

PHRYGIANS IN ROME / ROMANS IN PHRYGIA

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In Roman literature of the late Republic and early Empire 'Phrygian' is both a label for the Trojan origins of Rome and a term for the barbarian Other. Attic tragedy appears first to have made the identification between Trojan and Phrygian, as part of what Edith Hall calls 'inventing the barbarian'¹. What is curious about the Roman reception is that, so far from suppressing the negative connotations of 'Phrygian', or dropping the term as a badge of ethnic origin, the 'non-Roman' meanings of the name are allowed, even encouraged, to play within myths of national origin and identity². This is perhaps less surprising when one reflects on other tensions within the Romans' myths of national identity, such as the paradox that the site of Rome, the Capitol, immovable home of the gods, is also a place of exile and immigration, the asylum of Romulus³. It is worth remembering that Catullus 63, the Attis poem, is a central text for the Virgilian and post-Virgilian version of the Roman myth not just because it dramatizes a contrast between the values of Greco-Roman civilization and oriental barbarianism, but because it does so through a narrative of exile: Attis, the hyper-civilized Greek youth, travels into exile in wild Phrygia, the place *from* which future journeys into exile will be undertaken by the Trojan Aeneas and by the Magna Mater herself, in the service of the creation and preservation of the western civilization of Rome.

Attis is not the only paradoxical Phrygian who finds a place in the representation of Roman identity. Another Phrygian who suffered an even greater diminution than Attis through an act of cutting, but who occupies a literally central place in Rome, is Marsyas. Punished for his presumption in challenging Apollo to a contest of music, he was flayed alive⁴. In the Roman Forum stood a statue of a silenus with a wine-skin, called Marsyas (Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.120). Copies of this statue were set up in *liberae ciuitates* in Italy. If, as

¹ HALL (1989).

² BEARD (1994); WISEMAN (1984).

³ See EDWARDS (1996) ch. 5; DENCH (2005).

⁴ Ov. *Fasti* 6.703-708; *Met.* 6.382-400.

Coarelli argues, the early third-century BC bronze statue of Marsyas from Paestum is one of these copies, bondage and liberty were symbolized by, respectively, fetters on his ankles and a royal diadem around his head. A complicated, and perhaps plausible, reconstruction of the story behind this statue sees links between a Phrygian king Marsyas, the *gens Marcia*, and the struggle of the Roman *plebs* for freedoms and rights at the end of the fourth and beginning of the third centuries BC⁵. The satyr humiliated, bound, stripped of his physical identity is at the same time the symbol of Roman and Italian rights and liberties.

There is another way in which ‘Phrygian’ functions as a shifting signifier, through the fluidity of the term as a geographical label⁶. The geographers distinguish between ‘Great Phrygia’, the one-time kingdom of Midas, and ‘Small Phrygia’, including the Troad and the region around mount Olympus; they also comment on the difficulty of distinguishing the boundaries of Phrygia, Mysia, and Bithynia (Strabo 12.8.2: ἔργον διορίσαι χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὀρίσματα)⁷. Strabo’s source Apollodorus appears to have debated the limits of Phrygia at length, underlining the contradictions on the subject⁸.

Catullus, in poem 46.4 in eager anticipation of his homeward journey from Bithynia, is glad to leave the fields of Phrygia: *linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi*. These *Phrygii campi* are the same as the Bithynian fields which he can scarcely believe that he has left in poem 31.5-6: *uix mi ipse credens Thuniam atque Bithunos | liquisse campos*. The geography of poem 31 is complicated by the fact that Catullus returns to a place that itself has origins in Asia Minor (13-14): *uosque, o Lydiae lacus undae, | ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum* (‘and you Lydian waters of the lake, laugh with whatever laughter you have in stock’). The allusion to the origin of the Etruscans has been found obtrusive in this context of the simple joy of returning home, and editors have attempted to emend it away. One commentator sees here a joke in the fact that the waves of Catullus’ home are just as much travellers as is Catullus⁹. But given Catullus’ interest elsewhere in origins and homes, I would see something rather more than just a joke, a sophisticated awareness of the historical contingencies of what counts as home.

⁵ COARELLI (1985), 91-119, referring to VEYNE (1961); TORELLI (1982), 102-106; WISEMAN (2000), 273-274; WISEMAN (2004), 68-69.

