
An Altar Imagined. A Historical Survey of the Construction and Deconstruction of the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*

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*Not a monument, but the idea of a monument:
the story of this idea through the accidents of survival
and the intersection of texts and images*

The *Ara Pietatis Augustae* is not a monument, but the idea of a monument. It is an idea constructed on a transcribed inscription, a literary passage, several numismatic reverse types, a number of relief panels of extraordinary workmanship, and a way of thinking about classical scholarship. The story of the idea of the *Ara Pietatis* is as fascinating a story as any that can be told about actual monuments of Roman Imperial art. It is a story about the accidents of survival which, ultimately, circumscribe the field of classical archaeology; about the intersection of text and image – the sometime primacy of the former that can never entirely supercede the overwhelming immediacy of the latter; and about the way in which ancient objects, even those long out of the ground, can be continually compelled to give up new secrets.

First entirely reconstructed in 1937, and totally deconstructed by 1985, the *Ara Pietatis Augustae* existed in the minds of scholars as a discreet entity for fewer than fifty years. The myth of the monument begins with the anonymously transcribed inscription: PIETATI AVGVSTAE / EX SC QVOD FACTVM EST D HATERIO / AGRIPPA C SVLPICIO GALBA COS / TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS / PONTIF MAX TRIB POT III COS III IMP III PP / DEDICAVIT¹, which seems to record the vowing by Tiberius of a monument to Augustan *pietas* in A.D. 22, and its subsequent dedication

in A.D. 43/44.² In 1796 Josephus Eckhel first connected the inscription to a passage from Tacitus (*Ann.* 3. 64), which relates that Tiberius, in A.D. 22, vowed games on the occasion of the recovery of his mother Livia from a serious illness. The coincidence of the dates suggested to Eckhel that both the inscription and the passage referred to the same event³. It was Theodor Mommsen who asserted in an 1850 commentary on the inscription that a sanctuary and altar had existed near the Theatre of Marcellus – in the neighborhood of an older temple to *Pietas*⁴. Gerhard M. Koeppel, the first scholar to deny categorically the existence of the *Ara Pietatis*, traces all the subsequent history of the monument to Mommsen's bold leap of conjecture in naming the object of the Tiberian dedication as an altar⁵. The inclusion of the inscription in the late-nineteenth-century *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum* (*CIL*) perpetuated Mommsen's assertions. The *CIL* commentary on the inscription reads «Eckhel revealed that this altar was vowed in the year 22 because of the recovery of health of Julia Augusta, cfr. Mommsen *loc. cit.* who suspected that it was situated near the theatre of Marcellus [...]. Mommsen related that Tiberius himself, however, did not complete the altar to Piety then vowed, which fell to Claudius, who, it has been noted, consecrated this and other honors to Livia»⁶. Thus codified, the conception of

the subject of the inscription as an altar to Augustan Piety (Mommson's conjecture), vowed on the occasion of Livia's recovery from an illness as related in Tacitus (Eckhel's conjecture), became a tidy textual conceit, lacking only material remains. Those remains were furnished a few years later by a number of relief panels which had been known in Rome since the sixteenth century.

The fifteen-year-old Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, a younger son of Cosimo the Great, the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, arrived in Rome in 1564. The young Ferdinando had been raised in the neo-Platonic atmosphere of the Florentine court, where he received a classical education and learnt a fascination with art both ancient and modern. *Collezionismo* may have been a Medici family trait, but it was only upon the death of his father in 1574 that Ferdinando had the independent financial wherewithal to finance projects of his own choosing⁷. One of these projects was the renovation and decoration of his suburban Roman villa at Pincio, and a major feature of the villa was its antiquarian garden. After protracted negotiations, the late cardinal Andrea della Valle's collection of antique sculpture was purchased by Ferdinando de' Medici from the Capranica heirs in 1584⁸. It is in the records of that transaction that what become known as the «Valle-Medici reliefs» enter into written history⁹.

