

himself? But for a mortal's anticipating<sup>1</sup> what Jupiter — whom<sup>2</sup> he overreached — was going to say, could the god not know in what ways a man was preparing to overreach him? Is it not, then, clear and manifest that these are puerile and fanciful inventions, by which, while a lively wit is assigned<sup>3</sup> to Numa, the greatest want of foresight is imputed to Jupiter? For what shows so little foresight as to confess that you have been ensnared by the subtlety of a man's intellect, and while you are vexed at being deceived, to give way to the wishes of him who has overcome you, and to lay aside the means which you had proposed? For if there was reason and some natural fitness that<sup>4</sup> expiatory sacrifice for that which was struck with lightning should have been made with a man's head, I do not see why the proposal of an onion's was made by the king; but if it could be performed with an onion also, there was a greedy lust for human blood. And both parts are made to contradict themselves: so that, on the one hand, Numa is shown not to have wished to know what he did wish; and, on the other, Jupiter is shown to have been merciless, because he said that he wished expiation to be made with the heads of men, which could have been done by Numa with an onion's head.

5. In Timotheus, who was no mean mythologist, and also in others equally well informed, the birth of the Great Mother of the gods, and the origin of her rites, are thus detailed, being derived — as he himself writes and suggests — from learned books of antiquities, and from *his acquaintance with the most secret mysteries*: — Within the confines of Phrygia, he says, there is a rock of unheard-of wildness in every respect, the name of which is Agdus, so named by the natives of that district. Stones taken from it, as Themis by her oracle<sup>5</sup> had enjoined, Deucalion and Pyrrha threw upon the earth, at that time emptied of men; from which this Great Mother, too, as she is called, was fashioned along with the others, and animated by the deity. Her, given over to rest and sleep on the very summit of the rock, Jupiter assailed with lewdest<sup>6</sup> desires. But when, after long strife, he could not accomplish what he had proposed to himself, he, baffled, spent his lust on the stone. This the rock received, and with many groanings Accestis<sup>7</sup> is born in the tenth month, being named from his mother rock. In him there had been resist-

less might, and a fierceness of disposition beyond control, a lust made furious, and *derived* from both sexes.<sup>8</sup> He violently plundered and laid waste; he scattered destruction wherever the ferocity of his disposition had led him; he regarded not gods nor men, nor did he think anything more powerful than himself; he contemned earth, heaven, and the stars.

6. Now, when it had been often considered in the councils of the gods, by what means it might be possible either to weaken or to curb his audacity, Liber, the rest hanging back, takes upon himself this task. With the strongest wine he drugs a spring much resorted to by Accestis<sup>9</sup> where he had been wont to assuage the heat and burning thirst<sup>10</sup> roused *in him* by sport and hunting. Hither runs Accestis to drink when he felt the need;<sup>11</sup> he gulps down the draught too greedily into his gaping veins. Overcome by what he is quite unaccustomed to, he is in consequence sent fast asleep. Liber is near the snare *which he had set*; over his foot he throws one end of a halter<sup>12</sup> formed of hairs, woven together very skilfully; with the other end he lays hold of his privy members. When the fumes of the wine passed off, Accestis starts up furiously, and his foot dragging the noose, by his own strength he robs himself of his<sup>13</sup> sex; with the tearing asunder of *these* parts there is an immense flow of blood; both<sup>14</sup> are carried off and swallowed up by the earth; from them there suddenly springs up, covered with fruit, a pomegranate tree, seeing the beauty of which, with admiration, Nana,<sup>15</sup> daughter of the king or river Sangarius, gathers and places in her bosom *some of the fruit*. By this she becomes pregnant; her father shuts her up, supposing that she had been<sup>16</sup> debauched, and seeks to have her starved to death; she is kept alive by the mother of the gods with apples, and other food,<sup>17</sup> and brings forth a child, but Sangarius<sup>18</sup> orders it to be exposed. One Phorbas having found the child, takes it home,<sup>19</sup> brings it up on goats' milk; and

<sup>8</sup> So Ursinus suggested, followed by later edd., *ex utroque (ms. utra.) sexu*; for which Meursius would read *ex utroque sexu* — "and a sex of both," i.e., that he was a hermaphrodite, which is related by other writers.

<sup>9</sup> Lit., "him."

