Title
Life and Libraries in the Roman World

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1wv6s7v7

Author
Hendrickson, Thomas

Publication Date
2013

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

LIFE AND LIBRARIES IN THE ROMAN WORLD

By

Thomas Gerald Hendrickson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Classics

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Dylan Sailor, Chair
Professor Christopher Hallett
Professor Kathleen McCarthy
Professor Carlos Noreña

Spring 2013

ABSTRACT

Life and Libraries in the Roman World

by

Thomas Gerald Hendrickson

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Dylan Sailor, Chair

I argue that the physical media through which literature was experienced (books, statues, and especially libraries) are crucial for understanding how liberal studies functioned in the economy of prestige. This is a study of the interactions between literature and society. The focus is not strictly on how society influenced literature, or how literature influenced society, but rather on how material manifestations of literature can shed light on the power dynamics of Roman society. In a domestic context, libraries could be used to define the meaning of places in the house, and their physical structure could be used by a *dominus* to reinforce and justify his place in the social hierarchy, in particular in relation to guests. At the same time, the very materiality of libraries had a tendency to undermine their place in elite ideology by implicating them in the discourse of *luxuria*. Finally, control over the material trappings of the library (especially author portraits) could function as a proxy for the exercise and establishment of cultural authority, which was inextricably bound up with political power. As such, fights over library statuary provide a window into the inter-relationship between power and *paideia*.

FOR ERIN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

This dissertation began as a project on ancient biography, stemming from work I did in Mary Beard's Sather seminar on Suetonius at UC Berkeley in 2008. I was interested in the connection between biographies and portraiture, and I found that their intersection lay within the library. As I acquainted myself with the evidence on libraries in the ancient world, I was struck by the extent to which they were an embodiment of elite Roman ideology, while at the same time physical places that complicated that ideology in unexpected ways. The biography project was put off, and the library project took shape. In bringing the project to its present form, I have benefited from the generous help of several institutions and individuals.

The Dean's Normative Time Fellowship at UC Berkeley gave me the breathing space necessary to develop many of the ideas presented here. The Haas Junior Scholars program, sponsored by the Institute for East Asian Studies at Berkeley, provided support for an interdisciplinary dissertation reading group, whose members provided much helpful feedback. I had the good fortune to finish the project at the American Academy in Rome, where I spent a year as the Arthur Ross Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize Fellow. The staffs of the Art History and Classics Library at UC Berkeley, and of the library at the American Academy in Rome, were both most helpful.

I am deeply in debt to the members of my committee: Christopher Hallett, Kathleen McCarthy, and Carlos Noreña. Their advice made the project much better than it would otherwise have been, and their encouragement kept the project moving forward. I am particularly grateful for the guidance of my advisor and the chair of the committee, Dylan Sailor. He has been a dedicated reader, a constructive critic, and a great mentor. I also owe thanks to Kimberly Bowes and Sasha-Mae Eccleston, both of whom read versions of Chapter Two, and to Megan Goldman-Petri, who read a version of Chapter Four. Greg Woolf let me see the proofs of *Ancient Libraries*, which he is co-editing with Jason König and Katerina Oikonomopoulou. This act of kindness helped me connect my project with some of the most exciting things happening in the field—and will save me a good deal of re-writing in the future. I am also grateful for the feedback of audiences at UC Berkeley, UC Santa Barbara, the CUNY Graduate Center, and the American Academy in Rome.

I would like to thank the many friends in Berkeley and Rome who made life in those places truly wonderful. The end of this project brings a certain sadness at having to leave those places behind, but I look forward to crossing

INTRODUCTION

Πῶς δὲ οὐ κἀκεῖνο αἰσχρόν, εἴ τις ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντά σε βιβλίον ἰδών— ἀεὶ δέ τι πάντως ἔχεις— ἔροιτο οὗτινος ἢ ῥήτορος ἢ συγγραφέως ἢ ποιητοῦ ἐστι, σὺ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εἰδὼς πράως εἴποις τοῦτό γε· εἶτα, ὡς φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν συνουσίᾳ προχωρεῖν εἰς μῆκος λόγων, ὁ μὲν ἐπαινοῖ τι ἢ αἰτιῷτο τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, σὺ δὲ ἀποροίης καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν; οὐκ εὔξῃ τότε χανεῖν σοι τὴν γῆν, κατὰ σεαυτοῦ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης περιφέρων τὸ βιβλίον;

-Lucian *Aduersus Indoctum* 18

Wouldn't this be shameful, too, if, when someone saw you holding a book in your hand (and you always have something), he should ask you what orator or historian or poet it is, and you would answer easily because you knew the title; but then, since in company this sort of talk tends to turn into a long conversation, if he should praise or blame some of its contents, you would be at a loss and unable to say anything? Wouldn't that be shameful? Wouldn't you pray that the earth would just swallow you up then and there, you who carry around a book whose contents bring your destruction, just like Bellerophon.

A book can be good for more than just reading. The humor in Lucian's monologue *Against an Ignorant Book Collector* is underpinned by the idea that to own a book is to make a claim to status and prestige. But prestige does not come from the physical object alone, it comes from practices and values that involve the object—in this case from having the cultural capital to talk about a given book in the manner expected within a certain social context. That is to say, the contest for prestige involves the successful integration of physical manifestations of *paideia* with the social practices of the Roman world that are so often centered around *paideia*. A liberal education, *paideia*, played a major role in social status and social practices. At the same time libraries, with their books and statuary, were physical embodiments of *paideia*. For this reason libraries are an especially rewarding place to study how physical and social structures interacted in the economy of prestige in the Roman world.

Prestige, Paideia, *and Elites*

Prestige in the Roman world could come from any number of sources, such as political or military success or (much as the Romans themselves might deny it) the accumulation of wealth. Yet there was something central about *paideia* in the conception of what it meant to be elite, even for those whose successes were mainly military, political, or financial. This is particularly the case during the imperial period, but the statement is valid to some extent as far back as the second century BC, when Roman generals started participating more fully in the culture of the Hellenistic world. Wallace-Hadrill has pointed out that in Pliny's letters of recommendation, nearly every man is commended in part for his excellence in literary studies—even when the position for which he was being recommended was a military one.[1] One need not be distinguished solely for *paideia*, yet some distinction in it was assumed for all elite figures.

Distinction in *paideia* has the benefit of seeming to be both an earned accomplishment and at the same time a natural endowment for those of high birth.[2] It is possible to claim that distinction in *paideia* is something earned through merit, the result of one's own hard work. Favorinus can state "that there is no difference between *paideia* and ancestry when it comes to social standing" (ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φῦναι πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει, [Dio Chrys.] 37.27). Yet while seeming to be attained through one's own merit, *paideia* is also the result of the social standing of one's family.

Education from childhood inculcated certain tastes in art and literature, with the result that the tastes seemed innate in those who had such an education—and were unattainable to those without such an education.[3] In Lucian's *Ignorant Book Collector*, no matter how much money and effort the Collector puts in, he could never be part of the in-group.

> Καίτοι οὐδέ . . . τολμήσειας ἄν ποτε εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐπαιδεύθης ἢ
> ἐμέλησε σοι πώποτε τῆς ἐν χρῷ πρὸς τὰ βιβλία συνουσίας
> ἢ ὡς διδάσκαλός σοι ὁ δεῖνα ἢ τῷ δεῖνι συνεφοίτας.
>
> -Lucian *Adversus Indoctum* 3

---

[1] Wallce-Hadrill 1983: 26-27.

[2] As noted by Gleason 1995: xxi, who writes about *paideia* as symbolic capital among the Greco-Roman elite (xx-xxvi).

[3] See Bourdieu 1983.

And yet . . . you wouldn't even dare to say that you received an education, or that a close familiarity with books was ever a concern of yours, or that you had So-and-So as a teacher, or that you used to go to school with So-and-So.

The Collector is clearly educated in the sense that he could read well (*Adv. Ind.* 2) and so had received some form of education, but he was not raised with the right sort of teacher and the right sort of classmates. Like Petronius' Trimalchio, he reassures audiences that a lack of *paideia* will always show up the lowborn for what they really are.

I should note here that the Greek *paideia* (παιδεία) is not the only word for this concept, and that Latin *eruditio* likewise connoted knowledge or culture through education (the Latin term *studia* was also a common one for intellectual activities, especially literary studies and oratory). The term *paideia* is helpful because it hints at the origins of education in childhood (as a *paidion* [παίδιον]); the term *eruditio* is helpful because it suggests an elevation from the state of being *rudis*, "unformed" or "uncultivated." I will use either term as seems appropriate to the context, but I somewhat favor the word *paideia* because although we will be examining the Roman period (c. 100 BC – AD 200), the foundation of education was still Greek literature, and people of the period assumed (though they often argued against) a cultural superiority for Greek.

Another term I have been using is "elite," and this needs some qualification. It is a modern word, though I think not far from describing the kind of people that the Romans might have called *boni* and the Greek *hoi agathoi* (οἱ ἀγαθοί). The Roman world had hierarchies of rank as well as of wealth, and the two did not necessarily correspond. Members of the senate and their families were at the very top in hierarchy of rank, and below them the equestrians, below them other freeborn citizens, then freedmen and finally slaves. Within these groups there were further gradations, so that, for example, a consular senator was higher in rank than a praetorian senator. These differences in rank were legal distinctions that defined rights and prerogatives. The ranks had a correlation to wealth (after Augustus a senator needed a million sesterces, an equestrian 400,000), but they were not strictly defined by it, so that it was possible for an equestrian to be richer than a senator, or even a freedman to be richer than a senator. There were other factors too that might influence one's status, such as military success, distinction in *paideia*, and intimacy with powerful figures. The fact is, there was no "elite" with a membership that was clearly defined and recognizable to those both inside and out. Rather, "elite" was in the

eye of the beholder. A real-life Trimalchio might have seemed absolutely elite to some of his dinner guests, and the general Marius may have seemed like a boorish upstart to many members of the senate even while he was consul. Elite status is not something you *have*, it is something you must be constantly convincing people of through putting distance between yourself and those you believe are beneath you and through proving membership in the group to which you feel you belong. It must constantly be performed and is always subject to scrutiny.

Libraries, Materiality, and the Economy of Prestige

Paideia, therefore, was a crucial field in which negotiations of status were played out. Libraries, it will be argued, are critical for understanding the functioning of this field.

A library was a display of the financial and cultural resources of its owner or (in the case of public libraries) patron. Libraries brought their owners/patrons what Bourdieu called "symbolic capital," in the form of prestige and social recognition, because they made a display of that person's material and cultural resources.[4] Because prestige generates supporters and allies, this symbolic capital is readily converted to political power and material benefit. Another concept from Bourdieu that helps to understand the workings of the library is cultural capital, which designates certain non-financial resources that can make one successful in a given social field; these resources may be embodied (as education, skills, attitudes, tastes) or objectified (as books, art works, and the like).[5] Following Bourdieu's formulation, the library itself could be seen as an objectified form of cultural capital, which requires embodied cultural capital (in the form of education) to be "consumed." That is to say, symbolic capital (in the form of prestige) is the result of objectified cultural capital (in the form of the library) successfully exploited through practices displaying embodied cultural capital (education, tastes).

Bourdieu's formulation is helpful because it highlights the stakes in the struggles for social status in which the library was a crucial factor. His formulation also highlights the fact that simply owning a library is often not enough to give prestige to an individual—rather, owning a library gives one the opportunity to exploit one's cultural capital by creating a stage on which *paideia*

---

[4] See, e.g., Bourdieu 1977: 171-83, 1990: 112-21.
[5] See, e.g., Bourdieu 1977: 186-88.

may be performed.[6] It is only through practice that the full benefits are realized. Because prestige is at stake, there was also a motivation for individuals to challenge each other's performances and to call out those that seem inadequate. A failed performance could be devastating. In light of the huge expense involved in creating a library, a poor performance of *paideia* will bring about the opposite of its intended effect: it will make the owner look ridiculous and destroy any symbolic capital. Lucian's Book Collector is a classic case.

Even a focus on practice, however, can sometimes result in a picture that is too black and white if it does not take into account that there is no monolithic audience. We should not assume that it was always manifestly clear when a performance had failed. Different observers would have had different perspectives. The focus on actors, while helpful, needs to be complemented with a focus on audience, and specifically on how any performance would be received by different audiences. Barthes, in his essay on the death of the author, argued that meaning does not come from the intentions of the author but from the encounter between the text and the reader.[7] Here, we might say that meaning comes from the encounter between the performance and the audience. Moreover, any consideration of reception should take into account the varied texture of the audience. Was Lucian's audience laughing at the foolish Collector, or at the snobbish Speaker, who snubs a perfectly well educated connoisseur of literature? It probably depended on the audience member.

A focus on practice, actors, and audience, can still obscure a crucial dimension of the functioning of the economy of prestige: materiality. It can be easy to see in *paideia* and libraries simply a discourse about power. In her recent monograph, Yun Lee Too has explored what libraries meant to the ancients by studying the library in discourse (her chapters include, for instance, one on narratives of libraries and power, one on the book as library, one on human libraries, and the like).[8] Too's work is a welcome development, especially given the propensity among scholars to see a library as simply a collection of texts, but she does not recognize the importance of the physical spaces of libraries, even for discourse. As she puts it, ". . . I am solely concerned with literary representations rather than with the material culture of the library, as being more telling of what

---

[6] Gleason 1995 explores the role of the performance of *paideia* (in the form of rhetorical practice) in the construction of elite male identity. Johnson 2010 looks at the sociality of reading and literary culture.

[7] Barthes 1967.

[8] Too 2010.

the library means for ancient culture . . ."[9] I believe that on the contrary, the meaning of the library in ancient discourse was closely bound up with its materiality and with how that materiality was embedded in practices and social structures.

The importance, and even agency, of material objects in the cultural construction of reality has come to be increasingly recognized.[10] The writings of Henri Lefebvre, for instance, highlighted the fact that space is not simply a background in which events unfold but rather something productive, and that a function of space is to (re)produce social relationships.[11] Richard Neudecker, showing the influence of Lefebvre and also of Foucault's ideas about knowledge and power, argued that the institution of the library was a tool of political and cultural power in service to the emperor (also later to provincial patrons of municipal libraries).[12] Neudecker highlights "the connection between power and *paideia*, between knowledge and lifestyle in its architectural context."[13] We can go beyond space, and even see the complications introduced by the materiality of smaller items, like books and statues.[14] We will see that books, for instance, while a medium of *paideia*, were also physical objects that were often luxurious in their fabrication. The materiality of books implicated them in discourse about *luxuria*, undermining their place in the discourse of *paideia*.

In this study I will be looking not only into the role of space, but also into how other aspects of the material world (such as books and statues) functioned in the social dynamics of the Roman world. An understanding of the physical world in which Romans lived is necessary to understand how prestige functioned.

---

[9] Too 2010: 20. The remark is in reference to her first chapter, but seems to be valid for the work as a whole.

[10] On actor-network theory and "the material turn" see, e.g., Joyce 2010, Bennett 2010: 254-62, and more broadly Law and Hassard 1999.

[11] See esp. Lefebvre 1991. While Lefebvre is chiefly interested in the means of production and the reproduction of societal relationships in capitalist society, his insights on the production of space have turned my focus to the important role that space played in asserting and contesting social status among individuals.

[12] Neudecker 2004. Balensiefen 2011 and Neudecker (forthcoming) both develop the argument in more detail, though solely in reference to the libraries within the city of Rome itself.

[13] Neudecker 2004: 294.

[14] As Neudecker (forthcoming) and Petrain (forthcoming) have begun to do.

Approaching Materiality and Discourse

In this dissertation, I argue that the physical media through which literature was experienced (books, statues, and especially libraries) are crucial for understanding how *paideia* functioned in the economy of prestige. In a domestic context, libraries could be used to define the meaning of places in the house, and their physical structure could be used by a *dominus* to reinforce and justify his place in the social hierarchy, in particular in relation to guests. At the same time, the very materiality of libraries had a tendency to undermine their place in elite ideology by implicating them in the discourse of *luxuria*. Finally, control over the material trappings of the library (especially author portraits) could function as a proxy for the exercise and establishment of cultural authority, which was inextricably bound up with political power. As such, fights over library statuary provide a window into the inter-relationship between power and *paideia*.

If we looked just at discourse, at social constructions of reality, we could look largely at texts with no sustained scrutiny of what material things had those constructions projected onto them. If we looked just at material culture, we might do so without exploring the larger cultural constructions in which it was embedded. Yet how do we make an argument that the material thing itself plays a role in shaping the construction of reality? Ideally, discourse and the material should be able to be put in a mutually illuminating relationship.[15] I approach the phenomenon under scrutiny from a few different angles in the belief that it might come into better focus after it has been seen from several different perspectives.

The first chapter provides necessary background by defining what a library was and how it arose. The period under study in this dissertation is roughly 100 BC to AD 200—the period of Rome's greatest power in the Mediterranean and of the library's greatest power in the Roman world. Yet in order to understand the place of the library in that world, it will be necessary to look back at how it got there. The first chapter will explore how libraries arose. While most studies on libraries attribute their invention to a single genius (Pisistratus, or Aristotle, or Ptolemy Philadelphus) whose plan was then imitated by others, I will argue that the increasing role of literacy in various aspects of life (government, education, leisure) led to increasingly institutionalized book collections and ultimately to places that were thought of primarily as areas to use and store books: libraries. These origins are important because the associations with, for instance, gymnastic education, or with royal competition, are key to the

---

[15] An idea not dissimilar from the approach taken in New Historicism in general, on which see Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000, esp. 1-74.

ideas of power that libraries evoked for Romans. The origins are also important because the traditional "single genius" narrative also posited a particular scheme of architectural development, from the "Greek library" to the "Roman library," that is still used to identify and interpret places as libraries. As a result, changes to the traditional origins narrative will have consequences for our understanding of the architecture of libraries in the Roman period.

The second chapter focuses specifically on space and the architecture of private libraries. There, I will argue that the spatial dynamics of the Roman domestic library could reinforce and justify social distinctions by basing them on the ability to participate in the culture of *paideia*. Roman domestic libraries were designed to evoke Greek gymnasia and signify their owner's participation in the world of Hellenic literature and culture. The evoked gymnasium would be found in the house's peristyle garden: a place entirely public and entirely private. It was public in that it was highly visible to visitors in the atrium and even to those on the street outside. At the same time, it was a part of the house that was relatively inaccessible: entrance was by invitation, and this was extended only to social peers. The fact that these domestic gymnasia were visible but not accessible served to reinforce the hierarchy of status; there were those on the inside and those who were quite literally on the outside looking in. The fact that the activities within were thought of as related to *paideia* was a means of justifying that division. Those inside were taking part in the culture of *paideia*, from which social inferiors were excluded.

The third chapter will argue that libraries could be actually undermine the place of *paideia* in elite ideology. Libraries were a sign of *paideia*, and were important to elite Roman self-conception; at the same time, libraries were also physical places, and their very materiality had a tendency to undermine their place in elite ideology by implicating them in another strand of Roman discourse: *luxuria*. The internal tension between book-as-*studia* and book-as-*luxuria* threatened to destabilize the value-system on which Roman elite ideology was based, and we see various authors (like Seneca, Plutarch, and Lucian) employ various strategies to deal with this tension.

The fourth chapter moves to the physical furnishings of the library, and in particular to the portraits of authors that were frequently found in public libraries. I argue that control of the portraits (and the act of adding or removing specific ones) amounted to an exercise of cultural authority and allowed one to act as an arbiter of *paideia*. Hence we find Tiberius adding statues of Parthenius and Euphorion and Caligula contemplating tossing out busts of Livy and Virgil. I argue that controversies over author portraits in libraries are really controversies

over the canon, and are part of a cultural negotiation over what constitutes the body of established and outstanding literature. This cultural negotiation was not an abstract, nebulous process that was part of some national consciousness. Rather it was a series of actions taken by individuals who used to it advance their own interests.

CHAPTER ONE

DEFINITION AND ORIGINS

The library at Cicero's Tusculan villa was in a part of the house that he called his Lyceum.[1] When Julius Caesar planned to build the first public library at Rome, the only monumental libraries known were the libraries of kings.[2] Hellenized Jews of the Roman period liked to trace the origins of the *Septuagint* to the creation of the great library at Alexandria.[3] This dissertation will be focused on the period roughly from 100 BC to AD 200, but for the people of that period the past was inextricably bound up with the present. The purpose of this chapter will be to illuminate what a library meant to those living in the Roman period and how it came to have that meaning. First, we must begin by defining what a library was. Most studies either assume that a library is simply "a collection of texts," or alternately that it is something more like the modern definition, a systematically organized collection of literary texts. I will argue that it will be better to look for what a library meant to the people of the period in question, which seems to be something like "a place to which the storage and use of books (literary and/or documentary) is conceptually central." Secondly, we will look at how libraries first arose and developed, a crucial step in understanding how the library came to have the place that it ultimately did in the Roman world. The prevailing hypothesis is that Aristotle created the first library, the idea for which was brought to Alexandria by Demetrius of Phalerum, and that it was subsequently imitated by other Hellenistic courts. I will argue instead that the increasing role of literacy in various aspects Greek life resulted in increasingly institutionalized book collections during the third century BC, and that by the second century these were all thought of as libraries. Finally, the traditional theory of development also posits that a "Greek library" is a set of small rooms off a colonnade, whereas a "Roman library" involves a large reading room that holds both books and book-related activities. This prevailing theory is

---

[1] As is clear from *De Diuinatione* 2.8: ". . . we sat down in the library in my Lyceum" (. . . *in bibliotheca, quae in Lycio est, adsedimus*).

[2] His plans are known from Suetonius *Iul.* 44.2: ". . . (Caesar planned) to make public the largest Greek and Latin libraries possible" (*bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare*).

[3] The story is present in the letter of pseudo-Aristeas, probably written in the second century BC, but retold as well in the first century AD in Josephus *Ant. Iud.* (12.12-118).

even used to identify the archaeological remains in the Roman period. I will argue that the distinction is a modern fiction, and that the "Greek library" is simply the form of the (possibly misidentified) Pergamene library shoehorned into descriptions of the Lyceum and the Alexandrian Museum.

I Definition

Aulus Gellius once wrote, "The tyrant Pisistratus is said to have been the first to establish the practice of making books of the liberal arts publicly available to be read in Athens" (*Libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum praebendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus*, 7.17.1). Subsequent authorities, such as Athenaeus (1.3a), Tertullian (*Apologeticus* 18.5), Jerome (*Epistle* 34), and Isidore of Seville (*Origines* 6.3.3) all concurred—at least to the degree of seeing Pisistratus as the influential founder of a major library, whether the first among the Greeks or even the first ever.[4] Gellius lived over six hundred years after Pisistratus, and the legend is rejected explicitly or passed over in silence by much modern scholarship on libraries.[5] Other scholars have seen historicity behind the legend.[6] As Horst Blanck pointed out, it is reasonable enough to suppose that Pisistratus had a collection of books.[7] Reasonable enough indeed, but "a collection of books" is not really what Gellius was talking about.

Gellius has in mind the kind of public library that existed in his contemporary Rome and all of the associations that came with it. This conclusion becomes apparent when we look at the development of the legend of Pisistratus' library. This legend had its origins in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Hipparchus* (228b), where Pisistratus' son Hipparchus is said to have brought the Homeric texts to Athens and established the rule that competitions of reciting Homer must be done in relay, implying a fixed text. By the time of Cicero, it was thought that Pisistratus not only possessed written copies of the epics, but that he had also arranged and edited the texts.[8] Plutarch, attributing his information to

---

[4] It is commonly believed that Varro's *De Bibliothecis* was the ultimate source of all these accounts, although Canfora (1989: 123-31, 183-89) has argued against the idea.

[5] E.g. Edwards I 1859: 16-17; Dix 1986: 1 (agreeing with Kenyon in the *OCD*² s.v. Libraries), Cavallo 1988: viii; Canfora 1989: 183-86; Casson 2001; Woolf (forthcoming).

[6] E.g. Dziatzko *RE* s.v. Bibliotheken (vol. 3.1, col. 408); Callmer 1944: 146; Wendel *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 238 (= 1974: 171); Makowiecka 1978: 7; Strocka 1981: 302; Blanck 1992: 134; Staikos 2004: 74-76; Müller 2011 (esp. 107-114).

[7] Blanck 1992: 134.

[8] "Who is said to have been more learned in those times than Pisistratus? Whose eloquence more shaped by literature? He is said to have been the first to set in order the previously

Hereas the Megarian, claims that Pisistratus added a verse to Homer and also that he expunged one from Hesiod (*Theseus* 20.2). By the time of Cicero and Plutarch the activity of editing was firmly associated with libraries, and it was only a short jump from there to Gellius' claim that Pisistratus established a library. The conception of a library as a place of editing gave rise to the anachronistic idea that Pisistratus must have had a library, since he was believed to have edited Homer. Aulus Gellius was reading the library-practices of his own day back into Athenian history. If we are to avoid his error, we must understand more precisely what a library was in the ancient world, and how this might have changed through time.

One commonly found definition for a library, generally implied rather than explicitly stated, is "a collection of texts."[9] If we take that as our definition, then there have been libraries for just about as long as there has been writing— an idea that goes back to the first monograph about libraries, the *De Bibliothecis Syntagma* of Justus Lipsius (1602).[10] From this point of view, any time several objects that had been written on were put together, the result is a library. There is certainly a case for studying the history of "collections of writings" as a thing itself. Lionel Casson, for instance, notes that while the Cuneiform collections were unrelated to the development of libraries in the Greek and Roman worlds, they still deserve attention because they were "the first to use some of the fundamental library procedures," namely giving titles to works, arranging them in series, and creating catalogues.[11] Still, the category "collection of writings," while interesting on its own terms, does not help us understand what the library will come to be in the Greek and Roman worlds. As Gellius reminds us, a library was not just a collection of books, but was rather a physical, intellectual, and social institution.

---

messy books of Homer, in the arrangement in which we now have them" (*Quis doctior eisdem temporibus illis aut cuius eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus, De Oratore* 3.137).

[9] As a result many books on ancient libraries start with chapters on caches of cuneiform tablets, Linear B tablets, and Egyptian hieroglyphics: e.g. Blumenthal and Schmitz 2011, Staikos 2004, Casson 2001, Harris 1995, Jackson 1974, Thompson 1940.

[10] Lipsius (*De Bibl.* 1.1): "The library is an ancient institution and, unless I am mistaken, one invented together with literature itself" (*Bibliothecarum res uetus, et, nisi fallor, cum ipsis litteris adinuenta*). A recent book on ancient libraries articulates the same, see Müller (2011: 103): "Where there is the possibility of a **single** roll, a **single** book, we cannot exclude the possibility of a collection of more books" (*Wo die Möglichkeit **einer** Schriftrolle, **eines** Buches gibt, ist auch eine Sammlung von mehreren Büchern nicht auszuschliessen* [emphasis his]).

[11] Casson 2001: 15.

Another commonly found definition is more tightly bounded. Morris Jastrow argued that a true library must contain a substantial number of texts, comprised of mostly literary material, gathered from various centers of learning, for the purpose of intellectual pleasure and studies.[12] Jastrow's definition has become ingrained in the scholarly discourse, perhaps because it encapsulates so well what a library is in our own society.[13] Notably, Jastrow's definition excludes archives, though we will see that there was not such a clearly articulated distinction between library and archive in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans. This type of definition has led to the assessment that Aristotle is the first to have created a true library, because he was the first to systematically gather and organize texts for the purpose of intellectual endeavors—an assessment that stands also among scholars who see Pisistratus as the founder of an earlier library.[14] It is certainly true that Aristotle made use of (and wrote) a great many books. But we do not even know that he owned all the books that he used, much less how they might have been organized. Leaving that aside, the more fundamental problem with Jastrow's definition is that it still defines the library as a thing that exists absolutely outside of time and social context.[15] Did Aristotle himself consider his collection a library—and if so, what did that mean to him and his contemporaries? For the purposes of this study, it will be best to find what the Greeks and Romans themselves thought a library was.

The Greek βιβλιοθήκη (also written βυβλιοθήκη) is most literally "a place to put books." It generally refers to a room that holds books or to a larger complex where books are used and stored. Latin speakers took over the word as *bibliotheca* (also *bybliotheca*), which had roughly the same range of meaning. The words βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca* can also refer metonymically to a collection of books apart from any sense of physical location. As one might expect, what

---

[12] Jastrow 1906 (esp. 148).

[13] Du Toit 2011: 22-37 traces the consequences of Jastrow's definition on twentieth-century scholarship.

[14] For Aristotle as the creator of the first true library, see Cavallo 1988: viii and Canfora 1988: 7; for the same assessment among those who see Pisistratus as an earlier library founder, see Callmer 1944: 146, Wendel *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 239 (= 1974: 172), Casson 2001: 28-29, Müller 2011: 118.

[15] A new volume on libraries (König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf [forthcoming]) aims to avoid anachronism and situate libraries firmly in their times and social contexts. While very successful in putting ancient libraries in their contexts and showing how different they were from our own ideas, most contributors to the volume still tacitly assume a definition more-or-less like Jastrow's. (An exception is Neudecker [forthcoming], as will be discussed below.)

exactly the library meant to Greeks and Romans, its connotations and evocations, is much more complex.[16] Additionally, the words βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca* are not entirely synonymous, and each can mean different things in different times and places. It will be worthwhile to survey the primary meanings of βιβλιοθήκη and *bibliotheca* in order to get a general picture of what it was that the Greeks and Romans believed constituted a library.

It is frequently repeated that βιβλιοθήκη originally meant "bookshelf," or some other kind of chest or receptacle for books.[17] The idea makes logical sense, but there is no definite evidence to support it. In fact, there is no case where βιβλιοθήκη clearly and unambiguously refers to a shelf or a chest of books ever, although there are certainly instances where that could potentially be the case.[18] Here the Latin *bibliotheca* is different. On what exactly is meant by a *bibliotheca*, Ulpian writes:

> et eleganter Nerua ait interesse id quod testator senserit: nam et locum significari "bibliothecam eo": alias armarium, sicuti dicimus "eboream bibliothecam emit": alias libros, sicuti dicimus bibliothecam emisse. quod igitur scribit Sabinus libros bibliothecam non sequi, non per omnia uerum est: nam interdum armaria quoque debentur, quae plerique bibliothecas appellant.
>
> -Ulpian, *Digesta* 32.52.7

> And Nerva said quite neatly that it was a matter of what the testator meant, for a place can be intended, as in "I'm going to the *bibliotheca*." At other times a bookcase is meant, as when we say "He bought an ivory *bibliotheca*." At other times, it is the books, as when we say that someone bought a *bibliotheca*. Therefore what Sabinus wrote, that the *bibliotheca* doesn't follow the books, is not true in all cases, for sometimes the bookcases, which are widely called *bibliothecae*, are also owed.

---

[16] Too 2010 is in many ways an extended exploration of the meanings (often metaphorical) of the library in antiquity.

[17] Wendel *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 231 (= 1974: 165), Canfora 1988: 5 and 1989: 77, Too 2010: 3, Müller 2011: 101.

[18] E.g. Athen. 5.207e: "There was a leisure room . . . which had in it a book collection" [or perhaps, "a bookcase"] (σχολαστήριον ὑπῆρχε . . . βιβλιοθήκην ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ).

Although this is a legal definition, it is based on actual usage. Given the large numbers of speakers who were bilingual in Greek and Latin, it would not be surprising if a Latin usage also had some prevalence among Greek speakers. Even among Latin speakers though, it is only rarely that one finds the word *bibliotheca* referring to bookshelves or a bookcase.

More commonly, βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca* indicates a room where books were kept. This is clear when Cicero represents himself and his brother sitting in one: "then we sat in the library, which is in my Lyceum" (*tum in bibliotheca, quae in Lycio est, adsedimus, De Diu.* 2.8). Cicero's "Lyceum," as noted earlier in the chapter, was a peristyle garden in his Tusculan villa. The same meaning is clear when Suetonius writes about the library built by Augustus next to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine: "He added porticoes with Greek and Latin libraries" (*addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, Aug.* 29.3). Again *bibliotheca* refers specifically to the rooms with the books, which abut the portico, and not to the complex as a whole.[19]

The Greek βιβλιοθήκη can also refer to a room. We find, for instance, that a certain Pantaenus has "dedicated . . . the exterior colonnades, the peristyle, the library with its books, and all the adornment therein" (τὰς ἔξω στοάς, τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βυβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν βυβλίων, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα κόσμον . . . ἀνέθηκε).[20] It is clear here that the βυβλιοθήκη does not refer to the collection of books, which is enumerated separately, nor the structure as whole, since he is listing individual parts of it. Another good example comes from Philo, who writes of the Sebasteion in Alexandria that "the precinct is extremely wide, with colonnades, rooms full of books, banquet rooms, groves, gateways, plazas, and open-air spaces" (τέμενος εὐρύτατον στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις, *Leg. ad Gaium* 151). Again, we have before us a single complex, which includes among its various types of spaces rooms for books.

It is also common to see βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca* referring to the larger complex in which there are rooms for the storage and use of books (such complexes often also include colonnades, courtyards, lecture halls, and gardens). That the word may include the whole complex of structures is evident in one of

---

[19] We know from excavations and fragments of the Severan Marble Plan that these libraries were two distinct halls (at least in Suetonius' time, after the Domitianic rebuilding), see Richmond 1914 (esp. 200-206) and Dix and Houston 2006: 680-81. It was probably a single hall in the time of Augustus (Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006). If Suetonius knew this, he might have been using *bibliotheca* in the sense of a "collection."

[20] 136 Platthy. See also *SEG* XXI (1965) 703.

Cicero's letters to Varro: "If you have a garden in your library, nothing will be lacking" (*si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil, Ad Fam.* 180 [9.4]). Obviously, if a *bibliotheca* referred to a collection of books or a room holding a collection of books, this sentence would be nonsense. The same word was often used for public libraries referring to the institution as a whole. Vitruvius wrote that "Not only did the Attalid kings, induced by the great pleasures of philology, establish an outstanding library at Pergamum for the public delight, but so did Ptolemy likewise" (*reges Attalici magnis philologiae dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bybliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent, tunc item Ptolomaeus,* 7.praef.4). We find the same usage in Greek as well. Plutarch, for instance, writes about the Portico of Octavia that Octavia "dedicated the library" there (τὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνέθηκε, *Marc.* 30.11), though we know from inscriptions that there were in fact separate Greek and Latin libraries there.[21]

I do not mean to argue that there was a sharply felt distinction between the various types of "places to put books." In fact, in most passages where we find βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca*, it is not possible to distinguish exactly what type of place is being referred to. It is important, however, to sketch out the possible range of meanings and to see what *can* be meant by βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca*, especially because there have been arguments where it is central, for instance, that a βιβλιοθήκη can only be a room and not the wider complex, or that a reader of a particular passage would have understood βιβλιοθήκη as a bookshelf.[22]

Finally, the words βιβλιοθήκη/*bibliotheca* can also refer metonymically to a collection of books, apart from any sense of its housing. In a letter, Cicero mentions a collection of books procured for him by Atticus: "Take care not to promise that library of yours to anyone!" (*Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, Ad Att.* 6 [1.10].4). Cicero is referring to a collection of books in Athens, which will be transported to him in Italy: any architectural meaning can be excluded. Another example comes when Suetonius writes that Julius Caesar planned "to make public the largest Greek and Latin book collections possible, with the task of procuring and ordering them given to Marcus Varro" (*bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare data Marco Varroni*

---

[21] E.g. *CIL* 6.2347 = 6.4431 = *ILS* 1971, *CIL* 6.5192 = 6.2349 = *ILS* 1970, *CIL* 6.4433, 6.4435, 6.2348. See also Cass. Dio 49.43.8: "he furnished the Octavian libraries, named after his sister" (τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὀκταουιανὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν).

[22] Johnson 1984 (esp. 5-9) reasons from her archaeological study that βιβλιοθήκη referred only to the room storing books; Canfora 1989 relies on Hecataeus assuming his readers would understand βιβλιοθήκη as bookshelf.

cura comparandarum ac digerendarum, Iul. 44.2). Here Suetonius does not mean the largest complexes or rooms housing books, since Varro is in charge of purchasing and arranging them. On the Greek side of things we frequently see the same usage, as in Strabo's story about the books of Aristotle, which had been left to Theophrastus (13.1.54). He writes that Neleus "inherited the library from Theophrastus" (διαδεδεγμένος δὲ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Θεοφράστου), and took it with him to Scepsis. Or to give another example, Plutarch writes that Sulla "seized for himself the library of Apellicon of Teos" (ἐξεῖλεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶνος τοῦ Τηΐου βιβλιοθήκην, *Sulla* 26.1), which resulted in the arrival of many new Peripatetic writings at Rome.

In all senses, the books included could be documentary rather than, or as well as, literary: what we would call an "archive" rather than a "library." Often, the two seem to have been mixed. Gellius writes of finding the "edicts of the old praetors" in the library at Trajan's forum (*NA* 11.17.1), and the scholiast to Juvenal (ad 1.128) asserted that there were works on civil law in Augustus' Palatine library.[23] As we will discuss at greater length below, βιβλιοθήκη was the standard word for an archive in Egypt, and was used by the writers of the *Septuagint* to refer to mixed documentary and literary collections.[24] There may have been some sense of distinction between literary and documentary collections, because there were some words that could refer to exclusively documentary collections. These words generally stemmed from the nature of the collection (e.g. χρεωφυλάκιον as a record of debts or *tabularium* as a collection of tablets) or their place in a government building (e.g. an ἀρχεῖον where the archons worked).[25] Similarly βιβλιοθήκη is not the only Greek term for a library (though *bibliotheca* does seem to be the only term in Latin). One commonly finds ἀποθήκη βιβλίων, and even θήκη βιβλίων in at least one place.[26]

After surveying the results, it seems that for Greek and Romans it did not matter so much that the texts be literary, or that they be used for intellectual

---

[23] Neudecker 2004 and forthcoming suggests that in the Roman period, public libraries (both in Rome and the provinces) typically also held the official documents used by magistrates to carry out their functions. The suggestion is attractive, although there is not enough evidence to be sure.

[24] See, e.g., *P.Strasb.* 7. 624 and *P.Adler* 5; Ezra 6:1, Esther 2:23, and 2 Maccabees 2:13.

[25] The development and nomenclature of archives will be discussed further below.

[26] ἀποθήκη βιβλίων: Lucian *Adv. Indoct.* 5, Galen *De Indolentia* 18, Dio Cass. 49.43.8, 53.1.3, 68.16.3; θήκη βιβλίων: Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 604. Some take ἀποθήκη βιβλίων more literally as "a storehouse of books" rather than as "a library."

stimulus rather than for administrative purposes—in contrast to Jastrow's definition and our own usage of the English word "library." The primary sense is also different from the more vague "collection of texts" in that much like English "library," it is conceived of as a place primarily dedicated to the storage and/or use of books, whether that place is a cabinet, a room, or a building (though like the English "library" it can also refer to the collection itself divorced from any sense of place). Yet for as long as the English language has existed, libraries have existed as well.[27] Not so with Greek. If we look for places that the Greeks thought of as libraries, we find that they did not always exist. The story of how libraries first arose and developed into what they ultimately became in the Roman world is a complex one.

II The Origins: The First βιβλιοθήκη

One way to seek the genesis of libraries is to find out when the word βιβλιοθήκη arose and how it came to have the meanings that were ultimately associated with it.[28]

The grammarian Pollux, writing his *Onomasticon* in the late second century AD, notes that "the word βιβλιοθήκη occurs in Cratinus the Younger, in his play *Hypobolimaeus*" (παρὰ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Κρατίνῳ ἐν ῾Υποβολιμαίῳ[29], βιβλιοθήκη, 7.211). Cratinus was active during the fourth century BC, but the nature of the quotation from Pollux's *Onomasticon* gives us little to go on for context or meaning. The word could have meant "bookshelf," or "library," or "book collection" (with no reference to spatial environment), or perhaps something else entirely. It is also quite possible that the word was a poetic coinage—intelligible, but not in common usage. In the fifth and fourth centuries BC, compounds made up of a noun + θήκη occur almost exclusively in drama.[30] (Unlike compounds of a preposition + θήκη, which occur commonly in

---

[27] See Lapidge 2006 for a study of libraries in Anglo-Saxon England.

[28] Other terms for "library," such as ἀποθήκη βιβλίων, βιβλιοφυλάκιον, and γραμματοφυλάκιον arose later.

[29] The title is somewhat problematic. Some manuscripts of Pollux give it as Ἀπεμπολημένη. Cratinus also wrote a Ψευδοβολιμαῖος, and so it could be that the ῾Υπο- was an error of the copyist. (This is the conclusion of the *PCG*, where the fragments of Cratinus the Younger can be found at *PCG* IV 1983: 338-45.)

[30] E.g. σκευοθήκη (Aesch. in Pollux *Onom.* 10.10), ἀγωνοθήκη (Soph. in Pollux *Onom.* 3.141), σανδαλοθήκη (Aristoph. in Pollux *Onom.* 10.127), νεκροθήκη (Eur. F472. 17 Nauck), ἀργυροθήκη (Antiph. in Harp. s.v. ἀργυροθήκη; Diocl. in Herod. *Phil.* 194), ἀργυριοθήκη (Dinarch. in Harp. s.v. ἀργυριοθήκη), ἀλαβαστροθήκη (Aristoph. in Pollux *Onom.* 7.177 and 10.121). By the mid-fourth century BC, a few of these words also

prose-writers as well.)[31] The possibility of a neologism is tempting, because the word is not securely attested for another two hundred years, though there is one possible instance from the early third century.

Hecataeus of Abdera visited Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter[32] (r. 305-282 BC) and wrote a history of Egypt that only survives in fragments.[33] Diodorus Siculus, writing almost three hundred years later, in a paraphrase of Hecataeus refers to a "holy library" (ἱερὰν βιβλιοθήκην) in the Ramesseum of Thebes—the mausoleum of the famous Ramses II (1.49.3).[34] The words are in indirect statement, and so we are left in doubt as to whether Hecataeus himself actually used the word βιβλιοθήκη. If Hecataeus did use the word, it is unclear exactly what he meant by it—probably a room housing books off the colonnade that was mentioned just before the library, although it has been argued that he was referring rather to shelves along the walls of the colonnade.[35] The passage notes that the library bore an inscription reading "A Place of Healing for the Soul" (ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον), and that there were images all around of the Egyptian gods and of the pharaoh bringing them gifts. This library, then, may have held a collection of sacred or ritual texts.

One possibility is that they are the Egyptian funerary texts.[36] Of these types of texts, the earliest ones consisted of spells to help the deceased (like the Book of the Dead), but later ones comprised detailed descriptions of the afterlife (like the various Books of the Netherworld). They were painted and/or inscribed on tomb walls going back to the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, with the earliest ones appearing in the fifth dynasty (Wenis), c. 2520-2360 BC. By the time of Ramses II (c. 1303-1213 BC), these texts were written on papyri as well as painted and inscribed on walls, and such a collection of texts could well

---

occur in prose-writers: σκευοθήκη (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 25, Philochorus 3b *FgrH* 328 F 56a), ἀργυροθήκη (Theophrast. *Charact.* 14), ἀλαβαστοθήκη (Demosth. *De Falsa Leg.* 237—though here used for comic effect).

[31] E.g. ξυνθήκη/συνθήκη(Thuc. 1.40, Plat. *Crat.* 348d1 and *passim*, Arist. *Rhet.* 1376b7 and *passim*), ὑποθήκη (Herod. 1.156, 7.3, 8.58; Demosth. *In Phorm.* 6), ἀποθήκη (Thuc. 6.98), διαθήκη (Demosth. *In Aph.* 29 and *passim*, Isaeus *De Menecle* 44 and *passim*).

[32] According to Diodorus Siculus (1.46.8).

[33] His fragments can be found at 1 *FgrH* 264 F 1-14, F 21-24.

[34] There is a tendency to assume that Diodorus is quoting from lost sources any time he writes something for which we do not have an extant source, which is not necessarily true. However, in this case Diodorus makes clear that he is paraphrasing Hecataeus at 1.46.8, where he begins his extended indirect statement.

[35] Canfora 1989: 77-80, 147-160.

[36] For background on the Egyptian funerary texts, see Hornung 1999.

be what Hecataeus was referring to as the "holy library"—if indeed that was the term he used.

A second possibility is that Hecataeus was referring to a "House of Life" (*Pr-Ankh*)—what we now call a "temple library."[37] These temple libraries are attested as early at c. 1550 BC, comfortably before the time of Ramses II. The only example with well-preserved remains is the temple library from Tebtunis, which was abandoned in the third century AD.[38] The Tebtunis library contained cultic texts (ritual manuals and reference works of priestly knowledge), scientific literature (medical texts and divination manuals), and narrative literature (largely a kind of history).[39]

After the appearance of the word βιβλιοθήκη in Cratinus the Younger and (perhaps) Hecataeus, it is not attested again until the second century BC. At that point, however, the word comes up repeatedly in inscriptions, papyri, and literary references. The first references in literature come in the letter of pseudo-Aristeas (9, 10, 29, 38), provided the letter predates the *Histories* of Polybius, which were written at earliest in the 130s BC. The date of pseudo-Aristeas is uncertain, but a date at some point during the second century BC seems most likely. The author presents himself as Aristeas, a member of the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285-246 BC). The letter portrays Demetrius of Phalerum as a favored aide to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who in fact arrested and executed him. The magnitude of this mistake suggests that pseudo-Aristeas was writing at least a generation after the death of Philadelphus, so the earliest possible date for composition falls at the end of the third century BC. The letter is extensively paraphrased in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (12.12-118), which he wrote around AD 93/94, so the letter must have been composed before then. Internal and external evidence give many hints about the date, but nothing conclusive.[40] The best that can be said is that it was probably written in the second century BC.

In one passage the term βιβλιοθήκη clearly refers to a place rather than to the collection itself, when Demetrius writes about "filling the library with books" (τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης βιβλίων, 29). Pseudo-Aristeas also writes βιβλιοθήκη only in the singular (9, 10, 29, 38), suggesting that he is

---

[37] On Egyptian temple libraries see Gardiner 1938 and Ryholt (forthcoming).

[38] Ryholt (forthcoming) uses the temple library at Tebtunis to suggest what other, earlier temple libraries may have contained.

[39] For more detail on these texts see Ryholt (forthcoming).

[40] Hadas 1951: 9-53 goes over both kinds of evidence in detail.

not referring to a bookshelf (which could hardly hold the 200,000 volumes pseudo-Aristeas puts in the library).

In Polybius the word occurs twice. The first occurrence is in the plural, and could possibly refer to bookshelves, though it seems as likely to be a generalizing plural "libraries" (12.25e4).[41] Polybius likens some historians to "research doctors working in libraries" (οἱ λογικοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐνδιατρίψαντες ταῖς βυβλιοθήκαις), with the implication that the reader would be familiar with the idea of libraries of medical and/or historical texts where scholars might work. Not far below that (12.27.4), Polybius criticizes those historians whose only sources are texts, and who do not take the trouble to travel in order to investigate topography and interview witnesses. They do not have to endure any danger or difficulty, so long as they have nearby a town with a store of commentaries or a library.[42] In the context of the passage it is clear that the "commentaries" (ὑπομνημάτων) are the works of previous historians rather than any kind of documentary records. Polybius is referring to a physical place, not simply a collection, one that would hold (at the very least) works of history. It is also, clearly, not a bookshelf. Moreover, the implication of the passage is that libraries were common and easily accessible.

One last second-century literary occurrence of βιβλιοθήκη comes in the book of 2 Maccabees. Written originally in Greek, the epistolary preface sets its date at 124 BC. The author writes:

> Ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμιαν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην ἐπισυνήγαγεν τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυιδ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων.

> -2 Maccabees 2:13

---

[41] ". . . just like research doctors working in libraries, and having become thoroughly versed in the knowledge of commentaries" (καθάπερ οἱ λογικοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐνδιατρίψαντες ταῖς βυβλιοθήκαις καὶ καθόλου τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων περιποιησάμενοι πολυπειρίαν, 12.25e4).

[42] ". . . that it is possible to work away from the information in books without danger or hardship, provided one takes the foresight to have a city nearby with a store of commentaries or a library" (ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων δύναται πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι χωρὶς κινδύνου καὶ κακοπαθείας, ἐάν τις αὐτὸ τοῦτο προνοηθῇ μόνον ὥστε λαβεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἔχουσαν ὑπομνημάτων πλῆθος ἢ βυβλιοθήκην που γειτνιῶσαν, 12.27.4).

The same things are also told in the records and histories of Nehemiah, and also that he collected a library by gathering together the books about the kings and prophets and David, and the letters of the kings about dedications.

The verb ἐπισυνήγαγεν ("gathered up together") makes clear that βιβλιοθήκη refers here to a collection rather than a place. The passage also articulates exactly what comprised this collection: records, histories, and letters—that is to say both documentary and literary works. There are other instances of βιβλιοθήκη in the *Septuagint* that could date to the second century BC, both of which refer to royal archives at the Persian court.[43] Our literary evidence, then, suggests that in the second century BC a βιβλιοθήκη could be thought of as a royal library (of literary as well as documentary material), as well as a place with a collection of (at least) historical and medical texts that could be found in any number of towns. The word could also refer to a collection of texts without any reference to physical location.

