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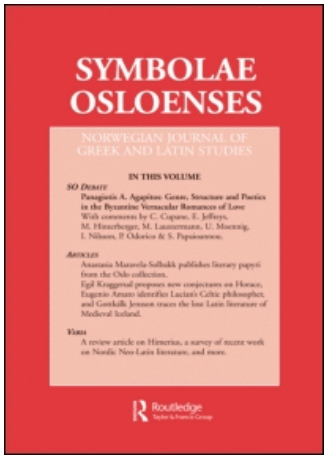

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Publica aut peri! The Releasing and Distribution of Roman Books

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This outline of our knowledge of the process of releasing literature in late republican and early imperial Rome addresses the nature of the recitations, the question of 'publishing' and distribution of books, from Atticus to Pliny the Younger. Although recognising that the distribution of Roman literature to a large extent consisted of private copying and exchange, I argue for the existence of a 'book industry' consisting of low-status craftsmen and traders editing and reproducing books for a commercial market.

"There are listeners and readers; it is for us to produce something worthy of the ears and the sheets of paper", the younger Pliny says, and his elder protégé Martial claims to be "known throughout the entire world".[1] Yet our knowledge of the process of producing and dispersing literature to these listeners and readers of the Roman world is still limited. Since there is no fresh thorough study on the subject, the aim of this article is to discuss some significant aspects of releasing and distributing books in the late Republic and early Principate and the commercial aspect connected with this.

The Literary Process

Before any releasing, however, all texts have to find their final form and go through various stages in a literary process. Pliny's *Epistulae* give us a glimpse of the literary environment of the Roman aristocracy by the turn of the first century, and a good starting point for a study of this literary process. We are invited to view a world where literary ideas are discussed and where works in progress (including speeches) are sent to *amici* for critique and comment. Pliny's letter 7.17 may stand as a clear example of the initial stages of the literary process:

> Ac primum quae scripsi mecum ipse pertracto; deinde duobus aut tribus lego; mox aliis trado adnotanda; notasque eorum, si dubito, cum uno rursus aut altero pensito; novissime pluribus recito, ac si quid mihi credis tunc acerrime emendo; nam tanto diligentius quanto sollicitius intendo.

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> *"First of all, I go through what I have written myself; next, I read it to two or three friends and send it to others for comment. If still in doubt, I go over it again with one or two people, and finally I recite the work to a larger audience; and that is the moment, believe me, when I make my most acute corrections, for anxiety makes me concentrate all more carefully. 7.17.7."*

Although there is ongoing discussion over the substance, significance and extent of the various stages a literary work went through from idea to the released book (more below), we can outline roughly five stages from Pliny's letters:

1. *Disponere/invenire* – to outline literary ideas or *topoi* and possibly discuss them with friends or suggest them to others to handle.
2. *Manu scribere* – to write the first draft, with response and comments from selected friends.
3. *Emendare* – to improve the text; obviously in several stages.
4. *Legere/recitare* – to read the new version to dinner guests, a literary group or at the court, and/or arrange a recitation or performance of some sort.
5. *Publicare/edere* – to release a final and official version of the text and have it reproduced (*describere*)

The first three parts of the literary process are clearly private, where a literary idea and relevant *topoi* and arguments were outlined and commonly discussed with friends, patrons and associates, whether the idea or initiative came from the author or was a suggestion or even request from others. An example of this can be taken from Pliny's letter 8.4, where he counsels Caninius Rufus on a literary idea of his. Caninius was clearly a person lower on the social ladder, and thus the discussion assumes the form of advice from the superior to the inferior on what is tactful and politically safe in regard to writing something on the achievements of the present emperor. In another letter (9.33), Pliny suggests a 'safe' topic for Caninius to handle. These types of informal suggestion were obviously quite common among his friends and associates, and Pliny himself received such proposals (e.g. 5.8, 9.11). A patron, such as the emperor or his close associates, could also bring forward a more proper request to an author to write (about) something particular, as is evident with Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, possibly Vergil's *Aeneid* and Propertius's 4.9.[2] We may also count requests that were politely turned down (the *recusationes*), such as Horace's *Ode* 4.2 and Cicero's rather unsuccessful attempt to have his consular period recorded in historical treatises and poetry.

Once an author had decided to carry out a literary project he would usually write a draft, or dictate to a scribe, and send it to somebody close for confidential comment and critique, as is mentioned as early as by Catullus

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(*Carm*. 35). After some revision, an improved version (but still a work in progress) could be slightly more widely circulated among other friends, or perhaps read at a dinner party and further improved. All this is well described in Pliny's letters (1.2; 1.8; 2.5; 3.15; 4.14; 4.20; 7.20; 8.4.6–8; 8.21.6; 9.35).[3]

These initial stages concern our subject only slightly, however, and we leave them without further comment for a discussion of the final two stages and their significance.

Readings and Recitals

Oral performance of literature can take many forms, and in Roman antiquity we know of a wide range – from the informal reading for dinner guests, to the performances of literary works by professional *cantores* from theatre stages. Regarding the oral presentation as part of the literary process, we may follow Pliny and account for two forms in early imperial times: First, the reading (*lectio*) to friends and fellow authors for reaction and comment – generally at an earlier stage in the process – and, second, the *recitatio* of a polished and finished (if not final) version of the work (or parts of it). From the literary references, however, it is sometimes not at all clear whether we are dealing with a reading to a minor group of friends and associates or a formal *recitatio*; the verb *recitare* is commonly used for both. The line between them was probably never clear-cut, but we may nevertheless assume that in imperial times the *recitatio* constituted the normal oral presentation of a novel literary work, and above all poetry.[4] Usually, the chosen piece was recited by the author, but on some occasions a stand-in did the job (Plin. *Ep.* 9.34). But, what purpose or significance did these readings have? The traditional view has been that the *recitatio* was something close to a modern release party, or, more correctly, a pre-release recitation, where the author was still able to revise or halt a final edition. In this view, the *recitatio* was a performative stage in the literary process promoting the author and the forthcoming book.

In a path-breaking article, Kenneth Quinn (1982) reviewed the whole concept of literary production, claiming that, until Augustan times, literature was essentially oral and performative. The literary text was more of a by-product, certainly not published and circulated in the way that was commonly believed, he argues. As there was no standard way of performance in the late Republic, the oral presentation could take many forms, Quinn maintains, from semi-public readings to staged performances. The late Republican and Augustan age was a time of literary upheaval, he further argues, where the oral performance was challenged by the written text as the literary core. Yet still: ''In the Augustan Age it seems clear the written text continued to be felt as no more than the basis

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for a performance."[5] Although I do not follow Quinn all the way – he seems too preoccupied with urban poetry and with overemphasising the performative aspect in a dubious source material – he certainly reminds us that ancient literature was perceived in quite a different way from modern. Furthermore, it has been convincingly argued that some ambiguous features of extant silver age poetry can best be explained by the change of voice and vocal emphasis of a reader in front of a listening audience, and thus give evidence to a performing literary culture even in imperial times.[6] Nonetheless, even though Quinn maintains that the performance was the most important stage in the literary process of the republic, he asserts that there was a gradual change in the early Principate, involving a shift in the customary literary audience and in the way of reaching it:

> The serious writer's potential audience is fragmented within a new social structure, and scattered physically – not merely within a huge metropolis, but throughout a vast Empire. Potentially, the audience existed; it was, by any reckoning, a large audience; but the only effective way to reach it was by publication and distribution of individual copies.[7]

Seneca says that the *recitatio* was instituted by C. Asinius Pollio, and Dalzell has argued that what can be ascribed to him is his making it a formal and important event that developed into an institution in Roman cultural life during the first century CE.[8] It is thus interesting to note that the *recitatio* institution was developed along with an expanding book culture and an increasing demand for written texts. What was the relation between the *recitatio* and the written texts?

