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Tlos, Kampfszene auf einem tragbaren Monumentalblock (Inv. Tlos 2045)

Foto: © Tlos Excavation Archive

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New Discovery of two Classical Anathemata at Tlos in Lycia

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Werke der Malerei und Bildhauerei aus den frühen Perioden der lykischen Zivilisation in Südwestanatolien haben sich aufgrund der vielen Naturkatastrophen wie Erdbeben und der Besiedlung aus späteren Perioden meist nicht bis heute erhalten. Die frühesten bekannten Werke lykischer Plastik sind vor allem in den Bereichen der Nekropolen zu finden, so auch in der antiken Stadt Tlos, deren Nekropolen an den nördlichen und östlichen Hängen der Akropolis errichtet wurden. Hier findet sich plastische Kunst überwiegend auf Felsgräbern. Die frühesten dieser Felsgräber stammen aus der frühklassischen Zeit. In Tlos wurden daneben tragbare Monumentalblöcke mit Reliefs zu verschiedenen Themen aus der klassischen Epoche gefunden. Das Izraza-Monument, das aus einem Monolithblock in kubischer Form besteht und in zwei Ebenen angeordnet ist, ist eines der wichtigsten Beispiele dieser Gattung. Bei den Ausgrabungen in Tlos wurden auch zahlreiche Relieffragmente gefunden, die noch nicht veröffentlicht wurden und zu dieser Gattung gehören. Es ist schwierig, ihre architektonische Form und Funktion zu bestimmen. Zwei neue Funde dieser für Lykien spezifischen Monumentengruppe wurden bei den Ausgrabungen im Jahr 2021 unversehrt geborgen. Sie sind aus lokalem Kalkstein gefertigt und tragen Reliefs mit Darstellungen aus dem Leben ihres Besitzers. Derartige tragbare Monumente mit Reliefs sind in Lykien selten. Die zunehmende Zahl von Funden in Tlos weist darauf hin, dass es sich um eine einzigartige Tradition dieser Stadt handelt. Neben der Typologie der Monumentengruppe und den ikonographischen Merkmalen der Reliefs deuten epigraphische Daten darauf hin, dass solche tragbaren Artefakte für ganz bestimmte Zwecke, etwa als Anatheme, hergestellt wurden.

ABSTRACT

Most works of painting and sculpture from the early periods of the Lycian civilization in southwest Anatolia have not survived to the present day due to the many natural disasters such as earthquakes and settlements from later periods. The earliest known findings of Lycian plastic art are mostly found in the necropoleis, as in the ancient city of Tlos where the necropolis areas are on the northern and eastern slopes of the acropolis that borders the city center from the west.

Here, plastic art is generally found on rock tombs. The earliest of these rock tombs date from the Early Classical Period. The portable monumental blocks with reliefs of various topics dated to the Classical Period were also found in Tlos. The Izraza Monument, which is made of a monolithic block in cubic form and arranged on two levels, is one of the most important examples known within the group of portable monumental blocks. During the excavations at Tlos, many relief fragments, which have not yet been published, were also found to belong to this type of portable monumental block. It is difficult to determine their architectural form and purpose. Two new findings of this monument group, which is very special for Lycia, were recovered intact during the 2021 excavations in. They are made of local limestone and the reliefs on them include depictions of the life of the owner of the monument. This kind of portable monument with reliefs is not very common in Lycia. The increasing number of finds in Tlos indicates that this a unique tradition of this city. In addition to the typology of the monument group and the iconographic features of the reliefs, epigraphic data indicate that such portable artefacts were produced for very specific purposes such as anathems.

ÖZET

Anadolu'nun güney batısındaki Likya uygarlığının erken dönemlerine ait resim ve heykel sanatı uygulamaları bölgede yaşanan deprem gibi pek çok doğal afet ve sonraki dönemlerin yerleşimleri nedeniyle günümüze ulaşamamıştır. Likya sanatı ile ilgili bilinen erken örnekler daha çok nekropol alanlarında ele geçmektedir. Tlos Antik Kenti plastik sanatı ile ilgili buluntuların büyük bir çoğunluğu yine kent merkezini batı yönden sınırlayan akropol yükseltisinin kuzey ve doğu yamaçlarında kurulmuş nekropol alanında tespit edilmiştir. Tlos nekropolünde bulunan plastik sanatı örnekleri genelde kaya mezarları üzerinde yer almaktadır. Bu kaya mezarlarının en erken örnekleri Erken Klasik Dönem'den itibaren tarihlenmektedir. Ancak Tlos Antik Kenti'nde üzerinde farklı içeriklerde kabartmalar bulunan Klasik Döneme tarihlenen taşınabilir anıtsal bloklar da ele geçmektedir. Monolit bir bloktan kübik formulu olarak 2 katlı düzenlenmiş Izraza Anıtı taşınabilir anıtsal bloklar grubu içerisinde bilinen en önemli örneklerdendir.

