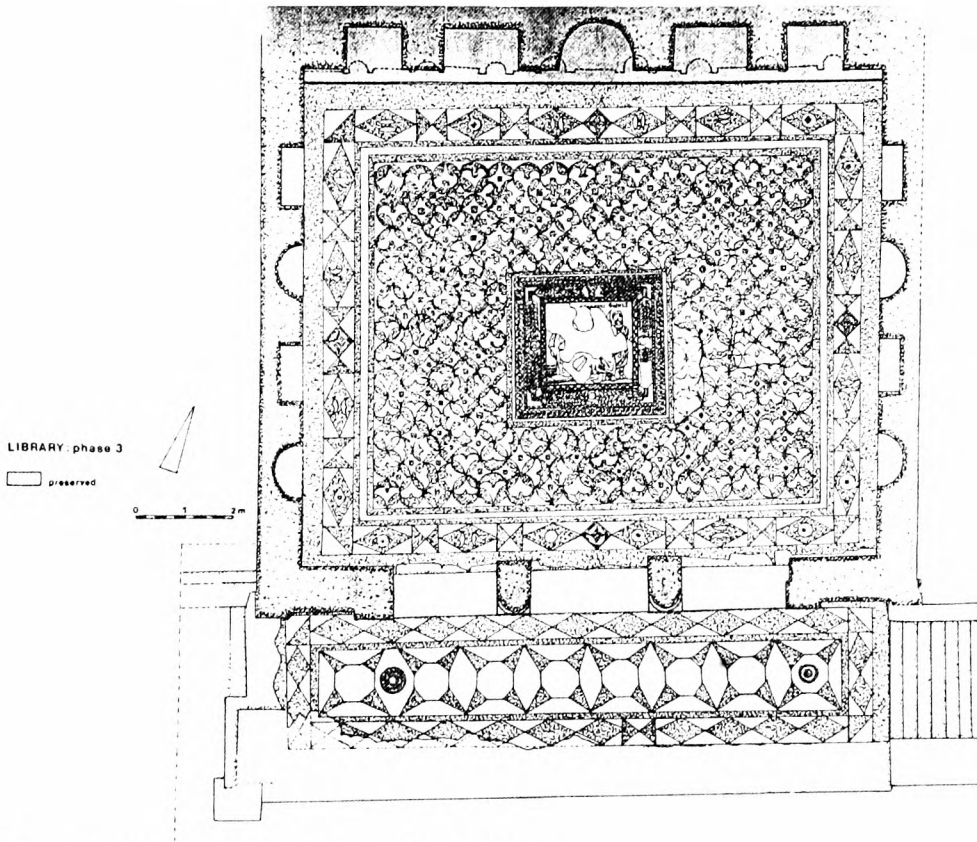


Figure 54 Plan of the library at Sagalassos.
Waelkens and Poblome 1993, 30 Fig 18.

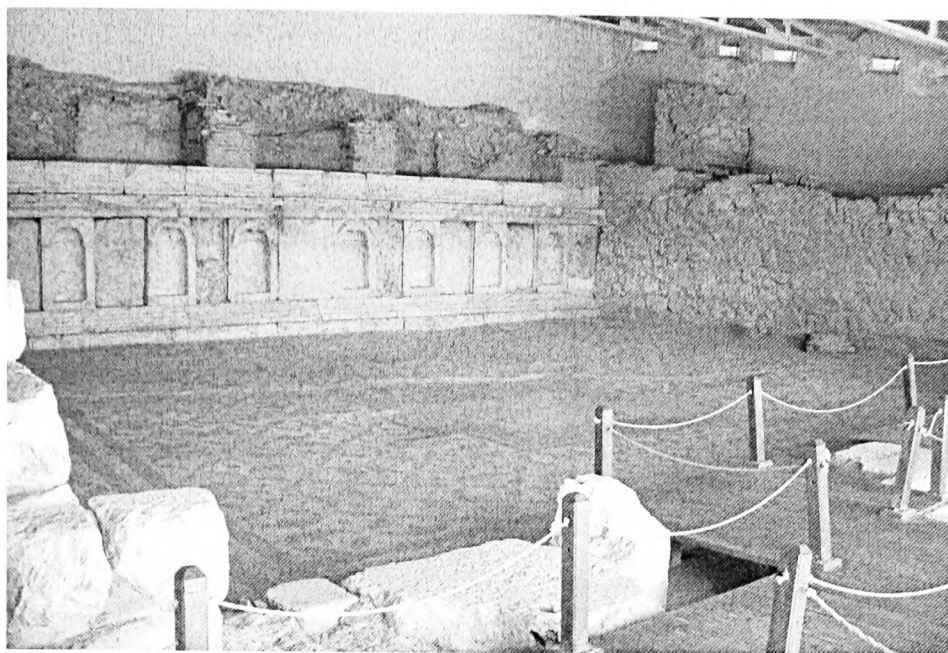


Figure 55 The library at Sagalassos.

Photograph: author.

The seven inscriptions above the statue niches on the building's rear wall, given in full in Appendix 4 No. 10a-g, describe the careers of the donor, T. Flavius Severianus Neon, and his family; they date the building to shortly after AD 120 and are very similar to the nearly contemporary inscriptions of the Polemaeanus family at Ephesus (Appendix 4 No. 9b-c).

These features, and especially the multiple points of similarity to Ephesus, indicate that this building was another in the series of libraries which could trace their lineage back to recent imperial libraries, and especially those of Trajan in Rome.

In the absence of any inscription which can definitively identify the building, however, an element of uncertainty remains. The absence of a podium wide enough to walk on under the niches and the fact that four of the eight lateral niches are semicircular – an awkward shape for bookcases – leads Russell, for one, to look for an alternative function for the building: “the imposing entrance and the abundance of niches on the other walls, probably framed by architectural details to simulate aediculae, reinforce the impression of a hall devoted to the imperial cult, akin to the so-called Kaisersaal familiar

in many bath-gymnasium complexes of Asia Minor.”⁷⁴⁹ This interpretation is consistent with the Neon family’s record of service to the emperor and the presence of the large bronze statue, which Russell assumes was of Hadrian.

These arguments are not without substance, though the Leuven team are sticking by their interpretation of the building as a library. In response to Russell, Waelkens et al. reiterate the similarities to the library at Ephesus, and add that it is most unlikely that the building is a *kaisersaal*.⁷⁵⁰ It stands on its own, without any associated structures; there is no parallel for that in the Roman east. It is equally unlikely to have been a family heroön with no other function, especially as there is no evidence for statues of the family: such blatant self-glorification with no other public function would be most unlikely at this date.

The arguments about the absence of a podium are not convincing, as at Nîmes. Perhaps in such libraries the intention was that the library was not for browsing, with the books out of reach as a deliberate security measure. Readers could look up what they wanted in a catalogue and then collect a portable step ladder or have an attendant fetch it from a numbered case, rather than browsing from one to the other. Moreover, the Sagalassos building contained remains of a wooden structure, unknown to Russell, which the excavators think may have acted in place of a podium along the side walls (which in their original, lost configuration may well have had a podium anyway).⁷⁵¹

There is, moreover, no conflict between the imperial commemorative function of the type Russell suggests for Sagalassos and a library. Trajan’s libraries at Rome set a pattern which we know to have been imitated in the provinces: Dio’s library at Prusa, for instance, contained a statue of Trajan, while Pantainos’ and that at Philippi were

⁷⁴⁹ Russell 1997, 542.

⁷⁵⁰ Waelkens and Poblome 2000, 419-447.

⁷⁵¹ Waelkens and Poblome 2000, 423-5. Cf. Callmer 1944, 176 for a similar arrangement in the Pergamum Asclepieion library

dedicated to the imperial house. There is likewise no conflict between personal or family commemoration and a library function – numerous libraries make this clear, and it is discussed in detail below.

Arguments of this sort could see-saw backwards and forwards endlessly. A definitive answer is not possible from the available material, and moving beyond this type of is-it-or-isn't it debate will yield more interesting results. In several particulars of design, construction, and decoration, this building, like those at Side, Cremna, and Nîmes, looks very like other Roman public libraries, especially the nearly contemporary library at Ephesus. If these buildings were not libraries – and though I am inclined to accept the identification at Sagalassos, I agree with Russell that there are difficulties – then it raises very interesting questions about the shared place which they and contemporary library buildings held in the canon of Romanising provincial euergetic architecture. Libraries and non-libraries alike were designed to fit into a landscape of buildings designed for commemoration and advertisement of various sorts of Roman and local civic identities. This implies a wider function for libraries than housing books, important though that was: libraries appear to have been one possibility in a spectrum of public buildings, all of which sustained a useful public function while offering scope for political or personal statements on the part of the donor.

.

iv) Endowments

Another hint of a way in which provincial public library donors followed a Trajanic model of euergetism is found in the arrangements made for the endowments of two well known examples.

Both Pliny's library at Comum and Celsus' at Ephesus were provided with identical capital endowments equivalent to 100,000 sesterces from whose annual interest the upkeep of the library was to be funded; Celsus' inscription adds that this entailed the provision of staff and book-purchase costs, as well as celebrations on the founder's birthday. We may assume at least the first two were intended by Pliny's briefer formulation *in tutelam bybliothecae*. Both inscriptions are given in full, with translations, in Appendix 4 (nos. 4 and 9).

The inscriptions associated with these donations offer an excellent glimpse of the arrangements by which these libraries were run. With their implication of capable, salaried staff and regular book acquisitions they suggest that these provincial libraries were meant to provide the same useful services as their metropolitan counterparts.

The provision of large capital endowments also suggests that their founders may have had imperial examples in mind. Perpetual foundations of this type only became popular after the reign of Trajan, perhaps inspired by that emperor's alimentary schemes: as Duncan-Jones writes, "the majority are thus later than the time of Trajan... the wide diffusion of these government sponsored investments [for the subsidy of urban children] may have encouraged the foundation as a type of gift favoured in Italian towns. The same spur never existed in the provinces."⁷⁵²

Pliny, ever the advocate and exegete of Trajanic imperial policy, records his own alimentary scheme IN ALIMENT PVEROR ET PVELLAR PLEB VRBAN in the same

⁷⁵² Duncan-Jones 1982, 132.

inscription as his library gift; he also mentioned both benefactions together in *Ep.* I.8. Perhaps Pliny's dwelling on generosity in his letter reflects not just the content of the lost speech about the library, but also the purpose of his letters: to inspire others to generosity after the manner of the emperor and his court. Paul Veyne calls *Ep.* I.8 "un petit manuel de l'évergète de bon ton":⁷⁵³ the fact that Celsus library was provided with exactly the same sum for its upkeep in exactly the same manner as Pliny's suggests that at least one provincial library donor was attentive to the *ton* that Pliny set, and provides an interesting parallel with the Ephesian library's clear architectural similarities to Trajan's buildings at Rome.

The details of the schemes by which these libraries were funded are also of interest. 100,000 sesterces is a considerable sum, both in absolute and relative terms. It was equivalent to the entire property qualification for membership of the *ordo* of most Italian towns (Duncan Jones 1982 p.147) and compares favourably to other testamentary endowments set up for various purposes in this period. A table compiled by Duncan-Jones places these libraries' endowments in the top 28% of known of perpetual foundations (in Italy):⁷⁵⁴

HS 2,000,000 – 1,000,000	6 (5.4%)
HS 999,999 – 500,000	2 (1.8%)
HS 499,999 – 250,000	9 (8.0%)
HS 249,999 – 100,000	14 (12.5%)
HS 99,999 – 50,000	7 (6.3%)
HS 49,999 – 20,000	11 (9.8%)*
HS 19,999 – 10,000	10 (8.9%)
HS 9,999 – 32	53 (47.3%)

For comparison, the median for a costed scheme designed to ensure the upkeep of public works or monuments is HS 2,000. Pliny also left HS 200,000 for the upkeep of the public baths he donated at Comum, more or less in the middle of the range of

⁷⁵³ Veyne 1967, 726.

⁷⁵⁴ Duncan-Jones 1982, 136.

endowments for this purpose.⁷⁵⁵ Bath houses required skilled staff and a large and costly supply of fuel and water; they could also expect a high degree of wear and tear. In this context the donation of HS 100,000 *in tutelam bybliothecae* appears to have been a significant sum, surely intended to ensure that the libraries would enjoy long and useful working lives. This is confirmed by the fact that the money was explicitly provided, in the case of Celsus' library, for the purchase of new books and the employment of staff: the library's collection was intended to remain up-to-date, and it was to be provided with staff to look after its collection and readers.⁷⁵⁶

Duncan-Jones suggests that for a foundation of this size an interest rate of 5-6% would have been expected (a conservative figure, reflecting a safe, low-yield investment, most probably in local land).⁷⁵⁷ This would yield an annual income of HS 5-6000 for Pliny's library and (assuming interest rates in early second century Ephesus to have been more or less the same) 4,600 – 5,520 for Celsus', where the initial endowment was lessened by the 8,000 sesterces spent on the first year's expenses.

Was this sufficient endowment for the upkeep of a working library? Financial calculations of any sort are notoriously difficult for the ancient world, but with the normal caveats it is possible to suggest what an annual income of, say, 5,000 sesterces could purchase.

The principal costs envisaged by Celsus' foundation, and presumably by Pliny's, are the purchase of books and the payment of staff. The price of a book would have depended on several factors, including its quality and the distance over which it had to be transported to reach the library. If the library staff paid for through the endowment included the specialised copiers and binders attached to other libraries,⁷⁵⁸ the cost of new

⁷⁵⁵ HS 30,000 – 400,000; Duncan-Jones 1982, 137.

⁷⁵⁶ For the functions of library staff see pp156ff.

⁷⁵⁷ Duncan-Jones 1982, 132f.; cf also e.g. *CIL* XI 1147 (interest of 5% levied on capital of 1,044,000 HS).

⁷⁵⁸ For Atticus' library staff see above p.158.

books could potentially be limited to that of their raw materials. If they had to be purchased on the open market the cost would be higher. Any really valuable collector's items presumably formed part of the original core collection donated by the founders – this sort of donation is discussed further below – since antiquarian books could command astounding prices.⁷⁵⁹ New high-quality copies certainly fell within the purchasing power of the library endowments, though: Martial *Ep.* I.117.10ff. gives the price of a new deluxe edition of the poet's own work as 5 denarii (20 sesterces).

Staffing costs are harder to estimate. The salary of a legionary soldier at this date was 1200 sesterces per annum, a sum sufficient to allow the compulsory purchase of large amounts of equipment and still leave enough left over for plentiful non-subsistence purchases.⁷⁶⁰ At the other end of the scale, Seneca suggests that a basic allowance for a slave (at Rome) would permit 20 sesterces and 5 modii of corn per month, an annual cost of roughly 420 sesterces.⁷⁶¹

Taking these figures as very broad guidelines (and assuming a parity between Ephesus and Comum which may not have existed) we can very crudely calculate that each library endowment could pay for 2 highly-skilled staff members on the equivalent of a soldier's annual salary, three unskilled workers on the equivalent of Seneca's slave allowance, purchase 65 new high-quality books annually, and (at Ephesus) have a little left over for the specified garlands on Celsus' birthday. If the staffing costs included a copyist the potential figure for annual book accessions is much higher. These figures are, of course, only very approximate guides. Nonetheless, they indicate that the endowments provided for these libraries firmly indicate that their founders intended them to have a prolonged and useful life, and equipped them with the funds to do so.

⁷⁵⁹ See p.255.

⁷⁶⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982, 10-11.

⁷⁶¹ Seneca *Ep.* 80.7

This is an important point to remember as we come to discuss the rôle of these libraries in commemorating their donors.

.

V.2 - Provincial libraries: local and personal identities

We have seen numerous ways in which provincial public libraries demonstrated their relationship to the imperial libraries of Rome. It was also common for them to reflect local civic priorities or interests, and to act (as did almost all public benefactions) as a means by which their donors could advertise or commemorate their own careers and services.

One striking example of this multivalence is provided by the library of Dio at Prusa, known only from a letter of the younger Pliny, which relates complaints about supposed irregularities surrounding its construction. Dio began the building himself but attempted to hand it over to the town authorities, implying that it was to be a public library. Pliny reports to Trajan that he has visited the site and *vidi tuam quoque statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis in area collocatum, quae porticibus includitur.*⁷⁶²

This is an important instantiation of the library-as-family-memorial-and-imperial-monument set up by a successful Greco-Roman citizen in his home town, of a type which is discussed further below. For now this case interests us since the library-builder is Dio Cocceianus, later called Chrysostom, the noted Stoic-Cynic philosopher and epideictic orator of the second sophistic (c. AD 40/50-110) whose own literary career lends particular significance to his construction of a library.

The town of Prusa attached considerable importance to its array of public buildings, a local pride wholly typical of the place and period, and attributed elsewhere by Pliny both to local status and to the overall beneficent flavour of Trajan's reign: *et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor.*⁷⁶³ This blend of local and individual pride with imperial *nitor* is

⁷⁶² Pliny *Ep.* 10.81.

⁷⁶³ Pliny *Ep.* 10.23.

particularly well-illustrated by Dio's library. We have no idea what books it held, but it is tempting to see it as a testament to Dio's own career and writings (similar commemorations of local authors in provincial public libraries are discussed below). As such it ought to have held at least copies of the speeches of Dio himself and of his pupils (two of Favorinus' speeches are now incorporated in Dio's oeuvre), and those authors whom Dio admired: the works of stoic philosophers such as C. Musonius Rufus, who had taught Dio as a young man in Rome, and important Greek models and sources such as Plato and Xenophon. Local particularism attached great civic pride to connection with orators of the second sophistic. Dio's supporters in Prusa would have welcomed the erection of such a library as a boost to civic prestige, though the controversy documented by Pliny shows that Dio had his enemies in the town, too: the proposed library aroused strong local feeling.

At the same time, the building also commemorated Dio's connections with Rome (he had been exiled by Domitian, rehabilitated by Nerva, and befriended by Trajan). The library's imperial Roman elements are evident from Pliny's letter: it seems to have acted as an imperial shrine, containing a statue of Trajan whose dignity was alleged to have been infringed by the presence of Dio's family graves. Its architectural form as described by Pliny seems to indicate a monumental public building of the sort well known at other Romano-local library foundations like Ephesus (tomb) and Pantainos in Athens or Timgad (courtyard and colonnade).

Dio's library therefore combined imperial and local civic identities with personal commemoration; many other provincial public libraries did the same. Of these three elements we have already explored the first, and we can turn now to the latter two.

i) Local libraries in their civic contexts: local literary life and education

The map of Roman public libraries (Figure 33) shows a clear disparity between the eastern and western empire. Apart from the possible libraries at Nîmes and in Africa, there are no libraries west of Italy. In Spain, which produced a crop of Roman authors in the first century AD and where Martial in *provinciali solitudine* thought longingly of Rome's libraries, there is no trace of a public library.⁷⁶⁴ Italy has five libraries that we know of, but substantial, prosperous, well-documented, and thoroughly Roman cities such as Pompeii and Ostia do not seem to have them.⁷⁶⁵

This imbalance must be at least partly attributable to the unique literary culture of the Roman Greek east, in which civic pride and political advancement attached to *pepaideumenoi* and intellectual activity of various sorts. The imperial associations clearly expressed in library buildings' dedications, architecture, and decoration, and the personal commemoration they offered a donor were important, but these could equally well have led to other sorts of donation (as they did in the western empire). Local factors must have made libraries a particularly appealing form of benefaction for patron, town, or both at this time and place.

As with imperial libraries above, we should consider the context in which these libraries were created, and the potential audience for such a foundation. Donors had an interest in attracting as much goodwill or gratitude from their benefactions as possible; the cluster of libraries suggests a ready 'market' for public libraries in the many towns where they were built.

⁷⁶⁴ Spanish authors: the Senecas, Lucian and Martial, Columella, and Quintilian. Martial: see above p.192. For libraries in Spain see Hanson 1989, who can offer no solid evidence for the existence of Roman public libraries in the Iberian peninsula.

⁷⁶⁵ The building identified by Richardson 1977 and Casson 2001, 110 as Pompeii's library is almost certainly not: the disposition of its niches and the presence of an altar base argue against it. Ling 1991, 252-3, Callmer 1944, 156-9 with n.3, and Houston 2001 are sounder.

The ostensible purpose of public libraries was to contribute to the intellectual life of the cities where they were built. The rhetoricians, doctors, *grammatikoi* and other intellectuals of the second sophistic played an important rôle in the Greek-speaking communities of the Eastern Roman empire, often combining political and cultural activities. They were honoured in both capacities by their towns, portraying themselves (with some justification) as intermediaries between a revived Greek cultural heritage and the wider realities of the Roman empire.

Provincial libraries were often connected to local literary personages, who often contributed to their foundation in the hope of creating a lasting legacy. Dio's library at Prusa is one good example, as is Stertinius Xenophon's foundation on Cos. The library at Smyrna, described by Strabo and therefore active into the Roman period, seems to have been associated with a shrine to Homer upholding the town's claim to be the poet's birthplace.⁷⁶⁶

The Younger Pliny mentions in the letter about his library that his dedicatory speech dwells on the generosity of his family to the town of Comum. This must mean his late uncle's family; and as Pliny [adoptive] *père* was such an avid accumulator and reader of books,⁷⁶⁷ perhaps his library, or a part of it, formed the core of the collection at Comum. Books were often provided as part of a library's foundation;⁷⁶⁸ they may sometimes have been founded to provide a home for their founder's large book collections, demonstrating that they were important collectors and men with literary

⁷⁶⁶ Strabo 14.1.37: ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξόανον. A second century AD inscribed lists of books by a local author suggests that the town and perhaps its library continued to honour local *littérateurs* for a long time: Lafaye 1927 IV.1445 = Platthy 1968, No.162.

⁷⁶⁷ The preface to the *HN* (17) says that Pliny had used over 2000 books in its compilation; Pliny the Younger says he inherited 160 of his uncle's notebooks, and *Ep.*3.5 includes a complete list of Pliny the Elder's works, suggesting his nephew had a complete collection and was interested in their collection and preservation.

⁷⁶⁸ App. 4 nos 5, 7, 9, 13, possibly 15.

interests in their own lifetime. We can compare Augustus' deployment of large private book collections that came into his control when he became *princeps*.⁷⁶⁹

As well as honouring local authors, provincial public libraries could serve as a vehicle for participating in reciprocal exchanges of honour between cities and between poets, sophists, and the like in the same way that Rome's libraries were used to signal imperial favour. The practice of honouring authors with statues was widespread;⁷⁷⁰ libraries provided a natural venue for these and for the copies of works that were also circulated among cities as a mark of favour. Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis, for example, the 'Homer of medical poets', gave copies of his works in prose and verse to Rhodiapolis itself, Alexandria, Athens, and Rhodes.⁷⁷¹ We know of Roman-period public libraries in the last three named places and it is tempting to postulate a fourth in the poet's home town along the lines of Dio's at Prusa or Pliny's at Comum. Dio's delight in being accorded a statue in the library of Corinth has already been mentioned, and a fascinating inscription given in Appendix 4 (No. 11) records the honours paid to the Aphrodisian tragedian Gaius Julius Longianus by the town of Halicarnassus. Numerous statues were to be erected to him in suitable places including the gymnasium and shrine of the Muses, and his works were to be placed at public expense in the city's libraries (plural): here public libraries functioned as part of an entire landscape of παιδεία, benefaction, and honour, acting as showcases for the literary aspirations of donors, authors, and towns.⁷⁷²

The Halicarnassian inscription brings us to another rôle sustained by provincial libraries. There are sufficient references to suggest that, as one would expect, they made an important contribution to the educational facilities of their towns. The statue of Longianus in the ephebic gymnasium of Halicarnassus was to stand next to one of

⁷⁶⁹ See above pp.10ff.

⁷⁷⁰ Bowie 1989.

⁷⁷¹ *TAM* 2.910 (= *IGR* 3.733).

⁷⁷² We might compare the public display of an entire Epicurean treatise, inscribed on stone, by Diogenes of Oenanda: Harris 1989, 219-20.

