

# **Festschrift für Heide Froning**

Studies in Honour of  
Heide Froning

**Herausgeber/ Editors**

Taner Korkut – Britta Özen-Kleine



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## Tabula Gratulatoria

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Vuslat Müller-Karpe  
Wanda Papaefthimiou  
Winfried Held  
Wolfram Martini (†)  
Zoi Kotitsa

## Vorwort

Diese Festschrift ist Heide Froning, unserer lieben Freundin, Kollegin und Lehrerin gewidmet. Ihr 75. Geburtstag, den gemeinsam zu feiern uns eine große Freude ist, bildet den Anlass für diese Festgabe. Heide Froning kann an ihrem Jubiläumstag auf eine reiche und erfüllte universitäre Laufbahn zurückblicken. Sie wurde 1970 mit dem Thema „Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen“ an der Universität Würzburg als Schülerin von Erika Simon promoviert. Das Thema ihrer Dissertation bildet den Grundstein für einen ihrer Forschungsschwerpunkte, der im allumfassenden Sinn der Archäologie des griechischen Theaters gilt, ein Thema, welches sie bis heute nicht losgelassen hat. 1972/1973 wurde Heide Froning mit dem Reisestipendium des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts ausgezeichnet, im Anschluss daran folgte die Assistentenzeit am Institut in Würzburg. 1979 habilitierte sie sich mit dem Thema „Marmor-Schmuckreliefs mit griechischen Mythen im 1. Jh. v. Chr.“. In den folgenden Jahren als Akademische Rätin, später als Oberrätin erschien der Katalog der griechischen und italischen Vasen des Museums Folkwang in Essen sowie verschiedene Aufsätze zu Themen aus den Bereichen Skulptur, Keramik und Ikonographie. Diese Publikationen zeichnet bereits aus, was das wissenschaftliche Œuvre Heide Fronings insgesamt charakterisiert: Ausgangspunkt ist stets das Objekt, dessen fachmethodisch akkurate Bestimmung und Einordnung unerlässlich ist. Doch sind es die übergeordneten, die kulturhistorischen und -anthropologischen Fragestellungen, auf die das Wirken von ihr abzielt und deren Beantwortung sie als ihre eigentliche Herausforderung sieht. Dabei kann sich Heide Froning souverän eines überaus breiten allgemeinen und fachspezifischen Wissens sowie – begründet durch ihr Studium der Klassischen Philologie – hervorragender Kenntnisse der antiken Schriftquellen bedienen.

Nach Lehrstuhlvertretungen in Würzburg und Kiel erhielt Heide Froning 1991 den Ruf an das Seminar für Klassische Archäologie der Philipps-Universität Marburg, an dem sie bis zu ihrer Emeritierung 2009 wirkte. In dieser Zeit war sie die Seele des Seminars und widmete sich mit großem Engagement der Ausbildung der Studierenden. Diese fanden in ihr eine stets offene Ansprechpartnerin, die nicht nur in fachlichen, sondern oftmals auch in persönlichen Belangen mit Rat und Tat zur Seite stand. Aufgrund ihrer intensiv gepflegten Freundschaften zu Fachkolleginnen und Fachkollegen im In- und Ausland sowie eines aktiven wissenschaftlichen Netzwerkes fand sich schon bald in Marburg eine lebendige, internationale Schülerschaft ein, die bei ihr promovierte und die bis heute von diesem Netzwerk profitiert. Sagenumwoben ist dabei unter ihren Schülern der Zettelkatalog von Heide Froning, der – selbst zu den entlegensten Dingen befragt – noch erstaunliche Hinweise auf relevante Objekte und Forschungsliteratur hervorzauberte.

Neben der Ausbildung der Studierenden und dem oftmals schwierigen und kräftezehrenden universitären Verwaltungsalltag fand Heide Froning trotz allem noch Zeit, eigene Forschungen durchzuführen, wie etwa die Bearbeitung der figürlichen Terrakotten von Elis. Auch nach der Emeritierung verfolgt sie mit der ihr eigenen Wissbegierde und Lebhaftigkeit Projekte, die sich ihrem zweiten großen Forschungsschwerpunkt, der antiken Keramik, widmen und die sie immer wieder nach

Griechenland führen. Neben einem Projekt zur spätklassischen und hellenistischen Keramik von Pydna ist jüngst die Bearbeitung von rotfigurigen Krateren aus dem Kerameikos hinzugekommen.