The second century BC also finds the word βιβλιοθήκη appearing on papyri in Egypt. A papyrus from 145 BC mentions a βιβλιοθήκη in Hermopolis, and this seems to refer to a documentary archive.[44] It is a letter from a certain "Asclepiades the Book-warden of the library in Hermopolis" (Ἀσκλ[η]πιάδου βιβλιοφύλακος τῆς ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πό(λει) βυ(βλιο)θή(κης)).[45] Other Ptolemaic papyri also mention such libraries. For instance, there is a

---

[43] Ezra 6:1 "Darius the king . . . searched in the libraries, where the treasure is laid up in Babylon" (Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεύς . . . ἐπεσκέψατο ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις, ὅπου ἡ γάζα κεῖται ἐν Βαβυλῶνι). Esther 2:23: "And the king ordered him make a record for posterity in an encomium in the royal library about the goodwill of Mordechai" (καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταχωρίσαι εἰς μνημόσυνον ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐνοίας Μαρδοχαίου ἐν ἐγκωμίῳ). Neither can be dated with any certainty. Ezra 6:1 is later reworked as "King Darius ordered a search in the royal libraries that lie in Babylon" (ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος προσέταξεν ἐπισκέψασθαι ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς βιβλιοφυλακίοις τοῖς κειμένοις ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, 1 Esdras 6:23). The same text had also written just previously of "the royal libraries of the king in Babylon" (τοῖς βασιλικοῖς βιβλιοφυλακίοις τοῦ κυρίου βασιλέως τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, 1 Esdras 6:21). The date of the apocryphal 1 Esdras is not known, except that it postdates the *Septuagint* translation of Ezra, on which it is partly based.

[44] *P.Strasb.* 7. 624.

[45] The abbreviation βυθη (or even βθη) is a common one for βυβλιοθήκη and appears, for instance, in *SB* 24. 16156; *SB* 24.16157; and *SB* 24. 16159; it occurs in the full form βυβλιοθήκηι in the same formula in *SB* 24.16160.

contract that instructs that a copy of itself be deposited in the library.[46] The phrase ending the contract, "the copy is deposited in the library" (κατατέθειται τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἐν τῆι βυβλιοθήκηι), seems to be a common stipulation found on contracts in other towns as well.[47] We have good information about such documentary archives in the Roman period, which were still then referred to as βιβλιοθῆκαι.[48] Less is known about them during the Ptolemaic period, but it seems clear that they functioned as documentary archives where private contracts were publicly registered.

Second-century BC inscriptions from the Pergamene gymnasium for the young men refer to βιβλιοθῆκαι—an indication that bookshelves or book storerooms may have been meant.[49] Unfortunately, the inscriptions are extremely fragmentary. There is also an inscriptionally attested βυ]βλιοθήκαν in a gymnasium at Rhodes in the second century,[50] and a list of authors (mostly orators).[51] In Athens, there was a decree in 116/115 BC requiring graduating classes of ephebes to make donations of books to the Ptolemaeum gymnasium, and we have several inscriptions that record these gifts.[52]

By the second century BC, then, we find the word βιβλιοθήκη occurring in a variety of sources, contexts, and locations around the Greek-speaking Mediterranean. The word βιβλιοθήκη can refer to a documentary archive, at least in Egypt, and to the educational book collections in gymnasia throughout various Greek cities. It can refer to collections of (at least) history presumed to be in many towns, and also to royal collections of documentary and literary material in Persia and Alexandria.[53] The word clearly refers to a room or

---

[46] *P.Adler* 5. It is from Crocodilopolis, 108 BC.

[47] Another common formula is "It has been written up in the library" (ἀναγέγρ(απται) ἐν τῇ βυβλιοθήκηι). E.g., in the town of Aueris (Arsinoite), *SB* 24. 16156 from 93 BC; *SB* 24.16157 from 92 BC; *SB* 24.16158 from 92 BC; *SB* 24. 16159 from 92 BC; *SB* 24. 16160 from 92 BC; *SB* 24.16162 from 83 BC; *P.Ashm* 1. 14+15 from 71 BC; *P.Ashm*. 1.16+17 from 69 BC; *SB* 24.16163 from 67 BC.

[48] On the functioning of these βιβλιοθῆκαι, see Burkhalter 1990.

[49] 138 and 139 Platthy.

[50] 119 Platthy.

[51] 117 Platthy.

[52] 29-35 Platthy. The word βυβλιοθήκη only occurs in the singular in these inscriptions.

[53] The fact that it was the books of Jewish law that Demetrius sought for the Alexandrian library raises the possibility that pseudo-Aristeas was referring to more of a documentary archive, like those we find elsewhere in Egypt at the time. This is not the case. Pseudo-Aristeas defines Demetrius' mission as "collecting, if possible, all the books in the world" (τὸ συναγαγεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία, 9).

building housing books, though there are a few instances that could refer to bookshelves or simply to a collection itself.

The conclusions we have drawn in this brief survey give rise to other questions. How is it that there are no contemporary references to the famous libraries of Aristotle's Lyceum and the Museum in Alexandria? Why does the word βιβλιοθήκη suddenly arise in such a variety of contexts in the second century? And why, for such a new thing, is it so clearly assumed that they are well known and widespread? An answer can be found if we suppose that there were libraries before there were "libraries," that is to say, if there were places where books were conceptually central before there was a word for such places. Rather than looking at the word βιβλιοθήκη, then, we will now look at the development of the physical, social, and intellectual institutions that eventually came to go by that name.

III The Origins: The Invention of the "Greek Library"

A second way to trace how the library arose as a conceptual space is to survey the physical spaces employed for the storage and use of books (the functions that will come to define what a library is). The dominant theory of development was established by Christian Callmer.[54] Callmer argued that there were distinct paradigms for the "Greek library" and the "Roman library." His "Greek library" was a small room (or rooms) holding books with a contiguous colonnade where reading and other activities took place; his "Roman library," on the other hand, featured a large room that both held the books and accommodated any book-related activities. Callmer's "Greek library" was more than an architectural arrangement; it was also a theory of development: Aristotle's Lyceum provided the model for the "Greek library," which Demetrius of Phalerum took to Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy I Soter, and which was in turn emulated by the Attalid court at Pergamum.[55] Inherent in his "Greek library" was also a theory of use: in the "Greek library" the book room (βιβλιοθήκη) was simply for storage, and any book-related activities took place

---

[54] Callmer 1944.

[55] Callmer 1944: 185-86. The articulation of this hypothesis recurs in Wendel *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 239 (= 1974: 172); Strocka 1981: 302; Cavallo 1988: viii-x; Canfora 1988: 7, 1989: 16-18, and 2002: 169-71; Blanck 1992: 135-39 and *passim*; Casson 2001: 28-29; Müller 2011: 118-22.

elsewhere.[56] Nearly all scholarship on ancient libraries follows Callmer's lead, and Wolfram Hoepfner has argued in addition that Plato's Academy was also structured like a "Greek library," and so must have been the original source of the paradigm.[57] Luciano Canfora has argued that the Alexandrian library was modeled after the Ramesseum rather than the Lyceum, but his views are otherwise in line with Callmer.[58]

The entire model needs to be rethought. Callmer's "Greek library" was in reality just the library of the Pergamene acropolis: its design has been taken as normative and retrojected to Alexandria and Aristotle's Lyceum, and the literary evidence has been bent into shape to fit the model. Though Aristotle obviously had a collection of books, I will argue there was no discrete concept of a library at Athens for well over a hundred years after he died.

Figure 1.1 Floor plan of the rooms on the stoa at Pergamum (Strocka 2000: fig. 5).

---
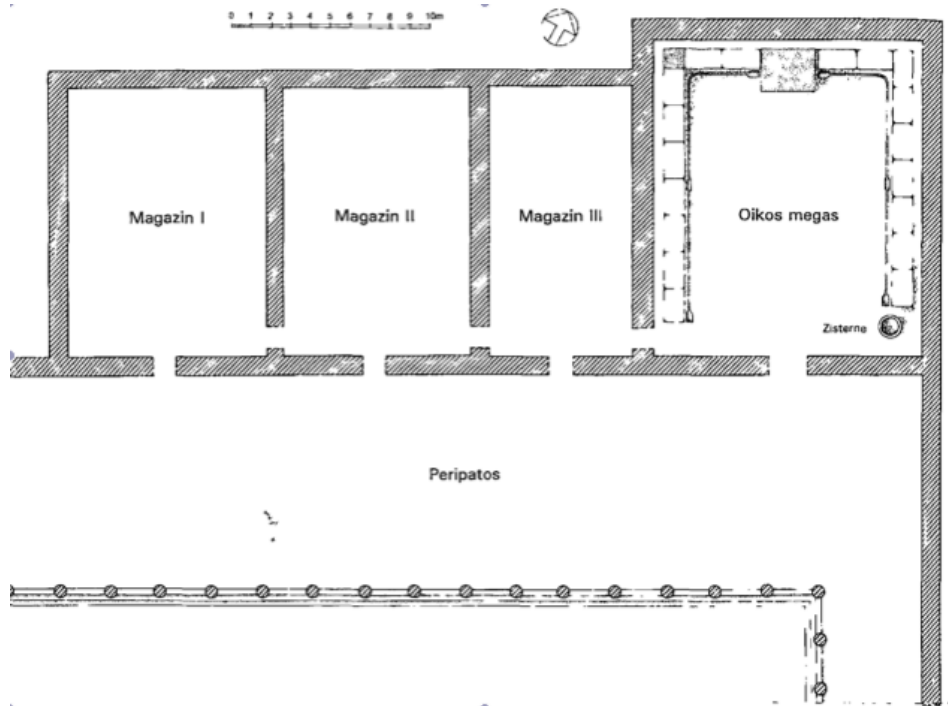
[56] Callmer 1944: 152-3; Wendel *RAC* col. 261-62 (= 1974: 192); Makowiecka 1978: 10-11 (and *passim*); Strocka 1981: 302; Blanck 1992: 185-89; Casson 2001: 74, 88; Radt 2003: 21.
[57] Hoepfner 2002c.
[58] Canfora 1988: 7 and (on the Ramesseum as model) 1989: 77-80, 147-60.

The foundation of Callmer's schema of development can be found in the work of Alexander Conze who, along with Richard Bohn and Carl Humann, excavated the Pergamene acropolis in the early 1880s. On the Pergamene acropolis, the district of Athena was bounded on two sides by a two-storey stoa. The stoa had two branches, one on the north side of the square and one on the east, which came together at a right angle forming one corner of the square. On the second floor of the north stoa, adjoining rooms rested on a hill that slanted away. The largest room had a podium running parallel with three of the walls but at a distance of about a half a meter away; the podium was 90cm high and 1.05m wide. The room also boasted an over life-sized statue of Athena. This set of rooms, indeed the whole stoa, had been something of a puzzle to the excavators (see **figure 1.1**).

Yet several indications suggested to them that it may have been a library. The statue of Athena would be perfect for a library, and Juvenal had mentioned just such a thing.[59] Statue bases of Homer, Alcaeus, Timotheus, and Herodotus had been found in the area, and Pliny the Elder had contemplated whether the Attalids had been the first to put author portraits in libraries.[60] Conze was also aware that libraries were often to be found in temple precincts.[61] Finally, Conze took as evidence a certain passage of Aphthonius, which described the Serapeum in Alexandria. The passage read: "Enclosures were built within the colonnades, some of which were the store-houses for books," (παρῳκοδόμηνται δὲ σηκοὶ τῶν στοῶν ἔνδοθεν, οἳ μὲν ταμεῖα γεγενημένοι ταῖς βίβλοις, *Progymnasmata* 12). Conze reasoned that the combination of storerooms with colonnades must be typical of Hellenistic and Roman libraries.[62] Suddenly, everything fell into place.

As Conze surveyed Greek and Roman literature, passage after passage mentioned the presence of storerooms and colonnades in connection with libraries.[63] In Plutarch's description of the library of Lucullus, for instance, the

---

[59] Conze 1884: 1260-61. *Sat.* 3.219: "Another will give books and bookcases, and a Minerva to put in the middle" (*hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Mineruam*).

[60] Conze 1884: 1261-62. Pliny *NH* 35.10 (on author-portraits): "I could scarcely say whether the custom was started by the Alexandrian kings or those of Pergamum, who developed between them a great rivalry over libraries" (*an priores coeperint Alexandreae et Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim*).

[61] Conze 1884: 1262.

[62] Conze 1884: 1263.

[63] Conze 1884: 1263-66.

book-rooms (τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν, *Luc.* 42.1) and surrounding walkways (τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων, *Luc.* 42.1) were the library's chief features.[64] Suetonius, in writing of the foundation of the Palatine Apollo library, noted that Augustus added "porticoes with libraries" to the district.[65] On the archaeological side of things, Conze found confirmation of his conclusion in the library at the Villa of the Papyri. The room where the large majority of the scrolls were found (marked V on Weber's plan; **figure 1.2**) adjoined a colonnade. Conze was convinced: here was the famous Pergamene library. Bohn and Humann were in agreement,[66] and in the following year Bohn published a more detailed account of how exactly bookshelves might have been built on the podium running around the great hall—though it was believed there were likely books stored in the adjacent rooms as well.[67]

Figure 1.2 Detail from Weber's plan of the Villa dei Papiri; the room where the bulk of the papyri were found is marked V (insert from Mattusch 2005).
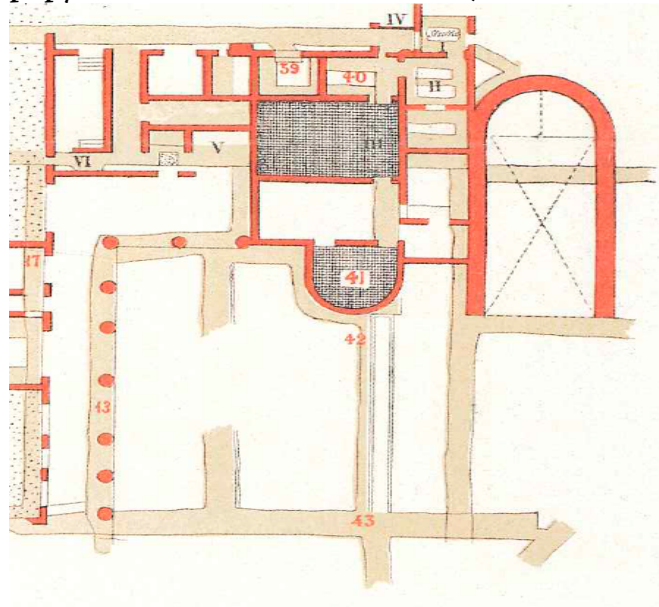
A decade later, Karl Dziatzko modified the hypothesis slightly, though consequentially, in his "Bibliotheken" article in the Realencyclopädie.[68] Dziatzko

---

[64] Conze 1884: 1264.
[65] Conze 1884: 1264. Suetonius *Aug* 29.3: "He added porticoes with Greek and Latin libraries" (*addidit porticus cum bibliotheca latina graecaque*).
[66] Conze 1884: 1263.
[67] Bohn 1885: 56-71.
[68] *RE* 3.1 (1897) col. 405-424.

argued that the large room could not have been the library, since the podium would not have been adequate to hold bookshelves, and moreover the room had a cistern.[69] He suggested another possibility. The Pergamene royal library, he reasoned, was surely modeled on the Alexandrian Museum, which Strabo had described as follows:

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.

-Strabo 17.1.8

The Museum is a part of the royal grounds, and it has a walkway, an exedra, and a large room in which there is the dining room for the scholars who are fellows of the Museum.

Like the Museum, the Pergamene library was a part of the royal grounds. The walkway (περίπατον) mentioned by Strabo had its counterpart in the Pergamene stoa. Dziatzko reasoned that the large room so far identified as a library was in fact a dining and reception hall equivalent to the one noted by Strabo (οἶκον μέγαν ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον). The podium, in his opinion, would not have been able to support bookshelves, and would be better seen as a base for statues. The collection of books must therefore have been in the neighboring three rooms that adjoined the stoa.

Dziatzko, in his discussion of the layout of libraries (col. 421-22), confirmed and expanded on Conze's theory that ancient libraries were composed of storerooms on colonnades. All book-related activity, he added, would have taken place in the colonnade, while the rooms served *only* for storage. His pronouncement on the structure of the library was that "it was typical to join a colonnade (στοά, *porticus*) for the use of the books with the rooms that actually held them."[70] Though Conze's article is probably little read, the *RE* has been a fundamental resource for scholars, and Dziatzko's words have cast a long shadow in twentieth-century scholarship.[71]

---

[69] Dziatzko *RE* 3.1, col. 415.

[70] "Typisch war für sie die Verbindung einer Säulenhalle (στοά, *porticus*) für die Benützung mit den eigentlichen Bücherräumen" (col. 421).

[71] Neudecker (forthcoming) writes that for Roman libraries "still the most valuable" studies are Dziatzko's *RE* article (Bibliotheken) and Wendel's (Bibliothek) in the *RAC*.

Around fifty years later, Christian Callmer built on the foundations of Conze and Dziatzko, creating one of the twentieth century's most influential works on ancient libraries.[72] Libraries had been found and excavated at Timgad and Ephesus in the early twentieth century, and scholars had formed a much better idea of how the library of Trajan looked.[73] As one can tell from **figures 1.3-1.5**, none of them conform to the schema of the "ancient library" with its small storerooms for books. The main apsidal room of the Rogatianus library at Timgad had an interior of 10m x 15m; the main room of the Celsus library at Ephesus had an interior of 17m x 20m; the south wing of Trajan's library in Rome measured 17m x 27m, and was faced by another wing across an atrium with the Column of Trajan in it; all three had statuary.[74] These were not simply storerooms.

Callmer concluded that the Romans must have changed the layout of the library so that whereas the "Greek library" was composed of rooms on a colonnade, the "Roman library" comprised large reading rooms where books were both stored and used. Augustus' Palatine library (only definitively identified in 1914[75]), made up of large reading rooms off of a colonnade, was a transitional form.[76] Dziatzko's understanding of ancient libraries became Callmer's "Greek library."

---

[72] Callmer 1944.

[73] Both the Timgad and Ephesus libraries were identified in the period around 1904-06. The Timgad library was published in Pfeiffer 1931, and both libraries in Di Gregori 1937, which also gave the most recent information on the Palatine Apollo and Forum of Trajan libraries. In addition, Di Gregori identified libraries in the Baths of Trajan, the Baths of Caracalla, and the Golden House, although these identifications have not all stuck. Di Gregori provided a synthesis of the characteristic architectural features of ancient libraries that has remained influential. The features include intercolumnated niches to hold bookshelves, a stepped podium running along the wall, and a large central niche for an oversized statue.

[74] The measurements can be found in Johnson 1984: 16 (Celsus), 33 (Rogatianus), and 107 (Trajan). She also provides extensive bibliography on the excavations.

[75] Richmond 1914.

[76] Callmer 1944: 159.

Figure 1.3 Floor plan of the Rogatianus Library, Timgad (Pfeiffer 1931: plate 16).
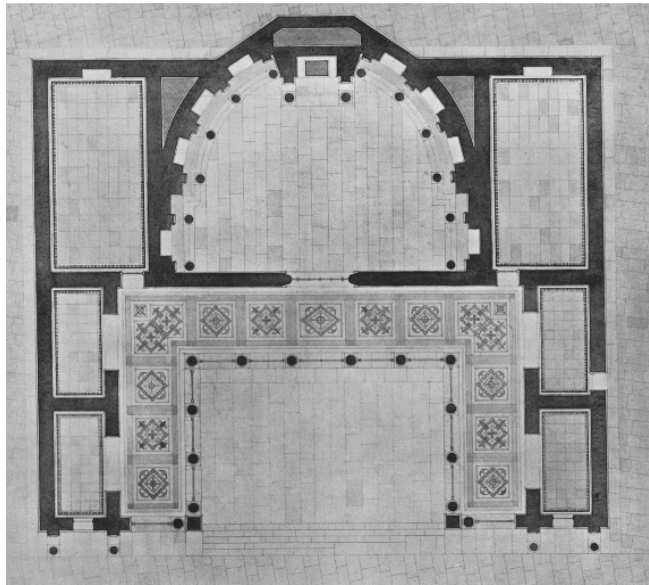
Figure 1.4 Floor plan of the Celsus Library, Ephesus (Hoepfner 2002a: fig. 161)
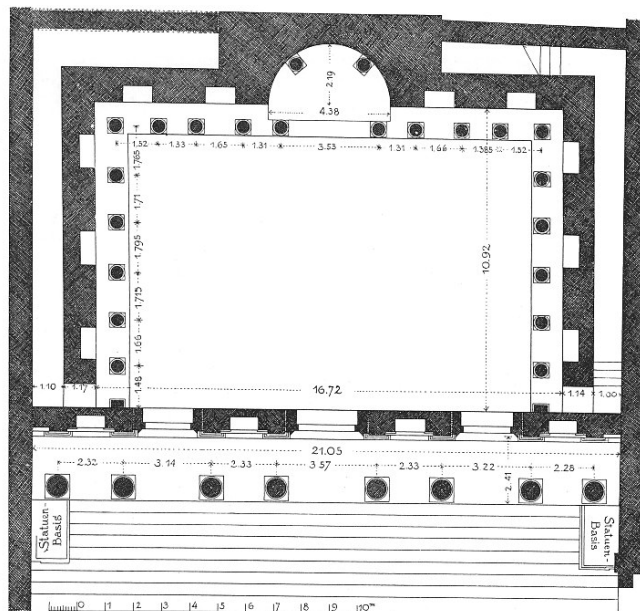
Figure 1.5 Trajan's Library, adjoining the Basilica Ulpia (Hoepfner 2002a: fig. 151).
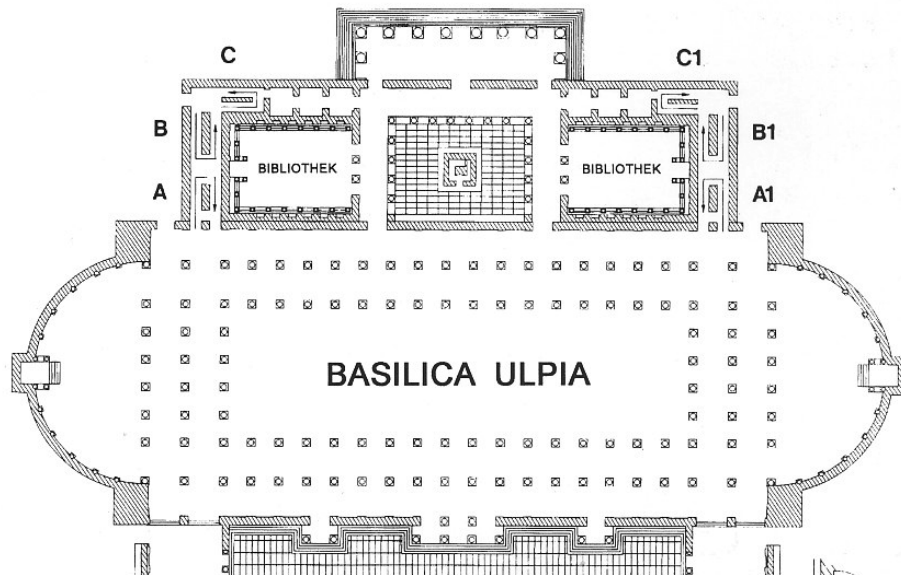
Callmer added that the plan for the "Greek library" must have originated with Aristotle, who made the first systematic collection of books at the Lyceum.[77] After all, Strabo had written that "Aristotle … is the first, so far as I know, to collect books, and he taught the kings of Egypt how to structure a library" (Ἀριστοτέλης . . . πρῶτον, ὧν ἴσμεν, συναγαγὼν βιβλία καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν, 13.1.54). Callmer surmised that Aristotle's library was located in the Lyceum, the gymnasium where he taught.[78] Here the will of Aristotle's successor Theophrastus, preserved in Diogenes Laertius, helped Callmer to articulate some of the features.[79] The will of Theophrastus mentions a Museum (τὸ Μουσεῖον), a little stoa next to the Museum (τὸ στωίδιον . . . τὸ πρὸς τῷ Μουσείῳ), and a lower stoa (τὴν κάτω στοάν).[80] Additionally, he bequeaths "the garden and the walkway and the buildings around the garden" (τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας).[81] No library is

---

[77] Callmer 1944: 146.

[78] Callmer 1944: 147.

[79] The will is preserved at D. L. 5.51-57. Diogenes Laertius also copied the wills of Arisotle, Strato, and Lyco, all of which were probably taken originally from the papers of Ariston of Ceos, who succeeded Lyco as scholarch. The authenticity of the Peripatetic wills seems secure; see Gottschalk 1972: 314-17 for an overview of the linguistic and legal evidence.

[80] D. L. 5.51.

[81] D. L. 5.52.

mentioned in the will, but Callmer supposes (given the arrangement of the Pergamene library) that the books were stored in rooms off of the colonnade.[82] Yet how could Aristotle, who died in 322 BC, have taught the Ptolemies how to structure a library, when the Ptolemaic library post-dated Aristotle's death by at least twenty, and possibly as many as fifty, years?

Callmer proposed that the idea of the library was carried to Alexandria by Demetrius of Phalerum.[83] Demetrius was a student of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and when he was ousted from Athens in 307 BC he eventually made his way to the court of Ptolemy Soter. The letter of pseudo-Aristeas portrayed Demetrius as being "in charge" of the library,[84] and so it seemed reasonable to assume that he took advantage of his knowledge of the Lyceum library in the structuring of the library at Alexandria.

Callmer's theory of the development and use of what he called the "Greek library" has remained the dominant paradigm, followed to one degree or another by nearly every scholar who has written on the subject.[85] There has also been an attempt by Wolfram Hoepfner to extend the original model back to Plato's Academy.[86]

Excavation of part of the Academy has uncovered two buildings and a fragment of a wall.[87] One building has a square courtyard and may date to the

---

[82] Callmer 1944: 147.

[83] Callmer 1944: 148.

[84] Κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς . . . (pseudo-Aristeas 9).

[85] Formulations of the paradigm occur in Wendel 1949 (= 1974: 144-64), *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 239, 261-62 (= 1974: 171, 174); Makowiecka 1978: 10-11 (and *passim*); Strocka 1981: 302; Cavallo 1988: viii-xiii; Canfora 1988: 7, 1989: 16-18 (though he believes the architectural plan was based on the Ramesseum [77-80]), and 2002; Blanck 1992: 135-39, 185-89; Casson 2001: 28-29, 74, 88; Radt 2003: 21; and Müller 2011: 118-22—nearly all of whom wrote major works on ancient libraries. Lora Johnson 1984 (esp. 5-9) questioned the paradigm to a limited extent (she would limit the term βιβλιοθήκη to the room holding the books, not including the colonnade). Skepticism is also voiced by Dix and Houston 2006: 679, and by some of the contributors in the forthcoming König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf volume, though they do not pursue the matter.

[86] Hoepfner 2002c.

[87] The excavations at the Academy, conducted on and off throughout the first half of the twentieth century, never received any final, comprehensive publication, but John Travlos was involved in them and sums up the major points in 1971: 42-52. John Glucker combed the decades of excavation reports for his thorough study, 1978: 226-46, which is by far the best analysis of the archaeological finds at the Academy. See also Dillon 2003: 2-16 on the Plato's school as a physical institution.

second half of the fourth century.[88] The other structure has a central rectangular courtyard surrounded on three sides by a covered colonnade. Under the colonnade are the bases of what may have been tables.[89] On the fourth side is a large central room flanked by smaller rooms on either side (see **figure 1.6**).

Figure 1.6 Rectangular peristyle in Academy precinct (Travlos 1971: fig. 59).
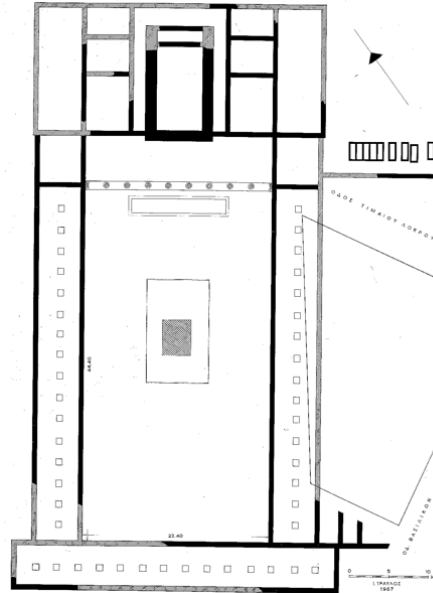
In support of the rectangular building as the gymnasium of the Academy, P. Lemerle (in reporting on the excavations) adduced as evidence a mosaic from Pompeii that showed a several wise men on a semi-circular bench in front of a pair of pilasters (see **figure 1.7**).[90] The mosaic appears to be based on a Hellenistic model—or at least to have Hellenistic elements. Lemerle suggested that the pilasters and plinth belonged to the rectangular peristyle.[91] He was probably influenced by Sogliano, who had argued that the mosaic represented Plato teaching at the Academy.[92] Hoepfner makes much of the mosaic, and adds that the exedra in the mosaic must be the one associated with Plato's garden in

---

[88] Travlos 1971: 43.

[89] Travlos (1971: 42) attributes the suggestion to Homer Thompson, but does not cite where the argument is made.

[90] Lemerle 1935: 251. The mosaic is in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. Num. 124545. It is discussed in Sogliano 1900 and Schefold 1943: 154-55.

[91] Lemerle 1935: 251.

[92] Sogliano 1900. His reading is convincing, although the scene has also been taken to be the seven sages (Schefold 1943: 154).

Diogenes Laertius.[93] Moreover, the building has affinities with the Pergamene library: a colonnade with adjoining rooms where books might be kept. The tables in the colonnade are consistent with the idea that books were stored in the rooms but used out in the colonnade. Thus in Hoepfner's opinion the "Greek library" goes back not just to Aristotle's Lyceum, but to Plato's Academy.

Figure 1.7 Mosaic of Plato Teaching at the Academy (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. Num. 124545. Photo by author).

Luciano Canfora has made a significant challenge to the proposed development of the "Greek library."[94] Although he accepts that the Pergamene library was modeled on the library of Alexandria, he argued that the library of Alexandria was modeled architecturally not on the Lyceum but on the library in

---

[93] Hoepfner 2002c: 56-57. The exedra is mentioned in the *Life of Polemo* (D. L. 4.19).
[94] Canfora 1989.

the Ramesseum, the Mausoleum of Ramses II, in Thebes.[95] Canfora points out that the archaeological remains of the Ramesseum have no obvious place for a library where it should be according to Hecataeus. He concludes that the *bibliotheca* must have referred not to a room storing books, but simply to a bookshelf. Strabo's account of the Museum leaves out any mention of a library, and Canfora concludes that the library consisted of bookshelves lining the *peripatos* noted by Strabo. The design of the Museum, he argues, is an instance of the Ptolemies appropriating Pharaonic culture.

Callmer's formulation of the "Greek library," even as augmented by Hoepfner or as altered by Canfora, is too problematic to remain. The whole rests on the identification of the Pergamene library, which is uncertain, and on the logic that every previous library must look like the Pergamene library, which is faulty.

We must start with what is usually the end point of these discussions: the Pergamene library. The identification rested chiefly on the podium (for bookshelves), the Athena (a statue characteristic of libraries), and the statue bases of author portraits. Conze's original inspiration was the idea that ancient libraries were composed of storerooms off colonnades, but he himself admitted that this common architectural arrangement was in no way unique to libraries.[96] It was already pointed out by Dziatzko, however, that the podium would have made a better base for statues than for bookshelves.[97] Dziatzko's solution was to move the books to the adjoining room. More recently, Harald Mielsch has argued that if we do not identify the great hall as a library, there is no reason to read the smaller rooms as libraries either, since the only indications of a library were in the great hall.[98] He argues that the only library in Pergamum was the inscriptionally attested library in the gymnasium complex, and that the great hall in the north stoa was a treasury for Athena.[99] Others have recently seen the great hall as again a banquet hall,[100] and yet again a library.[101] As it stands, it does seem

---

[95] Canfora 1989 (esp. 77-80, 147-60). He still believes that the Lyceum was the model for the organization of a library/Museum (2002). Ryholt (forthcoming) suggests that some of the textual activities of Egyptian temples (like lexicography) had an influence on the scholarly activities the Museum, though he does not suggest any architectural continuity.

[96] Conze 1884: 1265.

[97] *RE* 3.1 col. 415.

[98] Mielsch 1995: 770-72. He also points out that Athena is not a characteristic statue for libraries until the Roman period, and that the inscribed bases of the author portraits were not actually found inside the great hall but elsewhere in the district.

[99] Mielsch 1995: 770-73.

[100] Strocka 2000.

that this stoa may well have been home to the royal library, though not for the reasons that Hoepfner suggested.[102]

It is unlikely that the only library in Pergamum was the gymnasium library. The gymnasium libraries of the second century BC seem to be related to the education of young men rather than to the research of famous scholars at Hellenstic courts.[103] The inscriptions at Pergamum were found in the gymnasium for the young men (the *neoi*), which would suggest even more of an educational rather than scholarly role for the library (not to say that a library could not serve both purposes). It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that there was both a royal library and a gymnasium library at Pergamum. If the royal library was in the royal precincts (which is admittedly not certain), then the rooms traditionally designated as libraries are at least as likely as any others on the acropolis to house the royal library (with the exception of the great hall, which does seem likely to be a banquet hall as Strocka suggests[104]), though this is necessarily speculative.[105]

The identification of the Pergamene library by Dziatzko relied on the report of Strabo, but the use of Strabo's description as evidence relies on two dubious assumptions. First, it assumes that the architecture of the Pergamene library imitated that of the Alexandrian—though there is no reason why this should necessarily be the case. Second, it assumes that the Museum as it existed in Strabo's day was architecturally the same as it was in the time of the early Ptolemies—despite the fact that any number of factors (institutional changes, new acquisitions, general wear and tear) may have necessitated changes in the

---

[101] Hoepfner 2002b.

[102] He rests his argument mainly on the statue of Athena (which he reconstructs holding an owl rather than the Victory in the hand of the Parthenon Athena of which it is a copy), the broken remains of *aedicula* (which he argues were bookshelves), and windows properly placed according the Vitruvian paradigm (windows in the east). There could be any number of reasons for the statue of Athena, which is likely to be holding a Victory anyways (note the dedication of the building to Athena Nikephoros). His reason for regarding the *aedicula* as bookshelves is that the varying depths of the *aedicula* were for scrolls of different sizes, yet he does not satisfactorily answer the difficulties in reading the podium as a base for bookcases. The windows, which I believe were (as he reconstructs) on the north and east sides, hardly justify a Vitruvian paradigm (as two of the four cardinal directions are covered). For a list of further arguments against Hoepfner, see Radt 2003: 25-28.

[103] Delorme 1960: 316-36 lays out the role of the Hellenistic gymnasia as places of education for the youth. See also Scholz 2007.

[104] Strocka 2000.

[105] Coqueugniot (forthcoming) gives an overview of the debate over the identification of the library.

buildings structure and despite the reports (admittedly contested) that the library had burned in a conflagration started by Julius Caesar.[106] Yet even if these two assumptions are correct, Strabo's description does not easily fit the Pergamene library. The three main features noted by Strabo are a *peripatos*, an exedra, and an *oikos megas*. Yet there is no sign of any exedra in the complex, and the simple presence of a colonnade and a room are not evidence of imitation.

If these rooms in the north stoa are not the library, then the entire basis of the "Greek library" as it has been conceived is completely undermined. It may in fact be the case that these rooms are the library, but we must note that this is only one possibility. If the Pergamene library has not been identified correctly, or if it has but it was not modeled on the library at Alexandria, then we have no evidence for what that library may have looked like apart from the testimony of Strabo a few hundred years later. In Callmer's formulation, the Museum was modeled on Aristotle's Lyceum—a plan that Demetrius of Phalerum brought to Alexandria.[107] Luciano Canfora's argument that the Museum was modeled on the Ramesseum likewise relies on Strabo's description, which he compares with the description of the Ramesseum by Hecataeus that is provided in Diodorus Siculus (1.49), which includes a *peripatos* and *oikos*.[108] Yet a room and a colonnade are hardly a unique enough combination to form an identification, and the full description, which includes much detail (and no exedra), does not seem to be a very good fit with Strabo's.

Callmer's hypothesis faces two further major difficulties. The first is that we actually know almost nothing about the architecture of the Lyceum in the time of Aristotle. The second is that we can be reasonably certain that in any case Aristotle did not keep his books in the Lyceum.

The three famous gymnasia of Athens, those found in the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Cynosarges, came into existence in the archaic period.[109] Those three areas, all outside the city, were public sanctuaries. The Academy was sacred

---

[106] Strabo visited after the alleged burning of the library in the time of Julius Caesar. Whether or not the library was actually destroyed is still a matter of dispute (see, e.g., El-Abbadi 1990: 146-54 who believes that it was destroyed and Casson 2001: 45-46 who believes only a small portion was burned). Bagnall 2002: 356-59 doubts that many books would have survived until the time of Tiberius even if there had not been a fire, given the lifespan of a papyrus roll.

[107] Callmer 1944: 147-48.

[108] Canfora 1989: 79.

[109] Delorme 1960: 33-50.

to the hero Hecademus,[110] the Lyceum to Apollo Lyceius, and the Cynosarges to Heracles. These sanctuaries were originally just places for physical training and military exercise, without any specific, built structures. They encompassed large areas. The Academy was roughly 450m x 300m.[111] The Lyceum was a place large enough for troops to muster (Aristophanes, *Pax* 35-56) and for cavalry displays (Xen., *Hipparchicus*, 3.1.6-7). Also, the fact that Sulla used trees from the Academy and the Lyceum to build siege engines (Plut., *Sulla*, 23) suggests they contained fair sized groves in addition to the spaces used for exercise.

During the fourth century, there began to appear monumental gymnasium structures.[112] Plato's *Euthydemus* mentions an undressing room (ἀποδυτήριον) and a covered walkway (κατάστεγος δρόμος) in the Lyceum, which indicates that a gymnasium in the sense of a physical structure (and not just a place to exercise) had already been established (272d-273b).

In general, a gymnasium complex usually included a running track and space for wrestling, and often places for disrobing, oiling, and bathing. The open spaces of the track and the *palaestra* were enclosed by a covered walkway, and the rooms for disrobing, etc., often lined the outside of the walkway. Another common feature was a large room with benches that opened up on one side onto the walkway. These rooms, called exedrae, were probably multi-purpose: they could hold spectators for the athletics, listeners for lectures, and seats for those hanging around and talking in between their exercises.[113]

Unfortunately, we know little about the physical layout of the Lyceum in the fourth century BC, apart from the undressing room and the covered walkway noted above. Christian Callmer used the will of Theophrastus to outline the features of the Lyceum, but the document cannot serve as a guide. Theophrastus died around 287/86 BC, and there is reason to suspect that the area underwent quite a few changes in the thirty-five years between Aristotle's death and his own. Demetrius of Phalerum had given Theophrastus a parcel of land adjoining the Lyceum (D. L. 5.39), and this may have been the home of many Peripatetic

---

[110] The inscription of c. 500 BC, found *in situ*, reading Η]ΟΡΟΣ ΤΕΣ ΗΕΚΑΔΕΜΕΙΑΣ (Travlos 1971: fig. 56-57) corroborates the statement of Diogenes Laertius (3.7), who quotes a verse of Eupolis to argue that the hero's name was Hecademus not Academus.

[111] Travlos 1971: 42.

[112] Some of these structures may date to the fifth century (e.g. in the example of the undressing room and covered walk in the Lyceum). Most are only well attested in the fourth century and later. For a brief overview of the evidence see Wacker 2007.

[113] See Delorme 1960: 374-94 and Wacker 2007: 349-51 for more on these typical elements.

activities. Theophrastus mentions many incomplete building projects in his will, which suggests that the appearance of the Lyceum was changing even then. In sum, we will have a difficult time showing that the Museum was modeled on Aristotle's Lyceum, because there is almost no evidence for what either complex looked like.

The next important point is that it was not *Aristotle's* Lyceum. John Lynch has pointed out that the Lyceum was a public sanctuary, where it was forbidden for anyone to own property (much less a non-Athenian like Aristotle).[114] Rather, the Lyceum (and the gymnasium within) was a place where teachers of various sorts gathered and found students. It seems that by the late fifth century, Athenian gymnasia were already frequented by sophists and others on the lookout for students. Plato depicts the Lyceum as a place Socrates frequented (*Euthyphro* 2a). He is on his way there in the *Lysis* (203a-b) and goes there after his night of drinking in the *Symposium* (223d). In the passage of the *Euthydemus* mentioned above (272d-273b), Socrates runs into the sophists Euthydemus and Dionysiodorus, who are teaching a group of students. The sophist Prodicus is depicted as teaching in the Lyceum in the pseudo-Platonic *Eryxias* (397c-d). The instruction in the gymnasia increased throughout the fourth century. Isocrates mentions a handful of sophists in the Lyceum as well (*Panathenaicus* 18, 33), and that is where he himself taught. Lastly, there are several references to teaching in the Lyceum in Middle Comedy, references which, as Lynch pointed out,[115] could easily pre-date Aristotle's establishment of a school there. The implication of this is that the Lyceum is unlikely to have housed Aristotle's library (despite the prevailing assumption to the contrary) because Aristotle did not own or control any part of the Lyceum—it was simply a public space where he taught. It is for that reason that we do not find any mention of the Lyceum in his will. So it does not seem likely that the library of Alexandria was modeled on Aristotle's Lyceum.

The idea proposed by Wolfram Hoepfner, that Plato's Academy was the ultimate model (of the Lyceum, and then Museum, and then Pergamene library), is even less probable. As we have seen, Hoepfner argued that the rectangular peristyle building was "Plato's Academy," basing his argument on a mosaic from Pompeii and also the general likeness to the Pergamene library. Yet in the *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* Travlos dated the building to the late

---

[114] Lynch 1972: 60.
[115] Lynch 1972: 46. On those teaching in the Lyceum, see his collection of material on pp. 45-46.

Hellenistic or early Roman era (Hoepfner asserts that this is the result of a rebuilding).[116] In actuality, Glucker has pointed out the building is dated to significantly different time periods in the various excavation reports (sometimes even by the same archaeologist), and has even been dated as late as the sixth century AD.[117] In any case, the walls do not provide support for the claim that the building was "Plato's Academy."

The mosaic should not be taken seriously as evidence for the appearance of the Academy. There is no particular resemblance between the mosaic and the remains, and in fact Sogliano himself saw the pilasters as a schematic representation of a country shrine.[118] Moreover, the semi-circular bench, as Sogliano pointed out, appears to be modeled on those outside the Stabian and Herculanean gates of Pompeii.[119] That is, we should doubt that the mosaic is meant to be a realistic representation of any single actual place—much less Plato's Academy. As for the fact that several aspects of the rectangular peristyle are consistent with the Pergamene library, this is certainly true, in as much as the structure has a colonnade with some adjoining rooms.

Moreover, the idea that the physical space of Plato's garden was conceived primarily as a library (and hence would be consistent with library architecture) does not fit with the ancient sources. Our understanding of the philosophical and pedagogical practices of the Early Academy is necessarily limited by the poverty of our evidence. Plato's dialogues are not and were not meant to be depictions of his own school. Remarks in Aristotle about Plato's school are limited.[120] The most we can glean about Academic practice is the value placed in dialectic as a path to truth. Discussion was probably the most common practice, whether it was for the purpose of teaching or for more advanced philosophical goals. As to the objects of study, we know at least of mathematics and geometry.[121]

One interesting piece of evidence for Plato's activities at the Academy is a fragment of the mid-fourth-century poet Epicrates (F 10 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 2.59d). One character asks the other what Plato and his students were investigating that day. The other remarks that he saw them in the gymnasia at the Academy (ἐν γυμνασίοις Ἀκαδημείας), trying to come up with definitions

---

[116] Travlos 1971: 42-43. Hoepfner's response is at 2002c: 57-58.
[117] Glucker 1978: 240-41.
[118] Sogliano 1900: 14.
[119] Sogliano 1900: 10, 15.
[120] Cherniss (1945: 1-30) argued that Aristotle's evidence should be disregarded entirely, though more recently Dillon 2003 (esp. 16-29) has made good use of it.
[121] Mueller 1992: 170-75; Dillon 2003: 16-29.

(ἀφοριζόμενοι) about the natural world. The joke is that all the philosophers are scratching their heads to come up with a way to define a pumpkin. Epicrates might just be making fun of the kind of things that philosophers do in general, so we cannot be sure that Plato's students engaged in discussions and definitions regarding the natural world. It is an indication, however, that talking rather than reading was associated with philosophical study at the Academy. There is no indication that a collection of books played a principal role in the activities of Plato's school.

Additionally, to identify the rectangular peristyle with the garden of Plato also necessitates disregarding the ancient evidence that the garden was not in the sanctuary of the Academy (D. L. 3.5) and overlooking the fact that it was not legally permissible to own property inside the Academy, which was a public sanctuary (as Lynch has pointed out).[122] It would not seem worth refuting Hoepfner's opinion at such length, but it is already being cited and repeated.[123]

I conclude that the dominant model for the development of the library, pioneered by Conze and Dziatzko, and reaching its most thought-out form in Callmer, modified by Canfora and added to by Hoepfner, is not tenable.

IV The Origins: The Books Get a Place of their Own

It is possible to make more than a purely negative argument. Despite the uncertainties, there is much we can know about the origin and development of Greek libraries. We can see from the wills of the Peripatetic scholarchs that at Athens there was no conception of a library during most of third century BC. At the same time, we know that throughout the Greek world, collections of writing were becoming more important for a variety of institutions, and that the idea of the library was developing. Books were becoming more important to education, and book collections were appearing in gymnasia and private philosophical schools. Governments were relying more and more on written documents, and the Athenian Metroon provides a good example of how such documents could come to be centralized in a single institution. Over the same period, we can be reasonably certain that monumental book collections were appearing at the Hellenistic royal courts, even though our evidence for such libraries is generally quite late. In a sense then, the library has multiple births. The increasing use of texts in education, scholarly research, and public administration seems to have reached a critical point in the third century when the collections of such

---

[122] Lynch 1972: 60.
[123] Staikos 2004: 278-79; Neuckecker 2004: 299.

documents became conceived of as a thing, a library, which suddenly in the second century BC seems widespread and commonly known.

The wills of the Peripatetic scholarchs have much to say about the possession of collections of books, the places where they may have been used, and what relationship the places were perceived to have to those collections of books. Aristotle started teaching in the walkway (*peripatos*) of the gymnasium in the Lyceum in 335 BC.[124] When Alexander the Great died in the year 323 BC, the Athenians rebelled against Macedonian control and Aristotle, harassed by lawsuits, went to exile in Chalcis, where he died in 322. Aristotle owned no land in Athens (nor could he), and his will (preserved in D. L. 5.11-16) makes no mention of any books.

Theophrastus took over responsibility for the school after the death of Aristotle. Like Aristotle he was not a citizen, but Demetrius of Phalerum gave him a small piece of land as a privilege.[125] Although Demetrius was ousted in 307 BC, Theophrastus was ultimately able to keep control of the school and his land until his death in 287/6 BC. Luckily for us, the will of Theophrastus also survived to be copied by Diogenes Laertius (5.51-57). In it Theophrastus gives a good description of the land, which abutted the public sanctuary of the Lyceum. His will also asks for money to be spent on some areas within the public space. This is at the same time a public benefaction and an assertion of authority over the area.

John Lynch used the distinction in the will between *didōmi* and *boulomai* as a marker to note what Theophrastus actually owned (and was able to give), and where Theophrastus wanted some action to be taken with his money (for a place that he could not pass on to his heirs).[126] Of the things that would have been in the public sanctuary of the Lyceum, he first mentions the things around the Museum and the statues of the Muses, which he asks to be finished up (βούλομαι . . . τὰ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον καὶ τὰς θεὰς συντελεσθῆναι, D. L. 5.51). The implication of this is that there was already a Museum in the time of Theophrastus, but it may have been relatively new, since the structures around it

---

[124] D. L. 5.2, 5.9-10; *Vita Marciana* 24 (p. 101 Düring); Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.14.

[125] "It is said that he also got a private garden after the death of Aristotle. Demetrius of Phaleron, who was a friend of his, helped bring this about" (Λέγεται δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ ἴδιον κῆπον σχεῖν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους τελευτήν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὃς ἦν καὶ γνώριμος αὐτῷ, τοῦτο συμπράξαντος (D. L. 5.39).

