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The Two Reliefs from Epidauros*

BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

PLATES 49-50

In the Epidaurian room of the National Museum in Athens are two reliefs from the sanctuary of Asklepios which have attracted considerable attention and discussion since their discovery (pl. 49, figs. 1-2).

No. 173 was found in 1884 built into the wall of a mediaeval building east of the temple of Asklepios;¹ no. 174 came to light two years later in the ruins of the Baths of Antoninus, north of the same temple.² Consonant with the antiquarian trend of the time, the discussion of the two reliefs dealt at first almost exclusively with their relationship to the cult image by Thrasymedes of Paros: a statue which had hitherto been known solely through Pausanias' description and representations on coins.³ The great gold and ivory image made by the Parian in the early fourth century B.C. showed Asklepios enthroned, with a staff in one hand; his other hand was stretched toward the head of a rearing snake, while a dog crouched nearby. It was a work of great majesty, perhaps inspired by the famous Pheidias Zeus at Olympia; Pausanias mentions that it was half the size of that statue, thus implying that parallels and comparisons were almost automatically made; and a late author could even mistakenly affirm that the Epidaurian statue itself was by Pheidias.⁴

Numismatic evidence indicated that Thrasymedes' Asklepios, with his dog crouched under his throne, held his right hand over the snake's head,

while supporting the staff with his left (pl. 50, fig. 5); the two marble reliefs seemingly reversed this position, and their fragmentary state could give no assurance as to the presence of staff, snake and dog. In addition to this apparent discrepancy,^{5a} some differences between the panels themselves (such as the position of the feet, the presence or absence of a foot-rest, and the greater or lesser elaboration of the seat) contributed to convince archaeologists that the works could at best be taken only as free adaptations of the cult statue. Nonetheless the reliefs continued to be included in all discussions on Asklepios or on Epidauros because of their high artistic quality and strange format, both unusual in common ex-votos.

Svoronos suggested that they were two of the metopes of the temple of Asklepios—a theory apparently supported by their reconstructed dimensions, surprisingly similar to each other and to those required by the Doric frieze of the Asklepeion. A. Neugebauer⁵ proved, however, that these measurements did not take into account the high border delimiting the top of each metope, and that therefore the panels were too high to fit the temple frieze; he affirmed instead that they were votive offerings. This belief, already expressed by Lechat and Collignon,⁶ has since been shared by such authorities as W.-H. Schuchhardt, G. M. A. Richter, U. Hausmann, K. Schefold, and, most recently, B. Schlörb.⁷ Of a slightly different opinion

(Liège 1949) 300-301.

⁴ Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 17.4; E. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius, a Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Baltimore 1945) (henceforth quoted as Edelstein) I, p. 349, II, T. 645.

^{5a} There is in fact no assurance that the coin-engravers might not have inverted the position of the statue and its attributes in a "translation" from a "positive" to a "negative" image onto the die.

⁵ *JdI* 41 (1926) 83-86.

⁶ A. Defrasse and H. Lechat, *Epidaure* (Paris 1895) 82-85. M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* II (Paris 1897) 186.

⁷ W.-H. Schuchhardt, *Gnomon* 4 (1928) 207-208; *Kunst der Gr.* 333. G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1950) 278-279. U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilium—Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Asklepiosreliefs* (Potsdam 1948) 103-104. K. Schefold, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 312-313. B. Schlörb, "Timotheos," 22 *Ergänzungsheft*

* This article is the written version of a paper presented to the Sixty-Seventh General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America on Dec. 29, 1965, at Providence, Rhode Island. I am greatly indebted, as usual, to the unfailing kindness and keen eye of Miss Nancy Bookidis, of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, who has checked for me several details on the original monuments. The photographs of the Epidaurian reliefs were supplied by the German Institute in Athens (NM 5 and NM 398), the enlargements were made by Mr. Karl Dimler of Bryn Mawr College.

¹ J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens 1908) 148-154 (henceforth quoted as Svoronos). From the same wall came the three Nikai which Cavvadias published as the akroteria of the Asklepeion, but which are now generally attributed to the temple of Artemis: P. Cavvadias, *ArchEph* (1885) cols. 48-50.

² Svoronos; see also Cavvadias, *ArchEph* (1894) cols. 11-14.

