# PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND LITERARY CULTURE IN ANCIENT ROME

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# PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND LITERARY CULTURE IN ANCIENT ROME

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MAGISTRIS CARISSIMIS QUI SUMMA CURA IN SAPIENTIAM CULTUMQUE ANTIQUORUM ME EDUXERUNT, PRAECIPUE EI QUI MIHI IN ARTIBUS LIBERALIBUS NUPER FUIT INSPIRATIONI VERAE:

GRANT SHOWERMAN

## FOREWORD

As no treatise dealing with public libraries in antiquity has survived from ancient or mediaeval times, it is only by the study of miscellaneous data afforded by classical literature, inscriptions, and monuments that a conception of public libraries in ancient Rome may be obtained.

Employing such sources of information, the present inquiry will concern itself with the history, equipment, contents, management, object, and cultural significance of the Roman public library.

Particular attention will be directed to libraries in Rome during the first one hundred and fifty years of the Empire. The first four centuries, however, form the total period under general consideration.

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# INTRODUCTION

The idea of founding public libraries in the capital of the Roman Empire originated with Julius Caesar: the actual realization of this idea was effected by Augustus.

In the era of peace, so auspiciously dawning but soon so ruthlessly disturbed, none of the dictator's plans for the development of Rome was more significant than that of instituting libraries for public patronage. Caesar had doubtless long since learned to appreciate the value of the public libraries already established in important literary centers in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Greece, and could therefore easily foresee the function they were destined to perform among the Romans themselves.

A twofold motive on Caesar's part is set forth by Suetonius:[1] first, to reduce all existing codes of civil law to a more simplified form by extracting only the essential features and combining them in a select series of legal documents; and, secondly, to throw open to public use as many libraries[2] as possible, both Greek and Latin, the duty of organizing and managing them to devolve upon Marcus Terentius Varro.

Before so worthy an undertaking could be executed, however, political conditions suddenly changed. Caesar was assassinated, and Varro,[3] likewise thwarted by his enemies, suffered at the hands of the proscriptionists—events which augured ill for the furtherance of literary interests at Rome.

But, fortunately, the affairs of the new Empire were to be administered by a successor whose ambition lay in the direction of literary as well as political supremacy. Emphasizing the

[1] Suetonius, *Caesar* 44: " . . . . ius civile ad certum modum redigere, atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas et Latinas, quas maximas posset, publicare, data M. Varroni cura comparandarum et digerendarum."

[2] The term *βιβλιοθήκη* or *βιβλίων θήκη* (likewise *ἀποθήκη*), equivalent to *librorum repositio*, probably denoted originally the collection of books in the bookseller's shop. *Bibliotheca*, in its Latinized form, is believed to have been applied first by the Romans to the Alexandrian library.

[3] See pp. 48, 49.

demands of literature and culture, Augustus began at an early date to consummate the scheme already proposed with reference to public libraries. For it was through his inspiration and encouragement that C. Asinius Pollio inaugurated at Rome the first library devoted exclusively to the interests of the public, and thus performed the duty originally assigned by Caesar to Varro.[1]

Two other libraries were founded in the city under the administration of Augustus. Additional libraries were instituted from time to time by subsequent emperors.

Public libraries existing in Rome up into the fourth century are said by Ammianus Marcellinus[2] to have been closed forever, like so many graves. This was due largely to the influence of the church, library buildings being sometimes transformed into sanctuaries.[3]

[1] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 2. 9: "Non est praetereundum et novitium inventum. . . . . Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit."

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6. 18: " . . . . bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis. . . . . "

[3] As is typified in the creation of the Church of S. Maria Antiqua out of the library adjoining the temple of Augustus.

# I. PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT ROME

Twenty-eight, possibly twenty-nine, public libraries flourished in ancient Rome in the fourth century of the Empire, according to the appendixes to the Regionary Catalogues,[1] and the *Mirabilia Romae*.[2]

Only nine public libraries can be identified in name and only seven in location. But the several available sources combine advantageously in showing, through more or less details, the chief features of the typical public library as it existed at Rome. These nine libraries[3] were:

1. Bibliotheca in Atrio Libertatis.
2. Bibliotheca Templi Apollinis.
3. Bibliotheca Porticus Octaviae.
4. Bibliotheca Templi Augusti.
5. Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae.
6. Bibliotheca in Templo Pacis.
7. Bibliotheca in Foro Traiani.
8. Bibliotheca in Capitolio.
9. Bibliotheca in Templo Aesculapii.

## 1. *Bibliotheca in Atrio Libertatis*

The Atrium Libertatis, containing both Greek and Latin libraries, cannot be definitely located.

[1] The two recensions, "Notitia" (not before 334 A.D.) and "Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIV cum Breviariis Suis" (*ca.* 357 A.D.).

[2] *Mirabilia Romae* cap. 23: ". . . . iuxta arcum septem lucernarum templum Aesculapii: ideo dicitur Cartularium, quia ibi fuit bibliotheca publica, de quibus xxviii fuere in urbe." Preller (*Die Regionen der Stadt Rom*, p. 119) remarks that the number xxviiii of Codex A of the "Notitia" should, in accord with the unanimous authority of the remaining MSS, certainly be considered an error of the scribe, especially since the *Mirabilia Romae* mentions twenty-eight libraries.

[3] Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex libro Pomponi Festi*, 356: "Bibliothecae et apud Graecos et apud nos tam librorum magnus per se numerus quam locus ipse, in quo libri collocati sunt, appellatur."

An Aedes Libertatis, says Livy,[1] was erected on the Aventine in 216 B.C., by the father of Gracchus, fine money defraying the cost. Greatly pleased at the success of a public banquet held near the city, Gracchus is said to have ordered a representation of the scene painted on the interior of the edifice. Twenty years later it was rebuilt by the censors, Paetus and Cethegus.[2]

The old *curia* was apparently termed Atrium Libertatis, for Cicero[3] seems to have referred to it when he wrote that Caesar's friends, Oppius and himself, did not hesitate to spend 60,000,000 sesterces ($3,000,000) in widening the forum and making it reach to the Atrium Libertatis. The same designation is said to have been applied by Theodoric the Ostrogoth (483–526 A.D.) to the *curia*.[4]

It has been clearly shown by Latin writers that a public library formed part of such a structure, as in the following statements: That Asinius Pollio was the first to make men's talents public property by dedicating a library;[5] that he made public for the first time both Greek and Latin libraries in the *atrium*, constructed in magnificent style out of spoils of war;[6] and that he here added busts of authors, among which appeared that of Varro while he was still alive.[7]

It is suggested by Merivale that, as Varro's statue was placed in this library, and spoils of war provided means for its erection,

[1] Livy, xxiv. 16. 19: "Digna res visa, ut simulacrum celebrati eius diei Gracchus, postquam Romam rediit, pingi iuberet in aede Libertatis, quam pater eius in Aventino ex multaticia pecunia faciendam curavit dedicavitque."

[2] Livy, xxxiv. 44. 4, 5: "Creati censores Sex. Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus. . . . . Atrium Libertatis et villa publica ab iisdem refecta amplificataque."

[3] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* iv. 17. 7 (16. 14): "Itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet, in monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sexcenties HS; cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia." See Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* (Carter), 2d ed., p. 16.

[4] See Huelsen (Carter), pp. 27, 117.

[5] See p. 2, n. 1.

[6] Isidorus, *Origines* vi. 52: "Primum autem Romae bibliothecas publicavit Pollio Graecas simul atque Latinas, additis auctorum imaginibus, in atrio quod de manubiis magnificentissimum instruxerat"; Suetonius, *Augustus* 29: ". . . . ab Asinio Pollione Atrium Libertatis [exstructum]."

[7] Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 30. 115: "M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius viventis posita imago est, . . . ."

probably Pollio only made additions to a library already begun by his learned but aged contemporary. It is safer, however, to assume that Varro's misfortunes had incapacitated him for even a partial realization of Caesar's purpose.

The date of the founding of this first library has not been accurately determined, though it is to be placed between 39 B.C., when the Parthian victory occurred (715 A.U.C.), and 27 (24?) B.C., the year of Varro's death. The anniversary date is given by Ovid[1] as April 13.

### 2. *Bibliotheca Templi Apollinis*

Whatever doubt may exist regarding the founding of the library of the Atrium Libertatis, the name of Augustus is closely connected with the establishment of two public libraries—that of the Templum Apollinis and that in the Porticus Octaviae (not to be confounded with the Porticus Octavia). That these three libraries were in operation at the same time is indicated by Ovid,[2] when he personifies his little volume of verse, and represents it as seeking admittance at their doors.

The temple of Apollo vowed in 36 B.C. and dedicated in 28 B.C. (October 9) was one of the most beautiful and magnificent structures erected in Rome by Augustus. After his victory over

[1] Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 621–24:

Occupat Aprilis Idus cognomine Victor
Iuppiter. Hac illi sunt data templa die.
Hac quoque, ni fallor, populo dignissima nostro
Atria Libertas coepit habere sua.

[2] Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 1. 59–72:

Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
Ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei,
Signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis,
Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater,
Quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
Pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.
Quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,
Quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.
Quaerentem frustra custos e sedibus illis
Praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.
Altera templa peto, vicino iuncta theatro;
Haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.
Nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,
Atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.

Sextus Pompey in Sicily, remarks Velleius Paterculus,[1] he devoted to public use several buildings purchased by his deputies, and, manifesting unusual liberality, determined to erect the temple of Apollo with surrounding porticoes. A specific reason for its consecration to Apollo was the fact that a thunderbolt had struck the buildings occupying this site, as is mentioned by Dio Cassius,[2] when he states that a house was presented to Augustus, public funds being used for the purpose (notwithstanding certain gossip about some of his acts and motives). The testimony of Suetonius[3] harmonizes with this: "He erected the temple of Apollo in that section of the Palatine house which, because of its being struck by lightning, the soothsayers asserted was earnestly desired by the god." Further, in the Monumentum Ancyranum, Augustus[4] himself alludes to this structure as among the edifices he erected in the city.

As for the library that is associated so closely with the famous temple, Dio Cassius[5] says that he "provided and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and stores of books"; while Suetonius,[6] in referring to the soothsayers' interpretation of the thunderbolt, gives the information that "he added porticoes with a Greek and Latin library, where, when

[1] Velleius Paterculus, ii. 81. 3: "Victor deinde Caesar reversus in urbem contractas emptionibus complures domos per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usibus destinare professus est, templumque Apollinis et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est."

[2] Dio Cassius, xlix. 15: *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ἐθρυλεῖτο, τότε δὲ οἰκίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν . τὸν γὰρ τόπον ὃν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ὥστ' οἰκοδομῆσαί τινα, ἐώνητο, ἐδημοσίωσε καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ἱέρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ κεραυνὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκατέσκηψε. τήν τε οὖν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι.*

[3] Suetonius, *Augustus* 29: "Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit."

[4] Monumentum Ancyranum, § 19: "Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus . . . . feci."

[5] Dio Cassius, liii. 1: *τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον τό [τε] ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τάς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων, ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε.*

[6] See n. 3.

he had now become rather advanced in years, he often, indeed, held the Senate and selected the judicial *decuriae*."

According to the usual view, the temple and its library, with the inclosing porticoes, formed a group of structures on the northeast side of the Palatine, probably facing westward on the Vicus Apollinis which ran north to the Via Sacra. A more recent theory locates all the buildings of Augustus on the southwest part of the hill.[1] The exact location of the library has thus never been determined. Platner[2] says: "Some grave difficulties in the current view are avoided by the second, and while only a preliminary report of the investigation has as yet been published, and a final decision would be premature, the available evidence seems to point distinctly to the southwest part of the hill."

While there survives no description of the elegance of the library, much is known of the magnificence of the temple, from which inference may easily be drawn regarding the library itself. The temple was probably peripteral and octostyle, or, if not, prostyle hexastyle.[3] It was elaborately decorated with works of art, as may be seen from Propertius.[4] Between the columns of the portico, doubtless made of *giallo antico*, were the statues of the fifty daughters of Danaus, while immediately opposite were the statues of their respective husbands, the sons of Aegyptus, in equestrian style. Apollo and Diana formed a group design set up over the entrance to the temple. Numerous bronze figures ornamented the façade. Bas-reliefs on the portals represented the rout of the Gauls and the fate of Niobe's children.

[1] Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, 2d ed., p. 146.

[2] *Ibid.* 147. [3] *Ibid.* 144.

[4] Propertius, ii. 31:

Quaeris, cur veniam tibi tardior? aurea Phoebi
Porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit;
Tanta erat in speciem Poenis digesta columnis,
Inter quas Danai femina turba senis.
Tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum,
Et patria Phoebo carius Ortygia:
Et duo Solis erant supra fastigia currus;
Et valvae, Libyci nobile dentis opus,
Altera deiectos Parnasi vertice Gallos,
Altera maerebat funera Tantalidos.
Deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem
Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat.
Hic equidem Phoebo visus mihi pulchrior ipso
Marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra:
Atque aram circum steterant armenta Myronis,
Quattuor artifices, vivida signa, boves.

The temple and the library both suffered in the fire of Nero, and restorations were made by Domitian.[1] The buildings were totally destroyed in the great conflagration March 18, 363 A.D.[2]

### 3. *Bibliotheca Porticus Octaviae*

The library of the Porticus Octaviae was located between the Capitoline and the Tiber near the Theater of Marcellus: it is shown in this position in the Marble Plan[3] of the city. Partial remains of the Porticus are still to be seen.[4]

The porticus consisted of a double colonnade, inclosing a rectangular court 443 feet long and 377 feet wide and showing a four-faced archway at each corner. Entrance was effected through handsome double hexastyle propylaea on the southwest side. Near the center of the area were the two temples built parallel to each other in honor, respectively, of Jupiter Stator and Juno—the former being hexastyle peripteral, and the latter hexastyle prostyle.[5] The Opera Octaviae included, in addition to these temples, a *schola* immediately at their rear—a sort of "Conversation Hall," a *curia* used occasionally for meetings of the Senate, and the double library devoted to Greek and Latin volumes. The library sections are described by Middleton as having the

[1] Suetonius, *Domitian* 20: "Liberalia studia in initio imperii neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandriam qui describerent emendarentque."

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3. 3: "Verum ut compertum est postea hac eadem nocte Palatini Apollinis templum praefecturam regente Aproniano in urbe conflagravit, ubi, ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammarum."

[3] Huelsen (Carter), *The Roman Forum* p. 236, § xxxix: "The so-called Templum Sacrae Urbis. . . . . The back wall on the contrary is of brick and exhibits countless holes used for fastening slabs of marble. On this wall was fastened originally the great Marble Plan of the city (Forma Urbis Romae) which was made in the reign of Septimius Severus probably as a renewal of an older plan." Cf. Platner, pp. 2–5, "The Capitoline Plan."

[4] Platner, pp. 372, 373.

[5] Velleius Paterculus, i. 11. 3: "Hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae fuerunt circumdatae duabus aedibus sine inscriptione positis, quae nunc Octaviae porticibus ambiuntur, fecerat, quique hanc turmam statuarum equestrium, quae frontem aedium spectant, hodieque maximum ornamentum eius loci, ex Macedonia detulit."

*curia* between them and standing behind the *schola*.[1] Doubt is expressed by Platner whether these several terms designate one and the same building or different structures.[2] Various inscriptions indicate the existence of both Greek and Latin divisions of the library.[3]

The Porticus Octaviae replaced the original Porticus Metelli constructed in 147 B.C. by Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus and inclosing very likely the previously existing temples of Jupiter and Juno.[4] This was the work of Augustus in 33 B.C., and he utilized for this purpose the spoils of war secured in his Dalmatian campaign.

Both the porticus and the bibliothecae, says Dio Cassius,[5] were erected by the emperor in honor of his sister. He includes "the Octavian buildings together with their books" as among the structures consumed in the disastrous fire of 80 A.D.[6]

It is stated by Suetonius[7] that "he built also certain structures in the name of others, viz., his nephews, his wife, his sister: as, the Porticus and Basilica of Gaius and Lucius, likewise the Porticus of Livia, the Porticus of Octavia, and the Theater of Marcellus."

According to Plutarch,[8] Octavia erected the library in honor of her son, Marcellus, who died in 23 B.C. at the age of twenty. The library, therefore, must have been organized soon after that year.

[1] Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, *s.v.* "Porticus Octaviae," Vol. I, pp. 203 f.

[2] Platner, p. 373. [3] See pp. 44, 45. [4] See p. 8, n. 5.