[126] Lynch 1972: 99-102. My description of Theophrastus' Lyceum (as a physical space) owes much to these pages.

seem to be at an incomplete stage of building. Secondly, he asks that the statue of Aristotle be put up in the shrine, as well as the other dedications that were already there earlier (ἔπειτα τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναθήματα, ὅσα πρότερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, 5.51). Next, he asks that they finish building the small stoa next to the Museum, in a condition no worse than before (εἶτα τὸ στωίδιον οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ πρὸς τῷ Μουσείῳ μὴ χεῖρον ἢ πρότερον, 5.51), the implication being that this is a re-building. He would like maps of the earth put up in the lower stoa (ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πίνακας, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῆς γῆς περίοδοί εἰσιν, εἰς τὴν κάτω στοάν, 5.51). These maps would seem to be a new addition, or at least a new addition to the lower stoa. He would like the altar to be restored so as to be complete and elegant (ἐπισκευασθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὅπως ἔχῃ τὸ τέλειον καὶ τὸ εὔσχημον, 5.52), and also that the statue of Nicomachus be completed at life-size (τὴν Νικομάχου εἰκόνα συντελεσθῆναι ἴσην, 5.52). In sum, there is a mix of restoration and new construction. Anyone might leave a provision in his will that a public benefaction be made from the funds of the deceased. In such cases the structure itself is still public and no one has a particular claim to its use, even if it is in some senses "the work of so-and-so." However, some of these benefactions suggest a stronger claim to discretion over the space. In particular, the bust of Aristotle asserts the importance of his school and the maps appear to be for the purpose of Peripatetic teaching and/or research. Probably all the structures mentioned were used by the Peripatetics for their work. The Lyceum had long been used for instruction by many teachers, and so Peripatetic use of the space is not remarkable. At the same time, the bequests of the will suggest that they were starting to feel that they had some claim over certain areas within the Lyceum.

When Theophrastus begins the bequests of his own property, he starts with land in Stageiros (in Chalcidice), which he gives to Callinus, and all of his books, which he gives to Neleus (Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐν Σταγείροις ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον δίδωμι Καλλίνῳ· τὰ δὲ βιβλία πάντα Νηλεῖ, D. L. 5.52). Then he moves on to the garden and the walkway and the buildings around the garden, which he gives to a group of ten friends "who desire to study and philosophize together in them" (τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας δίδωμι . . . τοῖς βουλομένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς, 5.52). The garden must have been relatively large, otherwise it would not make sense when he later asks to be buried in the garden "wherever seems good" (Θάψαι δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα ἁρμόττον εἶναι τοῦ κήπου, 5.53). It is worth noting that the

books are separated not only from the public property of the Lyceum but also from the private property of the garden that seems to comprise the grounds of the school. Unlike the school and its furnishings, which went to the group of ten, the books went to Neleus alone. They were not considered to be a part of the school. The word βιβλιοθήκη was not in common usage in the time of Theophrastus, but he could have used some periphrasis like "the buildings in which the books are housed." Possibly they were housed in the rooms that he mentioned which surround the garden, although the language of the bequest suggests that the books were not permanently housed anywhere, and later stories tell that Neleus took them to Scepsis or sold them the Ptolemy Philadelphus, or both.[127] The language suggests a conceptual separation of the books from the spaces in which they were used. In contrast, the spaces themselves are explicitly linked with their use and social context:

> τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας δίδωμι τῶν γεγραμμένων φίλων ἀεὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ δυνατὸν ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιδημεῖν, μήτε ἐξαλλοτριοῦσι μήτε ἐξιδιαζομένου μηδενός, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἱερὸν κοινῇ κεκτημένοις, καὶ ⟨αὐ⟩τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως καὶ φιλικῶς χρωμένοις, ὥσπερ προσῆκον καὶ δίκαιον. ἔστωσαν δὲ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες Ἵππαρχος, Νηλεύς, Στράτων, Καλλῖνος, Δημότιμος, Δημάρατος, Καλλισθένης, Μελάντης, Παγκρέων, Νίκιππος. ἐξεῖναι δὲ βουλομένῳ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ Μηδίου καὶ Πυθιάδος υἱῷ καὶ μετέχειν τούτων· καὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα προαχθῇ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν.

> -Diogenes Laertius 5.52-53

I give the garden and the walkway and all the buildings around the garden forever to those friends listed below who always want to spend their free time together and philosophize together in them, since it is not always possible for all people to live there. I give it to them on the condition that they may not alienate it nor anyone

---

[127] Strabo writes that he took them to Scepsis (13.1.54), and the same story is known to Plutarch (*Sulla* 26) and Athenaeus (5.214d-e). Athenaeus writes elsewhere that Neleus sold them to Philadelphus (1.3a).

appropriate it for himself, but rather that they should possess it in common like a shrine and use it with each other in a familiar and friendly way, as is fitting and right. The ones to hold it in common are Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus, Demaratus, Callisthenes, Melantes, Pancreon, and Nicippus. I also grant to Aristotle, son of Medias and Pythias, the permission to philosophize, if he so desires, and to have a share in these things. And I ask that the older ones take all possible pains that he be brought up as much as possible in accordance with philosophy.

The legal holding of the property goes to a community of men, on the condition that they use the spaces to spend their leisure time together (συσχολάζειν) and philosophize together (συμφιλοσοφεῖν). The will does not link the books to the school, its activities, or its grounds.

It is clear from the works produced by the Peripatetics that books were in fact a fundamental part of the activities of their school. However, the book collection itself does not seem to have in any way defined the spaces in which it may have been located. At the same time, the philosophical activities (which were themselves increasingly book-related) do seem to be fundamentally social and fundamentally related to their spaces (the garden, the walkway, etc.).

Despite the stories about Neleus taking the books to Scepsis or selling them to the Ptolemies, they probably remained with the other property of Theophrastus at the Lyceum.[128] Strato, the scholarch who succeeded Theophrastus and died c. 269 BC, also mentions books specifically in his will. After leaving the school (διατριβήν) to Lyco he writes: "And I also leave to him all the books, except those I myself have written, and all the furniture in the dining-hall, and the cushions and drinking-vessels" (Καταλείπω δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα, πλὴν ὧν αὐτοὶ γεγράφαμεν, καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα κατὰ τὸ συσσίτιον καὶ τὰ στρώματα καὶ τὰ ποτήρια, D. L. 5.62). Strato links the books (except for his own, which may have needed to be put in order)[129] with the other equipment for life at the school. There is still no indication here of a library as a conceptual space or even of there being a set space for the book collection (unlike the dining-furnishings in the dining-room). However, the placement of this bequest just after that of the school as a whole suggests its importance. If the *diatribē* means the physical property of the school

---

[128] See, e.g., Gottschalk 1972: 342.
[129] Gottschalk 1972: 335-37.

itself (and it seems to), then by next bequeathing the books and the dining-equipment he appears to be trying to keep the most important moveable property together with the unmovable property.

The lack of any suggestion of a library in the will of Strato is especially interesting because he was said to have spent time in Alexandria at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (D. L. 5.58).[130] There may have been a royal book collection in Alexandria as early as the first Ptolemy (r. 305-282), but it seems to have taken a while for a concrete idea of exactly what a library is to form, as we will see in the following section.

Strato was succeeded as scholarch by Lyco, who died in 225 BC. Lyco leaves the school (Περίπατον) to a group of ten friends, but he does not earmark any specifics as regards books or buildings.[131]

Epicurus died in 270 BC, a year before the death of Strato.[132] Epicurus leaves all of his possessions to two men named Amynomachus and Timocrates, but on the condition that they make available to Hermarchus, his successor as the head of the school, the garden and everything pertinent to it.[133] At a later point in the will, after treating other matters such as who will choose the husband and who provide the dowry for the daughter of Metrodorus, Epicurus leaves his books to Hermarchus.[134] The bequest of the books comes long after, and entirely separate from, the physical property of the school.

---

[130] Theophrastus died in 287/6 BC and Ptolemy II Philadelphus only became a co-ruler in 285 BC. However, Strato may have been brought to Alexandria by Philadelphus before his reign; or conversely, Strato may not have been chosen to lead the school immediately after the death of Theophrastus.

[131] His will can be found at D. L. 5.69-74.

[132] His will can be found at D. L. 10.16-21.

[133] "In accordance with the following, I give all my possessions to Amynomachus son of Philocrates, from Bate, and to Timocrates son of Demetrius, from Potamus, in accordance with the grant to each written up in the Metroon. This grant is on the condition that they make available the garden and the relevant accoutrements to Hermarchus son of Agemortus, from Mytilene, and those who philosophize with him and those whom Hermarchus may leave as his successors in this school, for them to pass there time there in accordance with philosophy" (Κατὰ τάδε δίδωμι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα Ἀμυνομάχῳ Φιλοκράτους Βατῆθεν καὶ Τιμοκράτει Δημητρίου Ποταμίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑκατέρῳ δόσιν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τε τὸν μὲν κῆπον καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν Ἑρμάρχῳ Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναίῳ καὶ τοῖς συμφιλοσοφοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἂν Ἕρμαρχος καταλίπῃ διαδόχοις τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐνδιατρίβειν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν, D. L. 10.16-17).

[134] "(Let them) give all the books that I have to Hermarchus" (Δοῦναι δὲ τὰ βιβλία τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν πάντα Ἑρμάρχῳ, D. L. 10.21).

The philosophical wills of the third century BC are the best place to look for signs of the library as a conceptual space, and yet we see none. We do, however, see that the book collections of the philosophical schools became increasingly important parts of their institutional existence (not mentioned at all in Aristotle's will; noted in the will of Theophrastus; included among other furnishings of the school in Strato's will). We see other signs elsewhere that book collections were beginning to have an increasingly important role in other institutions as well. Gymnasia were becoming sites of education in the liberal arts as well as places of physical training, and book collections played an increasing role in this education during the third century BC.

Although the Academy and the Lyceum came to be associated closely with the philosophical schools of Plato and Aristotle, they were (at the time) home to a whole range of educational groups—as were other gymnasia throughout the Greek world. Students' tablets have been found at the excavations in the Academy.[135] Around one hundred tablets were found, but only one has been published, and it is dated to the fifth century.[136] Any tablets from such an early date would have been the product of purely private education that was taking place in the gymnasium. In the fourth century at Athens there arose a more formalized institution of education out of the ephebeia. The ephebeia of the fourth century was a two-year period of physical and military training that young citizen men went through. During the third century BC, the duration of the Athenian ephebeia was reduced to one year, and an education in the liberal arts accompanied the physical training. Teaching became more formalized over time, and inscriptions from the second and first century BC give evidence of *acroaseis* (probably lectures) and *scholai* (probably longer courses) on a variety of topics such as rhetoric and music.[137] There is no way to know when the gymnasia of Athens may have started to include book collections, but we do know of a decree in 116/115 BC requiring graduating classes of ephebes to make a donation of a hundred books to the Ptolemaeum gymnasium, and we have several inscriptions that record these gifts.[138] One of the inscriptions seems to name Euripides and the *Iliad* specifically, but it is in a fragmentary state.[139] As noted above, there

---

[135] Travlos 1971: 43.

[136] *SEG* XIX (1963) 37. See also Travlos 1971: 43 and fig. 64, Glucker 1978: 238-39, and Vanderpool 1959: 279-80.

[137] Delorme 1960: 316-18 discusses the inscriptions and argues for the *acroasis* as a lecture and the *scholē* tentatively as a longer course of study.

[138] 29-35 Platthy.

[139] 33 Platthy = *IG* II² 1041 lines 23-24.

were also inscriptionally attested libraries at gymnasia in Pergamum and Rhodes. The inscriptions attesting libraries are all from the second century BC, but these are unlikely to have been complete innovations. Rather, the gymnasium libraries of the second century BC are a natural part of the growth of the liberal studies that were taking place increasingly through the fourth and third centuries BC.

The emergence of book collections in gymnasia does not appear to have altered their architectural form in any way. Throughout the Hellenistic era, the size of exedrae and other ancillary rooms had been increasing, which would seem to reflect the growing importance of rhetorical and literary education at the gymnasium.[140] The books themselves and the activities relating to them seem to have been incorporated into these already existing components in the gymnasium.

Another institution that resulted from the increasing role of literacy is the public archive.[141] The administration of government came to rely not only on written laws, decrees, and the records of magistrates, but also on the records of private contracts, debts, and property.[142] There is some evidence for such places in many cities in Greece, but the one that we know best is the Metroon (in the Old Bouleuterion) in Athens.[143] The Old Bouleuterion had begun to house a cult to the Mother of the Gods some time in the fifth century, but it is probably during the period from 410-399 BC that the place became a repository for records.[144] The Metroon housed public records (decrees, financial records, and the like), particularly those pertaining to the functioning of the Boule.[145] Athens had had written laws as early as the seventh century BC, but it seems that only in the fourth century did the mass of written records require a centralized location specifically for the purpose of storing and accessing these documents. Little is known about the physical structure of the Metroon during the fifth through third centuries BC, because it was completely rebuilt in the second century.[146]

---

[140] Delorme 1960: 326-29, 383-84.

[141] On archives in the Greek world in general, see Posner 1972: 91-117.

[142] On the processes of government that led to the creation of archives in Greek cities, see Posner 1972: 91-95, Davies 2003.

[143] On the history of the building see Posner 1972: 102-109.

[144] Sickinger 1999: 105-113.

[145] Sickinger 1999: 114-38.

[146] On the rebuilt Metroon see Travlos 1971: 352-56.

The Metroon was not called a βιβλιοθήκη, and in fact there came to be a wide variety of names for such places.[147] At the same time, we have seen that βιβλιοθήκη was the typical word for such a collection of documentary texts in Egypt, and the term was used by the writers of the *Septuagint* to refer to state collections of mixed documentary and literary books. Moreover, some of the other words to refer to documentary collections, such as γραμματοφυλάκιον, could also be used for literary collections.[148] The relevant point here is that it is during the fourth, and especially the third, centuries that we start to have places that are conceived of primarily as places to house state documents. It is also of interest that at least in some parts of the world the word used to describe such places was the same as that used to designate the place that held literary or mixed literary and documentary collections.

The third century saw the creation of major libraries at the courts of the Hellenistic kings, but our understanding of how this came about is far less satisfactory than we would like. There seem to have been royal libraries at Alexandria, Pella, Antioch, and Pergamum, but all of our literary evidence on the matter comes from later periods, and we have no epigraphic or archaeological evidence except for the remains of the library at Pergamum (and that identification is contested, as discussed above).

The first of the Hellenistic royal libraries was probably the library at Alexandria. The earliest account of the library, the letter of pseudo-Aristeas from the second century BC, attributes its creation to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285-246 BC). Yet the letter also makes Demetrius of Phalerum a crucial figure. Since Demetrius was active at the court of Ptolemy I Soter (r. 305-282 BC), it is sometimes assumed that the library was originally planned by Soter and carried out by Philadelphus—though this conflation is simply a way of handling the contradictory information passed down by pseudo-Aristeas.[149] In any case, it is safe to say that the Ptolemies created their famous library at some point in the third century.

In Seleucid Syria, Antiochus the Great (r. 224/3-188/7 BC) may have had a royal library at Antioch. The *Suda* notes that Euphorion, who was so

---

[147] Dareste 1882: 242-44 lists some terms found in various cities to describe such archives: ἀρχεῖον, φυλακὴ τῶν γραμμάτων, γραμματοφυλάκιον, ῥητροφυλάκιον, συγγραφοφυλάκιον, τεθμοφυλάκιον (or θεσμοφυλάκιον), and χρεοφυλάκιον.

[148] E.g. Plut. *De Curiositate* 520b. More generally, the word seems to have been used for a chest of books, or even any chest (Plut. *Arist.* 21.4, Paus. *Att. Nouns* Z 6).

[149] Bagnall 2002 points out the flimsy logic behind the frequent claim that the library was planned by Soter and built by Philadelphus.

influential for later Roman poets, "came to Antiochus the Great when he was ruling in Syria, and was put in charge of the public library there by him."[150] What it means for a library to be "public" is a difficult matter, and one that receives further discussion in Appendix B. The information found in the *Lives* of poets is notoriously suspect, and "travel" is one of the formulaic story-patterns that frequently recur.[151] Moreover, if the story is true, we should not necessarily assume that the library in question was a literary collection for scholarship, like the library at Alexandria. It could well have been a more utilitarian public archive. The poet and scholar Aratus was also reported to be active for some time in Antioch during the third century, though we can only speculate as to whether that trip, if it occurred, had anything to do with a library there.[152]

Aratus is thought to have otherwise spent his life at the court of Antigonus Gonatas (r. 277/6-239 BC) in Pella.[153] The activity of Aratus may indicate that there was some sort of royal library there in the third century BC, as may the report that Aemilius Paulus took books back to Rome with him when he defeated King Perseus (r. 179-168 BC) in 168 BC[154]—although of course the fact that the king owned books does not necessarily mean that he had a royal library.

Finally, there was the library at Pergamum. Vitruvius wrote that in fact the Ptolemies created their library at Alexandria to rival the libraries that the Attalid kings had created in Pergamum.[155] Varro had written that there was a rivalry over libraries between Ptolemy and Eumenes, as Pliny records.[156] It is generally

---

[150] *Suda* s.v. Euphorion (E 3801 Adler): . . . ἦλθε πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλεύοντα καὶ προέστη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐκεῖσε δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης . . .

[151] See Lefkowitz 2012 on the *Lives* of poets in general; on the traditional story-patterns, see Kivilo 2010 (esp. 208-226).

[152] The report is found in the third-century AD Achillean commentary, p. 78 Maass.

[153] E.g. his *Suda* entry (A 3745 Adler).

[154] "(Paulus) allowed his sons to take for themselves only the books of the king, since they were lovers of literature" (μόνα τὰ βιλβία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι τοῖς υἱέσιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι, Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 28.11).

[155] "When the Attalid kings, attracted by the great pleasures of philology, had established an outstanding library at Pergamum as a community amenity, then likewise Ptolemy, with boundless envy and goaded by eager desire, strove with no less energy to furnish a library of the same size at Alexandria" (*reges Attalici magnis philologiae dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bybliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent, tunc item Ptolomaeus infinito zelo cupiditatisque incitatus studio non minoribus industriis ad eundem modum contenderat Alexandriae comparare*, 7.praef.4).

[156] "Soon, because of the rivalry over libraries between kings Ptolemy and Eumenes, when Ptolemy suppressed the export of papyrus, parchment was invented at Pergamum, as Varro

believed that he must be referring to Ptolemy V Epiphanes (r. 204-181 BC) and Eumenes II Soter (r. 197-159), since the monumental remains that have been identified as a library at Pergamum date to the reign of Eumenes II, and since Strabo credits this Eumenes with the creation of the library (13.4.2). Yet Varro may have been referring to Eumenes I (r. 263-241) and Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285-246), whether rightly or wrongly.

Our understanding of what these book collections may have been like and the motivations behind them is hazy. The letter of pseudo-Aristeas imputes to Ptolemy Philadelphus a desire to form a collection of all the books in the world, but the document is otherwise unreliable, and so it would be unwise to put too much faith in it. Vitruvius puts the motivation of the Attalids down to a simple love of literary studies. Vitruvius and Varro both believed that a rivalry between the Ptolemies and Attalids was a contributing factor. All of this is the speculation from a few hundred years after the fact. We cannot even be certain about the existence of royal libraries in Pella and Antioch.

Little is known of the character of the royal libraries. The library at Alexandria was thought to be enormous, but it has been shown that the number of books pseudo-Aristeas assigns to the library is in fact impossibly large.[157] The libraries at Alexandria and Pergamum were both famous for their literary collections and for the philological studies that took place there during the third and second centuries BC. Aratus and Euphorion, whether they were involved with libraries or not, wrote the same kind of recherché poetry that was being produced in Alexandria. At the very least then, we know that the royal libraries had literary collections that played a role in the activities of scholars at court.

Conclusion

The third century BC, therefore, saw an increase in institutions centered around the use and access of books—even though there is no evidence to suggest that there yet was a conception of a type of space centered around books: a library. There were philosophical schools that concerned themselves with research into past authors, both from within their schools and without. The gymnastic education in cities throughout the Greek world saw literary studies as an increasingly important component. The administration of the state increasingly relied on the keeping of records and the use of documents. The

---

reports" (*mox aemulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemaei et Eumenis, supprimente chartas Ptolemaeo, idem Varro membranas Pergami tradit repertas, NH 13.70*).

[157] Bagnall 2002: 351-56.

Hellenistic kings began a pattern of patronage that included the collection of large numbers of books and the maintenance of scholars and authors who used those books as their subjects and inspiration. It is when all of these institutions become more firmly established in the second century BC that we first see the word βιβλιοθήκη occur in many disparate places. It is at that point when gymnasia record the presence of libraries (sometimes explicitly connected with the education of the youth), when Polybius can assume that any historian might find a nearby town with a library, and when contracts can be found with clauses that instruct a copy to be deposited in the library. Where scholars in the past have looked for the creation of "the library" in the work of a single genius (like Aristotle), which is then imitated over the ages, we see instead disparate births occasioned by the exigencies of institutions that increasingly rely on the use of documents.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF ROMAN PRIVATE LIBRARIES

Signa Megarica et hermas de quibus ad me scripsisti uehementer exspecto. quicquid eiusdem generis habebis dignum Academia tibi quod uidebitur, ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. genus hoc est uoluptatis meae. quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt, ea quaero.

-Cicero *Ad Atticum* 5 (1.9).2[1]

I can hardly wait for the herms and statues in Megarian marble that you wrote me about. If you have anything else of the same sort, anything that in your opinion is worthy of the Academy, don't hesitate to send it and trust in my wallet! This kind of thing is pure pleasure for me. I'm looking for things that are especially gymnasium-looking.

If you went to Cicero's Tusculan villa, you might have seen his "Academy." It was a peristyle garden, which Atticus helped him fit out with herms and statues and other "gymnasium-looking things" (γυμνασιώδη). You might have strolled along with him through its colonnades. This villa had a "Lyceum" too, and there you might also have strolled around and perhaps sat down in an exedra, or perhaps in its library for a chat[2]—as the names "Academy" and "Lyceum" suggest, *studia* (liberal studies) were a fundamental feature of these evoked gymnasia. You likely would only have been invited in for such strolls, however, if you were (at least roughly) a social peer. The world of the domestic gymnasium would have looked much different to you if Cicero considered you to be a social inferior. The herms would probably still have been visible in the garden, but you would not have taken in the vista while walking through the colonnades. Instead,

---

[1] For quotations from Cicero's letters, I give Shackleton Bailey's number, followed by the letter's traditional number in parentheses, followed by a period and then number specifying the section within the letter where the quotation is found.
[2] Cicero depicts himself and his brother Quintus having a stroll in the villa's Lyceum and then having a chat in its library in *De Diu.* 2.8.

you would likely have seen all the gymnasium-looking things—the colonnades, the herms, the exedrae, perhaps even the library—but you would have seen them from the atrium, where you waited for Cicero's attention. Visible but inaccessible, the domestic gymnasium was a world that you could only see from the outside.

Previous studies on Roman private libraries[3] have recognized their connection with domestic gymnasia, and I go further to argue that these libraries were conceptually central to these gymnasia, even while they were physically marginal.[4] Studies of these domestic gymnasia have shown how they were evoked through architecture and sculptural furnishings. It is my contention that such architecture and such décor were only a few of several tactics in a larger strategy to assert meaning over the space, and in doing so to leverage the meaning that the space in turn produced. In this chapter, I argue that the spatial and social dynamics of domestic gymnasia asserted and reinforced social distinctions by a social process of exclusion and inclusion, and at the same time justified such social distinctions by basing them on a perceived fitness to participate in the culture of *paideia*.

I The Architectural Form of the Private Library: Sources and Problems

We know the major features of private libraries primarily from literary evidence. A typical example is Plutarch's description of the library of Lucullus (*Luc.* 42.1-2). The salient features were rooms housing the books (βιβλιοθῆκαι),[5] colonnades (περίπατοι), and rooms for reading and discussion (σχολαστήρια). Perhaps the best illustration of how these structures might have fit within the Roman house can be found in the House of the Menander in Pompeii (**figure 2.1**). The central peristyle garden, labeled *uiridarium* by Maiuri, is surrounded by a colonnade, labeled *porticus*. The alternating semi-circular and rectangular indentations along the colonnade, rooms 22-25, would be exedrae: places for reading and discussion. The three rooms on the side of the

---

[3] I refer to any library within a house or a villa as a "private" or "domestic" library. The grouping of house and villa together will be justified in the course of the chapter; on the distinction between "public" and "private" libraries more generally, see Appendix B.

[4] On these studies, see section II below.

[5] As discussed in Chapter One, the Latin *bibliotheca* (and similarly Greek βιβλιοθήκη) has several chief meanings: first, "a collection" (with no reference to physical surroundings); second, a bookshelf; third, "stacks" (indicating only the room holding the books); and fourth, "a library" (indicating a larger complex where books are housed, usually including colonnades and gardens).

portico directly adjacent to the exedrae form a bathing suite (labeled *calidarium, apodyterium,* and *balneum* by Maiuri). Of these, only the *balneum* opens directly onto the peristyle. The room marked 21, to the left of the exedrae, has been identified as a *bibliotheca* (in the sense of "stacks") on the basis of what may be bookshelves.[6] So, in the broadest sense of the word *bibliotheca,* this whole central courtyard area might be thought of as a library.[7]

Figure 2.1 House of the Menander (Table 1 in Maiuri 1933)

---
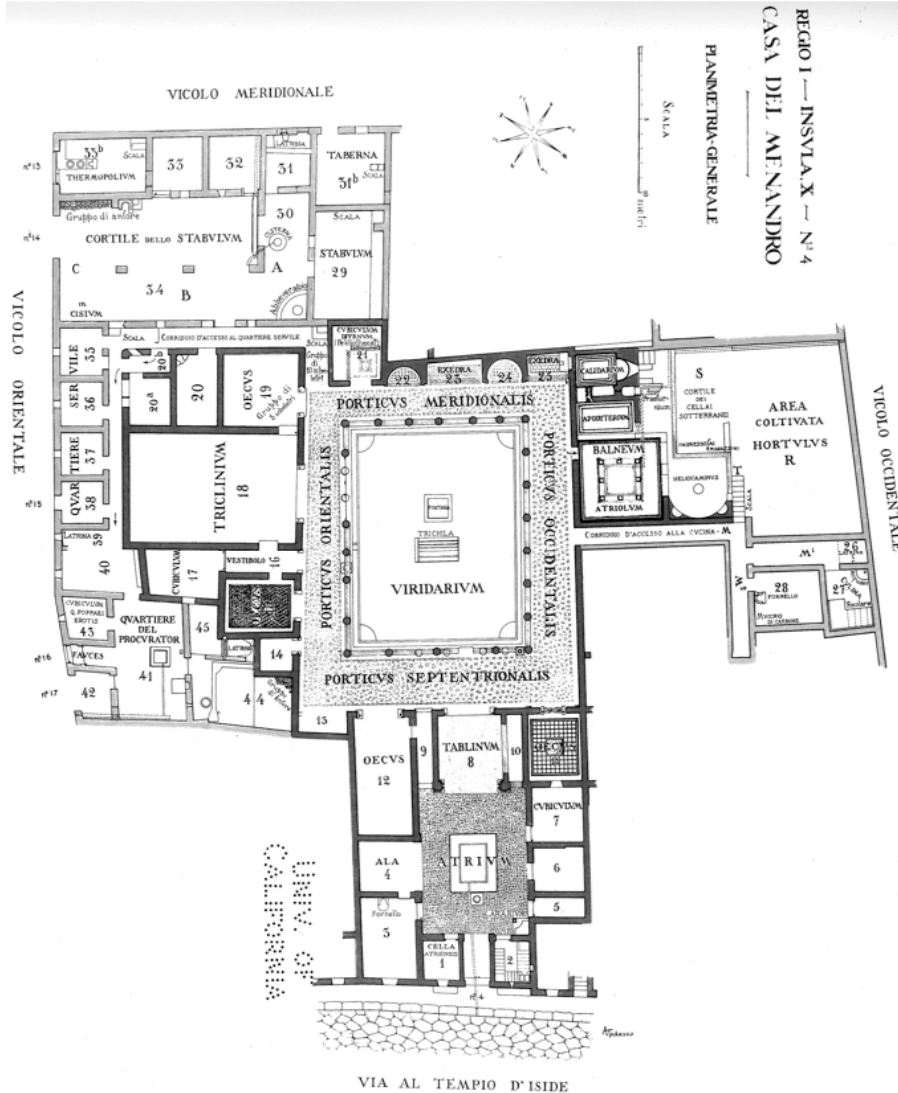
[6] Maiuri 1933: 84-89.

[7] We see an instance of an entire garden area regarded as a part of a library in a letter from Cicero to Varro, where he writes: "… if you have a garden in your library, nothing will be missing (*si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil, Ad Fam.* 180 [9.4]). See also *Ad Fam.* 209 (7.23).2, where Cicero talks about statues that would be fit for his library (*aptum bibliothecae*) in the context of decking out a peristyle garden.

The other main piece of archaeological evidence is the library of the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum. Buried in the eruption of Vesuvius, it is the only library from antiquity to be discovered with books still *in situ*.[8] Figure 2a shows the plan of the villa made by Karl Weber, the Swiss engineer who excavated much of the villa in the mid-eighteenth century. Most of the books, and some bookshelves, were found in the room marked V (better seen in **figure 2.2b**). This room is just off a small colonnade, and there are two other larger colonnades nearby enclosing sizable peristyle gardens.

Figure 2.2a Weber's Plan of the Villa of the Papyri; the room marked V is on the colonnade at the far right (insert from Mattusch 2005)
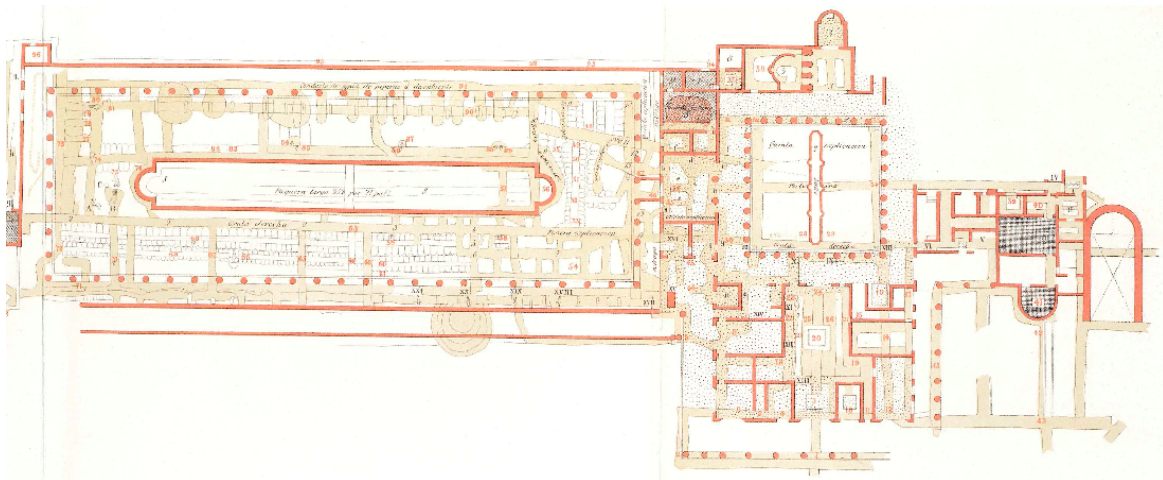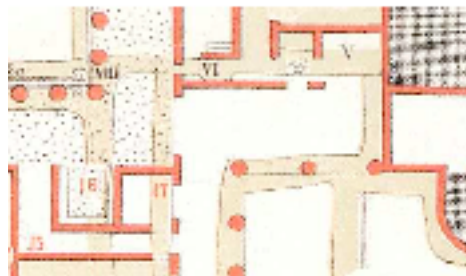

Figure 2.2b Detail from Weber's Plan (insert from Mattusch 2005)

---

[8] *In situ*, though not all necessarily where they would have normally been. Some piles of books were found in various places: either an indication of their places of use or of an abandoned attempt to save them from the destruction. For the location of the rolls in the villa, see Sider 2005: 62-64 and figure 64.

On the face of it, these two libraries are perfect examples of private libraries, as we expect to find them from the literary sources. Unfortunately, they are far more problematic than they at first seem. Maiuri's identification of the *bibliotheca* in the House of the Menander has been challenged. Penelope Allison argues that the shelves probably held only the kind of small ceramic lamps, glass vessels, and other minor items that were actually found in the room: at least in its final use, this was more likely a utilitarian storeroom than a *bibliotheca*.[9] The Villa of the Papyri, by contrast, certainly had a library, but legitimate doubts have been expressed about whether that library was really Weber's room V. After all, that room was small, not terribly well lit, and was actually located some distance from the main peristyle.[10] It has been suggested that the room was just for storage or scroll repair, and that the real library lay elsewhere in the villa.[11] Given these problems, we should step back to take stock of what kinds of information we can legitimately get about libraries from these sites, and what kinds of information we cannot.

There is always a danger of circularity when using literary evidence to interpret archaeological evidence. Was there a library in the House of the Menander? It would fit the literary sources perfectly, but this does not mean that there was a library there, or that we can use the House of the Menander to illustrate what a library was. At the same time, the House of the Menander may still be useful for understanding the spatial dynamics of the library within the home, in that we can tell from the literary sources that there were libraries *in places like* the one pointed out by Maiuri in the House of the Menander. Let us assume there was no library there. It is an example of a colonnaded garden, which is where the literary sources tend to place libraries. We will see the importance of the place of the library in the house below in section V.

Moreover, the remains of the House of the Menander and the Villa of the Papyri yield another important insight. Consider again figures 2.1 and 2.2a. In form, these houses resemble more or less closely any other wealthy peristyle house or luxury villa. Absent books or bookshelves, there would be no way to identify a library in either place, because there is no architectural uniqueness to

---

[9] See the online companion to Allison 2004,
http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=9#160.

[10] These problems are noted by Fedeli 1988: 40 and Blanck 1992: 158, 182-83, who suggest some of the possibilities in the following sentence.

[11] On the recent excavations (which have not solved the problem of the location of the library), see Guidobaldi and Esposito 2010.

the form of the domestic library.[12] Throughout this study, I have argued that there is a specific conceptual space that makes up the library. However, for libraries (as for many structures) the architectural form alone is not decisive, but the practices of those who use the space can give it definition and meaning. In the case of libraries, the colonnaded garden could be a simple garden, but it could also be used to evoke a Greek gymnasium. It is activity and intention that define a library, and not any activity-defining form.

II "Greek Library" or Evoked Gymnasium?

Since Callmer, scholars have generally seen the development of Roman private libraries as following the model of the "Greek library."[13] In Callmer's schema, the "Greek library" was a small room holding books adjacent to a contiguous colonnade where reading and other activities took place, whereas the "Roman library" featured a large room that held both the books and any book-related activities.[14] Callmer's "Greek library" was more than an architectural arrangement, it was also a theory of development: Aristotle's Lyceum provided the model for the "Greek library," which Demetrius of Phalerum took to Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy I Soter, and which was in turn emulated by the Attalid court at Pergamum.[15] Inherent in his "Greek library" was also a theory of use: in the "Greek library" the book-room (*bibliotheca*) was simply for storage, and any book-related activities took place elsewhere.[16] In Chapter One,

---

[12] This fact seems to have been overlooked by every major study of the "architectural form" of the private library. The closest anyone has come is Balensiefen (2011: 144), who notes that the "Greek library" consisted simply of rooms with no architecturally unique form (on the "Greek library" see section II below). Those who write about the "Greek library" generally agree that Roman private libraries had the form of the "Greek library," and so I think Balensiefen would include them by extension.

[13] Callmer 1944: 156. See, e.g., Wendel 1949 (= 1974: 144-64), *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 239, 261-62 (= 1974: 171, 174); Makowiecka 1978: 10-11 (and *passim*); Strocka 1981: 302; Cavallo 1988: viii-xiii; Canfora 1988: 7, 1989: 16-18 (though he believes the architectural plan was based on the Ramesseum [77-80]), and 2002; Blanck 1992: 135-39, 185-89; Casson 2001: 28-29, 74, 88; Radt 2003: 21; and Müller 2011: 118-22. Lora Johnson 1984 (esp. 5-9) is an exception in that she would limit the term βιβλιοθήκη to the room holding the books, not including the colonnade, and skepticism is voiced by Dix and Houston 2006: 679.

[14] For more on this see Chapter One.

[15] Callmer 1944: 185-86, Strocka 1981: 302 Blanck 1992: 138, 185-86.

[16] Callmer 1944: 152-3, who on this point was following Dziatzko's idea of the "ancient library" in *RE* s.v. Bibliotheken (vol. 3.1, col. 421). Callmer was in turn followed by

I made the case that Aristotle's book collection pre-dated the development of the idea of a library in any kind of physical or institutional sense, and in fact the collection was probably not housed at the Lyceum.[17] Scholars found the combination of rooms off a colonnade in the remains of the Pergamene library (whose identification is suspect), and retrojected that schema to Alexandria and to the Lyceum, though without any good evidence.[18] It is best to cast aside the "Greek library" as a theory of development.

We should also cast aside the "Greek library" as a theory of use. It is possible to demonstrate in short order that the book-room (*bibliotheca*) of the private library is frequently depicted as a place of reading, writing, and discussion, despite repeated modern assertions to the contrary.[19] Cicero, in the *De Finibus* (3.7), depicts himself visiting the Tusculan villa of the young Lucullus in order to take some books from his library. He writes: "When I got there, I found Marcus Cato (whom I did not know would be there) sitting in the library, with many books of the Stoics heaped up around him" (*quo cum uenissem, M. Catonem, quem ibi esse nescieram, uidi in bibliotheca sedentem, multis circumfusum Stoicorum libris*). As we saw in Chapter One, a library could have the wider sense of all spaces defined by the book-related activity, but it was much more common to have the narrower sense of "room where the books are kept." The encounter in the *De Finibus* could be imagined happening in the book-room or in the colonnade, but other examples suggest that Cato was more likely in the *bibliotheca* in the more common sense of the word. For instance, in *De*

Makowiecka 1978: 10-11 (and *passim*), Strocka 1981: 302, Blanck 1992: 181, Casson 2001: 88, and Staikos 2004: 282-83.

[17] The Lyceum was a public sanctuary, and the private ownership of any part was prohibited. In arguing that Aristotle's collection pre-dated the idea of the library, I used the wills of the Peripatetic scholarchs preserved in Diogenes Laertius to show that the book collections they mention were classed the with moveable property and showed no connection to any particular physical surroundings.

[18] The identification of the Pergamene library was proposed by Conze 1884, and has been challenged by Mielsch 1995. For a full overview of the debate see Coqueugniot (forthcoming). The Pergamene structure was assumed to be modeled on the Alexandrian library because Strabo's description of the Museum (17.1.8) fit vaguely with the Pergamene library, in that it mention a colonnade with adjoining rooms (Dziatzko *RE* 3.1 col. 415). The whole model was taken back to the Lyceum by Callmer (1944: 146-47), because the will of Theophrastus mentions a colonnade and rooms (D. L. 5.51-57). For a more in depth discussion see Chapter One.

[19] The separation of use and storage has been asserted most recently by Blanck 1992: 181, Staikos 2004: 282-83, and Casson 2001: 74, 82-83, 88. An exception is Keith Dix (2000: 451-54), who is generally adept at avoiding unfounded orthodoxies about ancient libraries.

Diuinatione (2.8), Cicero writes: "and when we decided that we had had enough walking, we sat in the library in the Lyceum" (*satisque ambulatum uideretur, tum in bibliotheca, quae in Lycio est, adsedimus*). After walking around in his domestic gymnasium (which could indeed have also been referred to as a *bibliotheca*), then Cicero and his brother sit down in the library off the colonnade (as *bibliotheca* surely means here) to continue their discussion.

Other examples are not hard to find. At the beginning of the *Topica*, Cicero writes to Gaius Trebatius about the origin of the project.

> Cum enim mecum in Tusculano esses et in bibliotheca separatim uterque nostrum ad suum studium libellos quos uellet euolueret, incidisti in Aristotelis Topica quaedam, quae sunt ab illo pluribus libris explicata. qua inscriptione commotus continuo a me librorum eorum sententiam requisisti . . .

> -Cicero *Topica* 1.1

> You see, when you were with me at my Tusculan estate in the library, and each of us was separately unrolling books that fit our interests, you happened upon a certain *Topica* of Aristotle, which are unfolded by him over the course of many books. Struck by this title, you immediately asked me my opinion of the books . . .

Apparently they are both reading (or at least opening) books (*euolueret*) and also looking over titles (*qua inscriptione* implies the tag at the end of the scroll, which would have the author and title of the work). They are in the *bibliotheca* in the sense of "room holding books."

Vitruvius also, in his advice on the placement of libraries within the home, indicates that the book-room was a location for the actual use of books rather than simply for their storage. He writes: "Studies[20] and libraries ought to face the east; their use demands the morning light" (*cubicula et bybliothecae ad orientem spectare debent; usus enim matutinum postulat lumen*, 6.4.1).[21] If the use (*usus*) of the library (as for the study) demands light, the obvious reason would be so that

---

[20] A "study" seems the best way to translate *cubiculum* here, but these rooms could be used for a range of private activities such as sleeping, sex, and the reception of guests; see Riggsby 1997.

[21] The same prescription occurs at 1.2.7.

one could read and write there. It is questionable to what extent Vitruvius' prescriptions match actual practice, but it seems unlikely that he is inventing the idea of reading in the library.

It is best to dismiss the idea of the "Greek library" as a unique architectural form that is accounted for by a historical development starting with Aristotle and that determines a certain pattern of use (that is, that there was no reading in the book room). At the same time, Callmer was correct about the recurrence of book-rooms on colonnades, the combination that Alexander Conze first noted and classified as the architectural form of the "ancient library."[22] Yet these were not thought of as library features, but rather as gymnasium features.

As discussed in chapter one, Greek gymnasia did have libraries (at least starting in the second century BC when they begin to be attested epigraphically).[23] The fundamental structures of the Greek gymnasium included an exercise area (especially a *palaestra*) surrounded by a colonnade, which might itself have various smaller rooms opening on it: a changing room (*apodyterion*), auditorium (*exedra*), baths, and eventually book rooms (*bibliothecae*).[24]

The similarity between the *palaestra* and the peristyle has attracted notice. Jens-Arne Dickmann argued that the peristyles of Pompeii in the late second-century BC were modeled specifically on *palaestrae*.[25] Dickmann is convincing in pointing out the *palaestra* as inspiration for the trend of the peristyle garden, but we must be cautious in how we draw conclusions from there. Even if the *palaestra* was the original inspiration for the peristyle, it is questionable how long and to whom it retained that association. Peristyles became so common in Pompeii (and elsewhere) as to become a standard domestic feature, and one must question whether the association with gymnasia was gradually diluted. As Wallace-Hadrill asks, "should we [see a gymnasium] in every little Pompeian house that has a peristyle garden?"[26]

There is no way to judge by the architectural form alone. This in itself is a valuable clue. We should look rather at the practices through which people

---

[22] Conze 1884. For more on this see Chapter One.

[23] The inscriptions, according to their *testimonium* number in Platthy 1968, are: 29-35 (Athens),117 and 119 (Rhodes), and 138 and 139 (Pergamum).

[24] See Delorme 1960: 374-94 and Wacker 2007: 349-51 for more on these typical elements.

[25] Dickmann 1997 (esp. 125-27).

[26] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 173. His own answer is that there must have been a continuum: "Naturally, the references to the Greek form are least distinct in the most modest houses, and will have been so for the owners themselves. Social diffusion banalizes and thereby transforms connotations."

created gymnasium spaces in the home. It is sometimes remarked that the evoked gymnasium would have been seen as the appropriate place for certain activities, like philosophical discussions.[27] It seems better to say that it was through certain activities, like philosophical discussion, that one could transform domestic space by evoking a gymnasium.

III How You Make a Gymnasium

The architectural features that would mark off a domestic gymnasium were colonnades and courtyards. Clearly, by themselves these features were too common to define a place so specifically, but there other ways to bring out the gymnastic associations. One other way was to provide the place with the proper furnishings.[28] Sculptural adornment is important, and herms in particular seemed to Romans to be especially appropriate for gymnasia. Paintings may likewise have been used to conjure up the world of the gymnasium, although here the evidence is less clear. Yet another tactic to call up the atmosphere of the gymnasium was through the names that were used to describe this area of the house, such as *palaestra, exedra, xystus,* and (of course) *gymnasium.*[29] I add another tactic used to evoke the gymnasium: social practices, especially walking and scholarly discussion. Even more important is the library. The library was only one component of the evoked gymnasium, but it provided the *raison d'être* of the place, in that the gymnasium was conceived of as a site of Greek learning. The library, while physically marginal in the evoked gymnasium, was conceptually central.

The main architectural features of the evoked gymnasium are the colonnade-enclosed garden and the adjoining reading rooms, as hopefully will have been clear from the above discussion on the architectural form of the "private library." The decorative furnishings that evoke the gymnasium are also worth examining, and Cicero's early letters to Atticus are especially useful in helping us understand how Romans used certain decorative elements to

---

[27] E.g., "The architectural form of the gymnasium is thus valued by Cicero and his friends as the appropriate setting for the intellectual activities, and the sequence of movements, felt to belong to it" (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 171). Similar sentiments are expressed in Dickmann 1997: 123, Neudecker 1988: 15, and Dix 1986: 77.

[28] As Neudecker 1988 and Marvin 1989 have both pointed out. Marvin in particular makes the argument that statuary could be used to define places that would have been indistinguishable from one another based on architecture alone.

[29] Leach 2004: 34-40 explores the language used to evoke the domestic gymnasium. She also includes in her discussion architecture, statuary, and the idea of intellectual discussion.

transform a peristyle garden into a gymnasium.[30] In these letters from around 68-66 BC, Cicero wrote repeatedly to seek the help of Atticus (who was in Athens at the time) in fitting out his villas. Cicero himself put the matter simply enough: "Please, if you can find any furnishings suitable for a gymnasium (which would go you-know-where), don't pass them by" (*Tu uelim, si qua ornamenta* γυμνασιώδη *repire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas, Ad Att.* 2 [1.6].2). (The place that Cicero was referring to was his Tusculan villa.)

Cicero was fairly specific about what he meant by *ornamenta* γυμνασιώδη. As he writes in another letter:

> Signa Megarica et hermas de quibus ad me scripsisti uehementer exspecto. quicquid eiusdem generis habebis dignum Academia tibi quod uidebitur, ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. genus hoc est uoluptatis meae. quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt ea quaero.

> - Cicero *Ad Atticum* 5 (1.9).2

> I can hardly wait for the herms and statues in Megarian marble that you wrote me about. If you have anything else of the same sort, anything that in your opinion is worthy of the Academy, don't hesitate to send it and trust in my wallet! This kind of thing is pure pleasure for me. I'm looking for things that are especially gymnasium-looking.

Cicero had in mind a specific "type" (*generis*) of adornment, which included the statues and herms. In particular, he wanted things that were "gymnasium-looking" (γυμνασιώδη). Cicero had mentioned the statues in Megarian marble in a previous letter, along with some Herms in Pentelic marble with bronze heads (*Ad Att.* 4 [1.8].2). In addition to the herms he asked Atticus to keep his eyes open for statues and anything else that seemed characteristic of the place (the "Academy"), and of Cicero's interests, and of his own (Atticus') good taste (*signa et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegentiae esse uidebuntur*, 4

---

[30] Neudecker 1988: 8-18 details Cicero's use of sculptural furnishings in evoking gymnasia, and Marvin 1989 also uses Cicero's letters to argue that statuary could be used to define a place.

[1.8].2). Above all, Cicero wanted things that "will seem characteristic of a gymnasium and a colonnade" (*maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique uidebuntur esse*, 4 [1.8].2). The request for furnishings "suitable for a gymnasium" is a near constant refrain of these early letters:

> Signa nostra et Hermeraclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, uelim imponas, et si quid aliud οἰκεῖον eius loci quem non ignoras reperies, et maxime quae tibi palaestrae gymnasique uidebuntur esse.
>
> -Cicero *Ad Atticum* 6 [1.10].3

> Please ship my statues and the herm-Heracleses that you've written about whenever you can most conveniently, likewise if you find anything else proper for you-know-where, and especially anything you think is characteristic of a gymnasium and a palaestra.

In addition to the statues and the herm-Heracleses, Cicero mentions a herm-Athena that was particularly important. He explains: "It (the herm-Athena) is the proper ornament for my Academy, since Hermes is common to all gymnasia, and Minerva is uniquely characteristic of that one" (*est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune est omnium et Minerua singulare est insigne eius gymnasi*, *Ad Att.* 9[1.4].3).

Cicero does not give much further detail about his non-herm statuary,[31] but the peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri gives an example of what kind of statuary that villa's owner used to evoke a gymnasium.[32] After all, while there is some uncertainty as to the location of the library, there is little doubt that the large peristyle evoked a gymnasium atmosphere.[33] There are plenty of herms, including a herm-Athena (NM 6322) and a herm-Heracles (NM 6164). There

---

[31] We can gather from *Ad Fam.* 209 (7.23).2, written about twenty years later, that Cicero would have found statues of Muses appropriate, though not Bacchants.

[32] The villa was probably Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus in the middle of the first century BC (Capasso 2010), although we have no idea who owned it when Vesuvius erupted in AD 79. For a thorough overview of the sculptural furnishings of the Villa of the Papyri, see Mattusch 2005. She has helpful tables of sculptures by find spot at pp. 371-73.