³ Pausanias 2.27.2. On the cult statue on coins see L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*

is Ch. Picard, who is inclined to consider the reliefs as cult pinakes, part of an altar, or even some undetermined form of official monument, probably fastened to a wall within the temple.⁸ J. F. Crome's suggestion that the reliefs formed part of the decoration of the temple workshop seems to have found no favor with archaeologists, and was openly refuted by Schefold and G. Roux.⁹

The problem of location and setting is increased by the obvious disagreement among scholars as to the date and authorship of the two reliefs. Cavvadias thought at first that no. 174 was of Roman date, while no. 173 belonged to the fourth century B.C.¹⁰ He later reversed this judgment and ascribed both panels to the same period, with 174 only slightly, if at all, later than 173.¹¹ Svoronos and Richter attributed both works to Timotheos; Neugebauer placed them contemporary with the construction of the temple, but saw in them the hand of one of Timotheos' assistants; Schefold dated the reliefs together but around 360 B.C.—a date now disputed by B. Schlörb who wants to put them both before 377 B.C., but considers no. 173 stylistically earlier and executed by that assistant to Timotheos who worked on the east pediment of the Asklepieion; no. 174, closer to the style of the master himself, she attributes to another pupil, who worked on the left akroterion to the west pediment. Collignon, Hausmann, Picard, Schuchhardt, Crome and Lippold¹² all emphasize the different quality of the two reliefs, and generally place 174 later than 173. Aside from Cavvadias' initial opinion, only Lechat, to my knowledge, has advanced

the idea that no. 173 is later and belongs to "une époque assez basse."

Yet, looking at the two reliefs side by side, one cannot help but be struck by the markedly "classical" language of the folds in no. 174. Each ridge has a definite source of origin and can be traced throughout its course to a definite end. The articulation of the drapery is eminently logical and recalls some of the seated figures from the pediments and east frieze of the Parthenon.¹³ Other cogent comparisons can be made with the seated Hegeso of the famous late fifth century stele,¹⁴ or with the Athena from the Nike balustrade whose raised mantle follows the contour of the torso with a similar furrow of shadow in between.¹⁵ Another seated Athena from the same monument¹⁶ displays comparable catenaries in the mantle hanging loosely between her knees. This pattern of drapery for seated figures admittedly continues to be used into the fourth century, but always retains a somewhat conservative and "classicizing" flavor.¹⁷ By contrast, the drapery of no. 173 looks less logical, and therefore more natural, more in keeping with the actual behavior of folds. The ridges bend and break in the middle of their course, or are split by drilled furrows coming to abrupt dead ends. Over the legs the rhythmical catenaries have been replaced by a peculiar ledge of cloth, under which the material seems sucked in between the calves of the figure. Though exact parallels are hard to find, several reliefs of the fourth century indicate similar attempts at disrupting the orderly catenaries by emphasizing one among them or by altering their pattern.¹⁸ I am therefore inclined to consider both reliefs as

Jdl (Berlin 1965) 34-37.

⁸ Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque* III:1 (Paris 1948) 218-219. See also 341-342.

Collignon, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 6) had already suggested that the reliefs were fastened "au-dessus d'une cymaise sur un des murs du temple." This rather vague attribution is discussed and rejected by Hausmann, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 7) 104 and n. 415, who in turn mentions various possible ways of mounting the two slabs, without reaching definite conclusions.

⁹ J. F. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros* (Berlin 1951) 18. Schefold, *loc.cit.* (supra, n. 7). G. Roux, *BCH* 80 (1956) 519-521. He however refers exclusively to the "typoi" by Timotheos and not specifically to the two reliefs in the National Museum.

¹⁰ This opinion is mentioned by Svoronos and Lechat as expressed in Cavvadias' catalogues of the National Museum (*Κατάλογος του Κεντρικού Ἀρχαιολ. Μουσείου* [Athens 1886/1887] nos. 101-102, pp. 90-93; and *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ κεντρικοῦ Ἀρχαιολ. Μουσείου* [Athens 1880-1892] nos. 173-174, pp. 146-150). I have been unable to consult these works personally.

¹¹ *ArchEph* (1894) cols. 11-14.

¹² For references to these scholars' works, see supra, nn. 6-8. G. Lippold, *Handbuch* (Munich 1950) 220 and n. 12.