[5] Dio Cassius, xlix. 43: *ἐπειδή τε οἱ Δελμάται παντελῶς ἐκεχείρωντο, τάς τε στοὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὀκταουιανὰς ἐπὶ τῇς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν.*

[6] *Ibid.*, lxvi. 24: *πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπενείματο · καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπεῖον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τά τε Σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ τὸ Πάνθειον τό τε διριβιτώριον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν <τοῦ> Πομπηίου σκηνήν, καὶ τὰ Ὀκταουίεια οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τόν τε νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συνναόων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν.*

[7] Suetonius, *Augustus* 29: "Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli."

[8] Plutarch, *Marcellus* 20: *εἰς δὲ τιμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμην Ὀκταβιὰ μὲν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνέθηκεν.*

The statements of these three writers will display no inconsistency if it be supposed that the porticus and library were actually erected in honor of the emperor's sister, but that the library was shortly after designated by Octavia as a permanent memorial to her son.

A quotation from Dio Cassius already cited shows the destruction of the Octavian buildings by the fire in the time of Titus. The library, however, was restored by Domitian. He endeavored to obtain duplicates of volumes destroyed, even sending competent officials to Alexandria to make the desired copies.[1] It was at least partially destroyed by a second fire, for an inscription appearing later on the entablature of the propylaea and containing the words *incendio corruptam* suggests a restoration under Severus and Caracalla in 203 A.D.[2]

Like the library of the Palatine, that of the Porticus Octaviae was founded in a beautiful environment. The two temples contained famous works of art by the masters;[3] and the *schola* was similarly ornamented.[4] A double portico surrounding the spacious area, near the center of which the group of structures arose, was not only itself imposing but had an entrance on the southwest side through the ornately constructed propylaea.

### 4. *Bibliotheca Templi Augusti*

The names of Livia, Tiberius, and Caligula are associated with the erection and dedication of the temple built in honor of Augustus and containing a public library.

Pliny[5] alludes to "the temple of the Palatine which Augusta, his wife, constructed for [the commemoration of] divine Augustus."

[1] See p. 8, n. 1.

[2] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 470; "Scavi nel portico di Ottavia," *Bull. Inst.*, 1878, p. 209.

[3] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 5. 24 f. [Cephisodotus, son of Praxiteles]: "Romae eius opera sunt Latona in Palatii delubro, Venus in Pollionis Asini monumentis et intra Octaviae porticus in Iunonis aede Aesculapius ac Diana." Cf. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, I, 203 f.

[4] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 469.

[5] Pliny, *N.H.* xii. 19, 94: "Coronas ex cinnamo interrasili auro inclusas primus omnium in templis Capitolii atque Pacis dicavit imperator Vespasianus Augustus. Radicem eius magni ponderis vidimus in Palatii templo quod fecerat divo Augusto coniunx Augusta, aureae paterae inpositam, ex qua guttae editae annis omnibus in grana durabantur, donec id delubrum incendio consumptum est."

Referring to Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus[1] observes: "What edifices he erected in his own name and that of his family! With what tender liberality, surpassing human belief, did he erect a temple to his father!"

"He built only two public structures," says Tacitus,[2] "a temple to Augustus and a stage for Pompey's theater; he did not dedicate these when completed on account of his contempt for display or because of old age."

Suetonius states that these buildings were left by Tiberius[3] in incomplete condition but finished by Caligula[4] who also dedicated the temple; but Dio Cassius[5] says that while Tiberius repaired buildings that had fallen to decay he did not construct anything new except the temple of Augustus.

It is to be noted, in addition, that Dio[6] ascribes the erection of a *heroum* of Augustus to both Livia and Tiberius: "A *heroum* voted by the Senate and built by Livia and Tiberius was erected to the dead emperor in Rome and others at many different points. . . . ."

Archaeologists have determined with definiteness the site of the temple and its library. Within recent years these have been located among the excavations made on the north and northwest corner of the Palatine between the Clivus Tuscus and the Clivus Victoriae. That the eastern and southeastern portions of the ruins there laid bare represent the original site of the library

[1] Velleius Paterculus, ii. 130, 1: "Quanta suo suorumque nomine exstruxit opera! quam pia munificentia superque humanam evecta fidem templum patri molitur!"

[2] Tacitus, *Annales* vi. 45: "Ne publice quidem, nisi duo opera, struxit, templum Augusto, et scenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem, haud dedicavit."

[3] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 47: "Princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit (nam et quae sola susceperat, Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit) neque spectacula omnino edidit."

[4] Suetonius, *Caligula* 31: "Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta, templum Augusti theatrumque Pompeii, absolvit."

[5] Dio Cassius, lvii. 10. 2: *πάντα γὰρ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνακτησάμενος (αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ καινῆς πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγουστείου, κατεσκευάσατο) οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἰδιώσατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομησάντων αὐτὰ ὀνόματα πᾶσί σφισιν ἀπέδωκεν.*

[6] *Ibid.*, lvi. 46: *καὶ αὐτῷ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον ψηφισθὲν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας οἰκοδομηθὲν δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς Λιουίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη, καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, τὰ μὲν ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν δήμων, τὰ δὲ ἀκόντων οἰκοδομουμένων.*

itself was the readily accepted theory of Huelsen,[1] who came to this conclusion upon recalling the suggestion of Vitruvius,[2] that libraries should have eastern exposure.

Running the entire length of the temple and a little farther to the south, there is a very large quadrangular area, the southern half of which constitutes the supposed library. There are relics of a middle section with two columns on each side. To the east, south, and west are the Greek and Latin divisions of the library.

On the west side is the temple of Augustus with its extended front where six transverse walls may still be seen. The long rear wall and the two shorter side walls show alternating square and round niches adapted for statues. At the southern corner is a doorway leading to two small rooms. From the larger of these, on the left, there opens an entrance into a large group of rooms believed to be the library of the "new temple" mentioned by Martial[3] and Suetonius.[4]

"There is little doubt," says Platner,[5] "that this eastern portion of the structure is the *bibliotheca* attached to the temple, although this so-called temple itself is far from conforming to the normal type."

A single sentence used by Suetonius[6] in his biography of Caligula has proved helpful in locating the site of the Augusteum. For here appears the statement that Caligula united the Capitoline and Palatine hills with a bridge built over the roofs of the intervening structures. The brick piers still remaining are the same, it is believed, that originally supported the wooden bridge of the emperor, which, however, was removed shortly after his death. The temple, therefore, was erected on the northwestern side of the Palatine, and not constructed on the highest portion of it.

Another passage in the writings of Suetonius[7] seems to refer to the library under discussion. Tiberius, he remarks, dreamed

[1] Huelsen (Carter), pp. 172–75.

[2] See pp. 23, 24.

[3] See p. 34, n. 4; n. 5.

[4] See n. 7.

[5] Platner, p. 163.

[6] Suetonius, *Caligula* 22: "Et in contubernium ultro invitatus, super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso, Palatium Capitoliumque coniunxit."

[7] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 74: "Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem, et amplitudinis et artis eximiae, advectum Syracusis, ut in bibliotheca novi templi poneretur, viderat per quietem affirmantem sibi, non posse se ab ipso dedicari."

on his last birthday that the large and beautiful statue of Apollo Temnites, which had been transported from Syracuse for the purpose of being placed in the library of the new temple, declared to him he would not be accorded the privilege of setting it up.

How shall the words *bibliotheca novi templi* be interpreted? One of the more recent reviewers of the subject of libraries in Ancient Rome, Filippo Garbelli,[1] thinks this expression alludes to the library of the temple of Apollo. But does it not with more probability indicate the new temple of the reign of Tiberius? It has been noted already that the edifice erected in honor of the god was vowed in 36 B.C. and dedicated in 28 B.C. There is no record of its destruction, and consequently there was no restoration, until the latter half of the first century of our era.[2]

The phrase *in bibliotheca templi Augusti* employed by Pliny[3] to designate the place where he had seen a Tuscan Apollo fifty feet high, admired for its bronze workmanship, is construed by so discriminating a scholar as Max Ihm[4] as meaning the library of the Augusteum; by Garbelli[5] as the library in the temple of Apollo. The view of Ihm should be accepted.

Military diplomas were usually fastened on bronze tablets and posted in public places. An antique diploma of this variety found bearing the words, *Romae in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam*,[6] appeared, presumably, on the wall of the eastern corner of this temple structure—that is, on a wall of the library, *ad Minervam* being a significant phrase.

The Augusteum was restored probably by Domitian after it was burned in 80 A.D.[7]

[1] Filippo Garbelli, *Le Biblioteche in Italia all' Epoca Romana*, p. 139.

[2] See p. 8, n. 1.

[3] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 7. 43: "Videmus certe Tuscanicum Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti quinquaginta pedum a pollice, dubium aere mirabiliorem an pulchritudine."

[4] Max Ihm, "Die Bibliotheken im alten Rom," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekwesen*, XIII, 503 f.

[5] See n. 1.

[6] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 122; Huelsen (Carter), p. 172; see p. 34, n. 3.

[7] See p. 10, n. 5; cf. p. 8, n. 1.

After being destroyed a second time, it was again restored in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as is shown by a coin of that period[1] bearing the inscription: *Templum div(i) Aug(usti) rest(itutum)*.

### 5. *Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae*

Some commentators have considered the Bibliotheca Augusti and the Bibliotheca Tiberiana as the same library.[1] Furthermore, the query has arisen whether the books found in the library of the Palace of Tiberius may not have been transferred from that of the Augusteum. There is no evidence to support this idea. On the other hand, there are passages in the works of Marcus Aurelius, Aulus Gellius, and Flavius Vopiscus which show unmistakably that the Palatine Hill afforded the public free access to a third library.

The letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto[2] contains the information that a particular speech of Cato is desired and a servant is dispatched in search of it, visiting first the library of Apollo, where he goes in vain, and seeking next the Tiberianus Bibliothecarius.

Gellius[3] remarks that while he and some intimate friends were seated *in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca*, a book was produced, by chance, bearing the name of M. Cato Nepos.

In recording the fact that he used especially books *ex bibliotheca Ulpia* and likewise *ex domo Tiberiana*, Vopiscus,[4] as compiler of historical data, implies that both were repositories for valuable literary material.

[1] Huelsen (Carter), p. 174, Fig. 100, reproduction of coin.

[2] Marcus Aurelius, *Ad Frontonem* iv. 5: "Legi Catonis orationem de bonis Dulciae, et aliam qua tribuno diem dixit. 'Io,' inquis puero tuo; 'vade quantum potes, de Apollinis bibliotheca has mihi orationes adporta.' Frustra mittis; nam et isti libri me secuti sunt. Igitur Tiberianus bibliothecarius tibi subigitandus est; aliquid in eam rem insumendum, quod mihi ille, ut ad urbem venero, aequa divisione impertiat."

[3] Gellius, *N.A.* xiii. 20. 1: "Cum in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca sederemus ego et Apollinaris Sulpicius et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiares, prolatus forte liber est ita inscriptus 'M. Catonis Nepotis.' Tum quaeri coeptum est quisnam is fuisset M. Cato Nepos?"

[4] Vopiscus, *Probus* 2. 1: "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, usus etiam ex regestis scribarum porticus Porphyreticae, actis etiam Senatus ac populi."

Consideration of the libraries once existing on the Palatine should include also a significant statement of the physician Galen.[1] Alluding to the destruction of two books on medicine written by himself, he records that "the great libraries of the Palatine" were burned. "What indeed could they have been," says Garbelli,[2] "if not those of the temple of Apollo and of the Domus Tiberiana?" Now, Garbelli, overlooking the present claims of archaeology for the library in the Augusteum, and interpreting the words *novum templum* to mean Apollo's famous edifice, could designate by name only two great libraries. We may properly extend his inquiry, therefore, and ask if Galen's reference to *ingentes bibliothecae* did not really embrace three important libraries—those of the temple of Apollo, the temple of Augustus, and the Domus Tiberiana. The date of this conflagration was 191 A.D., under the reign of Commodus. Dio Cassius[3] says that nearly all of the imperial documents deposited here were lost at this time. Tacitus[4] tells of the earlier total destruction of the buildings on the Palatine, but does not specifically mention libraries.

The library of the Domus Tiberiana has been identified by later archaeologists[5] with one of the apartments opening off from the central court, about 100 meters square and surrounded by a colonnade, around which Tiberius had built his palace. This group of structures extended north and west from the house of his father, the Domus Germanici, which it adjoined. Only a few traces of the foundation on the south side remain today.

[1] Galen, *De compositione med.* i. cl. 1 *a:* ". . . . pacis delubrum totum et ingentes Palatii bibliothecae incendio conflagrarunt."

[2] See Garbelli, pp. 151, 152.

[3] Dio Cassius, lxxii. 24: *πῦρ τε νύκτωρ ἀρθὲν ἐξ οἰκίας τινὸς καὶ ἐς τὸ Εἰρηναῖον ἐμπεσὸν τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων ἐπενείματο, ἔς τε τὸ παλάτιον μετεωρισθὲν ἐσῆλθε καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα φθαρῆναι.*

[4] Tacitus, *Annales* xv. 39: "Neque tamen sisti potuit quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta et circa haurirentur."

[5] Platner, pp. 147, 162; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 144–47. "The great attraction of the palace was the library, Bibliotheca Tiberiana, which seems to have contained state papers and documents more than books" (Lanciani, p. 144).

### 6. *Bibliotheca in Templo Pacis*

The Forum Pacis or Forum Vespasiani, 145 meters long and 85 meters wide, with its lofty *peperino* wall, inclosed two temples—Templum Pacis and Templum Sacrae Urbis. The former was erected in the middle of this spacious area by Vespasian between the years 71 and 75 A.D.,[1] while the latter was built by the same emperor a few years later in the southwest corner, though it was not known by the name Templum Sacrae Urbis until after its restoration under Caracalla and Severus.[2]

From the scant references surviving regarding the "library of the temple of Peace," it is difficult to determine which of the two temples in Vespasian's Forum contained the library. Though the Templum Sacrae Urbis was utilized during the first century of the Empire as an archive for important documents, records, and maps of the city,[3] there is no positive evidence to show that it was this temple that contained the library in question. It is the opinion of some, however, that the library was located here. The probability is that it was established in the temple which arose in the middle of the forum.

Pliny describes the Forum of Augustus and the temple of Peace as among the most beautiful structures the world has ever seen.[4] He says also that numerous masterpieces of art were displayed here.[5]

Josephus states that after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus the Books of the Law were deposited on the Palatine, and the

[1] Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9: "Fecit et nova opera, templum Pacis foro proximum, divique Claudii in Caelio monte, coeptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum"; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 15: *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἕκτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων, τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη · ὅ τε κολοσσὸς ὠνομασμένος ἐν τῷ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἱδρύθη.*

[2] Platner, pp. 2, 281; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 212; Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, I, 41.

[3] See p. 36.

[4] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 15. 102: "Non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum, quae umquam: . . . . ?

[5] *Ibid.* xxxiv. 8. 84: "Atque ex omnibus, quae rettuli, clarissima quaeque in urbe iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem convecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita."

Judaean spoils of war in the temple of Peace, alluding also to the artistic decorations of the building.[1]

Dio Cassius[2] and Herodianus[3] record the destruction of the temple during the fire under Commodus. Procopius,[4] writing in the sixth century, refers to its having been struck by lightning.

Direct evidence that there was a public library in Vespasian's Forum is furnished by Gellius, who makes very explicit references to a book containing certain letters[5] and a commentary on grammar[6] that were here accessible to the public.

### 7. *Bibliotheca in Foro Traiani*

Owing to the enterprise of Napoleon I in excavating the Forum of Trajan, it is now easy to appreciate its chief characteristics.

The forum consisted of the following distinctive features: the propylaea with the triumphal arch of the emperor; the extensive peristyle with a large hemicycle on each side and Trajan's

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5. 7(158): *μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους καὶ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔγνω τέμενος Εἰρήνης κατασκευάσαι · ταχὺ δὲ δὴ μάλα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρεῖττον ἐπινοίας ἐτετελείωτο · τῇ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου χορηγίᾳ δαιμονίῳ χρησάμενος, ἔτι καὶ τοῖς ἔκπαλαι κατωρθωμένοις, γραφῆς τε καὶ πλαστικῆς ἔργοις αὐτὸ κατεκόσμησε · πάντα γὰρ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν νεὼν συνήχθη καὶ κατετέθη, δι' ὧν τὴν θέαν ἄνθρωποι πρότερον περὶ πᾶσαν ἐπλανῶντο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἕως ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλοις ἦν κείμενον ἰδεῖν ποθοῦντες · Ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρυσᾶ κατασκευάσματα, σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς . Τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ πορφυρᾶ τοῦ σηκοῦ καταπετάσματα, προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν.*

[2] See p. 15, n. 3.

