

### Life in the library

Aulus Gellius is one of the best-known readers in the libraries of ancient Rome.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, he chanced to be sitting in the library of the temple of Trajan (*‘in bibliotheca templi Traiani’*) and looking for something else, when the edicts of the ancient praetors (*‘edicta veterum praetorum’*) fell into his hands, and he thought it worthwhile to read them and become acquainted with them. Then he came across a strange expression and a friend who sat beside him – *‘quispiam nobiscum sedens amicus’* – immediately remembered a passage in *De Origine Vocabulorum* by Gavius.<sup>2</sup> This frequently quoted passage demonstrates that juridical rarities could be found in the library. But it also gives us an idea of life in the library: people seeking out and finding things, communicating with each other, and demonstrating their knowledge and scholarship to each other, not just the fictional *‘quispiam amicus’* to be sure, but Gellius himself as well. And not just inside the library but also out of doors *‘in area fori’* where an eye-catching building inscription immediately elicits an etymological discussion of the term *‘ex manubiis’*, all for the sake of showing off with quotations from Cicero, Aristophanes, Cato, Homer and constitutional texts.<sup>3</sup>

It was all a matter of cultivating one’s image. An arrogant critic of words *‘reprehensor audaculus verborum’* who ‘had read very little and that of the most ordinary sort’ makes a big fuss about the proper use of the word *plura* instead of *pluria* and is well and truly put in his place with a stream of quotations from Cato, Quintus Claudius, Valerius Antias, Lucius Aelius, Publius Nigidius and Marcus Varro.<sup>4</sup> These were excerpts that Gellius had committed to memory from the ‘very learned’ Sennius Capito whose letters (as one of Gellius’ friends then remembered) were to be found collected in a book of which there was a copy in the temple of Peace *‘in templo Pacis’*.

<sup>1</sup> For Gellius, see Holford-Strevens 1988; Michel 1998 and Keulen 2009. For Roman libraries, still most valuable Dziatzko 1897 and Wendel 1954; short introductions Cavallo 1989 and Fedeli 1988; recent literature Neudecker 2004; Dix and Houston 2006 and Blanck 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Gell. 11.17.1.      <sup>3</sup> Gell. 13.25.2.      <sup>4</sup> Gell. 5.21.9–17.

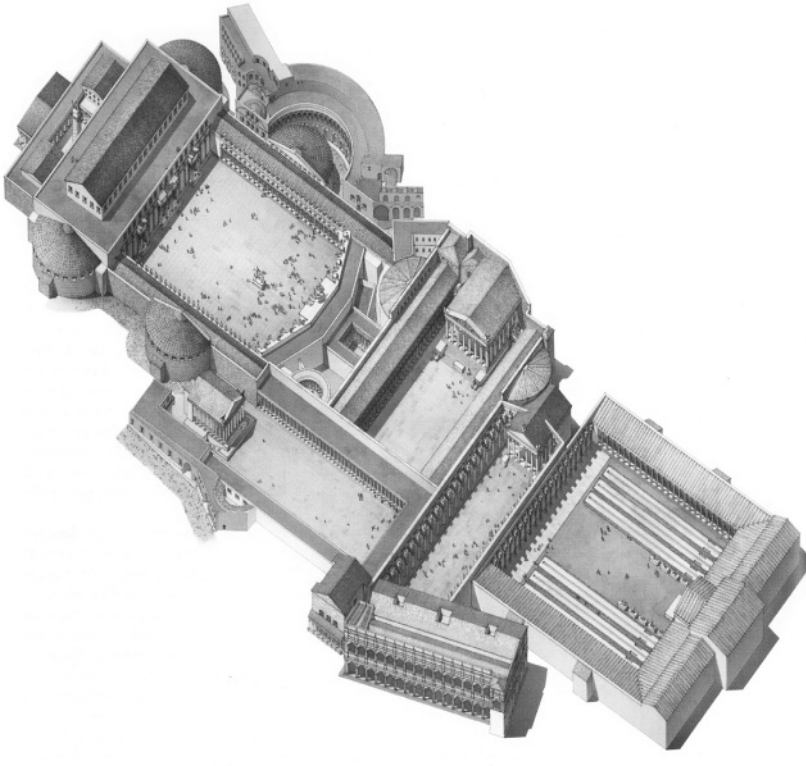


Figure 16.1 Rome's Imperial Fora

And, just to show off a bit, Gellius 'the eternal student'<sup>5</sup> throws into his report some quotations from Plautus and Cato.

Everybody raided the libraries for excerpts, digging around for interesting bits from all genres of texts, in effect, recycling information. This was not intended to produce deep erudition but rather the kind of knowledge that was expected in smart circles. It was an exercise in keeping up with the refined conversation of society at large.<sup>6</sup> Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, a conversation guide of which I myself shall make liberal use in these pages, were themselves a part of this game. This recycling of texts went through a sort of inflation during the Imperial period. It needed facilities – the archives – where one might discover these bits and pieces in documents, in literature, in scientific texts, in recorded speeches. One such location was the Forum of Trajan (Fig. 16.1).

<sup>5</sup> So Fantham 1996: 246–52.

<sup>6</sup> For the intellectual climate, see Zanker 1995: 190–206, 234–42; Krasser 1995, Krasser 1999 and Bowie 2000; for techniques of memorising, see Small 1997 with review by Horsfall 1998.

Of all the public buildings in Rome, this is the most complex, and one component was the library.<sup>7</sup> Over 23 metres in height, and with three tiers of niches, the figure of 21,000 *rotuli*, which Packer thought would fit into it, is definitely on the low side. The upper niches were accessible via outside staircases.

Not every question concerning the proper functioning of the library's various rooms has been answered. Consulting books was not an activity restricted to the halls, so my main interest is with the functional complexity of the entire building. One component, the apses of the bordering Basilica, was used as law courts. When Gellius and Favorinus discussed the *manubiae* inscription mentioned above they were waiting for a friend who was still busy in court. Gellius, a judge himself, knew very well that in legal practice it was essential to be able to find the right precedent for a formula or an edict in the archives and to have it quickly to hand. The library was an important part of the administration of justice, precisely because of the importance of such documents.<sup>8</sup> Gellius' anecdote points to a further, non-textual source of information in the Forum. Beneath the standards of military units, which Gellius mentions in passing, there was a series of fifty-four portraits of members of the Imperial family and historical personages. In Meneghini's reconstructions it becomes apparent that the decoration of the monument might actually have been perceived as a compressed illustration of history (Fig. 16.2).<sup>9</sup> Like the building inscription, it offered further material for gaining and displaying knowledge.