Herodotus. The gymnasium, clearly, was where Halicarnassus' *jeunesse dorée* received its education in letters, and the inscription goes on to link this explicitly to the town's public libraries as well as providing a neat summary of the esteem an author could win by comparison with past literary giants: Longianus' works are to be placed ἔν τε βιβλιοθήκαις παρ' ἡμεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτοις οἱ νέοι παιδεύωνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν.

We can compare Dio's assessment of the likely impact of his statue at Corinth: it will be placed in the library, οὗ μάλιστα ἂν ᾤεσθε τοὺς νέους προκαλέσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔχουσιν. It seems clear, then, that provincial libraries had an important educative function (we have seen that the imperial libraries at Rome also seem to have had room for young scholars).

There are further suggestive bits of evidence. Pliny seems to have been concerned for the education of young people at Comum: when he learned that they were travelling to Milan for their education, he offered to contribute a third of the salary needed for a teacher, and asked Cornelius Tacitus to look for a suitable candidate.⁷⁷³ His library was presumably intended to bolster the town's facilities for literary education. Pantainos' library in Athens was the foundation of a family linked for several generations to education. Pantainos' father was the head of a school; Pantainos' own library contained numerous rooms and a portico for meeting and discussion; and a future Pantainos (the library founder's grandson) would be the tutor of Clement of Alexandria.⁷⁷⁴ A 1st/2nd century AD inscription from Delphi naming Flavius Soclarus as the builder of a library (Appendix 4 no. 8) may well have been associated with a refurbishment of the town's gymnasium.⁷⁷⁵ Finally, an inscription from Ephesus (Appendix 4 no. 9d) mentions the repair of a pavement 'in front of the auditorium and

⁷⁷³ Pliny *Ep.* 4.13

⁷⁷⁴ App. 4 no. 5; Meritt 1966.

⁷⁷⁵ Callmer 1944, 184.

the library of Celsus'. The Celsus library's original inscriptions make no mention of an auditorium, but it seems that at some point a facility for readings and lectures was built near the library, enhancing its potential importance in the city's literary and educational life and suggesting a large usership. The possible conjunction of library and auditorium at an Ephesian bath-house (p.122f.) hints at an recreational as well as an educative milieu. As late as the 4th century Aphthonius mentions the potential of the Serapeum library to 'lift the whole city [of Alexandria] to the possibility of learning.'⁷⁷⁶

Provincial libraries therefore fulfilled a number of local needs, and patrons in the cities of the Greek east could be assured that their benefactions would find a large and grateful audience. The timing is also important. The section above on chronology shows that there is a dense cluster of library foundations in time as well as place, around the beginning of the second century. Many of the Greco-Roman towns in question reached a pitch of prosperity, and civic and intellectual self-confidence, at exactly the time when imperial foundations brought libraries into fashion. Material prosperity and stability combined with imperial interest, such as Hadrian's visits, and ever-increasing willingness on the part of local élites, saw intensive building projects undertaken across the Greek east including many places where libraries were founded.⁷⁷⁷ The early second century embellishment of Sagalassos has already been described.⁷⁷⁸ The library at Pergamum was part of a huge redevelopment of the sanctuary, associated with a visit from Hadrian, which included a round Temple of Zeus modelled on the contemporary Pantheon at Rome and built by a Pergamene who eventually became consul (Figure 39).⁷⁷⁹ Ephesus, too, received buildings befitting its status as neocoros of Asia, including successive imperial temples and shrines. That of Hadrian stood near the library and seems to have derived elements of its decoration from the Celsus library; nearby was a monumental

⁷⁷⁶ See p.20

⁷⁷⁷ Waelkens 1989 for details.

⁷⁷⁸ For more detail: Waelkens 2002.

⁷⁷⁹ L. Cuspius Rufus, cos. AD 142. Waelkens 1989, 85.

nymphaeum dedicated to Trajan. Into this burst of civic-minded imperially flavoured architectural benefaction the public library, with all the imperial and cultural associations described above, fitted well.

When Timgad, founded under Trajan, reached its own peak of prosperity a few decades later it underwent a similar process. Between 150 and 225AD there town gained its theatre, north gate, public market, many temples, and the south and east baths.⁷⁸⁰ The library followed in due course. At Timgad, as elsewhere, we have seen that this was a magnificent building in a prominent place. The Celsus library at the bottom of Curetes Street, the Neon library on the important stretch of street between Sagalassos' upper agora and its theatre, the Pantainos library on the Plateia between the Greek and Roman agoras in Athens, the Nysa building near the gymnasium: all were in central and conspicuous locations, as in Rome, implying a high degree of civic prominence and importance and adding to the public aspect of the buildings independently of access to the books they contained. Here we might remind ourselves of the way Apuleius implied that Carthage's library was well known to his large audience, a familiar part of the townscape.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁸⁰ Pfeiffer 1931, 158.

⁷⁸¹ See above pp.180ff..

ii) Donors and donations

Another indication of the important public status of these libraries is the way in which their donors often took care to locate them within a spectrum of other activities and donations which made sure their dedication was noticed, and which also ensured the commemoration of the donor. While a library was naturally a good way of appealing to a certain section of a town's population, other constituencies could be addressed through the building's monumental magnificence and by simultaneous benefactions of different kinds.

The library builder at Dertona, for example, also restored the town's forum and its portico. The inscription (App. N no. 1) shows that once these projects were complete he made sure his efforts were appreciated by as large an audience as possible with the provision of a feast, gladiatorial games, and a monetary donation:

*in cuius dedi*CATIONE EPVLVM INTER SPECTACVLA ET HS · COL DEDIT.

The library donor at Dyrrachium provided 12 pairs of gladiators at the opening of his library, again suggesting a wider intended 'audience' for his generosity than the town's scholars, and that at Epidauros also seems to have been connected to the giving of games (Appendix 4 nos. 6 and 13). Pliny gave not only a library to Comum but also a luxuriously appointed baths with a large endowment for upkeep and an alimentary scheme (App. N. no.4). At Ephesus the lengthy dedicatory inscriptions provide instructions for a large dedication ceremony and the crowning of Celsus' statues thrice annually, with another injunction to crown his 'other images' on his annual *ἑορτή*. These are presumably statues of Celsus elsewhere in the town, meaning that his library was associated with an annual public commemoration of its founder, and the fact that

inscription 9d of Appendix 4 refers to the library as [ῆ] Κέλσου βιβλιοθήκ[η] shows that the town did indeed continue to attach Celsus' name to his library well after its foundation.

The donation of a public library was, then, a good way in which to ensure that a sum of money deployed as a civic benefaction brought the donor respect, gratitude, and a measure of fame. Without wishing to discount genuine philanthropic or educational motives, inscriptions show that these were clearly important factors for many library donors. The dedicatory inscriptions of many accordingly include details of their careers, as is normal for Roman honorific inscriptions. Many of these included significant posts in the Roman military or government or imperial priesthoods.⁷⁸² Men with successful careers in the Roman administration, and connected to channels of influence and fashion from Rome, were well placed to notice and react when Trajan and Hadrian took a new interest in library-building. We have already seen that interest reflected by Roman colonists and men like Dio and Pliny, and evinced by the design and decoration of the libraries they built.

The library at Ephesus provides a good example of exactly how this type of Roman career spread the fashion for library foundation. Celsus, a native of Asia Minor originally from Sardis, seems to have retired to Ephesus after reaching the pinnacle of his career as proconsul of Asia, a one-year post. Along the way he had held numerous important offices, including the suffect consulship in AD 92. These would have placed him very close to the heart of imperial government at Rome, where he would have had ample opportunity to study the eurgestic projects of emperors and senators like Pliny. Moreover, Celsus rose through the ranks at Rome under Vespasian and served as *curator operum publicorum* at some point between AD 92 and 105. He would therefore have remembered the construction of the *Templum Pacis* and seen it grow into the lively

⁷⁸² App. 4 nos 4 (Comum), 6 (Dyrrachium), 7 (Volsinii), 9 b-c (Ephesus), 10 a-g (Sagalassos), 15 (Aphrodisias).

intellectual centre described later by Gellius and Galen, and would have been personally involved in major imperial construction projects at Rome. He might even have been involved in the preliminary work on Trajan's Forum; he was very certainly aware of it.

Celsus died between AD 107-114, but his son, who completed the library, had himself been consul in AD 110 and had therefore had the opportunity of viewing the Trajanic libraries as they and the Forum neared completion. The numerous points of similarity between the libraries of Celsus and of Trajan described above are therefore no surprise; nor is a final striking feature they held in common, described below.

As well as commemorating an individual donor, acts of euergetism could help a family maintain its civic prominence for several generations. Pantainos' inscription included his children (and his father) by name in the dedication, and we have seen that Pantainos went on to an archonship while his family remained prominent in their field. A first century AD inscription mentioning an official of the public library at Soli in Cyprus also mentions the parents of the donor, and Flavia Melitene at Pergamum carefully mentions her son and his office (prytanis) in her dedication inscription.⁷⁸³

Two extensive sets of inscriptions that mention not just children but entire extended families are those from the libraries at Ephesus and Sagalassos. Both families had careers in the Roman imperial administration. At Sagalassos T. Flavius Severianus Neon commemorated his deceased father Publius Flavius Dareius, much as Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus commemorated his father Celsus at Ephesus: it is possible that the Ephesian library inspired Neon's choice of project. In both cases various relatives are also named. Celsus' daughter and her son erected statues of Celsus, and the latter also honoured his uncle, Celsus' son; he himself was a military tribune, tribune of the plebs and praetor at Rome, and a provincial quaestor and legate. The Neon family had less high-flown but still impressive careers. One had been the high priest of the imperial cult

⁷⁸³ Inscriptions in App. 4: Pantainos; no.5; Soli: no. 2; Pergamum: no. 12

in the town, and two others had held commands in auxiliary and legionary units of the Roman army stationed in the east. The most prominent, M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, took a third command as *praefectus* of a cavalry *ala* before moving into the imperial administration of Egypt, first as *procurator Augusti* and finally as a *iuridicus Alexandreae*.⁷⁸⁴ The family were clearly proud of this illustrious connection by marriage and were keen to use their library to record their prominence.

Looking at the façade of the Celsus library or the rear wall of Neon's, with their multiple images and inscriptions, one is reminded that Pliny's description of the *immortales animi* of authors speaking through their library busts immediately follows his account of the proper adornment of the aristocratic atrium:

stemma vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas. tabulina codicibus implebantur et monumentis rerum in magistratu gestarum

Pliny *HN* 35.2.6.

⁷⁸⁴ Inscriptions in App. 4: Celsus and family, 9a-c; Neon and family, 10a-g with Devijver 1993.

iii) Libraries and burials

Pliny's association between the commemoration of ancestors and the ghostly presence of authors in libraries brings us to a final aspect of some provincial libraries which unites the imperial and personal identities of their donors. It is very striking that among the spate of public library donations in the wake of Trajan's great project at Rome there is a parallel fashion for commemoration of individuals and their families in connection with the library, and even more so that in two instances members of the library-donating family were actually buried within the building.

The library at Ephesus contains the sarcophagus of Celsus, linked to the central library hall by an opening in the wall and clearly part of the founder's plans from the start: it was too big to have been inserted once building work progressed above the level of the foundations. Such a burial, inside a public building well within the town, was a highly irregular arrangement and must reflect the unusually prominent status of Celsus among his townsfolk.⁷⁸⁵ The external façade of the library is adorned with four female statues representing the personified virtues of Celsus - intellectual virtues highly suited to a library builder - alongside with the inscriptions listing his career. The funerary, artistic, and epigraphic programme here, then, represents not authors but the character of the donor. Celsus' foundation of a library and personification of four aspects of his character hopes to tell us, to use Pliny's words about the preservation of literary portraits, 'what sort of man he was'.⁷⁸⁶ Much Roman funerary art, with its images of daily life, does the same. Celsus' library is not unique in this respect: we have already seen that Dio of Prusa's library contained the tomb of his wife and son, and the Sagalassos inscriptions commemorate the dead as well as the living.

⁷⁸⁵ See e.g. Strocka 1981, 327-8.

⁷⁸⁶ Pliny HN 35.2.10: *quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis.*

Imperial precursors are not hard to find. One of Rome's first public libraries, that of the Porticus Octaviae, was founded in memory of Marcellus, part of an extensive programme of public grief and commemoration.⁷⁸⁷ In Ch.II.2 we saw that Trajan's own tomb stood at the base of his column between two libraries of his Forum at Rome, in a space charged with images of Roman prowess in war but also of the lasting legacy of the arts of peace; this complex inspired Celsus and Dio as it did many other library patrons.

Public libraries in the Roman world thus served to commemorate (or to render immortal, to borrow Pliny's formulation) not just authors and their creations, but the persons and families of the donors who endowed the libraries themselves. The literary continuum which the libraries represented was valued in the same way as the heritage of a noble family, gilding the present generation with the achievements of its forebears, much as Longianus' statues and works at Halicarnassus were intended to inspire the town's youth τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν.

Provincial patrons at this date found the library a potent and plural euergetic tool, and used it to reinforce a three-way link between an immortal literary canon, the emperor whose own libraries they imitated, and themselves. We have seen how Roman public libraries deliberately used works of art to reflect and enhance their rôle as places in which a certain sort of immortality could be conferred on the persons – literary and real persons – enclosed by their walls, and ensured the immortality of authors through the careful preservation of texts and images and the prestige of inclusion in an imperial canon.

The patrons' intersection with these immortalities of text and image is crucial, whether or not they were buried in their buildings: it seems that library patrons were keen to associate themselves or their families with the supine stationary voyage of their libraries into posterity, hitching a ride to immortality, as it were, in the company of the

⁷⁸⁷ Plutarch *Marc.* 30.

illustrious texts and images that they had collected together. By commemorating their own persons and their families in similar library spaces closely associated with the emperor and imperial projects at Rome, provincial patrons were able to aspire, after their own fashion, to a like immortality.

Conclusions

The public libraries of Rome were an important part of the evolving panoply of imperial civic benefaction in the city. Their importance, and the continuing need for their provision and renewal, is simply demonstrated by the fact that the Constantinian regionary catalogues, the *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, list 28 of them, while Figure 33 shows a further 32 possible libraries in the provinces. The absence of a reliable and comprehensive monograph on this subject belies its importance. This thesis has therefore sought to establish the range of public library provision in the Roman world and to answer a broad question: what were these libraries for, and how did they function?

There are several sorts of answer. At a practical level, the architecture, appointment, and operation of known public libraries has suggested that they were designed as serious working resources. They were usually equipped with large areas of open floor space that served to accommodate readers and groups in discussion or debate and were probably provided with dedicated and able staffs, catalogues, labelled shelving, and other aids to productivity.

Rome's public libraries were therefore equipped to play a part in the literary life of Rome and her empire. The importance of the collection and consultation of books in Roman literary life is evident by strand of encyclopaedic, redactional, comprehensive literature that developed in parallel, and sometimes intersected with, the world of public libraries. The seeds for these developments were sown in the accumulation of substantial private book collections in the Republican period; these served as model and in some cases as a resource for the establishment of the first public libraries. Epigraphical and literary sources suggest that these libraries were established and run by scholars and men

of letters and used for research, education, pleasure, and debate. Various authors refer to public libraries, showing us that they could hold rare or valuable books, and could be used as authorities to settle disputes. Later sources and archaeological remains suggest that libraries became part of a culture of meeting, discussion and debate and were built in conjunction with lecture rooms or auditoria. The discussion of Pollio's recitations and the libraries of the Porticus Octaviae suggested that this function can be traced back to the earliest public libraries at Rome.

Public libraries also had significant rôles beyond their immediate practical utility. Their holdings came to stand for reliability and completeness; inclusion in a public library, with its implication of imperial approval or sponsorship, formed one pinnacle of authorial aspiration, providing an assurance of contemporary prestige and future longevity. The provision of busts and paintings in libraries reinforced this function and made it evident even to non-reading visitors. Public libraries thus functioned as important foci of collective memory and cultural prestige, defining and displaying a canon of legitimate knowledge. Their very existence was a powerful programmatic statement of intent by their patrons, and they formed an important part of the complex web of associations and ideas within which the imperial cultural and architectural projects at Rome were devised. They developed alongside a flourishing culture of private book collection, allowing their patrons to claim primacy in a competitive field of cultural display. They also provided patrons and authors alike with a route to posterity, enabling them to associate themselves with hallowed names from the past; we have the testimony of authors petitioning for admittance (Martial, Ovid) and of the benefits that ensued (Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius, Josephus, Dio, Galen, Sidonius, Claudian).

Emperors and provincial patrons used public libraries as a tool of benefaction to appeal to various audiences, and were closely involved with, and keen to be identified with, their foundations: evidence for close imperial involvement has been seen in

directorship, staffing, decoration, stocking, and location of public libraries in Rome and Athens. The constituencies addressed by these libraries were fairly broad. Roman public libraries collected and made available large collections of literary texts, providing an educated audience with the sort of facilities previously enjoyed only by aristocratic collectors and their protégés, but this is not the only way in which they were public. Their design, decoration, and location marked them out as public monuments visible to and intended for audiences beyond those who actually read the books they held. The public presentation of previously private book collections had an especially important political significance in the Augustan period; later emperors followed his lead. A monumental public quality was an important aspect of the libraries located in Augustus' Palatine complex and the Porticus Octaviae, in Vespasian's Templum Pacis and in Trajan's forum; it was imitated in provincial libraries, such as Celsus' in Ephesus. A different sort of ostentatious public provision is evident in imperial bath-houses, where the libraries, though still magnificently appointed, express imperial and civic cultural identity in the context of leisure-time.

Public libraries soon entered the repertoire of euergetic architectural buildings that characterised urban life in the Roman empire. These libraries combined continuity with the pre-Roman public libraries of the Hellenistic world and recognition of local literary, political, personal, and cultural identities with features taken directly from the public libraries of Rome, which appear to have prompted a wave of imitations especially around and just after the age of the greatest imperial library-builder, Trajan. They offered provincial donors a rich opportunity to leave a lasting cultural legacy to their town which showed their own cultural status and awareness of metropolitan fashions, displayed to advantage the twin elite ideals of public benefaction and personal *paideia*, and imitated imperial euergetism on a local scale. They also offered scope for family and personal

commemoration, and even burials, to be associated with the preservation for posterity of immortal works of literature.

The study of Roman public libraries therefore connects to many current issues in Roman history: cultural and art-historical questions about self-definition through the definition, accumulation, and imitation of canonical precedents; studies of literary and civic identity in the Roman empire; some specific debates about the monumental topography of ancient Rome; the ways in which emperors and local patrons alike directed or responded to currents in Roman cultural life; the complex combination of local, personal and 'Romanising' elements in provincial civic benefactions. Though it is beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis to explore every element of these related questions, I hope that the material presented above has shown that the provision of public libraries was a significant cultural phenomenon with important implications for the student of the Roman world.

Bibliography

Abbreviations for ancient authors and works used throughout this thesis follow those used in the *OCD*.

Journal abbreviations follow *L'Année Philologique* where possible.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>ABull</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Année Epigraphique</i>
<i>AIIN</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Arch Class</i>	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
<i>ARID</i>	<i>Analecta Romana Instituti Danici</i>
<i>AW</i>	<i>Antike Welt</i>
<i>BCAR</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BMCEmp.</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire (1923 -)</i>
<i>CLA</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum (1825 -)</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum (Berlin, 1825-1877)</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1863 -)</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae (1873 -)</i>
<i>IGR</i>	<i>R. Cagnat, Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>Inscr. Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae (1931/2 -)</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jarbbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
<i>JLH</i>	<i>Journal of Library History</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>LTUR</i>	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (E.M. Steinby, ed.), Rome, vol. I (1993), vol. II (1995), vol. III (1996) vol. IV (1999), vol. V (1999), vol. VI (Index) (2000).</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MAI</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
<i>MDAI(R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung</i>

MEFR	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité.</i>
NAWG	<i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, edd.), 3 rd edition, 1996.
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I, II, III</i> , 1 st edn. by E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897-8), 2 nd edn. by E. Groaag, A. Stein, et al. (1933 -)
POxy	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (1898 -)_
PP	<i>La Parola del passato</i>
RAL	<i>Rendiconti delle classe de Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei</i>
RdA	<i>Rivista di archeologia</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RbM	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
RIN	<i>Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini</i>
RPAA	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia</i>
RPb	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923 -)
TAM	E. Kalinka et al., <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (1901)
TAPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
ZBB	<i>Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Bibliography

- Adler 1928 A. Adler, ed., *Suidae Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1928-38.
- Amici 1982 C.M. Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e biblioteche*, Rome, 1982.
- Anderson 2004 G. Anderson, "Aulus Gellius as a storyteller" in L. Holford-Strevens and A. Vardi, edd., *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, Oxford, 2004, 105-117.
- Assman 1997 J. Assman, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1997.
- Baatz 1991 D. Baatz, 'Fensterglas, Glasfenster und Architektur', in A. Hoffman and E.-L. Schwander, edd., *Bautechnik der Antike, Kolloquium Berlin 1990*, Berlin, 1991.
- Ballarin and Berti 2001 A. Ballarin and G. Berti, 'Relazione tecnica sulle ricostruzioni digitali applicate al Foro di Traiano', *MDAI(R)* 108, 2001, 265-6.
- Bandinelli 1978 R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Dall'Ellenismo al medioevo*, Rome 1978.
- Barnes 2004 R. Barnes, 'Cloistered Bookworms in the Chicken Coop of the Muses: The Ancient Library of Alexandria' in MacLeod 2004, Ch.3, 61-77.
- Baths of Diocletian* 2003 *The Baths of Diocletian*, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Milan, 2003.
- Beagon 1992 M. Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder*, Oxford, 1992.
- Bean 1979 G. Bean, *Turkey's Southern Shore*, 2nd ed., London, 1979.
- Beard 1998 M. Beard, 'Documenting Roman Religion' in *Mémoire* 1998, 75-102.
- Becatti 1951 G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, Milan, 1951.
- Becatti 1960 G. Becatti, *La colonna coelidi istoriata: Problemi Storici Iconografici Stilistici*, Rome, 1960.
- Birt 1892 T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1892.
- Birt 1907 T. Birt, *Die buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907.
- Bloch 1947 H. Bloch, *I Bolli laterizi e la storeina edilizia Romana*, Rome, 1947 (reprint, 1967).
- Blümner 1916 H. Blümner, 'Umbilicus und cornua', *Philologus* 73, 1914-1916, 426-445.
- Boatwright 1987 M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton, 1987.
- Boatwright 2000 M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton, 2000.
- Boethius 1978 A. Boethius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, 2nd ed., London, 1978.
- Boulvert 1970 G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis imperiaux: sous le haut-empire romain : Rôle politique et administrative*, Naples, 1970.