Tlos'ta yürütülen kazı çalışmaları esnasında karşılaşılan ve henüz yayınlanmayan pek çok kabartma parçasının da bu tür taşınabilir anıtsal bloğa ait olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Ancak mevcut örnekler ışığında anıtların mimari formunu ve kullanım amacını tespit etmek güçtür. Likya Bölgesi için çok özel olan bu anıt grubuna ait 2 yeni buluntu son olarak 2021 yılı kazı çalışmaları esnasında sağlam olarak ele geçmiştir. Söz konusu eserler yerel kireçtaşıdan üretilmiş olup üzerindeki kabartmalarda anıt sahibinin hayatı ile ilgili anlatımlara yer verilmiştir. Taşınabilir bu tür anıt geleneği Likya Bölgesi'nde pek yaygın değildir. Ancak Tlos'ta ele geçen ve sayıları gün geçtikçe artan buluntular ışığında kente özgü böyle bir geleneğin olduğu rahatlıkla söylenebilir. Anıt tipolojisi ve kabartmaların ikonografik özellikleri yanında epigrafik veriler bu tür taşınabilir eserlerin «anathem» gibi çok özel amaçlı üretildiğine işaret etmektedir.

INTRODUCTION

The Lycian Civilization, which dominated the southwest of Anatolia, is an important culture that stands out with its unique language, belief system, urbanism and architectural details.¹ Many natural disasters, such as earthquakes and the settlements of later periods, have largely destroyed the early Lycian urbanism.² Therefore, discoveries related to Lycian art and culture are mostly found in early necropoleis. It is generally accepted that the Lycians appeared on the stage of history when the Persian king Harpagos conquered Lycia in 546 BC.

Even the findings of Lycian art and culture that have survived in the necropoleis are dated to the Persian period.³ Lycian necropoleis are places where tomb architecture, reflecting the local building tradition, stands out. Especially the wooden building tradition of the region is reflected in the rock-cut tombs.⁴ In addition, monumental pillar tombs and Lycian-type sarcophagi are tomb types unique to the region.⁵

The majority of the finds of the plastic art of the ancient city of Tlos were also found in the necropolis (Fig. 1). Here, the funerary monuments, which were established on the northern and eastern slopes of the acropolis bordering the city center of Tlos to the west, date from the Early Classical Period. The rock tomb of Bellerophon is one of the earliest grave monuments in the necropolis.⁶ On the pediment of the Bellerophon rock tomb is a bust of the sky god Trggas flanked by two lions. This is the second rock-cut tomb in Lycia with divine depictions after the Harpy Pillar Monumental Tomb at Xanthos.⁷ As in the Harpy Monument, narratives about the owner of the tomb are included here. On the south wall of the front room, the tomb owner, Hriktibili, is depicted killing the Chimaira on the winged horse Pegasus, identifying himself with Bellerophon. For this reason, the tomb is called Bellerophon Rock Tomb in the literature.⁸

The reliefs on the south and east walls of the open-air sanctuary on the rock-strewn area on the northern slope of the Tlos acropolis, close to the dynastic palace complex, are also dated to the Early Classic Period.⁹ The rider figure depicted on the south wall carved into the main rock of the sanctuary symbolizes the sky god Trggas. The eastern wall has a bull relief as a divine symbol.

* We would like to express our gratitude to the archaeologist Tuğba Teze and to Ralf Seidl, Marburg, for the drawing of the monuments. We would also like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bilsen Özdemir, Dr. Uygur Ozan Usanmaz and Dr. Tijen Yücel-Bahçetepe for their support during the different stages of this work. We are very grateful to Prof. Dr. Heide Froning for her reading and contributions to this article.

1 For Lycian history and culture in general, see the most recent İşkan – Dündar 2016.

2 For example, recent excavations in some cities such as Tlos have shown that the Lycians have been living in this region continuously since the Epipaleolithic Period. During the excavations in the city center of Tlos, settlement layers extending uninterruptedly from the Late Neolithic Period to the end of the Archaic Period were found one on top of the other. The settlement history observed in the Tavabaşı caves in the south of Tlos goes back to the Early Neolithic Period. The lowest layer of the Girmeler mound settlement north of Tlos is dated to 14,000 years ago. The Girmeler settlement is one of the rare sites with Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements on a Mesolithic layer, see Takaoğlu *et al.* 2014, 111–118; Korkut *et al.* 2019, 25–44; Erdoğan *et al.* 2021, 299–320.