⁶ On the difficulty of distinguishing boundaries between Bithynians, Phrygians, Mysians, Doliones, Mygdonians, Trojans, and especially between Phrygians and Mysians see LAMMINGER-PASCHER (1989), 9-11; INNOCENTE (1995); MUNN (2006), 66-68. The PAULY - WISSOWA entry is useful.

⁷ Cf. also Strabo 10.3.22 (Troad called Phrygia), 12.4.4.

⁸ LASSERRE (1981), 130 (on Strabo 12.82).

⁹ GODWIN (1999) ad loc.

Juxtaposition of near and far here dissolves into laughter; elsewhere the location of the familiar in an alien setting takes on a tragic note, in Catullus' journey to distant Troy to find the tomb of his brother, in poem 101. In this foreign landscape Catullus will make the offerings traditional at home (7-8): *prisco quae more parentum | tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias* ('those things which in the ancient custom of our forefathers I have presented, a sad gift, for my offering'). In poem 68.97-102 Catullus compares his own unhappy journey to Troy with that of the Greeks, in language that emphasises that for both parties this is a journey of exile: *quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra | nec prope cognatos compositum cineres | sed Troia obsce-na, Troia infelice sepultum | detinet extremo terra aliena solo. | ad quam tum properans fertur lecta undique pubes | Graeca penetralis deseruisse focos* ('you who now are laid to rest so far away, not among the tombs you know, nor beside the ashes of your family, but buried in sinister Troy, in ill-omened Troy, a foreign land keeps you in soil at the end of the world; whither they say that a band chosen from all over Greece hurried in those days, abandoning the hearths of their homes'). Ruurd Nauta has suggested that Catullus' audience may already have made the connection between Troy and the Phrygian Magna Mater that is explicit in Virgil's and Ovid's allusions to Catullus 63¹⁰. If so, poem 63's narrative of exile and alienation in Phrygia will interact both with Catullus' own journey to Troy, and with the Roman myth of foundation through exile from Troy, or Phrygia.

In connection with the association of Phrygia, and of Phrygian Troy, with Roman myths of exile and migration, we might also bear in mind that the Phrygians themselves are said originally to have migrated into Asia Minor from Europe. According to Strabo (14.5.29; see also 7.3.2-3), Xanthus the Lydian said that the Phrygians came from Europe after the Trojan War. From this point of view the migration of the Trojan 'Phrygians' to Italy and their transformation into Romans is part of a larger story of wanderings and uncertain boundaries.

In the rest of this paper I focus on Ovid's handling of the theme of Phrygians in Rome, looking once more at the contradictions and contrasts within the representation of Phrygia and the Phrygians. Before turning to the *Metamorphoses*, a few words on the role of Phrygia in Ovid's account of the Mega-

¹⁰ NAUTA (2004), 622-625. On the question of whether Virgil first associated Cybele with the Trojan legend see AUSTIN (1964) on *Aen.* 2.788. Does Catullus' *ave atque uale* (101.10) echo behind Creusa's *iamque uale* (*Aen.* 2.789)? Catullus has come as an Odyssean wanderer to Troy to say his last goodbye to his brother; Creusa, detained in Troy by the Magna Mater, says farewell to her husband as he is on the point of setting off on his 'Odyssean' wanderings. *iamque uale* is also addressed to Aeneas by the ghost of Anchises at *Aen.* 5.738; when they next meet in book 6, Anchises will echo Cat. 101.1-2 in his opening words to his son, *Aen.* 6.692-693.

lesia in *Fasti* 4. Nauta has pointed to the ambivalence in the contrasting characters of the two Phrygians in Ovid's complex of narratives: the *Phryx puer in siluis* (223), Attis, whose story is one of *furor*, madness and self-mutilation, and the *Phryx pius* (274), Aeneas, the founding-hero of a new civilization¹¹. In Ovid's version of the Attis story, Cybele cuts down the tree whose life is coextensive with that of the nymph with whom Attis has been unfaithful to Cybele. This tree-felling leads to Attis' delusion that his wedding chamber is collapsing, and his flight to the summit of mount Dindymus. Aeneas' journey from Troy to Italy is undertaken with ship-timbers felled in the same sacred mountain-top pine forests that will furnish the ships to transport the Magna Mater to Rome in 204 BC. This contrast between the savage and the civilized is also effected through a juxtaposition of what were for Ovid, as for us, the two chief earlier Latin poetic accounts of the worship of the Magna Mater, by Catullus and Lucretius. *Phryx puer in siluis* signals the beginning of a version of the story of Attis that is pointedly different in plot from the Catullan, but similar in its focus on the themes of madness, mutilation, and divine anger, in a wild forest setting¹². The immediately preceding section in *Fasti* 4 goes over much of the ground covered in Lucretius' description of the cult of the Magna Mater, selecting those parts that present the goddess and her worshippers as the upholders of divine and human order: the original service of the Curetes (and Corybantes) in ensuring that Jupiter could in time establish his rule; the Magna Mater's lions as a symbol of *feritas mollita*, and her turreted crown as a memorial of her role as city-founder.