Florence Dupont (1997) does not account for an early *lectio* at all and views the *recitatio* as a reading for invited friends only, and thus certainly not to be labelled 'public'. The *recitatio* was clearly an announced event; and I am not convinced that only friends with a special invitation attended. Persius (1.13–23) mocks the urban recitations, but depicts them as taking place in front of a large crowd of Romans, not a small gathering of friends. If it were just a question of size, we could dismiss this as satiric exaggeration, but the words Persius uses to describe the audience (*populo* and *ingentis Titos*) do not suggest a circle of friends. Pliny, in his famous letter on the April recitations (1.13) – where he boasts about attending nearly all of them – has to admit that *most* were by friends (*erant sane plerique amici*). This implies that he also attended recitations by other than his friends. The whole description of the state of affairs for the recitations does not point to a session of close friends in reciprocity. Regulus is said to have recited the *vita* of his son to a vast audience (*ingenti auditorio*), and that does not sound like a group of friends either (*Ep*. 4.7). Of the *recitationes* of wannabe poets, Juvenal's discontent is famous (1.1–14), and the description in

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satire 7 of the poor poet who is left with a shabby place to recite, where his patron had gathered a few clappers, but not a decent audience (7.39–47), seems also to contest that only close friends were invited. When coming to the day of the *recitatio* Pliny says: "I have in fact a double motive for these readings, hoping to gain both a stimulus by my anxiety to succeed and criticism where any faults have escaped my notice through being my own."[9] Pliny invited a group big enough to fit his purpose, which invites the conclusion that one simply invited or announced as widely as one wished or had the opportunity to. Obviously, an upstart poet from a less influential family had few friends to invite, and had to seek support from a wealthy and influential man to stage a *recitatio* and get a crowd that could set a career in motion. This seems to be evident from the letters of Pliny and the epigrams of Martial.[10] Perhaps the *recitatio* in this respect can best be compared to present-day art vernissages. The literary establishment was usually invited, and sometimes it seems even to have had a character of open house. Famous is Pliny's remark (1.13) about how Claudius heard great shouting, enquired into the cause and ended up attending a recitatio of Nonianus. What is indisputable is that the *recitatio* institution was developed in the early Principate, but as the audience was no longer merely the literary establishment of the capital, the public performance was not considered the literary nucleus or final stage – it could even be scorned along with popular performances and pointless declamations.[11] We may say, with Dupont, that the imperial *recitatio* had an intermediate position, between the private conversation and the public discourse, and hence played an important social and political role.[12]

Oral presentation continued, no doubt, to be an important stage in the literary process throughout antiquity. But even if a literary work was known to quite a lot of people – by having been circulated and read and recited in this way – releasing it was still the final and most important stage in imperial times, as manifested in the works of Pliny and Martial. Again and again Pliny calls for the release of the books of his *amici* and dwells about releasing his own work.[13] Martial underscores the same and makes it perfectly clear that he will not regard anybody as a poet or take criticism from anybody who does not release his own poems.[14] It is made perfectly clear that it is a matter of publish or perish.[15] This is also the case for speeches. Pliny discusses this in various letters (e.g. 1.8; 1.20; 3.18; 7.17) and makes it obvious that he acknowledges two separate functions of a speech. The speech shall obviously serve its judicial, political or eulogising purpose when delivered; as a written text, however, it may be revised, lengthened, made more literary, and recited, before it is released. Pliny says (5.8) – as an excuse not to get involved in historical writing – that all his available time and effort went to rewriting and editing his speeches (*actiones*). He insists on going over them again and does not consider the delivery of the

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speech as more than a step on the way: "For if you have posterity in mind, whatever is left unfinished might as well not have been started."[16]

When distributed, the author may win praise for his eloquence and elegant prose style, as well as for his good judgement. Such is the state of all oratory, and needless to say not all of Cicero's *orationes* were ever delivered, nor did they circulate as documents of a historical debate alone, but as rhetorical and literary masterpieces. Hence, we need to address how such texts reached their readers in Roman times.

'Publishing' in Antiquity?

There are few modern studies on book circulation (publishing, trade, private copying) in Roman times. Theodor Birt's monumental *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur* (1882)[17] was for long the standard work in this field. Of other more popular, but important, monographs concerning ancient books and text circulation, should be mentioned Wilhelm Schubart's *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (1907, 1921^2, 1962^3) and Frederic Kenyon's *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (1932, 1952^2). Two monographs, Louis Haenny's *Schriftsteller und Buchhändler im alten Rom* (1884) and Tönnes Kleberg's *Bokhandel och bokförlag i antiken* (1962),[18] concentrate on the very topic of publishing, commerce and book circulation. These studies conceive a publishing and book trade industry in antiquity that is not essentially different from the one in modern times, and consequently have been criticised for exaggerating the extent and importance of such an industry.[19] Nonetheless, Annette Dortmund's *Römisches Buchwesen um die Zeitenwende: War T. Pomponius Atticus (110–32 v. Chr.) Verleger?* (2001) is the first monograph devoted entirely to this issue for nearly 40 years. Dortmund is primarily concerned with Atticus and his role as editor and publisher, but covers a wide range of questions concerning Roman book history. Since her study starts with an updated and meticulous 'Forschungsbericht', there is no reason here to venture on a re-examination of the previous scholarly debate. I will, however, discuss some questions that I consider to be important but not brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and, in doing so, start by briefly pointing out some of the previous positions.

The traditional view has been that professional publishers received a final draft of a manuscript from the author, made a substantial number of authorised copies for the stock and sold the books themselves or through retailers.[20] For convenience, we may call their view a 'modernist' one, and for simplicity infer that they have taken the many textual references to publishers/editors and the publishing of books in antiquity as documentation for a publishing system

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similar to their contemporary. From the late republican times of Cicero and his correspondence with Atticus – also known as his 'publisher' – on to the times of Martial and Pliny at the turn of the first century, there are numerous references to what has been considered as publishing and editing.[21] The verbs most commonly used in these texts are *publicare* and *edere*. *Publicare* quite literally means making something publicly known, which then can be said to connote making something (a) official ('finished' and manifest) and (b) available (accessible for distribution). *Edere* means giving something up, out or away. Although less clear, it can be said to carry pretty much the same connotations, perhaps with more emphasis on surrendering/releasing and spreading.[22] Other words with similar connotations when used about books are *emittere* (Quint. *Inst.* intr., Plin. *Ep*. 9.1, Tac. *Dial*. 3.2), *dimittere* (Stat. *Silv*. 1.praef.), *foras dare* (Cic. *Att.* 13.22.2), *in publicum dare* (Plin. *Ep*. 8.3.2), *proferre* (Cic. *Att*. 15.13) and *exire* (Cic. *Att.* 13.21a). Cicero frequently uses *divulgare* and *pervulgare* (*Att*. 12.40.1, 12.44.1, 12.45, 13.21a) and Pliny speaks of *dispensare et digerere* (*Ep*. 3.10.3). So, we have many ancient text references to a process of releasing literature and even a variety of expressions for it. What we need to establish more closely is the substance, significance and extent of this process.

B. A. van Groningen (1963) discusses the Greek word ἔκδοσις (lat: *editio*), and holds that publishing or editing in antiquity merely involved the last stage where authors completed their manuscript, making a final draft. In this view, the purpose of the editor was limited to proof-reading and making a proper manuscript edition, and, on request – if the resources were available – a small number of copies for the author.[23] This involved branding the text official and available, he agrees, but disclaims that publishing/editing involved any system of duplication and distribution. As one of the first to make this claim, he may be taken as representative of someone with what can be called a 'primitivist' view on publishing. All scholars seem to agree that publishing in Roman times involved making a final version of a text, an authorised edition. Further discussion will therefore be on what more, if anything, publishing involved. We have to look more closely at what the source material tells us of the publisher or editor in Roman times. Given the modern connotations of the word *publish*, implying a publishing industry and printing offices, I use *release* as a slightly more non-technical term.