¹³ Parthenon pediments: Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, figs. 69, 71. Frieze, *ibid.* figs. 488-489.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 429.

¹⁵ R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (Cambridge, Mass. 1929) pl. 24, p. 56.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pl. 19, p. 46.

¹⁷ The main argument for dating no. 174 later than 173 has hitherto been not the drapery but the three-quarter position of the throne. However this rendering is not an innovation of the fourth century. Perspective representations had already appeared in the fifth century B.C., as for instance the chariot of Apollo and Artemis in the Bassae frieze, *Br.Mus.* 523, H. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae* (Vienna 1946) pl. 4.

¹⁸ Cf., e.g., H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jhdts v. Ch.* (Frankfurt am Main 1938) pl. 4:3, dated 347-346 B.C., or H. Diepolder, *Die attische Grabreliefs* (Berlin 1931) pl. 23, for the large catenary and the drilled furrows; pl. 24:1 for the strange pocket-fold at the bend of the knee.

belonging to the fourth century B.C., no. 173 definitely not earlier in style than no. 174, but actually more in keeping with contemporary experimentation in drapery patterns, as against the slightly conservative flavor of 174.

A possible explanation for such "conservatism" exists if we see in 174 the representation of a personage other than Asklepios. With the exception of Svoronos, who tried to identify it as Zeus, there has been general agreement in recognizing in this seated figure another version of the cult image in the Asklepion.¹⁹ But on close examination the body of no. 174 appears more taut and athletic than that of no. 173; not only is the latter seated in a more relaxed pose, but also the torso appears fleshier and the musculature somewhat sagging. Most revealing of all is the hair style of no. 174 (pl. 49, fig. 3). Long strands fall down over the shoulders and traces of a lock appear on either side of the neck over the chest; the farther lock, on the left shoulder, is barely visible even at close quarters, but the nearer one unmistakably appears behind the right ear, then breaks off along the neck but reappears on the torso, along the line of the deltoid.

I have been unable to find any representation of Asklepios with such a coiffure. He is usually shown with hair short over the nape, but even when the hair seems longer it is always confined to the back of the figure and never encroaches upon the front, flowing down to the chest.²⁰ Instead, this kind of hair style is typical of Apollo²¹ (pl. 50, fig. 9).

¹⁹ Hausmann, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 7) 104, indeed affirms that if an ex-voto had to represent a seated Asklepios, it is unreasonable to assume that a prototype other than the cult statue should be chosen by the artist.

²⁰ The iconography of Asklepios has been treated in several works. Aside from the Edelsteins' discussion on the basis of ancient testimonies (II, 214-231), see Hausmann, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 7) and A. Neugebauer, *Asklepios* (78 Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm, 1921); cf. also G. A. Mansuelli in *Enciclopedia Arte Antica*, s.v. *Asklepios*.

The same type of coiffure prevails in coins. I am extremely indebted to Prof. Margaret Thompson, of the American Numismatic Society, who has kindly sent me casts of two coins in the Society's collection to support my contention that numismatic representations of the Epidaurian Asklepios also showed him with short hair. Miss Thompson informed me in her letter that "in every instance where the figure can definitely be identified as Asklepios, the hair is worn short, sometimes falling almost to the shoulder but more often cut off above the neck."

²¹ Picard (*op.cit.*, supra, n. 8, pp. 341-342) had suggested that no. 174 might represent Apollo ("Maleatas"?), but he considered the figure bearded, and reverted to his initial position, also identifying this second relief as an image of Asklepios.

There is no need to emphasize the pertinence of a representation of Apollo in a sanctuary of Asklepios. The god is traditionally the father of the hero, and the worship of Asklepios is strictly connected with the worship of Apollo in his capacity as healer and purifier. Apollo Maleatas had a sanctuary on Mount Kynortion, at Epidauros, which goes back at least to the seventh century B.C.,²² and therefore must have preceded the cult of Asklepios at the site. Inscriptions attest to the connection between Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios: the lists of cures are entitled "cures of Apollo and Asklepios"; sacrifices were first offered to Apollo, then to Asklepios; and fourth century Epidaurian coins bear the head of Apollo on one side (pl. 50, fig. 10), the seated Asklepios on the other.²³ The two marble panels seem to reflect a similar juxtaposition.