Diese Festschrift, liebe Heide Froning, ist wie ein Spiegel Ihres ereignisreichen wissenschaftlichen Lebens – international, interdisziplinär und ganz der klassischen Antike gewidmet. Wir möchten Sie mit diesem Band als Lehrerin, Kollegin und Freundin feiern und hoffen, dass die verschiedenen Aufsätze Ihnen ein Genuss und Anregung zugleich sind.

Ad multos annos!

Taner Korkut/ Britta Özen-Kleine

## **Zum Geleit**

Mit dieser Festschrift feiern wir Heide Froning als Wissenschaftlerin und Lehrerin, die ihr Fach erst in Würzburg und seit 1992 in Marburg entscheidend geprägt hat. Dass ihr Wirken dabei keineswegs auf diese beiden Universitäten begrenzt war, wird nicht zuletzt durch ihre Schülerinnen und Schüler verdeutlicht, die heute nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern auch in Griechenland und der Türkei lehren und forschen. Diese Qualitäten Heide Fronings sind durch ihre Publikationen, Lehrveranstaltungen und Vorträge wohlbekannt.

Eine weniger öffentlichkeitswirksame Eigenschaft Heide Fronings ist die Gewissenhaftigkeit und Beharrlichkeit, mit der sie sich für das Marburger Archäologische Seminar und seine Sammlungen einsetzte. Die Annahme des Rufs nach Marburg war für sie zugleich die Annahme einer Verpflichtung für die Institution, an der sie fortan tätig war. Ein Herzensanliegen war und ist ihr dabei insbesondere die Antikensammlung und die Abguss-Sammlung, die sie in Forschung und Lehre stets rege nutzte und auch um einige Abgüsse, wie zuletzt die Porträtstatue des Menander, bereicherte. Es waren schwierige Jahre, in denen die Universität gezwungen war, zu sparen und zu kürzen. Und so ist es durchaus keine Selbstverständlichkeit, dass Heide Froning diese Festschrift im Rahmen einer akademischen Feier in der Alten Aula der Philipps-Universität überreicht bekommt, sollte doch in den Jahren um die Jahrtausendwende das Archäologische Seminar geschlossen werden und das Fach Klassische Archäologie aus dem Curriculum der Philipps-Universität verschwinden. Es ist dem jahrelangen und unermüdlichen Einsatz Heide Fronings zu verdanken, dass ihr Fach in Marburg weiterhin vertreten ist.

Seit ihrer Pensionierung ist Heide Froning weiterhin im und für das Archäologische Seminar tätig. Dies umfasst neben ihren Forschungen zu rotfigurigen Krateren vom Athener Kerameikos insbesondere die Mitherausgabe und Redaktion des Marburger Winckelmann-Programms, das nach einer längeren Unterbrechung seit 2014 wieder regelmäßig erscheint. So bereichert sie auch heute das akademische Leben des Archäologischen Seminars und trägt mit ihrem kritischen Verstand auch zum Gelingen mancher Abschlussarbeit bei. Möge Heide Froning ihr segensreiches Wirken noch lange Jahre fortsetzen!

Winfried Held



## Publikationen von Heide Froning

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## A WARRIOR RELIEF IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF TLOS

Tijen Yücel-Bahçetepe

The ancient city of Tlos, located in the west of the region known as Lycia in ancient times, now resides in the modern day village of Yaka within the district of Seydikemer of the Muğla province. With a position starting on the western slopes of the Akdağ Mountains and spanning all the way to the Eşen Valley, the city held a very active presence, especially during the Classical Period. Along with its neighbors Xanthos and Pınara, Tlos was among the region's largest cities, possessing six votes in the Lycian League<sup>1</sup>. An understanding of the city's importance began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when European explorers began visiting the region; their travel journals documented the sculptured rock-cut tombs of the acropolis as well as providing general information about the city<sup>2</sup>. Subsequently, many more researchers came and published articles regarding Tlos. Academic studies have been conducted including a surface analysis beginning in 1994 as well as archeological digs, continuing since their start in 2005. Influenced by these excavations, many academic studies were carried out, revealing information relevant to the Lycian region as a whole. These studies, drawing the city's history back to the prehistoric ages, also produced interesting finds from the Archaic and Classical Periods. Regarding the Classical Period in particular, tomb design and reliefs found on these tombs draw one's attention. These artifacts present important information regarding traits specific to Lycian plastic arts as well as providing access to details regarding the politics and arts of the city during the Classical Period. The Bellerophon Tomb, located at the entrance to the ancient city, and the shrine situated on the northern side of the acropolis can be considered to be among these artifacts<sup>3</sup>.