I turn now from the *Fasti* to the *Metamorphoses*. The last books of the *Metamorphoses* chart a large-scale movement from east to west, as the world of Greek myth that occupies the great bulk of the poem is gradually overtaken by Roman legend and history¹³. A series of literal journeys from east to west shift the reader's geographical focus: Glaucus travels from Euboea to the Italian home of Circe, Monte Circeo, even before Aeneas makes his migration. In book 15 Myscelos allusively follows in Aeneas' footsteps, when Myscelos journeys from Argos to found Croton in Italy, whither Pythagoras will also make a journey from Samos. The Greek Hippolytus also finds refuge in the Italian countryside. A doublet of the *Fasti*'s narrative of the bringing of the Magna Mater to Rome is provided by the account of the bringing of Aesculapius from Epidaurus to Rome in 293 BC. In the last books of the *Meta-*

¹¹ NAUTA (2004), 625.

¹² **223 in siluis**: Cat. 63.3 *adiitque opaca siluis redimita loca deae*, 89 *illa demens fugit in nemora fera*; **233 furit**, **243 uenit in exemplum furor hic**: Cat. 63.4 *furenti rabie*, 31 *furibunda*, 38, 78, 79, 92 *furor*; **242 nullaque sunt subito signa relictia uiri**: Cat. 63.6 *ut relictia sensit sibi membra sine uiro*.

¹³ BARCHIESI (1997), 185.

morphoses 'Phrygian' is used frequently of the Trojans, in contexts both of the Greek attack on and destruction of Troy, and of the Roman future prophesied for the Trojan survivors who migrate from east to west¹⁴.

At its earlier occurrences in the *Metamorphoses* Phrygia is already associated with a geographical indeterminacy and shiftiness. It first appears in book 6 at the point of transition from one tale to another of the divine punishment of human presumption (146-147): *Lydia tota fremit, Phrygiaeque per oppida facti | rumor it et magnum sermonibus occupat orbem* ('all Lydia was in uproar, and rumours of what happened went through the towns of Phrygia, and filled the great world with gossip'). Lydia is the country of Arachne, whose fate does not deter Niobe from challenging the gods. Franz Bömer in his commentary is puzzled by the mention of Phrygia, which 'steht, streng genommen, mit der Niobe-Sage sachlich und topographisch in keiner Verbindung'¹⁵. Two lines later we learn that Niobe had known Arachne when she was a girl, living in Maeonia and Sipylus. If we thought this was Lydia, we might remember that Strabo, talking about changes in territorial boundaries in Asia Minor, says that the ancients used to call the land around Sipylus Phrygia, in the same way that Tantalus (Niobe's father) and Pelops and Niobe are called Phrygian (12.8.2)¹⁶. However at this point in Ovid's chronology Niobe is no longer even in Asia Minor, but has migrated to Thebes as wife of Amphion. The preliminary flagging of Phrygia prepares the reader for the 'Phrygian' character of Niobe, 'Phrygian' here referring to her ostentatious wealth and overweening pride. She sweeps on to the scene (166: *uestibus intexto Phrygiis spectabilis auro*), boasting of her ancestry, including her father Tantalus, a Phrygian by one account, as we have seen. She is feared by the peoples of Phrygia, and she is mistress of Amphion's palace. This is the Phrygia associated with wealth and power, the Phrygia of Midas (although geographically his Phrygia is far to the east of Niobe's original home). This attempt to import Phrygian values to a land in the west in the remote mythological past (and long before the enduring migration of Phrygian-Trojan settlers to Italy¹⁷) is doomed to failure, and at the end of