Incorporated into the garden façade of the villa at Pincio, which was being renovated for Cardinal Ferdinando by Bartolomeo Ammannati, the five Valle-Medici reliefs which were later to provide the external design of the putative *Ara Pietatis* joined fragments of a host of ancient sculpture, relief and in the round, official and private, in constituting an entirely new visual entity (fig. 1). As Mario Lolli Ghetti notes, this incorporation of the reliefs into the very walls of the villa – evidently planned from the moment Ferdinando was sure of acquiring the della Valle collection – was a new and influential way of treating ancient *spolia*: «[The] cardinal thus brought to completion the works of that which would become the most important and emblematic fabric of mature Mannerism at Rome [...]. The marble Roman fragments, positioned to underline the rediscovered classicism of the architecture, became almost the signature of the architects, aware of their acquisition of a social role and of their recovery of cultural behavior: thus Baldassare Peruzzi had acted, and the others of his school, using the pieces which came from a single ancient edifice for the architraves of the gates of the [villa] Farnesina and of the palazzetto Missini»¹⁰.

As in the earlier sculpture courts, the disposition of the reliefs on the villa façade is carefully orchestrated. Indeed, even in an anonymous seventeenth century painting, which shows a foreground littered with the detritus of seemingly colossal ancient architecture, the garden façade appears to be strikingly regular, the very antithesis of the vision displayed in Marten van Heemskerck's drawing of Michaelangelo's Bacchus in Jacopo Galli's courtyard – itself the seeming epitome of the antiquarian's garden¹¹.

The sculptural program of the façade extends in rhythmic, ordered ranks from the central focal point of the Medici coat of arms surmounting the high, arched *portone*. On either side of that coat of arms and slightly below it, centered over the bays flanking the raised, central archway, are located two reliefs of extraordinary workmanship (figs. 2, 3). Each depicts a bull being led to a sacrifice before a temple. The relief from the left-hand side shows a bull on the left, adorned for the sacrifice, being led by two *victimarii* in front of a Corinthian, hexastyle temple. In the right-hand relief a *victimarius* pulls down the head of the bull, making it ready for the axe, in front of a Corinthian, octastyle temple. In the latter scene, five togate figures fill the background. Each panel displays a remarkable technical virtuosity. In the first, the sculptor has conveyed the impression that *victimarii* and bull are advancing both towards the viewer's right, and at the same time, forward, out of the plane of the scene. The animal is sandwiched between the two bare-chested figures who are shown, like bookends, facing each other and their victim, one offering a view of his broad-shouldered back to the beholder, the other facing nearly frontally. The compositional device emphasizes the bull's forward progress, suggesting that with his next step the animal will emerge into space at a forty-five degree angle to the surface of the relief. The compositional prowess of the scene is only augmented by the artist's careful rendering of the details of drapery and musculature.

The second scene is even more visually stunning. So much so, in fact, that it has been suggested that it derives, in its composition, from a certain painting of Pausias¹². A *victimarius* in high relief kneels in the foreground, grasping the bull by the nose with his left hand, and by its left horn with his right hand. Lines indicating the tensing of muscles along the bull's neck and the man's side and arms convey the strength that is in use in this silent struggle. The animal is dramatically foreshortened, its head thrusting out of the picture-plane in a relief that is nearly as high as that used to portray the *victimarius*, while its body recedes into lower relief. The *togati* in the