- Bowie 1989 E.L. Bowie, 'Poetry and Poets in Asia and Achaia', in A. Cameron, and S. Walker, edd., *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, BICS Supplement 55, London, 1989, 198-205.
- Boyd 1915 C. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*, Chicago, 1915.
- Braund and Wilkins 2000 D. Braund and J. Wilkins, edd., *Athenaeus and his World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, Exeter, 2000.
- Brown 1940 D.F. Brown, *Temples of Rome as Coin Variants, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 90*, New York, 1940.
- Bruce 1981 L.D. Bruce, 'A reappraisal of Roman libraries in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*', *JLH*, 1981, 551-73.
- Bruce 1983 L. D. Bruce, 'The *Procurator Bibliothecarum* at Rome', *JLH* Vol. 18 No. 2, Spring 1983, 143-162.
- Bruce 1986 L.D. Bruce, 'Palace and Villa Libraries from Augustus to Hadrian', *JLH* Vol. 21 No.3, Summer 1986, 510-552.
- Brunt 1971 P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225B.C. - A.D.14*, Oxford, 1971.
- Brunt 1978 P.A. Brunt, *Select Texts of the Digest* (unpublished typescript), 1978.
- Bruun 1991 C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki, 1991.
- Bruun 1993 C. Bruun, 'Lotores: Roman Bath-Attendants', *ZPE* 98, 1993, 222-8.
- Burzachechi 1963 M. Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche sulle antiche biblioteche del mondo Greco', *RAL* series 8a. 340, vol. 18, 1963, 75 – 96.
- Cagnat 1906 R. Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques Municipales dans l'Empire Romain', *MAI* xxxviii.1, 1906.
- Cagnat 1909 R. Cagnat, *Carthage, Timgad, Tébessa*, Paris, 1909.
- Caldelli 1993 M.L. Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitolinus: storia e protagonisti dall'istituzione domiziana al IV secolo*, Rome, 1993.
- Callmer 1944 C. Callmer, 'Antike Bibliotheken', *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom* 10 (*Opuscula archeologica* 3), 1944, 145-193.
- Calza 1941 G. Calza, 'Contributi alla storia della edilizia imperiale Romana', *Palladio* 5, 1941, 1-33.
- Camp 1986 J. Camp, *The Athenian Agora. Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, London, 1986.
- Cancik 1969 H. Cancik, 'Zur Geschichte der Aedes (Herculis) Musarum auf dem Marsfeld', *MDAI(R)* 76, 1969, 323-8.
- Canfora 1991 L. Canfora, *The Vanished Library*, tr. M. Ryler, London, 1991.
- Carettoni 1969 G. Carettoni, 'House of Augustus – I', *Illustrated London News* 20, September 1969, 24-5.

- Carettoni *et al.* 1960 G. Carettoni, A.M. Colini, L. Cozza, and G. Gatti, *La Pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, Rome, 1960.
- Carey 2003 S. Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History*, Oxford, 2003.
- Carretoni 1983 G. Carretoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin*, Mainz, 1983.
- Cassel 1891 P.S. Cassel, *Mischle Sindbad. Secundus-Syntipas, edirt, emendirt und erklärt. Einleitung und Deutung des Buches der Sieben weisen Meister*, Berlin, 1891.
- Casson 2001 L. Casson, *Libraries in the ancient world*, Yale, 2001.
- Castagnoli 1949 F. Castagnoli, 'Sulla Biblioteca del tempio di Apollo Palatino', *RAL Series 8*, vol. 4, 1949, 380-2.
- Castagnoli 1964 F. Castagnoli, 'Note sulla topografia del Palatino e del Foro Romano', *Arch Class* 16, 1964, 173-99.
- Castellani 1844 C. Castellani, *Le bibliotheca nell'antichità dai tempi più remoti alla fine dell'impero Romano d'Occidente*, Bologna, 1844.
- Cavallo 1983 G. Cavallo, *Libri, scritture, scribi a Ercolano (Cronache ercolanesi, supplemento 13/1)*, Naples, 1983.
- Cavallo 1988 G. Cavallo, *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, Rome-Bari, 1988.
- Cencetti 1940 G. Cencetti, 'Gli archive dell'antica Roma nell'eta repubblicana', *Archivi d'Italia*, Ser. 2, vii, 1940.
- Champlin 1982 E. Champlin, 'The suburbium of Rome,' *AJAH* 7, 1982, 97-117.
- Chastagnol 1962 A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Paris, 1962.
- Claridge 1993 A. Claridge, 'Hadrian's Column of Trajan', *JRA* 6, 1993, 5-22.
- Claridge 1998 A. Claridge, *Rome*, Oxford, 1998.
- Clift 1945 E.H. Clift, *Latin Pseudepigraphia; a study in Literary Attributions*, Baltimore, 1945.
- Coarelli 1973 F. Coarelli, *Roma*, London, 1973.
- Coarelli 1991 F. Coarelli, 'Le plan de via Anicia. Un nouveau fragment de la Forma Marmorea de Rome', in F. Hinard and M. Royo, edd., *Rome. L'espace urbain et ses représentations*, Paris, 1991, 65-81.
- Coarelli 2000 F. Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, Rome, 2000.
- Cockle 1987 W.E.H. Cockle, *Euripides, Hypsipyle, Text and Annotation based on a Re-examination of the Papyri*, Rome, 1987.
- Cohen 1880 H. Cohen, *Description historique des médailles frappés sous l'empire Romain*, tome 2, 2nd edition, 1880.
- Cohen 1979 S. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome. His Vita and Development as a Historian*, Leiden, 1979.
- Collart 1933 P. Collart, 'Inscriptions de Philippes', *BCH LVII*, 1933, 311-379.

- Corbier 1992 M. Corbier, 'De la maison d'Hortensius à la Curia sur le Palatin', *MEFRA* 104, 1992, 871-916.
- Cramer 1945 H. Cramer, 'Bookburning and Censorship in Augustan Rome', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6, 1945, 157-96.
- Dal Bosco and Grassi 2000 O. Dal Bosco and M. Grassi, *Libia mediterranea e romana*, 2nd ed., Florence, 2000.
- Dalzell 1955 A. Dalzell, 'Asinius Pollio and the Introduction of Recitation at Rome', *Hermathena* 86 (1955), 20-28.
- Davis 2000 J.E. Davis, *Identity and Social Change*, New Brunswick and London, 2000.
- de Fine Licht 1974 K. de Fine Licht, *Untersuchungen an den Traiansthermen zu Rom* (Analecta Instituti Danici, Supplementum VII), Copenhagen, 1974.
- de Franciscis 1975 A. de Franciscis, *Die pompejanischen Wandmalereien in der Villa von Oplontis*, Recklinghausen, 1975.
- de Gregori 1937 G. de Gregori, 'Biblioteche dell'antichità' *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 11, 1937.
- de Jorio 1825 A. de Jorio, *Officina de' papiri*, Naples, 1825.
- de Ruggiero 1895 E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico*, London, 1895.
- de Vleeschauwer 1958 H.J. de Vleeschauwer, 'Jules César et l'origine de la bibliothèque publique dans la Rome antique', *Mousaion* 28, Pretoria, 1958.
- Delorme 1960 J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 196, Paris, 1960.
- Deneauve 1990 J. Deneauve, 'Le Centre Monumental de Carthage. Un ensemble culturel sur la colline de Byrsa,' *Carthage et son territoire dans l'antiquité : Actes du IV^e colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord*, vol. 1, Paris, 1990.
- Devijver 1993 H. Devijver, 'The Inscriptions of the Neon-Library of Roman Sagalassos' in Waelkens and Poblome 1993, 107-123.
- Dix 1994 T. K. Dix, "'Public libraries" in Ancient Rome: Ideology and Reality' *Libraries and culture* Vol. 29 No. 3, Summer 1994, 282-296.
- Donaldson 1859 T. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, London, 1859.
- Dorandi 1983 T. Dorandi, 'Glutinatores', *ZPE* 50, 198, 25-28.
- Dumser 2002 E.A. Dumser, 'Palatium' in *ead.*, L. Haselberger, and D.G. Romano, edd., *Mapping Augustan Rome*, JRA Supplementary Series Number 50, 2002, 186.
- Dumser, Haselberger and Romano 2002 E.A. Dumser, L. Haselberger, and D.G. Romano, edd., *Mapping Augustan Rome*, JRA Supplementary Series Number 50, 2002.
- Duncan-Jones 1982 R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, Second Edition, Cambridge, 1982.

- Fantham 1996 E. Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture from Cicero to Apuleius*, Baltimore and London, 1996.
- Fedeli 1988 P. Fedeli, 'Biblioteche private e pubbliche a Roma e nel mondo romano' in Cavallo 1988, 29-64.
- Ferrari 1999 G. Ferrari, 'The geography of time. The Nile mosaic and the library of Praeneste', *Ostraka* 8, 1999, 359-386.
- Fraser 1993 A. Fraser, 'The Imperial Fora: their Dimensional Link' in R.T. and A. Scott, ed., *Eius virtutis studiosi: Classical and postclassical studies in memory of Frank Edward Brown*, Hanover, NH, 1993, 411-419.
- Funghi and Savorelli 1992 M.S. Funghi and G.M. Savorelli, 'Note papirologiche e paleografiche', *Tyche* 7, 1992, 75-88.
- Gager 1972 J.G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, Nashville, Tenn., and New York, 1972.
- Gallavotti 1941 C. Gallavotti, 'La libreria di una villa romana ercolanese', *Bollettino Istituto di Patologia del Libro* 3, 1941, 129-45.
- Garbelli 1894 F. Garbelli, *Le Biblioteche in Italia all'epoca Romana con un'appendice sulle antiche Biblioteche di Nineve ed Alessandria*, Milan, 1894.
- Ghislanzoni 1912 E. Ghislanzoni, 'Scavi nelle Terme Antoniniane', *Notizi degli Scavi di Antichità* 1912, 311-12.
- Gomoll 1935 H. Gomoll 'Suetons Bibliotheksgeschichtliche Nachrichten', *ZBB* 52, 1935, 381-7.
- Goodchild 1993 R. Goodchild, *Cyrene and Apollonia. An historical guide*. Rev. ed. Tripoli, 1993.
- Götze 1937 B. Götze 'Antike Bibliotheken', *JDAI* 52, 1937, 225-247.
- Grilli 1962 A. Grilli, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis Hortensius*, Milan, 1962.
- Grimal 1969 P. Grimal, *Les Jardins romaines*, Paris, 1943; rev. ed. 1969.
- Gros 1985 P. Gros, *Byrsa III: rapport sur les campagnes de fouilles de 1977 a 1980, la basilique orientale et ses abords*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 41, Rome, 1985.
- Guadet 1867 J. Guadet, *Mémoire de la restauration du Forum de Trajan*, Manuscripts 207 (text), 2748 (drawings), École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1867.
- Guéraud 1931 O. Guéraud, *ENTEUXEIS. Requêtes et plaints adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe s. av. J.-C.*, Cairo, 1931.
- Habicht 1969 C. Habicht, 'Die Inschriften des Asklepieions', *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII.3, Berlin, 1969.
- Haftmann 1939 W. Haftmann, *Das Italienische Säulenmonument, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, LV, Leipzig, 1939.
- Halbwachs 1985 M. Halbwachs, *Das collective Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*, Frankfurt, 1985.

- Hanson 1989 C. Hanson, 'Were there libraries in Roman Spain?', *Libraries & Culture* 24 No.2, Spring 1989, 198-216.
- Harris 1989 W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Harvard, 1989.
- Hartleben 1926 K. Lehmann Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, Leipzig, 1926.
- Haug 2001 A.Haug, 'Constituting the past – forming the present. The role of material culture in the Augustan period', *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 13 No.2, 2001, 111-123.
- Hauken 2003 T. Hauken, (with C. Tanriver and K. Akbiyikoglu), 'A New Inscription From Phrygia: A Rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the Imperial Estate at Tymion', *EA* 36, 2003, 33-44.
- Healy 1999 J. F. Healy, *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology*, Oxford, 1999.
- Heberdey 1904 R. Heberdey, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesus', (1904) *JÖAI* 8, 1905, Beiblatt 61.
- Heinz 1983 W. Heinz, *Römische Thermen: Badewesen und Badeluxus im Römischen Reich*, Munich, 1983.
- Heinz 1986 W. Heinz, 'Die "Terme Taurine" von Civitavecchia', *AW* 17/4, 1986, 22-43.
- Hill 1965 P.V. Hill, 'Some Architectural Variants of Trajan', *NC*, ser.7, 5, 1965.
- Hill 1970 P.V. Hill, *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome, AD 98-148*, London, 1970.
- Hill 1989 P.V. Hill, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types*, London, 1989.
- Hirschfeld 1963 O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1963 (original publication 1905).
- Hoepfner 1996 W. Hoepfner, *On Greek Libraries and Bookcases*, Berlin and New York, 1996.
- Holford-Strevens 1982 L. Holford-Strevens, 'Fact and Fiction in Aulus Gellius', *LCM* Vol. 7. May 1982, 65-8.
- Holford-Strevens 2003 L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius. An Antonine Scholar and his Achievement*, Rev. Ed., Oxford, 2003.
- Holford-Strevens and Vardi 2004 L. Holford Strevens and A. Vardi, edd., *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, Oxford, 2004.
- Hölscher 1993 T. Hölscher 'Mythen als Exempel der Geschichte' in F. Graf, ed., *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms. Colloquium Rauricum 3*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1993, 67-87.
- Hölscher 2001 T. Hölscher, 'Das Alter von Augen' in G. Melville, ed., *Institutionalität und Symbolisierung*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2001, 183-211.

- Hölscher 2004 T. Hölscher, *The language of images in Roman art* (= *Römische Bildsprache als Semantischesystem* tr. Snodgrass and Künzler-Snodgrass), Cambridge, 2004.
- Hopkins 1991 K. Hopkins, 'Conquest by book', in M. Beard et al., edd., *Literacy in the Roman World*, JRA Suppl. Series 1991, 133-58.
- Horsfall 1976 N. Horsfall, 'The Collegium Poetarum', *BICS* 23 (1976), 79-95.
- Horsfall 1981 N. Horsfall, 'Some problems of titlature in Roman Literary History', *BICS* 28, 1981, 103-14.
- Horsfall 1989 N. Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos: A Selection, Including the Lives of Cato and Atticus*, Oxford, 1989.
- Horsfall 1991 N. Horsfall, *Virgilio: l'epopea in Alambicco*, Naples, 1991.
- Horsfall 1991a N. Horsfall, 'Statistics or state of mind?' in M. Beard et al., edd., *Literacy in the Roman World*, JRA Suppl. Series 1991, 59-76.
- Horsfall 1992 N. Horsfall, "'Generic Composition" and Petronius' *Satyricon*", *SCI* 11, 1991/2, 123-138.
- Horsfall 1993 N. Horsfall, 'Empty shelves on the Palatine' *G&R* 40 (1993), 58-67.
- Houston 1996 G. W. Houston, 'Onesimus the Librarian', *ZPE* 114, 1996, 205-8.
- Houston 2001 G.W. Houston, review of Casson 2001, *Electronic Antiquity* Vol. 6 No.1, online resource, 2001.
- Houston 2002 G.W. Houston, 'The Slave and Freedman Personnel of Public Libraries in Ancient Rome', *TAPhA* Vol. 132, Nos. 1-2, 2002, 139-176.
- Hueber 1997 F. Hueber, *Ephesos. Gebaute Geschichte*, Sonderhefte der Antiken Welt, Mainz am Rhein, 1997.
- Hunger 1961 H. Hunger, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*. I. *Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen. Überlieferungsgeschichte der antiken Literatur*, Zurich, 1961.
- Hunink 2001 V. Hunink, 'Apology: Introduction', in S Harrison, J. Hilton and V. Hunink, *Apuleius. Rhetorical Works*, Oxford, 2001, 11-122.
- Husson 1983a G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris, 1983.
- Husson 1983b G. Husson, 'Un sense méconnu de θυρίς et de fenestra', *JJP* 19, 1983, 155-82.
- Ihm 1893 M. Ihm, 'Die Bibliotheken in alten Rom', *ZBB* 10, no.12, 1893, 513-32.
- İnan 1970 J. İnan, 'Kremna Kazısı Raporu', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XIX-II, 1970, 51-97.
- Jacob 2000 C. Jacob, 'Athenaeus the Librarian' in Braund and Wilkins 2000, 85-110.

- Jensen 1979 C. Jensen, *La biblioteca di Ercolano*, Saggi di papirologia ercolanese, Naples, 1979.
- Johnson 1984 L.L. Johnson, *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: studies pertaining to their Architectural Form*, Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1984.
- Jory 1968 J. Jory, 'P. Cornelius P.l. Surus: an epigraphical note', *BICS* 15, 1968, 125f.
- Keil 1863 K. Keil, 'Zwei griechische inschriften aus Delphi', *RhM* XVII, 1863.
- Keil 1923 J. Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos* III, Vienna, 1923.
- Kenney 1989 E.J. Kenney 'Books and Readers in the Ancient World' in id. and W.V. Clausen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, Vol. 2: *Latin Literature*, Cambridge, 1989.
- Kenyon 1970 Sir Frederic G Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 2nd edition (reprinted 1970, The College of Librarianship, Wales).
- Kiessling 1963 T. Kiessling, ed., *Iohannis Tzetzae Historiarum Variarum Chiliades*, Repr. Hildesheim, 1963.
- Kinney 1986 D. Kinney, 'Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in Sta. Maria in Trastevere', *ABull* LXVII, 1986, 379-96.
- Konstantinopoulos 1990 G. Konstantinopoulos, 'The town plan of Hellenistic Rhodes' in *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongress für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 1988*, Berlin, 1990, 65-9.
- Kontoleon 1889 A.M. Kontoleon, 'ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΣΣΟΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ', *JDAI Athenische Mitteil* XIV, 1889.
- Kontorini 1975 V. Kontorini, 'Le roi Hiempsal II de Numidie et Rhodes', *AC* 44, 1975, 89-99.
- Krieg 1974 W. Krieg, ed., *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, Köln, 1974.
- La Rocca 1985 E. LaRocca, *Amazxonomachia. Le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano*, Rome, 1985.
- La Rocca 1988 E. LaRocca, ed., 'Der Apollo-Sosianus-Tempel' in M. Hoftler, ed., *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik: eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 7. Juni-14. August, 1988*, 121-29.
- La Rocca 1998 E. La Rocca, 'Artisti rodii negli horti romani' in id. and M. Cima, ed., *Horti Romani. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Roma, 4-6 Maggio 1995. BCAR supp.6*, Rome, 1998, 203-74.
- La Rocca 1998b E. LaRocca, 'Il Foro di Traiano e i fori tripartite', *MDAI(R)* 105, 1998, 149-73.
- Lafaye 1927 G. Lafaye, ed., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1927.
- Lancel 1995 S. Lancel, *Carthage. A history*. tr. A. Nevill, Oxford, 1995.

- Lanciani 1893 R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1893-1901.
- Langie 1908 A. Langie, *Les bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'empire romain: précédé d'un coup d'oeil rétrospectif sur les bibliothèques publiques antérieures*, Fribourg University, 1908.
- Le Bas and Waddington 1877 P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure : fait par ordre du Gouvernement Français pendant les années 1843 et 1844 et publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, Paris, 1847-77.
- Leon 1971 C.F. Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforum und ihre Stellung in der früh- und mittelkaiserzeitlichen Architekturdekoration Roms. Publikationen des österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom 1.4*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz, 1971.
- Lepper and Frere 1988 F. Leppard and S. Frere, *Trajan's Column*, Gloucester, 1988.
- Lieu 2004 S. Lieu, 'Scholars and Students in the Roman East' in MacLeod 2004, Ch.7, 127-142.
- Lindsay 1930 W.M. Lindsay, *Festus*, in W. M. Lindsay and J. W. Pirie, edd., *Glossaria Latina*, vol. IV, Paris, 1930, 71-506.
- Ling 1991 R. Ling, 'The Architecture of Pompeii', *JRA* 4, 1991, 248-56.
- Lobel and Turner 1959 E. Lobel and E.G. Turner, 'Acta Alexandrinorum?', *The Oxyrynchus Papyri* 25, 1959, 102-12.
- Luce 1990 T.J. Luce, 'Livy, Augustus, and the *forum Augustum*' in K.A. Raaflaub and M. Toher, (edd.), *Between Republic and Empire*, Berkeley, 1990, 123-38.
- Lugli 1927 G. Lugli, 'Studi topografici intorno alle antiche ville suburbane: VI – Villa Adriana', *BCAR* 55, 1927, 139-204.
- Lugli 1938 G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio, Vol. III*, Rome, 1938.
- Lugli 1946 G. Lugli, *Roma Antica: il Centro monumentale*, Rome, 1946.
- Maccanico 1963 R. Maccanico, 'Ginnasi Romani ad Efeso', *ArchClass* 15, 1963, 32-60.
- MacDonald 1982 W. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, Revised Edition, Yale, 1982.
- MacLeod 2004 R. MacLeod, ed., *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World*, London and New York, 2004.
- Magie 1932 D. Magie, ed. and tr., *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1921-32.
- Makowiecka 1978 E. Makowiecka, *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of Roman Library* [sic], Warsaw, 1978.
- Malcovati 1955 H. Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, Turin, 1955.

- Manacorda 1999 D. Manacorda, 'Per l'edizione del secondo colombario Codini: Il problema epigrafico nel contesto archeologico'. *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina. Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997*, Rome, 1999, Vol. II 251-60.
- Manderscheid 1981 H. Manderscheid, *Die skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*, Berlin, 1981.
- Mangaro 1974 G. Mangaro, 'Una biblioteca storica nell'ginnasio di Tauromenion e il P. Oxy. 1241', *PP* XXIX, 1974, 389-409.
- Mansel 1963 A.M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side*, Berlin, 1963.
- Mansel 1978 A.M. Mansel, *Side*, Ankara, 1978.
- Marec and Pflaum 1952 E. Marec and H.-G. Pflaum, 'Nouvelle inscription sur la carrière de Suétone, l'historien', *CRAI* 1952, 76-85 = *L'Année Epigraphique*, Paris, 1953, No. 73.
- Marrou 1932 H. Marrou, 'La vie intellectuelle au Forum de Trajan et au Forum d'Auguste', *MEFR* 49, 1932, 93-110.
- Marshall 1976 A.J. Marshall, 'Library resources and creative writing at Rome', *Phoenix* 30, 1976, 252-64.
- Martin 1971 R. Martin, *Recherches sur les agronomes latins et sur leurs conceptions économiques et sociales*, Paris, 1971.
- Marvin 1983 M. Marvin, 'Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla', *AJA* 87, 1983, 347-384.
- Mauri 1925 A. Mauri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence, 1925.
- Mayer-Maly 1961 Th. Mayer-Maly, 'L. Volusius Maecianus' in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* vol. 9A, 1961, cols. 904-906.
- McKay 1975 A. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*, London, 1975.
- McKenzie, Gibson, and Reyes 2004 J. McKenzie, S. Gibson, and A. Reyes, 'Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence', *JRS* 94, 2004, 73-121.
- Mémoire* 1994 *La mémoire perdue. A la recherche des archives oubliées, publiques et privées, de la Rome antique*, Paris, 1994.
- Mémoire* 1998 *La mémoire perdue. Recherches sur l'administration Romaine*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, Rome, 1998.
- Meneghini 1993 R. Meneghini, 'Nuovi dati sulle biblioteche e il *Templum Divi Traiani* nel Foro di Traiano', *Bollettino di archeologia*, 19-21, 1993, 13-22.
- Meneghini 1996 R. Meneghini, '*Templum Divi Traiani*', *BCAR* 97, 1996, 47-88.
- Meneghini 1998 R. Meneghini, 'L'architettura del Foro di Traiano attraverso i ritrovamenti archeologici più recenti', *MDAI(R)* 105, 1998, 127-48.