[3] Herodianus, i. 14. 6: *συνεβάλλοντο δέ τινες [ἐκ τῶν κατειληφότων] πολέμων σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπώλειαν.*

[4] Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* iv. 21. 11–12: . . . . *ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἥκει διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἣν Φόρον Εἰρήνης καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι . ἐνταῦθα γάρ πη ὁ τῆς Εἰρήνης νεὼς κεραυνόβλητος γενόμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ κεῖται.*

[5] Gellius, *N.A.* v. 21. 9: "Tum ille amicus noster, cum hominem confidentem pluribus verbis non dignum existimaret: 'Sinni,' inquit, 'Capitonis, doctissimi viri, epistulae sunt uno in libro multae positae, opinor, in templo Pacis.'"

[6] *Ibid.* xvi. 8. 1, 2: "Cum in disciplinas dialecticas induci atque imbui vellemus, necesse fuit adire atque cognoscere, quas vocant dialectici *εἰσαγωγάς*. Tum, quia in primo *περὶ ἀξιωμάτων* discendum, quae M. Varro alias 'profata,' alias 'proloquia' appellat, Commentarium de Proloquiis L. Aelii, docti hominis, qui magister Varronis fuit, studiose quaesivimus eumque in Pacis bibliotheca repertum legimus."

equestrian statue in the center; the Basilica Ulpia with its double colonnade, having at each extremity a hemicycle and an additional row of columns; the imposing spiral column of the founder, 100 feet high, with 185 steps and 43 loopholes, near the center of a colonnaded court; the Greek library on one side of this court, the Latin library on the other side; and, lastly, the stately temple, erected by Hadrian to his parents, Trajanus and Plotina, which faced toward the other structures constituting the forum proper.

Each division of the library was about 60 feet long and 45 feet wide. The Marble Plan of the city gave the outline of one of these apartments with the incomplete inscription: BASIL . . . . ULPIA.[1] Allusions by certain Latin writers[2] indicate that reading-rooms must certainly have been provided. Busts of famous authors are also found to have adorned the walls. Apollinaris Sidonius,[3] a Christian writer, who died in 488 A.D., says: "Would that Nerva Trajan could behold the bust, set up enduringly along with my works, among the authors of both libraries!"

Collections of books, says Dio Cassius,[4] were brought together by Trajan. Gellius and Vopiscus tell of particular kinds of volumes consulted in the library. The former, with a group of friends, had access to *Edicta veterum praetorum*,[5] while the latter refers to his use "especially of books from the Ulpian Library" and that of the Domus Tiberiana, these being historical in subject matter.[6]

This library was known commonly as Bibliotheca Ulpia. The entire group of structures was built, says Dio Cassius,[7] by the

[1] See p. 8, n. 3. [2] See pp. 14, n. 4; 17, n. 6; etc.

[3] Apollinaris Sidonius, ix. 16: ". . . . cum meis poni statuam perennem Nerva Trajanus titulis videret inter auctores utriusque fixam bibliothecae. . . . . "

[4] Dio Cassius, lxviii. 16: . . . . κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας.

[5] Gellius, *N.A.* xi. 17: "Edicta veterum praetorum, sedentibus forte nobis in bibliotheca templi Traiani et aliud quid quaerentibus, cum in manus incidissent, legere atque cognoscere libitum est."

[6] See p. 14, n. 4.

[7] Dio Cassius, lxix. 4: Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τούτων μέν, καίπερ ἀχθεσθείς σφισιν, ἐφείσατο, μηδεμίαν εὔλογον ὀλέθρου κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν λαβών · τὸν δ' Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ᾠδεῖον, τό τε γυμνάσιον, τὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ποιήματα, ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε. . . . .

Greek architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, during the years 112 to 114 A.D.

The Ulpian Library is a splendid illustration of the prevailing tendency to place libraries in the midst of colonnades, temples, and fora. A striking tribute to the elegance of the Forum of Trajan is offered by Ammianus Marcellinus[1] when he depicts the admiration of Emperor Constantius upon first entering it.

### 8. *Bibliotheca in Capitolio*

The existence of a library on the Capitoline is known only through casual observations on the part of Orosius and St. Jerome.

Orosius[2] wrote his eight books of *Histories* about 400 A.D. He makes a fuller statement regarding the destruction of the library than Jerome (331 or 348–420 A.D.). Mentioning the accession of Lucius Antoninus Commodus to the imperial throne in the 930th year of the city and his administration as emperor for a period of thirteen years, he adds: "The emperor's evil acts brought disaster to the city. For the Capitoline was struck by lightning, from which a fire broke out and burned with violent fury that well-known library which had been collected through the zealous care of past generations, and other adjacent structures. Then another fire which occurred later at Rome razed to the ground the temple of Vesta and the Palatine and a very large portion of the city."

St. Jerome[3] briefly confirms the account given by Orosius: "A thunderbolt fell upon the Capitoline and, a great conflagration resulting, the library and certain neighboring temples were burned simultaneously."

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 10. 15, 16: "Verum cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni caelo structuram, ut opinamur, etiam numinum adsensione mirabilem, haerebat adtonitus per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem, nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus adpetendos."

[2] Orosius, vii. 16. 3: "Anno ab urbe condita DCCCCXXX Lucius Antoninus Commodus quintus decimus ab Augusto patri successit in regnum mansitque in eo annis XIII. . . . . Flagitia regis poena urbis insequitur. Nam fulmine Capitolium ictum, ex quo facta inflammatio bibliothecam illam, maiorum cura studioque compositam aedesque alias iuxta sitas rapaci turbine concremavit. Deinde aliud incendium postea Romae exortum aedem Vestae et Palatium plurimamque urbis partem solo coaequavit."

[3] St. Jerome, *Chron.* ii. 174: ". . . . in Capitolio fulmen ruit et magna inflammatione facta bibliotheca et vicinae quaeque aedes concrematae sunt."

Preller has suggested that the Capitoline library may have been established by Hadrian at the same time that the Athenaeum[1] was erected.

Careful inquiry into the matter of calendar lists, magisterial records, foreign treaties, court decrees, religious ceremonies, and other public documents[2] indicates the necessary presence of a repository in this location. Merely the splendid security of this elevation, with its historical citadel and its antique temples, argues strongly for the existence of a valuable library.

### 9. *Bibliotheca in Templo Aesculapii*

Known only through the *Mirabilia Romae*, this library was located "iuxta arcum septem lucernarum" in the structure called *Cartularium*.[3]

[1] Pausanias, i. 18, 9: *Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις . . . . καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.*

[2] *A Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 103, § 128: "We know that in the late Republican time there existed, in connection with many historic offices, religious and secular, minute-books (*commentarii*) which must in many cases have embodied matter of ancient date, though often obscured by the embellishments of recent generations. Again, the treaties concluded between Rome and foreign peoples or princes supplied chronological information of the highest importance" (J. S. Reed). See *infra*, p. 57 (*e*), concerning repositories on the Capitoline.

[3] See, p. 3, n. 2.

## II. EQUIPMENT: ENVIRONMENT AND FACILITIES

While it is evident that Rome was the beneficiary of whatever ideas had proved valuable in the organization of libraries in older centers of learning and necessarily duplicated the salient features of the Assyrian, Alexandrian, and Pergamene libraries, it is also true that such ideas were developed to a degree of efficiency considerably surpassing the earlier conceptions.

By his excavations in the palace of Assur-bani-pal, king of Nineveh, in 1850, Layard[1] showed the existence of a library on this site as early as 700 B.C. Strabo[2] credits Aristotle with being the first scholar known to have been thoroughly versed in the art of book collecting and library management, saying that he showed the kings in Egypt how to systematize their libraries. It was doubtless the Ptolemies who thus profited by Aristotle's broad library experience. The founding of the earlier of the two famous libraries at Alexandria is attributed to Ptolemy Philadelphus II (285–247 B.C.).[3] Some years after its destruction, the second library,[4] excelling the first in grandeur of design and beauty of

[1] Sir Henry Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, II, 3434.

[2] Strabo, xiii. 1. 54: *ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ [βιβλιοθήκην] Θεοφράστῳ παρέδωκεν· ᾧπερ καὶ τὴν σχολὴν ἀπέλιπε, πρῶτος, ὧν ἴσμεν, συναγαγὼν βιβλία, καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν.*

[3] *Ibid.*, xvii. 1. 8: *τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν· ἔστι δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ καὶ χρήματα κοινὰ καὶ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μουσείῳ, τεταγμένος τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, νῦν δ' ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.* "That the older of the two libraries must have been in some way connected with these buildings seems to me certain from two considerations. First, a ruler who took so keen an interest in books as Ptolemy would assuredly have kept his treasures under his own eye, and, secondly, he would hardly have placed them at a distance from the spot where the learned men of Alexandria held their meetings" (J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, p. 7).

[4] Epiphanius, *De pond. et mens.* 16. 12: *ἔτι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἑτέρα ἐγένετο βιβλιοθήκη ἐν τῷ Σεραπείῳ, μικροτέρα τῆς πρώτης, ἥτις θυγάτηρ ὠνομάσθη αὐτῷ.*

structure,[1] was erected. They seemed to have formed a part of the king's magnificent palace. The rival library of Pergamum was established by Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.),[2] coming into the hands of the Romans in the last days of the Republic.[3] Very limited data survive regarding the prevalence of public libraries in Greece prior to their establishment at Rome, though Pisistratus is said to have founded the first library.[4]

Comparison of Roman libraries with the three representative prototypes at Nineveh, Alexandria, and Pergamum indicates that there was observance of the following usages:

*a*) The library was regularly placed in proximity to a temple or palace, a patron god or deified hero being consequently associated with it.

*b*) In the group of structures an eastern location was preferable for the library.

*c*) The interior of the library was adorned in an artistic manner.

*d*) Systematic methods were employed in the management of the library.

Let us now apply these considerations to the Roman libraries especially. We shall see that the Romans developed to great

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 16. 12: "Inter quae eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columnatis amplissimis, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in aeternum adtollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat."

[2] Vitruvius, *De architectura* vii, Praefatio: "Reges Attalici magnis philologiae dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bibliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent, tum item Ptolemaeus infinito zelo cupiditatisque incitatus studio, non minoribus industriis ad eundem modum contenderat Alexandriae comparare."

[3] Plutarch, *Antonius* 57: Καλουΐσιος δέ, Καίσαρος ἑταῖρος, ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ προϋφερε · χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περγάμου βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες βιβλίων ἁπλῶν ἦσαν.

[4] Isidorus, vi. 3. 3: "Bibliothecam primus instituisse Pisistratus creditur Atheniensium tyrannus." Gellius, *N.A.* vi. 17. 1, 2: "Libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum praebendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus. Deinceps studiosius accuratiusque ipsi Athenienses auxerunt; sed omnem illam postea librorum copiam Xerxes Athenarum potitus urbe ipsa praeter arcem incensa abstulit asportavitque in Persas. Eos porro libros universos multis post tempestatibus Seleucus rex, qui Nicanor appellatus est, referendos Athenas curavit."

advantage these two phases: interior ornamentation, and systematized management.

## I. EXTERIOR

*a*) *Proximity to temple or palace.*—The Atrium Libertatis, dedicated to the personification of Liberty, was the home of the first library founded.

The Palatine library adjoined the porticoes inclosing the Templum Apollinis.

The Porticus Octaviae contained the Templum Jovis and the Templum Junonis in the rear of both of which arose the library.

The Augusteum was constructed with the Templum Divi Augusti immediately west of the library rooms.

The Templum Sacrae Urbis with its archives and the Templum Pacis, the probable home of the library, were contained in the Forum Vespasiani.

The Ulpian library occupied a position between the Basilica Ulpia and the notable Templum Traiani.

The Capitoline library was doubtless associated with one of the several temples erected on the Mons Capitolinus.

The Templum Aesculapii was called Cartularium because it included a library.

The library in the Domus Tiberiana formed an important feature of the renowned palace of the emperors.

In every instance imposing statuary was set up to commemorate the particular deity or emperor in whose honor the composite structure had been erected.

Of all public edifices temples were the most magnificent, the most accessible, the most secure. With deities as protectors and priests as guardians, valued possessions, such as spoils of war or treasured relics, were there preserved to greatest advantage. A library could be associated with no structure so fittingly as with a temple, a palace sometimes proving an appropriate substitute.

*b*) *Location on the east side.*—Vitruvius[1] gives the following direction for the location of the library in the private home: "The

[1] Vitruvius, vi. 4. 1: "Cubicula et bibliothecae ad orientem spectare debent; usus enim matutinum postulat lumen; item in bibliothecis libri non putrescent. Nam quaecumque ad meridiem et occidentem spectant, a tineis et humore libri vitiantur, quod venti humidi advenientes procreant eas et alunt infundentesque humidos spiritus pallore volumina corrumpunt." Cf. vi. 7. 3: "ad orientem autem bibliothecae."

sleeping-rooms and libraries should face toward the east; for their utilization demands the morning light; also the books in the libraries will not decay. For, where books are placed on the south and west, they are ruined by worms and dampness, since the damp winds that arise produce and support these worms, and creating a humid atmosphere destroy the volumes through mouldiness."

If such location was desirable for private libraries, why may it not have been even better adapted for public libraries where rarer and larger collections of books were stored? It is significant that the plans for the libraries at Nineveh and at Pergamum (that at Alexandria has not survived) indicate eastern, or partially eastern, exposure. As for the several Roman libraries under consideration, the architectural design of six is unknown—those in the Atrium Libertatis, the Templum Apollinis, the Domus Tiberiana, Templum Pacis, Templum Aesculapii, and on the Mons Capitolinus. But the remaining three, with noteworthy accord, show an eastern position for the library. From this conclusion one may deduce a plausible theory for the probable site of the library connected with the Templum Apollinis: that it was situated in the rear of the temple which itself faced west and was inclosed by the quadrangular colonnade.[1] It is also established that the Templum Sacrae Urbis, used at least for archives, had an available eastern room or group of rooms on the east side.

II. INTERIOR

*c) Ornaments and decoration.*—A beginning having been made by Asinius Pollio[2] when founding the first public library under Augustus and placing in it the bust of Varro, the custom of adorning the public library with specimens of art, as statues, busts, medallions, and inscriptions, soon became popular and may be said to have typified the interior almost as much as the volumes themselves and the usual fixtures.[3] The aesthetic phase of the library was further enhanced by artistic decorations.

[1] Provided the usual view as to the location of the temple is accepted: cf. p. 7.

[2] See p. 4, n. 7.

[3] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 2. 9: "Siquidem non ex auro argentove, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum inmortales animae in locis iisdem locuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit. Quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis."

The huge column of Trajan occupied a position between the Greek and Latin libraries of the Forum of Trajan.[1]

The assembly room of the library of Apollo was very probably the hall represented by Tacitus[2] in his *Annales* as being used for sessions of the Senate and containing statues of eminent authors.

In commending the literary style of Pompeius Saturninus and remarking on the lack of appreciation of him while he still lived, Pliny[3] says: "If he were already numbered among the dead, we should eagerly seek not only for his books but for his busts."

The close relation of books and art is again seen in a reference by the same writer to Silius Italicus:[4] "Everywhere many books, many statues, many portraits, which he not only possessed, but even hallowed—Virgil's, in preference to all others."

Lanciani cited unmistakable evidence of the medallion as a library ornamentation, when he identified with the old Roman custom his discovery of a medallion on the wall above the *armarium* indicating the words [A]PO[L]LONIUS THYAN[US].[5]

Alluding to the private library, which in large measure duplicated the features of the public library, Juvenal exclaims:[6]

[1] See p. 18.

[2] Tacitus, *Annales* ii. 37: "Igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensi inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum coepit."

[3] Pliny, *Epist.* i. 16. 8: "Neque enim debet operibus eius obesse, quod vivit. An, si inter eos quos numquam vidimus floruisset, non solum libros eius, verum etiam imagines requireremus; eiusdem nunc honor praesentis et gratia quasi satietate languescit."

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 7. 8: "Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo verum etiam venerabatur, Virgilii ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum eius adire ut templum solebat."