In addition to the reliefs on the aforementioned areas, another example is the classic Lycian-style tomb, reflecting period tomb design and decorated with warrior figures on its eastern façade, located on the northeast side of the Acropolis cliff (**Fig. 1**). Expressing insight into period art, this relief is tantamount to Lycian Art in terms of typology, style, and iconography. Mentioned and discussed in several academic works, this relief has led to the development of different theories regarding its iconography, origin, and dating. Within this article, we will try to interpret theories related to the Tlos Warrior Relief from an alternative point of view. This article will provide an iconographic assessment in place of a critique of style. Building from the Tlos samples and employing other regional examples with a similar iconographic style, our objective is to reveal what this relief was meant to convey.

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<sup>1</sup> Strabon XIV.3.3.

<sup>2</sup> Fellows 1938, 237-241; Fellows 1940, 132-136; Fellows 1852, 177-180.

<sup>3</sup> Korkut 2015, 12-20; Korkut 2016, 88-102.

The entrance of the rock tomb faces towards the south and has a façade made up of an arrangement of two panels. Entrance to the tomb is accessed via a sliding door on the right panel. The roof portion is comprised of a large, fascia-adorned stone block sitting atop the tomb (**Fig. 2**). The chamber possesses a square plan measuring 2 x 2 meters. In the area used as the resting place of the body, we find an L-shaped bed arrangement<sup>4</sup>.

At the entrance of the modestly designed rock tomb lays a nine-lined Greek inscription<sup>5</sup>. The most unique and noteworthy feature of this tomb and basis of this article is the warrior relief on its eastern façade, a manifestation of our artistic understanding of the region. This relief is located on a smoothed, rectangular section of the tomb's eastern façade. Within this area, whose edges are defined by a frame-like engraving, there is a scene in relief depicted in two belts of friezes. To the right of each of these friezes sit rectangular niche-like compositions. The lower frieze of the relief panel depicts two groups of two warriors each while the upper frieze displays a total of six warriors in these groups of two<sup>6</sup> (**Fig. 3**). With each group displaying a different battle position, the relief panel's lower frieze appears to portray the two-person groups of warriors in combat. As for the scenes of the upper frieze, one warrior championing over another is depicted. A closer examination of the details of this depiction, which at first glance clearly appears to be a battle scene, reveals a narrative starting with the paired combat in the frieze to the lower left of the panel and ending with the victory of one of the warriors in the left-most corner of the upper frieze. From this we can infer that the relief depicts each stage of the continued combat of the two-warrior group (**Fig. 4**).

This relief scene, located on the rock-cut tombs of the Tlos acropolis, possesses iconography familiar within the Lycian region which is most commonly associated with tombs. Although used frequently in the region, each exposition harbors individual variations within its content. The main theme is of a shield wielding warrior, usually in military dress<sup>7</sup>, at times portrayed with at least one shield other than the one in hand or reaching out towards the shield of his opponent<sup>8</sup>. Utilizing the same iconographic theme, these artifacts are present in cities throughout the Lycian region between the Archaic and Late Classical Periods<sup>9</sup>. They were especially prevalent in the region

<sup>4</sup> Işın – Yıldız 2017, 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription found near the tomb entrance appears to have been written during a later period and used for a second time. For deciphering and interpretation of the inscription see: Işın – Yıldız 2017, 95-97; TAM II Nr. 600.

<sup>6</sup> Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232-235; Işın – Yıldız 2017, 95.

<sup>7</sup> Although the depiction on the Isinda Monument is described as a warrior figure, whether or not the figures are clothed or nude is unclear due to surface deterioration.

<sup>8</sup> In the scenes of the compositions found in the Myra Tomb 42, Limyra Teburseli Tomb, Köybaşı, and the Tlos Izraza Monument, depictions of a warrior reaching out for another warrior's shield are present. Some samples from the region are explained with a shortened narration. The scene found on the cover of the Xanthos Dancers Tomb shows a figure in military clothing standing frontally on a high podium. He holds his own shield in his left hand while raising a second shield with his right hand. This narration, classified as 'shield victory' iconography, doesn't portray the moment of battle but is completed with the raised shield. A similar scene is depicted on the Archaic Era Lions Tomb, see: Fdx V, 97-104 Drawing 33; some examples are portrayed within a narrative progression. Alongside the shields seized at the end of these warrior's combat pictured on the Isinda Monument, the defeated opponents are represented one after another in these scenes, as well as captive figures. see: Akurgal 1941, 52-98; Özhanlı 2001, 66-99.