<sup>10</sup> Lit., "of thirsting."

<sup>11</sup> Lit., "in time of need."

<sup>12</sup> So the reading of the ms. and edd., *unum laqueum*, may be rendered: for which Canterus conjectured *innum* — "the lowest part of the noose."

<sup>13</sup> So the edd., reading *eo quo (ms. quod) fuerat privat sexu*; for which Hild. and Oehler read *fu-tu-erat* — "of the sex with which he had been a fornicator."

<sup>14</sup> Lit., "these (i.e., the parts and the bloody are)," etc.

<sup>15</sup> The ms. here reads *Nana*, but in c. 13 the spelling is *Nana*, as in other writers.

<sup>16</sup> Lit., "as if."

<sup>17</sup> The ms. reads *l-abulis*, corrected as above *l-* by Jos. Scaliger, followed by Hild. and Oehler. The other edd. read *baculis* — "bernes."

<sup>18</sup> So all the edd., except Hild. and Oehler, who retain the ms. reading *sanguinarius* — "bloodthirsty."

<sup>19</sup> So Salmasius, Orelli, and Hild., reading *reperitum nectio quis sumit Phorbas, lacte*; but no mention of any Phorbas is made elsewhere in connection with this story, and Oehler has therefore proposed *forma ac lacte* — "some one takes the child found, nourishes it with sweet pottage of millet (*forma*) and milk," etc.

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "unless a mortal anticipated" — *prasumeret*, the ms. reading.

<sup>2</sup> So Oehler, supplying *quem*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit., "liveliness of heart is procured."

<sup>4</sup> Lit., "why."

<sup>5</sup> So Ovid also (*Metam.*, i. 321), and others, speak of Themis as the first to give oracular responses.

<sup>6</sup> So the ms. and edd., reading *quam incestis*, except Orelli, who adopts the conjecture of Barthius, *nequam* — "lustful Jupiter with lewd desires."

<sup>7</sup> So the ms. and edd., except Hildebrand and Oehler, who throughout spell *Agdestia*, following the Greek writers, and the derivation of the word from *Agdus*.



as handsome fellows are so named in Lydia, or because the Phrygians in their own way of speaking call their goats *attagi*, it happened in consequence that *the boy* obtained the name Attis.<sup>1</sup> Him the mother of the gods loved exceedingly, because he was of most surpassing beauty; and Acdestis, *who was* his companion, as he grew up fondling him, and bound *to him* by wicked compliance with his lust in the only way now possible, leading him through the wooded glades, and presenting him with the spoils of many wild beasts, which the boy Attis at first said boastfully were won by his own toil and labour. Afterwards, under the influence of wine, he admits that he is both loved by Acdestis, and honoured by him with the gifts brought from the forest; whence it is unlawful for those polluted by *drinking* wine to enter into his sanctuary, because it discovered his secret.<sup>2</sup>

7. Then Midas, king of Pessinus, wishing to withdraw the youth from so disgraceful an intimacy, resolves to give him his own daughter in marriage, and caused the *gates of the town* to be closed, that no one of evil omen might disturb their marriage joys. But the mother of the gods, knowing the fate of the youth, and that he would live among men in safety *only* so long as he was free from the ties of marriage, that no disaster might occur, enters the closed city, raising its walls with her head, which began to be crowned with towers in consequence. Acdestis, bursting with rage because of the boy's being torn from himself, and brought to seek a wife, fills all the guests with frenzied madness: <sup>3</sup> the Phrygians shriek aloud, panic-stricken at the appearance of the gods; <sup>4</sup> a daughter of adulterous <sup>5</sup> Gallus cuts off her breasts; Attis snatches the pipe borne by him who was goading them to frenzy; and he, too, now filled with furious passion, raving frantically *and* tossed about, throws himself down at last, and under a pine tree mutilates himself, saying, "Take these,<sup>6</sup> Acdestis, for which you have stirred up so great and terribly perilous commotions."<sup>7</sup> With the streaming blood his life flies; but the Great Mother of the gods gathers the parts which had been cut off, and throws earth on them, having first covered them, and wrapped <sup>8</sup>