[5] Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 193, 194: "My hope that, at last, after fifteen years of excavations, I had succeeded in discovering a library, was confirmed beyond any doubt by a legend, written, or rather painted, in bright red colour on one of the frames. There was but one name POLONIVS THYAN . . . . but this name told more plainly the purpose of the apartment than if I had discovered there the actual bookshelves and their contents."

[6] Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 4–7:

> Indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso
> Chrysippi invenies; nam perfectissimus horum est,
> Si quis Aristotelem similem vel Pittacon emit
> Et iubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas.

"Ignoramuses, first of all; and yet you will see all their apartments abounding in plaster-casts of Chrysippus; the noblest of these is the man who has purchased a portrait of Aristotle or Pittacus and orders that his bookstand contain the originals of Cleanthes."

Pliny says he can present proof that an archaic bronze inscription from Delphi had been placed in the Palatine library by Augustus, as a specimen of archaeology.[1]

The use of inscriptions on the part of the Christian Fathers, of which ample evidence is at hand, undoubtedly reflects the Roman custom of the early Empire.[2]

To judge from the excavations at Pompeii, it is only reasonable to believe that the interior of the Roman public library must have had walls and ceilings painted in delicate hues and frescoed with unique designs, and floors formed of ingenious mosaics, as well as wood and marble. At any rate, it appears that Boethius (524 A.D.)[3] was acquainted with libraries that showed on their walls ornamentations of ivory and glass, and that Isidorus (570–636 A.D.),[4] as spokesman for the leading architects, expressed preference for walls and ceilings adorned with green *cipollino* in comparison with other kinds. Pliny[5] described the temple of Peace as "among the most beautiful works the world has ever seen." We may

[1] Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 58. 210: "Veteres Graecas fuisse easdem paene quae nunc sint Latinae indicio erit Delphica antiqui aeris, quae est hodie in Palatio, dono principum Minervae dicata [in bibliotheca] cum inscriptione tali: ΝΑΤΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΤΟ ΤΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑΙ. . . . ." (The several MSS show variation as to inscription.)

[2] A good illustration is cited by J. W. Clark, in *Care of Books*, p. 45: an inscription appearing in a library under a portrait of Virgil, as follows:

> Virgilium vatem melius sua carmina laudant;
> In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
> Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
> Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.

[In a letter from Rusticus to Eucherius (about 441 A.D.); last three lines from *Aeneid*, i. 607–9.]

[3] Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* i. 5: "Itaque non tam me loci huius quam tua facies movet, nec bibliothecae potius comptos ebore ac vitro parietes quam tuae mentis sedem requiro; in qua non libros, sed id quod libris pretium facit, librorum quondam meorum sententias conlocavi."

[4] Isidorus, *Origines* vi. 2: "Cum peritiores architecti neque aurea lacunaria ponenda in bibliothecis putent neque pavimenta alia quam a Carysteo marmore, quod auri fulgor hebetat et Carystei viriditas reficiat oculos."

[5] See p. 16, n. 4.

certainly infer that the library contained within shared in its glory and charm.

*d) Storing and cataloguing.*—Methods employed by the Romans for storing and using the numerous rolls and documents in their libraries were simple, convenient, and well defined. Not only were lengthy rolls (*volumina*) in use, some being 20, 30, or 40 feet long, but also, for convenience' sake, subdivisions of the same writings on papyrus or parchment (*libri*), as well as small treatises for brief compositions, epitomes, memoranda, official records, and the like (*libelli*).[1] Each of the three varieties of the Roman roll, regardless of its dimensions, is to be thought of, as it formed a unit in the contents of the library, as having its *umbilicus*, *cornua*, *frontes*, *membrana* or *toga purpurea*, *titulus* or *index*, and at times *lora*. One of the epigrams of Martial is addressed to one of his own little works and is descriptive of most of these characteristics.[2] Catullus, too, describes such rolls.[3]

Roman books, when grouped together, required for easy handling and ready availability the—

*Capsa*, a cylinder-shaped box of a size large enough to hold one roll or more standing upright, with a movable top (sometimes provided with handle, hinges, and lock);

*Scrinium*, a receptacle of the same description differing only in size and being designed like the other as a temporary bookholder, but accommodating a greater number of rolls;

*Armarium*, a cupboard-like bookcase containing shelves which were often divided into sections where the volumes were placed horizontally so as to show the end to which the title was attached.

*Loculamentum*, *forulus*, *nidus* are terms sometimes used by the Romans synonymously with *armarium*.

[1] F. G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford, 1899), chap. ii, pp. 59–63.

[2] Martial, *Epigrams* iii. 2. 6–11:

> Faustini fugis in sinum? sapisti.
> Cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus
> Et frontis gemino decens honore
> Pictis luxurieris umbilicis,
> Et te purpura delicata velet,
> Et cocco rubeat superbus index.

[3] Catullus, xxii. 7, 8:

> Novi umbilici, lora, rubra membrana,
> Directa plumbo et pumice omnia aequata.

*Pluteus*, a kind of reading desk mentioned occasionally in literature, is to be included as an additional fixture of the usual library.

In his criticism of literary affectation so common among the Romans of his time, Seneca[1] speaks with disdain of those who possessed *armaria* that ranged the four walls and reached to the ceiling and were stored with thousands of volumes—not to be read but to be seen. A fair conception of the actual appearance of such *armaria* as they existed in the public libraries at Rome is doubtless given by the discovery of the library in the House of the Papyri at Herculaneum (excavated in 1754 A.D.). In addition to the regular wall shelves, an *armarium* had been stationed in the middle of the room.

Further, as first suggested by Lanciani,[2] the library of the Vatican probably presents a fair duplicate of the interior of the public library in ancient times, for the doors constructed in the wall casings, when opened, reveal time-honored stores of antique documents.

Such was the magnificence and reputation of the Alexandrian libraries and such the splendor and excellence of Alexandrian scholarship that it must be assumed there was no lack of conveniences and facilities in the grouping and cataloguing of books in the great libraries at Alexandria.

As regards the excavated remains of the temple and library of Pergamum, the description given in 1884 by Alexander Conze[3] suggests that the several rooms located on the eastern side were well adapted for library quarters and that certain sections of these had doubtless served for "stacks," for apertures in the walls showed where supports for bookshelves had been inserted. A similar arrangement was presumably in use at both Alexandria and Pergamum.

[1] Seneca, *Dial.* ix. 9. 6.: "Quid habes, cur ignoscas homini armaria citro atque ebore captanti, corpora conquirenti aut ignotorum auctorum aut improbatorum et inter tot milia librorum oscitanti, cui voluminum suorum frontes maxime placent titulique? Apud desidiosissimos ergo videbis quidquid orationum historiarumque est, tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta."

[2] Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 195.

[3] "Die pergamenische Bibliothek," *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, II (1884), 1259–70.

It is obvious that the most desirable features of these earlier libraries must have been duplicated and, where feasible, improved upon at Rome.

Certain archaeologists are of the opinion that the bust of Epicurus found in the library of a private citizen at Herculaneum had originally been set up over the manuscripts dealing with Epicureanism. The libraries of the Christian Fathers reflect this custom of the public libraries of grouping together the works of a single author.[1]

In his epitome of "Bibliotheken" in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*, Dziatzko[2] cites an interesting Greek inscription from Rome (*CIG*, 6047), which shows the alphabetical arrangement of an author's work: "Verzeichnis der Dramen des Euripides (A–Δ) unter dessen Reliefbildnis." He refers also to the catalogue of an old library of philosophical works appearing on papyrus which had been discovered in the neighborhood of Alexandria and is now preserved in Petrograd.

Again, the phraseology employed by two Latin authors, Quintilian and Pliny, suggests the idea of catalogue lists for the ordinary library, the word *index* being used for such designation. "No one, indeed," says Quintilian,[3] "is so unacquainted with these [Greek poets] as not to be able to remove a book-list from a library and incorporate it in his own volumes." "I shall perform the part of an index," Pliny[4] remarks, "and shall inform you even in what order my uncle's works had been composed."

A well-regulated system for consulting the contents of a library accessible to the public is indicated by Vopiscus[5] when alluding to the sixth *armarium* as the exact location in the Ulpian library of the ivory book that contained a senatorial decree. This is shown

[1] J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, p. 47. [2] Sec. VIII, p. 422 (Dziatzko).

[3] Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* x. 1. 57: "Nec sane quisquam est tam procul a cognitione eorum [poetarum Graecorum] remotus, ut non indicem certe ex bibliotheca sumptum transferre in libros suos possit."

[4] Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 5. 2: "Fungar indicis partibus, atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti [libri avunculi mei] notum tibi faciam."

[5] Vopiscus, *Tacitus* 8. 1: "Ac ne quis me Graecorum alicui vel Latinorum existimet temere credidisse, habet bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo hoc senatus consultum perscriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse manu sua subscripsit: nam diu haec senatus consulta, quae ad principes pertinebant, in libris elephantinis scribebantur."

again in passages occurring in the writings of Gellius.[1] The incident described as happening at Tibur[2] is significant, and may readily be viewed as typical of library regulations in Rome itself. Gellius was present with certain friends at this little village when the discussion arose whether water—such as they were then drinking—when condensed from snow, was healthful. One member of the company, who was a philosopher, asserted that Aristotle and many physicians had strongly condemned this variety of drinking-water. The matter, however, was settled to the satisfaction of all, when the philosopher himself procured from the library of Tibur[3] a copy of Aristotle's book dealing with the subject and brought it to them.

[1] See p. 58.

[2] Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xix. 5. 4: "Haec quidem ille ad nos prudenter et benivole et adsidue dictitabat. Sed 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 et 'huius saltem' inquit 'sapientissimi viri verbis credite ac desinite valitudinem vestram profligare.'"

[3] Cagnat's *Les Bibliothèques municipales* gives a readable and authoritative résumé of public libraries known to have existed in other localities in Italy than Rome itself.

## III. CONTENTS: BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

An inquiry into the contents of the public libraries in Rome will now be appropriate, especially as such information proves an index regarding the literary tastes of the Romans under the Empire and enlarges one's conception of the service rendered by their public libraries. It is desirable, therefore, to note, with as much detail as is practicable, the contents of each library to which classical writers have made either specific or general reference.

### 1. *Library in the Atrium*

Mention has been made of Caesar's ambition[1] to found Greek and Latin libraries for public use and to provide a convenient digest of legal codes, and of the establishment of libraries under the administration of Augustus. It is easily inferred, then, that many volumes dealing with earlier and contemporary law were collected in the library of the Atrium Libertatis.

But a great variety of books and documents must have been brought together here, as is implied in the description already given concerning Pollio, "the first to make men's talents public property by dedicating a library."[2] This is to be viewed as a miscellaneous collection of popular manuscripts in both prose and poetry. Moreover, Pollio "made public at Rome both Greek and Latin libraries."[3] That poetry was included with prose is made clear in Ovid's lines in the *Tristia*,[4] where his little volume of verse sought entrance at the three public libraries existing in the city at that time: those of the Atrium Libertatis, the Templum Apollinis, and the Porticus Octaviae. The allusion is significant: "Neither did Liberty permit me to enter her halls which were the first to give access to learned works." Besides, the popularity of poetry among the Greeks and Romans alone would indicate that a large number of poetical works must have been accorded a place in the first of Roman libraries.

[1] See p. 1, n. 1.

[2] See p. 2, n. 1.

[3] See p. 4, n. 6.

[4] See p. 5, n. 2.

### 2. *Library of the Templum Apollinis*

The library in the Templum Apollinis contained "stores of books," said Dio Cassius;[1] "Whatsoever men, both formerly and now, have learnedly conceived lies open to the perusal of readers," is the testimony for its collected works as given by Ovid.[2] A strong hint as to the general nature of its contents is furnished by Horace[3] when he makes a very personal allusion to a contemporary poet whom he pictures as a plagiarist and who needs to be warned over and over again not to be found handling the variety of writings for which Apollo had provided a home, lest some day he be exposed and made a laughing-stock. And, further, according to Suetonius,[4] porticoes with "a Greek and Latin library" were added by Augustus.

Ovid's allusion to this library indicates two items of value: (1) that volumes of poetry were naturally included in it; and (2) that not only old works of authors but also their newly published works were added to the stores of books. While it appears that the poet's booklet looked there in vain for its "brethren" and was urged by the librarian to withdraw, it is otherwise well established that poetical productions were ordinarily deposited in Apollo's library.

The words of Marcus Aurelius addressed to Fronto[5] showed that certain orations were procurable at this library. He writes as follows: "I have read Cato's speech on the Property of Dulcia and another in which he appoints a day for the tribune. 'Go,' you say to your slave, 'as quickly as you can, and fetch me those speeches from the library of Apollo.'"

One of the scholiasts explains the lines of Juvenal (Satire I, 128),

> Sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus, Apollo,

with the commentary: "Quia bibliothecam *iuris civilis et liberalium studiorum* in templo Apollinis Palatini dedicavit Augustus"—thus

[1] See p. 6, n. 5.

[2] See p. 5, n. 2 (lines 63, 64).

[3] Horace, *Epist.* i. 3. 15–20:

> Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus multumque monendus
> Privatas ut quaerat 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.

[4] See p. 6, n. 3.

[5] See p. 14, n. 2.

attributing to the satirist a reference to works of civil law and general culture as contents of the Palatine library, and implying fulfilment of Caesar's plan for the condensation of voluminous documents of law.

There was preserved, also, in this library a remarkable group of documents, none other than the time-honored Sibylline Books, which were deposited for safekeeping, at the order of Augustus, in two gilded receptacles under the pedestal of the statue of Apollo.[1] The fact that they were consulted at appropriate intervals only by the Committee of Quindecimviri[2] is great evidence alike of their value and the dignity and importance of the library.

### 3. *Library of the Porticus Octaviae*

As for the library of the Porticus Octaviae, one is reminded of the comprehensive expressions used by Dio Cassius,[3] "the Octavian stores of books" and "the Octavian structures together with their books," which he stated were destroyed by the fire under Titus in 80 A.D. Although no mention of specific volumes or documents in it can be cited in Latin literature, the frequent notices occurring in monumental inscriptions[4] and testifying to the character and efficiency of library officers employed here lead to the conclusion that many valuable works were provided for public use. They indicate also that this was one of the most accessible and popular of Roman libraries. The grief of Octavia for her devoted son, Marcellus, and the affection of Augustus for his ill-fated nephew doubtless contributed in no small way toward making it a worthy memorial—perhaps the earliest instance of a "memorial library."[5]

This was the third of the libraries in which Ovid would have his volume of verse gain admittance.[6]

That here again a miscellaneous collection of volumes in prose and poetry was found is inferred from the action of Domitian

[1] Suetonius, *Aug.* 31: "Libros Sibyllinos condidit duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi." Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3. 3; p. 8, n. 2.

[2] Tacitus, *Annales* vi. 12: "Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano, tribuno plebei, de libro Sibyllae, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimvirum recipi inter ceteros eiusdem vatis et ea de re senatus consultum postulaverat."

[3] See. p. 9, n. 5 and n. 6.

[4] See pp. 44, 45, inscriptions.

[5] See p. 9, n. 5, n. 7, and n. 8; p. 10.

[6] See p. 5, n. 2.

which has already been noted,[1] i.e., the dispatch of literary emissaries to Alexandria for the purpose of duplicating copies of documents destroyed in the fire of Titus.

Numerous inscriptions[2] show that there were Greek and Latin sections in the library of the Porticus Octaviae.

### 4. *Library of the Augusteum*

No titles, again, of individual works in the library of the temple of Augustus are extant; but three references can be quoted in substantiation of the claim that the Bibliotheca Novi Templi, or Bibliotheca Templi Augusti, was accessible to the public and had contents of a particularly literary nature:

*a*) An inscription[3] on a military diploma which has been unearthed and contains this language: "On a wall in Rome behind the temple of divine Augustus on the side toward [the library devoted to the Goddess of Wisdom] Minerva."

*b*) An epigram of Martial[4] alluding to a library official: "Him, O Cosmus, whom you often see within the halls of our Pallas and the thresholds of the new temple."

*c*) A second couplet from Martial:[5] "Of thy right seek the revered threshold of the new temple, where their dwelling has been restored to the Pierian band."

### 5. *Library of the Domus Tiberiana*

Three excerpts from Latin authors which were previously cited to verify the existence of the library in the home of Tiberius are valuable for their bearing on the library as a repository for certain important volumes.

The correspondence between Marcus Aurelius and M. Cornelius Fronto[6] discloses an earnest desire on the part of the distinguished rhetorician that his unusually apt pupil should also become a teacher of rhetoric. It is probable, therefore, that Marcus ad-

[1] See p. 8, n. 1. [2] See pp. 44, 45.