Atticus and the Releasing of Cicero's Work

The first and probably also the most renowned 'publisher' we meet in Roman times is Titus Pomponius Atticus, a rich, distinguished and influential Roman

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eques. Much has been written about his releasing of Cicero's works and on their relationship – well discussed by Dortmund. I thus limit myself to some comments of interest for the further discussion. As the traditional 'modernist' view was long prevailing also when discussing Atticus, he has been used as a crown example of a publisher.[24] Early on, Richard Sommer criticised this, pointing out that there was little evidence of Atticus being involved in commercial publishing, and concluding that "Ciceros Werke nur privatim weitergegeben worden sind".[25] With Karl Polanyi and, particularly, Moses Finley's momentous outline on the primitive ancient economy, many joined to tune down all ideas of industries, specialised manufactions and far-reaching commercial trade. The ancient 'publishing industry' was soon obliterated, and even though the influence of the Finley School has faded in recent decades, few will claim today that Atticus was first and foremost a professional publisher or book trader.[26]

In his biography of Atticus, Olaf Perlwitz maintains that he operated largely in property and banking, and that the production of literary books played no part in his business; it was merely a *Freundschaftsdienst*. He claims that Atticus's staff consisted of "für den Bankbetrieb ausgebildeten Schreibsklaven".[27] However, Cornelius Nepos describes Atticus's (down to the footmen) highly educated staff of expert readers, and a great number of scribes/copyists (*pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii*, *ut ne pedissequus quidem quisquam esset*. *Atticus* 13.3). This is confirmed in several passages in Cicero's letters.[28] It is far from obvious that such *pueri* are employed by a banker rather than by a publisher. Although Nepos states that *litteratus* was commonly used for persons who could read and write, he apparently reserved it for literary scholars in his own vocabulary.[29] When Nepos uses the superlative form of the adjective, we must assume the persons to whom it is applied are especially well educated in literature, not scribes trained "für den Bankbetrieb". Moreover, such *pueri litteratissimi* were extremely expensive.[30] *Anagnostae* are perhaps best understood as proof-readers or possibly readers for stenography, and *librarii* would also normally be connected with books and literature (although, here, clearly not 'book-dealers'). More neutral, non-technical, terms would have been *notarii* or *scribae*. It seems evident that Atticus had a large number of slaves in his household – *plurimi* indicates a substantial number – working with literary texts and some sort of book manufacture, but we have no further indications as to exactly how large. It seems likely, however, that as such a large staff was engaged, the number of copies made could far exceed the handful the author wanted for his own bookshelves. On the other hand, little if anything in Cicero or Nepos indicates that Atticus was engaged in *commercial* publishing.[31] If we can take this as an indication of minimal commercial interest in the editing process, what was at stake then? We know that Atticus spurred Cicero to various

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works and that he released some of Cicero's work, but it has been pointed out that Hirtius was the only other author named by Cicero whose work Atticus was to release.[32] Did Atticus keep his *pueri* just to pay service to his friends, even exclusively to Cicero? Was Cicero indeed in need of such favours?

Since there was no need for expensive machinery and no certification needed to edit or release books, anyone could in theory make the final edition. At least at one stage Cicero apparently had the means to release his own texts,[33] and several letters show that he had *librarii* and got his copying done on his own.[34] The point is that Cicero doubtless could keep enough educated slaves of his own to proof-read and make a few copies of his writings. Atticus must have provided something more, but what? Perlwitz notes:

> Sämtliche Einmischungen des Atticus in Fragen der Veröffentlichung von Werken Ciceros gehen bei genauerem Hinsehen vielmehr auf das **politische** Bestreben zurück, Cicero durch die Widmung oder Zustellung seiner Schriften einflußreichen Persönlichkeiten anzunähern oder ihn mit diesen auszusöhnen.[35]

Atticus had a large network of friends and associates in Rome, Italy and the Greek-speaking world – important contacts politically as well as culturally. He was himself exceptionally well educated and wealthy, with business and property interests in several places in the Roman Empire. He obviously had a nose for financial affairs and political conduct, and, I may add, literature. Besides being a childhood friend, he was in other words a man with whom Cicero could discuss personal, financial and political matters and exchange favours. Atticus could be involved in the whole literary process, from the birth of an idea or the outline of topoi and arguments to helping make an authenticated edition of a manuscript and distributing it to the important men of letters and politics. It is of less importance whether or not he also made copies for a commercial market.

The distribution of literary *volumina* was no doubt limited in republican Rome. Kleberg may be wrong in naming Atticus the first "förlagsbokhandlare" in Rome.[36] Nevertheless, as he evidently did edit some of Cicero's works, that process involved at least commenting on, proof-reading and correcting manuscripts, before making a final edition and several copies for distribution. Cicero insisted on submitting a presentation copy to addressees and contemporaries included in his dialogues.[37] It has been suggested that the reception of a book by its dedicatee marked its official release, and this seems reasonable decorum where dedicatees are present. Not all texts, however, have addressees, and some addressees were absent from Italy at the time of their release. Certain texts, Cicero expressly says, are not to be released for the time being or not at all.[38] Others he sends for Atticus to decide whether he wants to release or not, but it seems evident that Cicero as the author had to approve the releasing to make it 'official' or 'authorised'.[39] On two renowned occasions,

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Cicero asks Atticus to make corrections in all copies of an edited text – even in those copies no longer in his stock.[40] However, beyond the request (*Att*. 2.1 [= Shackleton Bailey 21]) of a wide dispersal in Greece for Cicero's memoir of his consulate, he never instructs Atticus on the distribution of an edition; seemingly, he has no control of, or particular wishes for, that.

Cicero managed to combine statesmanship, demagogy and literary style to be one of the most famous actors on the political scene as well as one of the most illustrious authors of his time. There was an artistic as well as a political side to everything Cicero wrote, and it was probably met with political and literary anticipation.[41] Nevertheless, the world of Atticus and Cicero remained the world of the extremely rich and powerful. All sorts of texts circulated in this world. As can readily be seen from Cicero's correspondence, private copying was the normal way of acquiring texts. In a world of patronage and reciprocal deeds this is not at all surprising; still, the number of texts in circulation could be large, even if random.[42] As a serious releaser, Atticus was able to provide quality copies of some of the latest poetry and prose works. The word employed for the process of copying literary texts was *describere* (more rarely *transcribere*), and as there was no difference in the copying process itself, the verb gives us no indication of whether or not there was a commercial element.[43] It was obviously more efficient to make several copies of the same text at a time, something that a man with Atticus's staff could arrange. It is therefore not unlikely that Atticus had a stock of some of the works he released; certainly, he provided many books for Cicero, including an expensive book collection.[44] Given his position as some sort of a literary central, many must have inquired about texts and editions, and whether they paid him back with money or favours is of little importance. And if we think of *Freundschaftsdienst* in an ancient context, we would have to place it within the system of *amicitia* and *clientela*, and translate it with *beneficium*, *officium* and possibly *munus*. This was of course a normal way of distributing goods and services in a pre-capitalistic society.

In 54 BCE, at a time before Atticus apparently started releasing texts for Cicero and when he was absent in Asia, Cicero tried to build a library for his brother Quintus. He gives us a rough idea of how best to obtain literature in Republican Rome. Greek books were exchanged, presumably with friends and associates, and Latin books were bought. He complains, however, about difficulties getting hold of certain Greek texts and of the poor quality of the Latin texts available for sale. Hence Cicero instructs his freedman/slave Chryssipus to assist him and inquire at his friend, the famous bibliophile Tyrannio, apparently with only moderate response.[45] We know less of releasing and text circulation in the late republic beyond Cicero and Atticus. Solely a few references to releasing and releasers can be found in other texts, and a few

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remarks to confirm the existence of booksellers and bookshops (*tabernae librariae*) in Rome at the time.[46]

Authors and Releasing in Imperial Rome

With the annexation of Egypt as an imperial province, Augustus ensured that the supply of papyrus was in Roman hands. And in the Augustan 'golden age' we know much about the expanding literary scene, yet little to enlighten us further on the releasing process. Public libraries were introduced in Augustan times, and this may have had some implications for the releasing. A passage in Tacitus's *Dialogus* (21.6) may imply that literary works were sent by the author to the public libraries, and this could be another feature of releasing in imperial times – placing an authorised text in a public library. In imperial times, releasing is described as much more of a decisive stage. Horace underlines that one crosses a line by releasing: "What you have not released can be destroyed, the voice you let out cannot be recalled."[47] This may be read not just as a piece of advice in the event of unfavourable critique, but also perhaps as a warning in a deteriorated political climate. From Horace's work we learn something about the 'world-wide' circulation of books; he gives a glimpse of the Sosii, seemingly releasers and booksellers with distribution 'abroad': "That is a book worth its price at the Sosii's, and that is the one to cross the sea and greatly prolong the life of the author."[48] Of other people involved in releasing and trading books in Augustan times, we know practically nothing, but repeated claims to world fame and dispersion of literature to disparate places around the empire seem to imply some commercial channels of literary distribution.[49]

As we move ahead in the time of the Principate we learn of a few more book-dealers, probably also involved with releasing; Dorus (Sen. *Ben*. 7.6) and Tryphon (Quint. *Inst*. intro, Martial 4.72 and 13.3) being the most recognised. From this scant evidence, Kleberg claims: "Der römische Buchhandel entwickelte sich zu einem weltumspannenden Unternehmen, seine Erzeugnisse wurden im ganzen Imperium verbreitet."[50] Based on silence about the process of releasing and distribution in our sources, however, the scholarly majority today favours viewing the *librarii/bybliopolae* as just small-scale book-dealers. Thus Raymond Starr:

> They were, in simple terms, the owners of small shops that dealt in luxury items. Perhaps as significant, they apparently only handled current literature and did not sell older works. Their business was conducted on a retail level: each bookdealer made the copies he sold. There was little or no distribution system to support the individual shop-owner and, therefore, virtually no broad-based geographical distribution except on the individual level.[51]

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It should be pointed out that Starr is arguing *ex silentio*, but without further evidence this is clearly preferable to reading a far more modern system into ancient texts. We have discussed late Republican and Augustan times and found nothing to counter Starr's view, but, looking more closely at the sources around the turn of the first century, can we detect a more large-scale system of book releasing?