In the pages that follow, I should like to establish what it is that unites the collections of books, of administrative documents and of non-textual material. Most of the varying designations of these archival spaces employ terms that recur in the sacral sphere: '*bibliothecae templi Traiani*' or '*divi Traiani*',<sup>10</sup> the '*bibliotheca Pacis*'<sup>11</sup> and the '*bibliotheca ad Apollinis*'.<sup>12</sup> Sanctuaries were public spaces. Public admittance applied to the libraries, too. We take this for granted, or treat the claim as an empty one. Yet during the founding years of Rome's first public library in the *Atrium Libertatis* the question of public admittance was part of a political discourse over *publicatio* in a wider sense.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Packer 1995, 1997; Meneghini 2001, 2007 and most complete Meneghini 2009: 146–51; for a short overview, see Meneghini 2002a; Meneghini 2002b with doubts about the definition of the library; about contents of the library Sbordone 1984.

<sup>8</sup> Meneghini 2002b: 668; in general, see Tuori 2010.

<sup>9</sup> Illustrated in Packer 1997: 89, Meneghini 2007 figs. 93 and 104 and Meneghini 2009 figs. 142–5. On the wider issue of images and books in libraries, see Petrain this volume.

<sup>10</sup> Gell. 11.17.1; *CIL* 14.5352. <sup>11</sup> Gell. 5.21.9. <sup>12</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 29.3.

<sup>13</sup> On *publicatio*, see Nicholls this volume.

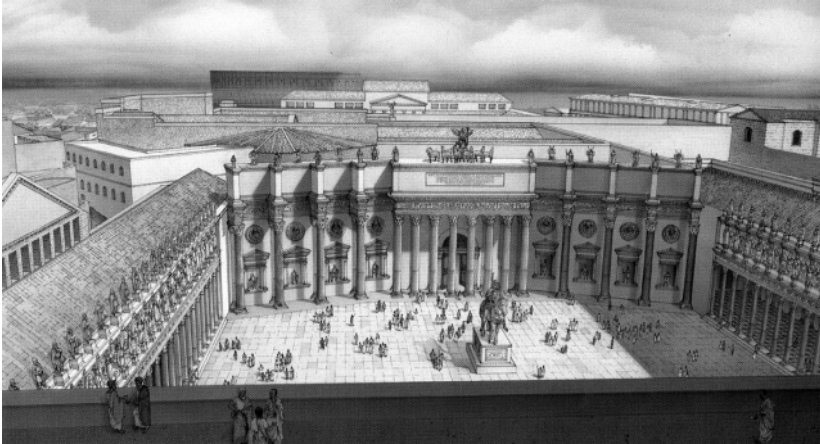


Figure 16.2 Rome, Forum of Trajan

### The *Atrium Libertatis*

The *Atrium Libertatis*<sup>14</sup> as architecture is lost to us. We have to rely on a few mentions in textual sources which inform us about the ‘prehistory’ of the library. During a fire, presumably in 210 BC, many bronze plates with laws ‘fixa in atrio Libertatis’ were destroyed. Cato the Censor knew one of them, the law on the punishment of fallen Vestal Virgins, noted and quoted in a speech *De Auguribus*, which was found by Festus, and used by him to explain the notion ‘*probrum*’.<sup>15</sup> Under 169 BC Livy records an attempt to impeach the censors who reacted by going on strike. They went to the *Atrium Libertatis*

*et obsignatis tabellis publicis, clausoque tabulario, et dimissis servis publicis, negarunt se prius quicquam publici negotii gesturos.*<sup>16</sup>

they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks; affirming, that they would do no kind of public business until the sentence of the people was passed on them.

*Tabellae publicae* were census lists, the same from which in 168 BC the tribus for the Liberti was publicly chosen by lot in the *Atrium Libertatis*.<sup>17</sup> The

<sup>14</sup> Coarelli 1993b; Canfora 1993: 32–7; Castagnoli 1946 on the literary sources.

<sup>15</sup> Festus 277 L; ORF<sup>3</sup> fr. 220; Astin 1978: 102.

<sup>16</sup> Livy 43.16.13, see Astin 1986: 131–4, and Moatti 1993: 67; for censors, still Mommsen 1887: 360–2; see also Suolahti 1963: 33–40.

<sup>17</sup> Livy 45.15.1–5.

occasion for the conflict of 169 was measures taken by the censors against illegal buildings on the Via Sacra. Obviously, the censors also disposed of cadastral maps. Indeed, when the praetor P. Cornelius Lentulus divided the *ager Campanus*, he had the ‘*formam agrorum in aes incisam ad Libertatis*’, that is an inscribed bronze tablet with the plan of the land registry, set up in the *Atrium Libertatis*. We owe this piece of information to one of the collectors and researchers of Gellius’ day, Granius Licinianus.<sup>18</sup> Clearly, the *Atrium Libertatis* was a building housing public administration, in which a survey of the population and the territorium was kept.<sup>19</sup>

Caesar had a project in mind for it, probably developed no later than 47 BC when he commissioned Varro to organise a library.<sup>20</sup> But a library building was never actually completed on that occasion. It was not until ten years later that the library in the *Atrium Libertatis* was founded, this time by Asinius Pollio.<sup>21</sup> It is commonly presumed that it was a realisation of the Varronian project because ‘Varro is said to have been the only living person who was given a portrait there’, as if to honour him as the *spiritus rector* (driving force).<sup>22</sup> If this inference is correct, it means that Caesar had already planned a fundamental reorganisation of the entire institution of the *Atrium Libertatis*. In fact, according to Suetonius, he

proposed to reduce the civil law to a reasonable compass, and out of that immense and undigested mass of statutes to extract the best and most necessary parts into a few books; to make as large a collection as possible of works in the Greek and Latin languages, for the public use; the province of providing and putting them in proper order being assigned to Marcus Varro.<sup>23</sup>

Without doubt his idea was based on establishing some relationship between state archives and books, and the need for accessible order. By adding

<sup>18</sup> Granius Licinianus, 28.35–6; Moatti 1993: 84–5.

<sup>19</sup> For archives in general, see Memelsdorff 1890 especially 6–8; Dziatzko 1895; Cencetti 1940 especially 26–9; Dibelius 1950; for cadastres see Nicolet 1988 and Culham 1989; Cic. *Arch.* 8 is a good example for using anagraphical registers during a hearing.

<sup>20</sup> Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.1; Suet. *Iul.* 44; Fernández Uriel and Rodríguez Valcárcel 2006.

<sup>21</sup> For the building, see Castagnoli 1946, Coarelli 1993a, 1993b and 1999d: 6–9; for the library, see Fehrle 1986: 50–61.

<sup>22</sup> Plin. *HN* 7.115 ‘... Varronis, in bibliotheca quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione publicata Romae est, unius viventis posita imago est.’ For Varro, see Griffin 1994: 701–7.