3 The earliest known examples are the Lion Tomb of Xanthos (560–530 BC), the Pillar Tomb at Isinda (560–530 BC), the Harpy Pillar Tomb at Xanthos (520–500 BC) and the Tomb of Bellerophon at Tlos (500–475 BC). However, the relief of the bull and lion at Xanthos are dated earlier than the beginning of the Achaemenid Period, see Courtis 2003, 24–26 fig. 5.

4 For the architecture of the Lycian rock tombs, see Kuban 2016.

5 For Lycian sarcophagi, see Özer 2016.

6 For a comprehensive evaluation of the Bellerophon Rock Tomb based on the new finds, see Korkut *et al.* 2017.

7 The figural narratives depicted on the four sides of the Harpy Monument have been interpreted in many different ways. According to the most recent proposals, the figures in the north-south reliefs depict the tomb owner (Kybernis), while the east-west depictions depict a divine theme (Demeter, Persephone, Hades), see Froning 2002/2003.

8 It is written in Lycian on the flattened rock surface just to the left of the rock grave that the tomb was built by Hriktibili, ruler of Tlos, for his entire family, see Korkut *et al.* 2017, 26 fig. 14.

9 Korkut 2016, 90–93.

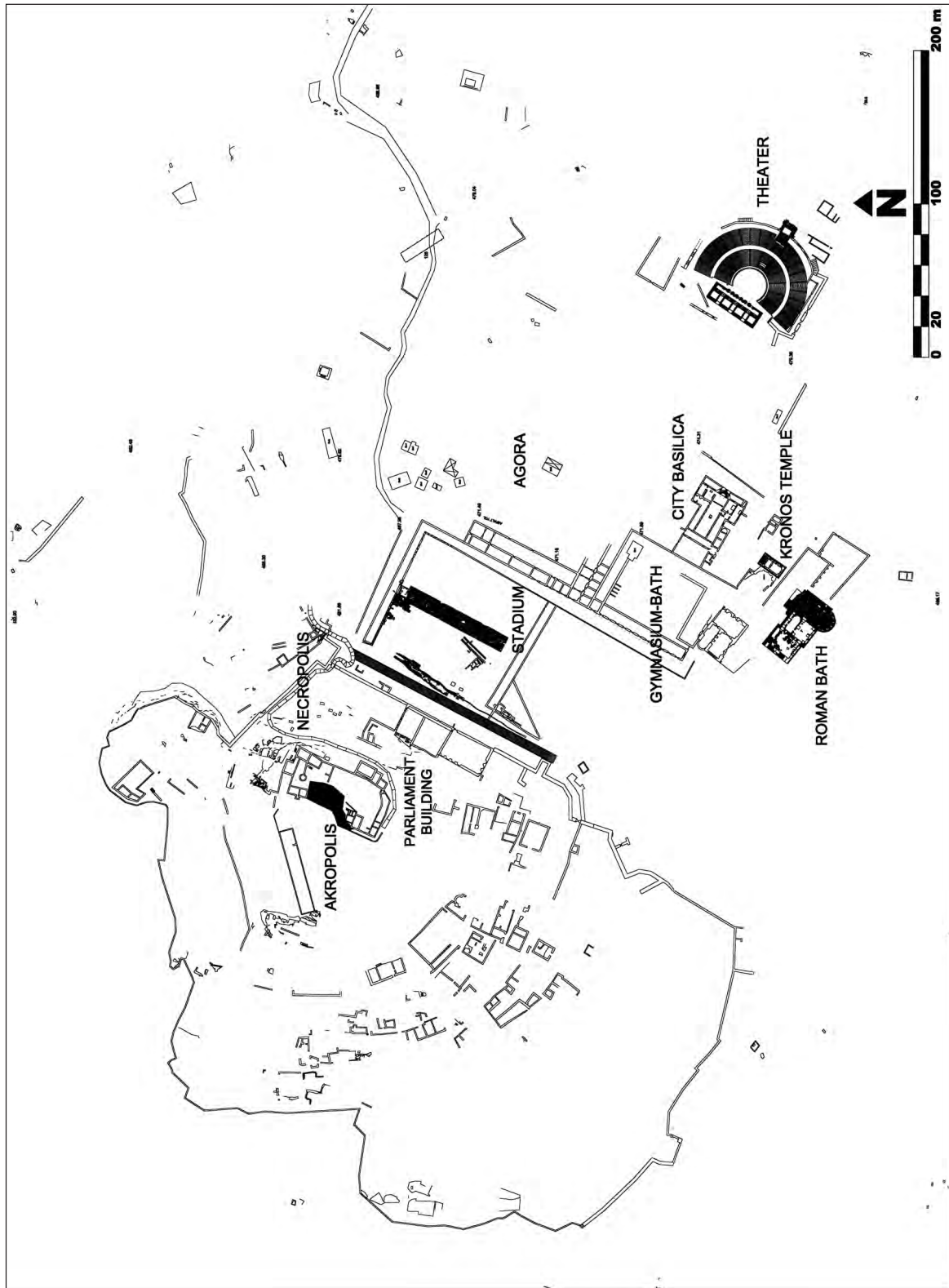


Fig. 1: City plan of Tlos

On the exterior of the rock grave numbered Tlos 18-44, dated to the first half of the 4th century BC, there are two relief panels in two friezes, framed in a rectangular form in connection with its first use.¹⁰ The lower frieze of the panel depicts a total of four warriors in pairs. The upper frieze illustrates six warriors in pairs. In both friezes, the owner of the tomb is in a battle with his enemy and is glorified in the position of taking his shield.¹¹

Among the Late Classical artefacts, three bull reliefs are of particular importance.¹² They are arranged in the form of orthostats and carved on more than one block. The first relief depicts a bull moving to the right with both hind legs up to the hips on a square block. The second relief depicts only the right hind leg and tail of a bull in the same position. In the third relief, unlike the other bull figures, only the right front leg of the bull is depicted. Nevertheless, it is understood that this bull is also moving to the right. It has been observed that the bull-figure orthostats were used as spolia in the sanctuary where the temple of Kronos was located. However, it is not known exactly where these reliefs were originally used. The sacral content of these reliefs suggests that they decorated the enclosure walls (*temenos*) of a sanctuary or a heroön.

The pictorial narratives belonging to a monumental block in relief, recovered in five fragments, constitute another group of finds dating to the beginning of the Late Classic Period.¹³ These relief fragments were recovered from a rock tomb in the necropolis area, where they were used as spolia to cover the façade during the Roman occupation phase. The figures on the reliefs are highly damaged. The helmet on the head of the figure on one fragment and a part of the clothed torso are preserved. The figures are bordered from above by a row of eggs. On the other hand, there is a Lycian inscription on one of the relief fragments. Considering the typology of the reliefs, it is clear that this is a portable, free-standing, rectangular monumental block.