them in the garment of the dead. From the blood which had flowed springs a flower, the violet, and with <sup>9</sup> this the tree <sup>10</sup> is girt. Thence the custom began and arose, whereby you even now veil and wreath with flowers the sacred pine. The virgin who had been the bride, whose name, as Valerius <sup>11</sup> the pontifex relates, was Ia, veils the breast of the lifeless *youth* with soft wool, sheds tears with Acdestis, and slays herself. After her death her blood is changed into purple violets. The mother of the gods sheds tears also,<sup>12</sup> from which springs an almond tree, signifying the bitterness of death.<sup>13</sup> Then she bears away to her cave the pine tree, beneath which Attis had unmanned himself; and Acdestis joining in her wailings, she beats and wounds her breast, *pacing* round the trunk of the tree now at rest.<sup>14</sup> Jupiter is begged by Acdestis that Attis may be restored to life; he does not permit it. What, however, fate allowed,<sup>15</sup> he readily grants, that his body should not decay, that his hairs should always grow, that the least of his fingers should live, and should be kept ever in motion; content with which favours, *it is said* that Acdestis consecrated the body in Pessinus, *and* honoured it with yearly rites and priestly services.<sup>16</sup>

8. If some one, despising the deities, and furious with a savagely sacrilegious spirit, had set himself to blaspheme your gods, would he dare to say against them anything more severe than this tale relates, which you have reduced to form, as though *it were* some wonderful narrative, and have honoured without ceasing,<sup>17</sup> lest the power of time and the remoteness <sup>18</sup> of antiquity should cause it to be forgotten? For what is there asserted in it, or what written about the gods, which, if said with regard to a man brought up with bad habits and a pretty rough training, would not make you liable to be accused of wronging and insulting him, and expose you to hatred and dislike, accompanied by implacable resentment? From the stones, you say, which Deucalion and Pyrrha threw, was produced the

<sup>9</sup> Lit., "from."

<sup>10</sup> i.e., the pine.

<sup>11</sup> Nourry supposes that this may refer to M. Valerius Messala, a fragment from whom on auspices has been preserved by Gellius (xiii. 15); while Hild. thinks that Antias is meant, who is mentioned in c. 1.

<sup>12</sup> So Orelli punctuates and explains; but it is doubtful whether, even if this reading be retained, it should not be translated, "bedewed these (violets)." The ms. reads, *suffudit et as* (probably *has*)—"digs under these," emended as above in I.B., *suffudit et has*.

<sup>13</sup> Lit., "burial."

<sup>14</sup> So it has been attempted to render the ms., reading *pansate circum arboris robur*, which has perplexed the different edd. Heraldus proposed *pansate*—"at intervals round the trunk of the tree;" I.B. reads *-ata*—"round . . . tree having rested." Reading as above, the reference might be either to the rest from motion after being set up in the cave, or to the absence of wind there.

<sup>15</sup> Lit., "could be done through (i.e., as far as concerns) fate."

<sup>16</sup> So Oehler, reading *sacerdotum antistitibus* for the ms. *antistibus*, changed in both Roman edd. and Hild. to *-stitibus*—"with priests (or overseers) of priests." Salmasius proposed *intestibus*—"with castrated priests."

<sup>17</sup> i.e., in the ever-recurring festival of Cybele.

<sup>18</sup> Lit., "length."

<sup>1</sup> [See vol. ii. p. 175.]

<sup>2</sup> Lit., "his silence."

<sup>3</sup> Lit., "fury and madness."

<sup>4</sup> The ms., first five edd., and Oberthür, read *exterriti adorandorum Phrygias*; for which Ursinus suggested *ad ora deorum*—"at the faces of gods," adopted by Oehler; the other edd. reading *ad horam*—"at the hour, i.e., thereupon."

<sup>5</sup> It seems probable that part of this chapter has been lost, as we have no explanation of this epithet; and, moreover (as Oehler has well remarked), in c. 13 this Gallus is spoken of as though it had been previously mentioned that he too had mutilated himself, of which we have not the slightest hint.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., *genitalia*.

<sup>7</sup> Lit., "so great motions of furious hazards."

<sup>8</sup> So most edd., reading *veste prius tectis atque involutis* for the ms. reading, retained by Hild. and Oehler, *tecta atque involuta*—"his vest being first drawn over and wrapt about them;" the former verb being found with this meaning in no other passage, and the second very rarely.