<sup>23</sup> Suet. *Iul.* 44. *ius civile ad certum modum redigere atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum.*

'*bibliothecae Graecae simul atque Latinae*'<sup>24</sup> a further type of text was to be added for the first time to the administrative files.<sup>25</sup>

Pollio did not stop here. He extended the original project by adding portraits of the authors – '*additis auctorum imaginibus in atrio*' – according to Pliny an innovation of Pollio.<sup>26</sup> This recalls Varro's *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus libri quindecim*, a picture book of 700 portraits accompanied by epigrams, published to coincide with the opening in 39 BC.<sup>27</sup> We do not know what Varro's illustrations looked like; if they were clipeus portraits of the kind known from late antique book illustrations,<sup>28</sup> they would have been similar to Pollio's portrait gallery which probably also took the form of clipei. All in all, it was a combined database of text and illustration.

Caius Asinius Pollio was 37 years old. He had just triumphed over the Dalmatians when he completed his project. As a result he could offer even more. He put on show art treasures funded from the booty – '*de manubiis magnificentissimum instruxerat*'.<sup>29</sup> Pliny listed them in his catalogues, extracting the titles from the inscriptions.<sup>30</sup> The collection of books was complemented with a collection of works of art, that was not only noted by Pliny, but also visited and examined by a larger public (*laudatur*). These *monumenta sua* – which means Pollio's – comprised war booty and became tangible documents of history, especially of Pollio's history who, as Pliny put it, 'just as he was a man of fierce passion, so he wanted his monuments to be seen' (*ut fuit acris vehementiae sic quoque spectari monumenta sua voluit*).<sup>31</sup> Appropriately enough he also wrote his own historical account, which will have had a place of honour in his library.

For the first time, then, we have here assembled all the main components of an enlarged centre of information. Like the Forum of Trajan, this was no profane administrative edifice. The label *monumenta* alludes to the traditional exhibitions of art put on in sanctuaries, like the famous *Monumenta Catuli* at the Temple of *Fortuna huiusce diei*.<sup>32</sup> The *Atrium Libertatis* was a *templum*, even if the day of its consecration in Ovid's *Fasti* 4, 623–4 is given incorrectly. Not without sarcasm Ovid laments that admission was refused

<sup>24</sup> Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.2.

<sup>25</sup> For the combination of books and documents, see Rodríguez Valcárcel 2006–7; for Egyptian archives as a case in point, see Burkhalter 1990.

<sup>26</sup> Isid. *Etym.* 6. 5. 2 and Plin. *HN* 35.10. <sup>27</sup> Gell. 3.10.17.

<sup>28</sup> Like e.g. in Weitzmann 1959: 122–4 pl. 60. <sup>29</sup> Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.2; André 1949.

<sup>30</sup> Plin. *HN* 36.23–5 and 36.33–4; Becatti 1957; Sellers 1896 index s.v. Asinius Pollio with commentary.

<sup>31</sup> Plin. *HN* 36.33–4; see Zecchini 1982 about Pollio's historiographical work. <sup>32</sup> Gros 1995.

to his *docta libella* by Libertas.<sup>33</sup> For most of the juridical acts executed there, the sacral nature of the space was essential.<sup>34</sup>

This brand-new functional complex was closely linked to the political slogan of *publicatio*, literally ‘making public’. The sources do not talk about *bibliotheca publica*, but report that *bibliotheca publicata est*, that what was hitherto closed to the public was now made accessible. For the first time a library claimed to have made ‘*ingenia hominum – rem publicam*’, a public business. *Publicatio* had been a hot political topic in the late Republic, and Caesar had taken a definite stance in his testamentary *publicatio* of his *horti*, making his gardens open to the public.<sup>35</sup> Yet in essence, the discourse did not aim at a democratisation of enjoyment of art. Rather, in my opinion, it was about using the state archives.<sup>36</sup> They were vitally important in political life, for the preparation for lawsuits. But access was regulated by personal connections. This applied even to those in positions of authority. Cato the Younger spent five talents when he was quaestor, in order to get copies of fiscal documents in the archives, and to put an end to the abuse of bribing employees.<sup>37</sup> In all archives it was the same game. Cicero complained that as a consequence the laws were what the attendants wished them to be: *cae leges sunt, quas apparitores nostri volunt, a librariis petimus*. The *apparitores* were doubtless acting on behalf of the most influential people.<sup>38</sup> Cicero, when preparing a political speech he had to deliver in Olympia, gives us an idea of the annoyance. In a series of letters to Atticus, he laments the impossibility of gaining access to state documents concerning a diplomatic mission of Mummius, but he finds it just as difficult to trace rare historical works with the help of his friends.<sup>39</sup> Access to information was in the hands of groups who maintained their importance by controlling access to texts. This powerplay by a few was broken by Caesar through *publicatio*. What made it so remarkable is that this power was not limited to archival material but extended to various types of texts, to what we call literature. Nevertheless, I suppose that much of the contents of the first public libraries was not

<sup>33</sup> See Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.71–2 *nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis, atria Libertatis tangere passa sua est*.

<sup>34</sup> Gros 2001b: 112–13, underlining the latent sacrality of such spaces 108–9; see also Kroll 1926 for the Atrium’s sacred aspect which is denied by Wendel 1949: 414–16.

<sup>35</sup> Cic. *Phil.* 2.109.

<sup>36</sup> For archival practice in general, see Posner 1972 and Mantovani 2000; for more, see Cencetti 1940, Nicolet 1988: 135–6, Williamson 1995 and Moatti 2003.

<sup>37</sup> Plut. *Cat. Min.* 16 and 18; Culham 1989: 113–14, also about Cicero’s problems.

<sup>38</sup> Cic. *Leg.* 3.20.36.

<sup>39</sup> Cic. *Att.* 13.30, 32, 33.5.4; *Att.* 13.33.3 on searching for books. Cicero needs a written permission for using Atticus’ library when he is absent: Cic. *Att.* 4.14.1; see Steinby 1956: 545–55 and more generally Marshall 1976: 254 and Fehrle 1986: 54–7.