¹⁴ 12.38: *Phrygia potiuntur harena* (Greek crossing to Troy); 12.70: *nec Phryges exiguo quid Achaica dextera posset | sanguine senserunt*; 12.148: *Phrygios muros*; 12.612: *timor ille Phrygum*; 13.44: *Phrygias ... arces*; 13.244: *Phrygia de gente Dolona*; 13.337; 13.389: *saepe Phrygum maduit, domini nunc caede manebit*; 13.429: *est ubi Troia fuit, Phrygiae contraria tellus | Bistonii habitata uiris*; 13.432; 13.435: *ut cecidit fortuna Phrygum*; 13.579; 13.721; 14.79: *non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti*; 14.547; 14.562: *cladis adhuc Phrygiae memores odere Pelasgos*; 15.444: *(Helenus) urbem etiam cerno Phrygios debere nepotes*; 15.452: *utiliter Phrygibus uicisse Pelasgos*.

¹⁵ BÖMER (1976) on 146.

¹⁶ See JONES (1994), 207; Pelops as Phrygian among older writers, Str. 7.7.1 (Hecataeus); Bacch. *Epin.* 8.31.

¹⁷ For Ovid's Thebes as a reflection of Rome see HARDIE (1990).

the narrative Niobe, stripped of family and pride, is whisked back to her place of origin, there to be fixed for ever (310-312): *ualidi circumdata turbine uenti | in patriam rapta est; ibi fixa cacumine montis | liquitur.*

The Phrygian Midas himself appears in *Metamorphoses* 11. Here too Phrygia has expanded to include the territory of Lydia: the story of the golden touch is set by the river Pactolus, and the tale of the music contest of Apollo and Pan, and of Midas' ass's ears, is set on Tmolus, the mountain behind Sardis in which the Pactolus rises. This mythographical expansion of Phrygia perhaps reflects the historical extension of Phrygian power under the real king Midas. This whole area of the *Metamorphoses* is a textual zone of particularly significant geographical movement. The transition from the story of Orpheus to that of Midas is engineered through Bacchus' journey from Thrace, where he has been disgusted by the Thracian women's murder of Orpheus, to his favourite vine-growing mountain Tmolus in Lydia (or Phrygia). At the end of the Midas story another god, Apollo, after punishing Midas for his misguided judgement in the music contest with Pan, flies northwest from Tmolus to the eastern shore of the Hellespont, where he sees a new city being built, Laomedon's Troy. Alessandro Barchiesi has brilliantly observed that both the Hellespont here in book 11, the narrow strip of water that separates two continents, and the Corinthian Isthmus in book 6 (419-420), the narrow strip of land that separates two seas, are geographical markers of major points of transition within the narrative economy of the *Metamorphoses*¹⁸. This first appearance of the city of Troy is the beginning of a section of mythological time that will reach forward to the historical narrative of the Trojan descendants, the Romans, and so down to the end of the poem as a whole. The king of Troy is at first introduced by name, Laomedon, at 6.200, as Apollo observes him setting about the great and difficult epic task of building the new walls. When Apollo enters the action to offer his help in this task, Laomedon is labelled *Phrygiae tyrannus* (203-204): *Phrygiaeque tyranno | aedificat muros pactus pro moenibus aurum* ('he builds walls for the Phrygian tyrant, making a bargain of gold in return for the walls'). A.H.F. Griffin notes of *aurum* at the end of line 204 'this prominently placed word contains a lingering echo of the Midas episode'¹⁹. A king of Phrygia can be expected to have a vested interest in gold: Laomedon's perjury in refusing Apollo his reward comes to have the status of a kind of original sin of the Romans in the Augustan poets²⁰. Ovid hints that this primal perjury and perfidy of the Trojan ancestors is a part of the 'Phrygian' inheri-

¹⁸ BARCHIESI (1997), 183.

¹⁹ GRIFFIN on v. 204.

²⁰ Hor. C. 3.3.21-22; Verg. *Geo.* 1.502-503; *Aen.* 4.542.

tance of the Romans. In terms of the narrative structure of the *Metamorphoses* a Phrygian characteristic bridges a major division in the text.

