ARCHIMEDES

and the

ROMAN

IMAGINATION

ARCHIMEDES and the ROMAN IMAGINATION



Mary Jaeger

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> For Malcolm & Seth

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



THIS PROJECT RISES from two sources. The first is a long-standing interest in teasing out what ancient literary descriptions of monuments tell us about the authors who describe them, figures whom I anachronistically imagine standing in front of each of these monuments and waving wildly at a camera, so as to draw attention from the monument to themselves. From this interest emerged the earliest-drafted chapter of this book, a reading of Cicero's account, in the *Tusculan Disputations*, of his discovery of Archimedes' tomb. That chapter, a version of which appeared in a 2002 volume of the *Journal of Roman Studies*, in turn generated two others, which discuss not monuments, strictly speaking, but artifacts: one explores Cicero's representation of Archimedes' spheres; the other examines Petrarch's use of Archimedes' story in his portrayal of his own relationship to books, especially the text of the *Tusculan Disputations*.

The second point of origin is a fascination—and frustration—of even longer standing, with one of the realities we face when studying figures from the ancient world, especially those about whom we know very little. That is the elusive nature of the biographical "fact," which, when released from narrative biographies and returned to its origins, loses its distinctive coloring as a biographical fact and fades into the underbrush as a component of the rhetoric of its sources. What follows is a modest attempt to track a few such facts to their dens in a consciously limited way, by choosing a historical individual for

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whom they are relatively few and then following them only insofar as they help answer some questions raised by my interest in monumentality: Why was Archimedes important to Cicero? How did their relationship extend backward and forward in time to include other relationships, both historical and literary? What can a close look at the figure of Archimedes tell us about the tradition that created it? According to a couplet attributed to the second-century BCE poet Licinius Porcius and viewed by scholars as possible evidence about the origins of Latin literature, the Muse came to Rome during the Second Punic War.¹ The flip side of the story is that Archimedes did not: he died during that same war, in a city his machines had defended against the Romans. Exploring the way in which tradition retells the stories of his life and death, with an eye to what was at stake for the sources that preserve them, can give us additional insight not only into the construction of what one scholar has called the "'true' and ancient Roman character" and "the 'Greek character' with which it was contrasted" but also into the greater narrative, now under extensive reconstruction, about Greco-Roman cultural interaction.²

I have taken a long time to write this book; a happy side effect has been the accumulation of many debts of gratitude over the years. It is a pleasure to thank the people who have provided resources, audiences, criticism, and advice. They include the co-organizers of a conference on memory, at Harvard in 1995 (the late Paige Baty, as well as Chris Bongie, Jennifer Fleischner, Dagmar Herzog, and Edward Wheatley, all working under the auspices of the Mellon Faculty Fellowship program and the Center for Literary and Cultural Studies). An invitation to a conference in Trier during the still-peaceful summer of 2001 allowed me to present work on Livy's account of the fall of Syracuse. I am grateful to the organizers and especially to Ulrich Eigler for his gracious hospitality. Audiences at meetings of the Classical Association of the Pacific Northwest merit special thanks for patiently listening to various dissections of the Archimedes story. I am grateful to the Classics Department at the University of Tennessee for a speaking invitation in the fall of 2004, which helped shape the chapter on the death of Archimedes, and to Elizabeth Sutherland for hospitality in Knoxville. Victoria University, Wellington, with its collegial faculty and excellent library, provided a cheerful and spectacular setting in which to draft the Petrarch chapter during a sabbatical in the spring of 2005; speaking invitations there and at Otago and Canterbury universities provided opportunities for more feedback on other parts of the book. I am especially grateful to Stephen Epstein and Mi-Young Kim for arranging the stay in Wellington and doing so much for me and my family while we were there

and to John Davidson, Arthur Pomeroy, Babette Puce, David Rosenbloom, and Matthew Trundle for hospitality and conversation. William Dominik at Otago offered very helpful comments and criticisms; likewise Enrica Sciarrino and Patrick O'Sullivan at Canterbury. Gustavus Adolphus College invited me to speak on the "Eureka" story in the spring of 2006; I extend my thanks to the faculty there, especially Stewart Flory, Pat Freiert, and Will Freiert, three of the reasons why I went into Classics.

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Andrew Feldherr, Thomas Habinek, Bill Keith, Chris Kraus, and Michele Lowrie read and commented on various early chapters; Sharon James, Matthew Roller, and my colleagues at Oregon, John Nicols, Ben Pascal, and Malcolm Wilson, read and gave advice on parts of the book in its later stages. I am grateful to them all. I also owe tremendous scholarly debts to several people whom I have not met. Their names appear in the text and notes, but I want to draw attention to them here, because their legwork made this book possible. They are Marshall Clagett, Reviel Netz, Antonio Quaquarelli, Christopher Rorres, and D. L. Simms.

I am grateful to Chris Hebert, the Classics editor for the University of Michigan Press, who chose readers both sympathetic and critical; and I thank those readers for identifying themselves, so that I might discuss aspects of the project with them. Andrew Feldherr's careful reading of the entire manuscript clarified the argument, caught mistakes, and helped give the book its final form; Reviel Netz both showed how this book could be much better and generously sent me electronic copies of two forthcoming works. (That I could meet his suggestions only part way is an indication of my scholarly limitations—they were fine suggestions.) Given all this help, it should not be, but this book still has its flaws and, inevitably, its errors. They are, all of them, my own.

Finally, I thank Malcolm Wilson for many things, including math advice and sanctuary on the Siuslaw River, and Seth Wilson for ongoing inspiration. This book is for them.

ABBREVIATIONS



AIP American Journal of Philology ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt CAClassical Antiquity CAHCambridge Ancient History CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum CJClassical Journal CPClassical Philology Classical Quarterly COCWClassical World HRR Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae HSCP Harvard Studies in Classical Philology IHS Journal of Hellenic Studies IRS Journal of Roman Studies LEC Les Études classiques LSI H. G. Lidell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon MDMateriali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici Oxford English Dictionary OED OLDOxford Latin Dictionary **PCPS** Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society REReal-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft RELRevue des études latines TAPATransactions of the American Philological Association

Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

ZPE