[3] ROMAE IN MURO POST TEMPLUM DIVI AUGUSTI AD MINERVAM. See p. 13, n. 6.

[4] Martial, *Ep.* iv. 53:

Hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae
Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, novi.

[5] *Ibid.* xii. 3:

Iure tuo veneranda novi pete limina templi,
Reddita Pierio sunt ubi tecta choro.

[6] See p. 14, n. 2.

dressed the following words to his instructor about the orations of Cato while he was still professing an ardent interest in the study of oratory: "'Here,' you say to your slave, 'go as quickly as you can and fetch me those speeches from the library of Apollo.' In vain do you send; for these books indeed have come into my hands. Therefore the Tiberianus Bibliothecarius must be sought."

In the next extract Aulius Gellius[1] mentions a book whose authorship is given: "While I and Apollinaris Sulpicius and certain of our intimate friends were sitting in the library of the Domus Tiberiana, it chanced that a book was brought to us on which was inscribed the name of M. Cato Nepos. Then the inquiry arose, 'Who, pray, is M. Cato Nepos?'"

Vopiscus[2] refers both to this library and to that in the Forum of Trajan as being desirable for the study of imperial documents and letters, and volumes of a heterogeneous kind. He writes to a friend: "Now that I may in no way disregard thy very dear affection for me, I have used especially the books of the Ulpian library, in my time in the Baths of Diocletian, and likewise those in the Domus Tiberiana."

At this time Vopiscus was collecting information on the personal phases of Probus' career and found these two libraries the best adapted for such research, though he implies that other libraries may have offered somewhat similar, but less valuable, data.

This library in the home of Tiberius is seen, then, to have contained works of oratorical, historical, and political nature, at least. As it was located in one of the imperial residences, it would seem well suited for a public library where archives of state papers and private documents were accessible.[3] The three allusions that have been noted demonstrate that it was open to consultation by the citizens of Rome. In special cases, it appears that permits to refer to official records were granted to individuals.[4]

[1] See p. 14, n. 3. [2] See p. 14, n. 4.

[3] Woefflin (*Sitzungsber. Akad. München*, 1891, p. 497) identified the library of the Domus Tiberiana with the *scrinia praefecturae urbanae* mentioned in *Hist. Aug. Aurel.* 9. 1. Cf. p. 38, n. 2.

[4] Referring to the Ulpian Library, Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 316, says: "A special license from the prefect of Rome was required to inspect these records of the history of the world; and when Vopiscus himself was asked to write the life of Aurelianus on the basis of official documents, he had to apply to Junius Tiberianus, prefect 291 A.D., for a permit to consult them."

### 6. *Library in the Templum Pacis*

Works of a critical, grammatical, and philological range were among the volumes in the library of the Temple of Peace, according to two passages occurring in the writings of Gellius and reproduced below. As some commentator, however, has suggested, such citations do not justify the conclusion that books of this kind necessarily predominated.

In connection with some linguistic discussion, Gellius records[1] how "then that friend of ours . . . . said, 'the epistles of Sinnius Capito, a most learned man, have been filed in a book, I think, in the temple of Peace.'"

Again, he says:[2] "Then . . . . we eagerly sought the *Commentarium de Proloquiis* of L. Aelius, a learned man, who was the teacher of Varro, and, when we had found it in the library of Peace, consulted it."

The subject-matter of the remaining books and documents preserved in this edifice, which competent authorities believe was the largest of all such structures in the city of Rome, is only to be conjectured.

After referring to the Roman census taken in 74 A.D., the surveys made throughout the city, the new maps drawn, and the general improvements instituted, Lanciani says:[3] "All the documents connected with these geodetic and financial operations were deposited in a fireproof building erected for the purpose on the southwest side of the Forum of Peace between it and the Sacra Via." This indicates that the building located here was one of the important archives for all sorts of public records. It is this structure that has wrongly been considered by some the home of the library.

Josephus[4] states that the spoils of war brought back from Jerusalem by Titus were stored in the library of the temple of Peace. There are those who believe that this confiscated property included Hebrew codices.

"The Romans were very desirous," says an Italian writer, Tiroboschi, as quoted by Garbelli,[5] "of making a collection of this

[1] See p. 17, n. 5. [2] See p. 17, n. 6.

[3] See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 211.

[4] See p. 17, n. 1.

[5] See Garbelli, *Le Biblioteche in Italia all' Epoca Romana*, pp. 153, 154.

variety, and having found at Jerusalem not a few books in characters and a language commonly unknown to them, it is easy to think that they would have carried these along with them to Rome, where no repository could better have preserved them than that in which the other spoils and monuments of that conquest were stored." Such a theory, in the opinion of Garbelli, was altogether unwarranted. He objected to it on two grounds: (1) even though we admit that these volumes were not scattered about or destroyed amid the horrors of which the unhappy city was the scene, the Romans, despisers of all other languages than the Greek or the Latin, would not have kept them so scrupulously safe; (2) it is probable that, upon finding these volumes, they would have repudiated them as books of superstitious error, and, as such, have destroyed them immediately.

Their preservation in this library may be seriously questioned.

### 7. *Library of the Forum Traiani*

The existence of none of the libraries at Rome is so fully established as that of the Ulpian. Much evidence in Latin literature is obtainable; and archaeologists have located its exact site with reliable evidence as to its Greek and Latin sections. Information regarding the contents of the library is provided by Dio Cassius, Gellius, Vopiscus, and Apollinaris Sidonius.

Dio[1] casually remarks, while referring to Trajan, that "he also gathered collections of books" after constructing portions of the Forum.

It is mentioned by Gellius[2] that he and some friends were seated in the library intent on some special topic when they chanced upon *Edicta veterum praetorum*, which they read and examined with interest.

Sidonius[3] expresses the wish that Nerva Trajanus might view the enduring statue set up among the authors of each library and placed with his own works.

Allusions are frequently made by Vopiscus to the historical data accessible here. Some appropriate quotations will be given setting forth specific volumes that were very essential to him in his work as compiler and historian, some Greek, others Latin, many being recorded on linen material.

[1] See p. 18, n. 4. [2] See p. 18, n. 5. [3] See p. 18, n. 3.

In a passage already considered,[1] Vopiscus spoke of having "used especially books from the Ulpian library, in my time in the Baths of Diocletian, and also those in the Domus Tiberiana."

In the first chapter of his life of Aurelianus,[2] he describes how he arrived at the temple of the Sun, dedicated by the emperor, and there began to converse with Julius Tiberianus, who begged him to write a biography of his kinsman Aurelianus. Said Tiberianus: "We have the *Ephemeridae* of this man written out, also the wars arranged in historic manner, which I should like you to take in hand and write out in connected style, adding whatever items pertain to his life. All these things, with zealousness on your part, you may discover accurately from the linen books, in which he himself ordered his diaries recorded. I shall see to it, moreover, that books are also brought to you from the Ulpian library. I should wish you to write, to the best of your ability, an account of Aurelianus."

Vopiscus then adds: "I obeyed indeed his injunctions. I took in hand the Greek books, and I had at my disposal all things that were necessary: from which now I have brought together in one small volume whatever was worthy of remembrance."

Further,[3] this insistent friend of Vopiscus is represented as advising him, if he does not find certain other specified material satisfactory, that "you may read the Greek books, you may also ask for the linen books, which the Ulpian library will furnish you whenever you wish."

[1] See p. 14, n. 4. One is tempted to interpret the language *aetate mea thermis Diocletianis* as meaning that a separate group of books was to be found in the Baths of Diocletian. Various allusions by Vopiscus seem to indicate that he used books which were actually in the library in Trajan's Forum.

[2] Vopiscus, *Aurelianus* 1: ". . . . Et tamen, si bene novi, ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus, etiam bella, charactere historico digesta, quae velim accipias, et per ordinem scribas additis quae ad vitam pertinent.

"Quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana sua scribi praeceperat, pro tua sedulitate condisces. Curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia bibliotheca et libri lintei proferantur. Tu velim Aurelianum ita ut est, quatenus potes, in litteras mittas.

"Parui ipse quidem praeceptis: accepi libros Graecos, et omnia mihi necessaria in manum sumpsi: ex quibus et quae digna erant memoratu in unum libellum contuli."

[3] Vopiscus, *Aurelianus* 1 (end): "Tu velim meum munus boni consulas: et si hoc contentus non fueris, lectites Graecos, linteos etiam libros requiras, quos Ulpia tibi bibliotheca cum volueris ministrabit."

These *lintei libri* contained not only the daily chroniclings of the emperor, but also files of important correspondence,[1] as the same historian shows: "I found recently in the Ulpian library, among the linen books, a letter of divine Valerianus, making reference to Emperor Aurelianus, which, as was fitting, I have inserted verbatim."

Still another kind of document was preserved among the records here, for Vopiscus tells of an authentic paper, a decree of the Senate,[2] duly signed by Emperor Tacitus, and cites it as verification of quotations he had already used: "And that no one may think I have rashly trusted to any of the Greek and Latin works, the Ulpian library contains in the sixth *armarium* a book of ivory, in which this decree of the Senate has been written down, to which Tacitus affixed his own signature; for those decrees of the Senate which concern the emperors were long wont to be copied in books of ivory."

While it has been seen that the public libraries at Rome had both Greek and Latin divisions, it is interesting to read in the statements of Vopiscus that Greek volumes were consulted, along with Latin volumes, in the Ulpian collection.

This library in Trajan's Forum seems to have excelled all other libraries in equipment and efficiency, providing not only a miscellaneous array of books, both Greek and Latin, but, particularly, extensive material to be used for reference: historical data, official records, imperial documents, and the like.

### 8. *Library of the Capitolium*

No information is extant regarding the contents of the Capitoline library, though the descriptive phrase of Orosius[3] "collected through the zealous care of past generations," indicates that it was a library of numerous well-selected volumes.

### 9. *Library in the Templum Aesculapii*

For this library no contents whatever can be cited.

[1] *Ibid.* 8. 1: "Inveni nuper in Ulpia bibliotheca inter linteos libros epistulam divi Valeriani de Aureliano principe scriptam, quam ad verbum, ut decebat, inserui: Valerianus Augustus Antonino Gallo consuli. . . . . Haec epistula indicat quantae fuerit severitatis, ut illum Valerianus etiam timuisse se dicat."

[2] See p. 29, n. 5.

[3] See p. 19, n. 2.

### 10. *Libraries in General*

A few additional extracts from classical writers serve to emphasize further the cultural aspect of the typical public library. These allude not to individual libraries, as in the cases so far noted, but to "the libraries," "the public libraries," "all the libraries," as a group, which would embrace other collections of books than the nine which have been considered.

Caesar and Brutus, as is mentioned by Tacitus,[1] wrote poetry and placed their volumes of verse in the libraries.

According to Suetonius,[2] Tiberius ranked certain writings of favorite authors among the productions of recognized worth in the public libraries.

Caligula, says the same writer,[3] at one time threatened to remove the works and busts of Virgil and Livy from all the libraries, believing both authors undeserving of the honor accorded them.

Vopiscus[4] records the statement that Emperor Tacitus had the works of his eminent ancestor, Cornelius Tacitus, copied ten times each year at public expense in the citizens' (?) archives and placed in all the libraries.

### 11. *Archives and Registers*

Serving the purpose of formal libraries, archives and registers[5] provided valuable material that dealt with official documents of the Empire.

[1] Tacitus, *Dial.* 21: "Fecerunt enim [Caesar et Brutus] et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt."

[2] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 70: "Fecit et Graeca poemata, imitatus Euphorionem et Arrianum et Parthenium: quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta eorum et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit."

[3] Suetonius, *Caligula* 34: "Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis: 'cur enim sibi non licere,' dicens, 'quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e civitate, quam constituebat, eicerit?' Sed et Vergilii et Titi Livii scripta et imagines, paullum abfuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoverit: quorum alterum, ut nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae; alterum, ut verbosum in historia negligentemque carpebat."

[4] Vopiscus, *Tacitus* 10 (middle): "Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae (quod parentem suum eundem diceret), in omnibus bibliothecis collocari iussit; et, ne lectorum incuria deperiret, librum per annos singulos decies scribi publicitus in evicis [perhaps *civicis* (Scaliger)] archiis iussit et in bibliothecis poni."

[5] See p. 14, n. 4; p. 20, n. 2; p. 40, n. 4.

## IV. MANAGEMENT: OFFICIALS AND DUTIES

We are indebted to inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, for information concerning a seemingly well-organized system of administration for public libraries—the officials employed, the rank accorded them, the duties performed, and other details.

We are indebted to literature for definite conceptions of the personality, the capability, and the social position of the various librarians of whom record is made.

Library officials were organized into several specific ranks:

1. Inscription *CIL*, VI, 2132,[1] contains the following: *Q. Veturius Callistatus v(ir) e(gregius) . . . . pro(curator) rat(ionum) summ(arum) privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti n(ostri) et procurator eius.* Mommsen believed that this official was the manager and administrator of the imperial finances available for library purposes, though no other inscription of this kind has been found. Hirschfeld suggested that this title probably designated an officer, subordinate to the head procurator, who needed the assistance of a library financier. It is impossible to determine the exact nature of the title and its rank among the various offices.

2. However this is to be interpreted, there is trustworthy evidence that there was a chief director of libraries: *procurator bibliothecarum.*

A Greek inscription (*CIG*, 5900)[2] refers to L. Julius Vestinus as procurator of libraries at Rome, curator of the museum and high priest at Alexandria, imperial secretary to Emperor Hadrian, and philologist.

[1] *CIL*, VI, 2132:

CAMPIAE SEVERINAE
V V MAX SANCTISSIMAE
CUIUS SINCERAM PUDICITIAM
SENATUS COMPROBATAM AETERNA
LAUDE PUBLICE CUMULAVIT
Q VETURIUS CALLISTATUS V̄ Ē
SUFFRAGIO EIUS FACTUS PROC RAT
SUMM PRIVATARUM BIBLIOTHECARUM
AUGUSTI N ET PROCURATOR EIUS
[Set up in third century of the Empire.]

[2] *CIG*, 5900 = Kaibel, Inscr. 1085.

The following inscription, which is anonymous, was thought by Borghesi also to describe L. Julius Vestinus (*CIL*, III, 431):[1] . . . . (*p*)*rocurator bibliothecar*(*um*) *Graec*(*arum*) *et Latin*(*arum*) *ab epist*(*ulis*) *Graec*(*is*). A Greek inscription found in Syria demonstrated, as Mommsen had claimed, that Vestinus was not the procurator in question.

There are extant three inscriptions, in addition, which indicate the position of procurator of libraries:

*Ti*(*berius*) *Claud*(*ius*) *Aug*(*usti*) *l*(*ibertus*) *Scirtus proc*(*urator*) *bybl*(*iothecarum*) . . . .[2]

*L*(*ucio*) *Baebio* . . . . *Aurelio Iuncino proc*(*urator*) *byblio-thec*(*arum*) *ad sest. LX.*[3]

*T*(*ito*) *Aelio T*(*iti*) *f*(*ilio*) *Largo eq*(*uiti*) *R*(*omano*) *proc*(*urator*[*i*]) *Aug*(*usti*) *bibliothecarum iuris publici* [*et*] *privati* [*peritissimo*].[4]

Mommsen inserted *et* between *publici* and *privati*, and added *peritissimo*—an emendation materially altering the earlier render-

[1] *CIL*, III, 431:

PROC
CAESARIS TRANI HADRIANI
ADDIOECESIN ALEXANDR
[P]ROC BIBLIOTHECAR GRAEC ET
LATIN AB EPIST GRAEC PROC LYC
PAMP GALAT PAPH PISID PONT
PROC HEREDIT ET PROC PROV[IN]
CIAE ASIAE PROC SYRIAE
HERMES AUG LIB ADIUT

[2] *CIL*, X, 1739:

TI CLAUD AUG L
SCIRTI PROC BYBL
VETTIA TYCHE
SCIRTI

[3] *CIL*, X, 7580:

L BAeBIO L F gAL AURELIO
IUNCINO . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . PROC BybLiOTHEC
AD SEST LX

[4] *CIL*, XIV, 2916:

T AELIO T F
LARGO
EQ R PROC AUG
BYBLIOTHECARUm
IURIS PUBLICI
PRIVATI / / /

["Iuris publici et privati peritissimo."—Mommsen.]

ing. Before this proposal had been made, Henzen and Hirschfeld had considered the inscription spurious.