- Meneghini 2001a R. Meneghini, 'La nuova imagine architettonica del Foro di Traiano', in F. Farina et al., edd., *Tra Damasco e Roma. L'architettura di Apollodoro nella cultural classica*, Rome, 2001, 48-65.
- Meneghini 2001b R. Meneghini, 'Il foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale', *MDAI(R)* 108, 2001, 245-65.
- Meneghini 2002 R. Meneghini, 'Nuovi dati sulla funzione e le fasi costruttive delle "biblioteche" del Foro di Traiano', *MEFRA* 114-2, 2002, 655-692.
- Meritt 1966 B. Meritt, *Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora*, Princeton, 1966.
- Merten 1983 E.W. Merten, *Bäder und Badegepflogenheiten in der Darstellung der Historia Augusta*, Bonn, 1983.
- Milkau and Leyh 1950 F. Milkau and G. Leyh, edd., *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, Wiesbaden, 1950-1960.
- Miltner 1958 F. Miltner, *Ephesos: Stadt der Artemis und des Johannes*, Vienna, 1958.
- Moretti 1968 L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1968.
- Moretti 1984 L. Moretti, 'Frammenti vecchi e nuovi del Commentario dei Ludi secolari del 17 a.C.', *RPAA* 55-56, 1982-4, 361-79.
- Morgan 1998 T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 1998.
- Morgan 2004 T. Morgan, 'Educational Values', in L. Holford Strevens and A. Vardi, edd., *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, Oxford, 2004, Ch. 7, 187-205.
- Murphy 2004 T. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia*, Oxford, 2004.
- Nardini 1820 F. Nardini, *Roma Antica*, 4th ed., Rome, 1818-1820.
- Nash 1968 E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2nd Ed., New York, 1968.
- Naumann 1932 R. Naumann, *Der Quellbezirk von Nimes*, Berlin, 1932.
- Nibby 1818 A. Nibby & F. Nardini, *Roma Antica*, Rome, 1818.
- Nibby 1839 A. Nibby *Roma nell'anno 1838. Part 2, Antica*. Rome, 1839.
- Nicholls 2005 M.C. Nicholls, 'Pliny's Ethnography', *Classical Review* 55, 2005, 548-50.
- Nicolai 1987 R. Nicolai, 'Le biblioteche dei ginnasi,' *Nuovi annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecare* 1, 1987, 17-48.
- Nicolai 2000 R. Nicolai, 'Review of Jocelyn Penny Small "Wax Tablets of the Mind, Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity"', *Athenaeum* 88, 2000, Fascicolo I, 343-347.
- Nielsen 1990 I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*, Aarhus, 1990.

- Oliver and Palmer 1954 J.H. Oliver and R.E.A. Palmer, 'Text of the Tabula Hebana' *AJPh* 75 No.3, 1954, 225-49.
- Otranto 2000 R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, Rome, 2000.
- Packer 1993 J. Packer, 'The West Library in the Forum of Trajan: the architectural problem and some solutions' in R.T. and A. Scott, edd., *Eius virtutis studiosi: Classical and postclassical studies in memory of Frank Edward Brown*, Hanover NH, 1993, 421-446.
- Packer 1997 J. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome. A Study of the Monuments, I-III*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997.
- Packer 2001 J. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome. A Study of the Monuments in Brief*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2001.
- Packer 2003 J. Packer, 'Templum Divi Traiani Parthici et Plotinae: a debate with R. Meneghini', *JRA* 16, 2003, 109-136.
- Palmer 1978 R.E.A. Palmer, 'C. Verres' legacy of charm and love to the city of Rome: a new document', *RPA* 51-2 (1978-9, 1979-80), 111-36.
- Papachristodoulou 1990 I. Papachristodoulou, 'Das hellenistische Gymnasium von Rhodos. Neues zu seiner Bibliothek', *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongress für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 1988*, Berlin, 1990, 500f.
- Paribeni 1932 R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Rome, 1932.
- Pensa 1970 M. Pensa 'L'architettura traiana attraverso le emissioni monetali coeve', *Atti del Centro Studi e Documentazione sull'Italia Romana 2* (1969-70), 265-74.
- Pensabene 1989 P. Pensabene *et al.*, 'Foro Traiano. Contributi per una ricostruzione storica e architettonica', *Arch. Class.* 41, 1989, 27-292.
- Pfeiffer 1931 H. Pfeiffer, 'The Roman Library at Timgad', *MLAR* IX, 1931, 157-65.
- Pfeiffer 1968 R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford, 1968.
- Pflaum 1961 H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris, 1960-61.
- Piranomonte and Capodiferro 1994 M. Piranomonte and A. Capodiferro, 'Terme di Caracalla. Lo scavo della biblioteca sud-ovest', *La Ciudad en el mundo romano. Actas del XIV congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica, Tarragona 1993*, Tarragona, 1994, 333-5.
- Platner and Ashby 1929 S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929.
- Platthy 1968 J. Platthy, *Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries with Testimonia*, Amsterdam, 1968.
- Purcell 1993 N. Purcell, 'Atrium Libertatis', *PBSR* 61 (1993), 125-55.
- Rabe 1926 H. Rabe, ed., *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, Leipzig, 1926.

- Ramage and Ramage 1995 N.H. Ramage and A. Ramage, *Roman Art*, 2nd Edition, London, 1995.
- Rawson 1985 E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, London, 1985.
- Reinach 1906 T. Reinach, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', *REG* 19, 1906, 79-150.
- Reynolds 1982 J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, London, 1982.
- Richardson 1977 L. Richardson Jr., 'The Libraries of Pompeii', *Archaeology* 30, 1977, 394-402.
- Richardson 1992 L. Richardson Jr., *New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, 1992.
- Robert 1979 L. Robert, 'Bulletin Épigraphique', *REG* 89, 1979, no. 820.
- Rodenwaldt 1926 G. Rodenwaldt, '[review of] Lehner, *Das Römerlager Vetera bei Xanten*,' *Gnomon* 2, 1926, 337-43.
- Rodriguez Valcárcel 2004 J.A. Rodriguez Valcárcel, 'Procurator Bibliothecae Augusti: los bibliotecarios del emperador en los inicios de las bibliotecas públicas en Roma', *Anales de Documentacion* No.7, 2004, 231-239.
- Rodríguez-Almeida 1981 E. Rodríguez-Almeida, *Forma Urbis marmorea. Aggiornamento generale 1980*, Rome, 1981.
- Rosati 1955 F. Panvini Rosati, 'Osservazioni sui tipi monetali romani raffigurati monumenti di Roma', *RIN*, vol. 3, ser. 5, 57, 1955.
- Rosati 1958 F. Panvini Rosati, 'La colonna sulle monete di Traiano', *AIIN* V, 1958, 29-40.
- Roueché 1993 C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias*, London, 1993.
- Rowell 1941 H.T. Rowell, 'Vergil and the Forum of Augustus', *AJPh* 62, 1941, 262-71.
- Rubensohn 1907 O. Rubensohn, *Elephantine Papyri, mit Beiträgen von W. Schubart und W. Spiegelberg*, Berlin, 1907.
- Ruggiero 1885 M. Ruggiero, *Storia degli scavi di Ercolano ricomposta su' documenti superstiti*, Naples, 1885.
- Russell 1997 J. Russell, review of Waelkens 1993 and Waelkens and Poblome 1993 and 1995, *JRA* 10, 1997, 537-544.
- Sallman 1995 K. Sallman, 'Erzählendes in der Apologie des Apuleius oder Argumentation also Unterhaltung', *GCN* 6, 1995, 137-58.
- Sandys 1925 J. Sandys, ed., *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1925.
- Schanz-Hosius M. Schanz, *Geschichte d. römischen Literatur*, rev. 1⁴ (1927) and 2⁴ (1935) by C. Hosius; 3³ (1922), Hosius and Krüger; 4/1² (1914) and 4/2 (1920), Schanz, Hosius, and Krüger.
- Schazmann 1923 P. Schazmann, *Das Gymnasion* (Altertümer von Pergamon Vol. VI) Berlin, 1923.
- Scherrer 2000 P. Scherrer, ed., *Ephesus, The New Guide*, Ephesus, 2000.

- Scott and Webster 2003 S. Scott and J. Webster, edd., *Provincial Art and Roman Imperialism*, Cambridge, 2003.
- Sear 1982 F. Sear, *Roman Architecture*, London, 1982.
- Seeck 1885 O. Seeck, *Die Kalendartafel der Pontifices*, Berlin, 1885.
- Sève 1990 M. Sève, "Sur le taille des rayonnages dans les bibliothèques antiques", *RPh Troisième Série* LXIV 117, 1990, 173-9.
- Shear 1935 T. L. Shear, 'The campaign of 1933', *Hesperia* IV, 1935, 311-339.
- Sherwin-White 1966 A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford, 1966.
- Sider 1990 S. Sider, 'Herculaneum's Library in 79 AD: The Villa of the Papyri', *Libraries and Culture* Vol. 25 No. 4, Fall 1990, 534-542.
- Sider 2005 D. Sider, *The Library of the Villa Dei Papyri at Herculaneum*, Los Angeles, 2005.
- Sisson 1929 M.A. Sisson, 'The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens', *PBSR* XI, 1929, 50-72.
- Small 1997 J.P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind. Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity*, London, 1997.
- Smith 1875 W. Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London, 1875.
- Smith 1998 R.R.R. Smith, 'Cultural choice and political identity in honorific portrait statues in the Greek East in the second century AD', *JRS* 88, 1998, 56-93.
- Spetsieri-Choremi 1995 A. Spetsieri-Choremi, "Library of Hadrian at Athens: Recent Finds," *Ostraka* 4, 1995, 137-47.
- Stevenson 2004 A.J. Stevenson, 'The Roman Antiquarian Tradition', in L. Holford-Strevens and A. Vardi, edd., *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, Oxford, 2004, 118-58.
- Stilp 2001 F. Stilp, 'Mariage et Suovetaurilia: Etude sur le Soi-disant "Autel Ahenobarbus"', *RdA Supplementi* 26, Rome, 2001.
- Stok 1985 F. Stok, 'Il pauperismo di Apuleio', *Index* 13, 1985, 353-86.
- Strack 1931 P. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts: i die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Traian*, Stuttgart, 1931.
- Strocka 1978 V. Strocka, 'Zur Datierung der Celsusbibliothek', *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology 1973*, 1978, 893-99.
- Strocka 1981 V. Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', *Gymnasium* 88, 1981, 298-329.
- Strong 1973 D. Strong, 'Roman Museums', in *id.*, ed., *Archaeological Theory and Practice, Essays presented to W.F. Grimes*, London and New York, 1973, 247-264.
- Strzygowski 1901 J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901.
- Syme 1958 Sir Ronald Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford, 1958.

- Szzyner 1968 M. Szzyner. 'La littérature Punique', *Archéologie vivante* I.2, 1968, 14-8.
- Tamm 1961 B. Tamm, 'Le Temple des Muses à Rome', *Opuscula Romana* 3 (= *Skrifter Utgiuna av Svenska Institutet I Rom*, 4th series, No.21), 1961, 157-167.
- Tamm 1970 B. Tamm, *Neros Gymnasium in Rom*, Stockholm, 1970.
- Thiersch 1938 H. Thiersch, 'Die Athena Areia des Phidias un der Torso Medici in Paris', *NAWG*, N.F. II, 10, 1938.
- Thomas 1993 E.V. Thomas, *The Monumentality of Roman Architecture AD 98-180*, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1993.
- Thompson 1940 J.W. Thompson, *Ancient Libraries*, Hamden, 1940.
- Thompson 1950 H. A. Thompson, 'Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1949', *Hesperia* 19, 1950, 313-337.
- Thompson 1966 H.A. Thompson, 'Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1960-1965', *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 37-54.
- Thompson 1968 H. A. Thompson, 'Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966-1967', *Hesperia* 37, 1968, 36-72.
- Thompson 1968 L.S. Thompson, 'Roman and Greek libraries' in A. Kent, H. Lancour, and J. E. Daily, edd., *Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science* (ELIS), New York, 1968 - .
- Thompson 1981 D.L. Thompson, 'The Meetings of the Roman Senate on the Palatine', *AJA* 85, 1981, 335-9.
- Thompson and Wycherley 1957 H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora III*, Princeton, 1957.
- Tønsberg 1976 J. Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker I Romerriget det 2 Århundrede e. Chr.*, Copenhagen, 1976.
- Too 2000 Y. L. Too, 'The Walking Library', in Braund and Wilkins 2000, 111-123.
- Toynbee 1965 A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy: the Hannibalic War's effects on Roman life*, London, 1965.
- Travlos 1971 J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971.
- Turner 1978 E.G. Turner, *The Terms recto and verso, The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*, (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 16), Brussels, 1978.
- Väänänen 1973 V. Väänänen, *Le iscrizioni della necropoli dell'autoparco vaticano*, Rome, 1973.
- Vacca 1594 F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma* 1594, published 1704.
- Vallance 2004 J. Vallance, 'Doctors in the Library: The Strange Tale of Apollonius the Bookworm and Other Stories' in Macleod 2004, Ch.5, 95-113.

- van de Woestyne 1929 P. van de Woestyne, 'Un ami d'Ovid, C. Julius Hyginus', *Musée Belge : Revue de Philologie Classique* 33, 1929, 31-45.
- Vandeput 1997 L. Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: a Case Study*, Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology 1, Turnhout, 1997.
- Vardi 2004 A. Vardi, 'Genres, Convention, Cultural Programme' in L. Holford Strevens and A. Vardi, edd., *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, Oxford, 2004, 159-186.
- Veyne 1967 P. Veyne, 'Autour d'un commentaire de Plinie le jeune', *Latomus* 26, 1967, 723-51.
- Videman 1982 L. Videman, ed., *Fasti Ostienses*, Prague, 1982.
- von Gaertringen 1906 F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin, 1906.
- Waelkens 1989 M. Waelkens, 'Hellenistic and Roman Influence in the Architecture of Asia Minor' in A. Cameron and S. Walker, edd., *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, BICS Supplement 55, London, 1989, 77-88.
- Waelkens 1993 M. Waelkens, (ed.), *Sagalassos I: First General Report on the Survey (1986 – 1989) and Excavations (1990-1991)*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 5, Leuven, 1993.
- Waelkens 2002 M. Waelkens, 'The Transformation of the Public and Sacred Landscapes in Early Imperial Sagalassos', in *id.* and C. Berns, H. von Hesberg, and L. Vandeput, edd., *Patris und Imperium. Kulturelle und politische Identität in den Städten der römischen Provinzen Kleinasien in der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Babesch (Bulletin Antieke Beschaving) Supplement 8, Leuven, 2002, 63-74.
- Waelkens and Poblome 1993 M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, edd., *Sagalassos II: Report on the third excavation campaign of 1992*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 6, Leuven, 1993.
- Waelkens and Poblome 1995 M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, edd., *Sagalassos III: Report on the fourth excavation campaign of 1993*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 7, Leuven, 1995.
- Waelkens and Poblome 1997 M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, edd., *Sagalassos IV: Report on the survey and excavation campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 9, Leuven, 1997.
- Waelkens and Poblome 2000 M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, edd., *Sagalassos V: Report on the survey and excavation campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 9, Leuven, 2000.
- Wallace-Hadrill 1983 A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and His Caesars*, New Haven, 1983.
- Wankel 1979 H. Wankel *et al.*, edd., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, Bonn, 1979 - .

- Ward-Perkins 1948 J. Ward-Perkins, 'Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna', *JRS* 38, 1948, 59-80.
- Ward-Perkins 1970 J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early Provincial Architecture of the Roman West', *JRS* 60, 1970, 1-19.
- Ward-Perkins 1976 J.B. Ward-Perkins 'Columna divi Antonini', in P. Ducrey *et. al.*, edd., *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart*, Lausanne, 1976, 345-352.
- Ward-Perkins 1981 J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 2nd edition, (2nd impression), Yale, 1994.
- Weaver 1972 P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge, 1972.
- Weaver and Wilkins 1993 P. R. C. Weaver and P. I. Wilkins, 'A Lost Alumna', *ZPE* 99, 1993, 241-44.
- Wendel 1943 C. Wendel, 'Der Antike Bücherschrank', *NAWG*, 1943, 267-299.
- Wendel 1949 C. Wendel, 'Die bauliche Entwicklung der antiken Bibliothek', *ZBB* 63, 1949, 407-428.
- Wendel 1949a C. Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients*, (Hallesche Monographien, 3), Halle, 1949.
- Wendel 1974 C. Wendel, 'Neues aus alten Bibliotheken I' in Krieg 1974, 13-17.
- Wendel 1974a C. Wendel, 'Neues aus alten Bibliotheken II' in Krieg 1974, 18-27.
- Wendel 1974b C. Wendel, 'Der antike Bücherschrank' in Krieg 1974, 64-92.
- White 1978 P. White, 'Amicitia and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome', *JRS* 68, 1978, 74-92.
- Wilhelm 1933 A. Wilhelm, 'Zu einer Inschrift aus dem Heiligtum des Amphiaraios, Basileus Leonardos zum Gedächtnis', *JÖAI* 28, 1933, 52-61.
- Wilson-Jones 2000 M. Wilson-Jones, *The principles of Roman architecture*, New Haven, 2000.
- Winter 1969 T.N. Winter, 'The Publication of Apuleius' Apology', *TAPhA* 100, 1969, 607-12.
- Wiseman 1985 T.P. Wiseman, *Roman political life 90 BC – AD 69*, Exeter, 1985.
- Wiseman 1994 T.P. Wiseman, 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo', in *id.*, *Historiography and Imagination. Eight essays on Roman culture*, Exeter, 1994, 98-115.
- Wiseman 1994 T.P. Wiseman, 'The Origins of Roman Historiography' in *id.*, ed., *Historiography and Imagination. Eight essays on Roman culture*, Exeter, 1994, 1-22.
- Wissemann 1984 M. Wissemann, 'Das Personal des antiken römischen Bades', *Glotta* 62, 1984, 80-89.

- Wojcik 1986 M.R. Wojcik, *La villa dei papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla ricostruzione dell'ideologia della nobilitas tardorepubblicana*, Rome, 1986.
- Woolf 2003 G. Woolf, 'The City of Letters' in *id.* and C. Edwards, ed., *Rome the Cosmopolis*, Cambridge, 2003, Ch. 10, 203- 221.
- Yegül 1992 F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, New York, 1992.
- Yildiz 2003 N. Yıldiz, *Antikçağ Kütüphaneleri*, Istanbul, 2003.
- Zanker 1970 P. Zanker, 'Das Trajansforum in Rom', *AA* 85 (1970), 499-544.
- Zanker 1977 P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Munich, 1977.
- Zanker 1983 P. Zanker, 'Der Apollontempel auf dem Palatin', *Città e Architettura nella Roma Imperiale. Atti del Seminario del 27 Ottobre 1981 nel 25o anniversario dell'Accademia du Danimarca*, ARID Suppl X., 1983, 21-40.
- Zanker 1988 P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans H.A Shapiro, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1988.



APPENDICES

I	Trajan's Column, the Basilica Ulpia, and the Temple of the Deified Trajan on Trajanic coins.	1
II	Officials in charge of Roman libraries.	21
III	Library staff at Rome.	28
IV	Provincial libraries.	32
V	Miscellaneous inscriptions.	57





Appendix 1

Trajan's Column, the Basilica Ulpia, and the Temple of the
Deified Trajan on Trajanic coins.



APPENDIX 1: Trajan's Column, the Basilica Ulpia, and the Temple of the Deified Trajan on Trajanic coins.

Table 1: coins showing the Temple of the Deified Trajan (17)

Points of interest:

Four-step stylobate (rather than three) 1,5	Single-step stylobate (rather than three) 13	Three acroterial statues (rather than five) 1-5	Flanking colonnades with five columns in each 1-3	Flanking colonnades with four columns in each 4-5	Seated cult figure (rather than standing) 1-5	Cult statue under an arch [lintel] 8 /9, 13]	Cult statue has sceptre (?) and cornucopia (?) 8-13
------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------

Table 2: coins showing the Column of Trajan (34)

Points of interest:

Plain column (21) 2, 3-7, 9, 11-13, 18-27, 29	Clockwise spiral column (3) 1, 30-32	Anticlockwise spiral column (9) 8,10,14-17, 28, 33-34	Eagles and garland at base of column (17) 3, 8-17, 21, 27(?)8, 32-4	Eagles only at base of column (11) 1, 4-7, 18-20, 25-6, 30, 31	Only garland at base of column (3) 22-4	No eagles or garland at base of column (2) 2, 29	Balustrade below statue (8) 10, 16, 22-4, 26, 31, 34
Owl instead of statue on column (2) 1, 29, 30	Statue with sceptre in right hand (instead of left) (1) 32	Statue definitely clothed/draped (5) 26-8,31,33	Statue definitely nude (2) 14,22	Column base divided into schematised blocks (2) 1, 26	Plain column base with door only (13) 2, 7, 9, 11-13, 18- 21, 25, 27, 32	Worked column base with door (15) 3-6, 8, 10, 16-17, 22-4, 29-31, 33-34	





Table 3: coins showing other elements of Trajan's Forum (8)







Table 4: other coins (for comparison) (3)

Notes:


- ❖ The numbers in the leftmost column of the following tables are those by which reference is made to the coins in the text of this thesis.
- ❖ Catalogue and plate numbers, except where otherwise indicated, are those of *B.M.C. Emp III* (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum Vol III: Nerva to Hadrian*, British Museum (London), 1936). I have followed Mattingly's dating criteria.
- ❖ Descriptions of unpictured coins are adapted from *B.M.C. Emp III*; those of the pictured coins are my own and differ from Mattingly's in points of detail.
- ❖ Several coins from other collections are included, and their identity is indicated by footnotes.
- ❖ The coins are arranged (roughly) in chronological order, and within dated groups by *B.M.C. Emp III* catalogue number where applicable. Similar or duplicate coins are grouped together.

Table 1: The Temple of the Deified Trajan

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
1	863	32.8	Sestertius	104-11 (c.111: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle Temple on four step stylobate. Seated cult figure. Three acroterial statues: central figure with spear and flanking Victories holding trophies. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures. Colonnaded porticoes with five columns to sides and rear.
2	864	32.9	Sestertius	104-11 (c.111: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle Temple on three step stylobate. Seated cult figure. Three acroterial statues: central figure with spear and flanking Victories Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures. Colonnaded porticoes with five columns to sides and rear.
3	865	N/A	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
4	866	N/A	“ “	“ “		“ “		S.P.Q.R OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	“ “ Colonnades show four columns only
5	958	37.8	Sestertius	104-11 (c.111: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle Temple on four step stylobate. Seated cult figure. Three acroterial statues. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures. Colonnaded porticoes with four columns to sides and rear.
6	354	15.5	Aureus	103-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P		COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	Octastyle temple on three step stylobate Cult statue: man standing front, head l. Five acroterial statues, holding patera and sceptre (l) and spears/shields/patera (r.); centre figure with cornucopia and sceptre (?)

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
7	857	32.5	Sestertius	104-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle temple on three step stylobate Cult statue: togate man standing front, head r. Five acroterial statues with spears/shields. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures.
8	858	32.6	Sestertius	104-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle temple on three step stylobate Cult statue under an arch (?): standing man with sceptre in right hand and cornucopia in left. Five acroterial statues with thunderbolts, spears, shields. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures.

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
9	859	32.7	Sestertius	104-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle temple on three step stylobate Cult statue under a lintel: standing man with sceptre in right hand and cornucopia in left. Five acroterial statues, holding spears/shields; centre figure with cornucopia (left hand) and patera and altar (r.). Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures.
10	860	N/A	"	"	"	"	"	"	" (details obscure)
11	861	N/A	"	"	"	"	"	"	" (details obscure)
12	862	N/A	"	"	"	"	"	"	" (details obscure)
13	915	35.3	Sestertius	104-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle temple on single step stylobate Cult statue: standing man with sceptre in right hand and cornucopia in left. Five acroterial statues with spears. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures.










#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
14	916	35.4	Sesterlius	104-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle temple on three step stylobate Cult statue: standing man. Five acroterial statues; statue in centre has spear in left hand. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures.
15	955	37.7	Sesterlius	104-11 (c.107-108: Lepper and Frere 1988, Strack 1931)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue	Octastyle temple on three step stylobate Cult statue: standing man. Five acroterial statues with spears; centre statue has right arm raised. Pedimental group of seated figure between two reclining figures.
16	956	N/A	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " Details obscure
17	957	N/A	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " Details mainly obscure; in centre of pediment figure seated front with sceptre in left hand








Table 2: Trajan's Column







#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
1	(*) ¹	(*)	Sestertius	107?		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Clockwise spiral column Eagles at base Worked base divided into schematised blocks Owl facing left and looking front
2	(**) ²	(**)	Sestertius	c.110-1		...COS V ...		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Plain column No eagles or garland at base Base with door only Statue with sceptre in left hand
3	(*) ³	(*)	Sestertius	112-4		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Plain column Eagles and garland at base Worked base with door Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)

¹ (*) 5th consulship of Trajan: Vienna, Bundessammlung. Reverse picture: Becatti 1960, Tav. 2. Date and obverse picture: Strack 1931, no. 386.