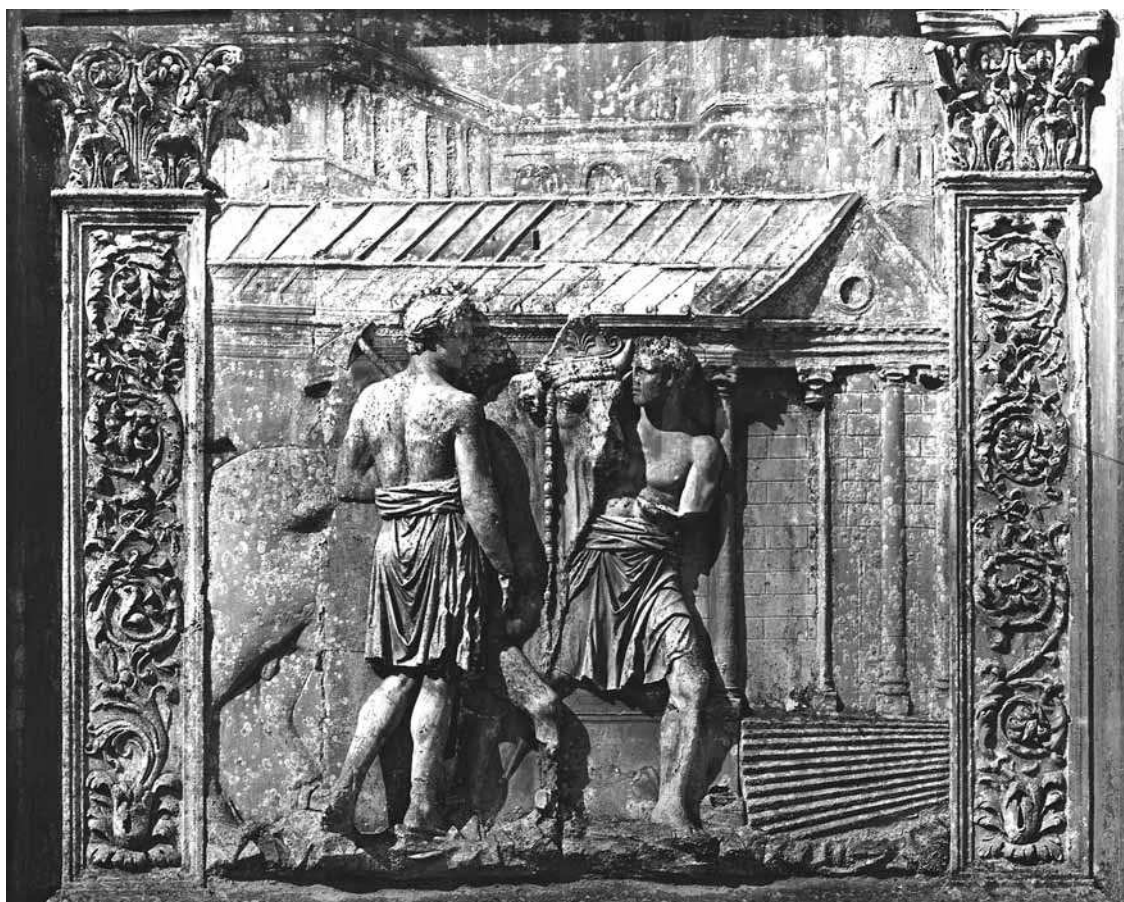


1. Rome, Villa Medici at Pincio, garden façade (foto: Académie de France à Rome)

background are similarly arrayed in varying depths, so that they recede from left to right. The details of the temple pediments in both panels are so precise as to even allow the identification of the buildings¹³. The first is the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine¹⁴. The second is the temple of Mars Ultor, described by Ovid (*Tristia* 2, 295-296), which once stood at the head of the Forum of Augustus¹⁵. These two panels have long been recognized as being related to three other fragmentary Valle-Medici panels which depict scenes from a procession¹⁶. The processional scenes lack the dramatic movement of the sacrificial scenes, but they too are finely executed¹⁷.

It is the compositional contrast evident in the rendering of the procession and of the scenes of sacrifice that prompted Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo to hypothesize two hands at work in these reliefs: the «*Maestro della ricerca spaziale*» and the «*Maestro della processione*»¹⁸. To the first he attributed the two sacrificial scenes discussed above, and to the second the scenes of procession. What their sixteenth century owners thought of these relief fragments is not recorded,

though the fact that their visual virtuosity was recognized is clearly indicated by the prominent, central position on the façade of the villa of the two sacrificial scenes. By the nineteenth century, at least, the superior workmanship of the panels seemed clearly to bespeak imperial patronage. In 1881, Friedrich Von Duhn first suggested a reconstruction of the *Ara Pacis*, the famous altar to Augustan Peace mentioned in the *Res Gestae*, that included the Valle-Medici reliefs¹⁹. This hypothesis was taken up definitively by Eugen Petersen in 1902²⁰. Only one year later, however, new discoveries along the via Lucina increased the number of extant fragments belonging to the *Ara Pacis*. A new reconstruction crowded out the Valle-Medici panels depicting temples²¹. In 1907, Johannes Sieveking thoroughly demonstrated that none of the Valle Medici reliefs could belong to the Augustan monument. He further proposed for them a date, on stylistic grounds, in the reign of Claudius²². The similarity of the processional fragments of the Valle-Medici reliefs to the side panels of the *Ara Pacis*, together with the newly-asserted Claudian date of the former, prompted Franz Studniczka, in