<sup>9</sup> Benda-Weber 2005, 149-150; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 322; Marksteiner 2002, 253. Early samples include the narrations on eastern face of the Xanthos Lions Tomb and the eastern and southern faces of Isinda Pillar. As for Classic

during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>10</sup>. As for the Tlos sample, until now it has been dated to the first half of the Classical Period with reference to the artifact's typology and style<sup>11</sup>. Despite the wearing of the materials used in the relief face, the dating of this sample demonstrates a concurrent span of time. This dating, based on typology and stylistic factors, is also inclusive of other the reliefs in the region. In addition to the Tlos example, scenes possessing similar iconography have been located in 14 separate reliefs of six different Lycian cities<sup>12</sup>. Although the narrations of these scenes all fall into the same category, their content is interpreted differently<sup>13</sup>. Despite being discussed from various perspectives, many questions regarding the iconography and origin of this composition still remain unanswered. When interpreting the relief scene from an iconographic standpoint, we are confronted with different denotations of the composition. Within literature regarding our subject, the shield is classified with different terms such as victory, theft, and acquisition, depending on the period<sup>14</sup>. Of these, victory is emphasized especially in the samples from the Archaic Period<sup>15</sup>. As for the artifacts dating back to the Classical Age, the combat's most exciting moment (assuming that is what is being portrayed) is characterized with the theft of the shield<sup>16</sup>. Categorizing these based on the assumption that there are periodical differences between them has created confusion<sup>17</sup>. Although these groupings are generally accepted, one or two examples dated to the Classical Era were interpreted as representations of victory. Whether or not these examples bear resemblance to those of the Archaic Period is debatable. There are compelling disparities in the explanations of artifacts dated to different periods but portraying the same iconography.

The topic of this paper, the Tlos sample, iconographically speaking fits into the category of shield victory, theft, or acquisition. Due to the particularities of the period it has been dated to as well as its composition of a two person combat scene, it has been characterized as 'shield theft'. With a general glance at the scene however, it becomes apparent that this classification is incorrect. This is because an exciting and action-packed combat scene takes center stage, along with the fact that at the end of this battle a defeated figure is portrayed stretched out on the ground. The laying figure's shield is pictured as being held up by the right hand of the standing warrior. In addition, the laying figure, although depicted wearing clothes at the beginning of the scene, is now portrayed naked on account of his loss in combat. The visual expression of this relief emphasizes victory as the content of the scene fails to reflect the Classical Period's 'shield theft' narration. At heart,

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Period samples, the southern wall of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos and its tomb cover as well as the seventh panel of the western frieze and the southern outer wall of the Heroon of Trysa make up a total of four different narrations. In addition, the Tebursseli rock tomb of Limyra, Myra Tomb 42, Köybaşı Tomb 6, and the Tlos Izraza Monument's C2 scene comprise the remaining period examples.

<sup>10</sup> Borchhardt – Neumann – Schulz 1988, 110-115.

<sup>11</sup> Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232-235; Işın –Yıldız 2017, 94-95.

<sup>12</sup> Similar iconography can be found in the Lycian cities of Limyra, Myra, Trysa, İsinda, Xanthos, Tlos and Köybaşı.

<sup>13</sup> Akurgal 1941, 52-98; Benda-Weber 2005, 149-150; Borchhardt 1975, 125-126; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232-235; Marksteiner 2002, 253-256.

<sup>14</sup> Pirson 2006, 642.

<sup>15</sup> Marksteiner 2002, 253.

<sup>16</sup> Benda-Weber 2005, 149-150; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232-235.