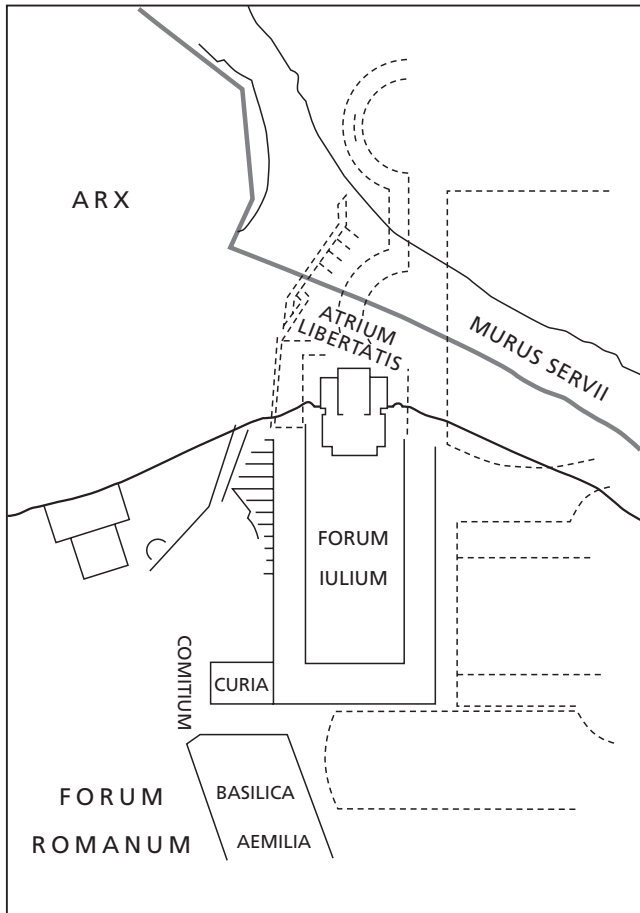


Figure 16.3 Rome, location of the *Atrium Libertatis*

Alexandrine poetry anyway, but historiographic and rhetorical works, that were in constant demand. The borderline between documents and literature is fluid.

The architecture of this information centre is as obscure as its location, which we do not know more than approximately (and even this has been the subject of debate).<sup>40</sup> If we accept the traditional location to the north of the *Forum Iulium*, it must have been destroyed in AD 95 in order to create space for the Forum of Trajan (Fig. 16.3). At least, the vicinity

<sup>40</sup> Cic. Att. 4.16.8 (July 54 BC) *usque ad Atrium Libertatis explicaremus* about the project, see Castagnoli 1949, *contra* Purcell 1993 who is disproved by Coarelli 1994: 65 and 1999d: 6–9.

of the *Forum Iulium* makes sense. The Forum was after all a place of jurisdiction, and documents from the archives would frequently have had to be at hand – especially for divorce proceedings, if we are to trust Ovid.<sup>41</sup>

## The Temple of Apollo and the *Bibliotheca Tiberiana*

Augustus completed the *Forum Iulium*<sup>42</sup> and at once started work on the construction of law courts which were visibly connected to his person, the *Forum Augustum*.<sup>43</sup> Just a few years later, in 28 BC, the same desire to stamp Rome's cityscape with his own public institutions, led him to add a porticus 'cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque', a second public library for the city, to the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.<sup>44</sup> The plan of the libraries on the *Forma Urbis Romae* shows the successor building from the time of Domitian, but what remains from the Augustan building does not seem to have looked much different (Fig. 16.4).<sup>45</sup>

It has been suspected that compared to the Greek department the shelves reserved for Latin texts had rather a lot of spare capacity, even if they were not entirely empty.<sup>46</sup> Instead, the library seems to have been filled with important 'auctores eloquentiae', like the political attorney Hortensius, accompanied from the time of Tiberius by Germanicus and Drusus.<sup>47</sup> Although Tiberius insisted that they were only to receive the usual author's portraits for their *eloquentia*,<sup>48</sup> their writings were surely more of a documentation of their political activities and only to a lesser extent literary treasures. Placing their portraits 'supra capita columnarum' flanking the 'simulacrum Apollinis' was in fact a political statement. The information comes from the *Tabula Hebana*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81–8; for further juridical uses, see Maiuro 2010.

<sup>42</sup> *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 4.20.3. <sup>43</sup> Neudecker 2010 with a selection from the vast literature.

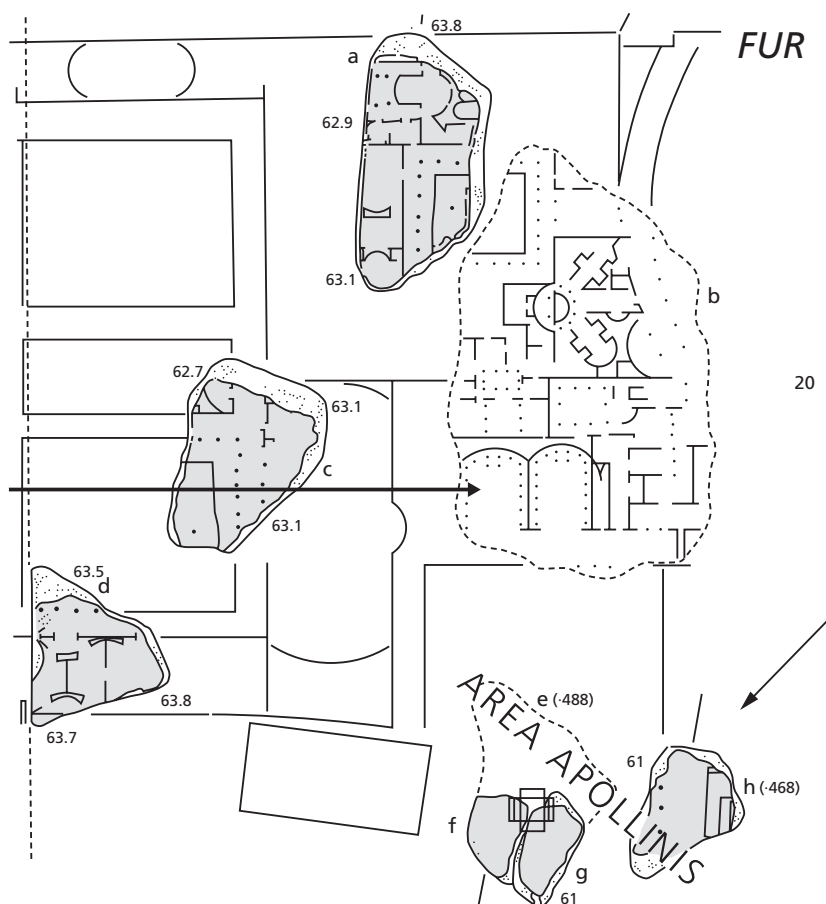
<sup>44</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 29; Dio Cass., 53.1.3.

<sup>45</sup> Gros 1993 and Palombi 1993; for a quick overview, see Balensiefen 2002; for the actual state of knowledge, confronted with the design on the *Forma Urbis*, see Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006.

<sup>46</sup> Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.15–20 about Greek texts copied by the plagiarist Celsus; Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.59 for Latin texts; Horsfall 1993 for inadequacies of the Latin department.

<sup>47</sup> Castagnoli 1949, Sengelin 1983: 189, and Neudecker 2004: 297. <sup>48</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 2. 83.

<sup>49</sup> For the *Tabula Hebana*, dated to 19–20 AD and containing part of the SC de Pisone, see full text in Minto and Coli 1947, especially 'in porticu quae est ad Apollinis in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet . . . viri illustris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici patris eius naturalis, Ti. Caesaris Aug. fratris, qui ipse quoque fecundi ingeni fuit, imagines ponantur supra capita columnarum quibus simulacrum Apollinis tegitur,' and see below n. 50.