2. Relief with a bull being led to a sacrifice, I century A.D., Rome, Villa Medici at Pincio, garden façade (foto: Académie de France à Rome)

1909, to propose that the monument to which the Valle-Medici reliefs had once belonged was none other than the *aram pietati* described in the *CIL* commentary on the inscription with which we began²³. Several other relief fragments discovered in 1923 and 1933 in the vicinity of the Corso Umberto and of the church of S. Maria in the via Lata, including one which shows an ionic temple, were added to the presumed remains of the altar by Antonio M. Colini in 1935²⁴.

Thus, Sieveking's valid re-dating of the Valle-Medici reliefs, on stylistic grounds, to the neo-Attic ambience of Claudius' reign provided another happy coincidence of dates, not unlike that which had prompted Eckhel to connect the inscription with the passage from Tacitus. Slightly more than a century after that first coincidence which prompted its conception, the *Ara Pietatis Augustae* existed in mere textual conjecture no more. It had assumed a concrete, material form, embedded firmly in the walls of the villa Medici. In 1937, using as further evidence two nu-

mismatic reverse-types which each depict what seems to be the same or a similar altar together with the inscription *PIETATI AVG*, Raymond Bloch put forth the first thorough reconstruction of the altar²⁵. Bloch suggested that the monument was, in form, similar to the *Ara Pacis*, but of more developed artistry. Bloch further argued that the internal evidence of the subjects of the reliefs supported their identification with the *Ara Pietatis*: «The importance of the procession, of the sacrifices, the presence of the temples where undoubtedly are found the remembrances of cults dear to a departed emperor, all seem to endorse this hypothesis»²⁶. In 1955 Inez Scott Ryberg supplemented Bloch's reconstruction with the addition of another fragment, and with that the *Ara Pietatis Augustae* reached the epitome of its theoretical existence.

The idea that was the *Ara Pietatis* began to crumble in 1977 when Mario Torelli denied any connection between the inscription and the story of Livia's recovery recorded in Tacitus. Rather,

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Torelli argued, the *Ara Pietatis* that was vowed became the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* that was actually constructed²⁷. The justification for this hypothesis is a putative link between the vow to *Pietas Augusta* and the problem of the succession of Tiberius²⁸. In 1982 Koeppel, having examined the history of the idea of the monument, arrived at the conclusion that not only did the Valle-Medici reliefs not constitute the material remains of the *Ara Pietatis*, the altar itself had never existed²⁹. Taking as his starting point Koeppel's categorical denial of the existence of the altar, in 1985 Lanfranco Cordischi re-examined the evidence for the tradition of the hypothetical altar and for its identification with the Valle-Medici reliefs. Cordischi concluded, like Koeppel, that the idea of the *Ara Pietatis* was a fallacy, founded on Mommsen's unsupported hypothesis that the object referred to by the inscription was an

altar, and canonized by its inclusion in the commentary in *CIL*³⁰.

Cordischi's deconstruction of the *Ara Pietatis* is textual, not physical, and it is the textual altar, not the material remains of which it was believed to consist, that he is disassembling. What, then, is the fate of the Valle-Medici reliefs and the other fragments formerly believed to constitute the *Ara Pietatis*? Deprived of the inscription, text, and scholarly tradition that defined them, what role can the actual material remains now play in an art historical discourse? Cordischi traces the physical fate of the Valle-Medici reliefs back slightly further than their sixteenth century (and, indeed, current) location. Grouping the four Valle-Medici reliefs with the five relief fragments discovered in the via Lata in 1923 and 1933, he argues persuasively that they had a former life as *spolia*, even before their acquisition by della

3. Relief with a bull being led to a sacrifice, 1 century A.D., Rome, Villa Medici at Pincio, garden façade (foto: Académie de France à Rome)