The procuratorship of libraries, according to the second inscription, paid at this time a salary of 60,000 sesterces (about $3,000). This kind of procuratorship is thought to have provided less income than any other.

3. Another title of a library executive is shown in a single inscription,[1] viz., *procurator (Augusti) a bibliothecis.* No distinction can be made between the terms *procurator bibliothecarum* and *procurator a bibliothecis.*

4. In only one inscription,[2] also, appears the designation *magister a bibliotheca,* followed by the words, *Latina Apollinis item scriba ab epistulis Latinis.* It was the office of a high-ranking librarian.

5. Next to such official, if commonly employed, or the procurator, was the administrator known as *a bibliotheca.* This title was used alone or was accompanied by the name of a special library. From a large number of available illustrations, the following will suffice: *a bibliotheca: CIL,* VI, 4233,[3] 5190,[4]

[1] *Revue archéologique,* 1884, I, 285:

ANNIO POSTUMO PROC AUG A BYBLIOTHE
CIS PROC VICESIMAE et magISTRO PROC
AUG ad annona OSTIS PROC aUG PAN
NONIAE InFERIORIS
HORATIUS MARCIANUS AMICO INDULgen
tissimo OB BEneficia quAE IN SE
CONTULIT P DEDICAVITQUE

[2] Mommsen 6857 (=Will. 2646):

TI CLAUDIUS ALCIBIADES
MAG A BIBLIOTHECA LATINA
APOLLINIS
ITEM SCRIBA AB EPISTULIS LATINIS

[3] *CIL,* VI, 4233:

APOLLOnius
CAES
a BYBLiotheca

[4] *CIL,* VI, 5190:

IULIA QUARTA
ET FILIA
IULIA PRIMA
FESTI A BIBLIOTEC

5347,[1] 8743*b*;[2] *de bibliotheca* occurs as a substitute in VI, 4432;[3] while *a bibliotheca* is associated with a definite library in: *CIL*, VI, 4433,[4] *a bibliotheca Graeca Porticus Octaviae; CIL*, VI, 5884,[5] *a bibliotheca Latina Apollinis; CIL*, VI, 5192,[6] *a bibliotheca Porticus Octaviae.* It is of interest to note that in the Porticus Octaviae and in the Templum Apollinis, a librarian was in charge of each section; but, as seen in the last instance, a librarian was not always definitely characterized in this way.

6. The position ranking after that of *a bibliotheca*, as far as the record of inscriptions is concerned, is one of ordinary grade,

[1] *CIL*, VI, 5347:

I A BYBLIO
cONIUGI SANCTissimae
benE MERITAE

[2] *CIL*, VI, 8743 *b*:

ALEXIO
CAESARIS
AUG AB
BYBLIOTHEC

[3] *CIL*, VI, 4432:

VALERIA HILARA
MATER
HYMNI DE
BIBLIOTHECE

[4] *CIL*, VI, 4433:

LARYX
PORTICU OCTAV
byPLIOTHE GRAEC

[5] *CIL*, VI, 5884:

SULPICIAE
THALLUSAE
ANTIOCHUS TI CLAUDI
CAESARIS A BYBLIOTHECA
LATINA APOLLINIS
CONIUGI SUAE
BENE MERITAE

*CIL*, VI, 5192:

D M S
SOTERICHI PUBLICI
VESTRICIANI A
BUBLIOTHECE PORTICUS
OCTAVIAE
STATILIA HELPIS
CONIUGI B M F V A XX VIII

described as *vilicus a bibliotheca.* In this division of subordinates are found the public slaves—*servi publici.* The frequent mention of these in connection with the Octavian library has led to the suggestion that here was located a "city library." Of this type the following are cited: *CIL,* XIV, 196,[1] *vilico a bibliotheca; CIL,* VI, 4431,[2] *a bybliotheca Latina Porticus Octaviae vilicus;* 4435,[3] *vilic(us) a bibliotheca Octaviae Latin(ae);* 8744,[4] *servi vilici a bibliotheca.*

Two unique inscriptions assign certain specific duties to freedmen employees. Only one inscription of each kind is extant.

7. The first, *CIL,* VI, 8679,[5] refers to a subordinate as *vilic(us) thermarum bibliothec(arum) Graec(arum).* Certain critics proposed

[1] *CIL,* XIV, 196:

ALCIM
CAESARIS VILICO
A BYBLIOTHECA
MARCIA FECIT

*CIL,* VI, 4431:

DECURIO
HYMNUS
AURELIANUS
A BYBLIOTHECE
LATINA PORTICUS
OCTAVIAE
VILICUS

[3] *CIL,* VI, 4435:

MONTANUS
IULIANUS VILIC
A BYBLIOTHECA
OCTAVIAE LATIN

[4] *CIL,* VI, 8744:

pERMISSO
decurionUM ET POPULI EIUSDEM COLLEGI
. . . . . S ARGAEUS LIB EIUS CUR SUA
et/eutycHETIS CAES N̄ SERVI VILICI
a byblioTHECA IMPENSA SUA FECIT DEDICA
vitque V K OCT VERO III ET AMBIBULO COS

[5] *CIL,* VI, 8679:

D M
ONESIMUS CAES
VILIC THERMAR
BYBLIOTHEC GRAEC
CRESCENTI ALU
MNO SUO VIX
AN VIII MES I
B M FECIT

*hermarum* as a reading for *thermarum*. Hirschfeld, recalling the custom of adorning libraries with busts and statues, suggested that the slave mentioned in the inscription, Onesimus, was merely an employee of the library intrusted with the duty of keeping the *hermae* in neat and polished condition. It soon developed, however, that the inscription was still fairly well preserved (having been discovered in 1785 in a corner of the monastery of S. Paolo), and, on being examined more carefully, revealed an initial letter T. The only alternative, therefore, was the view that libraries existed occasionally in the public *thermae*. Consistent with this view is the phrase used by Vopiscus when casually observing that books were to be found in his time in the Baths of Diocletian, *praecipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea thermis Diocletianis.*[1]

8. The second inscription is of unusual interest (*CIL*, VI, 8907),[2] alluding to *Ti(berius) Claudius Augus(ti) l(ibertus) Hymenaeus medicus a bibliothecis*. The official title *medicus a bibliothecis* indicates that Hymenaeus served in the capacity of special physician to the library attachés, having oversight of the health, perhaps, of all library employees of the emperor. The fact that an inscription commemorates him is evidence that this freedman physician of Augustus was efficient in his work.

9. Inscriptions appear so frequently on monuments with the designation *librarius* that it is easy to conclude that the term represents the position of a well-educated official in the public library performing various minor tasks, both clerical and literary. The word *librarius* has the meanings "copyist" or "transcriber"; "bookseller" (who had books copied); "slave librarian." *Ser(vus) librar(ius)* occurs in *CIL*, VI, 9520.[3] *Doctus librarius*,

[1] See p. 14, n. 4.

[2] *CIL*, VI, 8907:

DIS MANIBUS
CLAUDIAE EUTYCHIAE
CONIUGI SANCTISSIM
BENE MERENTI ET Q
DOMITIO HELICI TI CLAUDIUS
AUG L HYMENAEUS MEDICUS
A BYBLIOTHECIS ET DOMITIA PANNYCHES

[3] *CIL*, VI, 9520:

DIS MANIBUS
NICONI L IV
LI VESTINI
SER LIBRAR
MATER FEC
F CARISSIMO

*benignus librarius*, and *literatus Graecis et Latinis librarius* are variations of *librarius* in the inscriptions.

A woman is occasionally seen to have performed this sort of duty. According to *CIL*, VI, 9525,[1] *P. Rubrius Optatus* dedicated a monument to his wife—*Pyrrhe Rubriae Helviae librariae.*

In *CIL*, VI, 6314,[2] the expression *librarius a manu* doubtless refers to a secretary on the library staff. The dignified sentiment contained in the inscribed verses implies worth and ability on the part of the deceased.

10. It is easily assumed that the public library of Rome required not only the direction and oversight of high officials with the regular corps of managers and their immediate subordinates, but also the assistance of numerous secretaries, copyists, scribes, and clerks in transacting the many incidental obligations demanded of it. The necessity of having such clerical employees is indicated in Suetonius' statement concerning Domitian:[3] "He neglected cultural activities at the beginning of his administration, although he saw to it that the libraries destroyed by fire were restored at very great expense, duplicates of volumes being sought in all directions and persons being sent to Alexandria to make copies and emendations."

It is pertinent to note the efficiency of this type of library assistant. A remarkably interesting instance of the enterprise and capability of the Roman scribe, as sometimes displayed, is found in the following description of a stenographic expert:

HOC CARMEN, HAEC ARA, HIC CINIS
PUERI SEPULCRUM XANTIA[E] ES[T]
QUI MORTE ACERBA RAPTUS EST

[1] *CIL*, VI, 9525:

PYRRHE RUBRIAE
HELVIAE LIBRARIAE
P RUBRIUS OPTATUS
CONTUBERNALI SUAE

[2] *CIL*, VI, 6314:

NOTHI LIBRARI A MANU
NON OPTATA TIBI CONIUNX MONIMENTA LOCAVIT
ULTIMA IN AETERNIS SEDIBUS UT MANEANT
SPE FRUSTRA GAVISA NOTHI QUEM PRIMA FERENTEM
AETATIS PLUTON INVIDUS ERIPUIT
HUNC ETIAM FLEVIT QUAEQUALIS TURBA ET HONOREM
SUPREMUM DIGNE FUNERIS INPOSUIT

(Cf. 9523 and 9524 *b*.)

[3] See p. 8, n. 1.

IAM DOCTUS IN COMPENDIA
TOT LITERARUM ET NOMINUM
NOTARE CURRENTI STILO
QUOD LINGUA CURRENS DICERET
IAM NEMO SUPERAT LEGENS
IAM VOCE ERILI COEPERAT
AD [OM]NE DICTATUM VOLANS
AUREM VOCARI AT PROXIMAM. . . . .[1]

A woman is mentioned as a shorthand writer in Dessau, 7760. A Greek stenographer is named in 7759; an amanuensis is described in 7758 as *notarum litteris erudito*, and another in 7757, *notario;* while a clerk of the same sort is termed *servus notarius et actuarius*. In 7629 *scrinarius* is keeper of *scrinaria*.

The management of libraries having been considered up to this point on the basis of inscriptional evidence, let us now consider the evidence from Roman literature and examine the titles applied to library officials, the type of individual described, the training and culture of mind demanded, and consequent social prestige.

The poetical designation used by Ovid,[2] *custos praepositus*, denotes the chief official in a special library, equivalent to *a bibliotheca*—in this instance, the library of Apollo.

*Bibliothecarius* is the title similarly applied to the head librarian in the Domus Tiberiana, as shown in the letter of Aurelius to Fronto.[3]

In associating Hyginus with the Palatine Library, *praefuit* is the verb employed by Suetonius.[4]

An epigram of Martial[5] connects Sextus officially with the same library in these words: "O Sextus, thou eloquent devotee of Palatine Minerva, who possessest intelligence approaching that of a god. . . . ." He is termed *Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae*.

In the selection of Varro to be organizer of public libraries at Rome, Caesar set a very high standard for later administrators.

[1] Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, XVI, 7756.

[2] See p. 5, n. 2, lines 67, 68.

[3] See p. 14, n. 2.

[4] See p. 50, n. 1.

[5] Martial, *Ep.* v. 5:

Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,
Ingenio frueris qui propiore dei—
Nam tibi nascentes domini cognoscere curas
Et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet.

Varro had been thoroughly educated, even receiving instruction in philosophy at Athens. He won a *corona navalis* for valorous service under Pompey, became a tribune, served as aedile with Murena, was a partisan in the triumvirate dissensions and other factional episodes; and yet, notwithstanding political opposition to the future dictator, was appointed director of the proposed imperial libraries.[1] At the age of seventy, he lost his valuable estate through proscription under Antony and found himself altogether unequal to the task of carrying forward his library plans. Distinguished for unprecedented erudition and voluminous authorship, he has been characterized by Cicero,[2] *diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis*, and by Quintilian,[3] *vir Romanorum eruditissimus*.

Asinius Pollio, to whom the uncompleted task of Varro was assigned, and by whom the first library was instituted, was a literary man prominent in the arts of war and peace. Horace[4] exclaims, "O chiefest stay of the accused in their troubles and of the Senate chambers in its deliberations, my Pollio, upon whom the laurel of Dalmatian triumph has bestowed eternal honor!" In 44 B.C. he had been governor of Farther Spain, in 40 B.C. consul, and in 39 B.C. leader against the Dalmatians. As noted orator and learned historian, he became a patron of Virgil and Horace. Such was the man selected by Augustus to found libraries at Rome.

Augustus made provisions for the library in the temple of Apollo, but it appears that Pompeius Macer was intrusted with the duty of setting it in order, along with other libraries. After mentioning the literary compositions of Julius Caesar, Suetonius[5] adds: "Augustus forbade that all these works be made public, in a very short and unpretentious letter which he sent to Pompeius Macer, to whom he had delegated the work of setting the libraries in order." One of the libraries was undoubtedly the Palatine. It

[1] See. p. 1, n. 1. [2] Cicero, *Brutus* 60. [3] Quintilian, x. 1. 95.

[4] Horace, *Odes* ii. 1. 13–16:

Insigne maestis praesidium reis
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
Cui laurus aeternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.

[5] Suetonius, *Caesar* 56: "Quos omnes libellos vetuit Augustus publicari in epistula, quam brevem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompeium Macrum, cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat, misit."

is barely possible, though not probable, that the two divisions of this library were viewed as separate libraries. It is more natural to suppose that several libraries now unknown were included in the task referred to. Furthermore, it is definitely stated by Suetonius[1] that Hyginus had charge of the library of Apollo.

"C. Julius Hyginus," he records, "freedman of Augustus, a Spaniard by birth (some think he was an Alexandrian and upon the capture of Alexandria was brought by Caesar to Rome as a boy), zealously heard and imitated Cornelius Alexander. . . . . He was set in charge of the Palatine library: none the less on this account he instructed many; and he was a very intimate friend of Ovid, the poet, and of C. Licinius, ex-consul, the historian who reports that he died in absolute poverty and was generously supported as long as he lived by the historian himself."

An additional excerpt from the writings of Suetonius[2] contains the information that Augustus assigned to Caius Melissus the duty of arranging libraries in the Porticus Octaviae, and that he undertook the work. This statement associates Melissus with a definite library, made up of Greek and Latin sections. Some of the inscriptions already considered show that each section had its own librarian. A native of Spoletum and free born, he was exposed by reason of parental discord. Owing to the painstaking

[1] Suetonius, *De gram.* 20: "C. Julius Hyginus, Augusti libertus, natione Hispanus (nonnulli Alexandrinum putant et a Caesare puerum Romam adductum, Alexandria capta) studiose et audivit et imitatus est Cornelium Alexandrum. . . . . Praefuit Palatinae bibliothecae: nec eo secius plurimos docuit; fuitque familiarissimus Ovidio poetae et C. Licinio consulari, historico qui eum admodum pauperem decessisse tradit, et liberalitate sua, quoad vixerit, sustentatum. Huius libertus fuit Julius Modestus, in studiis atque doctrina vestigi apatroni secutus."

[2] *Ibid.* 21: "C. Melissus, Spoleti natus ingenuus, sed ob discordiam parentum expositus, cura et industria educatoris sui altiora studia percepit: ac Maecenati pro grammatico muneri datus est. Cui cum se gratum et acceptum in modum amici videret, quamquam asserente matre, permansit tamen in statu servitutis praesentemque condicionem verae origini anteposuit. Quare cito manumissus, Augusto etiam insinuatus est: quo delegante, curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae Porticu suscepit. Atque, ut ipse tradit, sexagesimum aetatis annum agens, libellos Ineptiarum, qui nunc Iocorum inscribuntur, componere instituit absolvitque centum et quinquaginta, quibus et alios diversos postea addidit. Fecit et novum genus Togatarum inscripsitque Trabeatas."

care of his foster father, he learned to appreciate the higher studies. He was presented to Maecenas as a grammarian. Finding himself received on terms of friendship, he preferred to remain with his patron rather than to assert his freedom when his mother laid claim to him. But being soon after set free, he was brought into close relationship with Augustus and promoted to the librarianship. "While in his sixtieth year," Suetonius says, "he began to compose little volumes of *Ineptiae* which are now termed *Ioci:* and he completed one hundred and fifty, to which he later added other [volumes] of different kinds. He originated a new type of *Togata* and gave it the title of *Trabeata.*"

While altogether very little information is available regarding the personnel of library administration, all data that survive warrant the conclusion that intellectuality, literary training, and professional efficiency were characteristics demanded of the several grades of administrators and attachés in the public libraries.