<sup>17</sup> In regards to the 'shield theft' classification of these scenes, H. H. Nieswandt's article titled 'Zum Inschriften Pfeiler von Xanthos' discusses the fact of victory and argues for the theory stating that these scenes reflect victory. See: Nieswandt 1995, 33 Footnote 63.

regardless of how they were categorized, it appears that these scenes reflect the spirit of Lycia and the Lycians. Only a victorious warrior, having overcome his opponent, would proudly display this on his tomb. Words like ‘theft’ and ‘acquisition’ seem to contradict with the Lycian region’s culture and social structure in which terms of value include those such as warrior, courage, hero, and valiance. In addition, why would there be a loss of meaning in the same iconography used in the same geographical area since the Archaic Period? The words theft and victory don’t explain why the arts of these lands, with their seemingly enduring traditions, would sustain a loss of meaning within these narrations. In fact, this article regarding the Tlos relief, clearly proves that this categorization is incorrect. Depicting each individual step of a battle in which the last scene portrays a warrior overcoming his opponent, proudly reflects his victory. In addition, two early examples of ‘victory-shield’ narrations, each interpreted differently, can be found on the Isinda Monument (**Fig. 5a-b**) and the Lion Tomb at Xanthos (**Fig. 6**). In the Isinda relief, the victorious opponents are assembled on one panel, while their shields are pictured in a different area<sup>18</sup>. Another example featuring a sequence of more than two shields is found in Xanthos on the Inscribed Pillar (**Fig. 7**) which dates to the Classical Period<sup>19</sup>. As for the warrior relief carved into the façade of Tlos Acropolis’s rock tomb, except for a difference in form, there should be nothing setting it apart from the Isinda sample. This is because it portrays each stage of the battle that the tomb’s owner fought in, and just like the Isinda example, the last scene depicts the owner standing victorious over his opponent, whom is now naked and laying on the ground<sup>20</sup>. In this respect, it illustrates no difference from its predecessors from the Archaic Period, especially that of the theme found in Isinda. Thus we can assert that the same iconographical meaning has been employed since the Archaic Period<sup>21</sup>. When considering the previously mentioned samples, it is apparent that the iconography utilized within these artifacts has encountered no loss of meaning on its journey from the Archaic Period deep into the Classical Era. Such that the case is that the creators of these reliefs used different forms to express the same iconography. Their common denominator is the reflection of the honorable, virtuous warrior spirit of the Lycians, visible within these battle scenes which emphasize the winners’ seizure of his opponent’s weapon. Since the Archaic Period artist used the shield to symbolize victory and plunder age, interpretations which don’t place due significance on this feeling of victory in examples from the Classical Period conflict with the general sentiments of the region. The victory of warriors featured on artifacts of the Classical Period as well as the way in which this victory was displayed is a continuation of Archaic Period customs. In this regard, the use of reliefs depicting this ‘shield victory’ narration during both eras seems valid. Thanks to this argument, these scenes comprise a more meaningful place in the scope of the art of the region<sup>22</sup>.

Other matters of discussion regarding these scenes are related to their origin. We encounter the earliest examples of these ‘shield victory’ narrations in Urartu and Late Assyrian art, according

<sup>18</sup> The illustrated narrative is said to be symbolic and intangible. See: Benda-Weber 2005, 149.

<sup>19</sup> The shields obtained by the warrior are arranged in a line atop the pillar. See: Bruns-Özgan 1987, 290 V6 Taf. 8, 1-3.

<sup>20</sup> In addition to the Isinda sample, the Dancer Tomb dated to the Classical Period, which depicts a warrior displaying the shield he’s holding, seems to be a continuation of the shield raised in the hand of the standing soldier in profile, pictured on the Archaic Era Xanthos Lions Tomb.

<sup>21</sup> Yücel 2012, 27-29.

<sup>22</sup> Yücel 2012, 27-29.



to a widely accepted theory<sup>23</sup>. This theory, which has gained recognition, establishes that the link between these eastern examples and the Archaic Period Lycian samples is the ‘victory shield’ theme. The reason why samples from the Classical Era are considered to be ‘shield theft’ themed is due to the influence of Greek art<sup>24</sup>.