Martial and Pliny are our main informants about the literary environment and releasing in Flavian and post-Flavian Rome. They represent different social strata and present different pictures, yet little concrete information can be extracted from the *Epigrammata* and the *Epistulae* regarding the process of releasing. Pliny very seldom refers to the socially inferior releasers and booksellers. Initially, he mentions that along with some companions (*contubernales*) he would not restrain from making an edition of one of his speeches, and he goes on to say that he wants to publish because he is assured by the *bybliopolae* that his old books are still being read.[52] From this, and from the account of the pleasant surprise Pliny expresses when hearing about his book in the Lyon bookshop (9.11), Sherwin-White takes it that "the distribution of his books was entirely in the hands of the *bibliopolae*".[53] This may be jumping to conclusions, because, besides these two references, Pliny only once (5.10) mentions book trade. It seems clear that, within Pliny's circle of aristocratic friends, books were distributed from the hands of the author.[54] It is thus not always clear whether the object is a work in progress sent in order to get a response, or a released book sent as a gift. Moreover, we are not able to make a certain record of the work Pliny did release, and everything but his letters and the *Panegyricus* to Trajan are long lost.[55] Whether these books sent from Pliny's hand to friends are 'home produced' from a personal edition or the author's copies received from a bybliopola is not clear. In sum, it is not certain whether Pliny released his own work and handed some bybliopolae copies, or whether he left the entire releasing to others.

Intriguing is letter 3.5, where Pliny lists all his uncle's *opera* at the request of Baebius Macer, who apparently wants to fill the holes in his own collection (*ut habere omnes velis*). As Pliny does not offer to have the works copied for him, or mentions how he shall get hold of them, we may suppose that they were relatively easy to obtain once you knew the title. On the other hand, since he had to ask Pliny for all his titles, they were presumably not well known, not the kind of books that the local book-dealer would have in stock.[56] Again, we are left no wiser than before.

Martial gives us a much broader picture than Pliny of the whole literary institution and distribution of literature apart from the upper elite. On the stages in the literary process, however, he does not give us much new information. Although often commenting on it, Martial is not explicit in his

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description of releasing his work. He often talks about the books that he has released,[57] and mentions a number of book-dealers selling his work: Tryphon (4.72, 13.3), Secundus (a freedman with a shop by *Templum pacis*. 1.2), Atrectus (with a shop at Argiletum. 1.117), Pollius Quintus Valerius (sells Martial's juvenile poetry. 1.113), and other non-specified bookshops (or at least *tabernae* where books were sold in Argiletum. 1.3). In several of these cases, however, we do not know whether we are dealing with a bybliopola (as a releaser) or just someone who copies and sells texts, old or new. Most of the references to bybliopolae are connected to his early writing, but this is probably due only to Martial's rise in social status.[58] It seems fairly clear that Martial used bybliopolae for releasing his final editions, and the distribution was also left entirely to them or the free private initiative. But under what conditions were they released and did they perhaps circulate widely before the *libri* editions?

Many poems are occasional, dedicated to individuals and followed by statements suggesting a frequent circulation of singular poems or small collections. Hence Peter White outlined the idea that the epigrams circulated in small unreleased *libelli* presented to patrons, and therefore did not always fit in the books that were released in the end.[59] This has been refuted by Mario Citroni, and more thoroughly by Don P. Fowler, who makes a case for the epigrams being composed and carefully selected with the final edition in mind, and holds that the corpus handed down to us is from collections of several book-roll *libri* compiled and released as codices.[60] On the other hand, Citroni has argued that not only Martial's Saturnalian books (*Xenia and Apophoreta*), but a number of his other libri were released in connection with the Saturnalian festival in Rome.[61] If correct, this may to a certain extent support White's hypothesis, in that some poems (at least the occasional) most likely had been delivered one way or the other prior to the Saturnalian release. Be that as it may, it seems presently to be of minor importance whether or not Martial's epigrams circulated in pamphlets prior to the releasing in the form of a liber. Martial's many references to editing and releasing underline the importance of this final stage and suggest something more than just that someone at a certain stage collected and released whatever was at hand.

Martial also favours books as gifts for friends and family (5.18, 7.84, 9.84, 10.18(17); 14.183–196), some of the gifts are from the author – and a long range of epigrams focuses on pleas for copies of Martial's books (e.g. 1.117, 5.73, 7.3, 11.107) – whereas others are of classics, bought or otherwise obtained (Lucan is very good business for a bybliopola we are told in 14.194). Especially witty and interesting is 7.77, where Martial refuses to give Tucca a copy of his book because he will sell it. It is worth noting that, despite the exchange of books mentioned, Martial never describes a situation where books (his or others) are copied privately. Martial always steers those interested in his books (but not

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granted a free copy) to the bookseller; he never offers to lend one of his own copies, or direct them to libraries or other private collections to *describere*. It is hard to say what we are to (and can) make of this, whether it is just a matter of his witty style or an indication of the way in which books circulated in less aristocratic circles.

A rather strange case appears in Martial 11.108, where he jokes that he cannot continue, since the reader will not pay more for his book, "But Lupus demands interest and the slaves their rations" (*Sed Lupus usuram puerique diaria poscunt*). This may indicate that Martial was due for some sort of payment; presumably a fixed price, rather than pay-per-verse, for a manuscript. Lupus is probably just a fictitious name, a figure that appears several times in the epigrams and four times in book 11. It would make sense to take him to be a bybliopola with a sure nose for costs and what to charge, but Lupus is never associated with the bybliopolae in other epigrams. What other type of *usura* he feels entitled to is unclear. Perhaps the point is that Martial uses Lupus's *pueri* to make an edition, having to feed them as well as compensate their master; or possibly the joke is that as he will not earn much from his book, he has to attend to another business to feed his slaves and pay his debts (sic Friedlaender).[62]

Martial claims to be read world-wide and sees his books in public and private libraries (e.g. 5.5; 7.17), but as long as there were no copyrights he also acknowledges a problem of plagiarism and artistic theft (1.29; 1.38; 1.52; 1.53; 1.63; 1.66; 1.72; 2.6; 2.20; 11.94; 12.63),[63] as well as verses wrongly attributed to him (7.12; 7.72; 10.3, 10.5). Quintilian adds, as one of the reasons he wanted to release his major work on oratory, that two books of the art of oratory were already being circulated in his name, without being edited and not composed for that purpose (*neque editi a me neque in hoc comparati*; *Inst.* 1.pr.7).

A couple of remarks from Statius should also be mentioned. Statius begins his *Silvae* with an introductory letter to Stella, in which he shows reluctance to release a collection of occasional poems that have previously appeared one by one. The poems had been offered on an appropriate occasion, he continues, and were now already in the possession of those in whose honour they were written. Statius fears that their original sentiment would be lost and their expeditious making too evident. Nonetheless, he went on with their release, presumably engendered by public request and personal craving. A remark in the introductory letter to Melior in the second book of *Silvae* seems to imply that Statius left it to Melior to take care of the releasing if the collection pleased him.[64] In his introductory letter to Vitorius Marcellus in the fourth book, Statius confirms that the releasing of the *Silvarum libri* had been criticised, but he went on to claim that compared to presenting many of them to *dominus Caesar*, releasing was nothing (*quanto hoc plus est quam edere*). This is certainly an *ad hoc* way to tune down the criticism, by diminishing the value of releasing,

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and a chance to honour the emperor as well. Does all this also imply that for the great patrons the occasional presentation of the poem was still the momentous feature, and its later publication of less importance?

We have to squeeze our sources further regarding book-manufacture and a commercial book distribution in imperial times.