² (**) Late 5th consulship of Trajan: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Plate from Becatti 1960, Tav. 2 (where the obverse is not pictured).



³ (*) Sixth consulship of Trajan: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Plate from Becatti 1960, Tav. 3. The date here follows Mattingly's criteria.




#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
4	971	N/A	Sesterlius	112-114		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Plain column Eagles only at base Worked base with door Statue with spear in left hand (and Victory in right?)
5	993	N/A	Dupondius	112-114		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	As 971 - Mattingly
6	972	38.3	Sesterlius	112-114		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Plain column Eagles only at base Worked (?) base with door Statue with spear in left hand (and Victory in right?)
7	994	39.4	Dupondius	112-114		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Plain column Eagles only at base Base with door only Statue: standing man (details obscure)


#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
8	995	39.5	Dupondius	112-114		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Anti-clockwise spiral (?) column Eagles and garland at base Decorated base with door Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
9	1003	40.1	As	112-14		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Plain column Eagles and garland at base Base with door only Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
10	1004	40.2	As	112-14		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Anti-clockwise spiral column Eagles and garland at base Decorated base with door Balustrade Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
11	449	16.19	Aureus	112-14		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI	Plain column Eagles and garland at base Base with door only Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
12	450	N/A	" "	" "		" "		" "	" "
13	451	N/A	Denarius	" "		" "		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	" "
14	452	16.20	Denarius	112-14		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	Anti-clockwise spiral column Eagles and garland at base Base missing Nude (?) statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
15	453	N/A	" "	" "		" "		" "	" "
16	454	17.1	Denarius	112-14		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	Anti-clockwise spiral column. Eagles and garland at base Decorated base with door Balustrade Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
17	455	17.2	Denarius	112-14		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI	Anti-clockwise spiral column Eagles and garland at base Decorated base with door Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
18	522	18.11	Denarius	114-6		IMP TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P		COS VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R	Plain column Eagles only at base Base with door only. Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
19	523	N/A	"	"		"		COS VI PP SPQR	"
20	524	N/A	"	"		"		COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R	"
21	565	19.11	Denarius	114-6		IMP CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC		PM TR P COS VI PP. SPQR	Plain column Eagles and garland at base Base with door only: Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)





#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
22	566	19.12	Denarius	114-6		IMP CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC		PM TR P COS VI PP SPQR	Plain column Garland only at base Balustrade; Worked base with door Statue (nude?) with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
23	567	N/A	"	"	"	"	"	P.M. TR P COS VI PP SPQR.	" "
24	568	N/A	"	"	"	"	"	PM TR P COS VI PP SPQR	" "
25	665	21.15	Aureus	Unclear		Basilica with FORVM TRAIAN		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI.	Plain column Eagles only at base Base with door only Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
26	667	21.16	Denarius	Unclear		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI	Plain column Eagles only at base Schematically divided base with door Balustrade Tuniced statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?). Contraposto different to most others
27	1016	40.11	Sestertius	114-6		IMP CAES TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS SC	Plain column Eagles and garland at base (?) Base with door only. Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?).

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
28	1024	41.6	Sestertius	114-6		IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS SC	Anti-clockwise spiral (?) column Eagles and garland at base Worked (?) base with door Draped statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
29	1025	41.7 ⁴	Sestertius	114-6		IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS SC	Plain column Three step podium with owl on top facing left and looking front
30	(*) ⁵	(*)	Sestertius	114-6? 103-11 RIC		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS SC	Clockwise spiral column (?) Eagles at base Base with door Owl on top

⁴ This image is courtesy of the staff of the coin room of the British Museum, to whom I am grateful for access to this and other coins.

⁵ Cohen 1880, No. 357, Strack 1931 App. 1.14.

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
31	(**) ⁶	42.3	Dupondius	114-6		IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS SC	Clockwise spiral column Eagles only at base Worked base with door Balustrade Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?)
32	(†) ⁷	(**)	Sestertius	112-117		... COS VI...		S.P.Q.R OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Clockwise spiral (?) column Eagles and garland at base Base with door only Statue with sceptre in right hand (and globe in left?)
33	(†) ⁸	(†)	Denarius	112-117				COS. VI. PP S.P.Q.R	Anti-clockwise spiral column Eagles and garland at base Worked base with door Statue with sceptre in left hand and draped right arm

⁶ (**) Cohen 1880, No. 360. The illustration is of a plaster cast in the BM.

⁷ (†) 6th consulship of Trajan: Monaco, Münzsammlung. Plate from Becatti 1960, Tav. 2 (where the obverse is not pictured).

⁸ (†) 6th consulship of Trajan: Rome, Museo Nazionale. Plate from Becatti 1960, Tav. 3 (where the obverse is not pictured).


#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
34	(‡)	(‡)	Aureus	112-117		... COS VI ...		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Anti-clockwise spiral column Eagles and garland at base Worked base with door Balustrade Statue with sceptre in left hand

Table 3: other elements of Trajan's Forum

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
1	492	17.15	Aureus	112-5		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		BASILICA VLPPIA in exergue	Front view of the Basilica Ulpia (eight columns)
2	509	18.3	Aureus	112-5		IMP TRAIANVS AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		FORVM TRAIANI in exergue	Archway in the Forum of Trajan (six columns)
3	510	N/A	" "	" "		IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		" "	" "
4	665	21.15	Aureus	Unclear		[Archway in the Forum of Trajan (six columns)] FORVM TRAIAN		S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI.	Plain column Eagles only at base Base with door only. Statue with sceptre in left hand (and globe in right?).











#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
5	982	38.8	Sesterlius	112-14 (?)		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP		S.P.Q.R OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC BASILICA VLPIA in exergue	Front view of the Basilica Ulpia (eight columns)
6	983	N/A	" "	" "		" "		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI BASILICA VLPIA SC in exergue	Front view of the Basilica Ulpia
7	984	N/A	" "	" "		" "		SPQR [OPTIMO PRINCIPI] FORVM TRAIAN[NI] [SC] in exergue	Part of the Forum of Trajan (six columns)
8	985	N/A	" "	" "		" "		" "	" " (but poorly tooled)

Table 4: other coins.

#	Cat. No.	Plate No.	Coin type	Date	Obverse picture	Obverse text	Reverse picture	Reverse text	Reverse Description
1	887	34.1	Sestertius	104-11		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue.	Trophy of captured arms and armour with Dacian seated in attitude of defeat.
2	897	34.6	Sestertius	104-11		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue.	Victory with palm in left hand erecting a trophy of captured arms and armour
3	946a	37.2	Sestertius	104-11		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC	Legionary eagle between two standards
4	960	37.10	Sestertius	112-14		IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP		DACIA AVGVST SC PROVINCIA in exergue.	Dacia seated with legionary standard and two children bearing grapes and corn-ears.

5	(*) ⁹	N/A	Quadrans	Undated		Bust of Minerva, helmeted, draped r. IMP [CAES] TRAIAN AVG GERM			SC	Owl facing.
6	1057	43.6	" "	" "		" "			" "	Diana advancing with bow and arrow.
7	(**) ¹⁰	43.16	" "	" "		" "			" " in exergue	Shield with rosette emblem covering a spear.
8	1627 A	N/A	Quadrans	AD 119-138		HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP			SC	Eagle standing r., head l., between peacock standing r. on l. with tail spread and owl standing l. on helmet on r.; spear behind owl.
9	(‡) ¹¹	(‡)	Sestertius						DIVO PIO SC	Column of Antoninus Pius: plain column with Corinthian capital. Figure facing left with sceptre in left hand and bird in right. The column sits in a fenced enclosure.

⁹ (*) Cohen 1880, 342.

¹⁰ (**) Stefano Johnson Collection, Milan.

¹¹ (‡) Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Plate from Becattù 1960, Tav. 3 (where the obverse is not pictured).



Appendix 2

Officials in charge of Roman libraries.

.



APPENDIX 2: officials in charge of Roman libraries.

References to Pflaum numbers are to those in Pflaum 1961.

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
1	C. Julius Hyginus Augusti libertus	Freedman	Augustus	<i>Præfuit Palatinae bibliothecae, nec eo secius plurimos docuit, fuitque familiarissimus Ovidio poetae et Clodio Licino consulari, historico, qui eum admodum pauperem decessisse tradit et liberalitate sua, quoad vixerit, sustentatum.</i>	Suetonius <i>Gramm.</i> 20; <i>PIR</i> ² Part 4 p.223 No. 357	From Spain. A teacher and polymathic writer, and friend of Ovid. Suetonius says he died in poverty, so perhaps his friendship with Ovid proved costly. ¹ <i>Tristia</i> 3.14 may be addressed to him.
2	G. Maecenas Melissus	Freedman	Augustus	<i>Quo delegante, curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae portico suscepit</i>	Suetonius <i>Gramm.</i> 21	Dramatist and writer of a volume of 150 <i>ineptiae</i> .

¹ van de Woestyne 1929.

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
3	Gn. Pompeius Macer	Second-generation citizen.	Augustus (born c.60BC; appointed c.17BC).	<i>Cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat.</i> <i>Te duce magnificas Asiae perspeximus urbes : Trinacris est oculis te duce visa meis</i> <i>[Proc. Provinciae Asiae.]</i> [ὄν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπον κατέστησέ ποτε Κάισαρ ὁ Σεβαστός, καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξετάζεται τῶν Τιβερίου φίλων]	Suetonius <i>Div. Jul.</i> 56.7 Ovid <i>Ex Ponto</i> II.10. [Strabo XIII.2.321] [Pflaum B2]	In charge of initial ordering of Palatine library. Possibly a friend of Ovid. [Conventionally thought of as the son of the historian and confidant of Pompey, Theophanes of Miletus, and Procurator of Asia. White 1992 argues strongly against this, but the friendship with Ovid remains a possibility].
4	T. Julius Zoili f(i)lius Fab(ia tribu) Pappus	Citizen	Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius 14-54	<i>Comes Tiberius</i> <i>Supra bibliothecas omnes Augustorum</i>	<i>AE</i> no.26 (1960) = <i>AJ</i> A 63 (1959) 384 = <i>PIR</i> ² Part 4 p.243 no. 447	Not an eques, though an intimate of Tiberius.

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
5	T. Claudius Aug(ustu) I(ibertus) Scirtus	Freedman	Claudius	<i>Proc. bibliothecarum</i>	<i>CIL X.1739; H. Dessau, ed., ILS 1587.</i>	First certain procuratorial library appointee.
6	Dionysius Alexandrinus ²	Free	Vespasian – Titus (Pflaum) (Suidas: active Nero – Trajan)	<i>Archivus musei Alexandrini</i> <i>Proc. Bibliothecarum</i> <i>Ab epistulis et responsis ad legationes</i> καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προὔστη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων	Suidas s.v. Dionysius, p.1173, Adler. Pflaum 46	Originally a <i>grammaticus</i> in Alexandria; a pupil of Chiremon, who was called to Rome in AD 49 by Agrippina to educate Nero. Skilled grammarian and former director of the Mouseion at Alexandria.
7	Sextus ³	-	Domitian	In charge of accessions at the Palatine library?	Martial V.5	Sextus is apparently able to accommodate Martial's works with those of Pedo, Marsus, Catullus, and Virgil. Cf Ovid <i>Tristia</i> 3.1

² Cf.

- ❖ Pflaum 15, T1. Claudius Balbillus, who was *praefectus fabrum divi Claudii*, tribune of the XX legion, *ab epistulis* and in charge of the Museum and library at Alexandria (J. Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III (1923) p.128, n.42 = *AE*, 1924, 78). Inscription found at Ephesus.
- ❖ Pflaum 16, C. Stertinus Xenophon: as Claudius' doctor he commanded a salary of 500,000HS annually. Followed Balbillus to be in charge of *ad responsa Graeca* and founded a library on Cos (see Appendix 4, no. 3). cf. Pliny *HN* 29.7.

³ A difficult case. Sextus is often described as holding the post of *a studios*, but this is guesswork only: Mommsen, cited by Hirschfeld 1963. For Houston (Table 4 note e) "the praenomen Sextus virtually rules out his belonging to the *familia Caesaria*." At any rate it is difficult to rely on Martial's appeal for precision.

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
8	C. Suetonius Tranquillus	Eques	Hadrian	<i>Flauen, adlectus inter selectos, pontifex I'olcanalis, a studis, a bibliothecis, ab epistulis</i>	Ervan Marec and Hans-Georg Pflaum, <i>CRAI</i> 1952: 76-85 = <i>AE</i> no. 73 (1953). Hippo Regius. Pflaum 96	The author Suetonius
9	[Valerius? Eudaemon	Eques	Hadrian	<i>Proc. ad dioecem Alexandreae [p]roc bibliothecar(um) Graec(arium) et Latin(arium)</i> <i>Ab epistulis Graecis</i> <i>Proc. Provinciae Lyciae et Paulyliae, Galatae, Paphlagoniae, Pisidiar, Ponti</i> <i>Proc. Hereditarium et provinciae Asiae</i> <i>Proc. Syriae</i> <i>Praefectus Aegypti.</i> ...ἐπιτρόπῳ βιβλιοθηκῶν [Ῥωμαϊκῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν <i>conscius imperii [Hadriani].</i>	<i>CIL</i> III.431 (= 7116 = 13674), Ephesus. Pflaum 110 Cf Platthy 127 : the same person? <i>IGR</i> III, 1077. Alexandria. HA <i>Hadr.</i> 15.3	Experienced in Alexandria and the Greek world First linked to the Hadrianic Procurator Eudaemon by Otto Hirschfeld [Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian, nd ed., Berlin:L Wiedemann, 1905, p.303 An intimate of Hadrian

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
10	L. Julius Vestinus		Hadrian (after 130, according to Pflaum).	<i>Archiereus Alexandriae at totius Aegypti</i> (?) <i>Archiereus musei Alexandrini</i> <i>Proc. bibliothecarum Latinarum et Graecarum Romae</i> <i>A studiis</i> <i>Ab epistulis</i> ἀρχιερεῖ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης καὶ ἐπιτάτη τοῦ Μουσείου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱώμῃ βιβλιοθηκῶν Ἱωμαϊκῶν τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν	<i>CIJ</i> 5900 = <i>IG</i> XIV 1085 = <i>IGR</i> I.136. <i>PIR</i> ² Part 4 p.293 No. 623 Pflaum 105	A former director of the Alexandrian museum
11	L. Volusius L.f. Maecianus	Eques (later senator)	Antoninus Pius, c.145.	<i>Praefectus fabrum</i> <i>Praefectus cohortis I Aeliae classicae</i> <i>Adiutor operum publicorum</i> <i>A libellis</i> <i>Praefectus vehiculorum</i> <i>A studiis et proc. bibliothecarum</i> <i>A libellis et censibus</i> <i>Pontifex minor</i> <i>Praefectus annonae</i> <i>Praefectus Aegypti</i> <i>Praefectus aerari Saturni</i> <i>Consul designatus</i>	<i>CIL</i> XIV 5347, 5348; <i>AE</i> 1955, 179 (all from Ostia). Pflaum 141	Unique in his simultaneous service as a <i>studiis</i> and <i>procurator bibliothecarum</i> <i>Historiae Augustae Antoninus Pius</i> 12.1: Maecianus was one of the legal experts frequently consulted by Antoninus; cf. <i>Marcus Antoninus</i> 3.6, in which he is a legal lecturer to the future emperor

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
12	C. Annius C.f. Postumus	Eques	AD 117-161 (Pflaum)	<i>[p]rocurator Augusti a bibliothecis procuratorum bibliothecarum Divi Traiani Proc. Praeaeque vicesimae hereditarium Proc. Augusti ad annonae Ostis Proc. Provinciae Pannoniae inferioris</i>	CIL VIII 20684, Saldae, Maur. Caes. CIL XIV 5352, Ostia. Pflaum 132	First instance of an early library post, and only evidence for division of procuratorial responsibility among different libraries (Pflaum takes the Ostian inscription to indicate responsibility only for the libraries of Trajan's forum).
13	T. Aelius T.f. Largus	Eques	3 rd C	<i>Proc. Augusti bibliothecarum Iuris publici et private peritissimus</i>	CIL XIV 2916, Ostia. Pflaum p.1023.	A skilled lawyer. His only procuratorial appointment: at this date indicative of a low-grade post?
14	L. Baebius L.f. Gal(eria tribu) Aurelius Juncinus	Eques	Late 2 nd /early third century	<i>Proc. Augusti bibliothecarum ad sestertium LX milia Proc. Ad annonae Ostis praefectus vehiculorum ad sestertium C milia praefectus vehiculorum ad sestertium CC milia praefectus provinciae Sardiniae Proc. vicesimae hereditarium Praefectus Aegypti</i>	CIL X 7580, Carales, Sardinia Pflaum 251	An early appointment at the lowest procuratorial pay grade.
15	Sextus Iulius Africanus		Severus Alexander	<i>Romae Severo Alexandro bibliothecam condidit iuxta themas Alexandri in Pantheo</i>	POxy no. 412, lines 63-8. PIR ² Part 4 pp.127-128, no. 124	

#	Procurator/library official	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
16	Q. Veturius Callistratus v(ir) e(gregius).	Vir egregius	c.240	<i>Proc. Rationum summarum privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti ...</i>	CIL VI 2132 Pflaum p.1023.	Otherwise unattested post.



Appendix 3

Library staff at Rome.

.



- ❖ Based largely on Houston 2002.
- ❖ Dating is largely from context and follows *CIL*. See footnotes for individual cases. Status is left blank where it cannot confidently be deduced, though Houston is inclined to view all uncertain cases as probably slaves.

#	Name	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
1	-	Prob. Freedman	Augustus	custos... sedibus illis praepositus (Palatine library)	Ovid <i>Tr.</i> 3.1.67-68	Attached to a named library Cf Fronto Ep. 4.5: a bailiff or guard.
2	Callisth<e>nes Ti. Caesar(is) Aug(usti)	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Tiberius ¹	a bybliothece latina Apollinis	<i>CIL</i> VI.5189	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language
3	Diopithes	-	Julio-Claudian ¹	a bybliot(hece) latina Apollinis	<i>CIL</i> VI.5189	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language
4	Hymnus Aurelianus	-	Julio-Claudian after AD 10 ²	a bybliothece latina porticus Octaviae [vacat] vilicus	<i>CIL</i> VI.2347 = <i>CIL</i> VI 4431 = <i>ILS</i> 1971 <i>CIL</i> VI 4432	Attached to a named library Vilicus: library steward or overseer. Suggests collections separated by language

¹ Found in the Vigna Codini columbarium, and so Julio-Claudian in date. See Hensen *CIL* VI.2 p941.

² These inscriptions are from the Monumentum Marcellae, a columbarium with connections to the household of Octavia and datable to after AD10: Manacorda 1999, 251–60.

nr	IN ALIIS	STATUS	EMPEROR / DATE	RELEVANT TEXT	SOURCES	NOTES
5	Laryx	-	Julio-Claudian after AD 10 ²	[de?] porticu Octav(iae) [a? by]bliotheca Graec(a)	CIL VI 4433, 4434	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language
6	Montanus Iulianus	-	Julio-Claudian after AD 10 ²	vilic(us) a bybliotheca Octaviae Latin(a)	CIL VI 4435	Attached to a named library Vilicus: library steward or overseer. Suggests collections separated by language
7	Apollo[nius] Caes(aris)	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Julio-Claudian	[a?] bybl[i]otheca]	CIL VI 4233	-
8	[C?]harop[s?]	-	Julio-Claudian after AD 10 ²	ad byblio(thecam)	CIL VI 4420	-
9	Alexander C. Caesaris Aug. Germanici ser(vus) Pylaemenianus	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Caligula	ad bybliotheca graeca templi Apollinis	CIL VI 5188 = ILS 1589	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language
10	Antiochus Ti. Claudi Caesaris	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Claudius	a bibliotheca latina Apollinis	CIL VI 5884	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language

	Ti. Claudius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Hymenaeus	Freedman of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Claudius or Nero	medicus a bybliothecis	CIL VI 8907	Doctor for the libraires
11		-	Julio-Claudian ³	a bibliotec(a)	CIL VI 10.1739	-
12	Festus	-	Julio-Claudian ¹	[a byblioth(eca)] latina Apollinis	CIL VI 5191	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language
13	Liberalis	-	Nero ⁴	vil(icus) [vical] a bybl(iotheca) lat(ina)	Väänänen 41-42 ⁵	Vilicus: library steward or overseer. Suggests collections separated by language
14	Saturninus Caes(aris) ser(vus)	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Possibly Flavian	a bybliothecae porticus Octaviae	CIL VI 5192 = CIL VI 2349 = ILS 1970	Attached to a named library
15	Soterichus publicus Vestericianus	Public slave	Julio-Claudian	a bybl(i)otheca	CIL VI 5347	-
16	-	-	-	de porticu Octaviae a bibliotheca graeca	CIL VI 2348 = ILS 1972	Attached to a named library Suggests collections separated by language
17	Philoxenus Iulian(us) public(us)	Public slave	Julio-Claudian	ab bybliothecae	CIL VI 8743	-
18	Alexio Caesaris Aug(usti)	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	Julio-Claudian			

³ Two women in his family are called Julia

⁴ His wife is Neronis Caes(aris) ancill(a).

⁵ Väänänen 1973.

#	Name	Status	Emperor/date	Relevant text	Sources	Notes
19	Alcimus Caes(aris)	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	-	vilic[us] a bybliothecca	<i>CIL</i> XIV.196 (Ostia)	Vilicus: library steward or overseer.
20	Onesimus Cae[s(aris) n(ostris)]	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	-	vilic(us) thermar[um ...] bybliothecc(ae?) Gra[ec(ae?)]	<i>CIL</i> VI 8679	Vilicus: library steward or overseer. Possibly suggests bathhouse libraries Suggests collections separated by language
21	[Euryc?]hes Caes(aris) n(ostris) servus	Slave of the <i>familia Caesaris</i>	1 st October AD 126.	vilicus [a byblio]thecca ⁶	<i>CIL</i> VI 8744	Vilicus: library steward or overseer.
22	Nico	Slave of L. Iulius Vestinus	Hadrian	L(ucii) Iuli Vestini ser(vo) librar(io)	<i>CIL</i> VI 9520	Slave of L. Iulius Vestinus, procurator Bibliothecarum under Hadrian ⁷
23	-	-	140s	bibliothecarius	Fronto <i>Ep.</i> 4.5	Bribeable, but meant to prevent borrowing from the Domus Tiberiana library
24	-	-	150s-70s	-	Gellius <i>NA</i> 13.20.1	Able to bring books to readers

⁶ The alternative reconstruction, vilicus [a pinaco]thecca, is attested only once in *CIL*, VI 10234.

⁷ See Appendix 2 no. 10.



Appendix 4

Provincial libraries.



3. Cos

Mid-late 1st C AD

Plathy 1968, 147 no.113 = *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Bd. XVIII (1903) Anzeiger, Beiblatt 1903, 4, pp.193-4

Text

Γάιος Στερτίνιος
Ἡρακλείτου υἱός
Ξενοφῶν φιλόκα-
σαρ ἱερεὺς Ἀσκλα-
πιῦ Ὑγείας Ἀπιό-
νας καὶ τῶν Σε-
βαστῶν τοῖ(ς) Σε-
βαστοῖς καὶ τῶ
δάμωι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίῳ τῶν (βιβλιοθήκῃ)...

Translation

Caius Stertinius Xenophon, son of Heraclitus, friend of Caesar, the priest of Asclepius, of Hygeia, of Apiona and of the Imperial deities, <dedicates> the library to the Imperial deities and to the people out of his own resources.