[33] As did the peristyle of the House of the Menander, though the presence of a library there is uncertain. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 173-74 looks at the statuary and design of the evoked gymnasia in the Villa of the Papyri, the House of the Faun, and the House of the Menander.

are also full-body statues, such as the over-life size marble Aeschines (NM 6018), two life-size bronze boy athletes (NM 5626, 5627), five life-size bronze peplophoroi (NM 5604, 5619, 5620, 5621, 5603), and a life-size seated bronze Hermes (NM 5625)—just to name a few.

Other elements used to call up the atmosphere of a gymnasium might include mosaics, paintings, and plane trees, although here we have less to go on. Cicero does not mention any of these in his early letters, though twenty years later he writes "I've built a few cozy new exedras in my little colonnade at Tusculum; I'd like to decorate them with paintings" (*exedria quaedam mihi noua sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani. ea uolebam tabellis ornare, Ad Fam.* 209 [7.23].3). What kind of paintings Cicero would have wanted is anyone's guess. In the House of the Menander, three exedras open onto the colonnade of the gymnasium. The first has a Fourth Style painting of a landscape with Diana and Actaeon. The second exedra is a rectangular ingress, in which each of the three walls depicts poets—one of which is the house's eponymous Menander. The third has another Fourth Style painting of a landscape, this one with Venus and Cupid. The extent to which these (or any) themes or styles were thought of as characteristic of a gymnasium is up for debate.

Decorative practices do more than just create a background atmosphere, they stake a claim about what the space means. Yet even the architecture and the décor are not the sole determinants of meaning. These material aspects are part of a larger social construction: they are meaningful because they are meaningful *to* social actors. The significance of the space is also the result of social practices: what words people used to describe the area, what practices they engage in there, and with whom.

The gymnasium is brought into being in the house by the very language used to refer to the structures within.[34] A helpful example comes in the dialogue *De Oratore*, which depicts the peristyle garden of Crassus as a gymnasium space.

> . . . num tandem aut locus hic non idoneus uidetur, in quo porticus haec ipsa, ubi nunc ambulamus, et palaestra et tot locis sessiones gymnasiorum et Graecorum disputationum memoriam quodam modo commouent?

> -Cicero *De Oratore* 2.20

---

[34] On the language used to describe the domestic gymnasium, see Leach 2004: 34-40.

> . . . and finally, does this place not seem suitable (for learned discussion)? Does not this very colonnade, where we now walk, and the *palaestra* and the seats in so many places call to mind somehow the memory of the gymnasia and the debates of the Greeks?

The *palaestra* probably refers to a peristyle garden surrounded by a colonnade (*porticus*), a usage common in Cicero.[35] Other common words for the colonnade are *xystus* and *ambulatio*.[36] The seats (*sessiones*) could be anywhere, but might be referring to an exedra, a room opening onto the colonnade and garden. These seem to be the primary features of the gymnasium, as the Romans saw it. In fact, it is remarkable that so many words for the places in this part of the house are taken directly from the gymnasium: *palaestra, xystus, exedra,* and possibly even *bibliotheca* itself are taken directly from the gymnasium.[37] The vocabulary of the house is a vexed issue, and Eleanor Leach has shown that many traditional terms used by scholars (like *fauces* and *alae*) were not in common usage among Latin speakers.[38] It is not possible to say how widespread was the usage of terms like *palaestra, xystus,* and *exedra*. However, among the set of elite, educated men the usage appears to be common.

The quotation from *De Oratore* also points out the activities especially associated with the domestic gymnasium: walking and discussion with friends of a similar social rank.[39] Library use in the Roman house was a remarkably ambulatory activity. In the quotation from *De Diuinatione* that mentioned the library in Cicero's Lyceum, the full sentence reads: "Well, when my brother

---

[35] The word *peristylium* is almost entirely restricted to Vitruvius. Other words for the peristyle garden *hortus, palaestra,* and (metonymically) *xystus, ambulatio,* and *porticus* (cf. Leach 1997: 59 and 2004: 34-40).

[36] Vitruvius writes that Latin-speakers incorrectly use *xystus* to refer to open-air walkways rather than the covered colonnades designated by the Greek ξυστός (5.11.4, 6.7.5). However, it is easy to imagine that someone trying to evoke a gymnasium would follow the Greek usage, and in practice it is rarely possible to tell precisely what a Latin author means by *xystus*.

[37] As discussed in Chapter One, the word βιβλιοθήκη is attested once in the fourth century BC, but that is likely to have been a poetic coinage. It does not occur again until the second century BC, when it appears in several inscriptions in gymnasia, a few *papyri* in Egypt (in reference to archives), and a few literary sources (Polybius [12.25e4, 12.27.5], pseudo-Aristeas [9, 10, 29, 38], and 2 Maccabees 2:13).

[38] Leach 1997, developed further in Leach 2004: 18-54.

[39] O'Sullivan (2011: 77-96) discusses walking in the villa as an elite phenomenon, and in particular notes Roman perceptions of walking as a practice associated with Greek philosophy. See also O'Sullivan 2006.

Quintus had made those remarks about divination, which are set down in the previous book, and we decided that we had had enough of walking, we sat down in the library in my Lyceum" (*Nam cum de diuinatione Quintus frater ea disseruisset, quae superiore libro scripta sunt, satisque ambulatum uideretur, tum in bibliotheca, quae in Lycio est, adsedimus*, 2.8). It is part of Cicero's portrayal of intellectual discussion that walking in the colonnade takes place during or beforehand.[40] These walks might be solitary, as at the start of the *Brutus* where Cicero sets the scene by writing: "Well, when I was having a walk in my colonnade (*inambularem in xysto*), and was at my leisure at home, Marcus Brutus arrived (as he was accustomed) with Titus Pomponius" (*Brutus* 10). But walking was also an activity to share with a peer.[41] At the start of the second book of *De Oratore* (2.12), Antonius was taking a walk (*inambularet*) with Cotta in his colonnade (*in porticu*).

In his letters as well as his dialogues, Cicero finds himself in the library especially with good friends who are of a similar social rank.[42] He hopes to dispute philosophy in his library with Varro (*Ad Fam.* 180 [9.4]), and wishes to walk in his library with Atticus (*Ad Att.* 84 [4.10]). He depicts himself talking with Cato in the library of Faustus Sulla (*De Fin.* 3.2), and with Brutus and Atticus again in his own (*Brutus* 10). He started his *Topica* with an anecdote about himself in his library with Gaius Trebatius, an equestrian who advised Caesar and later Augustus on legal matters. The *De Diuinatione* finds him with his brother in the library in his Lyceum.[43] This pattern of use, predominantly alone and/or with social intimates, is the same pattern of use that Andrew Riggsby has found with the *cubiculum*.[44] This pattern stands in contrast to the atrium, which was open to the public and often depicted as being crowded with

---

[40] On the domestic gymnasia as settings of Cicero's dialogues, see Leach 2004: 37-38.

[41] O'Sullivan (2011: 85-88) sees walking in the villa as a activity associated with intimate friendship, and believes that from there it was taken up for meetings with people of high status who were not friends (and were perhaps even enemies), in order to give the meeting a "veneer of friendliness" (88).

[42] This group overlaps, naturally, with those with whom one would share a walk in the gymnasium according to O'Sullivan (2011: 85-88). Vitruvius wrote (6.5.1) that the peristyle (along with the vestibule and atrium) was a public area of the house that guests could enter uninvited, but his prescription conflicts with how the peristyle is portrayed in all of our other literary evidence.

[43] Although they are not mentioned in the dialogues, slaves (who managed a host of library-tasks from reading aloud to re-gluing damaged pages) must have been a constant presence.

[44] Riggsby 1997.

clients and social inferiors.[45] Cicero writes to a friend that after attending to the wearisome business of others at the morning *salutatio*, he hides himself away in his library (*abdo me in bibliothecam, Ad Fam.* 200 [7.28].2). The importance of these contrasting spatial dynamics (between the more public and more private) will become clear in section V.

At this point, we may have almost lost sight of what all of this has to do with the library. So what does the domestic gymnasium have to do with private libraries? I would argue that libraries are conceptually central to the evoked gymnasium.

Going back to Cicero, and the evoked gymnasium that Atticus is helping him furnish, it is worth noting that there is a library that Cicero is hoping Atticus can procure for him, which he insistently mentions in four of these early letters.[46] The letters are filled with such pleas as "Don't promise that library of yours away to anyone" (*bibliothecam tuam caue cuiquam despondeas, Ad Att.* 6 [1.10].4) and "Don't hand over your books to anyone, save them . . . for me" (*libros uero tuos caue cuiquam tradas; nobis eas . . . conserua,* 7 [1.11].3). For Cicero, the library is an integral part of his evocation of the gymnasium.[47]

In his discussion of the domestic gymnasium, Wallace-Hadrill expresses his suspicion that Cicero was peculiar in seeing books and (especially) philosophy as central to the gymnasium.[48] More Romans, in his opinion, would have associated the gymnasium with exercise and relaxation, an association that Crassus expresses in Cicero's *De Oratore* (1.20).[49] As we have seen, Cicero had named one of the peristyles in his Tusculan villa his Academy and the other his Lyceum. The names certainly seem to betray a greater interest in philosophy than one might expect other Romans to evince. Moreover, Cicero's philosophical works can give the impression most Romans had (if anything) a superficial knowledge of philosophy and stood in need of convincing that it was a worthwhile subject of interest.

---

[45] Leach 1997: 55-58 and 2004: 21-34 (although she is inclined to follow Vitruvius [6.5.1] in seeing the peristyle as a public area). The thorough spatial analyses of the House of the Faun in Grahame 1997 also bear out the relative inaccessibility of peristyle spaces to atria.

[46] *Ad Atticum* 3 (1.7), 6 (1.10).4, 7 (1.11).3, 9 (1.4).3. A few years later Atticus helps secure another: *Ad Att.* 20 (1.20).7, 21 (2.1).12. On Cicero's acquisition of his libraries see Dix (forthcoming), and on their contents see Pütz 1925.

[47] Dix 1986: 77, 120-27, 259-60 notes the influence of the gymnasium in the arrangement of private libraries.

[48] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 172.

[49] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 172.

The reality seems far different. The general Lucullus took an active interest in Greek philosophy, and Julius Caesar's *De Analogia* is evidence of his participation in philosophical debates about language. The younger Cato was famously interested in Stoicism, and Brutus also had some Stoic tastes. The Epicureans had an even larger number of adherents among famous Romans of the time, including: Cassius, Calpurnius Piso (likely owner of the Villa of the Papyri), Lucretius, Atticus, and Maecenas and his circle. While philosophical writings in Latin (like those of Cicero, Varro, and Lucretius) were certainly a new and rare phenomenon, it is clear that Greek philosophy in general was very much in fashion among a certain set of wealthy, educated Romans.[50] Vitruvius even claims that the study of philosophy is necessary for the architect (1.1.7). All things considered, Cicero's philosophical works should be seen not as in indication of a general Roman indifference to philosophy, but of the rising popularity of philosophy among those of elite status at Rome.

Moreover, philosophy was not the only area of Greek learning associated with gymnasia. They were also home to education in grammar, rhetoric, and a variety of other subjects.[51] The inscriptions from gymnasium-libraries in the Athens and Rhodes include mention of works by Homer, Euripides, and the orators.[52] Romans were not unaware of these associations. Vitruvius, for instance, notes that *exedrae* have seats where there are disputes among "philosophers, teachers of rhetoric, and others who delight in the liberal arts" (*philosophi, rhetores reliquique, qui studiis delectantur*, 5.11.2)

Cicero was clearly not alone in seeing a library (and liberal studies) as fundamental to the idea of the gymnasium. One further bit of literary evidence for the gymnasium-library as a cultural construct in the Roman world is found in Livy, who notes that Scipio, while in Syracuse, was criticized for behaving in ways unbefitting a Roman (much less a military commander): "that he was going for walks in the gymnasium and giving his attention to trivial books and the *palaestra*" (*inambulare in gymnasio; libellis eum palaestraeque operam dare*, 29.19.12). Livy sees the library (*libellis*) together with the *palaestra* as major features of the gymnasium.

In short, there was a trend among some Romans to evoke a gymnasium space within the domestic sphere. Architectural form and sculptural furnishings

---

[50] For the interest in philosophy in the late Republic, see Rawson 1985: 282-97.
[51] Delorme 1960: 316-336.
[52] Homer and Euripides at the Ptolemaeum at Athens (33 Platthy); the orators at Rhodes (117 Platthy).

were part of this evocation, but at least as important were the practices that took place there and the words used to describe the place. A library was a fundamental component, and the entire conception of the evoked gymnasium rests on the foundation of liberal studies. One purpose of the place was to provide a field for the participation in practices related to liberal studies (like walking and learned discussion). And it was through these practices that Romans fully gave meaning to the space as a gymnasium.

IV How Widespread Were Domestic Gymnasia?

The evidence on décor and activities in the gymnasium presents two important problems. First, they are literary representations. The dialogues of Cicero are not actual records of real events, and should not be treated as such. Even the personal letters are not snapshots of how the library was actually used, but how Cicero represented himself using it to his friends. Secondly, it is from Cicero that the bulk of our evidence comes.

The first problem is actually a blessing in disguise, if we follow Thomas Habinek in reading literature "not only as a representation of society, but as an intervention in it as well."[53] Penelope Allison has used the find spots of various artifacts to show the multi-purpose nature of the various places in the houses of Pompeii.[54] The peristyle garden, for instance, typically had a cistern and would have been a natural hub for many utilitarian domestic activities, while the surrounding colonnade seems to have often served as a storage area, and also an area for cooking and serving (this is, after all, a place where a *triclinium* would open onto).[55] While it would be perverse to deny that Roman men ever took walks and engaged in scholarly discussions in their gardens, it would be naïve to let the literary sources blind us to the fact that through most of the day the garden would have been home to a chaotic miscellany of everyday activities. Cicero's writings, like the décor and those actual scholarly walks that took place, are a way of asserting meaning over the space and engaging in the culture of *paideia* that the space in turn calls forth.

The second problem is more difficult: there is no way around the fact that Cicero provides by far the greatest amount of evidence on private libraries. However, there is some indication that the trend of the library as part of an

---

[53] Habinek 1998: 3.

[54] Allison 2004.

[55] Allison 2004: 84-90. For this reason, Hales (2003: 130-32) has suggested that there was not such a great functional difference between atrium and peristyle.

evoked gymnasium was widespread, and that it continued well into the second century AD. Varro gives a sense of the popularity of domestic gymnasia when he complains nowadays it seems like one gymnasium per villa is hardly thought to be enough (*De Re Rust.* 2.1.2). We also saw in the previous section the extent to which *studia* and libraries were associated with gymnasia. Cicero is definitely our most prolific source of evidence on domestic gymnasia, but he does appear to be representative of a larger trend.

It also seems that domestic gymnasia remained popular through the first century AD and at least into the second, although the actual make-up of the domestic gymnasium and library followed the development of public gymnasia spaces more broadly in the addition of baths.[56] Seneca, for instance, complains about the luxurious (and ostentatiously scholarly) domiciles of the rich:

> Apud desidiosissimos ergo uidebis quidquid orationum historiarumque est, tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta; iam enim inter balnearia et thermas bybliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur.
>
> -Seneca *Dialogi* 9.9.7
>
> Among people of the laziest stripe, therefore, you will see everything that exists of speeches and histories—bookcases built all the way up to the ceiling. And now in between baths of one sort and another a library too is flaunted as an indispensable adornment for the house.

Even as the gymnasium area of the house becomes more of a bath-complex, the place of the library there remains the same. Incidentally, in the House of the Menander, a set of baths is also part of the evoked gymnasium (see **figure 2.1**).

In letter 2.17, Pliny describes his Laurentian villa. The floor plan is notoriously difficult (and probably futile, as Riggsby argues)[57] to reconstruct, but we do get a good sense of some rooms that Pliny grouped together because they

---

[56] See most recently Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 175-79.

[57] Riggsby 2003. A villa in San Giustino has been identified as Pliny's villa *in Tuscis* on the basis of brick stamps by Braconi and Uroz Sáez 1999, although most of what has been found comprises the productive *pars rustica*, to which Pliny gave little attention in his letters. See also Braconi 2007 and Mielsch 2007.

were physically contiguous or somehow linked by usage or qualitative association. In a certain area of the house, there is:

> angulus, qui purissimum solem continet et accendit. hoc hibernaculum, hoc etiam gymnasium meorum est . . . adnectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curuatum, quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. parieti eius in bybliothecae speciem armarium insertum est . . .

> -Pliny *Epistles* 2.17.7-8

> a corner, which catches the most direct sunlight and blazes with warmth. This is a winter-room, and this is also the gymnasium for my friends and family. . . adjoining this corner is a private room curved into an apse, which follows the path of the sun with all its windows. Built into the wall is a bookcase like a library . . .

This passage shows a continuation of the trend that we have seen: the association of the domestic library with an evoked gymnasium. As was the case with Seneca, other architectural trends are also in evidence. That the book room curves into an apsidal space makes it consistent with the architectural features of some contemporary public libraries in Rome.[58]

It is fair to ask again whether our literary sources are really representative of wider trends. Like Cicero, Seneca and Pliny are both people who might be suspected of being peculiar in this regard: of course *they* would want to make domestic gymnasia. The archaeology of central Italy suggests otherwise. Annalisa Marzano, gathering a vast amount of data, points out that much of the remodeling done in the villas of central Italy during the first two centuries AD involved the addition of peristyle gardens, bathing suites, and other gymnastic features.[59] Seneca and Pliny are in fact emblematic of wider trends (as Cicero was in an earlier age).

Despite this strong association of the library with a gymnasium space, we should be careful about over-schematizing. There are various references to

---

[58] E.g. the Palatine Apollo library (see Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006).
[59] Marzano 2007: 102-24.

domestic libraries about whose placement no information is given.[60] There is even a mention of libraries that are specifically *not* associated with any gymnasium space. Seneca, in complaining about books used for showing off rather than for learning, claims that "for many men, who can't even read as well as slaves, books are not instruments of study but ornaments of the dining room" (*plerisque ignaris etiam seruilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt, Dial.* 9.9.5). Seneca's criticism is about the fact that the books are being used for mis-advertisement: they falsely implied a genuine depth of *paideia*.[61] At the same time, the reference to the *cenatio* seems to be a pointed reference to a place that would be entirely unfit for a library. The *cenatio* is often associated with *luxuria* and display,[62] and here seems to be a foil for the place that a library *should* be.[63]

V How the Gymnasium Makes You

We have seen that the private library has no unique architectural form, but that it was rather a component of a gymnasium space evoked in the house through architectural form, through furnishings (especially sculpture), but above all through the words used to describe the place, and through the practices that were performed there. Indeed, the library and liberal studies underpinned the whole project of the domestic gymnasium. Yet there is more to this story. The evoked gymnasium is part of a more complex social process, one that was central to the spatial and social dynamics of the Roman house.

At the start of the chapter, we looked at the supposed library in the House of the Menander. There may not have been a library in the room Maiuri identified as one—in fact, there may not have been a library in the house at all. I argued that the House of the Menander was still a good example of a domestic gymnasium, and that liberal studies were conceptually central to domestic gymnasia. I would now like to return to the House of the Menander, to come to grips with the social dynamics of the domestic gymnasium as a space.

Recall that we found an interesting social pattern in the use of the domestic gymnasium: it was a place to invite a few close friends and social peers. This pattern of use was the opposite of the use of the atrium—a very public part

---

[60] E.g., the fictional library of Trimalchio (Petronius 48.4); others in Martial (9.*praef* and 14.190) and Pliny the Younger (4.28).

[61] Chapter Three goes into more depth concerning the anxieties behind the common accusation of the ignorant book-collector.

[62] Leach 1997: 68 and 2004: 46-47.

[63] Chapter Three also goes into the conceptual contrast between dining and *studia*.

of the house where crowds of lower status guests could gather uninvited. The House of the Menander reveals a curious paradox: a very private part of the house (the peristyle) was entirely visible from a very public part of the house (the atrium) through the room that Maiuri labeled *Tablinum* (see **figure 2.3**). In fact, visitors would look directly at the exedra with the eponymous Menander— not that visitors in a crowded atrium would necessarily be able to see the minute the painting clearly. Still, they would have been able to see the exedrae and most certainly to see any statuary that may have in the garden.

Figure 2.3 Detail from the House of the Menander (Table 1 in Maiuri 1933).
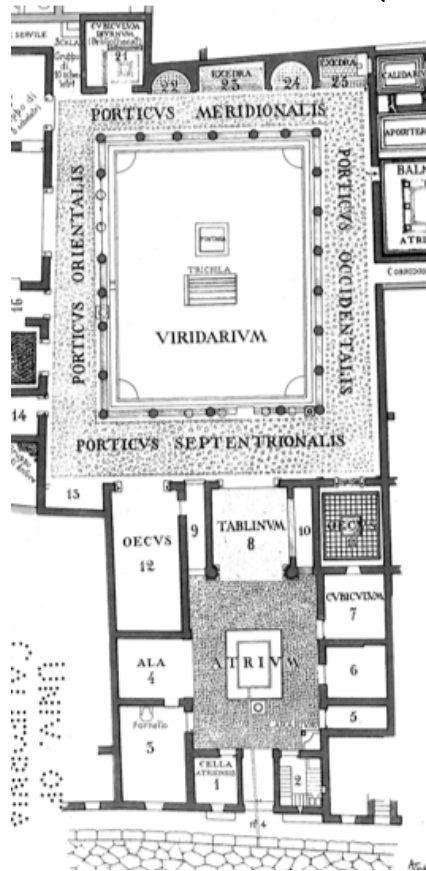
In the traditional understanding of the Roman house, it has been thought that the atrium framed a view of the tablinum, where the master of the house would sit to receive clients, and it has been believed that the tablinum was the terminal point of the visual axis through the entryway and the atrium.[64] Yet Eleanor Leach shown that there is no evidence for the master of the house holding court in the tablinum, and in fact very little support for the idea that the

---

[64] See, e.g., Clarke 1991: 2-6 and *passim*.

word *tablinum* was commonly used for this part of the house.[65] More likely, the intended view was through the tablinum and into the colonnade. Shelly Hales provides numerous examples where it was clear that the peristyle was designed and decorated with the view from the atrium specifically in mind.[66] Hales has pointed out the interesting contrast between the visibility and inaccessibility of the peristyle garden, and the consequent ability of this disjunction to create an impression on the outside viewer.[67]

The peristyle was the place where the gymnasium was evoked, at least in some houses (I do not want to suggest that this was a universal feature).[68] The library and *paideia* were conceptually central to the idea of the evoked gymnasium. These domestic gymnasia were visible but not accessible, which consequently served to reinforce the hierarchy of status; there were those who could be on the inside and those who were quite literally on the outside looking in. The fact that the activities within were thought of as related to *paideia* was a means of justifying that division. Those inside were those fit to take part in the culture of *paideia*, from which social inferiors were excluded.

We should be careful to note that this division of included and excluded does not reflect the actual membership of the Roman elite (as if such a thing were discretely defined); rather, the division is a claim staked by the owner of the house that he and his close friends are members of that elite and that the others are not. This is a social process of membership and exclusion that is a tactic employed by home and villa owners in a world where social status was fiercely competitive.[69] Viewed this way, the meaning of the domestic gymnasium as a

---

[65] Leach 1997: 52-53 and 2004: 26-28.

[66] Hales 2003: 107-22. The House of the Wooden Screens in Herculaneum (and post-holes for screens and/or doors for some tablina in Pompeii) suggests that this vista could be closed off or opened up at will in some houses. We can only speculate about what times in the day the screen might have been closed, or how widespread that phenomenon might have been. The importance of sight lines in general was first explored in Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

[67] Hales 2003: 112-22, though she is more concerned with the view from out on the street.

[68] In fact, the Romans seem to have been quite fond of imaginative geography as a decorating program, and would evoke any number of places (on this see O'Sullivan 2006 and 2011: 104-110). For instance, some villa owners would apparently call a water channel an "Euripus" or a "Nile" (Cic. *Leg.* 2.2), and Brutus had a Persike Porticus and an Eurotas at his estate at Lanuvium (Cic. *Ad Att.* 387 [15.9].1), and he had a Parthenon at a different estate (Cic. *Ad Att.* 343 [13.40].1). Hadrian's villa at Tivoli was said by the *SHA* (*Had.* 26.5) to evoke places from all over the empire, including an Academy, a Lyceum, a Prytanaeum, a Canopus, a Stoa Poikile, and a Tempe valley.

[69] Even the included and excluded for one house should not be thought of static groups. Rather, a client might regularly attend a morning *salutatio*, and occasionally be invited back

place of *paideia* is one facet of a more complicated picture of social life in the Roman world. As we will see in the following chapter, liberal studies had a fundamental place in elite Roman identity. We have seen in this chapter how the physical media through which one could participate in the culture of *paideia* could be used to assert and reinforce social hierarchy. In the next chapter, we will see how the same physical media could undermine the entire basis of the social hierarchy.

A Note on Houses and Villas

Some readers might object to this analysis on the grounds that it conflates house and villa. The language that I have used ("domestic library," "domicile") intentionally includes both. Some might argue that urban houses did not have evoked gymnasia—which would be more characteristic of the luxury villa out in the country. They might further argue that clients and low-status guests would only have visited one's urban house; they would surely not hike out to one's Laurentian retreat for the morning *salutatio*. How could the evoked gymnasium have been visible yet inaccessible if there were no clients there to be excluded?

It is true that the urban house and the rural villa were very different types of space. On this matter, however, they are much more similar than they might seem at first glance. Some wealthy urban houses did have domestic gymnasia, like the House of the Faun and the House of the Menander in Pompeii. Cicero mentions his "Palatine palaestra" (*palaestrae palatinae*, *Ad. Att.* 24 [2.4].7) in Rome, and the imagined gymnasium that Seneca conjures up is in a *domus* (*Dial.* 9.9.7) and not a villa. The setting of Cicero's *Brutus* was clearly one of an evoked gymnasium, and this was also at his Roman home (*inambularet in xysto domi*, *Brut.* 10). There is no reason to doubt that there were evoked gymnasia in urban homes.

The atrium crowded with clients might seem to be the mark of the urban home, and relative peace the mark of the rural villa. Yet Annalisa Marzano has shown convincingly that rural villas were closely integrated both economically and socially with nearby urban centers.[70] Her study showed that villas in central Italy were generally not in remote places, but actually had a tendency to cluster closely around towns. In addition, she pointed out that villa owners were often patrons

---

to the garden. This would also be a tactic that homeowners could manipulate. Also, something should be said of the time of day, that most client meetings would happen in the morning.

[70] Marzano 2007: 176-98.

of the local community, and were involved in numerous social interactions and obligations that brought the villa-owners into town and brought the townspeople to the villa.

Indeed, Pliny tells a story of a *salutatio* in Comum where he owned several villas (*Epist.* 4.13; on the villas, *Epist.* 9.7).[71] A local boy (with his father) had come to greet Pliny (*uenit ad me salutandum*, 4.13.3), and the two mention that Comum lacked teachers so that the boy himself had to study in Mediolanum (4.13.3-4). Pliny notes that there happened to be quite a few fathers from the town there (*opportune complures patres audiebant*, 4.13.4). He agrees to pay a third of the cost to hire a teacher for the town. This is a carefully constructed literary scene, one where Pliny acts the part of the good patron for his town, giving them money (for a good cause) and dispensing fatherly advice. It certainly suggests, though, that the normal systems of patronage (with clients crowding the house) were operative on the scale of town and villa. Nor is this an entirely imperial development. At Cicero's villa at Formiae, his morning *salutatio* is so crowded that he writes to Atticus, "I have a basilica, not a villa" (*basilicam habeo, non uillam*, *Ad Att.* 34 [2.14].2).

Marzano used the villa of the Volusii Saturnini as an example of the close integration between town and villa,[72] and it will also serve for us as an illustration of how the domestic gymnasium could give meaning to social space and hierarchy. The villa was near the town of Lucus Feroniae (about 500m from the forum), and inscriptions record some of the actions the Volusii took on behalf of the town.[73] The villa was built during the middle of the first century BC, and a large peristyle was added during the Augustan era (see **figure 2.4**). This peristyle was originally identified as slave quarters, although Marzano has pointed out that this is highly implausible: there is no positive evidence that these were slave quarters, and the marble statues and ornate mosaics in room 41 suggest that the area was not a slave barracks.[74] Rather, the peristyle seems more likely to be an evoked gymnasium. In a larger, adjoining peristyle there was found herm-busts of Hercules, Euripides, and Menander.[75] The peristyle was highly visible from the atrium through room 7, and was designed partly with the view from the atrium in mind, to judge by the fact that the especially ornate room

---

[71] Noted also in Marzano 2007: 194-95.

[72] Marzano 2007: 179-82.

[73] On the villa itself see Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1977, Gazzetti 1997, and Sgubini Moretti 1998. On the inscriptions specifically see Sgubini Moretti 1998: 38-47.

[74] Marzano 2007: 139-44.

[75] For these see Sgubini Moretti 1998: 56-61.

41 is in the direct line of sight from the atrium.[76] Here we have a villa whose owners have clear social ties to the city. It would have only been a few minutes walk from town, if anyone came to visit the town patrons for a *salutatio* or the like. The layout of the villa is consistent the pattern we found in many domestic sites, with an atrium presenting visitors with a glimpse of an evoked gymnasium.

Figure 2.4 The Villa of the Volusii Saturnini;
Republican phase in green, Augustan phase in red (Sgubini Moretti 1998: fig. 28)

---
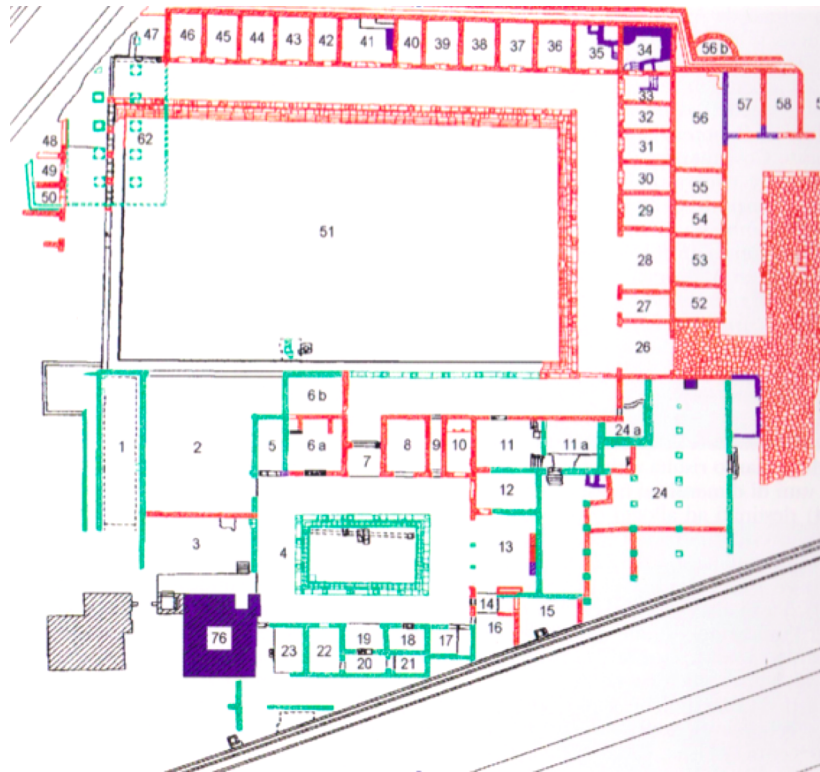
[76] Marzano (2007: 139-44) believes that room 41 was a more public space in the villa, since it has inscriptions detailing the benefits the Volusii Saturnini have conferred on the town. This may be true, although the axial view from the atrium does suggest that the use of space may be the more commonly attested pattern, in which the atrium is the more public area.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDIOSA LUXURIA:
IDEOLOGY AND MATERIALITY IN THE LIBRARY

Nam ut quidam disciplinae, sic alii uoluptati et iactantiae libros quaerunt.

-Petrarch *De Librorum Copia*

For just as some seek books for edification, others seek them for pleasure and for showing off.

When Trajan built his new forum, at its heart was a monumental library that surrounded his column and ultimately served as his final resting place. The library was built with spoils from his Dacian campaigns, and housed works of literature as well as documents necessary for law and administration. Built by military power, it was a place for the exercise of political administration. Implicated in both these manifestations of the power of Rome were the library and the authority of *paideia*. So writes Richard Neudecker in his analysis of libraries as both a symbolic and practical means of projecting power.[1]

There were stories about Pisistratus founding the first ever library, and about Xerxes taking it back to Persia with him after he sacked Athens.[2] There were also stories about Ptolemy Philadelphus acquiring the library of Aristotle, and of the upstart kingdom of Pergamum challenging Alexandria as the site of the premier library of the world—a challenge that provoked retaliation in the form of a papyrus embargo.[3] Finally, there were stories about generals like Aemilius Paullus and Sulla, who conquered the East and brought back with them the famous libraries of the conquered.[4] Yun Lee Too points to these stories as indications of the nexus between military, political, and cultural authority that

---

[1] Neudecker 2004 and (forthcoming). Balensiefen 2011 takes a similar perspective.

[2] Gellius *NA* 7.17.1-2.

[3] Philadelphus acquiring Aristotle's library: Athenaeus 1.3a-b; the rivalry over libraries between Alexandria and Pergamum: Vitruvius 7.praef.4 and Galen (15.105, 109 Kühn); the retaliation: Pliny the Elder *NH* 13.70 (he attributes the story to Varro).

[4] On Aemilius Paullus: Plutarch *Aem.* 28.11; on Sulla: Strabo 13.1.54, Plut. *Sulla* 26.1, Lucian *Adu. Ind.* 4.

recurs in ancient narratives about libraries.[5] They stand in as metaphors for the transfer, or attempted transfer, of power and authority from place to another.

Yet a certain ambivalence about libraries is also in evidence.[6] The construction of a library does not appear to have been an especially common form of civic benefaction—although it certainly does occur.[7] Libraries are frequently left out of lists (generic and specific) of praiseworthy features of cities.[8] They are mentioned surprisingly rarely in literature, and sometimes come in for criticism when they are mentioned.[9] Zadorojnyi goes into depth on Plutarch (*Luc.* 42), where the actual books of the library are played down, and Galen (*passim*[10]), who frequently sees libraries as a repository for, and even cause of, corrupt manuscripts. He suspects that Plutarch is careful to subordinate books to in-person, learned discussion, and that Galen sees libraries as untrustworthy because of the indiscriminate nature of large collections and because of their vulnerability to fire and other calamities.[11] More broadly, he suggests that "[b]ehind all this there lies a resistant awareness about making the paideutic capital contingent upon its medium and location: about entrusting software to hardware, so to speak."[12] But there is more behind what it is about the materiality of libraries that makes references to them so ambivalent, when *paideia* is so highly regarded and so thoroughly implicated in structures of power.

---

[5] Too 2010: 19-49.

[6] As pointed out by Zadorojnyi (forthcoming), who adduces the examples listed in the following two notes.

[7] E.g. Pliny the Younger built a library at Comum (*Epist.* 1.8.16 and *CIL* 5.5262), Dio Chrysostom at Prusa (Pliny *Epist.* 10.81), Celsus at Ephesus (Strocka 2003), Rogatianus at Timgad (Pfeiffer 1931).

[8] E.g. Pausanias' list of crucial elements for a polis (10.4.1), Aelius Aristides in his lament for Smyrna after an earthquake (18.6) and his description of the Pax Romana (26.97), Menander Rhetor's guidelines for praising a city (2.431.3-7) and his repeated praise for Museums but not libraries (2.392.15-18, 2.396.26-30, 2.426.26-31). Johnson (forthcoming) also argues that public libraries in particular are infrequent in our sources because they did not fit into elite sociality from which most of our sources spring.

[9] Libraries come in for criticism in Seneca (*Dial.* 9.9.4-7) and Lucian (*Adu. Ind.*) in particular, as we will see. Zadorojnyi (forthcoming) goes into depth on Plutarch (*Luc.* 42), where the actual books of the library are played down, and Galen (*passim*), who frequently sees libraries as a repository for, and even cause of, corrupt manuscripts.

[10] E.g. 14.31 Kühn (*De Antid.* 1.5); 15.105 Kühn (*In Hipp. De Nat. Hom.* 42); 17a.603, 606, 608 Kühn (*Comm. in Epid. III* 2.4).

[11] Zadorojnyi (forthcoming). On Galen's remarks about the library of Alexandria as a reflection of contemporary concerns about books, see Handis (forthcoming).

[12] Zadorojnyi (forthcoming).

Books and libraries were indeed powerful in Roman elite ideology.[13] Liberal studies (*studia*) were the means of making one cultivated (*eruditus*: "out" *e* of an "unwrought state" *rudis*), and were the hallmark of the ruling classes. And although learning the liberal studies was a process, and one ostensibly open to any person, true knowledge of liberal studies was naturalized as a quality inherent in (or at least only possible for) someone with a free (*liberalis*) nature. In the Roman worldview, liberal studies were a defining characteristic of the elite.[14]

Yet books and libraries were also physical objects, and it will be the work of this chapter to show that their very materiality had a tendency to undermine their place in elite ideology—or rather to implicate them in another strand of Roman discourse: *luxuria*. The vice of *luxuria* connoted physical pleasure achieved at great expense, and implied a certain amount of indulgence.[15] This mix made *luxuria* a counter-point to *eruditio*. Whereas a knowledge of liberal studies required the cultivation of a noble nature, luxury could be purchased by those with a base nature.[16]

Ancient libraries had within them an inherent tension, in that they were both the tools of *studia* and at the same time an indulgence in *luxuria*. Their material nature activated a discourse of *luxuria* that undermined their meaning as a mark of *studia*. That internal tension was a dangerous one, because it threatened to destabilize the value-system on which Roman elite ideology was based. In this chapter, I will use three readings to illustrate this internal tension and its implications. First, Seneca's tirade against libraries (*Dial.* 9.9.4-7) will

---

[13] I use the term "ideology" not in any highly specialized sense, but simply to refer to a prevalent set of beliefs and values— in particular to beliefs and values taken to be natural. I call this ideology "elite" because it tended to justify the existing power-relationships which benefited those who were in power—though this set of beliefs was likely also internalized by those whom we would not consider "elite" (a term purposefully vague, since it was not a monolithic group with distinct membership, as explained in the Introduction). I use the term "Roman" because this elite ideology permeated a world politically dominated by the Roman state. I do not mean to imply any kind of opposition to some "Greek" elite ideology—indeed, many figures in this elite were both Greek and Roman in some respects.

[14] Gleason 1995: xx-xxvi writes about *studia* (or rather, about *paideia*, an equivalent), as symbolic capital among the elite of the Greco-Roman world. On this subject see also the Introduction.

[15] On *luxuria* as a type of "purchased pleasure," and the association of pleasurable indulgence with the lowborn, see Edwards 1993: 173-75, 190-98.

[16] Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 315-55) argues that concerns about *luxuria* were a way of articulating anxieties about social order. He writes: "the motor behind the purchase of luxuries was seen as aspiration to social status in a hierarchically organized society, and the objections to the phenomenon lay in the perceived challenge to the hierarchy" (323).

reveal the internal tension and why it caused such anxiety. Next, a sensitivity to this tension will expose a second, and so far unnoticed, description of the library of Lucullus in Plutarch (*Luc.* 39-41), one in which Plutarch paradoxically finds fault with the very things he praises in his other description of the library (*Luc.* 42). Both Seneca and Plutarch are attempting (in different ways) to erase the tension and maintain the disparate positions of *studia* and *luxuria* in the prevalent system of meanings. Lucian's *Aduersus Indoctum*, on the other hand, plays with the inherent tension in books and undermines the attempt to separate out *studia* and *luxuria*.

I Seneca on Libraries: Excess, Use, Display, and Pleasure

In his dialogue on peace of mind, Seneca makes an attack on libraries (*Dial.* 9.9.4-7). They might seem a curious target for Seneca, himself a prolific writer and a lover of literature and philosophy, but his aim is in fact to protect books (and what they mean) from what he sees as the uneducated wealthy who abuse them. Seneca's ostensible point is that some individuals use books for display rather than edification, and that for this kind of person a library is not a sign of *studia* but rather of a kind of *studiosa luxuria* (*Dial.* 9.9.5). His rhetorical emphasis is on the distinction between use and display, but the diatribe reveals anxieties about the inherent tension within books themselves: they are both a means of erudition and at the same time expensive luxury items. As such, they are evidence both of cultural refinement and of indulgent spending. They are both the mark of a cultured elite, who cultivate their spirits with liberal studies, but also a mark of the vulgar new rich, who attempt to buy their way to being *liberalis* and *honestus*. This inherent contradiction risks destabilizing the opposition between *studia* and *luxuria*, and implicitly undermining a fundamental tenet of elite Roman ideology. Seneca's emphasis on practice, then, provides a sort of defense, a means of distinguishing true nobility from a purchased counterfeit: the cultural capital inherent in the proper use of books.

…

We will begin by looking at what Seneca reveals about the value-system in which libraries were embedded. This, in turn, will illustrate why that system is important to his worldview, and what exactly is at stake when it is threatened. First, we see how libraries are integrated into the naturalization of the idea that the noble (*liberalis*) man successfully pursues *studia* in a way that those with a servile nature cannot. Next, the connotations of royal elegance and gymnastic

education will make clear why libraries were so effective as signs of prestige. Although libraries are the target of Seneca's attack (his complaints will be detailed further on), his language is permeated with the value-system that made libraries so important to begin with.

It is fundamental to Roman ideology that liberal studies were *liberalia*—free. At the very start of the attack on libraries Seneca grants that spending on *studia* is "the most noble of expenses" (*liberalissima inpensa*, *Dial.* 9.9.4). The language is informative. The word *liberalis*, while here meaning roughly "noble" is also most directly "characteristic of a free person." Seneca, and he is not alone among Romans on this count, frequently uses value-laden distinctions between free and slave to communicate the distinction between those who have cultural refinement and those who do not. In one of his letters, Seneca recalls a certain wealthy man, Calvisius Sabinus, who had a love of the classics but a poor memory; he bought a slave who had memorized all of Homer, and another who had memorized all of Hesiod, and nine others—one for each of the lyric poets (*Epist.* 27.5-6). The purpose was so that when he was engaged in a learned discussion and forgot a line of poetry, he could call on one of his slaves to remind him. Seneca says of the man, "he had the estate and the nature of a freedman; I've never seen anyone more unsuited for prosperity (*patrimonium habebat libertini et ingenium; numquam uidi hominem beatum indecentius*, *Epist.* 27.5).[17] Calvisius Sabinus was, of course, not a freedman, but the fact that he used wealth to make up for his deficiencies in the liberal arts caused Seneca to liken him to one. Thus was the man unfit for elite status.

It was noted in the dissertation's Introduction that Roman hierarchies of rank did not always map onto hierarchies of wealth, with the result that there would be freedmen richer than the freeborn, or equestrians richer than senators. As we have seen, there was also an equation in the Roman consciousness between the liberal arts and nobility, and conversely between servile origins and an ignorance of the liberal arts. Hence we often find in Roman literature the character of the crass, wealthy freedman, like Petronius' Trimalchio.[18] Along with this character's pretensions to nobility come pretensions to knowledge of the

---

[17] It is also worth noting that one of Sabinus' acquaintances, upon hearing how much he had spent on each of the slaves, quipped "You could have bought the same number of bookcases for less" ('*minoris*' inquit '*totidem scrinia emisses*', *Epist.* 27.7).

[18] Mouritsen 2011: 109-19 discusses the figure of the vulgar freedman, and argues that it was partly a reaction to freedmen with wealth, which caused dissonance from the clash between the commonly assumed moral weakness of the servile nature and the commonly held association between prosperity and moral virtue.

liberal arts. Trimalchio can declare "Don't think that I don't care for liberal studies, I have three libraries: one Greek and the other Latin" (*ne me putes studia fastidium, tres*[19] *bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam*, Petr. *Sat.* 48.4). Narratives with the character of the upstart freedman generally reinforce the idea that there is no way for him to pass himself off as erudite (much less to be erudite in actuality); his base nature makes him fundamentally unsuited to liberal studies, and any pretensions to them are immediately transparent failures.[20]

In Seneca's tirade, he reviles library-owners who lack even a slave-level of literacy (*ignaris etiam seruilium*[21] *litterarum*, *Dial.* 9.9.5). Seneca, of course, was not unique in this regard, and it seems that Roman society as a whole had thoroughly internalized the view that the *liberal* arts were a mark of the free and that ignorance in them was the mark of a slave or freedman. This view is all the more striking in light of the fact that there were many erudite slaves and freedmen who served as teachers, doctors, library-workers, or were otherwise highly educated. Note that even in the anecdote of Calvisius Sabinus, it is the slaves who have the memory for literature that Sabinus is criticized for lacking.

Seneca also reveals the connotations of royal power bound up in the elegance and sophistication of libraries. He makes note of the library of Alexandria, saying, "Another might praise it as the most noble monument to royal affluence, as Titus Livy did, when he said that it required outstanding taste and care on the part of the kings" (*pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monumentum alius laudauerit, sicut T. Liuius, qui elegantiae regum curaeque egregium id opus ait fuisse*, *Dial.* 9.9.5). The words "most noble" (*pulcherrimum*), "elegance"

---

[19] Mueller's Teubner (and most editors) keeps the emendation to *II* by Bücheler, following Mentelius, although this seems to ruin the joke, as others have noted (see Schmeling 2011: 205).

[20] Petersen (2006 [esp. 2-10]) has called attention to the extent to which Trimalchio, a literary construct, has influenced scholarship about actual freedmen. She is right to point out how misleading it is to use him as a way to understand the beliefs and values of actual freedmen, although for our purposes he is helpful in that he is an excellent specimen of elite beliefs and prejudices.

[21] The OCT (and most editors) reads rather *puerilium litterarum*, the conjecture of Madvig. The conjecture is plausible, as one finds *pueriles litterae* in Augustine (*Contra Cresc.* 3.75.87) in reference to some verses of Virgil that children recite, and there are some similar phrases with *puerilis* together with *institutio*, *grammatica*, and *doctrina*. Yet even if *pueriles litterae* was in fact a common phrase in Seneca's time, it does not seem unlikely that he would have been playing off the phrase in this case, given the free/slave contrast that permeates much of the passage.

(*elegantiae*), and "care" (*curaeque*) stand out, but it is also worth pointing out that libraries in general had strong royal associations.

These associations would probably have colored the reception of the first proposed public library in Rome, which was planned by Julius Caesar but never built. Suetonius wrote that Caesar intended to build a public library, and entrusted Varro with the care of gathering and organizing the books (*Iul.* 44.2).[22] All that is certain about the planned library is that it was to have Greek and Latin sections making public the largest possible collection of texts (*bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, Iul.* 44.2). Since these plans were set in motion after Caesar's stay in Alexandria, it is generally believed that the royal library there inspired his ambition. In any case, the only monumental libraries at that time were the royal libraries in Alexandria, Pergamon, Antioch, and Pella (if this last still survived).[23] Suetonius' language (*maximas*) also suggests a rivalry with the universal library at Alexandria. Caesar's plans were cut short by his death, but soon Asinius Pollio succeeded in building a public library in the Atrium of Liberty.[24] Pollio's library may have been intended as a completion of Caesar's planned library, since it abutted Caesar's Forum and was known for displaying a bust of Varro (perhaps a nod to Caesar's commission).[25]

The Atrium of Liberty is the sole example of a public library built by a private citizen in the city of Rome.[26] This is partly a matter of timing: the triumviral and early Augustan era saw the end of *any* public building by individuals outside the royal family. No matter the cause, the fact that public libraries had been built by Hellenistic kings and then (almost solely) by the Caesars must have influenced the reception of these buildings. Public libraries were the benefactions of monarchs—at least until the end of the first century AD when private citizens start building them as benefactions for provincial towns.

There were also traditions about libraries as a form of royal rivalry.[27] Vitruvius saw the libraries at Pergamum and Alexandria as part of a contest

---

[22] For background on Caesar's intended library, see Dix and Houston 2006: 673-75.

[23] There were also libraries within monumental gymnasia, and the gymnastic associations of libraries will be considered presently.

[24] Pliny *NH* 7.115; 35.10. For background on Pollio's library in the Atrium of Liberty, see Dix and Houston 2006: 675-80.

[25] Location next to the *forum Iulium*: Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.8; on the bust of Varro, Pliny *NH* 7.115

[26] For background on all other public libraries in the city of Rome up until the time of Diocletian, see Dix and Houston 2006: 680-706.

[27] On these see Too 2010: 31-33.

between kings, although he wrongly believed that the Pergamene library was earlier (7.praef.4). The elder Pliny knew of the same tradition (*NH* 13.70), although he was not so sure of which monarch made his library first (*NH* 35.10). Tertullian believed that the library of Alexandria had originally been founded in emulation of the library of Pisistratus, and Isidore follows him on the matter (Tert. *Apol.* 18.5; Isid. *Orig.* 6.3.3-5).