**Figure 16.4** Rome, the sacred area and libraries of Palatine Apollo

Meetings of the senate and elections of the *decuriae iudicum* were organised here by Augustus on a regular basis.<sup>50</sup> For this reason the library is called a '*templum*' in some of the documents. The *Tabula Siarensis*, which reports the '*Senatus consultum de Pisone*' from the year 20 AD, was documented and signed here '*in porticu quae est ad Apollinis*'.<sup>51</sup> Copies were to be preserved amongst the '*tabulae publicae*'. Presumably the library

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 2.37 and in general Suet., *Aug.* 29 ‘iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit’ for juridical sessions; for the Senate, see Thompson 1981: 355, and Moatti 1993: 131; for the political significance of the space, see Bonnefond-Coudry 1989 and 1995.

<sup>51</sup> For the *Tabula Siarensis*, see Eck, Caballos and Fernández 1996.

behind the porticus was the place to keep them, alongside a copy of the *Tabula Hebana* which contains the *rogatio* of the senate about those portraits. At all events, the institution of this library had a strong political flavour. Augustus had established a library primarily dedicated to legal writing.<sup>52</sup> Significantly, the Sibylline Books, perhaps the most important documents belonging to the Roman state, were kept by Augustus in the base of the cult statue of Apollo in the temple.<sup>53</sup>

In this '*delubrum Apollinis*' was exhibited a collection of Greek masterworks '*ex manubiis*'<sup>54</sup> (from booty) which we may dub '*Monumenta Augusti*', by analogy with Republican usage. The whole sanctuary became a place of *memoria*, a historically pregnant archive of books, documents, portraits and works of art. And yet, the library right in the centre of the palace was accessible to private citizens, open for any reader to inspect – '*lecturis inspicienda patent*', as Ovid writes.<sup>55</sup> It was in easy reach of anyone who lived on the Palatine or had any business being there. During the forties of the second century, the young Marcus Aurelius, vacationing in the countryside, reported to Fronto in Rome that he had read two speeches by the elder Cato, obviously rare finds, which he is very proud of having located.<sup>56</sup> Fronto, he surmises, will immediately order his slave to go and find them in the Palatine library – '*vade quantum potes, de Apollinis bibliotheca has mihi orationes adporta*' – but in vain, because Marcus himself has taken the books away with him to the villa. Fronto would therefore be forced to turn to the librarian of the *Tiberiana*, and to bribe him.<sup>57</sup> With the money, the librarian and Marcus on his return would go out to 'paint the town red' that evening.

Marcus could easily have met Gellius in the *Bibliotheca Tiberiana*, as both were of more or less the same age. When Gellius once happened to be sitting with his teacher Apollinaris, and a few others known to one or other of them '*et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiaris*' exactly in that library, again by pure chance a book was brought with the title '*Marci Catonis Nepotis*'. And again an erudite discussion ensued, the result of which was confirmed later through the consultation of the '*Laudationes Funebres*' and the '*Liber Commentarius de familia Porcia*'.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Schol. Iuv. 1.128 '*bibliothecam iuris civilis et liberalium studiorum in templo Apollinis Palatini*', see Tuori 2010: 52.

<sup>53</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 31.1. <sup>54</sup> Zanker 1983. <sup>55</sup> Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.9. <sup>56</sup> Fronto, *Ep.* pp. 68–9 N.

<sup>57</sup> For the bribing of librarians, see Fedeli 1984: 165–8; Piacente 1988. <sup>58</sup> Gell. 13.20.1.

## The *Templum Pacis*

Within the *Bibliotheca Tiberiana* such lexicographical works were obviously not to be found.<sup>59</sup> For complex research there were better places. Again Gellius tells us, some other time when he was eagerly searching – (*studiose quaesivimus*) – for the *Commentarium de Proloquiis* by the learned Lucius Aelius, he found it in ‘*Pacis bibliotheca*’: the book did not answer his questions, but he was keen to tell us the story all the same.<sup>60</sup> Special researches and controls were common, and fussy readers were much at home particularly in the *Templum Pacis*. At the very least, even ‘Trebellius Pollio’, self-appointed composer of the *Historia Augusta*, seems to have read about it: ‘No one in the *Templum Pacis* should be able to claim that I dubbed the queens “*tyrannos, tyrannas videlicet vel tyrannides*”, and make me a laughing stock.’<sup>61</sup>

The *Bibliotheca Pacis* was part of the sanctuary or *templum* of the goddess Pax. A lot about its architecture has become clear in recent years (Fig. 16.5).<sup>62</sup>

The sanctuary was built in 71 to 75 AD by Vespasian and reconstructed by Severus after a fire under Commodus without any major changes to the layout. An area of 110 by 105 metres was enclosed on three sides by porticoes. An altar in front of the temple figured as a central monument. Two large halls were connected to the temple on the southwest side. A hall on the west end, which later has been converted into the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano, tallies well with a library-building (Fig. 16.6).<sup>63</sup>

From the *diverticulum* behind, an entrance leads to a stairwell; a second entrance was from the porticus. The identification of this hall as a library has recently been supported by the find of a bronze portrait of Chrysippus in the west portico (Fig. 16.7). It measures no more than 14 cm, just like the authors’ portraits from the Villa dei Papiri.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> For the location of the building, Krause 1993; see Galen’s newly found text and discussion in Jones 2009, *contra* Tucci 2009b.

<sup>60</sup> Gell. 16.8.2 making us believe that all his adventures in Rome’s libraries really happened.

<sup>61</sup> SHA *Tyr. Trig.* 31.10.

<sup>62</sup> Coarelli 1999d, La Rocca 2001: 195–207, Rizzo 2001: 234–44, Meneghini 2009: 79–97, and Meneghini 2010.

<sup>63</sup> For the library rooms, see the first fundamental research by Biasiotti and Whitehead 1924–5; Colini 1937; Castagnoli and Cozza 1956–8; recently Tucci 2009a with a doubtful reconstruction.

<sup>64</sup> See Papini 2004 and 2005; Meneghini 2009 fig. 106 for the philosophers’ busts from Villa dei Papiri.