The origin of these artifacts, which have been grouped into separate categories and iconographically evaluated, seems to follow along the same lines. This is due to the fact that the Archaic Period’s emphasis on victory, portrayals of both the victorious and defeated warriors together and a last scene depicting the winner in a pose of glory after defeating his opponent are not present in Greek art<sup>25</sup>. In contrast, reliefs depicting the winning and losing warriors together as well as the scorn and disgrace placed on the defeated are emphasized in eastern (Urartu/Assyrian) art<sup>26</sup>. Although uncommon, some examples of similar scenes, identified as belonging to the Classical Period, are seen in Greek arts. The theme of seizing the opponent’s weapon arose in Greece during the Mycenaean Period, which is classified as belonging to this era<sup>27</sup>. The warrior’s defeat and loss of honor is represented by the seizure of his shield during the battle<sup>28</sup>. One of the differences between Lycian and Greek scenes is the placement of the victor and the vanquished. In the scenes of the Lycian samples it’s easy to distinguish the winner from the loser. In the battle scenes of Lycia and the East, the fact that the one soldier has been defeated in combat is clearly expressed; in Greek art these two-person battles predominately appear to portray a sort of ‘balance’<sup>29</sup>. When considering all the examples in this comparison, we must not ignore differences in the interpretations of previously mentioned scenes of Greek art and those samples from Lycia. In Greek art, implements of war represent the honor of the warriors, whereas in Lycian art the seizure of your opponent’s shield emphasizes a different notion, the victory of the winning warrior. Due to the discrepancy between these notions, it would be incorrect to say that shield victory sentiment found in Lycian art was caused by Greek influence<sup>30</sup>.

Another topic that must be touched on when discussing the Tlos sample is treating every combat scene like a composition. One of the first things that come to mind in relation to Lycian art, these

<sup>23</sup> Marksteiner 2002, 253.

<sup>24</sup> Benda-Weber 2005, 150; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232-235; Marksteiner 2002, 253-256, expresses that the ‘shield victory’ theme is found only in this region during the Classical Period but that the scene categorized as ‘shield theft’ infrequently shows up in other regions.

<sup>25</sup> Akurgal 1941, 66; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 233.

<sup>26</sup> Benda-Weber 2005, 150.

<sup>27</sup> Benda-Weber 2005, 150.

<sup>28</sup> Borchhardt emphasizes that the ‘shield theft’ narration was unknown in the world of Greek art and that a similar theme is seen in the friezes of the Phigalia Bassae Temple. See: Borchhardt 1975, 126; However, another article uses the same sample to argue that shield theft motif was commonly used in late period samples and didn’t originate from Lycia. See: Borchhardt 2000, 17; Akurgal and Bruns-Özgan, departing from the Bassae Temple frieze example express that these narrations occurred in Greek art, but refer especially to the frequent use of the theme of weapon theft. See: Akurgal 1941, 64; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 234-235.

<sup>29</sup> Özhanlı 2001, 66-99; Pirson 2006, 639-646.

<sup>30</sup> Bruns-Özgan, mention that Lycian artifacts dating to the Classical Period are categorized as ‘shield theft’ and correlate these scenes with those of Greece, Macedonia, and Scythia to theorize that they are not Lycian. However, the emphasis here is on the shield theft theme. They make no mention of Lycian samples from the Archaic Period or any relationship between them. See: Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232-235.

scenes of war and combat, began to be reflected with various forms and typology starting in the Archaic Period<sup>31</sup>. These scenes, generally a part of tomb art, often portray high ranking dynasts, generals, or soldiers<sup>32</sup>. In these war-themed scenes reflecting the accomplishments and victories of the soldier, he is sometimes portrayed alone, while at other times the scene depicts a large group<sup>33</sup>. These depictions also illustrate warriors on horseback in addition to pedestrian combatants<sup>34</sup>. The figures in these scenes are portrayed in different positions<sup>35</sup>. The combination of the scenes within these narrations, which influenced the creation and formation of Lycian art, also interacted with the art of Greece and the East. However, scenes resembling the eastern tradition (such as Assyrian or Persian) or those created in the east, along with the scenes traditionally used on the Greek mainland were used in Lycian art, creating their own distinctive rendition.

In conclusion, regarding their iconographic meaning, the fact that so many different positions are portrayed as a part of the battle scene depicted in the Tlos Warrior Relief makes them even more worthy of study. The Tlos sample is significant because it allows us the chance to observe iconographically similar imagery of the scenes present throughout Lycia in one place<sup>36</sup>. Samples similar to the first scene of the Tlos Warrior Relief in which the front-most warrior turns from right to left descending in for an attack include: the C2 scene of the Izraza Monument<sup>37</sup> located within the ancient city of Tlos (**Fig. 10**), on the pediment of Myra Tomb 42<sup>38</sup>, on the Teburselli Tomb at Limyra<sup>39</sup>, and in the A2 scene on the southern exterior wall of the Trysa Monument<sup>40</sup> (**Fig. 8**). An example comparable to the second group scene is seen in the A13 scene of the upper frieze on the western inner wall of the Trysa Heroon, the third group scene is comparable to the A7 scene of the upper frieze on the western inner wall of the Trysa Heroon as well as the Köybaşı sample<sup>41</sup>. The narration of the fourth group is seen in the B7 scene of the lower frieze on the Trysa Heroon western inner wall<sup>42</sup>, in which the seizure of the fallen warrior's shield is depicted. Examples similarly emphasizing the victory of the last scene are found in Isinda Monument<sup>43</sup>, the Lion Tomb<sup>44</sup>, and the