C. Stertinius Xenophon was Claudius' doctor, and retired to Cos as its leading citizen.

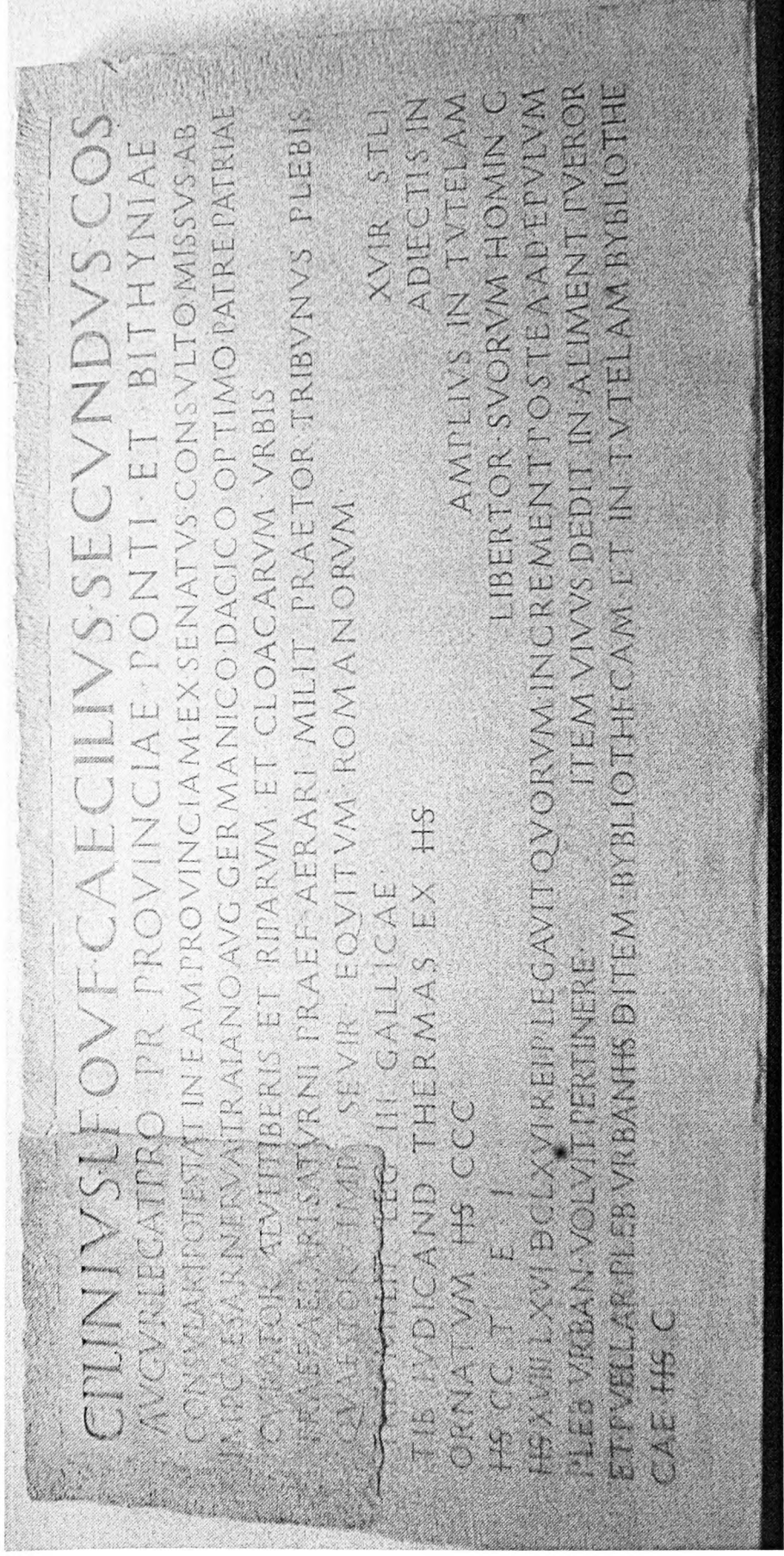
Compare the careers of equestrian library procurators in Appendix 2 and the person of Ti. Claudius Balbillus, Xenophon's predecessor as *ab epistulis Graecis*, who was also *praefectus fabrum divi Claudii*, tribune of the XX legion, and in charge of the Museum and library at Alexandria (Keil 1923, 128, n.42 = *AE*, 1924, 78).

Cf Pliny *NH* 29.1.4 for the establishment of a collection of written cures at the Asclepion of Cos, which were copied and then burned by Hippocrates.

4. Comum

AD 96-7: for the date of Pliny's library dedication see Sherwin-White 1966, 102-106, for discussion of the letter's date).

CIL. V 5262/II.5 2927 – the longest of the Pliny inscriptions is known only from a 15th century transcription. It stood at Comum but was cut up to make a tomb and sent to Milan, where it was found in the Church of St Ambrose (cf *CIL* V 5263 and 5667, neither of which mentions the library).



A reconstructed cast of Pliny's inscription in the EUR Museum, Rome. Photograph: author.

Text:

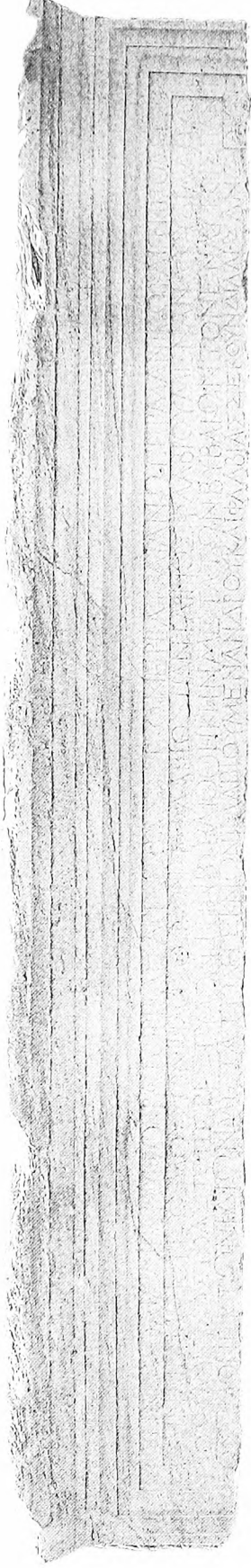
C PLINIVS L F OV F CAECILIVS SECVNDVS COS
AVGVR LEGAT PRO PR PROVIN CIAE P ONTI ET BITHYNIAE
CONSVLARI POTESTAT IN EAM PROVINCIAM EX SENATVS CONSVLTO MISSVS AB
IMP CAESAR NERVA TRAIANO AVG GERMANICO DACICO OPTIMO PATRE PATRIAE
CV RATOR ALVEI TIBERIS ET RIPARVM ET CLOACARVM VRBIS
PRAEF AERARI SATVRNI PRAEF AERARI MILIT PRAETOR TRIBVNVS PLEBIS
QVAESTOR IMP SEVIR EQVITVM ROMANORVM
TRIB MILIT LEG III GALLICAE
TIB IVDICAND THERMAS EX HS
ORNATVM HS CCC
HS CC T F I
HS XVIII LXVI DCLXVI REI P LEGAVIT QVORVM INCREMENT POSTEA AD EPVLV M
PLEB VRBAN VOLVIT PERTINERE ITEM VIVVS DEDIT IN ALIMEN T PVEROR
ET PVELLAR PLEB VRBAN HS D ITEM BYBLIOTHECAM ET IN TVTELAM BYBLIOTHE
CAE HS C

Translation:

Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, son of Lucius of the tribe Oufetina; Consul;
Augur; praetorian legate of the province of Pontus and Bithynia
with consular power, sent into that province in accordance with a senatorial decree by the
Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Optimus, Pater Patriae.
Curator of the channel of the Tiber and the banks and sewers of the city
Prefect of the Treasury of Saturn; Prefect of the Military Treasury; Praetor; Tribune of the Plebs
Quaestor of the Emperor; sevir of the Roman knights
Military tribune of the Third Legion Gallica
He left baths at a cost of sesterces and added
300,000 sesterces for their decoration with the interest on
another 200,000 for their upkeep for a hundred of his freedmen
he left to the public purse 1,866,666 sesterces whose interest he wanted subsequently
to be applied to a feast for the people of the city While alive he gave 500,000
sesterces for the feeding of the boys and girls of the city, and 100,000 sesterces for the upkeep of the
library...

5. Athens – T. Flavius Pantaenus

c. AD 100 (Trajan is Germanicus but not Dacicus, a title awarded in AD 102).
Thompson and Wycherley 1957, 150; Shear 1935, 330-2; = Platthy 1968, 112 no. 36.
Photograph: author.



Text/Lege

Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβασσῶ Νέρβα Τρατανῶ
Γερμανικῶ καὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ
Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν φιλοσόφῳ Τ. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος Φλαβίου
Μενάνδρου διαδόχου
υἱὸς τὰς ἔξω στοᾶς τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν
ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα
κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου καὶ Φλαβίας
Σκουνδίλλης ἀνήθηκε.

Translation

To Athena Polias and to the Emperor Caesar Augustus Nerva Trajan
Germanicus and to the City of the Athenians, the priest of the
wisdom-loving Muses, T. Flavius Pantaenos, son of Flavius Menandros
the head of the school, has dedicated from his own means the outer
stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books and all the furnishing
therein, along with his children Flavius Menandros and Flavia
Secundilla

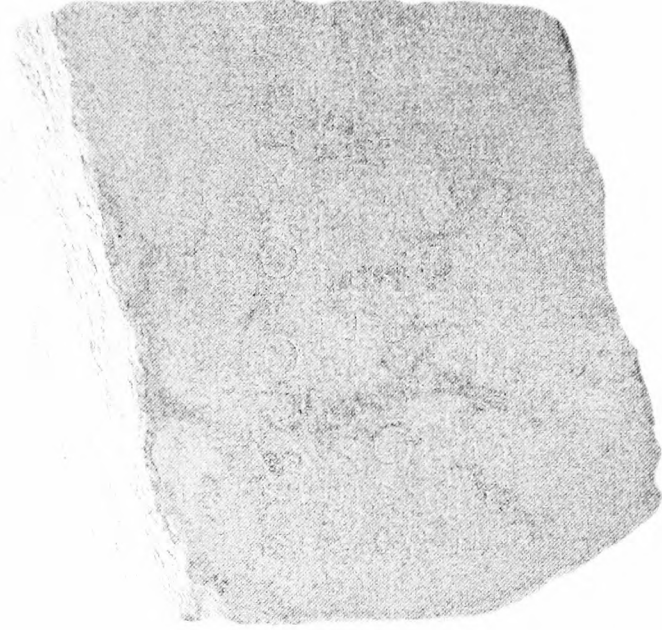
This is the same Pantaenos (probably) as the Archon of 102 (I.G. II² 2017). The same man is recorded on an inscription found in Hadrian's library,
possibly in a priestly capacity – a link between these libraries
NB Joint dedication to Athens, Athena, and Trajan: local and imperial identities.

5b. Athens – T. Flavius Pantaenus: library rules.

c. AD 100

Thompson and Wychertley 1957, 150 Agora I 2729 = Platthy 1968, 113 no. 37.

Photograph: author.



Text

ΒΥΒΛΙΟΝΟΥΚΕΕΕ
ΝΕΧΟΗΕΕΤΑΙΕΠΕΙ
ΩΜΟCΑΜΕΝ ΑΝΥΓΗ
CΕΤΑΙΑΙΟΩΡΑCΙΡΩ
ΤΗCΜΕΧΡΙΕΚΤΗC

Leges

Βυβλίον οὐκ ἐξενεχθήσεται
ἐπει ὠμόσαμεν ἀνυγήσεται
ἀπὸ ὥρας πρώτης
μέχρι ἑκτης.

Translation

No book shall be taken out, since we have sworn it. It will be open from the first hour until the sixth.

7. Volsinii

1st/2nd C AD? Date uncertain, but Bormann (*CIL*) says *litteris magnis et pulchris* – so first/second C AD?
CIL XI 2704

Text	Translation
C · MANILIVS · C · F · POM · C · p.p. bis leg. ET · LEG · VI · FERRAT · TRIB · Coh. vig. Trib. Coh urb TRIB · COH · V · PR · PRAEF · LEG · D IS BYBLIOTHECAM A SOLO MQVE LIBRIS ET STATVIS IESTAMENTO DEDIT	Gaius Manlius son of Gaius of the tribe Pomptina, twice legate. . . . Tribune of the legion VI Ferrata; Tribune of the Cohort of Vigiles; Tribune of the Urban Cohort; Prefect of the Vth Praetorian Cohort. Legate.the library from its foundationswith books and statuesgave in his will . . .

8. Delphi

End of the first century AD: Flavius Soclarus, the library builder here, also turns up in an inscription of 98 AD (*C.I.G.* n.1733, 5 v.I p.852).
Keil, 1863, 268-9 = Platthy p.138 no. 93 = *BCH* XX (1896), 720.

Text	Legge	Translation
ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝΕΚΤΩΝΤΟΥ ΘΒΟΥΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝΥΠΟΤΗΝΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΥΣΩ ΚΛΑΡΡΟΥΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΕΙΑΝΤΗΝΒΥΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ	Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων ὑπὸ τὴν φλαουῖ[οῦ] Σω- κλάρου ἐπιμελετήθειαν τὴν βυβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύασεν.	The koinon of the Amphictyonic council from the money of the god under the supervision of Flavius Soclarus constructed the library.

9a. Ephesus – the library’s principal dedicatory inscription.

Second decade of the second C AD (dedicated by Tib. Julius Polemaeanus, cos 110).

Transcribed on site by author; partly reproduced in *JÖA* VIII (1905), Beiblatt Co., 67 = *Platthy* 1968, 155-6 no.128.



3 ΤΙΒΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚΛΕΑΣΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΑΝΩΥΠΑΤΩ
 ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩΤΗΖΑΣ ΙΑΣΤΙΒΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΑΚΥΛΑΣ
 ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΑΝΟΣΥΠΑΤΟΣΟΥΙΟΣΤΗΝΚΕΛΣΙ
 ΑΝΗΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΕΚΤΩΝ
 ΙΔΙΩΝΣΥΝΠΑΝΤΙΤΩΚΟΣΜΩΚΑΙΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΣΙ
 ΚΑΙΒΥΒΛΙΟΙΣΚΑΤΕΛΙΠΕΔΕΚΑΙΕΙΣΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΗΝΑΥΗΣ
 ΚΑΙΩΝΗΝΒΥΒΛΙΩΝΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΤΑΥΟΗΜΙΣΥΕΞΩΝΥΦΗ
 ΡΕΘΜΕΕΠΙΕΤΗΩΣΤΕΜΕΝΟΝΙΩΝΑΡΧΑΙΩΝΧΑΙΔΙΣΜΥΡΙΩΝΤ
 ΑΠΟΤΩΝΙΚΑΤΕΡΟΣΤΓΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΤΟΚΩΝΕΠΙΣΚΕΥ
 ΑΣΕΘΑΙΤΗΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΠΡΟΣΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΤΑΣΑΥΤΩΝΑΝΒΑΝΕΙΝΣΑΥΤΟΙΣΧΟΡΗΓΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΕΠΙ
 ΤΕΡΕΝΘΑΙΩΤΟΥΚΕΛΣΩΜΕΡΑΕΙΣΑΕΙΚΑΙΟΜΙΩΣ
 ΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΤΟΥΑΚΥΛΑΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΑΤΟΡΑΖΕΣΘΑΙΝΤΑ
 ΒΙΒΛΙΑΟΜΟΙΩΣΚΑΙΖΙΕΦΑΝΟΥΣΘΑΙΤΟΥΣΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΤΑΣ
 ΑΥΤΟΥΤΡΙΣΤΟΥΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΥΟΜΙΩΣΚΟΣΜΕΣΘΑΙΤΑΣ
 ΛΑΣΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΓΝΤΗΕΟΡΤΗΤΟΥΚΕΛΣΟΥ
 ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΘΕΙΣΑΠΟΤΩΝΧΡΑΥΦΗΡΕΘΥΠΑΥΤΩΝΤΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΡΟΝΟΜΩΝΤΗΣΑΟΠΗΣΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΗΣΚΑΘΕΡΩΩΗΡ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ
 ΘΗΚΗΚΑΙΤΩΝΧΡΗΜΑΙΩΝ ΤΩΝΕΝΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΚΑΤΑΤΟΡΗΤΟΝΤΗΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣΜΗΤΕΓΡΑΦΑΣΜΗΤΚΑΤΑΡΗΣΕΙΜΗΤΕ
 ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΑΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣΘΑΙΥΟΕΝΤΕΛΕΣΑΡΤΙΣΑΝΤΩΝΤΩΝ
 ΤΟΥΑΚΥΛΑΚΑΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ
 ΤΙΒΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣΤΡΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ

The library’s principal dedicatory inscription and a transcript on site at Ephesus. Photographs: author.

1 ΤΙΒ ΙΟΥΛΙΩΚΕΛΣΩΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΑΝΩΥΠΑΤΩ
 ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩΤΗΣΑΣΙΑΣΤΙΒ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΚΨΛΑΣ
 ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΑΝΟΣΥΠΑΤΟΣΟΥΙΟΣΤΗΝΚΕΛΣΙ
 ΑΝΗΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΕΚΤΩΝ
 5 ΙΔΙΩΝΣΥΝΨΙΑΝΤΙΤΩΚΟΣΜΩΚΑΙΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΣΙ
 ΚΑΙΒΥΒΛΙΟΣΚΑΤΕΛΙΠΔΕΚΑΙΕΙΣΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΗΝΑΥΤΗΣ
 ΚΑΙΩΝΗΝΒΥΒΛΙΩΝ[Ε]ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣΔΥΟΗΜΙΣΥΕΞΩΝΥΦΗ
 ΡΕΘΗΒΕΠΙΕΤΗΘΣΤΕΜΕΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ[Ε]ΔΙΣΜΥΡΙΩΝΓ
 ΑΠΟΤΩΝΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΓΙΓΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΤΟΚΩΝΕΠΙΣΚΕΥ
 10 ΑΖΕΣΘΑΙΤΗΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΠΡΟΣΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΤΑΣΑΥΤΗΛΑΝΒΑΝΕΙΝ[Ε] ΑΑΥΤΟΣΧΟΡΗΓΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΕΠΙ
 ΤΗΓΕΝΘΛΙΩΤΟΥΚΕΛΣΟΥΗΜΕΡΑΕΙΣΑΕΙΚΑΙΟΜΟΙΩΣ
 ΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΤΟΥΑΚΥΛΑΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΑΓΟΡΑΖΕΣΘΑΙΝΕΑ
 ΒΙΒΛΙΑΟΜΟΙΩΣΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣΘΑΙΤΟΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣ
 15 ΑΥΤΟΥΤΡΙΣΤΟΥΕΝΙΑΤΟΥΟΜΟΙΩΣΚΟΣΜΕΙΣΘΑΙΤΑΣ
 ΑΛΛΑΣΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΕΝΤΗΕΟΡΤΗΤΟΥΚΕΛΣΟΥ
 ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΘΕΙΣΗΣΑΠΟΤΩΝ[Ε]Β ΑΥΦΗΡΕΘΗΥΠΑΥΤΩΝΤΩΝ
 ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝΤΗΣΛΟΙΠΗΣΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΗΣΚΑΘΕΡΩΘΗΗΒΙΒΛΟ
 ΘΗΚΗΤΗΤΟΥΚΕΛΣΟΥΕΟΡΤΗΣΤΕΜΗΝΟΣ ΩΝΟΣΕΙΠΑ
 ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΤΩΝΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΩΝΕΝΙΕΤΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΚΑΤΑΤΟΡΗΤΟΝΤΗΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣΜΗΤΕΡΑΦΑΣΜΗΤΕΚΑΤΑΡΗΣΕΙΣΜΗΤΕ
 ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΑΕΙΠΓΕΝΗΣΣΘΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΕΝΤΕΛΕΣΑΠΑΡΤΙΣΑΝΤΩΝΤΩΝ
 ΤΟΥΑΚΥΛΑΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΕΙΠΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ
 20 ΤΙΒ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣΤΡΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ

To Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, Consul,
 Proconsul of Asia, Tiberius Iulius Aquila
 Polemaeanus, Consul, his son has erected the
 Celsus Library out of his own
 funds with all its ornamentation and decoration
 and books. He bequeathed for its upkeep
 and for the purchase of books 25,000 Denarii from which 2,000
 were set aside for the purposes of the year; of the original 23,000
 from the annual interest the library
 is to be equipped and its staff
 receive ... paid out to them on
 the birthday of Celsus for ever and likewise
 according to the will of Aquila new books are
 to be bought annually; likewise his statues are to be crowned
 three times; likewise his other images are
 to be adorned annually on the festival of Celsus
 When the remaining building works have been finished off out of
 The 2,000 denarii that were set aside from the bequest the library
 Shall be dedicated on the festival of Celsus, which is the 17th of
 As the moneys have been herein listed
 according to the terms of the will neither indictments nor objections nor
 financial obligations can arise to them when the bequest of Aquila
 has fully completed the project in accordance with the will under the
 supervision of Tiberius Claudius Aristion three times Asiarch.

9b. Ephesus: the career of Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus.
 Photograph: author.



TI·IVLIO·TI·F·COR·CELSE POLEMAEANO·COS PROCOS·ASIAE TRIB LEGIONIS IIII
 CYRENAICAЕ·ADLECTO·INTER AEDILICIOS·AB DIVO·VESPASIANO·PR·P·R·LEG AVG
 DIVORUM·VESPASIANI·ET·TITI·PROVINCIAE·CAPPADOCIAE·ET·GALATIAE·PONTI
 PIDIAE·PAPHLAGONIAE·ARMENIAE·MINORIS·LEG·DIVI·TITI·LEG IIII·SCYTHICAE·PRO·COS
 PONTI·ET·BITHYNIAE·PRAEF·AERARI·MILITARIS·LEG·AVG·PROPR·PROVINCIAE·CILICIAE·XV·VIRIS·SF·CVR
 AEDIVM·SACRARVM·ET·OPERVM·LOCORVM·PUBLICORVM·POPVL·ROMANI·TI·IVLIVS·AQVILA·POLEMAEANVS·COS
 PATREM·SVVM·CONSVMMMAVERVNT·HEREDES·AQVILAE

To Tiberius Julius son of Tiberius Celsus Polemaeanus of the Tribe Cornelia, Consul, Proconsul of Asia, Tribune of the IIII Cyrenaican Legion, adlected to the aedilate by the Deified Vespasian, Praetor of the Populus Romanus, Imperial Legate of the Deified Vespasian and Titus of the Province of Cappadocia, and of Galatia, Pontus, Pisidia, Paphlagonia, and Armenia Minor, Legate of the Deified Titus of the IV Scythian Legion, Proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia, Prefect of the Military Treasury, Propraetorian Imperial Legate of the Province of Cilicia, Quindecemvir for the Sacred Rites, Curator of the Sacred Buildings and of the Works and Public Contracts of the Roman People. Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, Consul, (erected this in honour of) his father; the heirs of Aquila completed it.

9d. Ephesus

JOAI, Bd. 7 (1904) Beibl. Col. 52 – Platthy 1968, 157 no. 131.

Legge

Ἄγαθῆ τύχῃ[η].
Ἦ πόλις τὸ σύστρω[μα]
τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἀδευιτωρίου
καὶ τῆς Κέλσου βιβλιοθή-
κης κατεσκεάσεν ἐκ προ-
σόδων κληρονομίας
Ἰν[υ]λίας] Ποτεντίλλης.