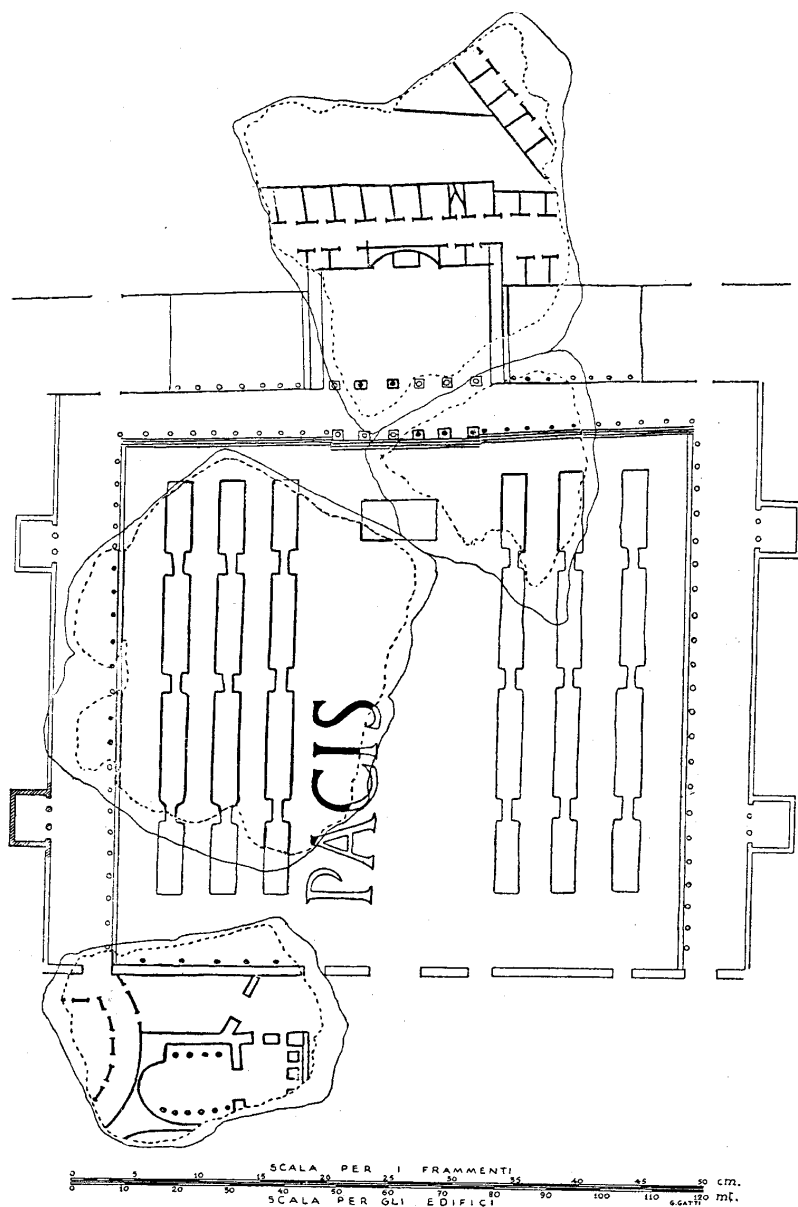


Figure 16.5 Rome, *Templum Pacis*

Much better known and perfectly visible is the eastern outer wall of SS. Cosma e Damiano, in fact the library's eastern wall, which corresponds to the inner wall of the hall next to the temple. This hall was open towards the porticus with a line of columns, and light could stream in through

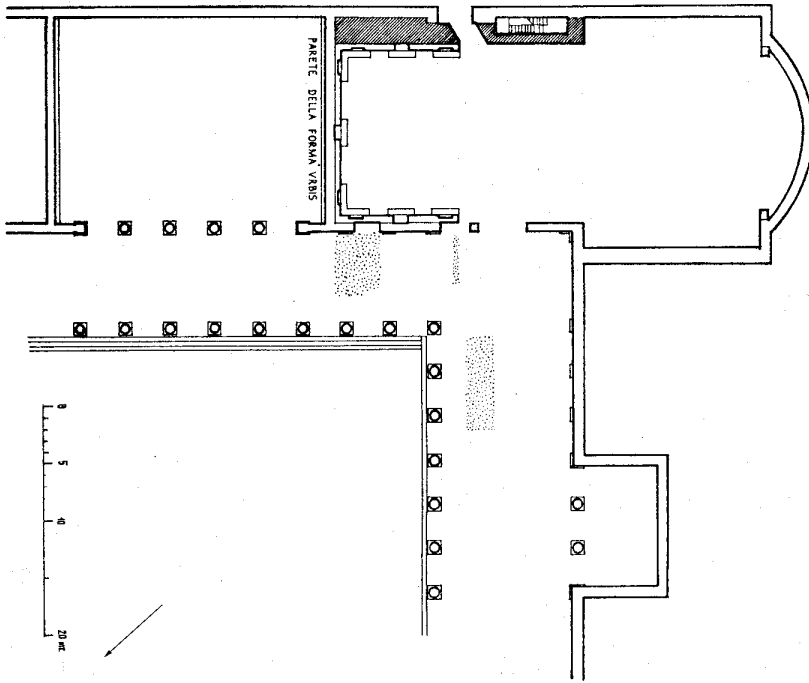


Figure 16.6 Rome, library and map room of *Templum Pacis*



Figure 16.7 Portrait of Chrysippus from the area of the *Bibliotheca Pacis*

openings above the roof of the porticus. The wall is where the 150 slabs of the Severan *Forma Urbis Romae* were fixed, forming a map of the city with the scale of 1:240.<sup>65</sup> Some of the fragments which have been newly found were part of maps which are dated earlier and show remarkable details. The boundary of the *Regio* near the *Circus Maximus* is marked in red, indicating administrative information. Other slabs are more detailed than the Severan plan and readable from close up, particularly the references to properties, which are totally missing on the Severan plan. All versions derive from a cadastral plan which covered the complete administrative territory of the city of Rome.

Like all monumental inscriptions, the marble map is not the original document, but a monument celebrating the efficiency of the public authority which was responsible for the overview of the territory, the *Praefectura Urbi*. There we would find the real register of residents, organised by *vici*, there the *domini insularum* notified their *professiones*.<sup>66</sup> But the central seat of the *Praefectura Urbi* was located ‘in Tellure’, around the temple of Tellus about 200 metres to the south east.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, it is rather improbable that a cadastral office – in Greek called βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων<sup>68</sup> – was located within the *Templum Pacis*.<sup>69</sup> This does not in any way diminish the significance of the Marble Plan as an indicator to those archives. In some way, the plan could even have been used as a source of information. The fourth-century *Notitia Urbis Romae* and the *Curiosum Urbis Romae* evidently compiled information from such plans, as is shown by identical entries.<sup>70</sup>

In 1952, slabs of the opposite wall were found.<sup>71</sup> Filippo Coarelli deduces from a few traces of red colour that there was a second map, the ‘*Italia picta*’. The idea remains a hypothesis even if we would like to adopt it – after all, at the time of Varro there existed such a map on the temple of Tellus.<sup>72</sup> If Coarelli is right, then the incised ‘cadastre of the Urbs’ would have been combined with a ‘painted overlook of Italia’ as a significant monument.

<sup>65</sup> Published by Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and Gatti 1955; Rodríguez Almeida 1981; see also Castagnoli and Cozza 1956–8 for the wall; for recent excavations and research, see Meneghini 2009; for the marble plan, see Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2006; Meneghini 2007 with literature about the cadastre, Trimble 2007, Wilson 2007: 292, and Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 290–312.