Valle, in the *Arcus Novus* of Diocletian. The latter was located near the primitive church of S. Maria and the find spot of the fragments discovered in the early twentieth century. The very fine depiction of an ionic temple on one of the via Lata fragments, together with more subtle stylistic details, such as the depiction of drapery, have convinced Cordischi and other scholars that they can be definitively linked to the Valle-Medici reliefs. In his reconstruction of the *Ara Pietatis*, Bloch also made some study of the relative dimensions of the two sets of reliefs, confirming that they most likely belong together³¹. The arch was standing as late as 1491 when it was destroyed by Innocent VIII to make way for the construction of the new church³². It is not unreasonable to conjecture, therefore, that the entire group of reliefs was still incorporated into the *Arcus Novus* at the time of its destruction. The choicest panels made their way directly into the antiquities market, the others were buried where they fell when the arch was razed.

It is most likely impossible to trace the ultimate origin of the panels. Perhaps the most that can be said is, as many have pointed out, their subject matter – sacrifice and procession – is more suited to an altar than to a triumphal arch like the Claudian example believed to have celebrated a victory over the Britains³³. The archaeological provenience of the via Lata fragments and their proximity to the former site of the *Arcus Novus* do, nonetheless, return to the Valle-Medici reliefs some of the material history that has been lost to them over the centuries. Despite being frozen in place as they currently are and have been for nearly half a millennium, the reliefs can now be reliably traced back at least one step further back in their history. It is, in fact, the location of the Valle-Medici reliefs, embedded into the façade of the villa, that has made and continues to make direct physical examination of the panels, particularly their sides and backs, difficult if not impossible. The remains recovered in the via Lata are too few and too fragmentary for much of a reconstruction to be attempted, physically or on paper. The primary traces that the creators of the Valle-Medici reliefs and the via Lata fragments have left, therefore, are not the sort that lead to a solid archaeological reconstruction based on physical signs, such as marks indicating the way in which two or more disparate pieces of marble might once have fit together. They are not the traces of the builders, but rather, the traces of the artists, the quirks with which they portray features – perhaps not as individualized as on the *Ara Pacis*, for example; and bodies in space – a virtuoso performance that deftly utilizes varying depths

of relief to mimic receding three dimensional space. The panels of relief are well enough preserved, however, that these traces left by the original artists can still be perceived. Small details such as the treatment of architecture, of drapery, of musculature have allowed scholars not only to define the Valle-Medici reliefs and the via Lata fragments as belonging to a single monument, but also to distinguish at least two hands of individual sculptors³⁴. Such observation-based reconstruction however, is limited, and while it may yield shrewd and detailed observations of artistic technique, it provides no framework in which that technique may be understood. That is to say, that Sieveking could observe, for example, that the carver of the processional scenes of the Valle-Medici reliefs was more experienced in working with marble than the sculptor of the processional scenes belonging to the *Ara Pacis*, who seemed to derive much of his technique from smaller scale work in gems and cameos; but that the latter nonetheless lent a greater variety to the poses of his figures and a greater individuality to their features³⁵. He could also, by comparing them to other monuments of known date, suggest that they were not only stylistically but also chronologically incompatible with other known pieces of the *Ara Pacis*. The mere exclusion of the Valle-Medici reliefs from the *Ara Pacis* did not, however, provide a counter-context, other than the Claudian date, leaving a void in which the theory of the *Ara Pietatis* continued to expand. Perhaps this is why, in the years since Koepfel and Cordischi completed their work, the archaeology and art history of the material remains has not become noticeably disentangled from the old narrative of the *Ara Pietatis*.

The nature of classical scholarship in general is a perpetual endeavor of constructing wholes from parts. Fragments of antiquity, textual and material, can be slippery, however, and too often what binds them together is only the desire that they should be so bound. Despite Koepfel's and Cordischi's thorough and well-reasoned deconstructions of the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, text and object, nearly twenty years ago, a brief glance at two current introductory textbooks of Roman Art demonstrates the tenacity of the mythology of that monument. D.E.E. Kleiner's treatment of the Valle-Medici reliefs in her 1992 volume, *Roman Sculpture*, does note that «The new identification of the monument as the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* [Torelli 1977] has provoked increased speculation about the identity of the monument, and one scholar in particular has pointed out that there is no extant ancient source that confirms the existence of a Claudian *Ara Pietatis Augustae*

[Koeppel 1982? or Cordischi 1985?]. Nevertheless, there seems to be consensus that the original structure from which the reliefs came was an altar in Rome resembling the *Ara Pacis*³⁶.