Bybliopolae in Imperial Rome and Elsewhere

The first interesting point we can detect about those involved in releasing books we hear about in imperial times is that, unlike Atticus, they did not belong to the Roman aristocracy.[65] Gamble puts it well when he states that they "thus lacked social distinction or natural ties with a literary elite".[66] That explains why they rarely figure in literary works of the Roman elite, why we lack more detailed descriptions of their work and surroundings and why they are sometimes described with contempt.[67] Whereas *librarius* continues to be used mainly as 'copyist', sometimes bookseller, the Greek *bybliopola* seems to be adapted for this type of releaser/bookseller.[68] At the very least this suggests that releasing and dealing with literature was no longer – if ever – a gentleman's pastime, but clearly a livelihood or a profession for freedmen and plebeians. Does this also suggest that releasing literature gradually became an industry? What seems clear anyway is that the bybliopolae were in it for the money, and clearly we can speak of a commercial element in ancient Roman book distribution.

However, when coming to the point of determining its extent or importance, we are left with scant source material. We have quite a few references to bybliopolae and librarii in Rome in our period, including some that dealt in antiquarian and special editions, as, attestedly, there arose a fascination for antiquarian texts and autograph manuscripts.[69] Still, the used-book trade was probably not by any standard big business, as texts were copied privately. Even so, a Roman interested in literature might feel it was convenient to pick up a title not in his or his friend's possession, or he may have yearned for a quality edition of a renowned hand.

Martial obligingly includes a few remarks on prices; his early work, *Xenia*, can be had for 4 sesterces (13.3), one of his other books (or the work of copying his book) can be bought for 6 or 10 sesterces (1.66), whereas a book (the codex edition?) of Martial is sold for 5 denari (=20 sesterces) by Atrectus (1.117). His contemporary Statius (*Silv*. 4.9) jokes about the worth of his book gift compared to one he received from Grypus. His expenses for a brand new edition with papyrus, knobs and painting add up to 10 asses, whereas the used book of Brutus's '*oscitationes*' hardly cost Grypus more than 1 ass in a bookstore.

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The book prices are thus certainly not alarmingly high. To compare: the prices were 2 asses for a large bread and 5 asses per sextarius of table wine in the capital, according to Harl, who goes on to suggest that in our period an Italian household of 4 would use 200 denarii annually (or 2 to 2.5 asses a day per head) on wheat, wine and oil.[70] Accordingly, an unpopular used book could be had for half a loaf, the production cost of a polished book was equivalent to a litre of wine, whereas to buy a normal book (*liber*) of a famous author in a store would equal the purchase of 15–20 breads or 2.5–4 litres of table wine. In other words, if these figures are correct, the prices of books in ancient Rome were not relatively higher than today. Martial claims to be read by soldiers in distant border districts. However, if we compare with the army salaries after Domitian raised the legionaries' salary from 9 to 12 aurei (=1,200 sesterces), we can see that a regular book-roll in a bookstore in Rome would cost the equivalent of two days' wages, excluding transportation costs. The wages were not even paid out in ready cash, but much was withdrawn for accommodation and clothes. Accordingly, it does not seem likely that the average legionary ordered many freshly released books from retailers. Moreover, outside Rome there are only a few references to booksellers. We have the remark of joy by Pliny that his books are found in a bookstore in Lyon (9.11) and Gellius's scoop of rare books in Brundisium (*NA* 9.4.2–5). Besides, two papyri concerning book-dealers have been brought forward.[71] From an Oxyrhynchus papyrus letter (2192) from the second century we learn about a book-dealer named Demetrius (who even sold scholarly texts). The whole letter gives us a picture where private copying was the usual way of acquiring a text, whereas one turned to the bookseller when no friends could provide the wanted text. In another papyrus (P. Petaus 30) we are told about a travelling bookseller who was selling parchment codices, clearly a rarity and possibly imported.

Whether one chooses to believe that the book trade business in the Roman antiquity was fairly marginal or not, it clearly made an impact on text distribution and the Roman literary institution. Commercial releasing and subsequent trading did take place, and we shall address briefly what this entailed.

Further Implications of Commercial Book Manufacturing in Imperial Rome

Authors may have been involved with commercial bybliopolae on several levels. Writers who did not have copyists at hand themselves could, we must assume, turn to them to get texts (not yet to be released or of no commercial potential) copied in a certain number for a salary of some sort. As a mere replacement for private copying, this is of less interest to us and not attested. In other instances,

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the bybliopola would have commercial interests in releasing a literary work and encouraged authors to do so. This is well demonstrated in Quintilian's greeting to Tryphon at the beginning of the *Institutio Oratoria*, where it is made clear that the bybliopola had repeatedly requested (*efflagitasti cotidiano convicio*) the release of the work and assured Quintilian that there was a large demand (*tanto opere efflagitantur*) for it. The commercial side of the relationship between a bybliopola and an author was especially affected by the lack of copyrights. An ancient Roman author obtained "eine gewisse Anerkennung des geistigen Eigenthums, aber nur eines ideellen", Dziatzko established more than a century ago, not "ein besonderes Autor- oder Verlagsrecht".[72] From this we can point out some important characteristics of Roman book distribution and its commercial aspect for the author and the releaser/bookseller.

First, an author could release and sell copies of his own work, but we have scant evidence of that. Josephus relates that he had bestowed copies of his history of the Jewish war on some Romans who had taken part in the campaign, but also that he did sell many (πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίπρασκον; *Con. Ap*. 51). Martial, on the other hand, though many apparently requested copies of his books (for free of course), always points to the bookseller if he wants them to pay for it. It seems alien to him as well as to Pliny that authors themselves should sell their work after its release. This may be a reflection of the Roman upper class's unwillingness openly to get involved in trade; editing and releasing books was clearly an illiberal and arduous pursuit.

Second, an author could sell his manuscript unreleased, for all its worth, but this is not well attested either. I have just come across three occasions concerning manuscript trade by the author: 1) Pliny (*Ep*. 3.5.17) says of his uncle the Elder that he was offered 400,000 sesterces for his neat notebooks on selected material (*electorum commentarii*); an offer he refused. There is no indication that the bidder intended to release them; probably he wanted them as source material. The story tells us, in any case, something about the value of having relevant information gathered in a society with limited access to encyclopaedias and scientific studies. 2) In satire 7, Juvenal claims that Statius had to sell his virgin (*intacta*) *Agave* to Paris to put food on his table (7.87). This seems to be about selling an unpublished manuscript with the *geistiges Eigentum* – presumably the idea is that the court favourite and actor buys a play and stages it as his own. 3) Suetonius tells an even more intriguing story (*de Gramm*. 8) of M. Pompilius Andronicus who, living as a retired grammaticus, was forced to sell his *opusculum annalium Ennii elenchorum* for 16,000 sesterces to somebody, apparently only to be put away, for "Orbilius says he bought these books which had been suppressed, and released them in the author's name" (*quos libros Orbilius suppressos redemisse se dicit vulgandosque curasse nomine auctoris*). We are dealing with a minor treatise of some sort, perhaps in a few

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libri, which was not bought out of commercial prospects. Why they were *suppressi* we will never know, but the emphasis on the fact that they were released in Andronicus's name tells us that Orbilius did this as a noble gesture to the *auctor*, who had sold the manuscript skin and all. One may assume that if unreleased manuscripts were sold, the author lost his *geistiges Eigentum*. The same could happen if an unreleased manuscript had gone astray, as described in Martial 1.66, where he sharply puts it "a well-known book cannot change its master" (*mutare dominum non potest liber notus*). The purchaser of an unreleased manuscript could use it as raw material for his own work and perhaps release it in his own name, but we have no certain record of either.

Third, if an author decided to release his work and left it to a bybliopola he could claim the fame it gained, but he was not entitled to any economic benefit of sale, such as royalties – familiar to many a researcher who publishes in periodicals, I should think. From Cicero (*Att*. 13.12.2), Birt proposed that the ancient author "gewisse Procente vom Gewinn erhielt", but this has been refuted, even a possible reward for handing over a manuscript to a releaser/bookseller lacks documentation.[73] We may conclude that only the bookseller could profit from selling literature, the author did not benefit financially from releasing a literary work or a subsequent sale – as Martial has it: "my wallet doesn't notice" (*nescit sacculus ista meus*, 11.3.6).

Fourth, since the releaser had no copyright either, he had no protection against the work being copied (and even sold) by others. He had to rely on two possible advantages: the demand for quality texts as could be offered in a mark of the 'first edition' and the novelty value to be satisfied by having a copy ready at hand.[74] This, and the possible (but disputed) gain by having multiple copies made simultaneously by dictation, favours having a considerable number of copies made right away. Whatever we make of the export market is dubious, as the scant information given by Horace (above) is about the only clear example of bybliopolae with a network of distribution and sale outside Italy. Granted that a few releasers had a network of 'retailers', they could quickly fill or help create local demands around the empire by dispatching fresh copies of a literary work (if they had a considerable stock). On the other hand, as private and possibly other commercial copying took place, the releaser not only had to avoid overpricing but simply not to be stuck with a lot of copies. This favours having a few copies made, and supplement on demand.