<sup>66</sup> Nicolet 1988: 173–9, Coarelli 1997, and Chastagnol 1997.

<sup>67</sup> Coarelli 1999d; for the *Praefectura* see Gros 2001b: 113, and Palombi 1997: 149–68.

<sup>68</sup> Posner 1972: 147.

<sup>69</sup> Coarelli 2009b: 73–4 identifies the hall with the prefect Fabius Cilo’s bureau.

<sup>70</sup> Compare the lists in Nordh 1949.

<sup>71</sup> See photos in Carettoni, Colini, Cozza and Gatti 1955: 194 figs. 26–7.

<sup>72</sup> Coarelli 1999b: 69, see Varro *Rust.* 1.2.1–3; for the plan in the temple, see Nicolet 1988: 257.

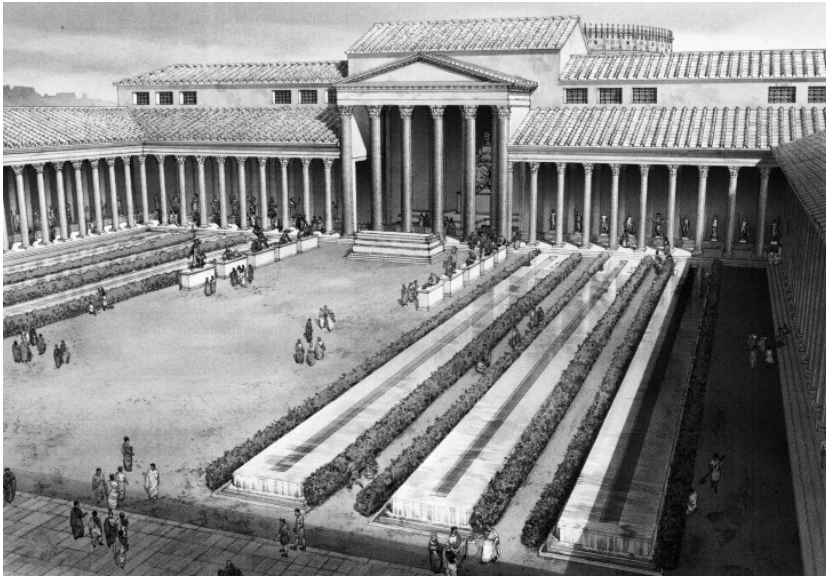


Figure 16.8 Rome, *Templum Pacis*

The *Templum Pacis* did not only offer information about the city and specialist scholarship. Pliny exploited it for his lists of sculptors and painters, as he did the material from the *Atrium Libertatis*.<sup>73</sup> He reports from notes taken during his visits and claims that most people will be kept from such scientific observations through duties and business<sup>74</sup> (and according to Juvenal also by amorous adventures).<sup>75</sup> Even Procopius still has some memory of the sanctuary as an art historical reference collection. He does recall ‘some works of Phidias, or of Lysippos; also a second one by Phidias, according to the inscription’.<sup>76</sup> We can speculate on how the collection of classical masterpieces was exhibited and imagine them in the porticoes, which are five steps high above the area, and form galleries of 12.50 metres in depth, subdivided in their length by marble barriers. Behind these barriers it was possible to display statues and paintings safely (Fig. 16.8).

Flavius Josephus went to visit the new sanctuary, and he gives us an explanation about the collection, which fits well with Pliny’s account:<sup>77</sup> ‘After

<sup>73</sup> For *Templum Pacis*, see La Rocca 2001: 195–207 and Bravi 2009 for all testimonies; Sellers 1896 Index s.v. Rome Peace for Pliny alone; for Pliny and his ‘collections in paper’, see Carey 2003: 75–101 and Citroni Marchetti 2005.

<sup>74</sup> Plin. *HN* 37.27. <sup>75</sup> Juv. 9.22–6 and Schol. <sup>76</sup> Procop. *Goth.* 4.21.

<sup>77</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 7.5.7, not without irony, see Mason 2005; compare Plin. *HN* 36.101 ‘all the wonders of the world piled up in Rome’.

the triumph Vespasian built the sanctuary of Eirene . . . and decorated it with paintings and statues. Everything was gathered together and kept in this sanctuary, for which people hitherto had to travel all over the world.' It is not by chance that the exhibition resembles the collections of sculptures in villas. There, peristyle gardens created a pseudo-Greek world through copies. Here, the original inventory of the world's masterpieces was constituted in the context of public libraries. Taken together with maps, cadastres and book collections, the sanctuary actually represented a gigantic archive.<sup>78</sup>

In AD 192 the sanctuary was burnt down.<sup>79</sup> The fire cost Galen the loss of unpublished work of his – beside some rather expensive pharmaceutical material – inducing him to compose a treatise about how it feels to lose unpublished texts. The manuscripts were burnt ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἀποθήκῃ 'in the apothēke by the Via Sacra'; Galen had to start again and did it even better than before.<sup>80</sup> Unfortunately the complete text, which has only recently been found, does not definitely end the disputes about the exact location of Galen's books.<sup>81</sup> In Greek, libraries are often called ἀποθήκαι,<sup>82</sup> and this one had an entrance in fact quite near the Via Sacra; but tabernae, too, are called ἀποθήκαι. I suppose that the ἀποθήκη on the Via Sacra does in fact refer to the public library, where ἐτέρων τε πολλῶν βιβλία were burnt among which had been medical texts.<sup>83</sup>

If all this is true, the existence of a section of medical literature in the library gives us a further lead. Domenico Palombi<sup>84</sup> has shown that the area of *Carinae ad Telluris* bordering to the south had been a medical centre since the late Republic. Lenaeus, who was the first to write a Latin treatise on pharmacology, lectured there.<sup>85</sup> He also translated the medical library of Mithridates, which had been brought there by Pompey.<sup>86</sup> These books seem to have been incorporated into the *Bibliotheca Pacis* where Gellius was able to quote from them. Galen had placed such books ready at hand, when he – like

<sup>78</sup> Plin. *HN* 36.84 reports on the statues' origin from the Domus Aurea and their *publicatio* in old Republican tradition; about the imperialistic aspect, Murphy 2004; see Plin. *HN* 3.66–7 for a statistical representation of Rome's greatness.

<sup>79</sup> Dio Cass. 72. 24.1–2.

<sup>80</sup> Gal. *Comp. Med.* 1 (Kühn 13, 362) and Gal. *Libr. Propr.* 2 (Kühn 19, 19); for Galen, see De Filippis Cappai 1993: 118–51.

<sup>81</sup> The newly discovered text has been published by Boudon-Millot 2007.

<sup>82</sup> See Posner 1972: 147; Houston 2003 thinks of *horrea* as the storeroom of Galen's books because 'apothēke is not a bibliothēke'.