Yet despite this disclaimer, which asserts a passing familiarity with current scholarship, Kleiner's text, for didactic purposes, presents the reliefs as though they constituted the *Ara Pietatis* as it was conceived for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – an altar vowed by Tiberius and dedicated by Claudius. Kleiner's observations about the monument are primarily general and, as such, are largely valid whether or not it is named as the *Ara Pietatis*. The 1996 second edition of N. H. Ramage's and A. Ramage's *Roman Art* likewise tells the story of the *Ara Pietatis* as though it were beyond dispute, adding only at the end that «it is not clear that any of the surviving Roman reliefs are from the *Ara Pietatis Augustae* itself, sculptural panels from another Claudian altar [the Valle-Medici reliefs] give us examples from the period»³⁷.

The old story constructed by Eckhel and Mommsen from the evidence of the inscription and the story in Tacitus continues to compel because of its value as narrative and because of the authority which it grants to the narrator. Epigraphy is a useful, if mundane source for evidence about ancient monuments, but no object is as sacrosanct as that which is believed to be related to an extant literary text. Thus, when in 1506 the statue of *Laocoön* which was to form the centerpiece of Pope Giulio II's Cortile delle Statue was unearthed, Sangallo famously exclaimed, «This is the *Laocoön* of which Pliny has written!». And so it has been ever since, whether it truly is the self-same *Laocoön* that Pliny saw in the Baths of Titus having long since become irrelevant (*Hist. Nat.* 36. 37). The literary passage

describes a great work of art, and the material remains patently constitute, for any beholder to see, a great work of art. Technical questions of archaeology aside, the text thus serves to confirm the evidence of the viewer's own eyes. It is, in many ways, an unconscious privileging of text over image. The work of art is believed to be more opaque somehow, standing alone. So it is with the Valle-Medici reliefs, late of the *Ara Pietatis*. Scholars whose primary concern is the instruction of students continue to tell the story of the *Ara Pietatis* because it seems to make the object(s) with which the story is associated more interesting and valuable. These are no anonymous reliefs, of surpassing execution though they may be, these are reliefs to which a name has been attached for nearly a century, a name which it is difficult to pry loose. A certain modern bias is revealed in this approach as well, for the ancient viewer of what was – whatever else it was – surely a public monument would have encountered just that, a work of art divorced from text, divorced for the largely illiterate population even from a dedicatory inscription. The ancient viewer would have encountered the presence and the power of man and beast, masterfully rendered, taking part in a familiar ritual in front of familiar landmarks. The demonstration of piety is clear, even if the dedication to *Pietas* is not, and, for the viewer transfixed by the image of a bull about to step lightly into thin air, that is, for the moment, enough.

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1. *CIL* VI, 562.

2. L. Cordischi, *Sul problema dell'Ara Pietatis Augustae e dei rilievi ad essa attribuiti*, in «Archeologia classica», 1985, p. 239.

3. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, VI. 2, *Vindobonae*, p. 150, qtd. in Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., p. 239, who also notes that Eckhel does not distinguish the two consular dates in the inscription and ascribes both vow and dedication to Tiberius.

4. Th. Mommsen, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der*

Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1850, p. 301, qtd. in Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., p. 239.

5. G. Koeppel, *Die 'Ara Pietatis Augustae': ein Geisterbau*, in «Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung», 1982, p. 454. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., pp. 239-240.

6. *CIL* VI, 562: «Propter atrocem valetudinem Iuliae Augustae (TAC.) hanc aram anno 22 votam esse exposuit Eckhelius cfr. Mommsen loc. cit. qui prope theatrum Marcelli eam sitam fuisse suspicatur [...]. Tiberium autem Mommsenus reputat aram Pietati tum votam more suo non perfecisse idque ei sic exprobari a Claudio, quem notum est et alios honores Liviae habuisse et eam consecrasse».