Of the several officials known by name, Varro and Pollio were unsurpassed as men of literary activities; Melissus and Hyginus, freedmen of Maecenas and Augustus respectively, showed decided literary tendencies; Macer, the friend of Augustus, and Sextus, famed for his broad intelligence, were interested patrons of literature.

In the inscriptions cited, it has been seen that Vestinus was imperial secretary, philologist, curator of the Alexandrian Museum, as well as procurator of libraries at Rome; that Largus as procurator of Augustus was thoroughly versed in public and private law; that librarians were proficient in the literature both of the Romans and of the Greeks; and that clerical assistants were well qualified for their manifold duties.

## V. OBJECT: INCENTIVES AND ADVANTAGES

In analyzing the motives that actuated the Romans in establishing and maintaining public libraries, one wonders, not that libraries were conducted so successfully nineteen centuries ago, but rather that they were not inaugurated at an earlier period in the history of the city.

### *A. Incentives*

It is not difficult to recognize some of the chief incentives that led the emperors and citizens of ancient Rome to seek a broader intellectual activity and literary culture than had prevailed under the Republic.

Upon the overthrow of the first triumvirate, the prospect of a peaceful adjustment of affairs of state and the aggressive demands of Julius Caesar were direct encouragement to the creation of new civic ideals. Prominent among these was a growing appreciation of literary and aesthetic interests. Such interests, held in abeyance up to this time by peculiar political conditions, were beginning to expand.

Old-time prejudices against Hellenic culture and learning had now disappeared and the potent influences of Greece, reinforced by her contact with Egypt and other older civilizations, were everywhere visible, and were becoming a vital factor in the intellectual rejuvenation of the Romans.[1]

Especially strong must have been those currents of inspiration which came to Rome from the two great literary centers, Alexandria and Pergamum, with their remarkable libraries and distinguished scholars.[2] When the library at Alexandria was burned in 47 B.C., seven hundred thousand volumes are said to have been

[1] Cicero, *Pro Archia*, § 5: "Erat Italia tum plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam nunc isdem in oppidis, et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem rei publicae non neglegebantur."

[2] See pp. 21, 22, 65.

contained in it.[1] When the library at Pergamum came into the hands of the Romans and Antony presented it to Cleopatra, two hundred thousand volumes formed its contents.[2]

Aside from these foreign influences, the Romans, after so long devotion to the building up of a powerful national life and so many demands of a practical nature, were now in position to turn their attention, in a way not hitherto possible, toward the attainment of a higher intellectual standard. Caesar, as has been shown, conceived the idea of founding libraries at Rome, to serve such a need as this. The real nucleus of so worthy an idea was already in existence at Rome—the historical and political archives.

Much of the miscellaneous memoranda and records of the archives, which were regularly found in cities of ancient times, formed the basis of historical research. On just such sources did most ancient historians rely for authentic information. Such archives, one must suppose, were diligently consulted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Dio Cassius, Livy, the Elder Pliny, Suetonius, Nepos, and many others. By virtue of the importance attaching to Rome as the mistress of the world, the governmental archives here established constituted the true foundation upon which were developed those greater agencies for the instruction of the people—the public libraries.

These were the direct and potent incentives for the establishment of public libraries.

### *B. Advantages*

As for advantages afforded, sufficient quotations from classical literature, conjectures by scholars, and evidence in archaeological finds have been presented to justify the conclusion that the reasons for maintaining libraries in ancient Rome were threefold: (1) the preservation of books and records; (2) the instruction of the public; (3) cultural influences.

To see that each of these motives was dominant in the minds of the Romans, it is only necessary to refer to brief, and often

[1] Gellius, *N.A.* vii. 17. 3: "Ingens postea numerus librorum in Aegypto ab Ptolemaeis regibus vel conquisitus vel confectus est ad milia ferme voluminum septingenta; sed ea omnia bello priore Alexandrino, dum diripitur ea civitas, non sponte neque opera consulta, sed a militibus forte auxiliariis incensa sunt."

[2] See p. 22, n. 3.

casual, comments made by Latin writers. It is desirable that we note these in their original form, especially since many of such passages have been translated in our previous inquiry into other phases of the public library.

## I. THE PRESERVATION OF BOOKS AND RECORDS

Inquiry has been directed toward the contents of each public library at Rome, in so far as evidence is available. If, now, on the other hand, the contents of the various libraries are viewed as a group of miscellaneous volumes, a ready classification of subject-matter accessible to the citizens of Rome can be made. This will show in summarized form the great variety of literature and learning that was most carefully preserved.

1. *Miscellaneous Collections:*

*a*) Greek and Latin Divisions in—
Atrium Libertatis[1]
Templum Apollinis[2]
Porticus Octaviae[3]
Forum Traiani[4]

*b*) Large Deposits of Books in—
Atrium Libertatis[5]
Templum Apollinis[6]
Porticus Octaviae[7]
Forum Traiani[8]

*c*) Literature and Science—

. . . et tangere vitet
Scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo.
—Horace, *Ep.* i. 3, 16, 17.

Quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
Pectore lecturis inspicienda patent.
—Ovid, *Tris.* iii. 1. 63, 64.

Lectites Graecos, linteos etiam libros requiras, quos Ulpia tibi bibliotheca cum volueris ministrabit.—Vopiscus, *Aurel.* i (end).

Curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia bibliotheca et libri lintei proferantur . . . . accepi libros Graecos, et omnia mihi necessaria in manum sumpsi.—*Ibid.* 1.

2. *Special Varieties:*

*a*) Sibylline Books—

Libros Sibyllinos condidit duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi.—Suetonius, *Aug.* 31.

[1] See p. 4, n. 6.
[2] See p. 6, n. 3.
[3] See pp. 44, 45.
[4] See pp. 18, 38, 39.
[5] See p. 31.
[6] See p. 32.
[7] See p. 33.
[8] See p. 14, n. 4; p. 18, n. 4.

. . . . ubi, ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammarum.—Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3. 3.

*b*) Unusual Volumes—

. . . . id nos, aliquot veteribus libris inspectis, exploravimus.—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ix. 14.1. Corruptos autem quosdam libros repperi.—*Ibid.* ix. 14. 2.

3. *Poetry:*

Fecit et Graeca poemata, imitatus Euphorionem et Arrianum et Parthenium: quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta eorum et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit.—Suetonius, *Tiber.* 70.

Sit locus et nostris aliqua tibi parte libellis
Qua Pedo, qua Marsus, quaque Catullus erit.
Ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli
Grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.—Martial, *Ep.* v. 5.

4. *Law:*

. . . . ius civile ad certum modum redigere, atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros.—Suetonius, *Caes.* 44.

Sportula deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo.—Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 128.

5. *History:*

Sed et Vergilii et Titi Livii scripta et imagines, paullum abfuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoverit.—Suetonius, *Calig.* 34.

Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae (quod parentem suum eundem diceret), in omnibus bibliothecis collocari iussit.—Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 10 (middle).

6. *Biography:*

Haec ego et a gravibus viris comperi et in Ulpiae bibliothecae libris relegi et pro maiestate Apollonii magis credidi. . . . . Ille mortuis reddidit vitam, ille multa ultra homines et fecit et dixit: quae qui velit nosse, Graecos legat libros, qui de eius vita conscripti sunt.—Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 24 (end).

Multa huius feruntur, sed longum est ea in litteras mittere; quod si quis omnia de hoc viro cupit scire, legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui eius vitam adfatim scripsit.—Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 11 (end).

7. *Oratory:*

Huius oratio fertur ad senatum missa tantum habuisse eloquentiae ut illi statua, non quasi Caesari, sed quasi rhetori

decerneretur, ponenda in bibliotheca Ulpia. . . . .—Vopiscus, *Numerian* 11. 3.

Legi Catonis orationem de bonis Dulciae, et aliam qua tribuno diem dixit. "Io," inquis puero tuo; "vade quantum potes, de Apollinis bibliotheca has mihi orationes adporta."—Aurelius, *Ad Frontonem* iv. 5.

8. *Grammar:*

Quod autem supra scriptum est in Q. Claudi verbis: 'propter magnitudinem atque immanitatem facies,' id nos, aliquot veteribus libris inspectis, exploravimus atque ita esse, ut scriptum est, comperimus. Sic enim pleraque aetas veterum declinavit: 'haec facies, huius facies,' quod nunc propter rationem grammaticam 'faciei' dicitur.—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ix. 14. 1.

Tum . . . . quae M. Varro alias 'profata,' alias 'proloquia' appellat, Commentarium de Proloquiis L. Aelii, docti hominis, qui magister Varronis fuit, studiose quaesivimus eumque in Pacis bibliotheca repertum legimus.—*Ibid.* xvi. 8. 2.

9. *Private Memoranda:*

*a*) Historical Data—

Et tamen, si bene novi, ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus, etiam bella, charactere historico digesta, quae velim accipias, et per ordinem scribas additis quae ad vitam pertinent.

Quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana sua scribi praeceperat, pro tua sedulitate condisces.—Vopiscus, *Aurelian* 1. 1.

*b*) Imperial Corrrespondence—

Ne quid denique deesset cognitioni, plerasque huiusmodi epistolas in fine libri posui, et cum cupiditate et sine fastidio, ut existimo, perlegendas.—Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 12 (end).

10. *Public Documents:*

*a*) Edicts—

Edicta veterum praetorum, sedentibus forte nobis in bibliotheca templi Traiani et aliud quid quaerentibus, cum in manus incidissent, legere atque cognoscere libitum est.

Tum in quodam edicto antiquiore ita scriptum invenimus: Qui flumina retanda publice redempta habent, si quis eorum ad me eductus fuerit, qui dicatur, quod eum ex lege locationis facere oportuerit, non fecisse.—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xi. 17. 1, 2.

*b*) Decrees—

Ac ne quis me Graecorum alicui vel Latinorum existimet temere credidisse, habet bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo hoc senatus consultum per-

scriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse manu sua subscripsit: nam diu haec senatus consulta, quae ad principes pertinebant, in libris elephantinis scribebantur.—Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 8. 1.

*c*) Public Acts—

Et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit, facile cognitu et publicis in actis perscriptum [est].—Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 24.

Usus etiam ex regestis scribarum porticus Porphyreticae, actis etiam senatus ac populi.—Vopiscus, *Probus* 2. 1.

*d*) Daily Acts—

Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non in diurna actorum scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti sint. . . . . Tacitus, *Annal.* iii. 3.

*e*) Treaties:

In the Capitoline library (see p. 20).

In the temple of Juno Moneta:

Licinius Macer auctor est etiam in foedere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetae ea inventa.—Livy, iv. 7. 12.

*f*) Sacred Rights:

. . . . ibi ex libro vetere linteo sacrificatum sacerdote Ovio Paccio quodam.—Livy, x. 38. 6.

*g*) State Records—

In Domus Tiberiana, where were the scrinia praefecturae urbanae (see p. 35, n. 3). Cf. Dio Cassius, lxxii. 24; p. 15, n. 3.

*h*) City Surveys:

Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 211.

Miscellaneous manuscripts incorporating various important records of the government, both under the Republic and under the Empire, necessarily formed no slight portion of the contents of archives and repositories; and these valuable collections of state papers were doubtless frequently deposited for safest preservation in the public libraries most convenient for this purpose. Occasional references in literature suffice to show that the library, specifically, or some archive contained such documents.

## II. INSTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC

The plan of Caesar "to make men's talents public property" assumed three forms: (1) reading in the library; (2) reference

and research; (3) withdrawal of books. The most direct advantage afforded was that of—

1. *Reading in the library.*—Of numerous available illustrations, only a few need be considered as evidence:

Quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
Pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.—Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 1. 63, 64.

. . . . et, ne lectorum incuria deperiret, librum per annos singulos decies scribi publicitus in civicis archiis iussit et in bibliothecis poni.—Vopiscus, *Aurelian* 24 (end).

Haec Sulpicius Apollinaris audientibus nobis dixit. Quae postea ita esse, uti dixerat, cognovimus, cum et laudationes funebres et librum commentarium de familia Porcia legeremus.—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xiii. 20. 17. (Cf. *ibid.* xiii. 20. 1.)

A decidedly important feature of the public library at Rome, in addition to that of reading for entertainment, was the opportunity extended to the Roman citizen for—

2. *Reference and research.*—This phase of library facilities proved a special advantage to the student of literature, the grammarian, and the historian.

The poet-plagiarist who was wont to consult the works in the Palatine library with considerable frequency is enjoined by another poet—

. . . . et tangere vitet
Scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo.
—Horace, *Ep.* i. 3. 16, 17.

Besides the library in Apollo's temple, those in the Palace of Tiberius, in the temple of Peace, and in the Forum of Trajan each offered the investigator ready access to its volumes and documents, as is seen in statements by Gellius and Vopiscus:

. . . . Commentarium de Proloquiis L. Aelii . . . . studiose quaesivimus eumque in Pacis bibliotheca repertum legimus.—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xvi. 8. 2.

. . . . id nos, aliquot veteribus libris inspectis, exploravimus atque ita esse, ut scriptum est, comperimus.—*Ibid.* ix. 14. 1. (cf. *ibid.* ix. 14. 3).

. . . . et si hoc contentus non fueris, lectites Graecos, linteos etiam libros requiras, quos Ulpia tibi bibliotheca cum volueris ministrabit.—Vopiscus, *Aurelian* 1 (end).

Usus autem sum . . . . praecipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea thermis Diocletianis; item ex domo Tiberiana.—Vopiscus, *Probus* 2. 1.

Moreover, it is definitely established that the reader and the student were accorded, under certain regulations not now ascertainable, the additional privilege of—

3. *Withdrawal of books.*—There is no other inference to be deduced from the following excerpts:

"Io," inquis puero tuo; "vade quantum potes, de Apollinis bibliotheca has mihi orationes adporta." Frustra mittis; nam et isti libri me secuti sunt. Igitur Tiberianus bibliothecarius tibi subigitandus est.—Aurelius, *Ad Frontonem* iv. 5.

"Curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia bibliotheca et libri lintei proferantur." . . . . accepi libros Graecos, et omnia mihi necessaria in manum sumpsi: ex quibus et quae digna erant memoratu in unum libellum contuli.—Vopiscus, *Aurelian* 1.

It is to be noted that not only Latin, but also Greek works and miscellaneous volumes were allowed to leave the library.

This Roman custom of borrowing books from the public library is reflected in the incident previously cited where a copy of one of Aristotle's works was procured from the library at Tibur, the significant phraseology being—

Sed . . . . promit e bibliotheca Tiburti . . . . Aristotelis librum eumque ad nos adfert. . . . .—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xix. 5. 4.

The emperor sometimes removed from the libraries any volumes failing to meet with his approval, as described by Suetonius in his account of Caligula:

Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis; "cur enim, sibi non licere," dicens, "quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e civitate, quam constituebat, eiecerit?" Sed et Vergilii et Titi Livii scripta et imagines paullum abfuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoverit.—Suetonius, *Calig.* 34.

## III. CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The cultural value of libraries was clearly recognized by the Romans when they located them regularly in close proximity to porticoes, temples, and other ornate structures.

This was emphasized also in the custom, already considered, of adorning the interior of the library with worthy specimens of art: paintings, inscriptions, quotations, statues, busts, and medallions.

A further indication of their cultural function was the utilization of the library as an appropriate center for social, literary, and even political gatherings.

*a*) *Social.*—

Nemo in templo Pacis dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos, tyrannas videlicet vel tyrranides, ut ipsi de me solent cum risu et ioco iactitare, posuisse.—Trebellius Pollio, *Trig. Tyr.* xxxi. 10.

Cum in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca sederemus ego et Apollinaris Sulpicius et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiares, prolatus forte liber est ita inscriptus "M. Catonis Nepotis."—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xiii. 20. 1.

*b*) *Literary.*—

Edicta veterum praetorum, sedentibus forte nobis in bibliotheca templi Traiani et aliud quid quaerentibus, cum in manus incidissent, legere atque cognoscere libitum est.—Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xi. 17. 1.

Tum . . . . Commentarium de Proloquiis L. Aelii, docti hominis, qui magister Varronis fuit, studiose quaesivimus eumque in Pacis bibliotheca repertum legimus.—*Ibid.* xvi. 8. 2.

*c*) *Political.*—

Igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum coepit.—Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 37.

