

Ovid's Cippus and the images of Jupiter Ammon in Forum Augustum

In this paper I argue that, for readers in Ovid's day, the horned figure in the Cippus episode, *Metamorphoses* book 15 lines 565-621, would call to mind the images of Jupiter Ammon in the Forum Augustum, connecting the story to this Augustan space and providing further evidence to read Augustus' actions against those of Cippus. On the surface, the metamorphosis and subsequent actions of Cippus are an action for the horns that appear on the porta Raudusculana. But differences in Ovid's story from those found in the other lengthy extant version on the tale by Valerius Maximus reveal something more is at play. I investigate the significance of Ovid's choice in depicting Cippus as a returning (rather than departing, cf. Val. Max. 5.6.3) general and his inclusion of a direct speech by Cippus rejecting tyranny and the enslavement of Romans, using language seen in other episodes of epic poem, including those at its end. I discuss several textual clues that point to the new the Augustan monument and the activities which took place there (e.g., the Forum as the destination for victorious generals, cf. *victor domito remeabat ab hoste*, *Met.* 15.569).

The Cippus episode has been the subject of limited inquiry. Karl Galinsky (1967) offers the most extensive discussion, concluding that Cippus should be read as an anti-Augustus figure who declines a tyrannical power that Augustus assumes. Galinsky (1975: 210) later softened his tone about the *Metamorphoses*, but does remain committed to reading the Cippus episode as containing "subtle, ironic allusions" to Augustus. Other scholars (Fränkel, 1945: 226 n. 104; Martínez Astorino, 2017) have seen allusions to Julius Caesar's rejection of a golden crown, an episode recorded by Suetonius (*Iul.* 79.2). Though attempts have been made to view the episode as a commentary on the Augustan political situation of the 30s and 20s B.C. (e.g. Lundstrom,

1980: 67-79; Martin, 2009; Hardie, 2015: 564; others listed in Galasso, 2022: 695), only two scholars have suggested (in passing) a connection to the Ammon image (Thakur, 2011: 553; Hardie: 2015: 564). This is the first paper to articulate, in detail, connections between elements in the episode and Augustan art/topography/social practices, and how the Ammon iconography further facilitates reading Augustus as a Cippus-like figure.

The Forum Augustum was one of the central monuments of the Augustan building program. It was dedicated in 2 B.C.; at its center was a temple dedicated to Mars Ultor, its niches held statues of the *summi viri*, and its centerpiece was an equestrian statue of Augustus. These monuments have been the subjects of much scholarly work, but the architectural and artistic features of the vaulted attic level, which was located atop a covered portico that ran the length of both long sides of the forum, have received far less attention. The façade of this upper storey was decorated with caryatid columns and the intercolumnar areas were filled with large relief panels (often referred to as *clipei*), of which two types survive: these are images of Jupiter Ammon and a barbarian (Ungaro, 2007: 152-159). An Ovidian reference to this prominent Augustan civic space would tie the, somewhat obscure, Cippus episode to others near the end of the epic in which many have seen references to Augustus, leading to the apotheosis of Caesar at the end of the poem.

Select Bibliography:

Galasso, L. (comm.), 2022. *Le Metamorfosi*. Turin.

Fränkel, H., 1945. *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds*. Berkeley.

Galinsky, G.K., 1967. "The Cippus episode in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (15.565-621)," *TAPhA* 98: 181-191.

Galinsky, G.K., 1975. *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An introduction to the basic aspects*. Berkeley/Los Angeles.

Hardie, P., 2015 (ed.). *Ovidio, Metamorphosi, Volume VI (Libri XIII-XV)*. Milan.

Lundström, S., 1980. *Ovids Metamorphosen und die Politik des Kaisers*. Upsala.

Martin, P., 2009. "Res publica non restituta. La réponse d'Ovide: la légende de Cipus," in F.

Hurlet and B. Mineo (eds.), *Le Principat d'Auguste: Réalités et représentations du pouvoir Autour de la Res publica restituta*, Rennes. pp. 267-279.

Martínez Astorino, P., 2017. "Cipo-César en las Metamorfosis de Ovidio: ¿una reivindicación de la monarquía?" *Euphrosyne* 45: 259-270.

Thakur, S., 2011. "In what sense did Augustus restore the Republic?" *JRA* 24: 550-554.

Ungaro, L., 2007. "La memoria dell'antico," in L. Ungaro (ed.), *Il Museo dei Fori Imperiali nei Mercati di Traiano*, Rome. pp. 130-169.