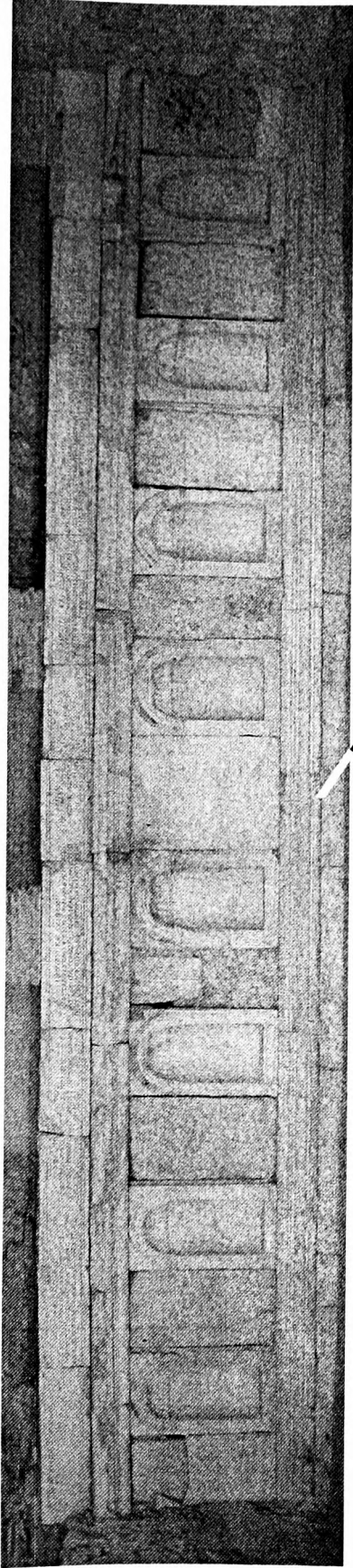
Translation

Good luck.
The city has constructed the
pavement in front of the auditorium
And the Library of Celsus
Out of
The revenues from the will
Of Julia Potentilla

10. Sagalassos

c. AD 120

See also Devijver 1993. Photographs: author.



10a) Text

Ἡ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ὁ Δῆμος
Τῷ ΣΕΟΥΦΡΙΑΝΟΝΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ ἸΟΝΙΟΝ ἸΟΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΟ-
ΠΑΤΡΙΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝ Ἐκ τῶν
ΔΕΘΕΝΔΙΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΕΜΝΙΣΤΕΜΝΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος

Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Σεουφριανὸν Νέωνα, υἱὸν πόλεως, φιλό-
πατρην, κτίστην, πανάρετον, ἀγωνοθέτην ἐκ τῶν
ἰδίων δι' αἰῶνος, τεμνῆς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς

10a) Translation

The *boule* and *demos* [honour]

Titus Flavius Severianus Neon, son of the city, patriot,
founder [of the library?], all-virtuous, games-giver from his own
resources in perpetuity, because of his honour and favour towards them

10b) Text

Ἡ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ὁ Δῆμος
Τῷ ΑΤΤΑΛΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΟ[Υ] ΑΔΡΑΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΣΠΕΙΡΗΣ Β'
ΘΡΑΚΩΝ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΝ ΝΑΥΤΕΡΩΝΟΣ Τ ΓΑΛΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΡΕ-
ΤΟΝ ΗΡΩΑ

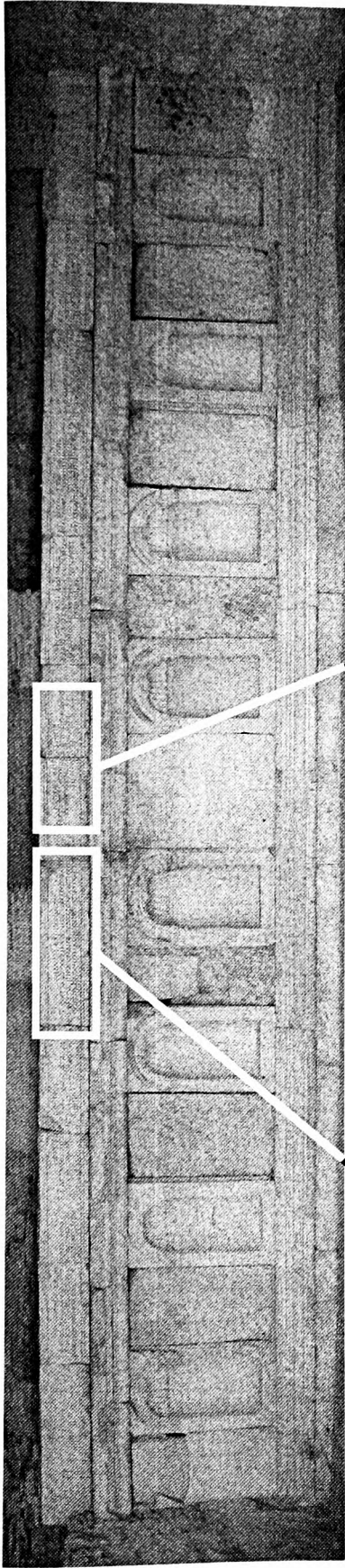
ἡ βουλή [καὶ] ὁ δῆμος

Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Ἀτταλιανὸν Κο[υ]αδράτον, ἑπαρχὸν σπείρης β'
Θρακῶν, χειλιάρχον λεγεῶνος γ' Γαλλικῆς, πανάρε-
τον, ἥρωα

10b) Translation

The *boule* and *demos* [honour]

the late Titus Flavius Attilianus Quadratus, prefect of the II cohort
of Thracians, tribune of the Legio III Gallica, all-
virtuous.



10c) Text

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΤΩ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥΝ ΚΥΡΕΙΝΑ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΕΒΕΝΣΕ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝ ΥΙΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ
 ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΪΣΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΝ

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Ἀττάλου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Νέωνα, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σε-
 βαστῶν πρῶτον, διὰ βίου δὲ ἀγωνοθέτην, υἱὸν τῆς
 πόλεως, φιλοκάισαρα καὶ φιλόπατριν, πανάρετον

10c) Translation

The *boule* and *demos* [honour]
 Titus Flavius Quirina Neon, son of Attalos, first chief priest of
 the emperors, lifelong games-giver, son of the
 city, friend of the emperor and patriot, all-virtuous

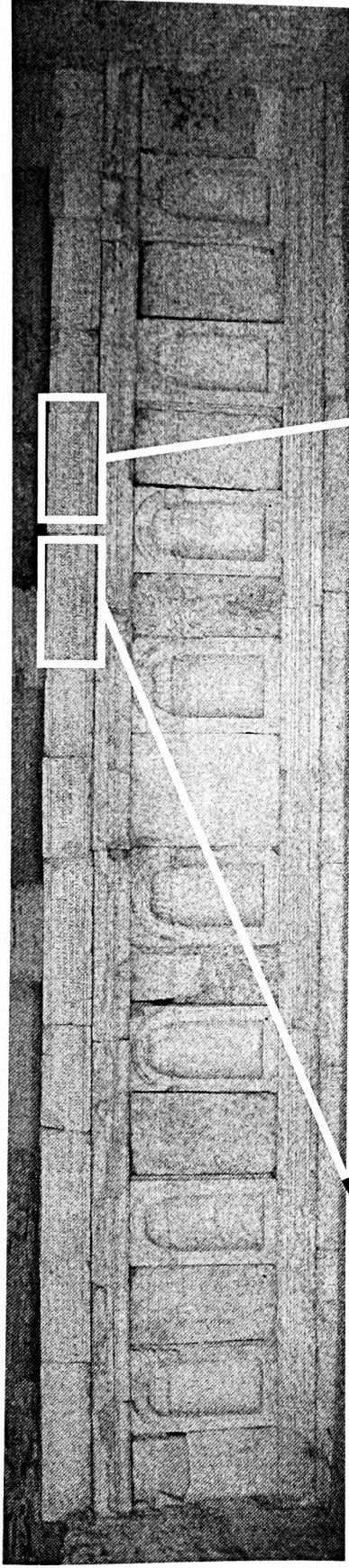
10d) Text

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΠΟΠΛΙΟΝ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΝ ΚΥΡΕΙΝΑ ΔΑΡΕΪΟΝ ΥΙΟΥΝ
 ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΕΙΝΑ ΔΑΡΕΪΟΝ ΥΙΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ
 ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ἡ βουλή [καὶ] ὁ δῆμος
 Πόπλιον Φλάουιον Φλαουίου Νέωνος
 υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Δαρεῖον, ἥρωα,
 πανάρετον

10d) Translation

The *boule* and *demos* [honour]
 the late Publius Flavius Quirina Dareius,
 son of Flavius Neon,
 all-virtuous



10e) Text

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝ ΣΕΟΥ ΗΡΑΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΤΙΤΟΥ
 ΦΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΝΕΩΝΟΣ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ
 ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟΝ

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 Κλαυδίαν Σεούηραν, γυναικα Τίτου
 Φλαυδίου Νέωνος, μητέρα πόλεως,
 πανάρετον

10e) Translation

The *boule* and *demos* [honour]
 Claudia Severa, wife of Titus
 Flavius Neon, mother of the city,
 all-virtuous

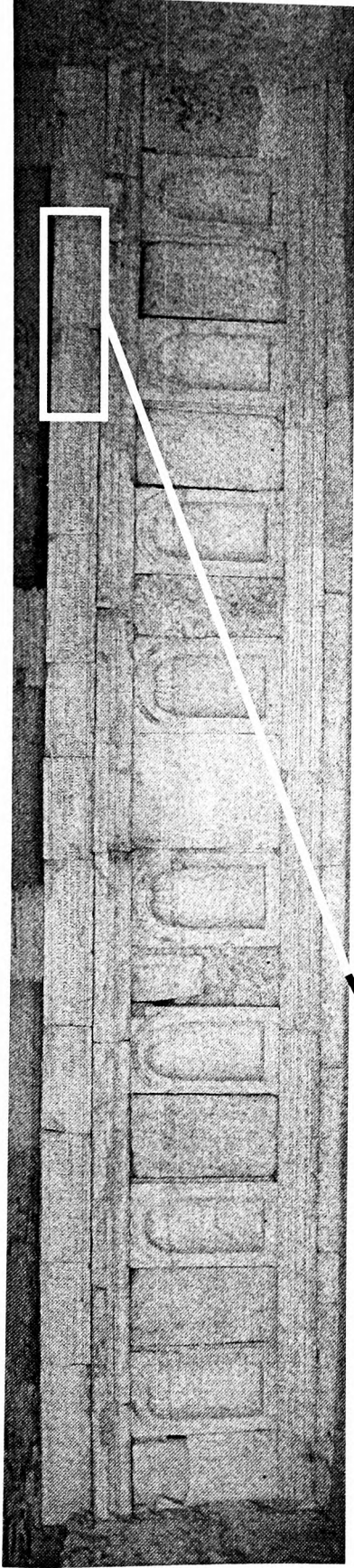
10f) Text

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΦΛΑΥΔΙΑΝ ΣΕΟΥ ΗΡΑΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΜΑ-
 ΞΙΜΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟΝ

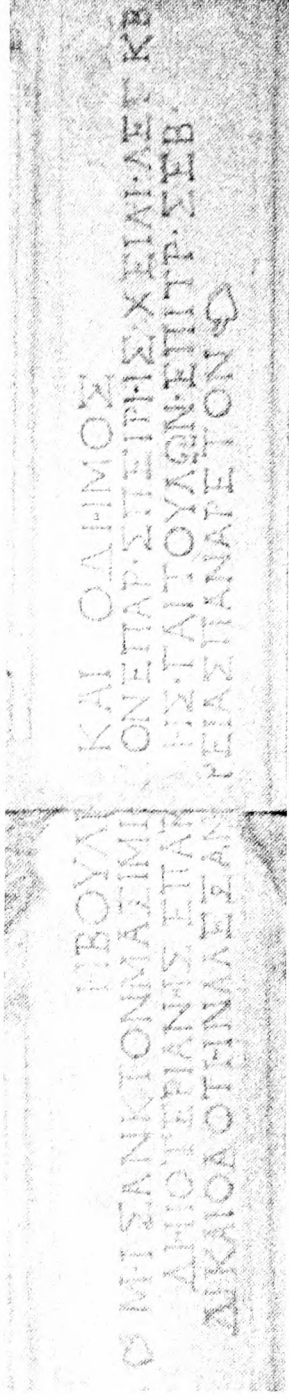
ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 Φλαυδίαν Σεούηραν, γυναικα Ιουλίου Μα-
 ξιμιανού ἐπιτρόπου τῶν Σεβαστῶν,
 θυγατέρα πόλεως, πανάρετον

10f) Translation

The *boule* and *demos* [honour]
 Flavia Severa, wife of Julius
 Maximianus, *procurator Augustorum*,
 daughter of the city, all-virtuous.



10g) Text



- ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
- Μ(ᾶκρον) Ἰ(ούλιον) Σάνκτον Μαξιμίον, ἔπαρ(χον) σπέιρης, χειλί(απρχον) λεγ(εῶνος) κβ' Δηιοτεριανῆς, ἔπαρ(χον) ἄλης Γαιτουλῶν, ἐπίτρ(οπον) Σεβ(αστοῦ), Δικαιοδότην Ἀλεξανδρείας, πανάρετον ☉

10g) Translation

- ☉ The *boule* and *demos* [honour]
- ☉ Marcus Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, prefect of a cohort, tribune of the XXII Legion Deiotariana, prefect of the Gaetulian cavalry wing, *procurator Augusti*, *iuridicus Alexandriae*, all-virtuous. ☉

11. Halicarnassus

AD127 (Roueché 1993, 88.iii (1619 in LeBas and Waddington 1877) is another decree relating to the same man, dated to AD 127)

Le Bas and Waddington 1877 III.1 no. 1618 = Roueché 1993, 226 no. 88ii = Plathy 1968, 157 no. 132 (partial) = *MLA* 8.418(a-b). Cf. *MLA* 8.418(c) for a decree establishing the date and describing Longianus as a tragic poet.

Text

- 1 ΤΗΑΛΛΗΠΔΗΜΙΑΚΑΙΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΚΑΙΕΚΟΣΜΗΣΕΝΗ
ΜΑΣΚΑΙΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΩΝΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΕΙΣΠΟΙ
ΚΙΛΑΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟΔΙΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΣΕΥΦΡΑ
ΝΕΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥΣΩΦΕΛΗΣΕΝΕΠΙΤΕΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ
5 ΑΠΑΣΙΝΗΣΘΕΙΣΟΔΗΜΟΣΤΕΙΜΑΣΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕΝ
ΤΑΣΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΑΣΨΗΦΙΣΑΣΘΑΙΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΓΑΟΙΝΙΟΥ
ΛΙΟΝΛΟΓΓΙΑΝΟΝΠΡΟΙΚΑΙΠΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΣΘΑΙΠΑΡΗΜΕΙΝ
ΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΑΓ'ΑΘΟΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝΤΟΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΤΩΝΚΑ
ΘΗΜΑΣΤΑΙΣΤΕΑΛΛΑΙΣΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΙΣΚΑΙΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΤΕΤΕΙ
10 ΜΗΣΘΑΙΤΑΙΣΕΚΤΩΝΝΟΜΩΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΣΙΝ
ΧΑΛΚΑΣΑΣΕΝΤΕΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΑΝΑΣΤΑΘΗΝΑΙΤΟΣΕΠΙ
ΣΗΜΟΤΑΤΟΙΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΧΩΡΙΟΣΚΑΙΕΝΤΩΤΩΝΜΟΥ
ΣΩΝΤΕΜΕΝΕΙΣΚΑΙΕΝΤΩΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΩΤΩΝΕΦΗΒΩΝΠΑΡΑ
ΤΟΝΠΑΛΑΙΟΝΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΝΕΨΗΦΙΣΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΒΥΒΛ
15 ΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΝΑΝΑΘΕΣΙΝΕΝΤΕΒΥΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΑΙΣ
ΤΑΙΣΠΑΡΗΜΕΙΝΙΝΑΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΟΙΝΕΙΟΠΑΙΔΕΥΩΝ
ΤΑΙ ΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΤΡΟΠΟΝΟΝΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΙΣΤΩΝΠΑΛΑΙΩΝΣΥΝ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝΟΠΩΣΔΕΚΑΙΤΩΔΗΜΩΤΩΝΣΥΝΓΕΝΩΝΑΦΡΟ
ΔΕΙΣΕΩΝΑΝΕΡΑΓΕΝΗΤΑΙΗΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΙΠΕΡΙΤΟΝΠΟΛΕΙ
20 ΤΗΝΑΥΤΩΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΚΑΙΣΠΟΥΔΗΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΓΡΑ
ΦΟΝΤΟΥΔΕΤΟΥΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΣΠΕΜΦΘΗΝΑΙΑΙΑΥΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΤΟΙΣΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΥΣΙΝΤΗΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΑΥΣΗ
ΜΑΝΘΕΝΕΞΟΥΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΜΑΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΤΟΤΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΝΗ
ΘΟΣΩΠΕΡΙΠΑΝΤΑΣΟΜΟΙΩΣΤΟΥΣΠΕΠΑΙΔΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ
25 ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙΔΙΑΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΚΑΙΑΙΣΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΩΣ
ΔΙΕΝΗΝΟΧΟΤΑΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΚΑΜΕΝ

Translation

[The Council and people of Halicarnassus honoured C. Julius Longianus since he had benefited them ...] and by the rest of his visit, and he also honoured and adorned us, and gave demonstrations of poems of every kind, by which he both delighted the older and improved the younger, and, pleased at all this, the People instructed that the appropriate honours be voted to him; it has been resolved that Gaius Iulius Longianus function as a citizen among us without payment, being both a good man, and the best poet of our times, and be honoured with the other grants of citizenship and honours, the greatest that the laws permit, and with bronze statues which are to be put up both in the most noticeable places of the city and in the precinct of the Muses and in the gymnasium of the ephebes next to the ancient Herodotus; it has also been voted that there should be public presentations of his books in the libraries of our city, so that the young men should be educated in these also, in the same way as in the writings of the ancients; and so, that our goodwill and enthusiasm for their citizen should become clear to the People of our kinsfolk, the Aphrodisians, it has been resolved that a copy of this decree should be sent, by the hand of Julius himself, to the Aphrodisians, signed with the public seal, from which they too will learn both the way in which we regularly behave towards all educated men, and the honours with which we have honoured (Longianus) as someone quite outstanding.

12. Pergamum (Asclepieion)

AD 132

Habicht 1969, 84-5.

Text	Leges	Translation
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΗΣΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΣΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣΚΑΙΔΙΣΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΗΣΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ . . . ΕΤΙΜΗΣΕΝ ΦΑΜΕΛΙΤΙΝΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΦΑΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΠΡΥΤΑ ΝΕΩΣΚΑΙΜΗΤΕΡΑ . . . ΘΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΣΑΝΤΗΝΕΝ ΤΩΠΕΡΩΤΟΥΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝ	Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρου πρώτης Περγαμενῶν πολέως . . . ἐτίμησεν φλ. Μελιτίνην, γυναῖκα φλ. Μητροδώρου πρυτά- νεως καὶ μητέρα . . . φλ. Μητροδώρου πρυτάνεως, κατασκεύασαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ βιβλιοθήκην	The council and people of the metropolis of Asia, twice neokoros, the first city of the Pergamenes, have honoured Flavia Melitine, wife of Flavius Metrodorus, Prytanis, And mother of Flavius Metrodorus, Prytanis, as she has set up the library in the sanctuary of Asclepius the Saviour

13. Epidauros

2nd C AD

J.G.² IV, 1, 456. = Platthy 1968, 139 no. 96

Text	Leges	Translation
ΟΥΦΟΣ ΓΕ ΤΙΝΟΥ ΝΙΜΑΛΕΑΤΑΚΑΙ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝ ΑΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΙ ΚΑΙΑΓΩ	[-----]ουφος γ'ε--- τίνου [νίος?] Ἀρόλλω]- νι Μαλεάτα καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ Σωτήρι τὴν] βιβλιοθήκην [καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ βιβλί]- α ἀνέθηκεν > --- εἰ[εραπολίσας τὸ . . . ἔτος] καὶ ἀγω[νοθετήσας].	--- Rufus... Of - - tinus - - dedicated to Apollo Maleatas and Asclepius Soter the library [and its contents] - - - chief priest - - and organised games.

14. Rhodes

2nd C AD

Platthy 1968, 151 no. 119 = Mauri: 1925, 7 no. 4

Text	Leges	Translation
<p>-ΧΕΙ? -ΡΑΣΤΩΝΧΡΗΖΟΝΤΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΕΝΑΤΩΔΑΜΩ ΕΙΣΘΩΝΙΟΤΙΤΟΥΣΠΡ ΜΕΛΩΝΤΙΑΝΑΤΙΘΕ ΑΕΝΦΑΝΙΖΟΝΤΩΤΟΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΩΝΜΗΑΝΑΓΡ ΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΑΝ ΤΟΥΤ</p>	<p>-χει?-ρας τών χρηζόντων[v] [-κατά τὰ δε]δογμένα τῶι δάμω[i] [-ποι]εῖςθων ποτὶ τοὺς πρ[ο]τάνας[?] [-οἱ κα] μέλλωντι ἀνατιθέ[μ]ειν βιβλία- [-τὰ ὄνομα]τα ἐμφανίζόντω τοῖς [-τῶν γυμν]ασιαρχῶν μὴ ἀναγρ[α] [-εις τὰν βυ]βλιοθήκην. τοῦτο ἔδοξε πάσαις</p>	<p>..... According to the decree of the people Let them make [subscriptions] to the pr[ytaneis] Whoever wishes to donate [books?] Let the gymnasiarchs record [their names?] For the library.</p>
<p>ΝΑΜΟΥΟΓΔΑ ΕΙΣΤΑΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΑΝΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝΕΟΝΤΩΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΠΙΣΘΟΥΝΠΟ ΕΜΑΧΟΥΚΑΣΑΡΙΔΟΣΕ ΔΗΣΚΟΣΜΙΑΥΠΕΡΕΝΧΕ ΑΤΗΣΟΥΕΧΟΝΤΙΤΟΝΑ ΝΔΕΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΚ ΠΟΣΤΙΜΑΧΙΔΕΥΠ ΑΡΕΥΣΥΠΑΑΡΙ ΕΝΤΡΑΨΑΣ</p>	<p>[ἐπ' ἱερέως, - - μηνὸς Πα]νάμου ὀγδά[i]. [ἐπειδὴ - -] εἰς τὰν βυβλιοθήκην ἀ[νέθεσαν?] -πολλῶν ἐόντων τῶν [χρηζόντων?] -των. ὅπως οὖν πολλοὶ -εμάχου Κασαρίδος Ἐ -δης Κοσμία Ἵπερευχε[ύς] [-κρ]άτηω οὐ ἔχοντι τὸν ἀ- -ν δὲ Ἀριστοφάντου κ[αί] -πος Τιμαχίδε Ἵπ[ερευχεύς] [Κα]σάρειος ὑπ' Ἀριστο]- ἐνγράφας</p>	<p>On the 8th of Panamos [have contributed?] To the library, as there are many So that there may be many...</p>

15. Aphrodisias

2nd C AD

MLM4 VIII 498 p.108 = Platthy 1968, 173 no. 174

Cf Wilhelm 1933, 57-61; Reinach 1906, 98-100 no.13.