Addidit porticus cum bibiliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit.—Suetonius, *August.* 29.

## VI. LITERARY CULTURE OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

In addition to the public libraries, there were of course other potent factors in the intellectual life of Rome.

Among them may be enumerated: (1) schools; (2) bookshops; (3) public baths; (4) literary circles; (5) private libraries.

The influence of these, combined with that of the various public libraries of the city, may be considered as constituting the Roman ideal of culture.

### I. SCHOOLS

A detailed discussion of Roman schools is not necessary here; only their relation to citizenship and culture need be mentioned.

Education of the child, especially the boy, was viewed primarily as a duty to the state. After the training of the elementary schools in the customary rudiments came that of a formal literary type which emphasized the needs of public life. Under the Republic, Greek literature, especially the poets and orators, had received close study, while in the early days of the Empire the works of Latin writers were also utilized to considerable advantage. Both involved the appreciation of language, grammar, style, meter, and content, as Cicero has shown.[1]

Aside from the purely technical study of literature, subject-matter as practical information was highly valued. Wise saws and favorite maxims were viewed as excellent educative material.[2]

History was compiled for the young that they might learn of the notable deeds of ancestors and the worthy customs of national life. Roman history, from any source, was important.[3]

Attainment of success in oratory continued a prime motive in the work of the schools, as is stressed by both Cicero[4] and Tacitus,[5] representing respectively the Republic and the Empire.

In such ways did literature have a direct bearing on practical life and help prepare the Roman youth for the demands of citizenship.

[1] Cicero, *De oratore* i. 41. 187.

[2] Seneca, *Controversiae* vii. 38.

[3] Livy and Nepos are typical.

[4] Cicero, *Pro Caelio* xxxi. 74.

[5] Tacitus, *Dial.* 37.

## 2. BOOKSHOPS

The Roman bookseller's business expanded in proportion as the literary tendencies of the citizens developed. The growing popularity of private libraries vitally affected the book trade. It is believed by modern scholars that books were by no means rare in Rome among the well-to-do classes and must usually have sold at very moderate prices; and that books in the early days of the Empire probably cost less than books at the present time containing an equal amount of subject-matter. This was made possible through the exceedingly cheap labor rendered by numerous slaves of high intelligence.

At the beginning of the Empire the publication and sale of books at Rome had become well established. The names of several very successful and enterprising publishers are recorded in the writings of Latin authors, as: Atticus,[1] the worthy friend of Cicero; the Sosii brothers,[2] well known through Horace and Ovid; Tryphon,[3] who issued the works of Martial and Quintilian; and Dorus,[4] referred to by Seneca. Their well-educated slaves are represented as copying manuscripts, probably through dictation, with astonishing cleverness.[5] Such copies, however, were not always free from errors.[6] Sometimes a writer published his own works by employing the slaves of his household.[7]

The bookshop and the publishing plant were sometimes combined in the same business, as, for instance, by Atticus and the Sosii. At any rate, the output of the publisher was made accessible to the public through the bookshop. Placards containing announcements of books in stock, and even samples of works ready for sale, were exhibited at the doors of the shops or on the columns of the porticoes.[8]

The shops of the *librarii*,[9] or *bibliopolae*, were located especially in the Argiletum[10] and the Vicus Sandalarius,[11] which were the headquarters of the book trade; but they were found also in other business streets. In such *tabernae* the citizens of Rome were wont

[1] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* xii. 6.
[2] Horace, *De arte poetica* 345, 346.
[3] Martial, *Ep.* iv. 72; Quintilian, *Inst.* Praef.
[4] Seneca, *De benef.* vii. 6.
[5] Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 7.
[6] Martial, *Ep.* ii. 8.
[7] Nepos, *Atticus* 13.
[8] Martial, *Ep.* i. 117.
[9] See p. 46, § 9.
[10] See p. 63, n. 2.
[11] Galen, *De libris suis* iv. 361.

to congregate. "I looked for you," Catullus[1] explains to his friend Camerius, "in the lesser campus, in the circus, in all the bookshops, in the sacred temple of great Jupiter." The bookshop was the natural and appropriate resort for those on the watch for the regular official bulletins of the government or for the latest literary publication. Subjects of interest to the devotees of literature were here frequently discussed. The attention of less cultured bystanders would readily be drawn to such themes. A scene of this sort is well described by Gellius.[2]

### 3. PUBLIC BATHS

It appears almost incongruous to include the *thermae* of ancient Rome among those agencies that tended to develop current intellectual life and to provide mental recreation, so regularly associated are these with only the social and physical relations of life. Yet very conclusive evidence is at hand to show that libraries formed in some instances, at least, a valued part of the advantages of the public baths. Certainly the two most celebrated *thermae* of the city included libraries among their many attractions.

Referring to the source of historical data that he had consulted, Vopiscus[3] has been quoted as saying he used books in the Ulpian Library, parenthetically observing that these had been removed in his time to the Thermae Diocletianae.

Recent discoveries in Rome bring to light, among the excavated ruins of the Thermae Caracallae, an apartment clearly devoted to the purposes of a library. Niches in the walls give clear proof of the use of shelves and reading desks.

All the great baths of Rome provided similar quarters easily adapted to the use of libraries, though specific information regarding collections of books deposited in them has not survived.

It is well to recall also at this point the inscription which demonstrated, as has been seen,[4] that a slave librarian was employed in the *thermae* rather than that he was given the duty of caring for the *hermae*.

It is to be concluded, therefore, that the idle hours of the Roman citizen frequenting the *thermae* for sport and recreation could also fittingly be devoted to the pastime of reading.

[1] Catullus, lv. 3–5.

[2] *N.A.* xviii. 4. 1, . . . . 7, 8, 9.

[3] See p. 14, n. 4.

[4] See pp. 45, 46, § 7.

### 4. LITERARY CIRCLES

Groups of literary friends exerted strong influence within a comparatively limited area. The emperor is to be regarded as the chief patron, usually, in the more celebrated circles. In this respect one thinks instinctively of the far-reaching influence of Augustus. In closest co-operation, too, was the professional patron, excellently represented in the person of Maecenas. Such encouragement as was accorded Virgil, Horace, and Varius, giving them greater confidence in their endeavors, is tangible evidence that the literary circle greatly furthered the cause of letters.

A youthful writer trying to impress himself and his work upon the literary public gained two special advantages in appearing before such a gathering: he was sure of an audience, however critical, and he was enabled thereby, if reasonably promising as an author, to make his writings known to a larger following.

The readings, to be sure, were often wearisome and uninteresting. Horace complains of the "troublesome reader," while Juvenal classes the recital "among the baneful things of urban residence." Pliny has vividly described an occasion of this kind, saying that auditors frequently come forth with the complaint that the day has been lost. Martial states that the poet's club would be altogether desirable but for the drawback that they had to listen to each other's verses, and that some of the readers required nearly a whole day; nevertheless he could not absent himself, as he expected others to attend his own recital.

But the fact remains, notwithstanding frequent playful satire, that the literary groups, with their public recitals, afforded the best opportunity obtainable for acquainting a considerable portion of the populace with the important literary works appearing from time to time. In addition to the efforts of the booksellers and the publishers, the recital must have proved an effective advertising medium. Private, as well as public, libraries would soon add to their contents any work eliciting commendation from such an authoritative source.[1]

### 5. PRIVATE LIBRARIES

As bookshops facilitated the growth of private libraries, so private libraries aided materially in the spread of culture and pre-

[1] Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 1. 63–72.

pared the way for the establishment of public libraries. The archives of the city, forming the basis on which public libraries were directly developed, were at the outset virtually private libraries of the government.

The well-known story of Crates,[1] the professional schoolmaster of Pergamum, is associated with the beginning of private libraries at Rome. Having come on some political mission and being delayed by a mishap, he utilized this interval in lecturing to the Romans on literary themes. It is likely that he imparted to them helpful information regarding the great library in his own city. At any rate, it was during this very period, the first half of the second century B.C., that the Romans began to make collections of foreign works, either seizing them as booty or purchasing them.

Aemilius Paulus[2] was enabled, by his victory over Perseus, king of Macedonia, to bring to Rome a considerable number of books. Lucullus,[3] likewise, got possession of the books he found in Pontus, transferring them to Rome and making them accessible to his friends. Sulla[4] seized a large number of volumes which included the library of Aristotle. A little later, Atticus,[5] the publisher, had collected a valuable library. Cicero often mentioned his own extensive library[6] and made occasional reference to a good library owned by Quintus.[7] It is recorded that the private library of Varro[8] was partially destroyed when his entire estate was proscribed.

The possession of such private libraries as these reflects the attitude of various individuals in the last two centuries of the Republic. It is natural that under the Empire this inclination should have developed and that private libraries should have become more popular than formerly. Numerous illustrations of the prevalence of the private library are available.[9]

As is shown in the criticism of Seneca,[10] there was often great affectation of the literary life; but this itself may indicate a generally prevalent literary taste. The mention of Trimalchio's

[1] Suetonius, *De gram.* 2.

[2] Plutarch, *Aem. Paulus* xxviii.

[3] Plutarch, *Lucullus* xlii.

[4] Plutarch, *Sulla* xxvi.

[5] Cicero, *Ad Att.* iv. 14. 1.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 1. 12; ii. 6. 1; etc.

[7] Cicero, *Ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 4. 5.

[8] Gellius, iii. 10. 17.

[9] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, "Bibliotheken," VII.

[10] See p. 28, n. 1.

Greek and Latin libraries[1] is not simply satirical: it is indicative of a sort of cultural ideal common in imperial times. It is significant that Vitruvius[2] regularly included the *bibliotheca* in his architectural plans for the Roman house. Furthermore, the library containing eighteen hundred rolls found at Herculaneum is considered by some as a type of the library in the home of the average prosperous Roman of the earlier Empire.

Martial has referred in suggestive terms to the suburban library:

> Ruris bibliotheca delicati,
> Vicinam videt unde lector urbem,
> Inter carmina sanctiora si quis
> Lascivae fuerit locus Thaliae,
> Hos nido licet inseras vel imo,
> Septem quos tibi misimus libellos
> Auctoris calamo sui notatos:
> Haec illis pretium facit litura.
> At tu munere delicata parvo
> Quae cantaberis orbe nota toto,
> Pignus pectoris hoc mei tuere,
> Iuli bibliotheca Martialis.[3]

## CULTURE AND LIBRARIES

We may now appropriately seek an answer to the queries—

To what extent did *literary culture* permeate the life and thought of ancient Rome under the early Empire?

Did the establishment of *public libraries* throughout the city sustain a direct relation to the education and culture of her citizens?

The term *culture* is difficult to define, especially when associated with so distant an epoch. But there are ample traces of a cultural ideal among the ancient Romans which is worthy to be set beside the ideals of other great ages.

The literary and aesthetic tastes of the Romans have too long been underestimated. The more minutely this phase of Roman life is studied, the more favorable are the conclusions reached. Testimony surviving in literature is necessarily only a partial test.

"It is simple and has a show of system to say that the Greeks had aesthetic qualities but no political steadiness: that the Romans showed marvelous political genius, but lacked an appre-

[1] Petronius, *Cena Trimal.* 48. [2] See p. 23, n. 1. [3] Martial, vii. 17.

ciation of the finer things of life. Our estimate of the Romans in this matter has suffered from both these tendencies to contrast and to classify. So far as our judgment of them is concerned, it was unfortunate that fate did not put Rome 1,000 years earlier or later and thus save us from the temptation of using such light and dark colors respectively in drawing our outlines of the two peoples. It was this unkindness of fate, I fancy, which is partly responsible for the common belief that the Romans were Philistines in art and literature, for the feeling, for instance, that Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth, was a typical Roman."[1]

The plays of Plautus and Terence afford ample opportunity to see that the Roman people of the second century B.C. possessed a discriminating taste in the domain of literature. The theater of the Republic had served as an educative agency, and presupposed a fair familiarity with literature on the part of its auditors.[2]

The claims of eloquence, though lacking the power of republican days, must still, under the earlier emperors, at least, have played an important part in stirring the imagination and proved a strong incentive in the matter of reading. Public speeches must have been to the plebeian what the exclusive literary circle was to the more highly cultured. There can be no doubt, moreover, that the young men and boys who were accompanied to the forum by their elders and there heard eulogies on deceased Romans of note were inspired to emulate them in the qualities that stood for culture.[3]

Latin literature furnishes here and there certain glimpses of a large reading public.

If it were feasible to cite full evidence concerning the attitude of the emperors toward education and literature, especially through the first century and a half of the Empire, a distinctly vigorous interest would in the main be apparent. Passing over the noteworthy encouragement manifested by Augustus, we may note that Caligula, as Suetonius[4] says, realized it would be to his advantage to deliver to posterity the transactions of former times and hence permitted the writings of Titus Labienus "to be drawn from obscurity and universally read." Such productions were doubtless made accessible to the reading public through the

[1] Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, pp. 161, 162.

[2] *Ibid.*, 164–68. [3] Polybius vi. 53. [4] Suetonius, *Caligula* 8.

bookshops and libraries. We find, again, in the case of Emperor Tacitus, that he had the works of Cornelius Tacitus placed in all the libraries that the interest of readers might not wane, as Vopiscus[1] explains.

Likewise would detailed study of the Latin poets and prose writers give ample opportunity to appreciate the degree of intelligence and refinement prevailing through the city. It is well to recall in this connection, that the heterogeneous population within the walls of Rome at the beginning of the Empire could hardly have been less than 800,000. Significant, indeed, should be an expression like Martial's:

> Laudat, amat, cantat nostros mea Roma libellos:
> Meque sinus omnis, me manus omnis habet.[2]

Again, the attitude of the citizens toward the official bulletins regularly issued by the emperor, or the Senate, or other delegated authority, is not without interest as an evidence of popular reading habits.

These Records, or *Acta*, consisted of three varieties: (*a*) *Acta Publica;* (*b*) *Acta Populi;* (*c*) *Acta Diurna Urbis.*

The publishing of the *Acta* of the Senate and of the people in their assemblies was inaugurated by Julius Caesar during his consulship.[3] Though discontinued under Augustus, it was later revived. The editing of material for these *Acta* required the special service of the *Actuarius* or other scribes selected from the Senate.[4] They gradually assumed the form of a daily journal. Not only speeches and official transactions relating to governmental policies and procedures, but miscellaneous items of considerable interest to the average citizen were included. Authorities for such information are Juvenal, Seneca, the Younger Pliny, Petronius, Tacitus, and Suetonius.

The *Acta Diurna* were considered of particular interest throughout the city. To all appearances, these bulletins performed in a limited way the function of the modern daily newspaper, and show a striking resemblance to it as a vehicle for news. They were not only posted at the bookshops and other public places[5] in the city, but were also widely distributed through the provinces.[6]

[1] Vopiscus, *Tacitus* 10; see p. 40, n. 4.

[2] Martial, vi. 61.

[3] Suetonius, *Caesar* 20.

[4] Tacitus, *Annales* v. 4.

[5] See p. 62, n. 8.

[6] Tacitus, *Annales* xvi. 22.

Provincial governors are represented as having scribes in Rome to make duplicates of the *Acta Diurna* and transmit them by messengers with all haste.

The information contained in the daily budgets recorded, particularly, births, deaths, marriages, divorces, fires, murders, and court proceedings. For instance, the important bearing of the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Papia Poppaea*[1] upon the marriage relation emphasized the need for public announcement of such data. Moreover, miscellaneous news-items of urban life appeared in the bulletins and were eagerly read by all possessing sufficient education. Merely the desire of perusing these popular bulletins was doubtless an inspiration to youthful Romans to acquire the art of reading.

It is worthy of note that the *Acta* served not only the function of disseminating information among the people while it still had an actual news value, but that, upon being filed away or stored in the archives and libraries, private and public, they served also the function of providing, at a later date, valuable material for the student or the historian.[2]

## SUMMARY

To correlate the Roman public library with other intellectual influences, it may be said to have been inseparable from the literary culture of the Empire.

The value of public libraries in the life of Rome has been greatly underestimated: they were a powerful reflector of Rome's literary ideals; they assisted very appreciably in furthering the literary interests of the Empire; they were directly serviceable in furnishing material for both cultural improvement and research.

Finally, the libraries of Rome were the chief means of preserving to mediaeval and modern times many works of antiquity; they transmitted to modern civilization all the best features of the libraries of ancient times; and they illustrate anew that "we are debtors both to the Greeks and the barbarians."

[1] Tacitus, *Annales* ii. 50; iii. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 3; xii. 24.

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