Taking the two reliefs together, in fact, one observes an intentional enhancing of the Apollo figure in no. 174: he sits on an elaborate throne, as contrasted with the simpler klismos of the other relief; his arm seems raised higher than that of Asklepios in no. 173, perhaps because it held a longer staff, as against a shorter stick or other attribute in the hand of Asklepios; his seat is placed in a three-quarter position, perhaps to approximate the frontal view typical of divine apparitions; his figure, in proportion, appears larger in scale and more majestic than that on the other relief. In general the contrast seems to be between the divine and the human, and indeed this would best char-

A close comparison with Athens no. 174 seems provided by the statuette of an enthroned god from Cyrene in North Africa; cf. F. Bertocchi, "Statuette di un dio in trono dal santuario di Apollo" in *Sculture Greche e Romane di Cirene*, ed. C. Anti, Università di Padova, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, vol. 33, Padova 1959, pp. 149-168, especially figs. 41-42 and pp. 163-164 for a discussion of the Epidaurian relief. It is significant that this statuette, identified as Zeus, comes nonetheless from a sanctuary of Apollo. However, I know this piece only through photographs and therefore cannot express a definite opinion as to its identification.

²² Sherds from the Early to the Late Helladic period would indeed seem to indicate a continuity of cult practices since at least Mycenaean times. Unfortunately the results of the excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas have not been published, with the exception of the inscriptions and a plan of the site in *IG IV:1*, pl. 3, plus brief accounts in *BCH*, *Chronique des Fouilles*, for 1948-1951. A fairly comprehensive summary appears in *Grèce, Les Guides Bleus* (Librairie Hachette, Paris 1962) 496-497.

²³ On the relationship between Apollo and Asklepios and pertinent cult practices, see Lechat, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 6) 29-32; Edelstein, II, 99-100 with notes 30-32, 186, 187 note 10, 233 note 2; C. Kerényi, *Asklepios* (Bollingen series 65:3, 1959) 24-30.

acterize the relationship between Apollo, a god, and Asklepios, his son by a mortal woman.²⁴

One objection alone remains against identifying no. 174 as a representation of Apollo: is this figure bearded? It has always been described as having a beard, and a bearded Apollo would be totally unprecedented.

Unfortunately the head is so damaged that complete certainty seems impossible, but personal observation has convinced me that at least the outline of the face is preserved, and appears to be that of a prominent jaw, not a beard. In the fourth century B.C., approaching the Hellenistic period, there is a definite tendency to represent Apollo with a massive chin line and a square jaw. The typical example is the Apollo from Cyrene in the British Museum (pl. 50, fig. 6), which however has been variously dated and might be considered too late for a fair comparison with the Epidaurian relief.²⁵ Closer in time is the mid-fourth century Mantinea base (pl. 50, fig. 7) where Apollo appears with the same prominent jaw, the same long coiffure, and even, though on the whole he is more heavily clothed, with the same "classical" arrangement of the drapery, especially near the ankle and the knee.

Admittedly a short beard would still present the same square outline as a jaw,²⁶ but Asklepios is never shown with so short a beard; his beard, while perhaps not as fluent as those of Poseidon or Zeus, is always more substantial than a mere thickening of the jaw line. Even if damaged and broken, such a beard could not produce the effect

²⁴ Lechat had already pointed out the "humanization" of the Asklepios relief no. 173 in contrast to no. 174: "Le corps, d'un modelé mou, semble s'être épaissi et affaïssi; les plis de la draperie sont, par-ci par là, cherchés et conventionnels; les trous forés dans la barbe, en vue d'y faire jouer l'ombre, dénotent aussi une époque assez basse. Mais, de plus, le type divin se trouve quelque peu modifié. Le fauteuil est remplacé par une simple chaise à dossier incliné, recouverte d'un mince coussin. Les pieds, chaussés de sandales d'un appareil compliqué, sont croisés l'un par-dessus l'autre. La draperie, après avoir remonté le long du dossier de la chaise, revient sur l'épaule gauche, puis retombe jusqu'aux genoux, enveloppant le bras gauche tout entier. La tête ne portait point de couronne. Absence de la couronne, substitution de la chaise inclinée et toute en courbes au grand fauteuil rigide et sévère, croisement des pieds dans une pose un peu négligée, charmante d'ailleurs d'abandon et de naturel, tous ces détails, joints à cette exécution ronde et molle du torse tassé sur lui-même et sans grand caractère, ont pour résultat d' 'humaniser' davantage le dieu, de faire baisser de plusieurs degrés et presque disparaître l'apparence de divinité nettement empreinte dans l'autre bas-relief" (pp. 84-85).

