

where Gardthausen and Rolfe, following the editio Gelenii (Basel, 1533), printed it, though Clark, with an excess of caution, reproduced *t.s* from Codex Vaticanus 1873.

If this conjecture is acceptable, Trimalchio does precisely what one would expect him to do in the circumstances. He exhausts the full

repertory of "dice-players' sayings" to round out his display of expertise. Such appeals to luck or to the dice themselves are of course universal and need no illustration.

ROGER A. PACK

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

MERCURI, FACUNDE NEPOS ATLANTIS

Horace's first Ode to Mercury (1. 10) is, in Porphyry's terse opinion, *ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta*. Critics have long speculated on the extent of the Roman poet's indebtedness, the general sentiment usually favoring his originality.¹ Conjecture is replaced by fact, however, in the case of the first stanza. Hephaestion preserves for us the opening lines of a hymn by Alcaeus, apparently the poem Horace "imitated" (308*b* L.-P.):

χαῖρε, Κυλλάνης ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι
θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορύφαισιν φαύλαις†
Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδα μίγνισα
παμβασίλῃ.

Comparison with Horace's opening lines points up some notable differences:

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,
qui feros cultus hominum recentum
voce formasti catus et decorae
more palaestrae,

te canam, . . .

Whether or not Alcaeus went on to treat the god's affectionate involvement with mankind's cultural development we may never know. But we can observe two changes of emphasis concerning nomenclature and genealogy. In Alcaeus' initial stanza, though the god is greeted and his immediate parentage explained, he himself is never named. Horace, by contrast, apostrophizes Mercury in his poem's first word. This might well have forewarned a Roman reader that the poem, whatever its

Greek elements and even specific borrowings from Alcaeus, was directly concerned with Mercury as god of barter and exchange—the implications of his name. This the poem proceeds to show, on levels ranging from humorous to deeply serious.

The second alteration is of equal importance. Instead of Alcaeus' more expansive look at Zeus's encounter with Maia on Mt. Cyllene, Horace briskly alludes only to the god's maternal grandfather, Atlas. Though commentators offer no reason for Horace's choice beyond the honorific genealogy proper to a hymn, a clue is furnished by Servius Auctus annotating *Aeneid* 1. 741. Virgil has introduced at Dido's banquet the singer Iopas *docuit quem maximus Atlas*. After telling us that Atlas was the son of Iapetus, Servius adds: "hic quod annum in tempora diviserit et primus stellarum cursus vel circulorum vel siderum transitus naturasque descripserit, caelum dictus est sustinere. qui nepotem suum Mercurium et Herculem docuisse dicitur." That Atlas "taught" his grandson is not attested elsewhere. His instruction of Hercules—an easy rationalization for "sharing the burden" of the heavens—is mentioned as early as Herodorus.² In literature previous to or contemporary with Horace we can call as further witnesses to the more general allegory of Atlas as astronomer-philosopher Xenagoras,³ Cicero, Diodorus Siculus,⁴ and Vitruvius. Cicero, linking Atlas and his brother, details the tradition which by his time would also have had Stoic and Euhemeristic overtones (*Tusc.*

1. As Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913), p. 312; E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), p. 162; G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 146 f.; R. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* (Oxford, 1970), p. 126.

2. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 31 F 13 (pp. 218, 504, and supp. pp. 549–50).

3. *FGrH* 240 F 32 (pp. 703, 1010).

4. 3. 60 (cf. 4. 27 for Atlas as teacher of Hercules).

5. 3. 8):⁵ “nec vero Atlas sustinere caelum nec Prometheus adfixus Caucaso nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore, genero, filia traderetur, nisi caelestium divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulae traduxisset.” Vitruvius likewise points to a “history” behind the myth of heaven sustained (*De arch.* 6. 7. 6): “Atlas enim formatur historia sustinens mundum, ideo quod is primum cursum solis et lunae siderumque omnium versationum rationes vigore animi sollertiaque curavit hominibus tradenda . . .”

Of the post-Horatian authors who allegorize the tale of Atlas, Pausanias is of particular pertinence for returning us to the source of both myth and allegory.⁶ The periegete tells us (9. 20. 3) of a place called Polus (itself a rationalization?⁷) near Tanagra, where they say Atlas sat and pondered *τά τε ὑπὸ γῆς . . . καὶ τὰ οὐράνια*. He goes on to quote Homer (*Od.* 1. 52–54) as if he felt the context lent unquestionable authority to notions of allegory. Homer is speaking of Calypso,

“Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι.