<sup>83</sup> Gal. *Comp. Med.* 1 (Kühn 13, 362); Tucci 2008 excludes the *Templum*'s library as storeroom, but see Herodian 1.14. 2 for private storerooms within the *Templum Pacis*.

<sup>84</sup> Palombi 1997–8. <sup>85</sup> Suet. *Gram.* 15.

<sup>86</sup> Plin. *HN* 25.3.5–7; also Gellius works with this library, see Gell. 17. 16. 1–4; see De Filippis Cappai 1993 for medical culture in Rome in general.

other medics – gave spectacular lectures on anatomy in the dissecting room of the *Templum Pacis*.<sup>87</sup> His hands-on experiments, by the way, soon led to an acrimonious challenge to the authority of these books, as Galen demonstrated their shortcomings.

Medical texts may have been placed in an important specialised section of the *Bibliotheca Pacis*. If so, one could pursue this medical aspect in the light of a recent article by Lorenzo Perilli<sup>88</sup> which enquires into the role medical texts played in the formation of libraries. Some of the earliest collections of texts were medical records kept in the sanctuaries of Asclepius, like those written by Rufus of Ephesus in the imperial period.<sup>89</sup>

## Libraries and sacred space

At the same time, another type of archive developed in sanctuaries: lists of votive offerings. It is perhaps in this long tradition that the public libraries of Rome are in the end to be viewed, always combined with art collections, which were actually collections of votives. The sacred space seems to have been the obvious place for government archives, museum archives and archives of knowledge.

Rome's imperial sanctuaries seem first of all to be spaces for the representation of power. The *Templum Pacis*, Pollio's *Atrium Libertatis*, the sanctuary of Apollo and the sacred Forum of Trajan, and also the *Porticus Octaviae* with its library, were explicitly constructed *ex manubiis*. Nominally, they were the property of a deity, and what holds all the objects in any archive together is unity of ownership. Consequently, granting access becomes a sign of power. Access to state documents is never taken for granted. The author of the Life of Aurelian in the *Historia Augusta* is not writing nonsense when he invents the following story: the *Praefectus Urbi* is said to have pointed out to him the *Ephemeridas* and promised that he would see to it that the Ulpian library would provide him with the linen books on which Aurelian's activities were recorded each day: '*curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia Bibliotheca et libri lintei proferantur*'.<sup>90</sup> The *princeps* also decided whose literary works were admitted into public libraries.<sup>91</sup> Ovid did not only think of his future literary fame, but also about the rehabilitation of his status, when

<sup>87</sup> Gal. *Libr. Propr.* 2 (Kühn 19, 21–2); see Schlange-Schöningen 2003: 204–5 and Nutton 2000.

<sup>88</sup> Perilli 2006. <sup>89</sup> See translations in Ullmann 1978.

<sup>90</sup> SHA *Aurel.* 1.7–10 and SHA *Tac.* 8.1; about permissions for the consultation of archives in Alexandria, see Posner 1972: 152–4, and Cencetti 1940: 46–7.

<sup>91</sup> Purcell 1988 for power over archives; censorship over libraries, see Canfora 1993 and Suet. *Iul.* 56; on the emperor's personnel, see Houston 2002 and Neudecker 2004: 297 and 300.

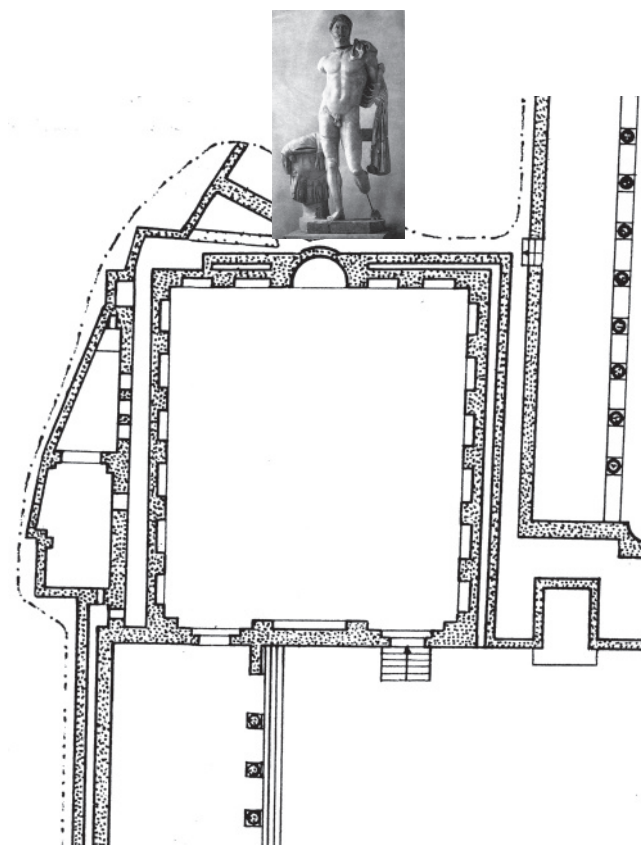


Figure 16.9 Pergamum, library in the *Asklepieion* with statue of Hadrian

he begged Tiberius to let his works have entry into the *Palatina*.<sup>92</sup> He insists on the fundamental difference between ‘*statio publica*’ and ‘*privatus locus*’ of all books. Whoever has the power to decide about access to documents, also has the right to destroy them with all the consequences that follow. So Hadrian had the *syngraphai* of tax liabilities burnt right in the middle of the Forum of Trajan, as Trajan had done before.<sup>93</sup> This leads one to believe that administrative documents, which might be useful at the time, were also kept there in case they were needed again.

The library on the Palatine was under the protection of Apollo whose statue is named in the *Senatus consultum Pisonianum*.<sup>94</sup> Tacitus, instead,

<sup>92</sup> Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.

<sup>93</sup> For Trajan, see *CIL* 6.967; for Hadrian, see *SHA Hadr.* 7. 6; see also *SHA Aurel.* 39. 3.

<sup>94</sup> See above n. 49 and n. 51.

mentions a statue of Augustus, which a scholiast explains as a portrait of Augustus in the shape of Apollo.<sup>95</sup> Since the first Republican archives were deposited in the *Atrium Libertatis*, it was important to make the gods responsible for their safety. They offered religious protection for the words. During the Empire, the *princeps* appropriated the gods' role as the keeper and publisher of books and archives. The emperor alone ruled on the basis of universal knowledge. His statue, like that of Hadrian in the *Asklepieion* of Pergamum (Fig. 16.9), was soon to be found at the centre of library halls, as a sort of heavenly guardian of books. Political and cultural lives met each other in the protected archives of intelligence.

<sup>95</sup> Schol. Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.17; Serv. *Georg.* 4.10; Porph. Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.17; Tac. *Ann.* 2.38, 83; Suet. *Aug.* 29; see Sengelin 1983: 178 for Apollo, and Juv. 1.128 '*iurisque peritus Apollo*'.