Unfortunately, our only source to the number of copies made at this stage (first edition) is the well-known passage from Pliny's letter to Catius Lepidus (4.7). Here Pliny finds it excessive that Regulus had a thousand copies made and distributed of the speech lamenting his dead son.[75] Scholars like Birt and Kleberg used this number as an indication of an average number of copies made and distributed, whereas more recent scholars emphasise the fact that Pliny finds

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the number out of proportion and thus argue a much smaller number of copies normally issued.[76] As I see it, however, the passage cannot support any of these interpretations. The only thing we can learn from it is the fact that Pliny wants to show his disapproval of the way Regulus (not at all his best friend) showed his grief.[77] Pliny thinks a thousand copies of the speech were far too many, but why? Because such a number is extremely large by all standards? Because it was a commemorative speech? Or because it was from Regulus' hand, and no masterpiece? There is no way of knowing from this remark alone. We cannot even be sure whether Pliny, by using *mille* rather than referring to the exact number made, simply means 'a big lot' or 'countless' as ancient texts often do. Finally, it must be underlined that Regulus was one of the wealthiest and most influential senators of his day, and that, according to Pliny, he ordered the copying and distribution himself. It is clear that Pliny's remark tells us nothing of the normal quantity of literary releasing in antiquity.

Lastly, we may conclude that as the releaser did not answer economically to the author, he was chosen for other reasons. Quality editing and a network of distribution must have been among these. An author was clearly interested in seeing his text distributed in smooth and uncorrupted copies. Quintilian reminds Tryphon to make sure his books reach the public faultlessly (*emendatissimi*), whereas Martial makes a joke about the errors to be found in his books being due to the copyist who works in haste (2.8). The releaser would also be entrusted to make the work accessible to as many readers as possible, or at least the 'right' ones, as Persius prefers (1.126–134). In imperial Rome, some readers were more important than others.

Concluding Remarks

This article has focused on the city of Rome, as literature was most important to the urban elite and the capital was clearly the axis of Latin literature, even though literary pursuits took place all over the empire.[78] Books were distributed around the Roman Empire; certainly not all authors and not to all places. Private copying continued to be the usual way of acquiring literature. This was what Romans had been taught in their school days, even if complete works seldom were copied there. Literati, who wanted a certain text, could have it copied from a public library, if available, or more commonly from that of a friend. This is well illustrated at the aristocratic level by Cicero's correspondence with Atticus and Pliny's with his friends, and doubtless the same could happen at a lower social level.[79] The Romans of the upper orders rarely copied lengthy texts themselves; those who had the means to keep literate slaves would leave the job to them.[80] Like Pliny the elder, however, some would take extracts of their

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readings and notes of texts read to them (Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.10–14). A reasonably sized *civitas* might have a cornerstore that sold some books as well (such as Lyon had), and now and again a travelling salesman brought fresh books to town. There were probably one or two large upper-class villas in the area, some even with a city patron with a large library and a good heart. Poets, writers, teachers and scholars might be stationed in or visiting the town for a while; all liable to bring literature and literary impulses to town. Local *recitationes* (if there were any at all in places more distant from Rome) may have been open for free men to attend, and occasionally there would also be an official performance of some literary kind, a drama or a *cantio*. Literary readings were common dinner entertainment, at least among the well-to-do,[81] and hence many, also friends and clients of a lower social stratum, might become familiar with literary pieces without reading the book themselves. Furthermore, in the public places, especially the baths, many may have been able to listen to someone reading from a book. The ways of literature were many, and a literary work could be dispersed widely in a unified empire.

Yet, our knowledge of the modus operandi of text distribution is fragmentary, although we know that the authors had faith in its power to bestow fame in Rome and worldwide, as well as eternal life on the talented; something that is repeatedly proclaimed by poets of the early imperial times, and manifestly fulfilled.[82] Pliny (*Ep.* 2.3.8) tells us a remarkable story of a rustic Spaniard who came all the way to Rome just to get a good look at Livy, before returning to Spain. This was certainly an exceptional story, but it could only be told in a society where literature was distributed far more broadly than within a small erudite urban elite. And playing a principal part in this distribution, in Rome as well as around the empire, were the byblipolae and librarii, who obviously filled several functions. They ensured that the Roman writers were properly released and that their texts were available to their wished-for readers. They supplied all interested with fresh literature and 'back-up' titles from the stock. They provided books on request from those who could not afford a literate slave or could not bother to make copies privately. Some of them evidently also provided the bibliophile elite with rare books or special editions. The extent and size of this activity, however, is a matter of belief. And I believe the truth lay somewhere in between what I for simplicity labelled 'modernist' and 'primitivist' views, i.e. in between the views of Kleberg and Starr. I believe that the commercial element played a substantial role in Roman imperial text circulation, making literature from the metropolises of the empire known to their literate denizens and to the local elite in other remote places. And I believe Pliny gives us the core information of ancient book releasing and distribution in this plea (*Ep*. 5.10) to Suetonius to publish his work (perhaps *De viris illustribus*):

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> Perfectum opus absolutumque est, nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur. Patere me videre titulum tuum, patere audire describi legi venire volumina Tranquilli mei.
> "The work is finished and perfect, further polish will not make it shinier but wear it out. Let me see your work completed with a title tag, let me hear that the volumes of my Tranquillus are copied, read and sold."

Here we are informed that the author has written a literary work of some sort which his friends have read critically, and possibly commented on; it has been revised and polished and now seems more than ready to be released. By speaking of a wish to see the *titulus*, Pliny means making the final *editio*, a true book with a title tag. Then it will reach its audience in various ways, by being copied (*describi*), read (*legi*) or sold (*venire*); three natural channels of literary distribution in Roman times.

Notes

1. Plin. *Ep*. 4.16 *sunt qui audiant, sunt qui legant, nos modo dignum aliquid auribus dignum chartis elaboremus.* Mart. 1.1.2: *Toto notus in orbe*. The translations of Greek and Latin provided in this article are either my own or are taken from the Loeb editions of Betty Radice (Pliny) and D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cicero, Martial), at times with minor changes. The texts quoted at any length (Pliny, Cicero, Martial) are from the same sources.
2. See, for example, White (1993: 110–155), a chapter discussing "Literary initiatives from Augustus's side".
3. See Starr (1987: 213–215) for details and ancient references on drafts and emendations.
4. On the *recitatio* in general and the ancient references, see Funaioli (1914); for a fresh discussion of what was recited and epic recital in particular, see Markus (2000).
5. Quinn (1982: 144–145).
6. Williams (1978: 244–246).
7. Quinn (1982: 1965).
8. Sen. *Controv*. 4. *Praef*. 2; Dalzell (1955). Pliny regards it as a regular custom in his day (*Ep*. 7.17: *horum recitatio usu iam recepta est*).
9. *Ep.* 5.12.1: *Nam mihi duplex ratio recitandi, una ut sollicitudine intendar, altera ut admonear, si quid forte me ut meum fallit.*
10. Pliny about readings and reciting: *Ep*. 1.5.2; 1.13; 2.10.6–8; 2.19; 3.7; 3.10; 3.15; 4.7; 4.27; 5.17; 5.21; 6.6.6; 6.17; 6.21; 7.17; 8.12; 8.21; 9.27; 9.34. On Pliny and recitals, see also Starr (1990b). Martial about readings and reciting: *Epig.* 2.88; 3.44; 3.45; 3.50; 4.6; 4.41; 7.46; 7.52; 8.20; 8.76; 9.83; 11.52; 12.63. On Martial, readings and recitals, see also Nauta (2002: 93–105).
11. Markus (2000).
12. Dupont (1997); cf. Maternus's recitation of his *Cato* in Tacitus's *Dialogus*.
13. Pliny urging his friends: 1.7; 2.10; 5.10; 9.1. On releasing his own work: 1.1; 1.2; 1.8; 3.10; 5.12; 9.13.
14. 1.25; 1.91; 1.110; 2.8; 2.71; 4.33; 5.33; 6.14; 8.18; 10.102.
15. E.g. Plin. *Ep*. 5.21 (Julius Valens *quantum etiam scripsit*, but did not publish; subsequent *quae nunc omnia cum ipso sine fructu posteritatis abierunt*).