7. C. Gasparri, *I marmi antichi di Ferdinando. Modelli e scelte di un grande collezionista*, in Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici: il sogno di un cardinale*, *ibid.*, Roma, 1999, p. 51.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit. p. 243, n. 30.

10. M. Lolli Ghetti, *L'architettura per il cardinale Ferdinando*, in Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici*, cit., p. 76: «[I] cardinale dava così compimento ai lavori di quella che sarebbe diventata la più importante ed emblematica fabbrica del Manierismo maturo a Roma, [...]. I frammenti marmorei romani, posti a sottolineare la ritrovata classicità dell'architettura, diventavano quasi la firma degli architetti, consci del loro acquisito ruolo sociale e del recupero culturale operato: così come faranno Baldassare Peruzzi, e gli allievi della sua scuola, utilizzando membrature provenienti da uno stesso edificio antico per gli architravi dei portali della Farnesina e del citato palazzetto Missini».
11. See Hochmann (ed.), *Villa Medici*, cit., p. 143, cat. 4; Lolli Ghetti, *L'architettura*, cit., p. 77, fig. 3.
12. M. Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di Villa Medici*, Roma, 1951, p. 62 (following Brendel).
13. D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven (Ct.), 1992, pp. 143-145. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., pp. 247-250.
14. I believe this identification was first made by P. Hommel, *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1954, p. 30.
15. As first identified by E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Wien, 1902, p. 62. For a review of the various controversies surrounding both identifications see Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit. pp. 247-254.
16. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit. (p. 246) identifies one of these scenes (Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di V. Medici*, cit. fr. 23 and 24) as a Renaissance pastiche, composed of two distinct pieces which should be treated separately.
17. For a detailed stylistic analysis of the reliefs and their relationship to one another see R. Bloch, *L'Ara Pietatis Augustae*, in Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di V. Medici*, cit. p. 9 sgg.; and Cagianò de Azevedo, *ibid.* For a good photograph of one of the processional panels see Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, cit. p. 142, fig. 118.
18. Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di V. Medici*, cit. p. 63.
19. F. Matz, F. Von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, III, Leipzig, 1882, p. 302; qtd. in Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., p. 243.
20. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, cit., p. 59.
21. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit. p. 243.
22. J. Sieveking, *Zur Ara Pacis Augustae*, in «Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien», 1907, p. 175 sgg.
23. F. Studniczka, *Zur Ara Pacis*, in «Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse», 1909, p. 908.
24. A. M. Colini, *I frammenti di architettura e di rilievi rinvenuti presso la Chiesa di S. Maria in via Lata*, in «Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti», 1935, p. 41 sgg.
25. Bloch, reproduced in Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di V. Medici*, cit. pp. 9-10. The first type Bloch cites only as an illustration in Stevenson (*A dictionary of Roman Coins, s.v. Pietas*, London) without further identifying it. The second is a coin of Sabina.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 11: «L'importance du cortège, des sacrifices, la présence des temples où il faut voir sans doute le souvenir de cultes chers à un empereur disparu, tout semble autoriser cette hypothèse».
27. M. Torelli, *La «valetudo atrox» di Livia del 22 d.C., l'Ara Pietatis Augustae e i calendari*, in «Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli studi di Perugia», 1977/78, p. 181 sgg.
28. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., pp. 241-242.
29. Koeppl, *Die 'Ara Pietatis Augustae'*, cit., p. 453 sgg.
30. Cordischi *Sul problema*, cit., p. 239 sgg.
31. Bloch, *L'Ara Pietatis*, cit., pp. 15-16.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
33. Cordischi, *Sul problema*, cit., pp. 264-265.
34. F.W. Goethert, *Studien zur Kopienforschung*, in «Mitteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung. Ergänzungsheft», 1939, p. 201 sgg. See Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di V. Medici*, cit., n. 21.
35. Sieveking, *Zur Ara Pacis*, cit., p. 178. For a reprisal of much the same arguments, see Bloch, pp. 10-11.
36. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, cit. p. 144.
37. N. H. Ramage, A. Ramage, *Roman Art*, 2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs (N.J.), 1996, p. 123.