Libraries were not just associated with royal power, but also with Greek gymnasia—a matter that Seneca seems to allude to. As we saw Chapter One, there is widespread inscriptional evidence of libraries in Greek gymnasia during the second and first centuries BC. In Rome, it was fashionable to evoke the world of the Greek gymnasium in the peristyle gardens of domiciles, and the presence of a library was conceptually central to these "domestic gymnasia," as I argued in Chapter Two. Baths had become increasingly important and prominent within gymnasia,[28] and Seneca's reference to libraries "in between one kind of bath and another" (*inter balnearia et thermas*, *Dial.* 9.9.7) suggests that he is referring to an evoked gymnasium. As we saw in the previous chapter, these evoked gymnasia were associated with literature, philosophy, and a kind of cultivated leisure.

The previous pages have given some indication of the place occupied by libraries in Roman thought, as found in Seneca's own words. The terms relating to the library are "most noble" (*liberalissima*), "more respectably" (*honestius*), "finest" (*pulcherrimum*), "taste" (*elegentiae*), and "careful attention" (*curae*). Notice that all of the above words imply taste and nobility rather than the crass value of what was spent to achieve them, or the aesthetic pleasure one might derive from them as visual objects. Given all of the above, one could almost miss that Seneca is *attacking* libraries.

Seneca's main points are as follows. Libraries are an *excess* of books, in that there are more books than one can possibly read. If books are not read, they are simply display pieces. Display pieces are a purchased source of (visual) pleasure. The implication of all this is that there is a resulting perversion, wherein the lazy can make pretenses to being educated because of their décor, and wherein *studia* are merely a form of sensual *luxuria*. Seneca uses practice to drive a rhetorical wedge between *studia* and *luxuria*, and to reassert their respective places in elite ideology. What he is actually fighting against, however, is the physical nature of books and the implications of this materiality. Books are (often) beautiful, and available to anyone with money for the purpose of pleasure or display. The more numerous and more expensive they are, the more

---

[28] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 175-79.

problematic they become for those would prefer to keep *studia* and *luxuria* comfortably separate.

The foundation of the argument is based on contrasting moderation with excess: "Spending on liberal studies too, which is the most noble kind of spending there is, has a purpose only so long as it has a measure" (*Studiorum quoque quae liberalissima inpensa est tam diu rationem habet quam diu modum, Dial.* 9.9.4). An excess of books is quite literally use-less, since one cannot use them all. As Seneca says, "Why have countless books and libraries, when the master of the house could scarcely read through all of their title-slips in his entire life?" (*Quo innumerabiles libros et bybliothecas, quarum dominus uix tota uita indices perlegit? Dial.* 9.9.4). Unused books are little more than display pieces with liberal pretensions. "The library that burned at Alexandria had 40,000 books . . . yet it wasn't sophistication and diligence, but rather scholarly luxury—and not even scholarly, since it had been instituted not for study but for spectacle" (*Quadraginta milia librorum Alexandriae arserunt . . . non fuit elegantia illud aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria, immo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium sed in spectaculum comparauerant,* 9.9.5). Thus Seneca compares the famous library to the books of those who lack even a slave's level of literacy, for whom books are not instruments of study but ornaments for the dining hall (*sicut plerisque ignaris etiam seruilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt, Dial.* 9.9.5). Seneca concludes the argument with the advice to "Spend on books whatever is sufficient, but not a penny on display" (*Paretur itaque librorum quantum satis sit, nihil in apparatum, Dial.* 9.9.5). When Serenus interjects that money is better spent on *studia* than on Corinthian-ware and paintings, Seneca rejoins that "anything is deleterious when it is excessive" (*Vitiosum est ubique quod nimium est, Dial.* 9.9.6). While immoderation itself could be criticized, Seneca goes further to argue that an excess of books has no use—or at least no use for a reader. Books can be put to other uses, to which Seneca proceeds:

> Quid habes cur ignoscas homini armaria <e> citro atque ebore captanti, corpora conquirenti aut ignotorum auctorum aut inprobatorum et inter tot milia librorum oscitanti, cui uoluminum suorum frontes maxime placent titulique?
>
> -Seneca *Dialogi* 9.9.6

> Why would you pardon a man who tries to get bookshelves of citron-wood and ivory, a man who seeks the works of unknown or unapproved authors and is idle among so many thousands of books? Why would you pardon a man to whom the exteriors of his scrolls and their title-slips are most pleasing?

Seneca's imagined book-abuser has a library that is full of aesthetically satisfying apparatus, and the physical beauty of these objects undermine the ideological place of libraries and *studia* by implicating them in the discourse of *luxuria*. The bookshelves are made of citron and ivory—a combination that regularly occur together as examples of luxury materials. Pliny the Elder, for instance, writes of "luxury, whose power is evidently the greatest and most efficacious, since forests are combed for citron and ivory" (. . . *luxuriae, cuius efficacissima uis sentitur atque maxima, cum ebori, citro silvae exquirantur, NH* 5.12).[29] The mention of unknown and unapproved authors suggests the idea of a *collection*, and the pursuit of rare items. Again, the focus is on the books as physical objects. The sheer number of books is remarkable, and their uselessness is highlighted by the pointed mention of the lazy (*oscitanti*) owner who does not do the work of cultivating *studia*. Finally, the climax of the sentence is that this is the sort of man to whom the *exterior* features of the book are especially pleasing. This is not the place to go in too much depth into the aesthetics of the Roman book, but for the present we can mention a few exterior features that were prized, such as golden or ivory knobs, neatly trimmed edges on the papyrus or parchment, and purple slipcovers. As Seneca presents it, a large collection of books is a sign of *luxuria* rather than *studia*, since the books are enjoyed for their material characteristics rather than for their contents.

An implication of Seneca's perspective is that not only are such displays available to *anyone* with money, but that as a form of pleasure, they will be especially common among those who put no labor into liberal studies, indulge in *luxuria*, and at the same time have liberal pretensions: "Among the laziest sort of men, therefore, you'll see everything that exists of speeches and histories, book

---

[29] See also Cato the Elder (fr. 185 *ORF* Malcovati): "I can speak to those who have villas and houses built up and fantastically polished with citron-wood and ivory and Punic marble" (*dicere possum quibus uillae atque aedes aedificatae atque expolitae maximo opere citro atque ebore atque pauimentis Poenicis sient*); Apuleius (*Met.* 2.19.1): "Couches gleaming with citron-wood and ivory" (*opipares citro et ebore nitentes lecti . . .*); Apuleius (*Met.* 5.1.3): "For golden columns support the lofty ceiling-panels marvelously carved from citron-wood and ivory" (*Nam summa laquearia citro et ebore curiose cauata subeunt aureae columnae . . .*).

cases built all the way up to the ceiling. Already in between one kind of baths and another, a library too is embellished as a necessary adornment for the home" (*Apud desidiosissimos ergo uidebis quidquid orationum historiarumque est, tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta; iam enim inter balnearia et thermas bybliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur, Dial.* 9.9.7). The lazy (*desidiosissimos*) do not put in the necessary work to refine themselves—it is in fact their library that is polished (*bybliotheca . . . expolitur*).

In some ways, it is not surprising to see a sophisticated luxury item become associated with crass spending rather than good taste. An item that is a mark of sophistication will naturally draw those seeking status, a group will be associated with bad taste by those who already have some measure of status.[30] Libraries are supposed to be different though—at least this is the sentiment expressed by Serenus, Seneca's interlocutor in the dialogue. "Wealth is more respectably used up on this (a library) than on Corinthian-ware and painted tablets" ('*Honestius*' *inquis* '*hoc se inpensae quam in Corinthia pictasque tabulas effuderint*', 9.9.6). Corinthian bronze was probably an alloy of gold, silver, and copper; it was mostly used to make small statuettes, vessels, and utensils.[31] Corinthian bronze was extremely expensive, and it comes up a striking number of times in discourse about vulgar spending.[32] Corinthian bronze itself was not considered vulgar: on the contrary, it was a high-end luxury item, and Pliny the Younger writes about being excited to get a piece (*Epist.* 3.6). Rather, it was an item that was extremely vulnerable to being caught up in discourse about *luxuria*.

Trimalchio, yet again, provides the perfect illustration of the man who spends above his ability to appreciate his acquisitions:

> ait Trimalchio: 'solus sum qui uera Corinthea habeam.' [a joke here follows about how his bronze-man is named "Corinthus," which is why he alone has true Corinthian bronze] . . . et ne me putetis nesapium esse, ualde bene scio, unde primum Corinthea nata sint. cum Ilium captum est, Hannibal, homo uafer et magnus stelio,

---

[30] For more on this see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 315-29.

[31] On Corinthian bronze in general (history, physical properties, value, etc.) see Jacobson and Weitzman 1992.

[32] Examples of Corinthian bronze in discourse on vulgar spending: relating to greed (Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.46, 83, 176; 2.4.1, 58, 91, 131; *Rosc. Am.* 133); extravagance (Sen. *Dial.* 10.12.2; Suet. *Aug.* 70.2; *Tib.* 34.1); as a motivation for proscribing someone (Plin. *NH* 34.6; Suet. *Aug.* 70.2).

omnes statuas aeneas et aureas et argenteas in unum rogum congessit et eas incendit; factae sunt in unum aera miscellanea.

-Petronius *Satyricon* 50.2, 5

Trimalchio said, "I'm the only one who has true Corinthian bronze [a joke here follows about how his bronze-man is named "Corinthus," which is why he alone has true Corinthian bronze] . . . And don't think I'm an idiot, I know well where Corinthian bronze comes from. When Troy was taken, Hannibal (a crafty man and a total snake), well he heaped up all the bronze and gold and silver statues into one pyre and burned them up, and they became a single mixed bronze.

Trimalchio gives the story behind the term "Corinthian bronze" so that he should not appear lacking in sophistication (*nesapium*—a hapax that seems to be a rather un-sophisticated way to describe a lack of sophistication). Having a knowledge of appropriate anecdotes from history and literature was an important feature of elite conversation. As it happens, Trimalchio conflates Mummius, the Roman general who sacked Corinth in 146 BC, and Hannibal, the Carthaginian general who sacked Saguntum in 219 BC. He also confuses the sack of Corinth and the fall of Troy. This is, obviously, a travesty of Roman erudition.

Pliny the Elder writes that Corinthian-ware was highly fashionable, but he seems to believe that most collectors were more-or-less charlatans making a pretense of connoisseurship.[33] Pliny places the origins of Corinthian-ware in the sack of Corinth in 146 BC, and points out that many collectors claimed to have pieces by artists who had died long before then (*NH* 34.7). Both Petronius and Pliny, then, have narratives that associate Corinthian-ware with buyers that have vast amounts of money but no real knowledge or taste. The observation of Serenus, that libraries are a more respectable expenditure, suggests that there should be a contrast with Corinthian-ware and its connotations of extravagance and failed pretensions at knowledge and culture. A book should be an object that

---

[33] "And the greater part of them seem to me to be simply faking connoisseurship to separate themselves out from the others, rather than actually understanding anything with any sophistication" (*ac mihi maior pars eorum simulare eam scientiam uidetur ad segregandos sese a ceteris magis quam intellegere aliquid ibi suptilius, NH* 34.6).

inculcates its own proper appreciation. The observation of Serenus is one that Seneca disputes.

Seneca presents his complaint along the following lines: "We are accustomed to keep display (*pompa*) at a distance, and to measure the uses (*usus*) of things, not their trappings (*ornamenta*)."[34] In the course of the diatribe though, it becomes clear that his concern with use and display has at its root two chief concerns. The first is that libraries as physical things are a source of pleasure-for-purchase (*luxuria*), and the second is that this pleasure is especially liable to be purchased by unrefined individuals who wish to appear cultivated, that is, they are liable to abuse by the uneducated wealthy (the bogey-man of the upstart freedman). Each of these concerns is a symptom of the way that the materiality of the library complicates the Roman worldview by implicating libraries in the discourse of *luxuria* rather than the discourse of *studia*. Even worse, libraries are not just implicated in the discourse of *studia* rather than *luxuria*, they suggest that the two categories are not so distinct as they should be. The underlying anxiety would be that studies are not liberal but venal, not associated with edifying labor but with soft indulgence. If this is the case, the fundamental worldview of the Roman elite (and probably the Roman world in general) is entirely undermined.

By separating out practice from possession, Seneca can make the case that the value of the physical objects themselves is not connected to the value of use. In fact, although Seneca's attack on libraries might at first glance seem to undermine some of the fundamental tenets of the Roman ideology of liberal studies, his insistence on use reinforces them. Seneca shores up the straw man of the upstart freedman by asserting a separation between *studia* and the accoutrements of *studia*. The accoutrements can be bought, but a Trimalchio will always be shown up by his lack of cultural capital.

II Plutarch and the Paradox of Lucullus' Library

Seneca employed a rhetoric of practice as a means of undoing the contradictions in Roman ideology caused by the materiality of books and libraries. Seneca's strategy may seem natural and indeed justifiable: some people do simply use books as display pieces, and they may well be shown up by their lack of cultural capital. Plutarch will find a different way to handle the instability, and one that will seem much less natural.

...

---

[34] *Adsuescamus a nobis remouere pompam et usus rerum, non ornamenta metiri* (*Dial.* 9.9.2).

Lucius Licinius Lucullus was a titan of the Late Republic. A supporter of Sulla, he rose through the *cursus honorum* to become consul in 74 BC. In the late 70s and early 60s BC, he took the lead in the campaigns against Mithradates of Pontus. Although Pompey superseded him in command and won the final victory over Mithradates, Lucullus' military successes made him fabulously wealthy and earned him a triumph in 63 BC.

Lucullus' extravagant lifestyle was even more legendary than his wealth or his military career.[35] Plutarch writes that one time after a certain senator had given a hypocritical speech about frugality, another yelled out: "Could you just stop ... being rich like Crassus, living like Lucullus, yet talking like Cato?" (Οὐ παύσῃ . . . σὺ πλουτῶν μὲν ὡς Κράσσος, ζῶν δὲ ὡς Λεύκολλος, λέγων δ᾽ ὡς Κάτων; *Luc.* 40.3). It was no small feat to become a proverbial "type," as famous for his lifestyle as Crassus for his riches or Cato for his sanctimonious severity.

When Plutarch treats Lucullus' lifestyle (*Luc.* 39-42), his take on Lucullus' library is an island of approbation in a sea of opprobrium.[36] We will see that the library, which was clearly lavish, escapes the criticism Plutarch elsewhere levels against his lifestyle. In particular, Plutarch criticizes Lucullus in regards to his eating habits and extravagance private building—both of which are mainstays of moralists.[37] Plutarch did not use the word *luxuria* of course, but rather terms like τρυφή (e.g. *Luc.* 38.4, 39.2, 40.2). Yet he is clearly articulating a similar concept, a kind of purchased pleasure associated with a lowborn nature. Plutarch says of Lucullus' meals, for instance, that he ate like the newly rich (Νεόπλουτα . . . τὰ δεῖπνα, *Luc.* 40.1). In fact, "he made himself the envy of the vulgar" (ζηλωτὸν ἀνελευθέροις ποιοῦντος ἑαυτόν, *Luc.* 40.1). The word I am translating as "vulgar" here, ἀνελεύθερος, means most literally "unfree"—though it also clearly characterizes poor taste. The reference to "newly rich," νεόπλουτα, also suggests the kind of pleasure that the lowborn indulge in when the come into money. It would be easy enough to see Lucullus as another Calvisius Sabinus—not a freedman, obviously, but most certainly a man with a freedman's nature.

In fact, his library is put into direct contrast with the rest of his lifestyle. After closing his remarks about Lucullus' lifestyle by commenting that he had used his wealth arrogantly (ὑβριστικῶς ἐχρῆτο τῷ πλούτῳ, *Luc.* 41.7),

---

[35] On Lucullus' reputation for a luxurious lifestyle see Tröster 2008: 49-76.

[36] On Plutarch's characterization of Lucullus more broadly see Swain 1990: 143-45 and 1992, and Tröster 2008.

[37] Edwards 1993: 137-72.

Plutarch adds: "But the things concerning his library are worthy of respect and esteem" (Σπουδῆς δ᾽ ἄξια καὶ λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων κατασκευήν, *Luc.* 42.1). It is not hard to see what makes Lucullus' library so praise-worthy: it is open to all (especially visiting Greeks), Lucullus himself spends time there with the those interested in literature and oratory, and in particular he was an active participant in the world of philosophy.

Plutarch begins by writing that "the book-rooms were open to all, and the surrounding walkways and leisure-rooms received the Greeks with no hindrance, as if into some hotel of the Muses" (ἀνειμένων πᾶσι τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων καὶ σχολαστηρίων ἀκωλύτως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὥσπερ εἰς Μουσῶν τι καταγώγιον, *Luc.* 42.1). As we saw in Chapter One, this passage was crucial in the erroneous formulation of what constituted a "Greek library." It is better to understand what Plutarch is describing as a domestic gymnasium. As we saw in the previous chapter, there was a trend in the first century BC (and for at least a hundred years after) to evoke the world of the Greek gymnasium within the domestic sphere. In these domestic gymnasia, βιβλιοθῆκαι (whether rooms or shelves holding books) were conceptually central, if physically marginal. The main architectural feature was a central peristyle garden surrounded by colonnades (περίπατοι) and recessed rooms looking through the colonnade and into the garden (here σχολαστήρια). Such domestic gymnasia also tended to have adjoining bathing-suites, as we saw Seneca complain about.

Lucullus made the complex available to "all," whatever that means, and specifically to visiting Greeks.[38] There are hints in the description that Lucullus is not dissimilar to a Ptolemy presiding over the Museum. The library itself is likened to "some hotel of the muses" (Μουσῶν τι καταγώγιον, *Luc.* 42.1), and Plutarch adds that Lucullus' "house was basically a home base and Greek *prytaneion* for those coming to Rome" (ὅλως ἑστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ οἶκος ἦν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ῥώμην, *Luc.* 42.2). The *prytaneium* at Athens was where honored guests received meals at public expense, not dissimilar to the Museum where it was known that scholars were fed at public expense.[39]

---

[38] There is a tradition of taking this to mean that it was, in effect, a public library; Lipsius (*De Bibl.* 5.2) and Edwards (1859: 26) were especially influential in this regard. More likely this was just a hyperbolic way of saying that Lucullus was generous in regards to who could use it. For some of the foreign friends of Lucullus, see Tröster 2005.

[39] See, e.g., Strabo 17.1.8.

Plutarch adds that Lucullus "himself often spent his leisure there, charging into the walkways to the scholars, and he helped the statesmen with whatever they might need" (πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλων εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους τοῖς φιλολόγοις, καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συνέπραττεν ὅτου δέοιντο, *Luc.* 42.2). Unlike the imagined ignorant man with liberal pretensions who has books but lacks cultural capital, Lucullus has a properly cultivated leisure time, and is authoritative enough to help the guests of his library with whatever they need. Plutarch remarks that Lucullus enjoyed all philosophy, but especially the so-called Old Academy, and made a special point to befriend Antiochus of Ascalon and partnered with him in debates against the followers of Philo and the New Academy (42.2-3). Lucullus participates in discussions on literature, oratory (perhaps what the "statesmen" are interested in?), and philosophy.

The contrast between Lucullus and Seneca's imagined book-abuser could not be stronger. And yet, there is no doubt in Plutarch that Lucullus' library was luxurious. Plutarch began the passage by noting that "he gathered together many beautifully-written books . . ." (πολλὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καλῶς συνῆγεν, 42.1). As noted above, even the exteriors of books could be aesthetically pleasing, but there was even more to a beautiful book than its outside. William Johnson has shown, for instance, how large margins, which were expensive because of the extra papyrus or parchment needed, were seen as aesthetically pleasing.[40] The script was also visually important, and Johnson points out how in the Edict of Diocletian (col. 7 41-43) having a copy made in the best book hand cost two and a half times more than a copy in a documentary script.[41] In addition, rolls might be composed of papyrus treated with cedar, and might have neatly trimmed edges, center-rods of precious materials (like gold or ivory), and luxurious purple slipcovers. Obviously, all of this could come only at great expense, and so Plutarch's statement implicitly communicates how *expensive* Lucullus' library was. The books were beautifully written (γεγραμμένα καλῶς), which indicates that they were expensive, and they were numerous (πολλά), which obviously multiplies the cost.

Plutarch also makes mention of the book-rooms themselves (τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν), and the colonnades surrounding them (τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων), and the leisure rooms (σχολαστηρίων). As noted above, Plutarch is imagining the place as an evoked gymnasium. The architectural

---

[40] Johnson 2010: 17-22.
[41] Johnson 2010: 21.

features alone required an enormous amount of domestic space, and the area would typically be filled with paintings, statuary, and landscape features similarly intended to evoke the gymnasium. The luxurious experience of such a pleasure-park should not be underestimated—nor should its expense.

That Plutarch did not criticize the library is all the more striking because he had been so critical of the way that Lucullus used his wealth in regards to other matters. Many scholars have seen a glancing criticism of Lucullus in regards to his library. After noting those many beautifully written books, Plutarch added that "their use was φιλοτιμοτέρα than their acquisition" (ἥ τε χρῆσις ἦν φιλοτιμοτέρα τῆς κτήσεως, 42.1). Perrin's Loeb gives a typical (if now a bit old-fashioned) translation of the phrase as: "and his use of them [the books] was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them." The implication of such a reading would be that Lucullus acquired the books in some dishonorable fashion. The example of Sulla comes to mind: he plundered the Greek world of its treasures and seized the library of Apellicon (Strabo 13.1.54, Plut. *Sulla* 26).[42] This suspicion would seem to be confirmed by Isidore of Seville, who wrote that Lucullus made his library *e Pontica praeda* (*Orig.* 6.5.1).[43] That Lucullus' library was composed of books plundered in his Pontic campaign has become a truism of scholarship.[44]

There is a problem, however, in that the word φιλοτιμοτέρα does not mean "loving honor" so much as "loving to receive honors," that is, "ambitious." If Lucullus' use of the books was not "more honorable" but rather "more ambitious," then his acquisition of them was similarly not being characterized by how honorable it was, but rather by how much effort he put into it. Plutarch was not saying that Lucullus acquired many beautiful books through some dishonest means, but that his use of them was honorable; rather, he was saying that

---

[42] E.g., Dix 2000: 442, "His (Plutarch's) next statement, however, that the use of Lucullus' library was more honorable than its acquisition, suggests that Plutarch may have found in his source some indication of a controversy about the library's acquisition."

[43] Isidore does not seem to intend his *e Pontica praeda* to mean that Lucullus built the library out of funds coming from the spoils. Cf. Pliny *NH* 7.115, which states that Asinius Pollio constructed the first public library at Rome *ex manubiis* (*in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est*).

[44] See, e.g., Dziatzko *RE* s.v. Bibliotheken (vol. 3.1, col. 416); Callmer 1944: 154; Strocka 1981: 307; Dix 1986: 72-73 and 2000: 442 (although he expresses more circumspection than most and grants that the books may have been purchased); Fedeli 1988: 33; Carena, Manfredini, and Piccirilli 1990: 339; Blanck 1992: 146; Casson 2001: 69; Staikos 2005: 74 (who reads the "beautifully written books" as being purchased, but suspects that the "nucleus of the library" was books taken as spoils); Too 2010: 42, 227-28; Zadorojnyi (forthcoming).

Lucullus put his energy into gathering the finest books, and put even more energy into using them. His acquisition of the books, it should be noted, was most likely by purchase. There is no good evidence that Lucullus took the books as spoils of war. Neither Plutarch nor anyone else in antiquity ever mentions him doing so. Isidore, writing in the seventh century AD, was probably just drawing an inference. Moreover, Plutarch himself suggests at an earlier point in the *Life* that the books (and other luxury items) of Lucullus were bought with the wealth he acquired as booty.[45] The matter is not a minor quibble, since there is a long-standing belief within the scholarly community that books in Rome were seen as spoils of war. Indeed, the idea is central to both Neudecker and Too in their understanding of the relationship between libraries and power.

The idea itself is not a new one. Lipsius seems to have believed that the books for Pollio's Atrium of Liberty were taken as spoils from the Dalmatians (*De Bibl.* 5.5, 6.1). He seems to have been misreading Pliny (*NH* 7.115), who wrote that the library and renovation of the Atrium of Liberty were funded from the spoils of that campaign.[46] In 1838, Gustav Parthey argued that the books of the library of Alexandria could only have burned if they had been moved to the harbor from their normal place in the Museum. Caesar, he tentatively suggested, was planning to bring the books to Rome and parade them in his triumph.[47] Lipsius was clearly wrong on the matter, and Parthey's speculative idea has been generally ignored, but the general idea of books as spoils recurs regularly. The case is usually built on the examples of Aemilius Paullus, who let his sons take the books of King Perseus when he took Pella in 168 BC (Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 28.11), and Sulla, who seized of the library of Apellicon after sacking Athens in 86 BC (Strabo 13.1.54, Plut. *Sulla* 26.1)—in addition, of course, to the case of Lucullus. In the case of Aemilius Paullus, it is not even clear that there was a library at Pella, much less that Paullus brought a whole library back with him as spoils. Plutarch simply says that Paullus allowed his sons to take the king's books because they were lovers of literature.[48] In any case, the two examples are less

---

[45] "It was on these (the expenditures on his villas) that he lavishly used up the wealth, of which he had acquired a magnificent abundance from his military campaigns." (εἰς ταῦτα τῷ πλούτῳ ῥύδην καταχρώμενος, ὃν ἠθροίκει πολὺν καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, *Luc.* 39.2). Likewise, the worthiness of the creation of the library is explicitly contrasted to how he spent his wealth (ἐχρῆτο τῷ πλούτῳ, 41.7) on dining.

[46] Lipsius also believed that the library in the Portico of Octavia was likewise built from Dalmatian spoils, based on a similar misreading of Cassius Dio (49.43.8).

[47] Parthey 1838: 32.

[48] μόνα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι τοῖς υἱέσιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι (Plut. *Aem.* 28.11).

than enough evidence to make the case that books and libraries were thought of especially as spoils of war.

Recently, three authors have (apparently independently) made arguments about the books as spoils being a connection between *paideia* and power. Paolo Fedeli wrote that Roman private libraries were, in origin, all built from the spoils of war.[49] Richard Neudecker saw in public libraries an articulation of state power, in that they were either composed of or funded from the spoils of war.[50] Yun Lee Too saw libraries as symbolic as well as physical spoils of war: the transfer of culture and authority from the Greek East to the Roman West.[51] Although we have to doubt how direct the connection was between books and plunder, all three authors are right to see the close ties between libraries and power. A better line of inquiry might be the connection between Lucullus' library (in Plutarch) and the Great Library of Alexandria.

Not long before Plutarch was writing of Lucullus, Josephus wrote of Ptolemy:

> Εὗρον τοίνυν ὅτι Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος, μάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίων συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας, ἐξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλεῖν . . .

-Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 1.10-11

> I discovered that the second Ptolemy, a king who was especially passionate about *paideia* and the collecting of books, was particularly ambitious in his project of translating into the Greek language our law and the constitution of our state in accordance with the law . . .

It is not necessarily the case that Plutarch had seen this passage of Josephus. The words that recur (σπουδῆς/σπουδάσας, συνῆγεν/συναγωγήν, φιλοτιμοτέρα/ἐφιλοτιμήθη) could easily be used independently for anyone establishing a library. While it is possible that Plutarch had the example of

---

[49] Fedeli 1988: 31-33.
[50] Neudecker 2004. He is right that public libraries were generally funded from war plunder, but that is also the case with a great deal of monumental public building in Rome.
[51] Too 2010: 40-44.

Josephus' Ptolemy Philadelphus in mind, it may be more interesting if the two authors independently used the same language about ambition to describe the creation of a library.[52] We find the same language in Galen to describe the acquisition of libraries by kings. He writes: "Before there were the kings in Alexandria and Pergamum, who were ambitious about the acquisition of old books, no work was ever falsely titled" (πρὶν γὰρ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τε καὶ Περγάμῳ γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς, ἐπὶ κτήσει παλαιῶν βιβλίων φιλοτιμηθέντας, οὐδέπω ψευδῶς ἐπεγέγραπτο σύγγραμμα, 15.105 Kühn). In a different place, he writes of the time when the Attalids and Ptolemies were in an ambitious rivalry with one another over the acquisition of books (ἐν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκοὺς βασιλέας χρόνῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμουμένους περὶ κτήσεως βιβλίων . . . , 15.109 Kühn). And in another, he writes that some said Ptolemy became so ambitious about books (φιλότιμον δὲ περὶ βιβλία τὸν <τό>τε[53] βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου Πτολεμαῖον οὕτω γενέσθαι, 17a.606 Kühn) that he confiscated any books found on ships entering Alexandria, had copies made of them, and returned only the copies to the owners.

In fact, the language of ambition becomes a standard part of the story of Alexandria, and recurs in Irenaeus (*Adu. Haer.* 3.31; quoted in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 5.8.11 and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus *Hist. Eccl.* 4.14), Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 1.22.148), Olympiadorus (*Prolegomena* p. 13), Elias (*Commentary on Aristotle's Topics* p. 128), and Zonaras (*epitome* 1-12 v. 1 p. 307). Many of these authors were copying from one another, but each found the language of ambition suitable for an explanation of the library, and each iteration reinforced the idea. The language of ambition in regards to royal libraries and rivalries over libraries are evidence of a strong connection between libraries and power, even political power, but it is not the connection that has generally been seen to campaigning and the spoils of war.

Returning to Plutarch, his ambitious acquisition and use of his books should not be read as a criticism—which is striking, given that everything else about his lifestyle and living arrangements were the cause of reproach by Plutarch. In transitioning from Lucullus' public career to his lifestyle, Plutarch

---

[52] See also Josephus *Ant. Iud.* 12.16: "So the king thought that Demetrius made an excellent suggestion for him in his ambition for an abundance of books, and he wrote to the high priest of the Judeans to do this " (δόξας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστα τὸν Δημήτριον φιλοτιμουμένῳ περὶ πλῆθος αὐτῷ βιβλίων ὑποτίθεσθαι γράφει τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι).

[53] τὸν <τό>τε is Wenkebach's emendation (in his 1936 Teubner) for the τόν τε in Kühn.

commented that "In the life of Lucullus, just like in Old Comedy, one reads first of political and military affairs, then later of drinking and dinners and basically rioting and torch-races and all kinds of childishness" (Ἔστι δ᾿ οὖν τοῦ Λευκόλλου βίου καθάπερ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ἀναγνῶναι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολιτείας καὶ στρατηγίας, τὰ δ᾿ ὕστερα πότους καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ μονονουχὶ κώμους καὶ λαμπάδας καὶ παιδιὰν ἅπασαν, *Luc.* 39.1). In fact, shortly before describing the library Plutarch specifically critizes Lucullus' private building projects. He marked out for specific censure the "furnishings of his colonnades" (κατασκευὰς περιπάτων, *Luc.* 39.2). We must suspect that he is referring to the colonnades of the gymnasium area specifically, since he refers to "the furnishings of the colonnades and the baths, and even more so the paintings and statues" (κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γραφὰς καὶ ἀνδριάντας, *Luc.* 39.2). The description is evidently of a domestic gymnasium, and so Plutarch is either censuring the exact colonnades that he is just about to praise or else colonnades very much like them.[54] In fact, we can even say that the former is more likely, to judge by a curious doublet in the text.

Recall that in Plutarch's description of the library, he wrote that Lucullus would receive Greeks when they traveled to the area (τοὺς Ἕλληνας . . . ἐκεῖσε φοιτῶντας), with it specified further that these are Greeks coming to Rome (τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ῥώμην). The library itself was like a hotel (ὥσπερ εἰς . . . τι καταγώγιον), and was basically a home base and *prytaneium* (καὶ ὅλως ἑστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον). Lucullus did not just let guests use his books, a trip to his library also included dining in Lucullan style. The language is reminiscent of an anecdote told just previously:

> λέγεται γὰρ Ἕλληνας ἀνθρώπους ἀναβάντας εἰς Ῥώμην
> ἑστιᾶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς δ᾿ ὄντως Ἑλληνικόν τι

---

[54] Incidentally, this also may reveal the location of Lucullus' library. Plutarch specifies that he is speaking of the *Horti Lucullani* in Rome when he criticizes the colonnades (*Luc.* 39.2), if I am correct that these are the same colonnades praised in 42.1, then the *Horti Lucullani* is where we should place his library. Granted, this is simply where Plutarch thought the library was, but he may well be correct about the matter, if he had access to information from Cicero's lost *Hortensius*, which had the library of Lucullus as its setting. It has previously been assumed that the library was in a Tusculan villa, since Lucullus' son later had a library there (Cic. *De Fin.* 3.2-3). While this is possible, the passage does put the library in Rome specifically. On libraries as part of evoked gymnasia, see Chapter Two. One other comparandum for a library in "gardens" is the *Horti Seruiliani*, which an inscription (28 Väänänen) suggests may have had a library in imperial times.

παθόντας, αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι τὴν κλῆσιν, ὡς δι᾽ αὑτοὺς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τοσούτων ἀναλισκομένων·

-Plutarch *Lucullus* 41.2

For it is said that when some Greeks came to Rome, he hosted them for many days. They, feeling something Greeks really would, began to be ashamed and refuse his invitations, since such a great fortune was being spent on them every day.

Lucullus responds to their discomfort by declaring that while some amount was being spent on their account, most of it was being spent on his own. The first anecdote (where Plutarch is critical of Lucullus) is told as a specific instance, and the second (where he is laudatory) seems to be a generalized version of the same. Several Greeks (Ἕλληνας 41.2, 42.1), who have made their way to Rome (εἰς Ῥώμην 41.2, 42.2), enjoy Lucullus' hospitality (ἑστιᾶν 41.2, ἑστία 42.2), with a large expense implied for the host (τοσούτων ἀναλισκομένων 41.2, πᾶσι . . . πρυτανεῖον 42.1, 2). What is perhaps most interesting about this anecdote is that the very thing that Plutarch censures in 41.2 is exactly what he praises in 42.1-2: lavishly receiving Greek guests. In the first instance it is brought up as an example of Lucullus' self-satisfaction at his extravagant lifestyle (his *paidia*, according to *Luc.* 39.1) and in the second it is an example of his dedication to *paideia* (as mentioned at *Luc.* 1.5).

Plutarch, then, actually treats the library of Lucullus *twice* in his account of his lifestyle—although this has not, to my knowledge, been noticed. The doublet would seem to be a strategy for dealing with way that the materiality of the library causes a confusion of categories between *studia* and *luxuria*. Seneca, faced with the same problem, made it an issue of practice: the physical trappings of *studia* become a form of *luxuria* for those base individuals who did not make good use of them. Plutarch, on the other hand, turns a single account into two seemingly separate incidences. In the first, Lucullus' entertainment of a group of Greeks is an example of his profligacy. The activities of the story are centered around eating and private building—both activities frequently used by the Romans as a locus for projecting anxieties about wealth.[55] In the second version, Lucullus' entertainment of Greeks in general was a feature of his library. The activities of this story are centered around the cultivation of a knowledge of

---

[55] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 335, Edwards 1993: 137-72.

literature, oratory, and philosophy. The complications stemming from the materiality of the library cause the very same colonnades to be censured as decadent indulgence and praised as the setting for literary discussion.

III "The Foolish Among Mortals Make a Mockery of Themselves"[56]: Lucian and the Ignorant Book-Collector

I have argued that the instability in the Roman worldview provoked by the materiality of the library caused Seneca and Plutarch to attempt to keep *studia* and *luxuria* separate—which each did in his own way. Seneca emphasized practice and the idea that the upstart freedman is easily recognized as such; Plutarch made two versions of Lucullus' library, one that was all luxury and one that was all study. Plutarch's account of the library of Lucullus makes clear that use does not just involve reading books, but being able to participate in discussions based on those books. In short, *paideia* must be performed, a fact that did not escape the notice of Lucian of Samosata. Lucian's ignorant book-collector is at first glance a Trimalchio figure who reinforces the distinction between *studia* and *luxuria*. But Lucian does not let his audience off so easily, and his monologue delights in undermining the idea the practice really can keep the two apart.

...

If *paideia* must be performed, what happens when a performance falls short? In that case, the library undermines its very function as a sign of the owner's symbolic capital. Essentially, having a library communicates certain things and stakes a claim to participation in the culture of *paideia*. Lucian's ignorant book-collector is the ultimate example of the library undermining the very symbolic capital that its owner is hoping to acquire. The monologue begins with the Speaker saying, "Actually, right now you're doing the exact opposite of what you mean to do" (Καὶ μὴν ἐναντίον ἐστὶν οὗ ἐθέλεις ὃ νῦν ποιεῖς, *Adu. Ind.* 1). The Collector buys expensive books, books that he thinks are old and valuable, or especially luxurious in their fabrication, or especially accurate (*Adu. Ind.* 1). They are supposed to impress the viewer, and communicate the financial and cultural resources of their owner. However, if the owner's practices show

---

[56] αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἐμπαίζουσιν οἱ μῶροι βροτῶν. Attributed to Dionysius of Syracuse by Lucian, *Adu. Ind.* 15.

that he lacks *paideia,* the incongruity between the books and the man create a humiliating effect, which the Speaker of the monologue hammers on mercilessly.

The Speaker uses a string of images to bring the contrast to life—sometimes using examples of performance itself. At one point, the Speaker introduces a wealthy man with no talent, who nevertheless desires to win the Pythian games (*Adu. Ind.* 8). It is obvious to him that he will not win any athletic competition, so he studies the art of the citharode, cheered on by his flatterers. At the Pythian games, he takes the stage dressed in gold and purple, wearing a crown of gold fashioned to look like ivy, with gems for its berries. His lyre is made of pure gold, with inlaid gems of all kinds, and it is chased with figures of the Muses, and Apollo, and Orpheus. The audience, seeing such a marvelous figure, is stunned and filled with wild expectation (*Adu. Ind.* 9). From here, his fall is all the more spectacular. He plunks out a few jarring notes (breaking several strings) and sings in a shrill and tuneless voice. The contest organizers actually chase him from the stage, whipping him like a slave as he goes. In his faulty performance, he completely undermines the effect of his ostentatious accoutrements.

The Speaker also uses as examples images that are not of performances themselves, but that carry the same implications about one's tools and one's talents. For instance, he imagines Thersites, cowardly and ugly, wearing the armor of Achilles:

> . . . οἴει ὅτι αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καλὸς ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ ὑπερπηδήσεται μὲν τὸν ποταμόν, ἐπιθολώσει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ῥεῖθρον τῷ φόνῳ τῶν Φρυγῶν, ἀποκτενεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἕκτορα καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὸν Λυκάονα καὶ τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον, μηδὲ φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὴν μελίαν δυνάμενος;

> -Lucian *Aduersus Indoctum* 7

> . . . do you think he'd suddenly become noble and strong, and leap over the river, then muddy its flow with the blood of the Phrygians? Do you think he'd kill Hector, and before him Lycaon and Asteropaeus, when he can't even lift the ash-spear onto his shoulders?

The glorious panoply communicates one thing about its bearer, but his own performance then falls short, and the incongruity is terrible—terrible, and yet terribly reassuring for the traditional Roman worldview. The base person cannot become "noble and strong" (καλὸς ἄμα καὶ ἰσχυρός) just because of having the best equipment that money can buy.

Lucian's *Ignorant Book-Collector* appears at first glance to be a biting, sometimes cruel, attack on a common target: the wealthy man of low birth. Many texts from the Roman world reveal the same anxiety and angst about the fact that the realities of wealth do not match up with the hierarchies expected on the basis of rank. This contradiction (in Roman eyes) is seen as a perversion of the natural order. But have no worry, these hated figures are shown up to be exactly what they are by their lack of *paideia*— as we have seen in the case of Trimalchio.

Lucian's narrator works hard to exclude the Collector and make sure he knows that he does not really belong. "Do you really claim that you know the same things as we do, although you did not learn them with us?" (φής, καὶ ταὐτὰ μὴ μαθὼν ἡμῖν, εἰδέναι; *Adu. Ind.* 3). "And you did not do the same exercises with us as children" (οὐδὲ τὰς αὐτὰς διατριβὰς ἡμῖν ἐν παισὶν ἐποιοῦ, *Adu. Ind.* 3). The first person plural emphasizes the group of which the speaker is a part, and from which the Collector is excluded. This group is defined especially by having been educated with the right sort of people.

> Καίτοι οὐδέ . . . τολμήσειας ἄν ποτε εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐπαιδεύθης ἢ ἐμέλησέ σοι πώποτε τῆς ἐν χρῷ πρὸς τὰ βιβλία συνουσίας ἢ ὡς διδάσκαλός σοι ὁ δεῖνα ἢ τῷ δεῖνι συνεφοίτας.
>
> -Lucian *Aduersus Indoctum* 3

> And yet . . . you wouldn't even dare to say that you received an education, or that a close familiarity with books was ever a concern of yours, or that you had So-and-So as a teacher, or that you used to go to school with So-and-So.

The invective is calibrated against the man of high wealth and humble origins. The Speaker's reference to a deserved whipping of the Collector (μαστιγοῦσαι, *Adu. Ind.* 3), as well as the references to whipping other characters likened to the Collector (*Adu. Ind.* 9), also imputes a servile origin.

The Collector is someone who indulges in physical pleasure, and in particular purchased pleasure: "You're terribly passionate about these two things: the acquisition of expensive books and the purchase of boys who are well-grown and already quite well-built" (περὶ δύο ταῦτα δεινῶς ἐσπούδακας, βιβλίων τε τῶν πολυτελῶν κτῆσιν καὶ μειρακίων τῶν ἐξώρων καὶ ἤδη καρτερῶν ὠνήν, *Adu. Ind.* 25). These "well-built" boys suggest that it is the Collector who is the sexually passive partner, and this is further part of giving him a negative characterization.[57] Whereas Seneca used the slave/free distinction to express a subordinate status, Lucian uses a gender distinction to express the same thing.

William Johnson has noted a crossover between the pleasure that the Collector takes in his beautiful books and the pleasure he takes in his deviant sexuality.[58] Seneca complained about those who got visual pleasure from looking at beautiful books; Lucian's Collector doesn't just look. "One may truly wonder what you have in mind when you grip the books, and with what hands you unroll them" (τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, τίνα ποτὲ ψυχὴν ἔχων ἄπτῃ τῶν βιβλίων, ὁποίαις αὐτὰ χερσὶν ἀνελίττεις, *Adu. Ind.* 27). And later: "May you never grasp with your hands, nor read, nor defile with your tongue ancient men's words and poems . . ." (προσάψῃ δὲ μηδέποτε μηδὲ ἀναγνῷς μηδὲ ὑπαγάγῃς τῇ γλώττῃ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγους καὶ ποιήματα, *Adu. Ind.* 28). The "defile with your tongue" would refer to reading aloud and mangling the text, but it is clearly a double-entendre. Yet the desire for books is not just about pleasure.

The Collector aims to accumulate symbolic capital by the accumulation of expensive books, but his lack of cultural capital shows him up.

> Πῶς δὲ οὐ κἀκεῖνο αἰσχρόν, εἴ τις ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντά σε βιβλίον ἰδών— ἀεὶ δέ τι πάντως ἔχεις— ἔροιτο οὕτινος ἢ ῥήτορος ἢ συγγραφέως ἢ ποιητοῦ ἐστι, σὺ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εἰδὼς πράως εἴποις τοῦτό γε· εἶτα, ὡς φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν συνουσίᾳ προχωρεῖν εἰς μῆκος λόγων, ὁ μὲν ἐπαινοῖ τι ἢ αἰτιῷτο τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, σὺ δὲ ἀποροίης καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν; οὐκ εὔξῃ τότε χανεῖν σοι τὴν γῆν, κατὰ σεαυτοῦ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης περιφέρων τὸ βιβλίον;

-Lucian *Aduersus Indoctum* 18

---

[57] For the Collector as a *cinaedus* figure, see Johnson 2010: 159-63.
[58] Johnson 2010: 159-63.

Wouldn't this be shameful too, if, when someone saw you holding a book in your hand (and you always have something), he should ask you what orator or historian or poet it is, and you would answer that easily because you knew the title; but then, since in company this sort of talk tends to turn into a long conversation, if he should praise or blame some of its contents, and you would be at a loss and unable to say anything? Wouldn't that be shameful? Wouldn't you pray that the earth would just swallow you up then and there, you who carry around a book that brings your destruction, just like Bellerophon?

Like so many portraits, the subject is depicted holding a book[59]—a pose that requires more effort, and some danger, in real life. For when conversation proceeds to the merits of the work, the Collector is unable to respond properly to praise or blame of the literary and/or moral merit of the work, and is unable to speak on the matter.[60] His lack of cultural capital turns his attempt at a demonstration of his erudition into a demonstration of his lack of it. Bellerophon had carried to the king of Lycia a message ordering his own death (*Iliad* 6. 152-211). Just so, the Collector carries around a book that portends his ruin because he does not understand what is inside. Lucian's monologue appears to be in perfect harmony with the perspective seen in Seneca and Plutarch.

It is easy to see how an audience could identify with the speaker, naturally acceding to the "we" and identifying themselves as part of an in-group that excludes upstarts like the target of the invective. The pleasure and satisfaction of doing so is evident.

At the same time, Lucian makes such a reading difficult. Firstly, it is striking that the target is not identified as any identifiable third person, but rather is "you" specifically. Lucian could have easily made someone in the third person the target, and in other works delighted in taking down specific individuals (in works like *Peregrinus* and *Alexander the False Prophet*). Instead, the Speaker aggressively attacks *you*, the reader, emphasized by the repeated use of second person pronouns and second person verbs.[61] The second person could simply be

---

[59] See Birt 1907 on book-rolls in portraiture.
[60] See Johnson 2010 on social aspects of reading in the High Empire.
[61] E.g. ἐθέλεις, ποιεῖς, οἴει, σοι, ὠνῇ, πιστεύεις, εἶ, σοι, τεκμαίροιο, and παραλαμβάνοις (all in the first chapter).

read as generic. On the other hand, if the piece was performed, as seems likely, and not just distributed in written form, Lucian would then be quite literally mocking *you*, looking you in the eye and calling out *your* pretensions and deficiencies.

There is much in the Collector that an audience might find to identify with. Firstly, he cares greatly about books, treasures them, and is willing to expend great expense in procuring good copies. In the Roman period (and especially the time of Lucian), treasured books were bought, sought, and practically hunted. Some books were legendary. The *Attican, Callinian,* and *Peducian* collections were famous for their beauty and the quality of their readings.[62] When they were destroyed in the great fire of AD 192, along with other unique treasures like Posidonius' Plato and Aristarchus' Homer, a famous grammarian (whose private library was also destroyed) immediately wasted away and died (Galen *De Ind.* 7, 13). The works of writers like Gellius, Galen, and Marcus Aurelius are sprinkled with delighted accounts of rare, unique, or beautiful books.[63] In fact, the entire premise of the newly discovered *De Indolentia* of Galen is that it is a *consolatio* to himself over the books that he lost in the great fire.[64] Unscrupulous book-dealers produced beat-up copies as counterfeits (*Adu. Ind.* 1). Narratives (often fabulous) arose about special books and collections. It was said that the Ptolemies put down an enormous deposit to borrow the official Athenian versions of the three great tragedians and copy them—but then kept the originals and gave Athens the copies, forfeiting their deposit (Galen 17a.607 Kühn). It was even said that the confiscated all books that happened to make their way to Alexandria, returning to their owners only copies (Galen 17a.606 Kühn).[65] It was told that Neleus, who inherited the books of Aristotle, took them with him to Scepsis, causing the decline of the Peripatos; and that his heirs buried the books to keep them from the Attalids, who were buying, borrowing and stealing any books they could get their hands on (Strabo 13.1.54). In the rivalry over books, the Ptolemies were said to have forbidden the export of papyrus, giving rise to the invention of parchment at Pergamum (Pliny *NH* 13.68-79). The efforts of both the Ptolemaic and Attalid kings were

---

[62] These books, mentioned at *Adu. Ind.* 2 and Galen's *De Indolentia* 13, are discussed in Boudon-Millot and Jouanna 2010: 49-52.

[63] E.g. Gellius (*NA* 9.14.3, 18.9.5); Galen (*De Indolentia* 13); Marcus Aurelius (in *Fronto ad M. Caes.* 4.2.6).

[64] Discovered in 2005 by Antoine Pietrobelli in a monastery in Thessaloniki, the *editio princeps* is Boudon-Millot 2007. See now the Budé of Boudon-Millot and Jouanna 2010.

[65] On stories of the Alexandrian library in Galen, see Handis (forthcoming).

said to have given rise to countless forgeries (Galen 15.105 Kühn). These narratives reflect an intense interest in books as artifacts, the associations they had with rivalry and prestige, and concerns about genuine antiquity and forgeries. Many of these stories had early origins, but it is in the Roman period (and the second century AD specifically) that we find them endlessly repeated in all sorts of places.[66]

Secondly (and despite the claims of the Speaker), the Collector is not all that uneducated.[67] The Speaker grants that he reads quite well (*Adu. Ind.* 2), and the Collector's implied answers in the mock Platonic dialogue (*Adu. Ind.* 5) suggest a familiarity with famous figures in literature and history. In the above comparison to Bellerophon, a crucial difference is that whereas Bellerophon cannot read the message, the Collector may have actually read the book; his deficiency is in speaking well extemporaneously on its merits. The book-collector is not uneducated but rather was not brought up in the "right" circles—which, obviously, could not have been absolutely defined. Anyone in the audience could be vulnerable to insinuations that their "crowd" growing up was not "good enough." There are good reasons, then, to think that the audience would have identified with the Collector. And if the audience is identifying with the Collector, then we may need to reassess who the target really is.