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16. Plin. *Ep*. 5.8 (*Nam si rationem posteritatis habeas, quidquid non est peractum, pro non incohato est*).
17. Several editions have since appeared; my references are to a reprint from 1974 (Aalen: Scientia). This work was later complemented by his contribution in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, "Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des antiken Buchwesens" (1913).
18. A German translation, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen*, appeared in 1967. My references are to the Swedish original.
19. Zetzel (1981: 232ff.), Kenney (1982), Quinn (1982), Starr (1987), Harris (1989: 175ff.), Citroni (1995: 5–22).
20. Haenny (1884), Reichmann (1938), van der Valk (1957), Kleberg (1962); also Birt (1882: 342–370), Pinner (1948: 30–49), Schubart (1962: 130ff.), Fedeli (1983 and 1989).
21. Cicero *Att*. 2.16.4, 12.40.1, 12.44.1, 12.45.3, 13.12, 13.21a, 13.22; Martial *Epig*. 1.2, 1.3, 1.16, 1.29, 1.66, 2.8, 2.20, 3.38, 5.16, 11.2, 11.3, 14.194; Pliny *Ep*. 1.1, 1.2, 1.8, 4.7, 4.27, 5.10, 7.4, 9.1, 9.11. Not edited: Suet. *de Gram*. 3.3
22. Dortmund (2001: 107–124) discusses the significance of *edere* thoroughly, but unfortunately does not treat *publicare* or any of the other commonly used words.
23. Similar thoughts in Sommer (1926: 405–406).
24. For instance Birt (1882: 348ff.), Haenny (1884: 25ff.), Carcopino (1947: II.305–363), Kleberg (1962: 33–43).
25. Sommer (1926: 422).
26. Phillips (1986) gives a good account of the previous debate on Atticus and discusses the chronology and evidence of the releasing of Cicero's works in his letters. He tunes down Atticus's role as a publisher, holding that there is evidence only of a few of Cicero's works actually being released by Atticus. He does not rule out that Atticus could have been involved in commercial publishing, but seems to conclude that Atticus provided quality copies for his friends and associates on request, at a time when the market generally did not. Dortmund (2001) is the latest scholar to examine the sources and reject that Atticus was a publisher or was involved in any commercial book distribution.
27. Perlwitz (1992: 22). Sommer (1926) does not go as far as Perlwitz in rejecting an editing process: "Daß sich Atticus je geweigert hätte, dem Cicero derartige Freundschaftsdienste zu leisten, oder sie irgendwelchen anderen Verpflichtungen nachgestellt hätte, ist nirgends ersichtlich." (pp. 409–410). However, he comes to the same conclusions concerning Atticus's business (p. 397): "Das Hauptarbeidsfeld des Atticus waren Grundstücksspekulationen und anderen Geldgeschäfte." Similar conclusions concerning these *pueri* are those of Dortmund (2001: 215–217).
28. *Att*. 4.8a (same occasion mentioned in 4.5.4, 4.8.2, 5.3.3, 12.6.3, 13.23, 13.44.3).
29. Suet. de Gram. 4.1 (*Cornelius quoque Nepos libello quo distinguit litteratum ab erudito, litteratos quidem vulgo appellari ait eos qui aliquid diligenter et acute scienterque possint aut dicere aut scribere, ceterum proprie sic appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Graecis grammatici nominentur*.) Accordingly, Pliny describes the educated members of his staff as *eruditi*, not as *litterati* (*Ep*. 9.36.4).
30. Sen. *Ep*. 27.6–7; Hor. *Ep*. 2.2.1–8.
31. Phillips (1986: 235–237); Dortmund (2001: 208–225); also Perlwitz (1992: 22): "In keinem der Fälle, in denen es um die Besorgung fremder Bücher oder die Publikation von Werken Ciceros geht, werden monetäre Fragen diskutiert, was eindeutig gegen einen etwaigen finanziellen Aspekt solcher Hilfestellungen spricht." A possible exception is (*Att*. 13.12.2): *Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti. posthac quicquid scripsero tibi praeconium deferam.* (You have sold my speech for Ligarius excellently. Henceforth, whatever I write, I shall entrust the advertising to you), but *vendidisti* is usually understood metaphorically (e.g. Sommer (1926: 407–408)). A

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couple of dubious statements concerning material expenses may also be found (*Att.* 2.4.1, 13.25.3).

32. On Atticus encouraging writing: *Att*. 2.12.3, 2.14.2, 4.6.3, 15.3.2, 15.4.3, 16.11.3; on Hirtius and the releasing of his *Cato*: *Att*.12.40, 12.44, 12.45. Cf. Phillips (1986).
33. As is implied by his brother Quintus when asking Cicero to correct and edit his annals (*Att.* 2.16.4: *ita rursus remittit ut me roget ut annalis suos emendem et edam*).
34. *Ad Fam*. 16.22.1 (*librarii mea*); *Att*. 12.14.3 (*quem librum ad te mittam, si descripserint librarii*); 13.21a (*Varroni quidem quae scripsi te auctore ita propero mittere ut iam Romam miserim describenda. ea si voles, statim habebis. scripsi enim ad librarios ut fieret tuis, si tu velles, describendi potestas*); 13.25.
35. Perlwitz (1992: 22); my emphasis.
36. 'Publishing retailer'; Kleberg (1962: 33).
37. Like Varro of *Academica* (*Att*. 13.12, 13.21a, 13.25.3) and Brutus of *de Finibus* (*Att.* 13.21a.).
38. *Att*. 2.6.2, 16.2.6, 16.3.1.
39. Cf. the outburst from Cicero when texts not approved for releasing had got into the wrong hands (*Att*. 13.21, 13.22). More on authors dissatisfied with versions of their unreleased manuscripts circulating in Kleberg (1962: 52f.): Quintilian (*Inst. praef*), Galenos (*de anat. administr*. 1), Diodorus Siculus (40.8).
40. *Att.* 12.6.3 (exchanging 'Aristophanes' for 'Eupolis' in *De Oratore* 29 – accomplished in the manuscript tradition) 13.44.3 (erasing the name L. Corfidius in *Pro Ligario* 11.33 – not accomplished in the manuscript tradition). See also *Att*. 13.21, but the situation is less clear and probably referring to a change to be made before the final edition of the revised *Academica* (dedicated to Varro), but apparently after Varro had received a copy.
41. Cf. Murphy (1998) on some interesting perspectives on Cicero's initial elite readers and the political implications this might have.
42. Marshall (1976).
43. On *describere* see McDonnell (1996: 482–486).
44. *Att*. 1.4.3; 1.7; 1.10.4; 1.11.3; 1.20.7; 2.1.12; 13.32.2. On Atticus, his library and private copying of literature, see Sommer (1926: 398ff.).
45. Cic. *Ad Q Fr*. 3.4.5; 3.5.6.
46. Catullus (*Carm*. 95.1–2) tells us that it took Cinna nine years to get his *Zmyrna* ready for release. His *Carm*. 14.17–18 (*ad librariorum curram scrinia*) presumably refers to booksellers. *Carm* 55.4 (*in omnibus libellis*) is probably not a reference to bookshops (see Fordyce (1961: 227)). Strabo joins Cicero in his criticism of the inaccuracy and misspellings of the copies for sale in Rome (13.1.54; 50.13.419). Cic. *Phil*. 2.21 (On the event where Marcus Antonius accordingly chased Publius Clodius across the Forum Romanum where he took refuge in a bookshop; *se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset*). The alleged absence of his writing in shop book racks seems to be the issue in Horace *Satura* 1.4.71 (*nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos*).
47. *Ars P*. 389–90 (*delere licebit quod non ediderís; nescit vox missa reverti*). Same thoughts in *Ep*. 1.20.1–8. Ovid *Tristia* 4.10.5. Quinn (1982: 89) takes Horace's passage to be a comment on a literary change, towards written poetry: "Horace felt the new way of doing things meant an end for the social status of the poet as performer".
48. *Ars P*. 345 (*hic meret aera liber Sosiis, hic et mare transit et longum noto scriptori prorogat aeuum*); cf. also *Ep*. 1.20.1–2 (*Vortumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare uideris, scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus*). Horace *Ep*.1.20 is an amusing piece on the fate of a text in circulation, ending up as an ABC for kids in a provincial school. His *Carmen* 2.20 is less amusing, but shows his prospect of being read and studied throughout the empire. On Horace and his audience, see inter alios Citroni (1995: 241–260).