Homer is the initial source for the interpretation of Atlas as prototype of the natural scientist.⁸ But a word is in order about the epithet *ὀλοόφρων*. It is usually translated “of wicked mind,” reading into Homer (and back into the figure of Atlas) the Hesiodic portrait of the Titan who opposes the Olympian regime. Yet, though the adjective is used in the *Iliad* only of wild beasts, in the *Odyssey* it is applied to men, specifically Aietes (10. 137) and Minos (11. 322). For the latter, model of lawgivers, the attribute can only mean something like “sagacious.”⁹ Aietes, king of Colchis, has impressive family credentials as a sage—grand-

son of Oceanos, son of Helios, brother of Circe, father of Medea (“the contriver,” “inventor”) by Eidyia (“the knowing one”).¹⁰ It would seem inconsistent of Homer in a single work to vary the meaning of a rare adjective applied only to three people in such a way as to ascribe craft negatively to one, yet wisdom positively to the other two.

Hesiod’s vignette (*Theog.* 517 ff., 746 ff.) is of course that of the Titan overthrown. Atlas comes between Menoitios and Prometheus when their punishments are described, but his torture is noticeably different. Menoitios was sent to Erebus, transfixed by a thunderbolt; Prometheus was bound, pierced by a shaft, his liver continuously devoured by a bird. One could easily postulate another tradition operating for their fellow Titan who by contrast now upholds the wide heavens for his crime.¹¹ Hesiod calls Atlas *κρατερόφρων* (509), an adjective which may punningly allude to his physical posture but which Homer applies to Hercules (*Il.* 14. 324) and Castor and Pollux (*Od.* 11. 299), heroes who later enter the lists of traditional benefactors of mankind.¹²

Horace’s treatment of Atlas’ brother Prometheus shows the same double tradition operating. He is both the punished opposer of the Olympian order, and, at the same time, the culture hero and “molder” of early man. He is tortured by Jupiter’s eagle (*Ep.* 17. 67) and placed in the underworld (*Odes* 2. 13. 37), whence in his cleverness he once tries to escape (*Odes* 2. 18. 35, an event in the legend not attested outside of Horace). Yet at the same time he is noted as the giver of fire to humans (*Odes* 1. 3. 27) whose characteristics he is said to have formed from primal clay (*Odes* 1. 16. 13 ff.).¹³

Atlas’ intellectual pedigree also presents

5. Virtually the same point is made by August. *Civ. Dei* 18. 8 (cf. 18. 39 for the relationship of Atlas to Hermes and Hermes Trismegistus).

6. For additional post-Horatian allusions to Atlas as scientist, K. Wernicke, *s.v.* “Atlas,” *RE*, II.2 (1896), 2124.

7. See Frazer *ad loc.*

8. The column which holds up the heavens is a universal symbol for that which links man with the transcendent, saving him from chaos. Cf. M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1959), pp. 34 ff.

9. Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*; Stanford *ad Od.* 1. 52. For

Homer’s opinion of Minos: *Od.* 11. 568 ff. For the later ancient etymologies (from *ἄλος* instead of *ἀλός*), see H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig, 1880), *s.v.*

10. For further details, see Pease *ad Cic. Nat. D.* 3. 48.

11. See West *ad Theog.* 509, 516.

12. As, e.g., Hor. *Odes* 3. 3. 9; 4. 8. 30 f.

13. For further examples of Prometheus as culture hero see Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*; West *ad Theog.* 507–616 (p. 306); and the bibliography in Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible* (New York, 1971), pp. 204–205.

this double inheritance.¹⁴ Virgil sees him not only as the bearer of the heavens (*Aen.* 4. 247 ff., 481 f.; 6. 796 f.; 8. 135 f., 140 f.), but as teacher of Iopas who sings *de rerum natura*.¹⁵ Mercury may have absorbed some of his traditional cunning from his grand-uncle Prometheus. The presence of his grandfather Atlas in the opening apostrophe of Horace's Ode points more specifically to Mercury's role

as educator of mankind's mind and body through words, music, and athletics. It is to such an accomplishment that Horace directly turns, having made one brief but important allusion to another "teacher" in the god's past.¹⁶