A scholiast commented that Lucian might just have been angry because the book-collector was unwilling to loan him a book.[68] The piece had ended with the Speaker complaining: "And therefore you might loan the books out to someone who needs them, since you yourself wouldn't be able to use them" (καὶ σὺ τοίνυν ἄλλῳ μὲν δεηθέντι χρήσειας ἂν τὰ βιβλία, χρήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν δύναιο, *Adu. Ind.* 30). The scholiast's reaction may have been exactly the effect that Lucian was going for. Lucian shows considerable sophistication in the creation of his narrators.[69] R. Bracht Brahnam has shown, for instance, that Lucian's narrator in *Alexander the False Prophet* is meant to appear hypocritical and a little ridiculous: a seemingly-sober exponent of

---

[66] Many of these stories are thought to go back to Varro's *De Bibliothecis*, although Canfora (1989: 123-31, 187) has argued that they are drawn rather from a Jewish or Christian text that incorporated the *Letter of Aristeas*. Only Pliny *NH* 13.68-70 mentions Varro specifically.

[67] As is noted by Johnson 2010: 158.

[68] "It seems to be the case, Lucian, that you asked for some book, and upon not receiving it you paid him back eternally with this fine token of friendship" (Ὡς οὑτωσὶ εἰκάσαι βιβλίον αἰτήσας τινά, Λουκιανέ, καὶ μὴ λαβὼν καλῷ τούτῳ δεξιώματι δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἠμείψω αὐτόν, VφΟΩ in Rabe 1906: 151).

[69] Branham 1989 treats Lucian's rhetorical personae.

Epicurean calm (*ataraxia*), he goes out of his mind with anger and bites a man on the hand.[70] In the case of the *Ignorant Book-Collector*, Richter and Johnson have noticed the irony and seen the Speaker (and his Greek chauvinism) as the real target of the satire.[71] Richter writes: "In contrast to the Hellenizing power of *paideia* which Lucian elsewhere advocates, the speaker of the *Aduersus Indoctum* categorically excludes the possibility of a *barbaros* with *paideia*."[72] Johnson points out that the literary pedantry of the Speaker seems to be exactly that of Galen, Gellius, and much of second century literary culture in general: it is not surprising to see that that society was not to everyone's taste.[73]

Throughout the piece, the speaker is pedantic and petulant. He snobbishly excludes and insults you. Moreover, under it all he is actually just jealous. He repeatedly lingers over the details of the Collector's books: the neatly trimmed edges, the golden rods, the luxurious purple slipcovers, the books themselves smelling ever so fragrantly of saffron and cedar. It is easy to see how the audience could identify with the book-collector and enjoy seeing that snobbish pedant (who after all, is really just jealous) looking ridiculous as Lucian acts him out for the audience. The pleasure and satisfaction of doing so is evident.

Rather than seeing either the Collector or the speaker as the target of the ridicule, we should acknowledge that the audience would have derived pleasure from seeing both mocked at different points for difference reasons. In her book on Plautine comedy, Kathleen McCarthy pointed out that audience members, rather than being simply slaves or masters, were all members of complex and competing hierarchies of status, with people both above and below them.[74] She writes: "When analyzing what such spectators might want from comedy, we should take account of their fears and vulnerabilities as much as of their powers and self-confidence."[75] Any given audience member probably had superiors, and so could enjoy watching the clever slave fool his master, but also had inferiors, and could enjoy seeing the master's authority restored.

In a Second Sophistic audience, we can well imagine that many of the members were simultaneously trying to exclude upstart social-inferiors, while at the same time feeling excluded by snobbish social-superiors. Picturing an

---

[70] Branham 1989: 181-210 (esp. 205-207).
[71] Richter 1999, Johnson 2010: 159.
[72] Richter 1999.
[73] Johnson 2010: 158-70.
[74] McCarthy 2000 (esp. 16-29).
[75] McCarthy 2000: 19.

audience member as engaging in only one or the other activity seems unrealistic. But an audience member might easily laugh both at a boorish inferior and at a snobbish superior. The shifting subject position could have caused uneasiness, and an audience member might suddenly see himself as a boor or a snob (*quid rides . . . de te fabula narratur*)—but people also have the capacity to laugh at themselves. Probably there would have been a range of reactions in any audience.

The unstable subject position of the *Aduersus Indoctum* problematizes the attempts by Seneca and Plutarch to uphold the value-system inherent in Roman ideology and keep *studia* and *luxuria* separate. To Seneca, the boorish upstart is immediately transparent. Lucian's monologue suggests that not only are such upstarts not easily recognized, but that you might be one yourself without recognizing it. All of the examples of foolish charlatans in the *Adu. Ind.* have it in common that they do not realize they are foolish charlatans. Instead, they are convinced of their superiority by flatterers.

Towards the end of the monologue, the difficulty of self-knowledge is dramatized by a story about Pyrrhus of Epirus (*Adu. Ind.* 21). Pyrrhus was convinced by flatterers that he looked exactly like Alexander the Great despite the fact that there was no resemblance at all. One time Pyrrhus met with an old woman in Larissa, and showed her portraits of Philip, Alexander, Perdiccas, and other kings. He asked her whom he resembled, expecting her to answer "Alexander." Instead she said "Froggy"—the name of a local cook (Βατραχίωνι . . . τῷ μαγείρῳ, *Adu. Ind.* 21). While he thought he resembled a beautiful king, he actually looked like an ugly cook (cooks, of course, being common low-characters in comedy). As in so many of the examples in the monologue, the foolish pretender has no idea that he is a foolish pretender until he is humiliated in front of others.

The reader of Seneca's dialogue is comfortably positioned with Seneca himself, spotting ignoble upstarts easily. The reader of Plutarch's *Lucullus* is not troubled by an overlap of *studia* and *luxuria* in the library, as Plutarch is quite careful to keep the two aspects separate. The members of Lucian's audience are left to wonder where they stand. The Speaker at one point told a story about Dionysius of Syracuse, a tyrant with high literary ambitions but low literary talent (*Adu. Ind.* 15). In particular, he liked writing plays. Upon realizing that some members of his audiences were mocking him, he eagerly bought the writing-tablets of Aeschylus. Although he felt inspired, his poetry was even more ludicrous than before. The Speaker singles out one particular line: "The foolish among mortals make a mockery of themselves" (αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἐμπαίζουσιν οἱ

μῶροι βροτῶν, *Adu. Ind.* 15). The most immediate joke is that while accusing some of making a mockery of themselves, it is really Dionysius who is making a mockery of himself (and by implication, that the Collector is doing likewise). Yet at the same time it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Speaker is also making a mockery of himself, not realizing how his snobbery has made him ridiculous. The same shifting subject position that allows the audience to laugh at both snobbish superiors and upstart inferiors also undermines the idea that those who truly pursue *paideia* are easily and immediately distinguishable from those who are simply enamored with the pleasure-for-purchase that the material manifestations of *paideia* make available.

...

Libraries were indeed associated with power and prestige, with the worlds of Hellenistic kings and Hellenistic gymnasia. They were the mark of the cultivated *eruditi*, who supposedly disdained the indulgence of purchased pleasure. The place of liberal studies in Roman elite ideology was fundamental. Libraries were also physical places, full of luxurious books and bookshelves, situated in lovely colonnades and gardens. The materiality of the library, a source of pleasure available to anyone with money, spilled over into a different but also fundamental place in elite ideology: *luxuria*, which was imagined to be the mark of an inferior nature. It was surely the case that elite Romans actually did enjoy purchased pleasure, just as it was the case that there were highly educated slaves and freedmen. Yet admitting a serious overlap in *studia* and *luxuria* would involve undermining these constructions and in doing so would undermine a justification for the "high" and "low" in society. The physical reality of the library undoes its place in Roman ideology and destabilizes the whole value-system on which it is based. While the idea of the library upheld some of the core beliefs of elite society, the materiality of the library destabilized the very same.

CHAPTER FOUR

POWER, *PAIDEIA*, AND THE PORTRAITS OF AUTHORS IN ROMAN LIBRARIES

Cogitauit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis, cur enim sibi non licere dicens, quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e ciuitate quam constituebat eiecerit? sed et Vergili[i] ac Titi Liui scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoueret, quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae, alterum ut uerbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat.

-Suetonius *Caligula* 34.2

Caligula even thought about abolishing the poems of Homer, asking why he should not be allowed to do what Plato had been allowed to, since Plato had cast out Homer from the state he was setting up. In fact, Caligula was a hair's breadth away from removing the writings and portraits of Virgil and Livy from all libraries. He used to criticize the former as being a man of no talent and little learning, and the latter as being wordy and careless in his history.

Suetonius puts this anecdote about Caligula in a passage about the emperor's hostility to great men of all periods. It is an example of his arrogance, bordering on megalomania. He is ludicrous in his criticism of Homer, Virgil, and Livy. He is arrogant in setting himself beside Plato and in presuming to cast judgment on the greatest figures in literary history. He is destructive in his urge to cast the great books out of the libraries. The fact that he also means to cast out their portraits seems like destructive excess. But Caligula's ideas are not so extreme. There was a logic in threatening the portraits, and Caligula was not alone in employing that logic.

Tiberius had been so delighted with the poets Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius that he dedicated their books and portraits in the public libraries among the old and outstanding authors (*quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit, Tib.* 70.2). In Suetonius' opinion, this egregious lack of taste seems nearly as bad

as Caligula's desire to toss out Virgil and Livy. Again, the portraits stand together symbolically with the books, though the equation is more problematic than it seems, as we will explore later on.

Over in Corinth, local officials decided to remove from the library a statue of Favorinus ([Dio Chrys.] 37.8-9), who had fallen out of favor with Hadrian. This removal might seem to be motivated more by political than artistic reasoning, but we will see that the two are not so easily extricable.

In fact, artistic motivations and political motivations are always at play together. Moreover, the portraits are not a minor feature of the library. They are closely bound up with the books, and stand in as a more discernable and visible proxy for them (hence making their manipulation more evident). The focus of this chapter will be the practice of including or excluding author portraits (usually statues)[1] from libraries. I start by giving a brief explanation for the decision to focus on these portraits rather than any other kind of furnishing, and for the decision to focus on public libraries even though author portraits in private libraries are a well-attested, related phenomenon. Then follows an examination of the evidence. I aim to give a thick description, and to highlight the motivations of the various actors and what they stood to lose or gain. From there, I try to draw out the particular significance of author portraits in public libraries. I argue that controversies over author portraits in libraries are really controversies over the canon, and are part of a cultural negotiation over what constitutes the body of established and outstanding literature. This cultural negotiation was not an abstract, nebulous process that was part of some national consciousness. Rather, it was a series of conscious actions taken by individuals who used to it advance their own interests.

I Parameters

The library of the Villa of the Papyri is famous for its collection of Epicurean texts. In addition to some works of Epicurus himself, there are a substantial number of books by the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus. Indeed, the library appears to include Philodemus' own personal collection.[2] The room in which the books were largely found also held a small bronze bust of Epicurus

---

[1] For details on the types of portraits in libraries, see Appendix C.
[2] On the library at the Villa of the Papyri see Sider 2005 and Sider 2010. On the non-Philodemus books there see Houston (forthcoming).

(**figure 4.1**).[3] At just 10cm high, the bust is small enough to fit easily on top of a bookshelf.[4] It is one of three miniature bronze busts of Epicurus in the house. It is the only surviving portrait from antiquity that we can securely place in a library[5]—it will also not come into our discussion. The large peristyle of the villa was home to dozens of busts and herms of literary figures, philosophers, and generals, not to mention many pieces of ideal sculpture.[6] These too will not come into our discussion. It will be worth taking a moment to explain why private libraries and ideal sculpture, though somewhat related to author portraits in public libraries, are best left aside from the present discussion.

Figure 4.1 Epicurus from the library of the Villa of the Papyri (NM 5470); from Mattusch 2005: 290

---
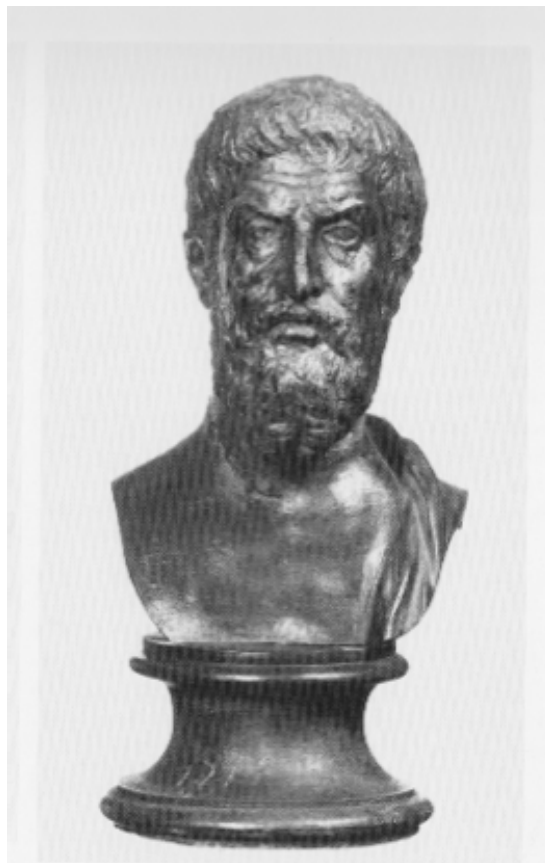
[3] Whether or not this room should really be called the "library" is a matter of some controversy (see Chapter Two). In any case it is the room where the large majority of the books were found. For more on the bust see Mattusch 2005: 289-95.
[4] On ancient bookshelves see Wendel 1943 (= 1974: 64-92).
[5] See Appendix C for an overview of the evidence for portraits in libraries.
[6] On the sculpture collection of the Villa of the Papyri see Mattusch 2005.

In Chapter Two, I argued that although the private library was an architecturally peripheral feature of evoked gymnasia, it was conceptually central. Statuary there called up the world of *paideia*, and naturally included numerous portraits of authors (and philosophers in particular).[7] We also find literary references to portraits of authors in the domestic library itself.[8]

Yet private libraries had a different character from public libraries, as explained in Appendix B. Public libraries were not simply private libraries on a larger scale. Although parts of the Roman house could be very public, the library was in a more private area.[9] Display was still important, but it was a different kind of display from that in public monuments. Moreover, the politics involved in the choice of author portraits was fundamentally different in private libraries and in public libraries. In private libraries, the choice of whose portrait to display would presumably have belonged to the *dominus*. In public libraries, the choice was usually part of an interplay between public bodies (i.e. the senate or local councils), the emperor, and the public at large. Although the choice of author portraits in private libraries and peristyle gardens would be an interesting subject to investigate, this study is concerned rather with how the selection of author portraits played a role in negotiations over meaning and knowledge in the community at large, and the stakes involved in such a public contest.

Public libraries also had impressive collections of ideal sculpture.[10] This statuary is most definitely important for the experience of the public library and its place in society. At the same time, our literary sources make it clear that author portraits were treated very differently from ideal sculpture. As we will see, author portraits were a more-visible proxy for the presence or absence of certain books, and they were also a sign of recognition that the books written by those authors were to be considered as established authorities—essentially as a canon. As a result, it is on author portraits that this study puts its focus.

---

[7] See Neudecker 1988 on sculptural decoration in villas. On statue collections of authors and philosophers, see Lorenz 1965. On painted and mosaic portraits of authors and philosophers see Nowicka 1993: 75-105. On portraits of intellectual figures more broadly see Zanker 1995.

[8] E.g. Mart. *Ep.* 9.praef., Pliny *Epist.* 4.28, Juv. 2.5-7.

[9] On this see Chapter Two.

[10] See Appendix C.

II Off with their Heads!
The Exclusion (and Inclusion) of Portraits in Libraries

At this point, we should review the evidence for decisions about the exclusion or inclusion of author portraits in libraries. Usually these incidents are viewed in isolation: Tiberius is a little pushy about his literary tastes, Favorinus has a problematic relationship with the Corinthians, and so on. When they are brought together, it becomes clear that these incidents are part of a broader phenomenon. Patterns emerge, and we find a more coherent picture of the significance of author portraits in libraries, and how various actors used control over these portraits for their own benefit.

In the city of Rome, author portraits were a part of public libraries right from the beginning.[11] The first public library was added to the Atrium of Liberty by Asinius Pollio at some point between the years of 39 and 28 BC.[12] Pliny the Elder reports that Varro's portrait was the only one of someone still living (*M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius uiuentis posita imago est, NH 7.115*). The obvious implication is that there were other portraits, and that those portraits did not include other living figures.[13] Varro had helped Caesar make a plan for his (never built) public library (Suet. *Iul.* 44), and it is often speculated that Pollio built on those initial plans, and perhaps enlisted the help of Varro himself—and hence honored Varro in particular.[14] Even if that were not the case, Varro was one of the foremost authors of the late Republic. The honor was especially great, Pliny writes, because "the best author and the best citizen out of a multitude at that time gave the prize to him alone" (*principe oratore et ciue ex illa ingeniorum quae tunc fuit multitudine uni hanc coronam dante, NH 7.115*). That is to say, that the honor itself in part reflected the judgment of the man giving it. Pollio himself was

---

[11] Pliny the Elder writes that the practice was reported to have begun either at the royal library of Alexandria or at that of Pergamum (*NH* 35.10). There is no other evidence for author portraits at the library of Alexandria. In Pergamum, author portraits were found on the acropolis, in the vicinity of what may have been the royal library (see Chapter One and Appendix C).

[12] The time is fixed on the one end by Pollio's Illyrian campaign in 39 BC, which provided the funds for the renovation of the Atrium of Liberty, and on the other end by Augustus' dedication of the Apollo library on the Palatine in 28 BC, since the Atrium of Liberty library was the first in the city. On the library of the Atrium of Liberty see Dix and Houston 2006: 675-80.

[13] Isidore of Seville writes that Asinius Pollio made his library "with portraits of authors" (*additis auctorum imaginibus, Orig.* 6.5). On his possible sources, see Appendix A.

[14] E.g. Dix 1986: 198-200.

a major author and orator.[15] He wrote tragedies and a history of the late Republic. He advocated a strict Atticist oratorical style, and was associated with fostering public *recitationes*. He had also been an early patron of Virgil, whose fourth *Eclogue* was dedicated to him. Pollio was also a substantial political figure, and served as consul in the year 40 BC.

There is actually some intimation that Varro may not actually have been the only living Roman with a portrait in the Atrium of Liberty—or at least that others may have tried to get their own portraits in. Horace writes that "Fannius is happy when, unasked, his bookcases and portrait are brought out" (*beatus Fannius ultro / delatis capsis et imagine*, Serm. 1.4.21-22). The precise meaning is less than clear. What is the force of *ultro*? Did Fannius put his books and bust out with no one asking him? Or did someone else put them out without his having to ask? What is meant by *delatis*? The early scholiasts were confused on the matter, and gave a range of suggestions (Pseudo-Acron on Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.21):[16] perhaps Fannius took the initiative in sending his books to the senate for its approval; perhaps the senate gave his books official approval, though they were bad; perhaps the senate got so sick of hearing the long-winded poet ask that they gave him approval and a portrait just to shut him up; maybe Fannius was childless, and legacy-hunters sent his books and portraits to all the public libraries in the hope of currying his favor; maybe it was the case that Fannius, a terrible poet, scorned the portrait given to him by the senate, but then, as his death drew near, had all of his writings brought out in public and was burned on a pyre of his own books.

Speculation of the scholiasts aside, the general sense of the line is clear. Fannius—a contemptible (fictional?) character[17]—courts publicity in a way that Horace does not.[18] Horace adds to the mention of happy Fannius the phrase "although no one reads my writings, since I'm afraid to recite them publicly" (*cum mea nemo / scripta legat, uolgo recitare timentis*, Serm. 1.4.22-23). Fannius is not necessarily sending his books and bust to public libraries (or to the senate to be established in libraries), as the scholiasts assume. At the time that Horace

---

[15] See André 1949 on his life and works.

[16] The following speculations come from *Γ'bVcζ*, which Keller suggests stem from a recension compiled some time c. AD 450-500, and may contain material from commentaries going back to c. AD 200 (Keller 1904: iii-viii).

[17] A Fannius also appears as a parasite in Hor. *Serm.* 1.10.79-80. There were two historical Fannii around that time, one of whom was a follower of Sextus Pompey and another who was involved in an anti-Caesarian conspiracy in 24/23 BC (Freudenberg 1993: 117-18).

[18] So Rudd 1956, who explores various possible ways of reading these lines.

published the *Satires* (35-33 BC), the only public library was Pollio's Atrium of Liberty. Fannius could also have been sending them to bookshops—or even just to friends. Horace does make references to poets sending their works to public libraries (*Epist.* 2.1.214-18), a practice that is remarked on by other authors also.[19] The comments in the scholiasts provide evidence for a much later time, but the line in Horace is notable for putting the books and portrait together—wherever they are going.

There were also portraits of major literary figures in Rome's second public library, the Palatine Apollo, which was founded by Augustus in 28 BC.[20] We know that there were clipeate portraits of orators at least in the time of Tiberius. Among the posthumous honors decreed to Germanicus in AD 20 was a clipeate portrait there of exceptional size and material (gold)—though Tiberius restricted it to the same size and material as the others (*cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, adseuerauit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.83).[21] We know from fragments of the decree that the portrait of Germanicus, together with one of his father Drusus, were positioned above the columns which flanked the statue of Apollo in the main apse (**figure 4.2**).[22] If each column were crowned by a portrait, this would yield a maximum number of 20 portraits (or even 24, although it would seem difficult for the two columns joined in each of the two corners to have had space

---

[19] The conceit of Ovid *Trist.* 3.1 is that his book of poetry is going around to ask for admittance to the libraries of the Atrium of Liberty, Palatine Apollo, and Portico of Octavia. Tacitus *Dial.* 21 imagines Cicero and Caesar and Brutus sending their poems to libraries (although no public ones existed then), and makes the comment that Caesar and Brutus were not better poets than Cicero, but more fortunate, in that less people knew about their poetry.
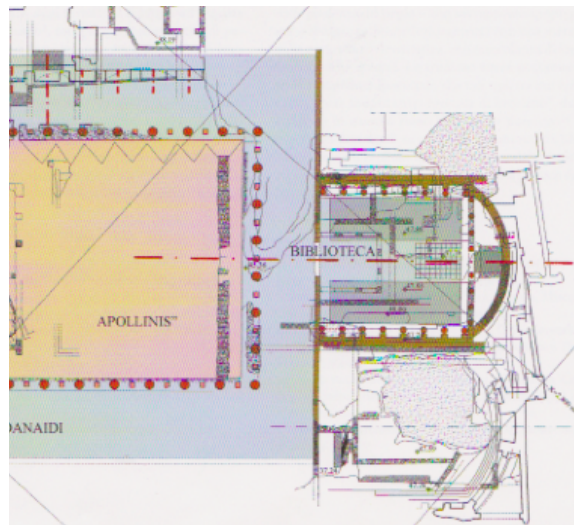
[20] For background on this library see Dix and Houston 2006: 680-85, and on the archaeology of the site Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006.

[21] Also attested in the fragments of the Lex Valeria Aurelia (on which see Crawford 1996 nos 37-38), in particular those found on the Tabula Siarensis, fragment b col. 3 lines 13-17, and the Tabula Hebana lines 1-4. For the Tabula Hebana see also Oliver and Palmer 1954.

[22] Tabula Hebana lines 1-4: Vtique in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis, in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet, [inter ima]|gines uirorum in<l>us<t>ris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici, patris eius naturali[s, fratrisq(ue)]| Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti), qui ipse quoq(ue) fecundi ingeni fuit, imagines ponantur supra capita columna[rum eius fas]|ti[g]i quo simulacrum Apollinis tegitur. Tabula Siarensis, fragment b, col. 3, lines 13-17: Vtique in Palatio [---] haber<i> solet in[ter --- Caesa-]ris et Drusi Ger[manici ---] qui ipse quoqu[e ---] columnarum [---].

for clipeate portraits).[23] Among those portraits, we know that the orator Hortensius was included, as was Augustus himself.[24] At least, the Hortensius and the Augustus were there in Tacitus's description of the place (*Ann.* 2.37).[25] Domitian rebuilt the Palatine Apollo library, expanding it from one to two halls, and it is not clear that Tacitus would have known whether the earlier library had contained the same portraits as those in his own day.

Figure 4.2 The Palatine Apollo library opening onto the Danaid peristyle
(a second hall was added by Domitian just below the first)
from Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006: Table 8

It is clear from the context in Pliny that the portraits in the Atrium of Liberty were of literary figures. Tacitus refers to the portraits in the Palatine Apollo library as *auctores eloquentiae* (*Ann.* 2.83), suggesting orators, but in the same place he also refers to them as the *ueteres … scriptores*, giving scope for a wider array of literary figures. The Lex Valeria Aurelia speaks of setting up the portraits of Germanicus and his father "among the portraits of the men of famous talent" (*inter imagines uirorum inlustris ingeni*, Tabula Hebana 2-3). The fact that at least three of the portraits were of figures from the imperial family is worthy of note. Tacitus has Tiberius more-or-less suggest that honor was not quite merited when he gives his reason for limiting the size and material: "that eloquence was not determined by fortune, and that it was enough of an honor for him to be set up among the writers of old" (*neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni et satis inlustre si ueteres inter scriptores haberetur*, *Ann.* 2.83).[26] At the same time, many elite Roman men had literary ambitions (if one includes oratory among these, as Romans themselves did), and it can be surprising whom contemporaries considered to be major literary figures. In Nepos' biographies, the life of Atticus is placed among Roman historians—not the role for which he is generally remembered today. Aside from whatever speeches Germanicus may have delivered, he composed a Latin version of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, as well as several epigrams and some Greek comedies.[27] There is no record of works by his father Drusus, but Augustus wrote many prose works (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1), including a rebuttal to Brutus' *Cato*, an exhortation to philosophy, an autobiography in 13 books, and his *Res Gestae*.[28] He also wrote poetry, including a hexameter *Sicilia*, a few light epigrams, and an unfinished tragedy, his *Ajax* (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2). Hortensius was the chief orator of his day, and argued against Cicero in the trial of Verres.[29]

As Tacitus saw it, the actions of Tiberius and the senate were political as much as artistic. In the narrative of Tacitus, Germanicus was far more popular than Tiberius, and had earned his jealousy. The senate's decree about the

---

[26] On the debate over Germanicus' portrait, and the use of a portrait's physical features and place in the library as an expression of its literary value, see Petrain (forthcoming).

[27] His *Phaenomena* survives, as do several epigrams: *Anth. Lat.* 708 (with a Greek translation in *Anth. Pal.* 9.387), *Anth. Lat.* 709 (= *Anth. Pal.* 7.542), and *Anth. Pal.* 9.17-18 (see also Pliny *NH* 8.155). The Greek comedies are attested in Suet. *Cal.* 3.2 and *Claud.* 11.2.

[28] There are new editions of his *Res Gestae* (Cooley 2009) and of the fragments of his autobiography (Powell and Smith 2010). On his literary proclivities in general see Suet. *Aug.* 84-89.

[29] Fragments and testimonia at *ORF* 92 Malcovati.

portrait of Germanicus was intended to flatter the royal family, but it displeased Tiberius. The senate showered honors on the deceased Germanicus: his name being sung in the *carmen Saliare*, a curule chair with oak crowns where the *Augustales* meet; an ivory statue to go out in the circus; arches in his honor in Rome, on the Rhine, and in Syria; and statues too numerous to name (just among a few of the honors, *Ann.* 2.83). In Tacitus' account, it is the statue in the library where Tiberius finally draws the line, putting a limit on its size and material.

Tiberius had his own ideas about whose portraits should be up in public libraries:

Fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit, et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt.

-Suetonius *Tiberius* 70.2

He also wrote poems in Greek, imitating the models of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius. Those were the poets that he especially loved, and he dedicated their writings and portraits in the public libraries amongst the old and outstanding authors. As a result, many learned men competed to publish a good deal about these poets for him.

In addition to the libraries in the Atrium of Liberty and the Palatine Apollo area, during the reign of Tiberius there was a library in the Portico of Octavia,[30] possibly one in the Domus Tiberiana,[31] and (depending on at what point during the reign of Tiberius this occurred) one in the Temple of the Divine Augustus.[32]

---

[30] Founded some time between 33 and 11 BC. See Dix and Houston 2006: 685-88. There is no evidence about author portraits in the Portico of Octavia library one way or another, although the precinct around it had much ideal sculpture.

[31] Little is known about the Domus Tiberiana library, and it is only attested much later. For more details see Dix and Houston 2006: 690-91.

[32] The Temple of the Divine Augustus was built by Tiberius (Cass. Dio 57.10.2) and dedicated by Caligula in AD 37 (Cass. Dio 59.7.1). On the library there see Dix and Houston 2006: 688-90. There is no evidence one way or another about author portraits in

Euphorion was a scholar/poet of the third century BC, who was later said to be the director of the public library at Antioch (Suda E 3801 Adler). Rhianus was also a scholar and poet of the same era. Among other things, he made an edition of Homer and wrote epic poetry as well as epigrams. Parthenius was brought to Rome as a slave in the early/middle first century BC, and later set free. He wrote elegies, poems on mythological themes, and a (surviving) prose work on the content of various erotic myths. All three were associated with the poetic aesthetics of Callimachus, and with scholarly activities in addition to poetic ones. Euphorion and Parthenius were also influential on Catullus, Cinna, Virgil, and Cornelius Gallus.[33]

Suetonius has a tendency to organize the events of an emperor's life by category rather than chronology, and to start each category with a clear topic sentence. The notice about the author portraits comes in a section that begins with the sentence "He cultivated the liberal arts in Greek and Latin most studiously" (*Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit*, *Tib.* 70.1). Tiberius' decision about the books and portraits of Parthenius, Rhianus, and Euphorion is seen as part of his participation in the culture of *studia*, a statement of his literary judgment. In addition to Tiberius' poetry (in the style of those particular authors), he interested himself greatly in scholarship—too greatly, according to Suetonius [*Tib.* 70.3]).[34] He wrote that Tiberius liked to quiz the *grammatici*: "Who was the mother of Hecuba? What was Achilles' name among the maidens? What song do the sirens sing?" (*Tib.* 70.3). By promoting the group, Tiberius was promoting the style and genre as much as the authors themselves. In particular, it is noteworthy that Suetonius says Tiberius dedicated them "amongst the old and outstanding authors" (*inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores*). That is to say, they were not among the established authorities, but Tiberius was asserting that they belonged among them. He seems to have been successful, at least in the short term, since Suetonius reports that numerous works about these poets were produced as a result (*Tib.* 70.2).

By finding a place for Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, Tiberius also made a place for his own poetry as well. We can probably assume that any number of people would have been willing to flatter an emperor's poetry, but we

---

this library, although there are reports of a statue of Apollo there fifty roman feet high (Suet. *Tib.* 74.1; Pliny *NH* 34.43). On Tiberius and the libraries of Rome see Houston 2008.

[33] For more on these three poets and their relationship to Tiberius, see Houston 2008: 255-59 (who assumes that the notice in Suetonius means that the public libraries previously did not have any copies of their works).

[34] Tiberius also wrote an autobiography (Suet. *Tib.* 61).

should not take it for granted that emperors' opinions always held sway on literary matters. When Tiberius approved of a certain usage, the grammarian Pomponius Porcellus is said to have responded: "You can't give citizenship to a word" (Suet. *DGR* 22.2, Cass. Dio 57.17.2). Augustus had the youthful works of Julius Caesar suppressed, and kept many of his own literary works private (Suet. *Caes.* 56.7, *Aug.* 85). To whatever degree flattery abounded, emperors at least showed great concern about the reception of their literary output, and Tiberius' endorsement of Euphorion and the others can be seen at least partly in that light.

Caligula, as noted at the start of this chapter, made noises about casting the statues and books of Livy and Virgil out of all libraries (*Vergili[i] ac Titi Liui scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoueret*, Suet. *Calig.* 34.2). These would be the same libraries as had existed under Tiberius, although Suetonius does not actually specify that they were *public* libraries. In fact, the *omnibus* suggests that Caligula was specifically including private libraries too. Caligula's grounds for the expulsion are stylistic, since Suetonius reports that he gave as his justification that Virgil lacked learning and talent, and that Livy was long-winded and careless (*quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae, alterum ut uerbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat, Calig.* 34.2). Livy and Virgil were (and are) two of the foremost authors of the Latin language. In exercising criticism of them, Caligula implicitly sets himself above them, and his own artistic judgment above theirs.

Caligula even set himself above Homer, the absolute source and authority of *paideia* in the ancient world, and contemplated "abolishing" his poems (*Cogitauit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis*, Suet. *Calig.* 34.2). He justified his idea by comparing himself to Plato, suggesting that he himself was no less of an authority. Caligula is also implicitly comparing himself to Plato's philosopher/kings, and setting himself up as an enlightened ruler—even if Suetonius later saw the motivation as malice (*Calig.* 34.1).

It's worth noting that these were not the only statues that Caligula assaulted:

> Statuas uirorum inlustrium ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas ita subuertit atque disiecit ut restitui saluis titulis non potuerint, uetuitque posthac uiuentium cuiquam usquam statuam aut imaginem nisi consulto et auctore se poni.
>
> -Suetonius *Caligula* 34.1

As for the statues of famous men, which Augustus had moved from the too-cramped Capitoline to the Campus Martius, Caligula overturned and demolished them to such an extent that they couldn't be restored with their inscriptions still intact. Henceforth, he forbid that a statue or portrait be set up for any living man, except on his advice and authority.

These were statues of "famous men" (*uirorum inlustrium*). Presumably these are the more typical kind of honorific statues, which celebrate civic heroes for their services to the state. The term *uiri illustres* could most certainly denote such political/military leaders,[35] but was also used to describe what the Elder Pliny called "the sources of wisdom and those outstanding in poetry (*sapientiae uero auctores et carminibus excellentes*, NH 18.5).[36] Often, it seems to refer to a group composed specifically of generals, authors, and philosophers.[37] Indeed, the biographies of Cornelius Nepos and Julius Hyginus both seem to have had the title *De Viris Illustribus*.[38] This passage of Suetonius points to a significant overlap between the *uiri illustres* who receive public honorific portraits from the state and the *uiri illustres* who receive portraits in libraries.

It would be tempting to take the banishment of Homer as the kind of wild rumor that naturally gets attracted a man with Caligula's reputation, but we find a very similar story told about the hellenophile Hadrian.[39] After writing that Hadrian had caused the death of Apollodorus of Damascus, a famous architect who had belittled Hadrian's own pretensions to architecture, Cassius Dio adds:

> καὶ οὕτω γε τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ἦν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι φθονεῖν· τὸν γοῦν Ὅμηρον καταλύων Ἀντίμαχον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐσῆγεν, οὗ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον ἠπίσταντο.

---

[35] See, e.g. Livy 8.7, 10.13, 33.36, 33.25, 38.33, 40.37; *Bell. Alex.* 40.5; Val. Max. 3.6; Tac. *Ann.* 6.9.

[36] Other examples of literary figures as *uiri illustres* at Suet. *DGR* 25.8; Aul. Gell. 12.8, 17 (*capitula*), 17.21.

[37] See, e.g., Val. Max. 4.3, 3.5; Tac. *Ann.* 14.19.

[38] Attested for Nepos in Aul. Gell. 1.8; attested for Hyginus in Aul. Gell. 1.14

[39] The topic of whether Plato was right to have banished Homer from his ideal city seems to have been a lively one. We also get a glimpse of this in Maximus Tyrius' essay: "Did Plato Act Nobly in Asking for Homer's Removal from the State?" (Εἰ καλῶς Πλάτων Ὅμηρον τῆς πολιτείας παρῃτήσατο).

By nature he was the kind of man who not only envied the living but even the dead: for he deposed Homer and introduced in his place Antimachus, of whom many people hadn't heard even the name.

Dio attributes Hadrian's hatred to envy, whereas the motivation that Suetonius imputed to Caligula was a combination of malevolence, malice, arrogance, and violence (*Calig.* 34.1). It is worth noting here that Hadrian had been known to write poems in the style of Antimachus (SHA *Hadr.* 16.2), so here again he seems to be making space for his own poetry. What is perhaps most curious is that Homer is not the only literary figure to receive this treatment at the hands of Hadrian. Cassius Dio also writes that Hadrian "made an attempt to depose the sophists Favorinus the Gaul and Dionysius of Miletus. He used various methods, but in particular he promoted their rivals, who were men of no or very little worth" (καὶ τὸν Φαουωρῖνον τὸν Γαλάτην τόν τε Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς σοφιστὰς καταλύειν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς σφων ἐξαίρειν, τοὺς μὲν μηδενὸς τοὺς δὲ βραχυτάτου τινὸς ἀξίους ὄντας, Cass. Dio 69.3.4). It looks very much like Favorinus got the Homer treatment, or like Homer got the Favorinus treatment.

It is not entirely clear what Cassius Dio means by "deposing Homer" (Ὅμηρον καταλύων) or the attempt to "depose Favorinus" (Φαουωρῖνον . . . καταλύειν), but it may be relevant that a statue of Favorinus was removed from the library in Corinth[40] ([Dio Chrys.] 37.8) and another was taken down in Athens (Philostrat. *Soph.* 1.9 [490]).[41] In Favorinus' speech in defense of his statue, he implies that the decision was made by the people of Corinth, but that they came to their decision based on what they thought would please the

---

[40] The "Southeast Building" on the forum in Corinth has been put forward as the most likely candidate for the library, see White 2005: 77-84 for details.

[41] We do not know where the statue in Athens was located. Philostratus attributes its removal to the anger of the Athenian magistrates over Favorinus' attempt to get out of an expensive civic obligation in his native Gaul (*Soph.* 1.8 [490]). Gleason (1995: 147) suggests a sensitivity to the perceived fallout with Hadrian, who was about to come to Athens to dedicate the temple of Olympian Zeus, and perhaps also the machinations of Favorinus' rival Polemo, who was slated to be the official orator at the dedication.

emperor ([Dio Chrys.] 37.32-36): Favorinus had fallen out of favor with the emperor, so they removed his statue from their library.[42]

The statue in the library in Corinth had been granted to Favorinus by the *boulē* after his second visit to the town ([Dio Chrys.] 37.1, 9). As Favorinus presents it, the statue was the result of his eloquence:

> Ὅτε . . . τῶν λόγων μετέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις, ἔδοξα ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι [ἔτι δὲ] ὑμῖν οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς οὐδὲ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος. Ἀρίονος μέν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε.

> -[Dio Chrys.] 37.1

> When . . . I shared my speeches with your people and magistrates, I seemed more favorable in your eyes than even Arion of Methymna was. At least, it wasn't Arion that you made a statue of.

Favorinus compares himself with Arion, legendary citharode and inventor of the dithyramb. He later goes into more detail of what had earned him the statue ([Dio Chrys.] 37.25-27): he mastered the Greek language, but also Greek thought and dress and lifestyle as no Roman or even Greek before him (37.25).[43] In fact, Favorinus claims to be a model of *paideia,* who was already spurring others to emulation. Speaking of himself in the third person, he states:

> φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπῆρε συμφιλοσοφῆσαι αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπεσπάσατο. ἐπ’ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδόκει ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οἷον ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκευάσθαι, Ἕλλησι μέν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος παράδειγμα ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φῦναι πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει· Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ἵνα μηδ’ οἱ τὸ ἴδιον ἀξίωμα περιβεβλημένοι τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα παρορῶσι· Κελτοῖς δέ, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μηδεὶς ἀπογιγνώσκῃ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας, βλέπων εἰς τοῦτον.

---

[42] Favorinus is vague on what this fallout involved. He mentions a rumor (32), and suggestions of immorality (34) or some kind of rule-breaking (35). Favorinus claims that Hadrian acquitted him (of whatever it was) anyways (35-36).

[43] Gleason 1995 uses Favorinus to explore the performance of masculinity in the Greco-Roman world.

He practices philosophy, and has long enjoined many of the Greeks to practice philosophy with him. He has even caused quite a few barbarians to follow the same path. In fact, he seems to have been perfectly equipped by the gods for this purpose. For the Greeks, in order that the natives of Greece have an example of the fact that there is no difference between *paideia* and ancestry when it comes to social standing. For the Romans, so that even those endowed with their own worth cannot be contemptuous of *paideia* as a source of worth. For the Gauls, so that after seeing him, no barbarian will give up on *paideia*.

In his own account, Favorinus rightly received the statue because he was already a model of *paideia*, who caused emulation in Greeks and non-Greeks alike. He reminds Greeks that "having been educated" (τὸ παιδευθῆναι) is no less a source of status than illustrious ancestry. He reminds Romans that even the high-ranking cannot look askance on the prestige of "being educated" (τὸ παιδεύεσθαι). The Gauls will not give up on "Greek education" (τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας) when they see his success. In short, Favorinus claims that his statue was granted because he was in every way a model of *paideia*. The removal of the statue is a reminder of the interconnected nature of *paideia* and politics. The statue was taken down, we gather, for political reasons and alleged misbehavior.

Another such action on a local level can be seen in a set of three inscriptions from AD 127 honoring a certain Gaius Julius Longianus.[44] Longianus was apparently a poet from Aphrodisias, who performed elaborate displays of all kinds of poems (ποιημάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐπιδείξεις ποι|κίλας, ii 2-3) in Halicarnassus, greatly pleasing the population there (ἡσθεὶς ὁ δῆμος, ii 5). The local synod decided to make him a citizen "because he is a good man and the best poet of our time" (ὄντα καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον τῶν κα|θ' ἡμᾶς, ii 8-9). Among other honors, they

---

[44] Platthy 132 and *IAph* 2007 12.27, which includes an updated text, along with notes and bibliography, and can be found at the *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* website (http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph120027.html). The date is clear from the consuls, M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus and T. Atilius Rufus Titianus (iii 13).

voted that bronze images of him be put up in prominent places in the city, and in particular in the precinct of the Muses and in the ephebic gymnasium next to the ancient Herodotus (εἰκόσιν | χαλκαῖς ἃς ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνασταθῆναι τοῖς ἐπι|σημοτάτοις τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Μου̣|σῶν τεμένει καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ἐφήβων παρὰ | τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον, ii 10-14). Of especial interest to us is that the synod also voted "a public dedication of his books in our libraries" (καὶ τοῖς βυβλί|οις αὐτοῦ δημοσίαν ἀνάθεσιν ἔν τε βυβλιοθήκαις | ταῖς παρ᾽ ἡμεῖν, ii 14-16). Lastly, they voted that a copy of the decree be sent with Longianus back to Aphrodisias (ii 20-22). Indeed, it is in Aphrodisias, and not Halicarnassus, where these inscriptions were found.

In some ways this is a special case, because the statues were not in the libraries themselves, but rather in prominent places, in the precinct of the Muses, and in the ephebic gymnasium (even though the gymnasium likely had a library, the statue was not explicitly placed there).[45] At the same time, the Museum and the ephebic gymnasium were certainly places of *paideia*. The famous library of Alexandria was associated with a Museum, and there was also a Museum at Aristotle's Lyceum, as we saw in Chapter One. Cicero also comments that statues of Muses would be "a fit thing for a library, and in keeping with my pursuits" (*aptum bibliothecae studiisque nostris congruens, Ad Fam.* 209[7.23].2). Gymnasia were also associated both with libraries and the liberal arts, as we saw in Chapters One and Two, and were sites of education for the youth (as, indeed, the inscription indicates).

These inscriptions are an interesting example of the flows of symbolic capital. The most immediate and obvious beneficiary is Longianus himself, who was honored with inscriptions and statues in Halicarnassus and his native Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias itself stood to gain prestige in the recognition of one of its citizens in Halicarnassus. At the same time, Halicarnassus stood to gain because it was exercising cultural authority in recognizing Longianus. Much like how Tiberius tried to get Euphorion into the canon, Caligula tried to get Virgil out, and Hadrian tried to replace Homer with Antimachus, the town of Halicarnassus was not just honoring Longianus, but trying to establish him among the ancient and approved authors—and in so doing to establish themselves as arbiters of culture. Hence the dedication of the image of Longianus next to the "ancient" Herodotus (τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον, ii 14).

---

[45] There are several other inscriptions attesting to this gymnasium, and some remains that have been tentatively identified with it (Delorme 1960: 124-26).

Moreover, the inscription states that the dedication of his books to the libraries was made "so that the young might learn from them in just the same way that they learn from the writings of ancients" (ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτοις οἱ νέοι παιδεύων|ται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαίων συ[γ]|γράμμασιν, ii 16-18). Aphrodisias, by accepting the honors and putting up the inscription, is implicitly recognizing the authority of Halicarnassus to make that judgment. The case of Gaius Julius Longianus illustrates the prestige possible from exercising cultural authority by means of controlling the books in public libraries—and also a lesser prestige for those who accept the judgment (and so show their concurrence with this authority).

Author portraits in libraries continued to be significant on through the course of the Roman empire—though the topic of libraries in the later Roman world goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. It is still worth briefly noting the continuity. The emperor Tacitus (r. AD 275-76) was said to have ordered the books and bust of the historian Tacitus to be put up in all libraries (SHA *Tac.* 10.3).[46] The same source reports that the senate awarded Numerian (r. AD 282-84) a statue in the guise of an orator in Trajan's library (SHA *Carus, Carin., Num.* 11.3).[47] The SHA is notoriously unreliable, but we have other evidence that the practice continued.

The tituli of statues from Trajan's Forum have been gathered together and recently studied.[48] They suggest that in the late second, fourth, and fifth centuries, all the men honored there were senators.[49] Almost all from the fourth and fifth centuries were praised for their literary abilities.[50] The praise for literary abilities may seem pro forma for the Roman elite, but there are a few senators

---

[46] Exactly which libraries would have existed at this point is unclear. A fire in AD 192 destroyed the libraries in the Temple of Peace, Palatine Apollo, and House of Tiberius— although they may have been rebuilt. The regional catalogues report 28 (or 29) libraries in the city of Rome in the fourth century AD (for the text of the catalogues see Nordh 1949: 99 and Lugli 1962: 98 no. 5). There were only eight or nine that we know by name, and so the nature of these other libraries is something of a mystery (on which see Balensiefen 2011).

[47] On Trajan's library see Dix and Houston 2006: 695-99. The SHA elsewhere (*Prob.* 2.1) notes that the *bibliotheca ulpia* had been moved in his day to the Baths of Diocletian. The SHA is generally not believed on this point, since it is clear from Sidonius Apollinaris that his statue in the *bibliotheca ulpia* was most definitely in Trajan's Forum. It is possible that the library was moved to the baths and then moved back, and the SHA has at least one supporter: Bruce 1981.

[48] Chenault 2012.

[49] Chenault 2012: 108-110, 118-22. There is little evidence before Marcus Aurelius and no record for the practice in the third century.

[50] Chenault 2012: 110-12.

who are relatively low-ranking and undistinguished apart from their literary fame—the poet Claudian is one such example.[51] In most cases, it is not possible to know where in Trajan's forum these statues were located, but at least some were in the library. Sidonius Apollinaris, who received a statue in AD 456 following his panegyric of emperor Avitus (his *Poem* 7), writes proudly about the "eternal" (*perennem*) bronze statue of himself set up with an inscription (*meis . . . titulis*) "amidst the authorities of the Greek and Latin libraries" in Trajan's forum (*inter auctores utriusque fixam bybliothecae, Epistles* 9.16.3vv25-28).[52]

III The Significance of Portraits in Libraries

The first known monograph on libraries appeared in 1602. The author, Justus Lipsius, combined a history of libraries with practical advice on how a library ought to be put together.[53] Lipsius devoted a full chapter to the practice of putting up author-busts in libraries—a practice he encouraged his dedicatee to emulate:

> Nónne pulchrum, & suaue oculis ac cogitationi fuit? Naturâ trahimur ad simulacra & effigies magnorum virorum noscendas, & illa corpora, siue hospitia, quibus cælestis se animus inclusit: ecce hîc erat. Homeri, Hippocratis, Aristotelis, Pindari, Virgilij, Ciceronis, & alia scripta videres aut libares oculis: vnà etiam imaginem scriptoris adiunctam. Iterùm repeto, pulchrum: &, te I L L V S T R I S S I M E præëunte, cur non vsurpamus?

> -Justus Lipsius *De Bibliothecis Syntagma* 10.1

> Is it not beautiful, and pleasant for the eyes and for contemplation? By nature we desire to know the appearance and features of great men, as well as the bodies (or rather temporary abodes) in which their heavenly minds have enveloped themselves. Look! Here he was: Homer, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Pindar, Virgil, Cicero, and others—you might see their writings (or rather sip them with your eyes) and at the same time see the image of each. I repeat: it is a

---

[51] Chenault 2012: 110-12.