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49. Ovid claims to be read widely, even if banished to the east (*Trist* 4.9.21 and 4.10.127–8: *non minus illis/dicor et in toto plurimus orbe legor*). Propertius also claims world-wide reputation (2.7.17–18). Pliny the elder (*NH* 35.2.11) holds that Varro wrote a book on 700 famous men dispatched all over the world (*in omnes terras misit*). Birt (1882: 358) mentions an inscription of an otherwise unknown bookseller and freedman of Augustus (*M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Dionysius bibliopola*; Fabretti 10.366).
50. Kleberg (1970).
51. Starr (1987: 220).
52. *Ep*. 1.2: *confitebor et ipsum me et contubernales ab editione non abhorrere* [. . .]*libelli quos emisimus dicuntur in manibus esse, quamvis iam gratiam novitatis exuerint; nisi tamen auribus nostris bibliopolae blandiuntur*. Sherwin-White (1966: 90) takes the *contubernales* to be Suetonius and Voconius, and if we are to understand the passage as "I am thinking of releasing it, and my companions agree", this makes perfect sense. If, however, which is as likely, we read it as "both I and my companions are thinking of releasing it" (i.e. being involved in the releasing process), these two knights seem strange, as a group of knights in such a position is unparalleled in Pliny and other contemporary texts. It is thus more tempting to take the *contubernales* as *bybliopolae* of some sort with a commercial interest in releasing the speeches, but again that would be an odd use of *contubernales*, which normally implies intimacy.
53. Sherwin-White (1966: 91).
54. E.g. 4.9.23; 6.33; 7.2; 8.3; 8.7; 8.15; 8.19; 9.4; 9.18.
55. See Aubrion (1989: 311–314) for a short discussion of his *œuvres*, and Hershkowitz (1995) for a review of his poetic output.
56. There is also the possibility that Baebius wanted an official list to sort out genuine texts from certain others delivered in Pliny's name, as was the reason for Galenus's autobibliography. But Pliny's name and subject matters probably did not instigate as much forged writing.
57. E.g. 1.45; 1,52; 2.6; 2.93; 3.1; 10.2; 11.108; 12.2(3).
58. Van der Valk (1957).
59. White (1974 and 1996).
60. Citroni (1988) and Fowler (1995). The codex theory is not novel; Immisch (1911), partly building on Friedländer's observation, suggested this nearly a hundred years ago. See also Allen et al. (1970: 352–353). White's thesis is also refuted with new arguments by Nauta (2002: 108–1031 and 365–374), who argues that small collections of poems were offered only to the emperor. Furthermore, see Roman (2001), who discusses related issues, and even though he supports Fowler and Citroni in their focus on literary unity wisely concludes (p. 137): "The idea of the book as a collection of detachable, individual units rather than an autonomous discourse to be encountered as a totality, far from being limited to the Apophoreta, recurs throughout Martial's later work."
61. Citroni (1989: 201–226); cf. also Coleman (2005) on the collections and dating of Martial's books.
62. Friedlaender (vol. 2) 1886: 216.
63. Cf. Szelest (1996: 96–97) on the *plagiator* mocked by Martial.
64. *Silv* 2.prae.: *haec qualiacumque sunt, Melior, carissime, si tibi non displicuerint, a te publicum accipiant; si minus, ad me reverantur*.
65. Brockmeyer (1973), on Roman 'Buchhändler' (pp. 241–248); concluding on their social status (p. 246): "Die 'Buchhändler' gehörten wie alle Händler in den Städten der Kaiserzeit zur Schicht der 'humiliores'."
66. Gamble (1995: 86).
67. E.g. Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 4 and 24. Van der Valk (1957) suggests that this may be why Martial only mentions contact with the book-dealers early in his career, before a climb of status.

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68. Gamble (1995: 87). Although not consistently used in Roman times, I stick to the distinction in this paper. Also Brockmeyer (1973: 242) suggests that bybliopola might have been a 'Sortimentsbuchhändler'.
69. On bookstores (new books or unknown): Mart. 1.2; 1.3; 1.113; 1.117; 4.72; 13.3; 14.194; Aul. Gel. *NA* 18.4.1. Lucian describes quite a few booksellers in his famous diatribe on the ignorant book-collector, and although dealing with many books they are barbarous and unlearned, even shrewd (*Adv. ind.* 4 and 24), but deal with special editions (*Adv. Ind*. 2). Especially on the used-book market: Aul. Gel. *NA* 2.3.5; 5.4.1; 9.4.2–5; 18.5.11; Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.10–23. Dio Chryst. *Or*. 21.12. On quality editions Fronto *Ad M. Caes.* 1.7.4 (Naber 17); on the antiquarian interest Pliny 1.16.8; on autographs Martial 7.11. On the used-book trade in general, see Kleberg (1964) (who reckons it a large industry) and Starr (1990a) (who reckons it a marginal urban phenomenon). However, one of his main arguments about second-hand books is an alleged re-usage of the expensive papyrus through palimpsests. Such is hardly the case, see Skeat (1995: esp. 80ff.). On autographs, see McDonnell (1996); on the process of text reproduction, see Small (1997: 26–40).
70. Harl (1996: 278–279).
71. See Gamble (1995: 53 and 92).
72. Dziatzko (1894: 576). Cf. Symmachus *Ep*. 1.31. Ulpian (*Digest* 32.) discusses the problem of defining a book on legal terms (cf. Roberts & Skeat (1983: 30–34)).
73. Birt (1882: 354f.) (who also suggested that living authors were paid for text usage in schools pp. 312ff.). On possible payments, Fedeli (1983: 99–100) sums up: "Non è, certo, da escludere che, pur mancando diritti d'autore, gli scrittori ricevessero comunque un onorario da parte del *librarius*; non abbiamo, però, attestazioni sicure di una simile consuetudine, mentre da parte degli autori continua ad essere convenzionale il motivo dei lauti guadagni degli editori." There is also a possibility that the author received a certain number of copies for private distribution among friends as compensation, but this is not attested either.
74. For the urge for novel literature, see Plin. *Ep*. 1.2.6, 5.20.7 and 8.21.6.
75. *Eundem in exemplaria mille transcriptum per totam Italiam provinciasque dimisit*. 4.7.2.
76. Kleberg (1962: 77); Zetsel (1981: 232f.).
77. Cf. Plato *Rep*. 10.603e-604d.
78. Cf. Gualandri (1989).
79. Sommer (1926: 398), Starr (1987: 217f.).
80. McDonnell (1996).
81. E.g. Plin. *Ep.* 1.15.2; 9.26.4; Mart.3.45; 3.50; 5.78.25; 7.52; Juv. 11.179–182.
82. Hor. *Carm*. 2.20, 3.30 (*usque ego postera/crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium/scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex*); Ovid *Trist*. 4.9.20–26; 4.10.1–2 (*Ille ego qui fuerim, tenerorum lusor amorum,/quem legis, ut noris, accipe posteritas*); 4.10.125–132; Propertius 2.7.17–18; Mart. 1.1.2 (*toto notus in orbe*), 3.95 (*ore legor multo notumque per oppida nomen non expectato dat mihi fama rogo*), 5.13 (*toto legor orbe frequens*), 5.10, 5.15, 5.16 (*lector...qui legis et tota cantas mea carmina Roma*), 6.60 (*Laudat, amat, cantat nostros mea Roma libellos*), 5.60 (*in meis libellis qualiscum legaris ut per orbem*), 6.64. (*meos, quos novit fama, libellos*), 6.82 (*ille Martialis, cuius nequitias iocosque novit aurem qui modo non habet Batavam?*), 7.84, 7.88 (*Fertur habere meos, si vera est fama, libellos inter delicias pulchra Vienna suas. me legit omnis*), 8.3 (*iam plus nihil addere nobis fama potest*, and read forever after), 9.praef. (*ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus, quem non miraris sed, puto, lector amas*), 9.76, 9.97 (*me Roma legit*), 10.2, 10.9 (*notus gentibus ille Martialis et notus populis*), 10.103 (*decus et nomen famaque vestra sumus*), 11.3 (*Non urbana mea tantum Pipleide gaudent otia nec vacuis auribus ista damus, sed meus in Geticis ad Martia signa pruinis a rigidio tertitur centurione liber dicitur et nostra cantare Britannia versus*), 11.24

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(*quod Roma legit, requirit hospes*) 12.2(3) (*Ad populos mitti qui nuper ad urbe solebas*); Plin. *Ep*. 2.10, 3.10; 3.21, 5.8, 6.16.1, 7.20, 7.33, 9.11, 9.23.

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