²⁵ Lippold, *Handbuch* 329, dates it before 250 B.C. G. Beccati has suggested an even later date, in the mid-second century B.C., "Timarchides e l'Apollo qui tenet citharam," *Bull-*

of the face in no. 174, as is immediately apparent if one imagines the beard removed from the Asklepios on any other relief. An especially good comparison lies close at hand: the seated Asklepios on the base, also from Epidauros, displayed in the same room of the National Museum as the two reliefs under discussion (pl. 50, fig. 8).²⁷

A beardless Asklepios is not unknown to Greek art, but the type seems to have enjoyed little popularity, and must have been considered a rarity at the time of Pausanias, who never fails to mention it whenever a statue of Asklepios appears without a beard. Indeed, the ancients derived great amusement from the fact that Apollo, young and beardless, had such a venerable and bearded son. In Epidauros, the cult statue by Thrasymedes represented Asklepios as a mature man,²⁸ and if no. 174 really echoed the cult image, the presence of the beard would be unequivocal.²⁹ Moreover, even in the monuments where Asklepios appears without a beard, the hair style is never comparable to that of the Epidaurian relief.

I have intentionally not discussed the head of 174 in contrast with the head of 173 because of a problem involved in the latter (pl. 49, fig. 4). At first glance this detail seems to confirm the identification of the other panel as a representation of Apollo: it is the head of a mature man with a definite beard, short and unadorned hair,³⁰ as contrasted with the shaven cheek, long locks and metal wreath of the other.^{30a} But closer observation reveals that

Comm 63 (1935) 111-131, esp. 130.

²⁶ Cf., for instance, the farther figure in the Peiraicus stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas, Diepolder, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 18) pl. 16.

²⁷ NM 1425. Good details of that Asklepios' head appear in Ch. Picard, "Bryaxis et le Sarapis d'Alexandrie," *Mon Piot* 52 (1962) 15-26, figs. 8, 10 and 11. The date of this monument is still under discussion; though generally placed in the fourth century B.C., Süsserott (*op.cit.*, supra n. 18, p. 202 n. 22) calls it Hellenistic, and this same point of view is supported by Christine Mitchell Havelock: *AJA* 68 (1964) 49 and n. 25 with additional bibliography. See also G. Roux, *L'Architecture de l'Argolide aux 4e et 3e siècles avant J.C.* (Paris 1961) 402. However, the chronology of the piece has no great bearing on the iconographical question. For other representations of Asklepios see the works mentioned supra, n. 20.

²⁸ For references to these ancient sources see Edelstein, II, 219-220.

²⁹ See the comment by Hausmann supra, n. 19.

³⁰ A horizontal line may perhaps be distinguished across the locks and around the head; but this fillet, if really present, was enhanced exclusively in paint, and not applied in metal, as is the case for no. 174.

^{30a} Five large holes and a smaller one over the nape of the Apollo head in no. 174 must have served for the inser-

the workmanship of this head is not consonant with that of the relief as a whole. The drill has been used extensively in the treatment of the beard and, to a lesser degree, in the rather impressionistic hair over the nape. The ear cavity is just a drilled hole, quite different from the more naturalistic rendering of no. 174. The modeling of the lower right lid and the cheek under the eye, as well as the treatment of the mouth, seem hardly characteristic of the fourth century B.C. One cannot escape the feeling that the head of 173 might belong to the Roman period, possibly the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D.³¹ Unfortunately none of the early reports³² mentioned explicitly whether the head was found together with the rest of the relief. A drawing by Gilliéron³³ shows no. 173 in its original condition, with most of the background missing, especially around the head, and a faint line at the neck indicates the break which is also apparent in our photograph; but no account is given as to the actual connection of the head with the torso. As presently displayed, a strip of modern plaster runs around the entire circumference of the neck; one might even question the continuation of certain muscles, especially over the right collarbone, where the neck seems almost to project over the outline of the chest.

tion of a metal wreath. One of the Epidaurian coins in the New York Numismatic Society collection (supra, n. 20) shows on one side a head of Apollo crowned by a wreath, presumably of laurel leaves, and it is logical to assume that this might have also formed the ornament of the Apollo on the marble relief. However, the wreath alone cannot be used as an argument in support of my identification, since a wreath seems to have been a prerogative of Asklepios as well, as exemplified by other Epidaurian coins.