[52] He also boasts of the statue in *Poems* 8.7-10.

[53] This combination became a popular genre in the 17th-19th centuries, culminating in the monumental *Memoirs of Libraries* by Edward Edwards in 1859.

beautiful thing. Since you are in charge, **illustrious prince**, why do we not take up the practice?

The interest in portrait busts was not a Renaissance or Early Modern novelty. Lipsius was steeped in the writings of antiquity, and it was there that he found the great importance that was ascribed to author-busts in libraries.

Indeed, the significance of a statue for the ancients is likely to be underestimated by those of us in the present day. When Barack Obama was inaugurated in 2009, he removed the bust of Winston Churchill that George W. Bush had set up in the Oval Office.[54] It could be seen as a rebuke to Bush, who had suggested that his military confrontation with Saddam Hussein had its precedent in Churchill's confrontation with Hitler.[55] Bush was using the past to give meaning to his actions in the present: he was a new Churchill. By removing the bust, Obama was rejecting the meaning Bush assigned to events. For the most part though, few noticed. When the bust was removed, some in Britain were offended by what they took as a slight to Churchill, but the incident was a relatively minor one.[56] In the ancient world, a statue was a much greater honor. It was, in fact, one of the greatest honors a city could bestow upon one of its citizens. Removing or defacing a statue, on the other hand, was a severe penalty usually inflicted on those whom the emperor had decided were a danger to the state itself (that is, to his own rule).[57] Any public statue was a great honor, but a portrait in a library brought a special kind of immortality.

Pliny the Elder gave the most famous statement about author portraits in his *Natural History*:

---

[54] The bust was a loan from Britain after the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

[55] For example, in his televised speech to the nation on March 17, 2003, Bush noted: "In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war." The Obama Administration denied that the removal had any specific meaning, and in fact originally denied that they had given back the bust at all, claiming that they had merely moved it back to its original place in the White House (outside the Oval Office). Yet they had given back the bust; there was simply a second bust in the White House.

[56] A critical article appeared in the Telegraph (written by Tim Shipman and published on Feb. 9, 2009). Some American conservatives were also upset, and it was a big enough issue that in the next presidential election Mitt Romney vowed to return the bust to the Oval Office (as first reported by Jon Swaine at the Telegraph, July 24, 2012).

[57] On the practice now called *damnatio memoriae*, see Varner 2004 for examples and Flower 2006 for some broader cultural implications.

Non est praetereundum et nouicium inuentum, siquidem non ex auro argentoue, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum inmortales animae in locis iisdem locuntur . . . quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis.

-Pliny the Elder *NH* 35.9-10

We must not fail to mention a new practice, that images in gold or silver (or at the very least in bronze) are dedicated in libraries to those greats whose immortal souls speak there . . . In my own opinion, there is no greater evidence of good fortune than that all desire to know always about what one was like.

Pliny notes the practice of putting up in libraries the portraits of the authors whose works are likewise contained there. In his articulation, the souls are speaking in the library, and the sculpted portraits give their souls a corporeal form. Essentially, the practice creates a form of immortality—an immortality even to be envied by the gods when the portraits are copied in books that can also move through space, and so are not bounded by space or time (*NH* 35.11). But the benefit of the statues does not just to the subjects so honored.

The younger Pliny, when gushing about the contemporary writer Pompeius Saturninus, declares that if Saturninus had lived among the generations of writers whom they had not seen in person, they would seek out not just his books, but also his portraits (*non solum libros eius, uerum etiam imagines requireremus, Epist.* 1.16.8). The same impetus goes back at least to Varro's *Imagines*, a work that combined portraits of literary figures with short biographies of them.[58] In another letter, Pliny mentions a story, apparently well known, about a man from Spain who came all the way to Rome just to see Livy (*Epist.* 2.3.8). As soon as he had seen him, he turned around and went home (*statimque ut uiderat abisse*). In the poems of Martial, we hear about a copy of Virgil that bore his portrait (*Ep.* 14.186).[59] Going back to the elder Pliny, he adds that knowing the looks of an author is so important that they have to be invented in cases where it is not know what they author looked like: "In fact, even those

---

[58] On works of biography with portraits, see Nowicka 1993: 179-81.

[59] See, e.g., *Ep.* 14.186. Seneca *Dial.* 9.9.7 may also refer to author portraits drawn on books. On the phenomenon of author portraits in books see Nowicka 1993: 177-79.

which are not known are invented, and our desires give birth to the faces that were not passed down, just as in the case of Homer" (*quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos uultus, sicut in Homero euenit, NH* 35.9). Portraits in the library, then, are not just good as a reward of immortality for the authors themselves, but also to satisfy the desire of readers—a wholesome desire, it seems, and presumably for emulation. We saw that Favorinus justified his statue because he was a model of *paideia* ([Dio Chrys.] 37.27). Portraits are so important, in fact, that they have to be created even for authors about whose looks nothing was known.

How did portraits help readers know "what someone was like" (*NH* 35.10) in such a fundamental way?[60] Exactly how the subject's character was manifest in his appearance is open to question. Ancient biographies frequently end with a physical description of the subject. It has been suggested that physiognomy, whether technical or "popular," may lie behind the physical descriptions in biographies.[61] It is also possible to read character and values, and perhaps even elements of individualized biography, among the extant portraits of authors, philosophers, and other *paideia* figures.[62] Yet the relationship between the author's character and work, which Pliny assumes, should not be taken for granted as universally recognized.

Ovid argued explicitly that the poet was different from work: "Believe me, my habits are not like my poetry: my life is chaste, my Muse bawdy" (*crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostro / uita uerecunda est, Musa iocosa mea, Trist.* 2.353-54). As remarked in the previous chapter, Lucian was a skilled manipulator of personae, and his works suggest an audience in which at least some members would distinguish between Lucian and the speakers of his pieces.[63] As Ovid remarks, if you could tell the author's character from the works, "Accius would be cruel, and Terence a partier" (*Accius esset atrox, conuiua Terentius esset, Trist.* 2.359). Yet the evidence of ancient biography suggests that exactly that kind of reading was common.[64] Chamaeleon, for instance, wrote that Aeschylus wrote while drunk because he was the first to depict drunk characters on stage (fr. 43

---

[60] Too (2010: 200-205) looks at author portraits from the perspective of ancient theories of viewing, and highlights the fact that they assume that visual art had a strong the psychological impact on viewers.

[61] On this approach see Rohrbacher 2010.

[62] Zanker 1995.

[63] On Lucian's manipulation of narrative personae, see Branham 1989.

[64] On the phenomenon of extrapolating an author's biography from their works see Lefkowitz 2012.

Martano). Outside of biography, Tacitus seems to have exploited the audience's expectation that he shared the same character and politically subversive perspective as the narrators of his works.[65] The relationship, or perceived relationship, between the author and the work was complex, and would certainly have varied in the understandings of various audience members. It at least seems common, however, for readers to expect to be able to understand the author's character from his or her work, and from his or her portrait.

IV Similarities to Other Public Statues

To understand the significance of statues in libraries, it will be useful to look at statues in other public places and see what similarities they share. There was a tradition of granting honorific portraits in public places going well back into the Republic,[66] and this continued on through the principate—although during the principate there were few honorific statues of individuals outside the imperial family within the city of Rome itself.[67] The most common location for such statues was the forum/agora, but they could also be found in theaters, baths, nymphea, and elsewhere.[68] Library portraits overlap in two important respects with honorific public portraiture. First, in regards to their commission: the portraits are often approved by a governing body (the senate or local decurions). Second, they are an honor for services to the community, and advertise the subject of the portrait as a good citizen. Library portraits are also similar to another type of public statues: the so-called "gallery of heroes" or "hall of fame." These are collections of famous figures, which often include family members of the person building the monument.

The tradition of granting a public statue as an honor may go back as far as 338 BC, when the senate granted equestrian statues to the consuls, Maenius and Camillus.[69] Pliny the Elder writes that in 158 BC the senate decided to clear the forum of all honorific statues not awarded by the senate itself (*NH* 34.30)—suggesting there were a good many such statues. Jane Fejfer points out that for the city of Rome the material evidence for statues (i.e. bases, inscriptions, representations on coins) is rare for the second century BC, and only really

---

[65] The case is made by Sailor 2008, who also explores some of the consequences.

[66] How far back is a matter of debate: see Sehlmeyer 1999: 27-43 and Fejfer 2008: 20-25.

[67] Fejfer 2008: 18. Chenault 2012: 105-107 points out that (from the third century AD on) most statuary of individuals who were not members of the imperial family was concentrated in the Forum of Trajan.

[68] Fejfer 2008: 51-63

[69] Sehlmeyer 1999: 48-52.

becomes well-attested for the first.[70] In the Greek East, in contrast, there is a strong tradition of honorific portraits for Romans throughout the second century BC.[71] The practice of granting of honorific statues continues through the imperial period, reaching a peak in the second century AD, and becoming less common after the Severan period.[72] During the imperial period, honorific statues within Rome were typically granted by the senate, while in the in the provinces it was typically granted by local decurions.[73]

Likewise, the establishment of statues in libraries was also often an honor granted by a public body. Recall that it was the senate who voted to put clipeate portraits of Germanicus and Drusus in the Palatine Apollo library through the Lex Valeria Aurelia.[74] In a more local case, Favorinus' speech to the Corinthians makes clear that it was the decision of the local *boulē* to set up his statue in the library ([Dio Chrys.] 37.1, 8-9, 16)—and implicitly suggests that they were also responsible for its removal.[75] In the later period, Numerian's portrait was reported to be voted in by the senate (SHA *Carus, Carin., Num.* 11.3). Sidonius Apollinaris also suggests a senate decree behind the statue of himself (*populo simul et plaudente senatu, Poems* 8.9) in the Library of Trajan.

An interesting liminal case is the statues of Gaius Julius Longianus in Halicarnassus. The decree was granted by "a vote of the sacred council" (ψήφισμα ἱερᾶς συνόδου, iii 1), and it stated that he would be honored with "bronze portraits which are to be set up among the others in prominent places in the city, and in the precinct of the Muses, and in the ephebic gymnasium next to the ancient Herodotus" (ii 10-14). This is clearly similar to all of the other cases of statues in libraries, and yet the statues are not in libraries. As we noted above, the Museum and the gymnasium occupy the same cultural space as the library, but this decree also specifies that statues are to be put up in other "prominent places" in the city. In other ways, the portraits are more like library portraits. The decree combines the dedication of portraits with "a public dedication of his books

---

[70] Fejfer 2008: 20-21.

[71] Fejfer 2008: 22-23. Tanner (2000) sees the context of these as responsible for the veristic style, heroic nudity, and the combination of the two as Greek cities represented Roman patrons as father-figures, saviors, or both.

[72] Fejfer 2008: 40-41.

[73] Fejfer 2008: 24, 45-47.

[74] For the fragments see Crawford 1996 nos 37-38.

[75] Philostratus writes that it was the Athenian magistrates in particular who took down his statue at Athens, although it is not clear whether that statue had been in a library (Philostratus *Soph.* 1.8 [490]).

in our libraries" (καὶ τοῖς βυβλί|οις αὐτοῦ δημοσίαν ἀνάθεσιν ἔν τε βυβλιοθήκαις | ταῖς παρ᾽ ἡμεῖν, ii 14-16). Moreover, most honorific statues in provincial cities are given in return for substantial financial benefactions;[76] the statues of Longianus are given because he was "the best poet of our times" (ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς, ii 8-9). The case of Longianus blurs the line between honorific public portraits and portraits in libraries.

For public portraiture, it is taken as a given that the subject is morally good and a good citizen. Indeed, the statue is a form of gratitude for the good actions the subject has performed for the community, whether it be military success, civic benefaction, or other services.[77] To a striking degree, the same goes for author portraits in libraries. In the decree honoring Julius Longianus, it is specified that he received the honor because he is *both* a good man *and* "the best poet of our times" (ii 8-9). The known portraits in the Palatine Apollo library were all of major political figures.[78] Indeed, there are places where the two kinds of statues are conflated in their representation of "good men." Suetonius writes of Caligula tearing down "the statues of famous men" (*statuas uirorum inlustrium*) and then adds that "he *even* contemplated" (*cogitauit etiam*) abolishing Homer and casting Livy and Virgil out of all libraries (*Calig.* 34.1-2). In Suetonius' account, Caligula's (planned) abusive treatment of author portraits in libraries was part of his abusive treatment of the statues of "famous men" in general—the "famous men" here presumably referring to generals and statesmen who were famous for their services rendered to the state. Whereas Caligula begrudged statues of famous men, in particular of those who were yet alive, Cassius Dio notes specifically that Hadrian was exactly the opposite, "and he set up portraits in the forum for both the living and the dead" (καὶ εἰκόνας πολλοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσι πολλοῖς δε καὶ ζῶσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστησεν, 69.7.4). In Favorinus' speech to the Corinthians, he takes it for granted that the statue of him was erected for his literary merits and that it was taken down because of presumed immorality.

Portraits of authors in public libraries are similar to honorific public statues, but they are perhaps even more similar to statue galleries of *uiri illustres*. One of the earliest and most famous of these is in the Forum of Augustus, where the exedra and colonnade on one side featured statues of famous men from the Julian gens, and the other the statues of famous men from the history of the

---

[76] Fejfer 2008: 48-51.

[77] Fejfer 2008: 33-45, 48-51.

[78] As were those (at least at a later date) in Trajan's library, see Chenault 2012: 108-110.

Republic (**figure 4.3**).[79] Each statue was not set up individually as an honor for an individual, as is generally the case with honorific statuary.[80] Rather, they were conceived of as a collection, a summation of the great figures of the past. In libraries too, we get the sense that the portraits of authors in libraries were conceived of as a group, and in particular a group whose membership is made up of the greatest figures in that given community (the *auctores*, the *ueteres et praecipuos*, the *uiri illustris ingeni*, and so on).

Figure 4.3 The Forum Augustum (from Flower 1996: 226)
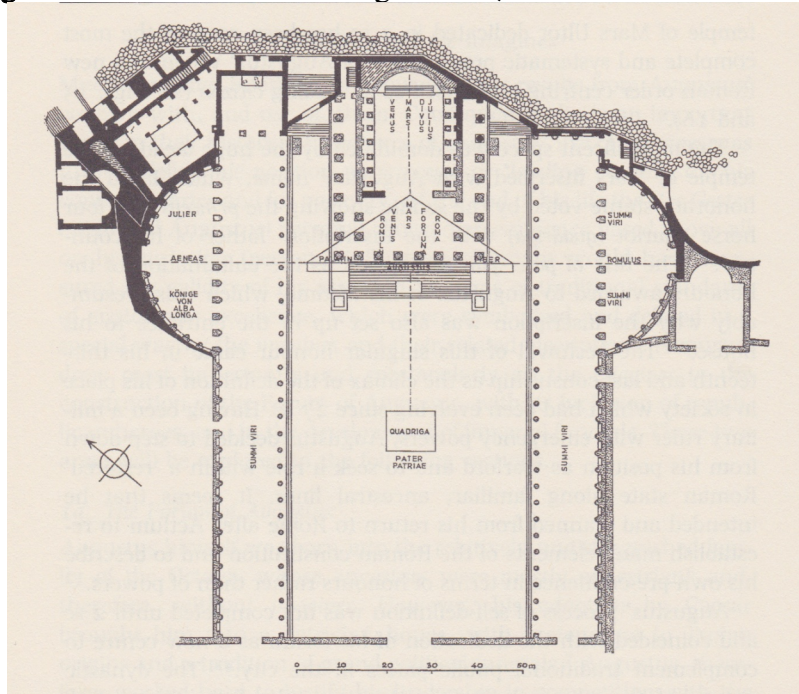
Accounts of author portraits often remark on their relationship to a type of private portraiture, the *imagines maiorum*, "ancestor masks."[81] Yet the name *imago* should not lead us to assume too great a similarity. Ancestor masks were made of wax and were largely kept in closed cabinets, except when they were being worn at funeral processions.[82] Author portraits are attested in gold, silver, bronze, and plaster; they could be busts, clipeate portraits, or full-body portraits;

---

[79] Ovid *Fasti* 5.563-66, Suet. *Aug.* 31.5, SHA *Alex.* 28.6. On the collection as a "Hall of Fame" see Geiger 2008.

[80] Other galleries did exist, usually as family groups like clipeate portraits above the columns of the Basilica Aemilia dedicated by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in 75/74 BC (see Flower 1996: 71-77).

[81] E.g. Petrain (forthcoming) and Too 2010: 210-12.

[82] On the nature of ancestor masks, see Flower 1996.

and they appear to have been displayed prominently.[83] There are some overlaps between the two. Ancestor masks were also seen as a spur to emulation,[84] although this is true of public honorific portraits too. It is worth note that ancestor masks directly precede author portraits in Pliny's discussion of portraits (*NH* 35.6-10). Yet the connection might rather be found in Pliny's concern about materials and about the deviation from true likeness in portraiture. Finally, it is correct that author portraits were most often of the deceased, but this appears to be true of other public honorific statues as well.[85] In sum, the relationship between ancestor masks and author portraits was not a particularly close one.

V Differences From Other Public Statues

For all their similarities with other public portraiture, portraits in libraries *were* different. When a decision was made to include or exclude a portrait of a certain individual in a library, it was almost always in conjunction with the inclusion or exclusion of their books. The portraits stood in as a conspicuous sign for the presence (or absence) of the books, more apparent than the books themselves.[86] There was not simply an equivalence between the books and the portraits of their authors. Libraries had books by multitudes of authors: only a select number of whom were represented by portraits. Rather, like the honorific portraits and galleries of heroes, the portraits of authors marked those whose formed a kind of literary "hall of fame." As a result, the presence or absence of statues is a way to articulate the composition of the canon.

The earliest mention of an author's books and portrait together come in Horace's mockery of a certain Fannius: "Fannius is happy when, unasked, his bookshelves and portrait are brought out" (*beatus Fannius ultro / delatis capsis et imagine*, *Serm.* 1.4.21-22). As noted earlier, the books and portrait are not necessarily in any library, though a fifth-century scholiast postulated "his legacy hunters were sending his portraits and books into public libraries" (*huius imagines*

---

[83] On the attested materials for author portraits, see Appendix C.

[84] E.g. Polybius 6.53, Sallust *Iug.* 4.

[85] Fejfer 2008: 45. Moreover, the portrait of Varro as a living author in the Atrium of Liberty was not unique. Favorinus and Julius Longianus were still alive when their portraits were dedicated, as was Horace's Fannius. A certain Sterninius wants Martial's portrait for his private library (*Ep.* 9.*praef.*). The SHA depicts the senate giving the still-living Numerian a statue in Trajan's library, where we know that Sidonius Apollinaris also received one while still alive to boast of it.

[86] The metonymic relationship between books and author portraits in libraries has also been remarked on by Petrain (forthcoming).

et libros heredipetae in bibliothecas publicas referebant, Pseudo-Acron on Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.21).

More concretely, we saw that Tiberius, who delighted in and imitated the poems of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, dedicated "their writings and portraits" (*scripta omnium et imagines*, Suet. *Tib.* 70.2) in the public libraries. Caligula nearly removed "the writings and portraits of Virgil and Livy" (*Vergili[i] ac Titi Liui scripta et imagines*, Suet. *Calig.* 34.2) from all libraries, and in his banishment of Homer it is not even clear whether it is the portraits, the books, or both that Caligula wishes to destroy—a distinction that is also unclear when Hadrian deposes Homer (Cass. Dio 69.4.6). The decree honoring Julius Longianus at Halicarnassus specifies that his statue would be put up in the Museum and Gymnasium, and his books in the libraries (ii 10-16). Finally, the SHA claims that the emperor Tacitus took measures to ensure the writings *and* portraits of the historian Tacitus were present in all libraries (*Tac.* 10.3).

So the combination of portraits *and* books is significant.[87] In the cases we have looked at, the portraits stand in for the books, and the controversies over author portraits are really controversies over books. When Caligula threatens to banish Homer, he gives Plato as a precedent, "saying why should he not be allowed to do what Plato had done?" (*cur enim sibi non licere dicens, quod Platoni licuisset*, Suet. *Calig.* 34.2). His reasoning reveals the move as an assertion of cultural authority: it sets up Caligula as in the same league as Homer (on whom he can cast judgment) and Plato (since he implicitly likens himself to Plato—or to one of Plato's philosopher-kings). We can see Tiberius' promotion of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius in the same light. The three were exemplars of a kind of scholarly Hellenistic poetry, and Tiberius is asserting his cultural authority by holding them up as models for emulation. Hadrian did not just depose Homer: he replaced him with Antimachus (Cass. Dio 69.4.6). In many ways, the controversy here is over the canon.

Strictly speaking, there was no official canon, no definitive list of the great authors. There was an idea that certain authors were approved authorities. Suetonius is critical of Tiberius for including his Hellenistic poets "among the old and outstanding authorities" (*inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores, Tib.* 70.2). Tacitus has Tiberius ask the senate to restrain themselves on the size and

---

[87] Petrain (forthcoming) argues that author portraits, as well as the *armaria* holding the rolls, acted as a visual supplementation to the books; they were a "solution to the problem of how to monumentalize collections of books." On combinations of art and text, especially in relation to libraries, see Too 2010: 192-97.

material of Germanicus' portrait "among the authorities on eloquence" (*inter auctores eloquentiae, Ann.* 2.83), since it was "enough of an honor to be included among the ancient writers" (*satis inlustre si ueteres inter scriptores haberetur, Ann.* 2.83). The resulting decree of the senate places Germanicus and Drusus "among the portraits of men of famous talent" (*inter imagines uirorum inlustris ingeni*). The decree in honor of Julius Longianus states that the dedication of his books to the libraries was made "so that the young might learn from them in just the same way that they learn from the writings of ancients" (ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτοις οἱ νέοι παιδεύων|ται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαίων συ[γ]|γράμμασιν, ii 16-18). It also makes clear that he rates a statue "next to the ancient Herodotus" (παρὰ | τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον, ii 13-14). Sidonius Apollinaris boasts of his place "fixed among the authorities of the Greek and Latin libraries" (*inter auctores utriusque fixam / bibliothecae, Epist.* 9.16.3vv27-28). Controversies over whose portraits would be displayed in libraries were controversies over what books should be counted among the established authorities: they were fights over the canon.

It would have been possible to simply include or exclude the writings themselves, but by including portraits the decision is much more visible and readily apparent. One could walk into a library and have no idea whether they had copies of Homer or Euphorion (unless you went looking for those books in particular). It would be immediately apparent if Homer was missing, however, and some regular visitors might notice the presence of a new face, whether or not they recognized that face as Euphorion. I am arguing that the decision to include or exclude certain portraits was a socially significant action because it was an assertion of cultural authority. The fact that it was portraits and not simply books meant that there was a much wider audience for the action than there would have otherwise been.

VI The Stakes: Critics and Competitors

I have suggested a hypothesis behind the controversies over the inclusion/exclusion of author portraits in libraries: that it was part of a cultural negotiation over the canon of approved authors. In some ways, we could say the same about other public honorific portraiture: it was part of a cultural negotiation over the meaning of the past and who counted as *uiri illustres*—much like the portraits in the Forum of Augustus. And, indeed, it seems that author portraits frequently combined the two: they were honors for literary lights who were (often) also good citizens. The interconnectedness of *paideia* and prestige was self-evident to contemporary viewers. Seen as a "cultural negotiation," however,

we can lose sight of the stakes for those involved, and lose sight of the way that act of giving meaning to the past ultimately serves the interests of individuals in the present. Who was part of this cultural negotiation? What did they stand to lose or gain?

The question breaks down along two levels, which we might call the critic level and the competitor level. What I have so far drawn attention to is the critic level. By casting judgment on a particular author (positive or negative), you implicitly assert your own expertise and standing. In the decree honoring Longianus, the motion was introduced by a certain Theophrastus Trypho, son of Eubiotus, a comic poet (εἰσηγησαμένου Θεοφράστου τοῦ Εὐβιότου Τρύφωνος |[κωμῳδοῦ]⁸⁸ iii 4-5). The man to second the motion, Eutyches son of Eutyches, was also a comic poet ([ἐπιψηφισαμένου Ε]ὐτύχους τοῦ Εὐτύχους κωμῳδοῦ, iii 5). Not only were they comic poets, but they chose to have themselves identified as such in the inscription. It would appear that Theophrastus Trypho and Eutyches were trying to establish their own cultural authority among their fellow citizens—an authority implicitly recognized by the fact that the measure was approved. Such an assertion of cultural authority is successful in as far as the opinion is accepted. Suetonius' response to Tiberius and the Hellenistic poets was derision; his response to Caligula's intended expulsion of Livy and Virgil was disgust.

There may sometimes be another, and more immediate motivation, if we look not at the critic level but at the competitor level. Tiberius did not just try to establish his Hellenistic poets in the canon, he wrote poems in Greek and imitated the style of those Hellenistic poets. In his imitation he was competing with them, but he was also competing with the other poets of his day. By promoting the style of the Hellenistic poets, he gave a field for his own poetry to have success. Cassius Dio ascribed to jealousy Hadrian's hostility to both Homer and Favorinus. Was Hadrian really jealous of Homer? I do not think that we should exclude a positive answer just because it seems strange to us.

Both levels, the critic and the competitor, point to the way that authority in *paideia* gave access to a broader kind of authority. *Paideia* was not just an abstract idea, or a kind of knowledge divorced from the material world. *Paideia* was something manifest in attitudes, practices, and material artifacts. Because of the place of liberal studies in elite self-definition, contests over authority will often take the form of disputes involving *paideia*. This dissertation has argued that the

---

⁸⁸ Although the "comic poet" is here in a part of the inscription that is broken off, we can restore it with confidence based on the second occurrence of his name (at iii 14).

material manifestations of *paideia* are crucial for understanding how it was that *paideia* was an effective force in the Roman social world. In this case, decisions on author portraits in libraries are part of a larger cultural negotiation over the canon, yet this negotiation was driven by actors who made those decisions with their own individual interests at stake.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I argued that the physical media through which literature was experienced (books, statues, and especially libraries) are crucial for understanding how *paideia* functioned in the economy of prestige.

The first chapter showed that the increasing role of literacy in various institutions gave rise to places that were conceived of as dedicated primarily to the storage and use of books: libraries. Some of these institutions, like gymnasia and royal libraries, had a lasting influence on what Romans understood libraries to be. I argued against the traditional narrative of a single genius inventor, and the concomitant theory of the development of the "Greek library." This argument has further implications for libraries in the Roman period. The schema of the "Greek library" has been used to explain the supposed architectural form of Roman private libraries.[1] It has also been used to suggest architectural allusions, such as the Palatine Apollo library as a nod to the Pergamene library.[2] If there is no such thing as the "Greek library," as I argued, then such explanations and allusions will have to be reconsidered.

The second chapter made the case that physical structure of private libraries could be used by a *dominus* to reinforce and justify his place in the social hierarchy, in particular in relation to guests. The library was conceptually central in domestic gymnasia, even though it was physically marginal. These gymnasia were visible to low-status guests, but at the same time inaccessible: such guests were made to be spectators of their own exclusion. Throughout the course of the chapter, a conflict between the literary and archaeological evidence came into focus. The literary sources depicted evoked gymnasia in peristyle gardens as special places dedicated to an elite sociality that had *paideia* at its heart. These were places to walk with peers and talk about literature or rhetoric. The archaeological evidence suggested that peristyle gardens were multi-purpose places common to many domiciles, whether or not their owners had pretensions to Hellenic culture. Yet the evidence does not conflict with itself so much as shed light on the interaction between the material and the ideological: the literary depictions were one of the practices through which meaning was asserted over

---

[1] E.g. Callmer 1944: 154-56, Wendel 1949 (= 1974: 144-64), *RAC* s.v. Bibliothek col. 239, 261-62 (= 1974: 171, 174); Strocka 1981: 302; Cavallo 1988: viii-xiii; Casson 2001: 28-29, 74, 88.
[2] E.g. Dix 1986: 204, Blanck 1992: 161.

the space of the peristyle, which would have in fact been full of family members, slaves, and everyday activities. At the same time, the space itself (re)produced a particular social construction, the patron/client hierarchy, and gave it justification in the patron's participation in a culture of *paideia* in which the client took no part.

The implications of this chapter are several. First, there is no unique "architectural form" of the private library. Without books *in situ*, there is no way to identify a private library. Moreover, it is not really the case that the peristyle evokes the Greek gymnasium and provides an appropriate setting for certain practices (like learned discussion). The architectural form of the peristyle garden (basically a colonnade) is over-determined to the point of being meaningless. Yet this does not mean that private libraries were unrecognizable and that peristyle gardens lacked strong associations for their users. Rather, this state of affairs should point us to the fact that it is through practice that meaning is given to the space. Yet the space itself was not simply a backdrop to which meaning was given. The particular arrangement of the private library and the domestic gymnasium within the peristyle garden was something that itself (re)produced social relationships, and gave meaning to the social division.

Thus far it might seem that libraries themselves were seen in an unequivocally positive light, as symbols of cultural and financial resources. A library could make one look foolish if one owned a library but lacked the cultural capital to use it properly—but there the problem would be not so much the library as the user. The third chapter pointed out that the very materiality of libraries had a tendency to undermine their place in elite ideology by implicating them in the discourse of *luxuria*. We might expect books to be a sign of *studia*, and of the kind of cultivation of one's noble nature that lay at the heart of elite self-definition. And so they were. But they were also expensive and aesthetically appealing material goods, and as such they were also a sign of indulgence in purchased pleasure—especially when there was an abundance of books. The internal tension between books-as-*studia* and books-as-*luxuria* was evident in readings of Seneca, Plutarch, and Lucian, and has profound implications for the understanding of Roman culture. Most scholarship on ancient libraries has focused how they projected power and prestige; this chapter should make us reconsider. In fact, libraries were liable to undermine the place of liberal studies in elite ideology by blurring the categories of *studia* and *luxuria*.

Finally, control over the material trappings of the library (especially author portraits) could function as a proxy for the exercise and establishment of cultural authority, which was inextricably bound up with political power. As such, fights over library statuary provide a window into the inter-relationship between power

and *paideia*. Recent scholarship on portraits in libraries has focused on the aesthetic experience of the library, and on the relationship between art and text. Yun Lee Too considers author portraits as memory mechanisms, as a way to bring death masks to life, and as way to enter a conceptual space inhabited by the past.[3] David Petrain writes of *armaria* and author portraits as metonymic extensions of books, and so as a monumental way of representing them.[4] It is true that portraits of authors were closely bound up with their books, and stood in as a more visible proxy for them. I took a different approach, and examined how these books and portraits throw light on society outside the library, and on the interactions between literature and society. I argued that decisions to include or exclude certain portraits were part of a larger cultural negotiation of the canon. Yet this larger cultural negotiation was driven by the actions of individuals. Because *paideia* gave access to a broader kind of authority, material manifestations of *paideia* could be manipulated to gain power.

---

[3] Too 2010: 205-208 on memory mechanisms (i.e. a way to remember authors, or where their books are, or things about them, or other things entirely), 210-212 an ancestor masks and the conjunction with the text that "literally brings the death mask to life" (212), 213-14 on the way portraits help engage with the past.

[4] Petrain (forthcoming).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allison, Penelope. 2004. *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of Material Culture.* Los Angeles: The University of California and the Costen Institute of Archaeology, Monograph 42. The online companion can be found at http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/home

André, Jacques. 1949. *La vie et oeuvres d'Asinius Pollion.* Paris: Klincksieck.

Bagnall, Roger S. 2002. "Alexandria: Library of Dreams." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146: 348-62.

—, ed. 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology.* Oxford: Oxford Univsity Press.

Balensiefen, Lilian. 2011. "Orte medialer Wirksamkeit: Zur Eigenart und Funktion in der Bibliotheken in Rom." In E. Blumenthal and W. Schmitz, eds., *Bibliotheken im Altertum,* 123-58. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Barthes, Roland. 1967. "The Death of the Author." Trans. Richard Hower. *Aspen* 5-6. [Reprinted 1977, trans. Stephen Heath, in Barthes' *Image, Music, Text,* 142-48. London: Fontana.]

Bennett, Tony. 2010. "Sociology, Aesthetics, Expertise." *New Literary History* 41: 253-76.

Birt, Theodor. 1907. *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst.* Leipzig: Teubner.

Blanck, Horst. 1992. *Das Buch in der Antike.* Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck.

Blum, Rudolf. 1991. *Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography.* Trans. Hans. H. Wellisch. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Blumenthal, Elke and Wolfgang Schmitz, eds. 2011. *Bibliotheken im Altertum.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Bohn, Richard. 1885. *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias. Altertümer von Pergamon II*. Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann.

Bon, S. and R. Jones, eds. 1997. *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Borg, Barbara E., ed. 2004. *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Boudon-Millot, Véronique. 2007. "Un traité perdu de Galien miraculeusement retrouvé, le *Sur l'inutilité de se chagriner*: texte grec et traduction francaise." In V. Boudon-Millot, A. Guardasole, and C. Magdelaine, eds., *La science médicale antique*, 73-123. Paris: Beauchesne.

Boudon-Millot, Véronique, Alessia Guardasole, and Caroline Magdelaine, eds. 2007. *La science médicale antique: nouveaux regards. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jacques Jouanna*. Paris: Beauchesne.

Boudon-Millot, Véronique and Jacques Jouanna, with Antoine Pietrobelli. 2010. *Galien. Oeuvres, tome IV. Ne pas se chagriner*. Paris: Belles Lettres.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 1983. *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

—. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Trans. Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Boyd, Clarence Eugene. 1915. *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Braconi, P. 2007. "La villa di Plinio a San Giustino." In R. Ciardiello, ed., *La villa Romana*, 83-104. Naples: L'Orientale Editrice.

Braconi, P. and J. Uroz Sáez, eds. 1999. *La villa di Plinio il Giovane a San Giustino*. Perugia: Quattroemme.

Branham, R. Bracht. 1989. *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brosius, Maria, ed. 2003. *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bruce, Lorne. 1981. "A Reappraisal of Roman Libraries in the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae.'" *Journal of Library History* 16: 551-73.

Burkhalter, Fabienne. 1990. "Archives locales et archives centrales en Egypte romaine." *Chiron* 20: 191-216.

Callmer, Christian. 1944. "Antike Bibliotheken." *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3 (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* 10): 145-93.

Canfora, Luciano. 1988. "Le biblioteche ellenistiche." In G. Cavallo, ed., *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, 5-28. Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza.

—. 1989. *The Vanished Library*. Trans. Martin Ryle. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

—. 2002. "Aristotele 'fondatore' della Biblioteca di Alessandria." In L. Torraca, ed., *Scritti in onore di Italo Gallo*, 167-75. Rome and Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

Capasso, Mario. 2010. "Who Lived in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum— A Settled Question?" In M. Zarmakoupi, ed., *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum*, 89-114. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Carena, Carlo, Mario Manfredini, and Luigi Piccirilli. 1990. *Le vite di Cimone e di Lucullo*. Fondazione Lorenzo Valla. Arnoldo Mondatori Editore.

Casson, Lionel. 2001. *Libraries in the Ancient World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Castellani, Carlo. 1884. *Le biblioteche nell'antichità dai tempo più remoti alla fine dell'impero romano d'Occidente*. Bologna: Monti.

Cavallo, Guglielmo, ed. 1988. *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*. Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza.

Chenault, Robert. 2012. "Statues of Senators in the Forum of Trajan and the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity." *JRS* 102: 103-33.

Cherniss, Harold. 1945. *The Riddle of the Early Academy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ciardiello, Rosaria, ed. 2007. *La villa Romana*. Naples: L'Orientale Editrice.

Clarke, John. 1991. *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 BC – AD 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Conze, Alexander. 1884. "Die pergamenische Bibliothek." *Sitzungsbericht der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaft* 53: 1259-70.

Cooley, Alison. 2009. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coqueugniot, Gaëlle. (forthcoming). "Where was the Royal Library of Pergamum? An Institution Found and Lost Again." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coskun, Altay, ed. 2005 *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat*. Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht.

Crawford, Michael H. 1996. *Roman Statutes vol. I*. BICS suppl. 64. London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London.

Dareste, R. 1882. "Le χρεωφυλάκιον dans les villes grecques." *BCH* 6: 241-45.

Davies, John K. 2003. "Greek Archives, from Record to Monument." In M. Brosius, ed., *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions*, 323-43. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Delorme, Jean. 1960. *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'Empire romain)*. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.

Dickmann, Jens-Arne. 1997. "The Peristyle and the Transformation of Domestic Space in Hellenistic Pompeii." In R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *Domestic Space in the Roman World*, 121-136. JRA supplement 22. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.

Di Gregori, Giorgio. 1937. "Biblioteche dell'antichità." *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 11: 9-24.

Dillon, John. 2003. *The Heirs of Plato: A Study of the Old Academy, 347-274 BC*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dix, Thomas Keith. 1986. *Private and Public Libraries at Rome in the First Century B.C.: A Preliminary Study in the History of Roman Libraries*. Diss. UMich. Ann Arbor. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

—. 1994. "'Public Libraries in Ancient Rome: Ideology and Reality." *Libraries & Culture* 29: 282-96.

—. 2000. "The Library of Lucullus." *Athenaeum* 88: 441-64.

—. (forthcoming). "'Beware of Promising your Library to Anyone': Assembling a Private Library at Rome." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dix, Thomas Keith and George W. Houston. 2006. "Public Libraries in the City of Rome, from the Augustan Age to the Time of Diocletian." *MEFRA* 118: 671-717.

Du Toit, Jaqueline S. 2011. *Textual Memory: Ancient Archives, Libraries, and the Hebrew Bible*. Sheffield: Phoenix Press.

Dziatzko, Karl. 1897. "Bibliotheken." *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Vol. 3.1, col. 405-424.

Edwards, Catharine. 1993. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, Edward. 1859. *Memoirs of Libraries.* (2 vol.) Burt Franklin Bibliography and Reference Series 72. New York: Burt Franklin.

El-Abbadi, Mostafa. 1990. *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria.* Paris: UNESCO / UNDP.

Fedeli, Paolo. 1988. "Biblioteche private e pubbliche a Roma e nel mondo romano." In G. Cavallo, ed., *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale,* 29-64. Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza.

Fejfer, Jane. 2008. *Roman Portraits in Context.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Flower, Harriet. 1996. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

—. 2006. *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Freudenburg, Kirk. 1993. *The Walking Muse: Horace on the Theory of Satire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Frösén, Jaako. 2009. "The Conservation of Ancient Papyrus Materials." In R. Bagnall, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology,* 79-100. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gallagher, Catherine and Stephen Greenblatt. 2000. *Practicing New Historicism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gardiner, Alan H. 1938. "The House of Life." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24: 157-79.

Gazzetti, Gianfranco, ed. 1997. *Lucus Feroniae*. Rome: Autostrade.

Geiger, Joseph. 2008. *The First Hall of Fame: A Study of the Statues in the* Forum Augustum. Mnem. supp. 295. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Gleason, Maud. 1995. *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Glucker, John. 1978. *Antiochus and the Late Academy*. Hypomnemata Heft 56. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Gottschalk, H. B. 1972. "Notes on the Wills of the Peripatetic Scholarchs." *Hermes* 100: 335-42.

Grahame, Mark. 1997. "Public and Private in the Roman House: the Spatial Order of the *Casa del Fauno*." In R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *Domestic Space in the Roman World*, 137-64. JRA supplement 22. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.

Guidobaldi, Maria Paola and Dominico Esposito. 2010. "New Archaeological Research at the Villa of the Papyri." In M. Zarmakoupi, ed., *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum*, 21-62. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Habinek, Thomas. 1998. *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hadas, Moses, ed. and trans. 1951. *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*. New York: Harper Brothers.

Hales, Shelley. 2003. *The Roman House and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Handis, Michael W. (forthcoming). "Myth and History: Galen and the Alexandrian Library." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris. M.H. 1995. *History of Libraries in the Western World, 4ᵗʰ ed.* Metuchen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Hoepfner, Wolfram, ed. 2002a. *Antike Bibliotheken*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

—. 2002b. "Die Bibliothek Eumenes' II. in Pergamon." In W. Hoepfner, ed., *Antike Bibliotheken*, 41-52. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

—. 2002c. "Platons Akademie: Eine neue Interpretation der Ruinen." In W. Hoepfner, ed., *Antike Bibliotheken*, 56-62. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Hornung, Erik. 1999. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Houston, George W. 1996. "Onesimus the Librarian." *ZPE* 114: 205-208.

—. 2002. "The Slave and Freedman Personnel of the Public Libraries in Ancient Rome." *TAPA* 132: 139-76.

—. 2008. "Tiberius and the Libraries: Public Book Collections and Library Buildings in the Early Roman Empire." *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 43: 247-69.

—. 2009. "The Papyrological Evidence for Book Collections and Libraries in the Roman Empire." In W. Johnson and H. Parker, eds., *Ancient Literacies*, 233-267. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. (forthcoming). "The Non-Philodemus Book Collection in the Villa of the Papyri." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iacopi, Irene and Giovanna Tedone. 2005/2006. "Bibliotheca e Porticus ad Apollinis." *MDAI(R)* 112: 351-78.

Ihm, Max. 1893. "Die Bibliotheken im alten Rom." *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10: 513-32.

Jackson, Sidney L. 1974. *Libraries and Librarianship in the West: A Brief History*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Jacob, Christian. (forthcoming). "Fragments of a History of Ancient Libraries." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobson, D.M., and M.P. Weitzman. 1992. "What was Corinthian Bronze?" *AJA* 96: 237-47.

Jastrow, Morris Jr. 1906. "Did the Babylonian Temples Have Libraries?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 27: 147-82.

Johnson, Lora Lee. 1984. *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to their Architectural Form*. Diss. Brown University. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Johnson, William A. 2010. *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. (forthcoming). "Libraries and Reading Culture in the High Empire." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, William A. and Holt N. Parker, eds. 2009. *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, C. 2009. "Books and Libraries in a Newly-Discovered Treatise of Galen." *JRA* 22: 390-97.

Jordan, Henry. 1874. *Forma Urbis Romae. Regionum XIII*. Berlin: Weidmann.

Joyce, Patrick. 2010. "What is the Social in Social History." *Past and Present* 206: 213-48.

Kah, Daniel and Peter Scholz, eds. 2007. *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Keller, Otto. 1904. *Pseudacronis scholia in Horatium vol. II*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Kivilo, Maarit. 2010. *Early Greek Poets' Lives: The Shaping of the Tradition*. Mnem. suppl. 322. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

König, Jason, Katerina Oikonomopoulou, and Greg Woolf, eds. (forthcoming). *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kowalik, Romuald and Irena Sadursky. 1973. "Microflora of Papyrus from Samples of Cairo Museums." *Studies in Conservation* 18: 1-24.

Kraut, Richard, ed. 1992. *The Cambridge Companion to Plato*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lapidge, Michael. 2006. *The Anglo-Saxon Library*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laurence, Ray and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, eds. 1997. *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*. JRA supplement 22. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.

Law, John and John Hassard. 1999. *Actor-Network Theory and After*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Leach, Eleanor. 1997. "Oecus on Ibycus: Investigating the Vocabulary of the Roman House." In S. Bon and R. Jones, eds., *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, 50-72. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

—. 2004. *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefkowitz, Mary. 2012. *The Lives of the Greek Poets, 2nd Ed*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lemerle, P. 1935. "Chronique de fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'orient hellénique." *BCH* 59: 233-309.

Lipsius, Justus. 1602. *De Bibliothecis Syntagma*. Antwerp: Moretus.

Lomeier, Johann. 1669. *De Bibliothecis Liber Singularis*. Zutphania: Henry Beerren.

Lorenz, Thuri. 1965. *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Lugli, Giuseppe. 1962. *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes, vol I, libri I-IV*. Rome.

Lynch, John Patrick. 1972. *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Maass, Ernst. 1898. *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae*. Berlin: Weidmann.

Maiuri, Amedeo. 1933. *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria I-II*. La Libreria dello Stato.

Makowiecka, Elzbieta. 1978. *The Origin and Evolution of the Architectural Form of the Roman Library*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa University.

Marvin, Miranda. 1989. "Copying in Roman Sculpture: The Replica Series." *Studies in the History of Art 20 (Retaining the Original)*: 29-45.

Marzano, Annalisa. 2007. *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History*. Leiden: Brill.

Mattusch, Carol. 2005. *The* Villa dei Papiri *at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

McCarthy, Kathleen. 2000. *Slaves, Masters, and the Art of Authority in Plautine Comedy*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Mielsch, Harald. 1995. "Die Bibliotheken und die Kunstsammlungen der Könige von Pergamon." *AA* 765-79.

—. 2007. "Traditionelle und neue Züge in den Villen des Plinius." In R. Ciardiello, ed., *La villa Romana*, 49-61. Naples: L'Orientale Editrice.

Montgomery, John Warwick. 1962. *A Seventeenth Century View of European Libraries: Lomeier's* De Bibliothecis, *Chapter 10.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moretti, Mario and Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti. 1977. *La villa dei Volusii a Lucus Feroniae.* Rome: Autostrade.

Mouritsen, Henrik. 2011. *The Freedman in the Roman World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mueller, Ian. 1992. "Mathematical Method and Philosophical Truth." In R. Kraut, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Plato*, 170-99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Müller, Carl Werner. 2011. "Griechische Büchersammlungen und Bibliotheken vom sechsten Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in hellenstische Zeit." In E. Blumenthal and W. Schmitz, eds., *Bibliotheken im Altertum*, 101-122. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. [= 2009. C. W. Müller: Nachlese. Kleine Schriften 2. Berlin and New York, 17-41.]

Neudecker, Richard. 1988. *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien.* Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

—. 2004 "Aspekte öffentlicher Bibliotheken in der Kaiserzeit." In Barbara E. Borg, ed., *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, 293-313. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

—. (forthcoming). "Archives, Books, and Sacred Space in Rome." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nibby, Antonio. 1838-41. *Roma nell'anno 1838, vol. 2.* Rome: Tip. delle Belle Arti.

Nicholls, Matthew. 2011. "Galen and Libraries in the *Peri Alupias.*" *JRS* 101: 1-20.

—. (forthcoming). "Roman Libraries as Public Buildings in the Cities of the Empire." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nordh, Arvast. 1949. *Libellus de regionibus urbis Romae.* Lund.

Nowicka, Maria. 1993. *Le portrait dans la peinture antique.* Trans. Zsolt Kiss. Warsaw: Institut d'Archeologie et d'Ethnologie Académie Polonaise de Sciences.

Oliver, James H. and E. A. Palmer. 1954. "Text of the Tabula Hebana." *AJP* 75: 225-49.

O'Sullivan, Timothy. 2006. "The Mind in Motion: Walking and Metaphorical Travel in the Roman Villa." *CP* 101: 133-52.

—. 2011. *Walking in Roman Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parthey, Gustav. 1838. *Das alexandrinische Museum.* Berlin: Nikolaische Buchhandlung.

Petersen, Lauren. 2006. *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petrain, David. (forthcoming). "Visual Supplementation and Metonymy in the Roman Public Library." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pfeiffer, Homer. 1931. "The Roman Library at Timgad." *MAAR* 9: 157-65.

Platthy, Jenö. 1968. *Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries, with the Testimonia.* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.

Posner, Ernst. 1972. *Archives in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Powell, Anton and Christopher Smith, eds. 2010. *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales Press.

Pütz, Theodorus. 1925. *De M. Tulli Ciceronis bibliotheca*. Monasterii Westfalorum: Theissingiana.

Rabe, Hugo. 1906. *Scholia in Lucianum*. Stuttgard: Teubner.

Radt, Wolfgang. 2003. "The Library of Pergamon." In A. Savas, ed., *Ancient Libraries in Anatolia*, 19-31. Ankara: Middle East Technical University Library.

Rawson, Elizabeth. 1985. *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Richmond, O. L. 1914. "The Augustan Palatium." *JRS* 4: 193-226.

Richter, Daniel. 1999. "Lucian's Learned *Barbaros*: Parodying Diatribe in the *Adversus Indoctum*." *APA 130th Annual Meeting Abstracts*.

Riggsby, Andrew. 1997. "'Private' and 'Public' in Roman Culture: the Case of the *cubiculum*." *JRA* 10: 36-56.

—. 2003. "Pliny in Space (and Time)." *Arethusa* 36: 167-86.

Rohrbacher, David. 2010. "Physiognomics in Imperial Latin Biography." *CA* 29: 92-116.

Rudd, Niall. 1956. "Horace and Fannius: A Discussion of Two Passages in Horace, *Serm.* 1." *Hermathena* 87: 49-60.

Ryholt, Kim. (forthcoming). "Libraries in Ancient Egypt." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sailor, Dylan. 2008. *Writing and Empire in Tacitus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Savas, Aysen. 2003. *Ancient Libraries in Anatolia: Libraries of Hattusha, Pergamon, Ephesus, Nysa*. Ankara: Middle East Technical University Library.

Schefold, Karl. 1943. *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner, und Denker*. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co. Verlag.