The Romans will go on paying for the sin of Laomedon for ages to come (*Geo.* 1.501-502: *satis iam pridem sanguine nostro Laomedontea limum peruriam Troiae*). In the immediate future Laomedon is punished by Neptune, Apollo's fellow-worker on the walls of Troy, with a destructive flood and by the sea-monster for which Hesione is demanded as sacrifice. Flood as punishment is also a key motif in the last Phrygian story in the *Metamorphoses* that I want to examine, the tale of Philemon and Baucis in book 8. The story is told by Lelex, from Troezen. Lelex had seen the very place where the events that he narrates took place, having been sent there by Pittheus, son of Pelops, 'to the country once ruled by his father'. In fact it was Pelops' father Tantalus who was king of Sipylus in Lydia: once again this is that wider Phrygia that includes Lydia to the west. And once again the location of this Phrygia proves still more elusive when, at the end of the narrative, Lelex says that to this day a Bithynian native²¹ shows the two trees into which Philemon and Baucis were transformed (719-720: *Thyneius ... incola*; properly an inhabitant of the island of Thynia off the Black Sea coast of Bithynia)²².

As many have seen the paired stories in *Metamorphoses* 8 of Philemon and Baucis, and of Erysichthon, told at the banquet of Achelous to illustrate the power of the gods to bring about metamorphosis, relate very directly to central Roman virtues and vices, and in particular to the conflict of *pietas* and *furor* that is staged in Virgil's *Aeneid*²³. Philemon and Baucis live a virtuous and simple rustic life akin to the Augustan fantasy of the life of the primitive Italian or Roman. The gleaming temple into which their humble cottage is transformed foreshadows the gilded temples of the gods in Augustan Rome: the distance between thatched *casa* and gilded temple is that traced in the history of Rome encapsulated in book 8 of the *Aeneid*²⁴.

Two recent commentators on the episode have drawn attention to the implication of the Phrygian setting for this story with its strong Roman reso-

²¹ But GRIFFIN (1991), 64 has it that he is a resident alien, a *πάρουκος*.

²² *Thyneius* has been the object of attempted emendation: see HOLLIS (1970) ad loc. For a detailed argument about the location of the story see JONES (1994).

²³ Erysichthon chops down a tree; Cybele cuts down the tree of the nymph Sagaritis, with whom Attis had betrayed her, at *F.* 4.231-232.

²⁴ Among the contrasting parallelisms that connect Baucis and Philemon with the Erysichthon story is the motif of trees: the pious couple are metamorphosed into sacred trees, carefully protected down to the time of the narrative, while Erysichthon is punished for his furious felling of a sacred tree. Note that in *Fasti* 4 (see above) the paired stories of the Phrygians Attis and Aeneas also share the motif of tree-felling: in the case of Attis as punishment for a religious infringement, and leading to an outburst of *furor*, in the case of Aeneas for the purpose of building ships, an act repeated later by his Roman descendants for the pious purpose of transporting the Magna Mater to Rome.

nance: Chrysanthe Tsitsiou-Chelidoni points out the inverse symmetry between the theoxeny offered by the humble Phrygian couple in Ovid, and the reception of the future god, Aeneas, the 'Phrygian' Trojan, by the humble Evander in *Aeneid* 8²⁵. Jacqueline Fabre-Serris, in a forthcoming discussion of the episode, notes: 'Reste l'incongruité qu'il y a à associer ainsi à un pays les usages d'un autre [primitive Rome]. A moins que le lecteur ne se souvienne – et c'est probablement ce qu'Ovide attend de lui – que l'ancêtre des Romains, Enée, fut un paysan phrygien'²⁶. I want to develop these observations by suggesting that here Ovid offers a tale of Phrygian origins that is an alternative to the more common stories, firstly the Trojan legend as a whole (through the equation of Trojan and Phrygian), and secondly the story of the introduction of the Magna Mater with the associated myth of Attis. In contrast to the patently fictional stories of Aeneas and Attis, this story parades its veridical status: Lelex has been to see for himself, *ipse locum uidi* (622); a Bithynian native shows the trees to tourists, *non uani ... senes* (721-722) told Lelex the story, and they had no reason to lie (of course...)²⁷. There is another way in which this story might be especially 'genuine': of all the tales in the *Metamorphoses* this has seemed to modern scholars perhaps the most likely to preserve genuine folklore from a remote part of the Roman empire. Sacred trees and flood-traditions are attested from various parts of Asia Minor, and will have been transmitted to Ovid via Nicander or another source²⁸. Parallels with Biblical story-patterns have even led to the hypothesis that we have here the survival of a story told by Jewish settlers sent by Antiochus III from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia²⁹.