Text

- Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησα[ν]
Ἰάσωνα Μηνოდότου τοῦ Μενάνδ[ρου τοῦ]
Πραβρέα, ἀνδρα καλὸν καὶ αγαθὸν γέ[νους]
πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοχότατου καὶ συνεκτικ[ό-]
5 τος τὴν πατρίδα γυμνασιαρχήσαντα [καὶ]
στεφανηφορήσαντα μεγαλοψύχως κα[ὶ ἐν-]
δόχως καὶ ἀρχιερατεῦσαντα τῶν Σεβαστῶν [καὶ]
ἀγνοητέησαντα δῖς, τετελειωκότα [δὲ καὶ]
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοῦ γραμματοφυλακίου [σύν]
10 καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Παύλᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ περ[ιστώ-]
ου στοᾶς μεσημβρινῆς ἀπὸ θεμελίων τὸ [δυσμη-]
κόν πᾶν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ οἶκον σὺν περιφ[ώμασι]
καὶ βιβλιοθήκῃς καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν ἐργαστη[ρίοις]
διετέγειν δυσιν καὶ στοᾶς ἀνατολικῆς ἀπὸ θ[εμε-]
15 [λίων] διάστυλα οἰκῶ μετενηνοσῶτα δὲ [εἰς]
[ταύτη]ν, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς στοᾶς κατὰ τὸ γενόμενον]
[ψήφισμα διάστυλα οἰκῶ · καὶ στοᾶς δυσμηκῆ[ς διά]
στυλον ἐν, τοῖς τε κείσοι [τῆς στοᾶς ταύτης προσ-]
επιτεθεικέναι τὰς κεφαλὰς πᾶσι[ν τὰ τε ἐπισύλια]
20 καὶ ζωφόρους καὶ γείσηα τοῖς κείσοιν ἐπι[τεθεικέναι]
πᾶσιν, κείσοιν τε αὐτῆς πέντε ἔχουσιν τοὺς [θρά-]
νους μόνους ἐπιτεθεικέναι τοὺς λοιποὺς σφον-]
δύλους πάντας · τοῦ δὲ οἴκου τοῦ βορινοῦ [τῆς τῆ]
ἐξέδρας τὰ λει[ποντα] λευκλίθῃα πεποιηκό[τα πάν-]
25 τα σὺν ὀροφῆσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κείσοιν καὶ βί[βλιοθή]
καις καὶ τοῖς φυ[ραμ]ατικοῖς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶ[σιν, ἐρ-]
γαστήρια τε σὺν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τετελειω[κότα δέκα]
ἐννέα τὸ δὲ περιστόων ὅλον δεδοκῶσ[θαι καὶ]
κεκεραμῶσθαι καὶ ὠροθῶσθαι καὶ συντε[τελει-]
30 ῶσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ σὺν [καὶ τοῖς]
ἐφεστῶσιν θυρῶμασιν πᾶσιν.

Translation

The council and the people have honoured
Iason, son of Menodotus, son of Menandrus,
Son of Prabeas, a noble and good man of the foremost
Family, highly eminent and essential
to his homeland, gymnasiarch and
crowned in his glory and magnanimity
and high priest of the deified Emperors and
twice giver of games, having completed
the record office from his own resources,
together with his wife, Iulia Paula, (and) the surrounding
porticoes; the southern one from the foundations,
the entire western section and the house there with its portico
and the libraries and the two-floored workshops of the house
and the eastern portico from the foundations
with eight diastyle (intercolumniations) bringing it to
this one, and the eight diastyle (intercolumniations) of the old portico
according to the vote; and of the western portico
one diastyle (intercolumniation), and for the columns of this portico
he provided all the capitals and the architrave
and sculpted animals and he added all the cornices for the columns,
and for its columns having five single
beams he added all the remaining
drums; of the northern house and the exedra he installed
the remaining marbles that were lacking
with its ceilings and the columns in the house and libraries
and the stucco decorations and all the other things,
and he roofed the nine workshops with the ten in the exedra
and provided it with terracottas and roofed it and paid for it
from his own resources by himself with
all its rooms and doors.

16. Suessa Aurunca in Southern Latium
AD 193
CIL X 4670

Text

C · T I T I O
CHRESIMO · AVG · II
HVIC · ORDO · DECVRIONVM
QVOD PRO SALVTE ET INDVLGEN
TIA IMP ANTONINI PII FELICIS AVG
ET EX VOLVNTATE POPVLI MVNVS
FAMILIAE GLADIATORIAE EX PECVN'A
SVA DIEM PRIVATVM SECVNDNVM · DIGN'
TATEM COLONIAE EDIDERIT HONOREM
BISELLI · QVO · QVIS · OPTIMO EXEMPLO · IN
COLONIA · SVESSA · HABVIT ET VT AQVAE
DIGITVS IN DOMO · EIVS FLVERET COM
MODISQVE · PVBLICIS · AC SI · DECVRIO FRV
ERETVR ET TITIO · CHRESIMO FILIO · EIVS
OB · MERITA · PATRIS · HONOREM DECVRIONA
TVS · GRATVITVM DECVRETVT
ORDO DECVRIONVM ET AVGVSTALIVM
ET · PLEPS · UNIVERSA

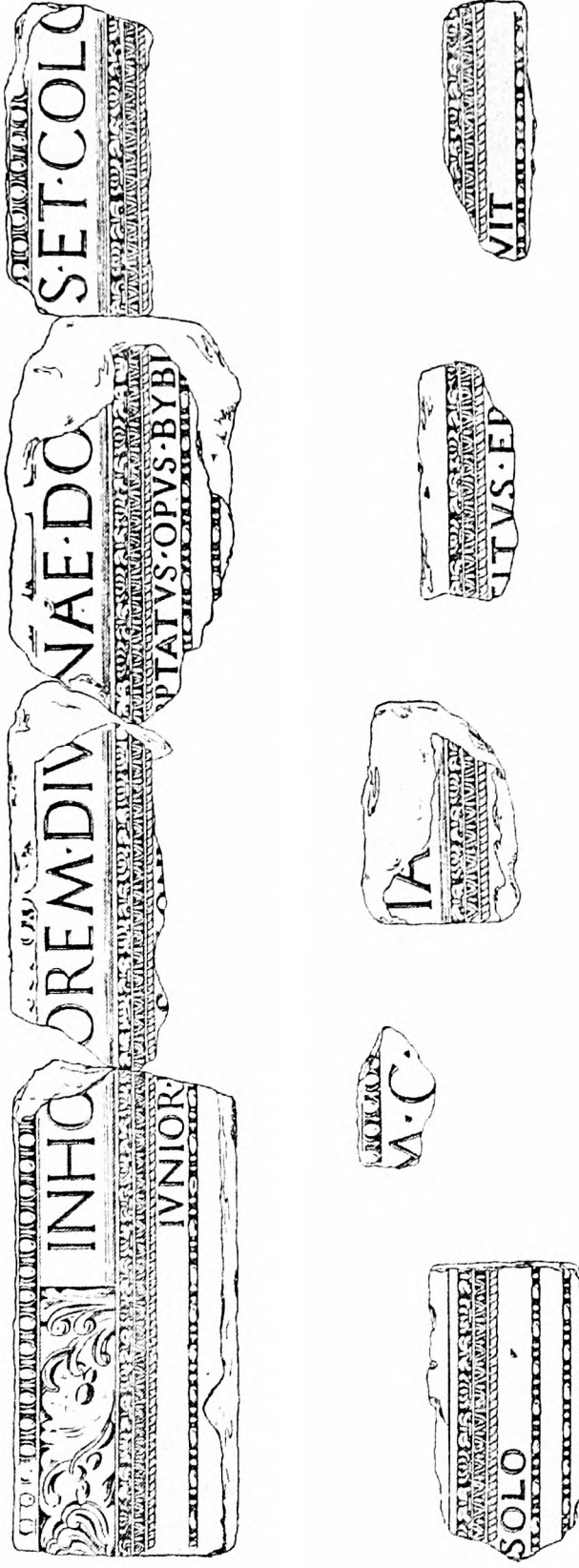
Reverse (worm lettering)

q s. OSSIO · FALCONE C IVLIO
ERV CIO CLARO COS
NON I S · SEPT E M B R
SVESSAE · IN ByBLIOTHECA *Mati*
DIANA SCRIBVND O ADF *verunt*
T · IVLIVS · BASSVS · M · MAESIVS Q
M · ARRIVS · ADVTOR · L MILDIVS
L · ASINIVS · MARSIRIANVS
QVOD · UNIVERSI · /// ANTIBA · ///
LIVS · HE · /// /// DIEM
/// /// /// /// EIVS
ANT GRATVITVM · /// ///
DECVRIONATVS EI · O · /// ///
STATVQUE · EIVS · OB MVNIFICEN
DIEM PRIVATI · EDITI · /// ///
L · D · D · D

An honorific decree written with witnesses in the Bibliotheca Matidiana at Suessa Matidia was the niece of Trajan's sister, sister of Hadrian's wife Sabina, aunt of Antoninus Pius. The library here seems to house civic meetings and possibly functions as an archive.

17. Philippi

Late 2nd C AD (on the basis of the architectural ornament and formula *divina domus*).
Collart 1933, 316ff. Picture: 318 fig. 6.



Text

...in ho[n]orem div[er]sae do[m]us et colo[n]iae Iul[iae] Aug[ustae] Philipp[ensium]
...junior .. s[ecundus] .. Optatus opus bybl[iothecae].]

.....usm C... ia.....
...a] solotitus ep... ..vit

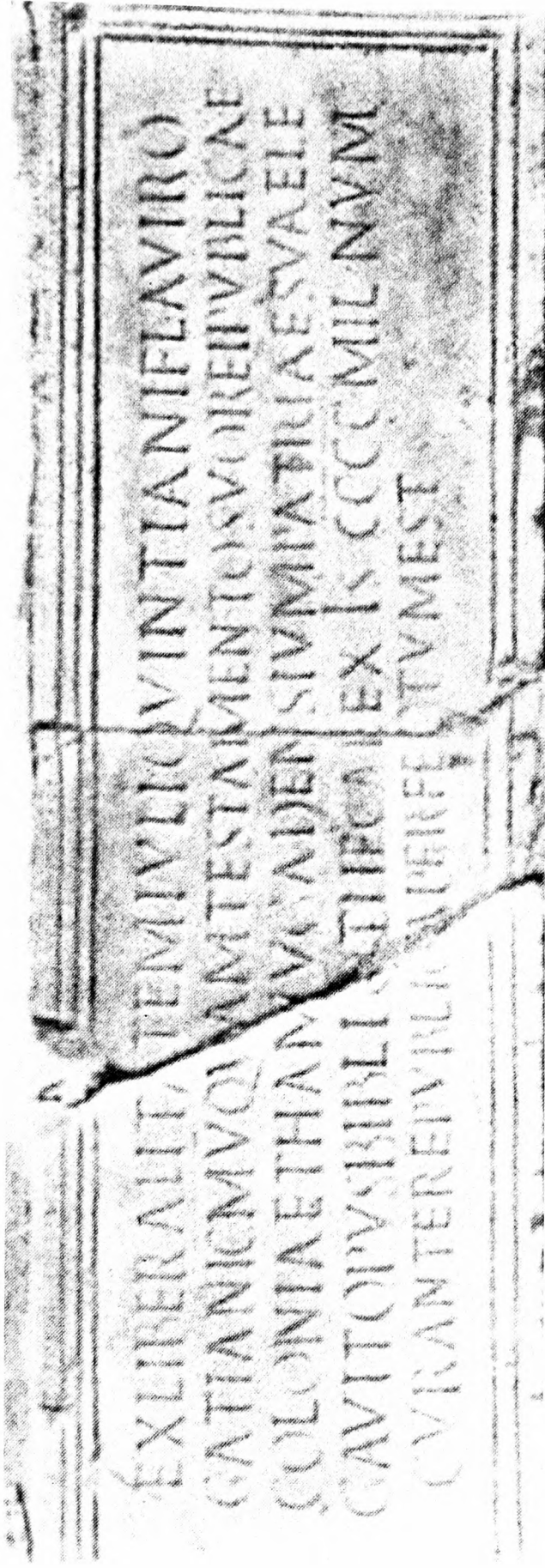
Translation

To the honour of the divine house and the colony of Julia
Augusta of Philippi The Younger Optatus
[dedicated] the work of the library ...
by himself

18. Timgad

Early third century (Pfeiffer); late third century (Cagnat)

Dessau *ILS* 9362; Cagnat 1906, 14-15; Pfeiffer 1931, 157-65. Picture *id.* Pl. 19.4



Text

EX LIBERALITATE M. IVLI(Q) QVINTIANI FLAVI(Q) RO
GATIANI C(LARISSIMAE) M(EMORIAE) V(IRI) QVAM TESTAMENTO SVO REIPVBLICAE
COLONIAE THAMVGADENSIVM PATRIAE SV(AE) LE
GAVIT OPVS BIBLIOTHECAE EX S(ESTERTIVM) CCCC MIL(IBVS) NVM(MVM)
CVRANTE REPVBLICA PERFECTVM EST.

Translation

Out of the generosity of Marcus Iulius
Quintianus Flavius Rogatianus, a man of
most famous memory; the work of the library
which in his will he left to the administration
of the Colony of Timgad, his homeland, out
of 400,000 HS, has been finished off under
the administration's care.

19. Mylasa

Date unknown.

Platthy 1968, 159 no. 136 dates it to the third C BC without giving a reason; the original sources for the inscription (*BCH* XXII, 1898, 392 No. 38 and Kontoleon 1889, 108-9 64 give no date.

The mention of Corinthian columns and an arcade, though, suggests a structure of Roman date of a similar sort, perhaps, to No.15 above or to a gymnasium-library; it is therefore included here very tentatively for the sake of completeness. Callmer 1944, 184 is also in favour of a later date.

Text

ΜΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΕ
ΣΠΡΟΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΙΣ
ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣΕΞΥΣΤΡΩΜΕΝΩ
ΗΝΠΕΡΙΤΗΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝΠΙ
ΤΗΝΠΑΡΑΔΡΟΜΙΔΑΠΑΡΑΤΟ

Translation

... and...
... existed before
...fluted Corinthian columns...
...around the library...
the arcade around the....

Lege

... μέμους και έ...
...ς προτοκειμένους
Κορινθίους έξυστρωμένους
...ην περί την βιβλιοθήκην πα...
τήν παραδρομίδα παρά το...



Appendix 5

Miscellaneous inscriptions.

•



APPENDIX 5 – Miscellaneous inscriptions.**1. Ursus Togatus inscription: CIL VI 9797 (c. AD 126).**

VRSVS TOGATVS VITREA QVI PRIMVS PILA
 LVSI DECENTER CVM MEIS LVSORIBVS
 LAVDANTE POPVLO MAXIMIS CLAMORIBVS
 THERMIS TRAIANI THERMIS AGRIPPAE ET TITI
 MVLTVM ET NERONIS SI TAMEN MIHI CREDITIS
 EGO SVM OVANTES CONVENITE PILICREPI
 STATUAMQUE AMICI FLORIBUS VIOLIS ROSIS
 FOLIOQVE MVLTO ADQVE VNGVENTO MARCIDO
 ONERATE AMANTES ET MERVM PROFVNDITE
 NIGRVM FALERNVM AVT SETINVM AVT CAECVBVM
 VIVO AC VOLENTI DE APOTHECA DOMINICA
 VRSVMQVE CANITE VOCE CONCORDI SENEM
 HILAREM IOCOSVM PILICREPVM SCHOLASTICVM
 QVI VICIT OMNES ANTECESSORES SVOS
 SENSU DECORE ADQVE ARTE SVPTILISSIMA
 NVNC VERA VERSV VERBA DICAMVS SENES
 SVM VICTVS IPSE FATEOR A TER CONSVLE
 VERO PATRONO NEC SEMEL SED SAEPIVS
 CVIVS LIBENTER DICOR EXODIARIVS

2. Athletic college in Trajan's baths: CIG III 5906 (5th May AD 134).

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ
 ΘΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΟΥΑ ΥΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ
 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΟ ΙΗ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΟ Γ
 ΠΑΤΕΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΩ ΞΩΣΤΙΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΑΘΛΗΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΝΕΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΕΝΘΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΣΘΕ ΚΕΛΕΥΣΩ ΔΟΘΗΝΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΗΜΑ
 ΩΣ ΤΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΑ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΠΛΩΝ ΤΗΝ
 ΜΕΤΑΠΟΙΗΣΙΝ ΑΝΑΝΚΑΙΑΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΦΥΜΕΙΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ
 ΕΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΤΕ
 ΠΡΟ Γ ΝΩΝΩΝ ΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΡΩΜΗΣ

Lege:

ἀγαθῶ τύχη
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραῖνου Παρθικοῦ υἱός
 θεοῦ Νερούα υἱώνος, Τραῖνός Ἄδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 τὸ ιη, ὑπάτος τὸ γ, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδῳ ξωστικῇ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν
 ἱερoneικῶν στεφανειτῶν, χαίρειν.
 Καὶ τόπον ἔνθα βούλεσθε κελεύσω δοθῆναι ὑμεῖν καὶ οἴκημα ὡς τὰ γράμματα ἀποτίθεσθαι
 τὰ κοινὰ καὶ εἰ τῶν διπλῶν τὴν μεταποίησιν ἀνανκαίαν νομίζετε, τοῦτο ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστίν.
 ἐπρέσβευεν Οὐλπίος Δομεστικός. Εὐτυχεῖτε.
 Πρὸ γ Νωνῶν Μαίων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

Reverse:

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
 Μ ΑΙΛΙΩΙ
 ΑΥΡΕΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
 Τ ΑΙΛΙΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ
 ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΥΙΩ
 Μ ΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ
 ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΣ
 ΟΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΠΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΕΠΙ ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ

3. Athletic college in Trajan's baths II: *CIG* III 5907 (16th June AD 143).

ΑΓΑΘΩΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ
 ΘΕΟΥ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥ ΥΙΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΟΥΑ
 ΕΓΓΟΝΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ
 ΤΟ ς ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΟ Β ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΩ
 ΕΥΣΤΙΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΑΘΛΗΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΝΕΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΕΦΑ
 ΝΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
 ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΑ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΧΘΗΝΑΙ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΕΝ Ω ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΘΗΣΕΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΘΕΡΜΑΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΥΠΟ
 ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΠΟΥ ΜΟΥ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΑΙΣ ΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ
 ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΕΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΕΡΧΕΣΘΕ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΤΕ ΕΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΕΝ
 ΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΑΝΕΙΩΝ ΜΟΥ
 ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΠΡΟ ΙΖ ΚΑΛ ΙΟΥΝ ΑΠΟ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΤΟΡΚΟΥΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΩΔΗ ΥΠΑΤ

Lege:

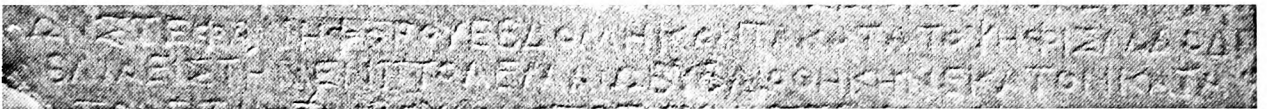
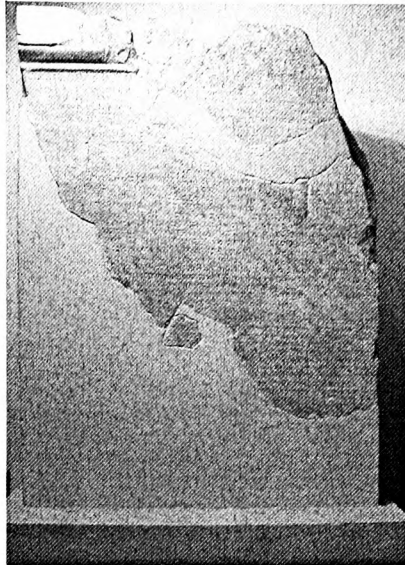
ἀγαθῶ τύχη

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραῖνοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱώνος, θεοῦ Νερούα ἔγγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός Ἀντωνεῖνος, Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ς, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β, ὑπάτος τὸ γ, πατήρ πατρίδος, συνόδω ξωστικῆ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ἱερoneικῶν στεφανειτῶν, χαίρειν.
 ἐκέλευσα ὑμεῖν ἀποδεισθῆναι χωρίον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἱερά καταθήσεσθε καὶ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς θέρμαις τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάππου μου γεγενημέναις, ὅπου καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Καπιτωλείοις συνέρχεσθε. Εὐτυχεῖτε. ἐπρέσβευεν Οὐλπίος Δομεστικός ἐπὶ βαλανείων μου.
 ἐγράφη πρὸ ιζ Καλ[ανδῶν] Ιουν[ίων] ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Τορκουάτω καὶ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπάτ[οις].

Reverse: dedication to Antoninus Pius by M. Ulpius Domesticus.

4. Dedication of books to the library of the Ptolemaion in Athens. *I.G. II² 1029 = Platthy 1968, 110 no.30.*

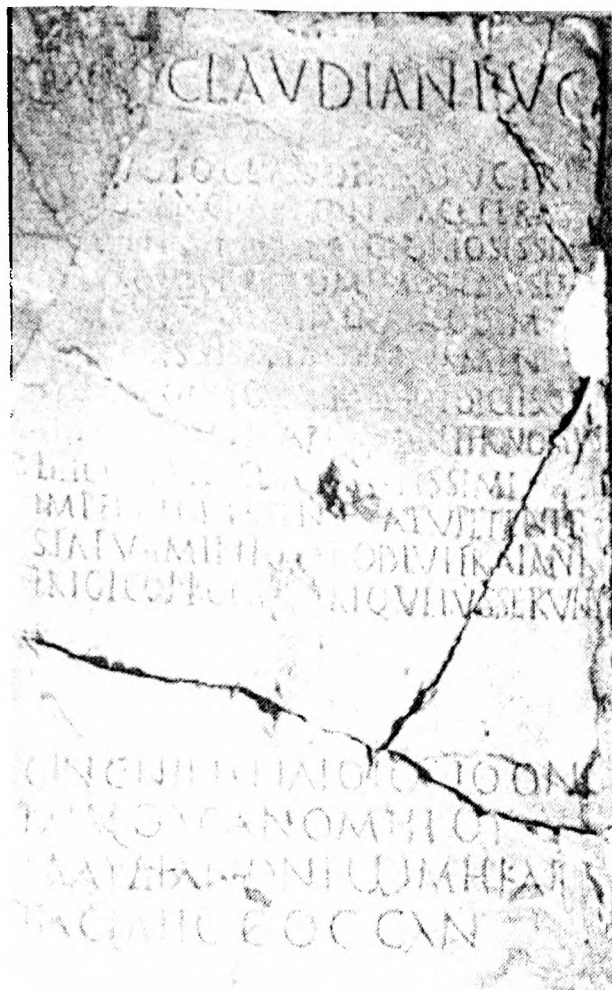
Photographs: author.



[ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ φιάλην τῆι μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν
 ἀπὸ δραχμ]ῶν Στεφανηφόρου ἑβδομήκοντα κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Δι[οσκουρίδης
 Διοσκουρίδου Φηγαίεὺς εἶπεν· ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ βυ]βλ α ε ς τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίῳ βιβλιοθήκην
 ἑκατὸν κατὰ [τὸ ψήφισμα

5. Dedicatory inscription to Claudian from Trajan's Forum (c.400AD). *CIL VI.1710*.

Picture: Moretti 1968, Vol. I, 58 No. 63.



[CL.]CLAVDIANI V(IRI)C(LARISSIMI)

[CLA]VDIO CLAVDIANO V.C. TRI-
[BV]NO ET NOTARIO INTER CETERAS
[..] CENTES ARTES PRAEGLORISSIMO
[PO]ETARVM LICET AD MEMORIAM SEM-
PITERNAM CARMINA AB EODEM
SCRIPTA SVFFICIENT ADTAMEN
TESTIMONII GRATIA OB IVDICII SVI
< F>IDEM DD NN ARCADIVS ET HONORIVS
< F>ELICISSIMI AC DOCTISSIMI
IMPERATORES SENATV PETENTE
STATVAM IN FORO DIVI TRAIANI
ERIGI COLLOCARIQVE IVSSERVNT

EIN ENI BIRΓILIOIO NOON
KAI MOYCAN OMHPY
KΛAYΔIANON PWMH KAI
BACIΛHC EΘECAN

The Greek epigram:

Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίῳ νόον καὶ μοῦσαν Ὀμήρου
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν

Cf. Claudian *De Bello Getico* 7f.:

*sed prior effigiem tribuit successus aenam, / oraque patricius nostra dicavit honos; / annuit hunc princeps titulum
poscente senatu / ... legimur conscipimurque foro.*