MICHAEL C. J. PUTNAM

BROWN UNIVERSITY

14. The first mention of Atlas in Latin is Liv. And. *Od.* Frag. 29 Mariotti: "apud nympham Atlantis filiam Calypsonem . . ." Mariotti refers to *Od.* 4. 557 (= 5. 14; 17. 143): *νύμφης ἐν μεγάροισι Καλυψούς, ἥ μιν ἀνάγκη* . . . We might with equal plausibility expect the phrase *Atlantis filiam* to define Calypso near her first appearance, i.e., *Od.* 1. 52: **Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ*. See S. Mariotti, *Livio Andronico* (Milan,

1952), p. 47, n. 1, for the possibility of "contamination."

15. For a detailed discussion of its contents, see C. Segal, "The Song of Iopas in the Aeneid," *Hermes*, XCIX (1971), 336-49.

16. See also *Odes* 3. 11. 1 ff. for another example of Mercury's power as teacher.

WHO WENT TO LUCA?

In April 56, one of the most important events of the decade took place at Luca in Cisalpine Gaul, the renewal and strengthening of the unofficial agreement among Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus known as the First Triumvirate. In addition to the principals, no less than two hundred senators are reported to have attended, the names of only two of whom are attested, Metellus Nepos and Ap. Claudius Pulcher.¹ Obviously it is out of the question to try to identify even half of the people involved. Despite the wealth of documentation for the late Republic, the names of a great number of senators are still unknown, and many of these *pedarii* must have hastened to tie their fortunes to those of the triumvirs.²

However, we are also told that some of the two hundred were proconsuls and praetors, enough to require one hundred twenty lictors, and here we are on much surer ground. The names of four praetors and fourteen pro-

magistrates for 56 are known,³ and an examination of their careers before and after 56 reveals changes in some cases, so that it is possible to say that they were at least affected by the conference and therefore may have attended it. This is admittedly speculation, but it is based on fact.⁴

Let us take the promagistrates first. Of the ten men concerned (excluding Caesar and Pompey, Metellus Nepos and Claudius), some can be omitted instantly, e.g., L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (Caesar's father-in-law), P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, and A. Gabinius, all of whom remained in their provinces all year,⁵ and Cato, for obvious reasons. This leaves six other possibilities: C. Caecilius Cornutus, L. Caecilius Rufus, C. Pomptinus, Sex. Quinctilius Varus, C. Septimius, and Q. Valerius Orca. Of these, there is one who surely must have been at Luca, and that is Pomptinus. Caesar's predecessor as

1. Plut. *Caes.* 21. 2; *Pomp.* 51. 3; App. *BC* 2. 17.

2. P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la république romaine*, I (Louvain, 1878), 427-555, lists all those who he considers were senators in 55. The total is 415.

3. *MRR*, II, 208-12. The governor of Crete and Cyrene is unknown.

4. M. Gelzer, *Caesar*⁶ (trans. P. Needham [Cambridge, Mass., 1968]), p. 121, n. 5, considers the figures of two hundred senators and one hundred twenty lictors to be exaggerated, on the basis of Plut. *Crass.* 14. 6 which says the three principals negotiated privately. However, it is surely possible, indeed probable, that in addition to those involved in private discussions, other senators paid their compliments to the triumvirs. The conference has been recently discussed by

E. Gruen, "Pompey, the Roman Aristocracy, and the Conference of Luca," *Historia*, XVIII (1969), 71-108, who argues convincingly for rejecting the traditional view of a complete aristocratic surrender to the triumvirs after 56. However, he agrees (p. 93; cf. p. 97) that "adherents or clients of the dynasts" as well as "opportunistic and ambitious senators" undoubtedly went to Luca.

5. Piso's campaigns as proconsul of Macedonia in 57/56 are reported by the hostile witness Cicero (*Pis.* and *Prov. cons.*). That Lentulus remained in Cilicia is also confirmed by Cicero, whose letters to him date from January 56 to December 54 (*Fam.* 1. 1-9). Gabinius, after crushing a Jewish revolt, began preparing an expedition against the Parthians. For sources see *MRR*.