Christopher Jones (1994), developing suggestions of Louis Robert, argues that the Philemon and Baucis story is to be located near Mount Sipylus, in the Lydian Phrygia. But Philemon and Baucis themselves might seem rather to be typical inhabitants of the ancient Phrygia and Galatia that lay between Caria and Pontus, 'rural Anatolia *par excellence*' as it is described by Stephen Mitchell³⁰. This was a people noted for their piety, whose cults show a 'preoccupation with a strict morality which was based on clearly defined notions of justice, proper behaviour, piety to the gods, a respect for divine authority, and a well-developed fear of divine vengeance'³¹, and who al-

²⁵ TSITSIOU-CHELIDONI (2003), 312.

²⁶ FABRE-SERRIS (forthcoming).

²⁷ Naturally, the authority of Lelex has been repeatedly impugned by modern critics: see recently GREEN (2003).

²⁸ See HOLLIS (1970), 108-111.

²⁹ GRIFFIN (1991), 71-72.

³⁰ MITCHELL (1993), 178.

³¹ MITCHELL (1993), 189-191.

so 'honoured their dead to the point of heroization or even apotheosis'³². This might be the Romans, or at least as Augustan ideology would like them to be. At the end of the Ovidian tale Lelex observes (*Met.* 8.724): *cura deum di sunt, et qui coluere coluntur* ('those whom the gods loved are themselves gods, and those who offered worship are worshipped'). Nauta has emphasized the importance of the theme of *pietas* in the Lucretian account of the Magna Mater³³; the castration of the *galli* can be interpreted as a punishment for their failure to demonstrate due piety towards fatherland and parents. Philemon and Baucis, by contrast, offer a very positive *exemplum* of *pietas* and its rewards.

In all of these respects the Phrygian piety of Philemon and Baucis offers what the Roman reader might regard as a more suitable model for Roman religiosity than the dubious myths and rituals associated with the worship of the Magna Mater. The aged couple are very different from Catullus' frenzied youth, but there is perhaps one point in the narrative where Ovid engages in a detailed dialogue with the Attis story. When Jupiter and Mercury reveal themselves to their hosts, they warn them of the punishment that awaits their neighbours, and issue this command (691-693): *modo uestra relinquite tecta | ac nostros comitate gradus et in ardua montis | ite simul* ('just leave your home, and accompany our footsteps and go with us to the mountain-top'). Attis in Catullus 63 leaves his home, in the service of a god, and orders his companions (11: *comitibus*; 15: *comites*) to go up with him into a high place (12-13): *agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul, | simul ite, Dindymenae dominae uaga pecora*³⁴. But for Philemon and Baucis the departure from their home is not a permanent exile; before ever reaching the summit of the mountain, they look back to see that their home (697: *tecta*) remains³⁵, while all else has been swallowed into a swamp. Their reward is to remain at home, through the momentous changes, first of their lowly cottage into a gilded temple (Phrygian gold in its proper place!), and second of their bodily selves into trees, an oak and a lime, firmly rooted in their native landscape.

Ovid locates this story of Roman foreshadowings at the very heart of the *Metamorphoses*, in the eighth book of fifteen. It is a story that, for a Roman

³² MITCHELL (1993), 189. If JONES (1994) is correct in localizing the story of Philemon and Baucis near Mt Sipylus, once again we find a geographical confusion, here between the Phrygian heartland in central Anatolia and 'Phrygian' Lydia.

³³ NAUTA (2004), 616-617.

³⁴ Echoed in the contemptuous words of Numanus Remulus at *Aen.* 9.617-618: *o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta | Dindyma*.

³⁵ Contrast Attis' permanent flight from a home that he believes has been destroyed, at *Fasti* 4.234-235: *hic furit et credens thalami procumbere tectum | effugit*.

audience, conveniently eliminates the unsettling features of the Phrygian tales of Attis and the Magna Mater. But it does so at the cost of eradicating an essential feature of the other Phrygian stories of Roman origins, the Aeneas legend as well as the story of the Magna Mater, namely the geographical mobility that allows for a physical link between Phrygia and Rome. The oak and lime-tree firmly rooted in the Phrygian hills in fact have nothing to do with Rome.

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