Schmeling, Gareth, with Aldo Setaioli. 2011. *A Commentary on the* Satyrica *of Petronius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scholz, Peter. 2007. "Elementarunterricht und intellektuelle Bildung im hellenistischen Gymnasion." In D. Kah and P. Scholz, eds., *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, 103-128. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Schowalter, Daniel N., ed. 2005 *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sehlmeyer, M. 1999. *Stadtrömische Ehrenstatuen der republikanischen Zeit*. Historia Einz. 130. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Sgubini Moretti, Anna Maria, ed. 1998. *La villa dei Volusii a Lucus Feroniae*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider and Ingegneria per la Cultura.

Sickinger, James P. 1999. *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens*. Chapel Hill and London: Univeristy of North Carolina Press.

Sider, David. 2005. *The Library of the* Villa dei Papiri *at Herculaneum*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

—. 2010. "The Books of the Villa of the Papyri." In M. Zarmakoupi, ed., 115-27. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Sogliano, Antonio. 1900. *Plato nell' accademia: musaico pompeiano*. Naples: Casa Editrice.

Staikos, Konstantinos Sp. 2004. *The History of the Library in Western Civilization I: From Minos to Cleopatra: The Greek World from the Minoans' Archival Libraries to the Universal Library of the Ptolemies*. Trans. Timothy Cullen. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press and MS 't Goy-Houten: HES DE GRAAF Publishers BV and Athens: Kotinos Publications.

———. 2005. *The History of the Library in Western Civilization II: From Cicero to Hadrian: The Roman World from the Beginnings of Latin Literature to the Monumental and Private Libraries of the Empire*. Trans. Timothy Cullen. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press and MS 't Goy-Houten: HES DE GRAAF Publishers BV and Athens: Kotinos Publications.

Strocka, Volker Michael. 1981. "Römische Bibliotheken." *Gymnasion* 88: 298-329.

———. 2000. "Noch einmal zur Bibliothek von Pergamon." *AA* 155-65.

———. 2003. "The Celsus Library in Ephesus." In A. Savas, ed., *Ancient Libraries in Anatolia*, 33-43. Ankara: Middle East Technical University Library.

Swain, S. C. R. 1990. "Hellenic Culture and the Roman Heroes of Plutarch." *JHS* 110: 126-45.

———. 1992. "Plutarch's Characterization of Lucullus." *RhM* 135: 307-16.

Tanner, Jeremy. 2000. "Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic." *JRS* 90: 18-50.

Thompson, James Westfall. 1940. *Ancient Libraries*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Too, Yun Lee. 2010. *The Idea of the Library in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Torraca, Luigi, ed. 2002. *Scritti in onore di Italo Gallo*. Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli Studi di Salerno, Sezioni Atti Convegni Miscellanee 59. Rome and Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

Travlos, John. 1971. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson. (A translation of the original Greek, which was published contemporaneously by Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, Tübingen.)

Tröster, Manuel. 2005. "Lucullus and his Foreign *amici*." In A. Coskun, ed., *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat*, 91-111. Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht.

—. 2008. *Themes, Character, and Politics in Plutarch's* Life of Lucullus. Historia Einz. 201. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Tucci, Pier Luigi. 2008. "Galen's Storeroom, Rome's Libraries, and the Fire of AD 192." *JRA* 21: 133-49.

—. (forthcoming). "Flavian Libraries in the City of Rome." In J. König, K. Oinomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vanderpool, Eugene. 1959. "News Letter from Greece." *AJA* 63: 279-83.

Varner, Eric. 2004. *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden: Brill.

Wacker, Christian. 2007. "Die bauhistorische Entwicklung der Gymnasien von der Parkanlage zum 'Idealgymnasion' des Vitruv." In D. Kah and P. Scholz, eds., *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, 349-62. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Walker, Thomas K. 1991. "Justus Lipsius and the Historiography of Libraries." *Libraries and Culture* 26: 49-65.

Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1983. *Suetonius, the Scholar and his Caesars*. London: Duckworth.

—. 1994. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

—. 2008. *Rome's Cultural Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wendel, Carl. 1943. "Der antike Bücherschrank." *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*: 267-99. (= 1974: 64-92).

—. 1949. "Die bauliche Entwicklung der antiken Bibliothek." *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 63: 407-428. (= 1974: 144-64).

—. 1951-54. "Bibliothek." *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* Vol. 2, col. 231-74. (= 1974: 165-99).

—. 1974. *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekswesen.* Werner Krieg, ed. Köln: Greven Verlag.

White, Michael L. 2005. "Favorinus' 'Corinthian Oration': A Piqued Panorama of the Hadrianic Forum." In D. Schowalter, ed., *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, 61-110. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Woolf, Greg. (forthcoming). "Approaching the Ancient Library." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zadorojnyi, Alexei V. (forthcoming). "Libraries and *paideia* in the Second Sophistic: Plutarch and Galen." In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zanker, Paul. 1995. *The Mask of Socrates.* Trans. Alan Shapiro. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Zarmakoupi, Mantha. 2010. *The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

APPENDIX A

A HISTORY OF THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY

I would like to bring together here a short survey of the historiography of libraries as it has existed in various periods—keeping in focus the fact that this historiography did not follow a purely unified line of development, but rather served different purposes for the different communities in which it was produced. The investigation is an important one, because each generation has, in some ways, looked to the past to guide its inquiries, and so the history of library historiography has been consequential for what we know about libraries, what we consider libraries to be, and how we write about them.

I Manuals and Legends

So far as we know, there have been books that intend to aid the management of libraries for almost as long as libraries have existed. The *pinakes* of Callimachus, for instance, listed the information on all the books at the library of Alexandria.[5] There are two early works on libraries that seem to be aids to library management, though they could easily have included some content on the history of libraries: "On the Collecting of Books" (περὶ συναγωγῆς βιβλίων), also referred to as "On the Use of Books" (περὶ βιβλίων χρήσεως), by Artemon of Cassandreia,[6] and "The Art of Books" (βιβλιακὴ ἐμπειρία) in three volumes by Telephus,[7] both of whom were Pergamene grammarians in the first century BC. Also in the first century BC, Varro wrote three books *De Bibliothecis*,[8] which may have had something to do with his commission to build a massive public library for Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 44.2). Even if the books were

---

[5] For more see Blum 1991.

[6] Athenaeus 12.515e, 15.694a. These may be two different works. In the first reference, Athenaeus writes that Artemon claimed that the History of Lydia by Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrH* 765 T 5) was really written by Dionysius Scytobrachion (*FGrH* 32 T 6 = *test.* 4 Rusten). In the second, Athenaeus writes that Artemon wrote about types of songs at drinking parties in the second book of his "On the Use of Books."

[7] Suda T 495 Adler (Hesychius). He was a grammarian, who also wrote many books. He wrote grammatical and rhetorical works, and books Homer and the Greek language, as well as books that seem more historical, like those on the kings of Pergamum. In his books on "The Art of Books," the Suda writes that "he gives instruction on which books are worthy of acquisition" (διδάσκει τὰ κτήσεως ἄξια βιβλία).

[8] According to Jerome *Epistles* 33.2 (*test.* 23 *GRF* Funaioli).

mostly about the arrangement and furnishing of libraries, it is hard to imagine an antiquarian like Varro passing over the history of libraries in silence.

There are only two securely attested fragments of Varro's *De Bibliothecis*, both preserved in Charisius.[9] One simply remarks that he used the form *uectigaliorum*, and the other on his use of the term *gluten* for glue in the phrase "he fixed it up with glue and citron-wood" (*glutine et citro*[10] *refecit*). A note on the history of papyrus attributed to Varro in Pliny's *Natural History* (13.68-70) is also a likely suspect. Varro had told about a rivalry between a Ptolemy and an Attalid over libraries, and said that parchment was invented in Pergamum in response to an embargo on papyrus by Egypt. Although the evidence is less solid, Varro is thought to be the source of many subsequent passages on library history, such as Aulus Gellius 7.17 and Isidore's *Origines* 6.3 (perhaps via Suetonius' *De Viris Illustribus*).[11] Luciano Canfora has argued that to the contrary, the sources for these later snippets of library history is likely to be a Jewish or Christian text that incorporates part of the Letter of pseudo-Aristeas.[12]

Over the following two hundred years, there were a few more works on book collecting. The first of these was an "On the Acquisition and Selection of Books" (περὶ κτήσεως καὶ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων) in twelve books by a certain Philo, who was active in the late-first and second century AD,[13] and the second was a "Lover of Books: On Books Worth Owning" (φιλόβιβλος . . . περὶ ἀξιοκτήτων βιβλίων) by a certain Damophilus in the following century.[14]

Elsewhere we find hints that the history of libraries was a subject of interest—especially when the history involved the endeavors of the Hellenistic

---

[9] See Varro *fr.* 53 *GRF* Funaioli (= p. 186 Barwick) and *fr.* 54 *GRF* Funaioli (= p. 110 Barwick and p. 167 Barwick).

[10] The *editio princeps* (1532) emends this to *cinere* in the occurrence at p. 110 Barwick, and the edition of Fabricius (1551) emends it to *cinere* at p. 167 Barwick (both according to Keil's apparatus). A better reading might be *cedro*. Pliny the Elder writes that citron-wood had fungecidal and pesticidal properties (*NH* 16.197 and 16.212). Papyrus was frequently treated with cedar oil, as attested by ancient authors (see, e.g., Horace *Ars Poet.* 332 [and Porph. *ad loc*]; Ovid *Trist.* 1.1.7, 3.1.13, 3.1.55; Persius 1.42; Martial 3.2.7, 5.6.14, 8.61.4; Lucian *Adu. Ind.* 16; Pacian. *Epist.* 2.4. p. 32; Mart. Cap. 2.136) and by modern studies of ancient papyrus (e.g. Kowalik and Sadurska 1973, Frösén 2009: 83).

[11] Canfora 1989: 126-31 traces the arguments used.

[12] Canfora 1989: 126-31, 183-89.

[13] Suda Φ 447 Adler. Philo was a grammaticus, and he also wrote books about famous cities and about the reign of Hadrian. The Suda also says that he was consul, and was also called Herennius.

[14] Suda Δ 52 Adler. The Suda calls him a philosopher and a sophist, who wrote many books. The "Lover of Books" is dedicated to a Lollius Maximus.

kings. Vitruvius wrote that the Attalids of Pergamum founded the first library, which was then rivaled by the Ptolemies in Alexandria (7.*praef*.4). Pliny the Elder also wrote about the rivalry between Pergamum and Alexandria (*NH* 13.70), as mentioned above. The thirst for books among the Attalid kings played a role in the legendary adventures of the library of Aristotle, as told by Strabo (13.1.54). For Galen, the thirst for books among the Ptolemies underpinned stories like the theft of the official copies of the great tragedians from Athens, the theft of all books found on persons entering Egypt, and the increase in forgeries by those who sought to profit from the kings' interest in old and rare books.[15] A Ptolemaic desire for books also lay at the heart of the legend that told of the *Septuagint* translation, as recorded in the letter of pseudo-Aristeas (probably in the second century BC). The story of Caesar inadvertently burning down the great library of Alexandria is first ascribed to Livy, as noted in Seneca (*Dial.* 9.9.5), and appears again in Aulus Gellius (7.17), Cassius Dio (42.38.2), and Orosius (6.15.31). Most of these are scattered anecdotes or part of the background. Gellius is the first surviving author to put a sustained focus on libraries. In his chapter on them (7.17), he writes about Pisistratus as the first founder of a library, and of that library being taken by the Persians and restored by Seleucus Nicanor. He also writes about the destruction of the library of Alexandria by fire.[16]

In this early period, then, libraries take part in two distinct historiographical trends. First, there were a number of works whose titles suggest that they treated the buying, collecting, or use of books. It is possible that some of these works consisted of lists of works (like Callimachus' *pinakes*), but this can only be speculation. Only Varro's *De Bibliothecis* is necessarily about libraries. Second, there were the anecdotes about libraries that popped up in other works. These often involved the acquisitiveness of kings and generals, and the transfer of books from one place to another.[17] One work that does not seem to fit in either of these categories is the Aristonicus' "On the Museum at Alexandria" (περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Μουσείου),[18] which is certainly a suggestive title.

---

[15] On stories about the Library of Alexandria in Galen, see Handis (forthcoming).

[16] Canfora 1989: 123-25 believes that the passage about the fire was a later addition to Gellius.

[17] For a set of readings of these traditions, see Jacob (forthcoming).

[18] Phot. *Bibl.* 161.104b38 – 161.105a.3. Aristonicus was active in the Augustan era, and also wrote on the diacritic marks used by the Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus.

II Isidore and After

The first extant work to provide a thorough treatment of libraries is the encyclopedic *Origines* (a.k.a. *Etymologiae*) of Isidore of Seville, written at the start of the seventh century AD. The parts on libraries take up much of the sixth book, "On Books and Ecclesiastical Duties" (*De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis*), of the twenty-volume work. The book is kind of a literary history, but with an emphasis on the materials relating to books and vocabulary for them (accompanied, of course, by etymologies). Throughout there is an overall effort to integrate the Christian tradition and the classical tradition.

The first chapter of this sixth book is essentially a book-list of the Old and New Testaments, giving the names and rough organization of the books (6.1). The second chapter is an explanation of the names (e.g. *Genesis*, *Exodus*, etc.), which often involves a summary of the contents and the relationship between the first lines and the content (6.2). This chapter also deals with questions of authorship (e.g. Who wrote the Book of Job?). These two chapters are consistent with what we surmise about the contents of *pinakes*-style works (although it does not give number of lines in each work) and the earlier library manuals. The third chapter (6.3), on libraries, starts with Esdras, "who restored the library of the Old Testament" after the Babylonian Captivity, and then the chapter proceeds to Pisistratus and Philedelphus, who were also legendary for the editing activities associated with their libraries. This section on libraries leads into one on translations (6.4), starting with the *Septuagint* in Philadelphus' Alexandria and moving forward through time to the work of Origen and Jerome. The next two chapters list the major library owners of the classical world (Aemilius Paullus, Lucullus, Caesar/Varro, Asinius Pollio, 6.5) and the Christian world (Pamphilus Martyr, Jerome, Gennadius, 6.6). Isidore then treats prolific authors among Romans, Greeks, and Christians (6.7); types of genre (6.8); writing materials (wax 6.9, papyrus 6.10, parchment 6.11);[19] typical book length (6.12); terminology for book-related concepts (*uolumen*, *codex*, *liber*, 6.13; *librarius*, *scriba*, *calamus*, *penna*, *folia* 6.14); concordances of the gospels (6.15); the history of the ecumenical councils (6.16); the calendar and religious holidays (Easter 6.17, others 6.18); and finally various religious duties (vespers, matins, etc., 6.19).

---

[19] It is this treatment of writing materials, brought in comparison with Pliny *NH* 13.68-70 (relating Varro's views on parchment and papyrus), that has more than anything led to the suspicion that Varro's *De Bibliothecis* was the ultimate source of Isidore's chapter on libraries. Interestingly, Isidore's version of the invention of parchment at Pergamum does not mention any papyrus embargo from Egypt.

Isidore's treatment is part manual, part literary history, part intellectual foundation for Christian practices and worldview. It is an attempt to explain both how to manage the material artifacts of the literary tradition, and at the same time an explanation of what that literary tradition codifies. Following Isidore there is a gap of almost a thousand years, though perhaps this gap is simply due to the shortcomings of my own knowledge.

The sixteenth century at least saw a few passages devoted to libraries in larger works. Patricius Franciscus (Francesco Patrizzi), in his *De institutione rei publicae* (1534), spent a few pages on libraries. His main concern seems to be how libraries ought to be laid out, but he does give some information on the size and history of some of the famous libraries of antiquity (Alexandria, Pergamum). The main source of information appears to be Vitruvius, although he is not named explicitly.

A few more pages are devoted to libraries in the *Catalogus gloriae mundi* (1571) of Bartholomaeus Cassannaeus (1529-97). Cassanaeus presents an overview of various famous libraries, ancient and contemporary, in which he utilizes various sources (Vitruvius, the elder Pliny, the SHA). The presentation follows no recognizable pattern, starting with the library of Gordianus the Younger and hopscotching back and forth in time between such figures as Ptolemy Philadelphus and Alphonsus of Arragon. He ends by acknowledging the need to define what he means by a book, for which purpose he delightfully quotes a long passage of Luca da Penna, starting "A book is the light of the heart . . ." (*liber est lumen cordis . . .*) and continuing on for another half a page.

The most systematic effort is the work of Fulvio Orsini, whose *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum, ex anitquis lapidibus et nomismatibus, expressa cum adnotatione, ex bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini* (1570) featured a short section *a bibliothecis* (pp. 102-105) composed of two parts, the first covering the libraries of ancient Rome and the second covering the staff in charge of them. The *a bibliothecis* was designed to give the background information for the inscriptions that he presents drawings of on page 105. The work is carefully organized and makes extensive use of quotations from ancient sources. The quotations and inscriptions that Orsini gathered together proved to be a major resource for Justus Lipsius, who would write the first ever monograph on library history.

III Lipsius, Edwards, and the Practical Historical Guide to Libraries

In 1602, Justus Lipsius wrote his *De bibliothecis syntagma*. Lipsius organized the book geographically (starting with Egypt, which he believed had the earliest libraries, and moving through Greece, Pergamum, then Rome), and chronologically within each geographic area.[20] For Rome, about which he had the most information, he was able to have several chapters, divided between public and private (also roughly chronologically). Lipsius also included chapters on the artistic design of libraries, and a final chapter that was a protreptic to the funding of libraries and scholars (to book was addressed to Charles of Croy and Aarschot, who had been a benefactor of the university at Heverlee). Lipsius had read widely in Greek and Latin, and included most of the quotations on which library history still rests. It is interesting that Lipsius made no mention of Hebrew or Christian libraries, although he had read (and quoted from) Isidore's *Origines*.[21]

Lipsius' *De bibliothecis* proved to be popular and influential. It was reprinted together with Isidore's *Origines* Book Six in 1614, and then the two together with Fulvio Orsini's *a bibliothecis* in 1620. These three works formed the core of Joachim Johann Mader's 1666 *De bibliothecis atque archivis virorum clarissimorum quos aversa monstrat pagina, libelli et commentationes, cum praefatione de scriptis et bibliothecis antediluvianis*. Mader's collection brought together passages from over a dozen authors on various aspects of libraries (both ancient and contemporary) such as décor and slave-staffing.[22] In all, the *De bibliothecis* of Justus Lipsius went through 14 editions, was translated into four languages, made into an epitome, and that epitome the subject of an additional 10 editions.

The greatest leap forward after Lipsius followed Mader by only a few years, in the form of the *De bibliothecis liber singularis* of Johannis Lomeier in 1669.[23] Lomeier's monumental work included classical as well as Judeo-Christian antiquity, and covered libraries throughout the middle ages up until his own day.

---

[20] The general organization is a product of Lipsius' principles of historiography, as pointed out by Walker 1991.

[21] This would also be consistent with his principles of historioraphy (maintaining a division between sacred and secular histories). Yet Lipsius was clearly bothered by the hostility of early Christians to classical learning and literature.

[22] The collection included the passages from Franciscus and Cassanaeus, discussed above, as well as many written after Lipsius' *De bibliothecis*. One major work was not included in Mader, a universal library history by Louis Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières, qui ont esté, & qui sont à present dans le monde* (Paris, 1644 and 1655).

[23] For more on Lomeier and his *De bibliothecis* see Montgomery 1962.

The book is over 400 pages long, ten times as long as the monograph of Lipsius. About half is taken up with library history, and half a mix of matters such as a survey of contemporary libraries and some individual chapters on matters like special collections, library furnishings, library staffing, and one final chapter on "the enemies of libraries." When J. A. Schmidt made an enlarged second edition of Mader in 1702-1705 (in three volumes), he included Lomeier's *De bibliothecis* in its entirety, which took up the vast bulk of the third volume.

Edwards Edwards took the project of Lipsius and Lomeier to new lengths with his 1859 *Memoirs of Libraries* in two massive tomes, comprising around 2,000 pages. Edwards covered library history, but also provided a comprehensive listing of the libraries of the present, as well as an essentially separate work, "A Handbook of Library Economy," about practical matters of librarianship: acquisitions, furnishings, buildings, etc. Lipsius and Lomeier had also treated practical matters of librarianship. Yet Lipsius' work was largely taken up with the history of ancient libraries and only a small portion dealt with practical matters; the situation is largely reversed in Edwards. In the *Memoirs* the history of ancient libraries takes up only the first 78 pages, though a good portion of the work treats subsequent library history. The *Memoirs of Libraries* marks a kind of fork in the road, after which library history and practical librarianship split into disparate genres—or rather, the *Memoirs* marks the emergence of a genre on practical librarianship, while the genre of library history was emerging in the emerging academic fields of Archaeology, Classics, and Ancient History.

IV The Nineteenth Century and Modern Scholarship

The nineteenth century saw an ever-increasing amount of publications on ancient libraries, with pieces generally being written in the vernacular, such as Carlo Castellani's *Le biblioteche nell'antichità* (1884) and Max Ihm's "Die Bibliotheken im alten Rom" (1893). Although working with many of the same literary and epigraphical sources as their predecessors, this generation of scholars was also able to take advantage of the gains that had come through the development of more detailed topographical knowledge of ancient Rome, especially following the publication of the Severan Marble Plan in 1874.[24] There even began to be a few archaeological discoveries of ancient libraries. The

[24] Jordan 1874. Of the works two cited here, Ihm took much greater advantage of the increased topographical knowledge of the ancient city than Castellani. A (slightly later) work of note in English is Boyd 1915, which also made good use of the better topographical knowledge of the city.

Library of Trajan was identified near Trajan's Column, and site of the Palatine Apollo library was also identified.[25] In the East, the discovery and excavation of the Pergamene library in the early 1880s provided the foundation the model of the "Greek library" as an architectural form.[26]

The crowning achievement of nineteenth-century scholarship on libraries came in the form of entries to two of the day's great utopian scholarly projects: the *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* entry for *Bibliotheken* by Karl Dziatzko (1897) and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* entry for *bibliotheca* by Max Ihm (1900-1906). These two works systematized and condensed all knowledge about the subject, and they set the foundation on which all scholarship on ancient libraries continues to be based.

Dziatzko organized his article into ten sections: I on the word βιβλιοθήκη, II Bibliography on libraries, III Oriental libraries (primarily the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh), IV Pre-Alexandrian Greek libraries (Pisistratus and the story of Xerxes, Aristotle), V Alexandria, VI Pergamum, VII Libraries of the Roman era (private, public, then provincial), VIII Layout of libraries, IX Service staff, and X Expansion and changes in the meaning of the word.

One can still detect in Dziatzko the overall organization of Lipsius, yet there is much that is new. Dziatzko brought together literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence to form a coherent history of their origins and development. This history was influential, and its structure can be seen in a multitude of works.[27] Dziatzko believed that the Pergamene library must have been based on the plan of the Museum in Alexandria, and used Strabo to inform his reading of the Pergamene ruins. Examined in conjunction with Plutarch's description of the library of Lucullus and the ruins of the Villa of the Papyri, a pattern emerged. The characteristic form of the ancient library, Dziatzko believed, was a room (or rooms) for the storage of books connected to a colonnade where the books were actually used.[28]

---

[25] The library of Trajan was identified with the help of the excavations and research of Nibby 1838: 188-91. A few locations for the Palatine Apollo were suggested, and it was a matter of debate through the end of the nineteenth century (Ihm 1893: 516n15 gives some bibliography). The question was not definitively settled until Richmond 1914.

[26] Originally identified by Conze 1884, though his identification has been challenged (see Coqueugniot [forthcoming] for a history of the question). For the legacy of this model of the "Greek library" see Chapter One.

[27] E.g. Callmer 1944, Wendel *RAC* s.v. *Bibliothek*, col. 231-74 (= 1974: 165-99), Strocka 1981, Blanck 1992, and Casson 2001.

[28] For more on this, see Chapter One (section III).

Ihm's article for the *TLL* is a wealth of quotations on libraries, including inscriptions and questions of orthography. In addition to many of the usual sections, Ihm also organized divisions such as *bibliothecae publicae*, which gives the quotations referring to each known public library, including those of Alexandria and Pergamum; *extra Romam*, which includes evidence for municipal libraries (mostly inscriptions); and *munera et officia*, which gives the various positions such as *procurator bibliothecarum* and *a bybliotheca*.

V The Grand Narrative of the Twentieth Century

The work of Dziatzko and Ihm set the stage for what became an overarching narrative for the history of the library in the ancient world, a narrative that dominated much of the scholarship on libraries during the twentieth century. The narrative was developed by Christian Callmer, who combined the picture created by Dziatzko with the ever-increasing archaeological finds and identifications of ancient libraries in the early twentieth century.[29]

In 1937, Giorgio Di Gregori had synthesized the evidence of newly discovered Celsus library at Ephesus and Rogatianus library at Timgad, together with what was known about the libraries of Trajan and the Palatine Apollo.[30] He also proposed identifications for libraries in the Baths of Caracalla, Baths of Trajan, and the Golden House. Surveying the evidence, he outlined a set of characteristic features that could be used to identify Roman libraries, including inter-columnated niches for bookcases, a stepped podium to approach the bookcases, and a large central apsidal space for a statue. Not all of his identifications have withstood the test of time, but his "characteristic features" are still broadly accepted.

As outlined in Chapter One (section III), Callmer combined Dziatzko's formulation of the "ancient library" with Di Gregori's new archaeological data and argued for a "Greek library" composed of small rooms off a colonnade and a "Roman library" consisting of a large reading-room with niches, etc. He saw this partly as a product of the history of ancient libraries, since he believed they began in Greek gymnasia with Aristotle's Lyceum. Callmer's work was built-upon by other scholars, but his general framework remained.[31]

---

[29] Callmer 1944.
[30] Di Gregory 1937.
[31] E.g. Wendel *RAC* s.v. *Bibliothek*, col. 231-74 (= 1974: 165-99), Makowiecka 1978, Strocka 1981, Canfora 1989, Blanck 1992, and Casson 2001.

VI New Directions: Discoveries, Deconstructions, Data

Callmer's narrative was perhaps too neat for the scholars of the later twentieth and early twenty-first century. In particular, on the "Greek library" side of the equation, there simply was not the data to support his narrative. The literary evidence was all of a much later date, and some of it clearly legendary. The archaeological evidence was almost non-existent.[32] In the last thirty years, more scholars have come to focus on the data that we do have rather than creating narratives for the spaces where we do not. As a result, great strides have been made on our knowledge of the (much better attested) libraries of the Roman world. The greatest contributors to this trend have been Lora Johnson, Keith Dix, and George Houston.[33] In particular, Johnson 1984 and Dix and Houston 2006 have created peerless overviews of the evidence for Hellenistic and Roman libraries.

One thing has shaken up our data: the discovery of a new work of Galen in a monastery in Thessaloniki. In 2005, Antoine Pietrobelli found a work of Galen that had until-then been known only by its title, "On the Avoidance of Grief" (περὶ ἀλυπίας).[34] A fire in AD 192 had destroyed the libraries of (at least) the Temple of Peace and the Palatine Apollo, along with all of Galen's own books. The conceit of the "On the Avoidance of Grief" was that it was a *consolatio* to himself on the loss of his books. The work provided a wealth of knowledge about the libraries of Rome in the late second century, although its myriad textual problems have left some matters in question.[35]

A different trend has been to question more fundamentally our assumptions about what libraries were and what they were for. Three major works in this regard are Neudecker (2004), Too (2010), and the collection of essays in König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf (forthcoming, based on a conference in 2008).

Richard Neudecker fundamentally challenged our notions of the ancient library by suggesting that there was no difference between library and archive, and that the public libraries of the Roman world held both literary and

---

[32] On these problems see Chapter One (section III).

[33] See, e.g., Johnson 1984; Dix 1986, 1994, 2000, and (forthcoming); Houston 1996, 2002, 2008, 2009, and (forthcoming); Dix and Houston 2006. Platthy 1968 could perhaps be seen as an early form, though on the Greek side of things.

[34] Or "On Not Grieving Onself" (περὶ ἀλυπησίας). The title is a matter of dispute, see Boudon-Millot and Jouanna 2010: 27-29. The *editio princeps* is Boudon-Millot 2007.

[35] For summaries of some of this new knowledge, see, e.g., Tucci 2008, Jones 2009, and Nicholls 2011.

administrative documents.[36] As such, libraries provided more than one form of empowerment: access to documents that could help citizens defend themselves in court, as well as access to the literature on which the cultural capital of the Roman world rested. Control of libraries fit into a matrix of power that included military power (the spoils from which libraries were built), cultural power (the works of literature therein), and political power (the administrative documents). Libraries were a practical and symbolic means of projecting power. Neudecker's thesis relies heavily on the literary *and* documentary character of Roman libraries, which there is not enough evidence to support conclusively, but the idea is an exciting one. The piece is also momentous because of its focus on "the connection between power and *paideia*, between knowledge and lifestyle in its architectural context."[37]

Yun Lee Too's monograph explored what libraries meant to the ancients by studying the library in discourse (her chapters include, for instance, one on narratives of libraries and power, one on the book as library, one on human libraries, and the like).[38] Like Neudecker, Too examines the way that libraries are implicated in ideas of power (military, political, cultural).[39] Too's work is a welcome development, especially given the propensity among scholars to see a library as simply a collection of texts. Yet she does not engage with the importance of the physical spaces of libraries, even for discourse. As she puts it, ". . . I am solely concerned with literary representations rather than with the material culture of the library, as being more telling of what the library means for ancient culture . . ."[40] I believe that on the contrary, the meaning of the library in ancient discourse was closely bound up with its materiality and with how that materiality was embedded in practices and social structures. In addition, Too's observations about "discourse" sometimes give the feeling that all texts from all times speak to one synchronic culture. Presumably, ideas about Pisistratus in the time of pseudo-Plato are part of a different cultural matrix than those in the time of Isidore of Seville or Johannes Tzetzes, though they are all taken together in a section on stories about Pisistratus.[41] To whatever degree the three may speak to each other, it should be kept in mind that they are also speaking to their own

---

[36] Neudecker 2004, developed further in Neudecker (forthcoming).

[37] Neudecker 2004: 294.

[38] Too 2010.

[39] This is especially the subject of her first chapter.

[40] Too 2010: 20. The remark is in reference to her first chapter, but seems to be valid for the work as a whole.

[41] Too 2010: 20-24.

times.[42] The chronological perspective is also somewhat unclear. As an example, Too remarks that various narratives concur in making Pisistratus "the 'surrogate' father of the library as a public institution,"[43] implying that the tyrant/father narrative helps us understand the library as imagined by Varro, Gellius, Athenaeus, Tzetzes, etc. That is, the implication is that it is not a historic fact, but an example of the library "as an articulation of a ruler's power."[44] Yet this part of the book is called "The Diachronic Perspective," and the section on Pisistratus is followed by ones on Aristotle, on Alexandria, and on Rome, as if we were indeed seeing the way that the idea of the library changed through time.

A different treatment of the narratives of libraries and power is found in the collection of essays in König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf (forthcoming, based on a conference in 2008). As Woolf puts it, "[o]n the basis of this material (i.e. the narratives about libraries) a number of histories of the ancient library have been written, each telling broadly similar stories of the gradual emergence of institutions that have seemed familiar to many scholars. This collection does not seek to replace those works, but it does aim to challenge them, and on more than just the particulars."[45] As might be expected of a collection, some chapters are more successful than others in escaping the traditional narrative and deconstructing "the synthetic surveys." The essays share Neudecker's interest in the architectural intersections of power and *paideia* (and indeed, Neudecker himself contributes an essay) and Too's willingness to take nothing for granted in our expectations of what a library was.

---

[42] The same kinds of narratives are treated more clearly, and with a closer connection to the communities that told them, in Jacob (forthcoming) and Handis (forthcoming).

[43] Too 2010: 21.

[44] Too 2010: 24.

[45] Woolf (forthcoming).

APPENDIX B

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIBRARIES
AS DISTINCT ENTITIES

Throughout this dissertation, I have made reference to "public libraries" and "private libraries," but these terms need some qualification. As Woolf points out, "our notion of public libraries is profoundly misleading if applied to antiquity because of the close connections between modern public libraries and ideals of universal literacy, widening access to knowledge, and state and municipal promotion of education."[1] Even without the specific conception of public libraries that arose in the post-Enlightenment (and post-Carnegie) era, the notions of "public" and "private" themselves cannot be applied without some circumspection to the ancient world. There were libraries in homes, but the Roman home could be a very public place. There were state libraries, but much of the state was functionally the property of a single individual.

I decided to keep the terms "public library" and "private library" because, despite the potential for anachronism, the terms usefully describe a distinction that the Romans themselves articulated, and that is manifest in our evidence about Roman libraries. In this appendix, I would like to summarize what this distinction entails, and in exactly what sense any Roman libraries were "public" or "private."

Before proceeding to Rome, mention must be made of the earliest libraries, those of the Hellenistic world. In Chapter One, I argued that the increasing role of literacy in various institutions in the third century BC resulted in the rise of spaces dedicated to the storage and use of books, and to the conception of these spaces as "libraries." Book collections associated with the various philosophical schools remained private property, as is clear from the wills of Epicurus and the Peripatetic scholarchs.[2] The book collections of the Hellenistic kings were remembered as public, although to what extent they actually were is an open question.[3] There were some documentary book

---

[1] Woolf (forthcoming).

[2] Diogenes Laertius preserves the wills of Aristotle (5.11-16), Theophrastus (5.51-57), Strato (5.61-64), Lyco (5.69-74), and Epicurus (10.16-21); see Chapter One for more discussion.

[3] E.g. Vitruvius writes that the Pergamene library was built "as a public amenity" (*ad communem delectationem*, 7.praef.4) and the Suda records that Euphorion was in charge of

166

collections where the public could deposit contracts.[4] Various public gymnasia began to have book collections also in the second century BC, which existed for the purpose of educating the citizen youth.[5]

In the Roman world, private libraries (those in houses and villas) were referred to with an unmarked *bibliotheca*.[6] In Chapter Two, I argued that there was no architecturally identifiable form for private libraries, but that the literary sources do associate them with evoked gymnasia in peristyle gardens. The peristyle is a relatively private place (if highly visible through the tablinum), in contrast to the atrium where clients and low-status guests congregate.

An unmarked *bibliotheca* can also refer to a public library,[7] but there are noteworthy instances of people saying that a library has been "made public" ("nationalized"?)[8] as well as references to "public libraries" more generally.[9] There have been different interpretations of what was "public" about these "public libraries."

Keith Dix took the position that public libraries were portrayed rhetorically as a public amenity, although there is no mention of anyone except highly politically-connected individuals using them.[10] William Johnson argues that the sociality of elite reading culture suggests that in fact these individuals preferred private libraries, though they might have used public ones to find

---

"the public library" (τῆς … δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης) at Antioch (E 3801 Adler). Strabo writes that the Museum at Alexandria was within the royal grounds (17.1.8). Yet members of the Museum were appointed by the king, and it is not clear that non-members would have been allowed to use the library.

[4] E.g. the Metroon in Athens and the various *bibliothecae* attested in the Ptolemaic papyri. For more on these see Chapter One.

[5] E.g. 29-35, 117, 119, 138, 139 Platthy. For more on these see Chapter One.

[6] E.g. Cicero *Top.* 1.1, *De Diu.* 2.8, *De Fin.* 3.2, *Ad Att.* 80 (4.5), *Ad Fam.* 7.23, 7.28, 9.4; Vitruvius 1.2.7, 6.4.1, 6.5.2, 6.7.3, Seneca *Dial.* 9.9.4, 9.9.7; Petronius 48.4; Martial *Ep.* 7.17, 9.praef, 14.190; Pliny the Younger *Epist.* 4.28.

[7] E.g. Vitruvius 7.praef.4, 7.praef.7; Pliny the Elder *NH* 7.210, 13.70; Martial *Ep.* 12.praef.; Tacitus *Dial.* 21; Pliny the Younger *Epist.* 1.8.2, 10.81.7; Suet. *DGR* 21.3, *Iul.* 56.7, *Aug.* 29.3, *Dom.* 20.1; Apuleius *Flor.* 18.34.32; Iren. *Adu. Haer.* 2.21.2.

[8] Plin. *NH* 7.115 (*bibliotheca … publicata*), *NH* 35.10 (*bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit*); Suet. *Iul.* 44.2 (*bibliothecas … publicare*); Isid. *Orig.* 6.5.2 (*bibliothecas publicauit*) – which may stem originally from Varro's *De Bibliothecis* (see Appendix A).

[9] Scribonius Largus *Comp.* 97; Suet. *Tib.* 70.2; Apuleius *Apol.* 91

[10] Dix 1994. The problem, as he notes, is that our knowledge about who used these libraries could be an accident of the sources, since all of our informants are from highly politically-connected circles.

particularly rare or old items.[11] Matthew Nicholls points out that public libraries were monumentally huge and were built in high-traffic areas: they were meant to handle crowds, whether those crowds were looking for books, attending recitations, or participating in the other kinds of public events.[12] Richard Neudecker argues that public libraries, which he believes also contained legal texts and documentary records, were part of a radical program of *publicatio*.[13] This radical program had the aim of providing the public with access to privileged texts that could advance their interests legally (through the documentary texts) and allow them to develop cultural capital (through the literary texts). George Houston has approached the question from a different angle.[14] Were the libraries really the property of the people? He examines the evidence of the slave and freed staff of the public libraries, and shows that the slaves were those from the Emperor's domestic staff rather than those who worked on other public services (like roads): public libraries were the emperor's possessions made (somewhat) available to the public.

Whatever the true nature of public libraries, there was most certainly a distinction between them and domestic libraries in terms of size, architecture, sociality, and purpose.

---

[11] Johnson (forthcoming).
[12] Nicholls (forthcoming).
[13] Neudecker 2004 and (forthcoming).
[14] Houston 2002.

APPENDIX C

PORTRAITS IN LIBRARIES:
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON EVIDENCE, LOCATION, CHARACTERISTICS, SUBJECTS

I Sources of Data: Portrait remains, epigraphic evidence, literary evidence

We only have one surviving portrait from a library: a bronze bust of Epicurus, 10 cm high, from the library of the Villa of the Papyri (NM 5470).[1] There is also a small bronze bust of Chrysippus, which was found in the area of the library of the Temple of Peace, although it was not included on **table C1** because it is not known whether it was actually in the library.[2]

Epigraphic attestation is only mildly better. We have two decrees specifying that portraits are to be put up: the Lex Valeria Aurelia calling for portraits of Germanicus and his father Drusus to be set up in the Palatine Apollo library,[3] and a decree from the Synod of Halicarnassus calling for bronze portraits of a certain Gaius Julius Longianus to be set up in the precinct of the Muses, the ephebic gymnasium, and other "prominent places of the city."[4]

Several pieces of epigraphic evidence were excluded from **table C1**. There are tituli of authors found in the area around the rooms traditionally identified as the Hellenistic Pergamene royal library, although these were excluded from the table since they were not found in the library.[5] There are also euergetistic inscriptions for public libraries that specifically note that the patron furnished the books *and* the statues: the Pantaenus Library in Athens, the Celsus

---

[1] See Mattusch 2005: 289-95 for more background on this and the other miniature bronze busts found in the villa.

[2] Tucci (forthcoming).

[3] For the fragments of the Lex Valeria Aurelia, see Crawford 1996 nos 37-38.

[4] See Platthy 132 and *IAph* 2007 12.27, which includes an updated text, along with notes and bibliography, and can be found at the *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* website (http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph120027.html). Longianus is otherwise unknown.

[5] The authors with bases are Alcaeus, Sappho (whose titulus includes an epigram), Herodotus, Timotheus of Miletus, Balacrus, and Apollonius; see Lorenz 1965: 3-4 for more details. There are also reasons to doubt the identification of the room traditionally seen as the library (see Chapter One). Pliny the Elder says that he is not sure whether the custom of author portraits in libraries originated at the Alexandrian or Pergamene library (*NH* 35.10).

Library in Ephesus, and the Manilius Pomptinus Library in Bolsena (Volsinii).[6] These were excluded from the table because it is not clear that the statues were author portraits. Finally, there are 20 or so inscriptions from the bases of statues of senators (who also claimed some literary merit) from the Forum of Trajan.[7] These were excluded because it is not clear which (if any) were in Trajan's library.

The literary evidence is much more varied, ranging from the Augustan era to scholiasts in the late-fifth century AD, and coming from a variety of genres. We get references from Horace, Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, Favorinus, Cassius Dio, SHA, Sidonius Apollinaris, and fifth-century AD scholiasts.

II Subject and Location

A few trends emerge regarding the depicted subject and the location of the portrait. The clipeate author portraits in the Palatine Apollo library in the first century AD are all Romans famous for their political careers and oratory: Hortensius, Augustus, Germanicus, and his father Drusus.[8] The statues in the Library of Trajan in the fourth and fifth centuries AD were all of men of the senatorial class—although it is also notable how many of the figures had written panegyrics.[9]

We see several philosophers (and wisdom figures) associated private libraries: Aristotle, Pittacus, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, and Epicurus. The selection might just be a result of the context of the Juvenal quotation in which all (except Epicurus) are mentioned: the library of a moralizing hypocrite. There is also evidence for Roman authors in private libraries, and even contemporary figures. On the other hand, the propensity of philosophers may be related to the trend of domestic gymnasia explored in Chapter Two. It is certainly the case that these domestic gymnasia were full of Greek philosophers, generals, and authors.[10]

---

[6] Pantaenus (36 Platthy = *SEG* 1965 XXI 703), Celsus (128 Platthy = *IEphesos* 5101-6), Manilius Pomptinus (*CIL* 11.2704).

[7] On these see Chenault 2012. The most famous of them as a literary figure was the poet Claudian. The inscriptions suggest the statues were bronze with some gilding.

[8] This makes me skeptical that Tiberius would have tried to include Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius in this particular library. At that time there were also libraries in the Atrium of Liberty, Portico of Octavia, and possibly the Temple of the Deified Augustus and the Domus Tiberiana.

[9] Chenault 2012.

[10] On these see Neudecker 1988 and Lorenz 1965. There is also a mention of Aristotle in what seems to be a domestic gymnasium belonging to Atticus (Cic. *Ad Att.* 84 [4.10]). The

III Physical Characteristics

The portraits of Favorinus, Longianus and Sidonius Apollinaris were made of bronze. Pliny the Elder also mentions author portraits of bronze, and of gold and silver as well (*NH* 35.9). Tacitus reports that the senate had wanted to give Germanicus a clipeate portrait of gold, but that Tiberius preferred to keep it to the "usual" (*solitum, Ann.* 2.83) material—likely bronze or silver.[11] Juvenal speaks of small plaster portraits of authors—a much more economical alternative (2.4-7). Pliny the Younger seems to refer to paintings when he mentions the portraits of Titus Catus and Cornelius Nepos in the library of Herennius Severus. Seneca also seems to make reference to painted author portraits in private libraries, although he could also be referring to portraits of authors drawn onto the books themselves (*Dial.* 9.9.7).[12] Other painted and mosaic portraits of authors exist, though not in places that have been identified as libraries.[13]

Several modes of author portrait are in evidence. The portraits in the Palatine Apollo Library were clipeate, and positioned each above a column on the interior colonnade. In the library of Trajan, the portraits were probably life-sized full-body portraits, to judge by the bases. The portrait of Epicurus was a small-scale bust, and we might suspect the same of Juvenal's plaster portraits, since they seem to sit on bookshelves.

IV Dedicated by . . .

In the case of private libraries, we can assume that the portrait is there at the initiative of the library owner. In the case of public libraries, portraits seem to be included (or excluded) by the senate in Rome, or by local councils: the *boulē* in Corinth and the *iera synodos* in Halicarnassus. There are also instances that appear to be cases of imperial initiative, although it is an open question whether the emperor worked by means of a senate decree. Similarly, for those for which

---

portraits of Menander and two other dramatists in an exedra in the House of the Menander may be evidence of the same phenomenon.

[11] Hadrian asked the senate for "a silver clipeate portrait just like that for Augustus, and right by the one of Augustus" (*proxime imaginem Augusti argenteum potius clupeum sicut Augusto*, Charisius p. 287 Barwick), which may refer to the portrait in the Palatine Apollo library. Antoninus Pius succeeded in getting the senate to decree a clipeate portrait, although no location or materials are specified (SHA *Anton. Pius* 5.2).

[12] Martial gives evidence for a portrait of Virgil in a book (*Ep.* 14.186). On author portraits in books, see Nowicka 1993: 177-79.

[13] Nowicka 1993: 75-105.

we have a senate decree, we can only speculate whether there was any imperial encouragement behind the scenes.

<p style="text-align:center;">*V Cult Statues and Other Large, Central Statues*</p>

Another categories of statuary in the library did not make it onto the table, though relevant to the topic is cult statues (or other central over-life sized statues).

The room identified as a library on the Pergamene acropolis had an over 3m high statue of Athena Parthenos—a copy of the famous work of Pheidias. There are reasons to doubt, however, whether the identification of the room as a library is correct.[14] The Palatine Apollo Library was also consecrated as a *templum*, and it had a cult statue of Apollo—though the features were said to look suspiciously like Augustus (Pseudo-Acron *Hor. Epist.* 1.3.17; Servius *Ecl.* 4.10). The library of the Temple of the Deified Augustus is not known to have been consecrated, but it did have a statue of Apollo—one that was bronze and fifty Roman feet high. The statue was from Sicily, although Pliny calls it "Tuscan" (*Tuscanicum, NH* 34.43)—perhaps a reference to the style.[15] The placement of the library within the Temple of Peace is a matter of debate, although it would certain have been in the rooms on the southeast side of the precinct. Some have suggested that the central room with the cult statue of *Pax* was also the room that held the library, although it has been argued most recently that the library was in the farthest southeast room.[16] Trajan's Library also likely had over-life sized statues in the large niches of its two halls. There was also, it should be noted, Trajan's column in the center of the two halls. The layout of the Celsus library in Ephesus and the Rogatianus library in Timgad also feature large, central niches, indicating a large central statue.[17]

---

[14] See Chapter One and Coqueugniot (forthcoming).

[15] Suetonius calls it an *Apollo Temnites* (*Tib.* 74.1). Incidentally, Cicero claims that Verres had tried to appropriate the statue himself in the 70s BC (*In Verr.* 2.4.119), as noticed by Houston 2008: 251.

[16] Tucci (forthcoming).

[17] On Timgad see Pfeiffer 1931, on Celsus see Strocka 2003. On the large, central niche as an architectural feature of libraries, see Blanck 1992: 213.

Table C1 Portraits in Libraries

Portrait Subject	Location	Initiative	Physical Feat.	Evidence
Aristotle	fictional private library	private owner	plaster	Juv. 2.5-7
Pittacus	fictional private library	private owner	plaster	Juv. 2.5-7
Chrysippus	fictional private library	private owner	plaster	Juv. 2.4-5
Cleanthes	fictional private library	private owner	plaster	Juv. 2.5-7
Varro	Atrium Libertatis	Asinius Pollio		Plin. *NH* 7.115
Fannius	in bibliothecas publicas	Himself		Hor. 1.4.21
various authors	fictional private	private owner		Seneca *Dial.* 9.9.7
Germanicus	Palatine Apollo	Senate	clipeate	Tac. *Ann.* 2.83; Lex Valeria Aurelia
Augustus	Palatine Apollo			Tac. *Ann.* 2.37
Drusus	Palatine Apollo	Senate	clipeate	Lex Valeria Aurelia
Hortensius	Palatine Apollo			Tac. *Ann.* 2.37
Euphorion	publicis bibliothecis	Tiberius		Suet. *Tib*. 70.2
Parthenius	publicis bibliothecis	Tiberius		Suet. *Tib*. 70.2
Rhianus	publicis bibliothecis	Tiberius		Suet. *Tib*. 70.2
Livy	omnibus bibliothecis	Caligula (removal)		Suet. *Cal.* 34.2
Titus Catus	Her. Sev.'s library	Her. Sev.	painted?	Plin. *Ep*. 4.28
Cornelius Nepos	Her. Sev.'s library	Her. Sev.	painted?	Plin. *Ep*. 4.28
Virgil	omnibus bibliothecis	Caligula (removal)		Suet. *Cal*. 34.2
Homer		Hadrian (removal)		Cass. Dio 69.4.6
Homer		Caligula (removal)		Suet. *Cal*. 34.2
Homer	bibliothecis			Plin. *NH*. 35.9
Epicurus	Villa of the Papyri library	private owner	small bronze bust	NM 5470 (portrait survives)
Martial	Stertinius' library	Stertinius		Mart. *Ep.* 9praef.
Favorinus	Corinth	Boulē of Corinth	bronze	[Dio Chrys.] 37
C. Julius Longianus	Museum, Gymnasium, prominent places	sacred synod of Halicarnassus	bronze	Platthy 132 and IAph 2007 12.27
Tacitus	omnibus bibliothecis	Emperor Tacitus		SHA *Tac.* 10.3
Numerian	Trajan's Library	Senate	rhetor	SHA *Car, Car, Num.* 11.3
Sidonius Apollinaris	Trajan's Library	Senate	bronze	Sid. Ap. *Ep.* 9.16.3v21-8, Poems 8.7-10