³¹ Dr. Sheldon Nodelman of Princeton University, who has studied in detail Roman heads of the Severan period, has confirmed my impression, and has suggested comparison with the relief in Palazzo Sacchetti, Rome, of the time of Caracalla (E. Strong, *La Scultura Romana da Augusto a Costantino* [Florence 1926] pl. 63; L. Budde, *Severisches Relief in Palazzo Sacchetti* [Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 18 Ergänzungsheft, Berlin 1955] pls. 1-4 and figs. 14-15, 17-18). The comments by Lechat quoted supra, n. 24, might indicate that the French scholar favored a similar dating, but for the entire relief, while I believe that only the head is of Roman times. It is surprising that Cavvadias, in his original statements, believed 174 to be of Roman date but always considered 173 an excellent Greek work (cf. supra and nn. 10-11).

In the enlarged photograph of this head (no. 173, pl. 49, fig. 4) the pupil of the right eye seems to be indicated by a faint drill hole close to the upper lid. But Miss Nancy Bookidis informs me that direct observation of the relief reveals only a slight setback of the eye under the lid, and not a definite round cavity as one could expect from a drill hole.

³² Of the early bibliography mentioned by Svoronos I was unable to consult the two catalogues by Cavvadias (supra, n.

Moreover the head appears somewhat small in proportion to the torso, and the neck too short.

It is difficult to tell, at the present stage of my knowledge, whether the head is a Roman repair to a damaged fourth-century Greek work, or simply does not belong to the relief. The first alternative would imply that the two reliefs were part of some official monument, since a common exvoto would have been discarded if too badly broken to remain on display. On the other hand, it is difficult to visualize the structure to which the two reliefs could have belonged.³⁴ It seems proved, on the basis of their dimensions, that they could not have formed the outer metopes of the Asklepieion. We know, moreover, that these were in poros and simply painted red. Roux has advocated the existence of sculptured metopes over the pronaos columns, a practice in keeping with other Peloponnesian examples and apparently supported by the Epidaurian building accounts; but the dimensions of our panels, if too large for exterior metopes, would seem even less suitable for an inner frieze.³⁵ Sculptured metopes never appear on a functional triglyph altar of the type popular in Epidaurus and the Argolid, but votive altars of the same type were at times adorned with figured scenes; these figures, however, seem to be in low relief, in contrast with

10); and the reference to *Deltion* (1886) 11 has proved untraceable.

³³ *ArchEph* (1885) pl. 2:6, also P. Cavvadias, *Epidaurae* (Athens 1891) pl. 9:21.

³⁴ Cf. discussion supra and nn. 5, 8, 9. Naturally, such a discussion is justified only if the two reliefs are truly matching pieces belonging to the same monument. This theory could be disputed on various grounds: the thickness of the two panels varies considerably (V. Staïs, *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National* [2nd ed., Athens 1910] gives the following figures: no. 173 = 0.12 cm. no. 174 = 0.21 cm.); no. 173 seems to have been attached to some background through metal attachments, whose holes are still visible and retain traces of lead—but no similar holes pierce no. 174 (however the bottom border of 174 is missing, or was never part of the same block, and therefore the objection is not fully valid); finally the figure in 173 seems to be fully worked, also in the parts toward the relief background (rear of the chair, shoulders of Asklepios) while the corresponding areas in 174 are left fairly rough. However this different treatment of surfaces might depend on the position of the two seats, that of 174 being so slanted as to effectively prevent a view of the rear of the figure. Moreover, the unusual size and quality of the two works, as mentioned above, and the striking correspondence of their dimensions, hardly likely to be coincidental, support the attempt to place the two panels together.

³⁵ Roux, *op.cit.* (supra, nn. 9 and 27), believes that such metopes would be the "typoi" by Timotheos. Roux also advocates carved coffers for the ceiling of the Asklepieion, but again the two reliefs would seem too large for this position.