<sup>31</sup> Pirson's research based on the narrations found on the reliefs of the Lycian Region ultimately resulted in the information that scenes featuring war themes make up just 17% of total scenes, attaining a secondary rank. See: Pirson 2006, 639.

<sup>32</sup> Pirson 2006, 639.

<sup>33</sup> Scenes of large groups were traditionally used in the Lycian Region. See: Pirson 2006, 639.

<sup>34</sup> Along with narrations portraying war scenes taking place during combat, prisoners of war, city blockades, and those portraying the victory next to the defeated warrior were also present among scene themes.

<sup>35</sup> Many regional examples of various scenes similar to the depictions of the warrior in a pose of victory, of lunges to attack, or laying, naked, collapsing figures.

<sup>36</sup> At the same time, compositions similar to the narrations found in the Tlos sample resemble the multiple scenes found on many monuments within the region. We can see an example of the variety of these two-person combat compositions on the Xanthos Nereid Monument and the Trysa Monument.

<sup>37</sup> Borchhardt 1976, 77-78.

<sup>38</sup> Borchhardt 1975, 125-126 Taf. 68A.

<sup>39</sup> Borchhardt 1988, 110-115 Fig. 26; Bruns-Özgan 1987 Taf. 33,1, 34,1-3.

<sup>40</sup> Benndorf – Niemann 1889, Taf. XIV, XI; Oberleitner 1994, Fig. 38-66.

<sup>41</sup> Benndorf – Niemann 1889, 135; Bruns-Özgan 1987 Taf. 30, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Oberleitner 1994 Fig. 38-66.

<sup>43</sup> Akurgal 1941, 52-98; Özhanlı 2001, 66-99.

<sup>44</sup> Akurgal 1941, 3-51.

Tomb of Dancers<sup>45</sup> (**Fig. 9**). When we consider all the artifacts making up the subject of this paper, which have been evaluated within their own categories above, the significance of the warrior's victory is proven once again. Therefore, when we evaluate all of these artifacts together, it would not be incorrect to say that the iconography depicted on Archaic Period examples such as the Isinda Monument and the Lion Tomb share the same feeling as and were continued through the Classical Period. In this respect, the commonalities between samples from the Archaic and Classical Periods are their emphasis on the personal victory and success of the warrior.

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<sup>45</sup> Fdx V, 97-104 Fig. 33.

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## Illustrations

All illustrations are used from the Tlos Excavation Archive.