173-174 which boldly project out of their base line.³⁶ It would be tempting to assign these reliefs to the fourth century B.C. temple of Apollo Maleatas on Mount Kynortion, especially since that entire sanctuary was greatly expanded in the second century A.D. by the Roman senator Antoninus. It is logical to assume that any damage to the temple proper would have been repaired at that time. But the plan of the building³⁷ indicates too small a structure for such large metopes. It is perhaps best, therefore, to consider the other alternative and assume that the head may not belong to the relief.³⁸

In summary: I suggest that the two reliefs from Epidauros, Athens NM 173 and 174, represent two different divinities: the former is a true image of Asklepios, perhaps after the cult statue by Thrasy-

³⁶ On triglyph altars see Roux, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 27) 402 and pl. 100:1.

³⁷ As given in *IG IV:1*; see supra, n. 22. The dimensions of the temple are given as approximately 15 x 8.40 m. in *Chronique des Fouilles, BCH 74* (1950) 304.

³⁸ The farther side of the head on no. 173 seems badly

medes of Paros; the latter shows an enthroned Apollo, father of Asklepios, as indicated by the more youthful rendering of the body, the long locks over shoulders and chest and the beardless head. Both reliefs belong to the fourth century B.C., though no. 174 displays a certain conservatism in the treatment of the drapery, which was perhaps considered appropriate to an Olympian divinity. The head of no. 173 seems of later date, probably Roman, and may have become associated with the relief through an ancient repair or a modern mistake.

It is to be hoped that the Greek archaeological authorities, who are so thoroughly investigating other Epidaurian sculptures at present, may throw light also on this particular point.

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weathered, more so than the proper right, nearer, side. This weathering could not have occurred had the head belonged to a relief, though the possibility of exposure to the elements after being broken from its background should not be entirely excluded.



FIG. 1. Athens, NM 173. Seated Asklepios from Epidauros

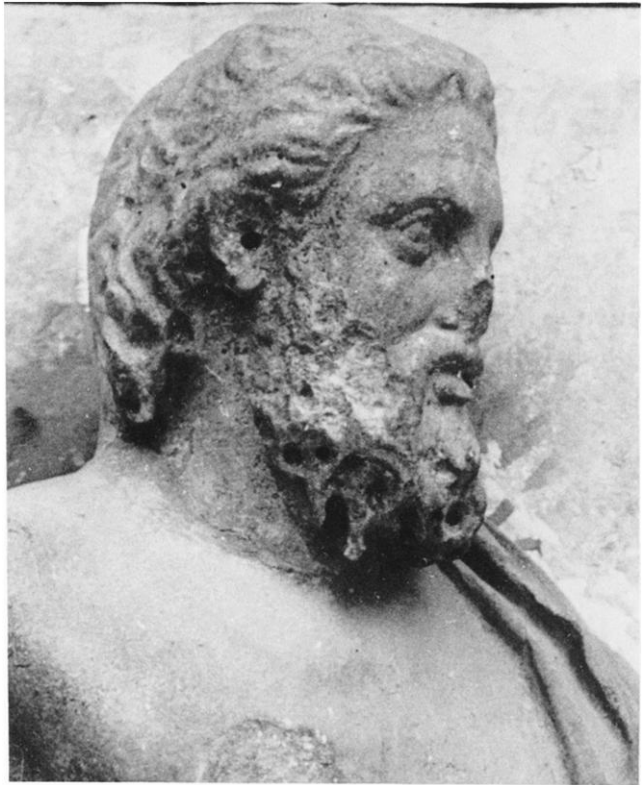


FIG. 4. Detail of fig. 1



FIG. 2. Athens, NM 174. Seated Apollo from Epidauros



FIG. 3. Detail of fig. 2



FIG. 6. Apollo from Cyrene, detail (courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



FIG. 5. Coin of Epidaurus, 4th century B.C.



FIG. 9. Obverse of Epidaurian coin, fig. 5: head of Asklepios



FIG. 10. Coin of Epidaurus: head of Apollo. Reverse similar to fig. 5 (all courtesy American Numismatic Society)



FIG. 7. Athens, National Museum. Base from Mantinea, detail of Apollo



FIG. 8. Athens, NM 1425, detail of base, after Picard, *op.cit.* (note 27) fig. 11, Asklepios