Fig. 1: Acropolis of Tlos



Fig. 2: Entrance and East Facade of the Rock-Cut Tomb



Fig. 3: Tlos Warrior Relief

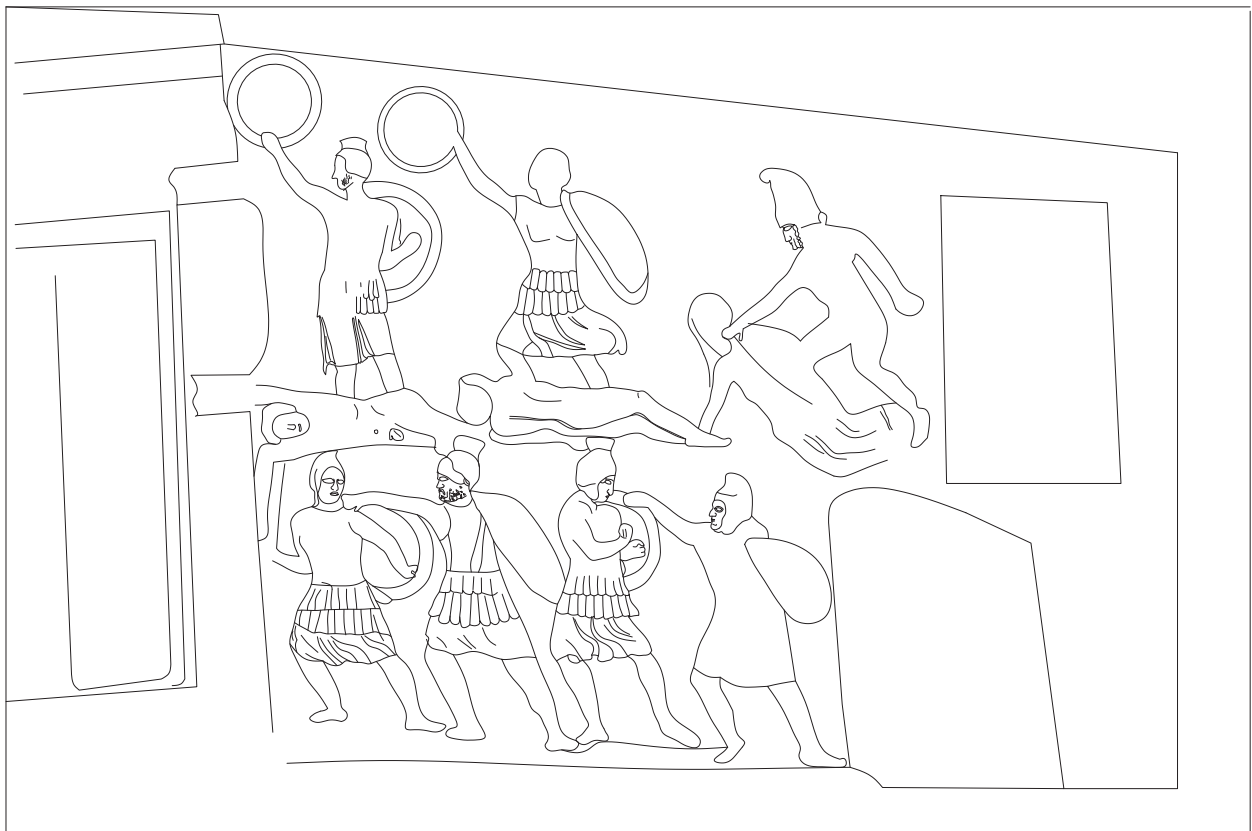


Fig. 4: Tlos Warrior Relief



Fig. 5 a-b: South and East Side of the Isinda Monument



Fig. 6: Detail of the Lion Tomb at Xanthos



Fig. 7: Detail of the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos

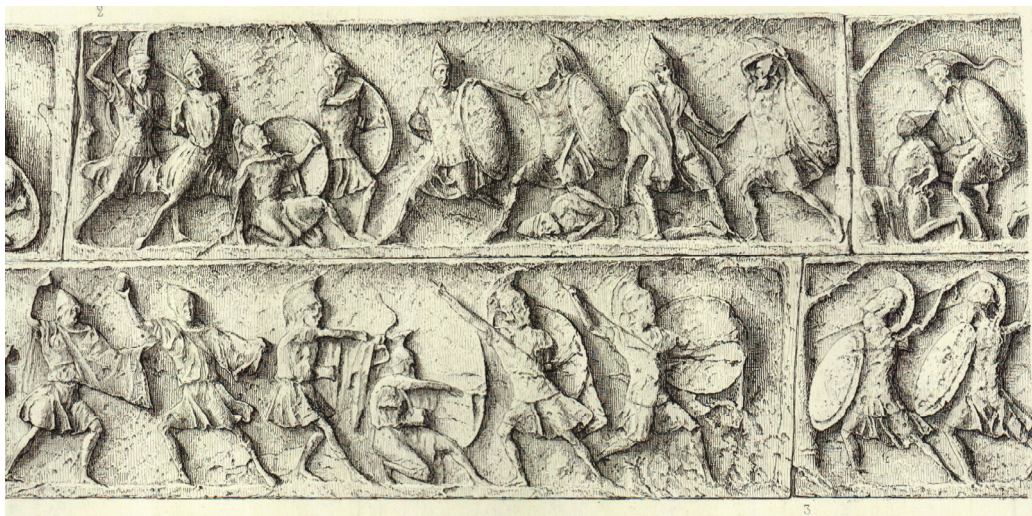


Fig. 8: Exterior of South Wall of the Heroon of Trysa



Fig. 9: Tomb of Dancers at Xanthos



Fig. 10: Izraza Monument at Tlos