The famous Izraza Monument, which has been referenced in different studies to date, also belongs to the group of portable monumental blocks.¹⁴ It is dated to 350–340 BC and made of a monolith block in cubic form with two stories. The monument, which was

completed with the restoration of six fragments, has reliefs on four sides on the upper and lower levels. Some parts of these reliefs and the upper part of the monument are broken and missing. In these reliefs, Izraza, the ruler of Tlos, is glorified through various narratives, such as battle scenes in different positions in a dual struggle, a scene of an athlete and his servant, and a scene of a city siege. Furthermore, the name Izraza is written in Lycian on two different friezes in the lower level.

This tradition of portable monuments with reliefs is not very common in Lycia. However, in the light of the increasing number of finds from Tlos, it is safe to say that such a tradition is unique to the city.¹⁵ Two new finds belonging to this monument group, which is very specific for Lycia, were recovered intact during the excavations of the theater at Tlos in 2021 (Figs. 2a.b; 3). They were produced from local limestone. A fountain structure was added to the northern analemma wall during the Early Roman repairs of the Hellenistic theater. The inscription of the fountain, which was apparently built in AD 47, honors the Lycian Governor Quintus Veranus and the Emperor Claudius. The portable monuments were used as a support base for the corners of the votive inscription on the upper level of this fountain.

THE TYPOLOGY AND DEFINITION

Monument 1 (Inv. No: Tlos 2044)

Among the monuments, the northern example with the inventory number Tlos 2044 is smaller than the other one; its dimensions are 77 x 65 x 63 cm (Figs. 2a.b). The monumental block, which has a rectangular, almost square form, is decorated with reliefs of different sizes (Fig. 4). The depth of the reliefs varies between 1–2 cm. The upper and lower parts of the block are roughly chiseled. There are no traces of pins or clamps on the upper and lower surfaces. However, there is a chiseling on the upper surface in connection with the second use on the theater analemma wall.

10 Korkut 2016, 101–102.

11 For a different interpretation of the scene, see Pirson 2006, 639–646.

12 Korkut 2016, 48–52.

13 These unpublished works are being evaluated by T. Yücel-Bahçetepe as part of a doctoral thesis.

14 The Izraza Monument was first extensively evaluated by

J. Borchhardt, see Borchhardt – Schulz 1976. Later, T. Yücel in her master's thesis proposed the use of this monument in conjunction with a Lycian rock tomb, see Yücel 2012.

15 Other finds recovered during the excavations in the acropolis are thought to belong to similar monuments. Since the frieze belts, to which these fragments belong, cannot be fully interpreted, they are not evaluated here.

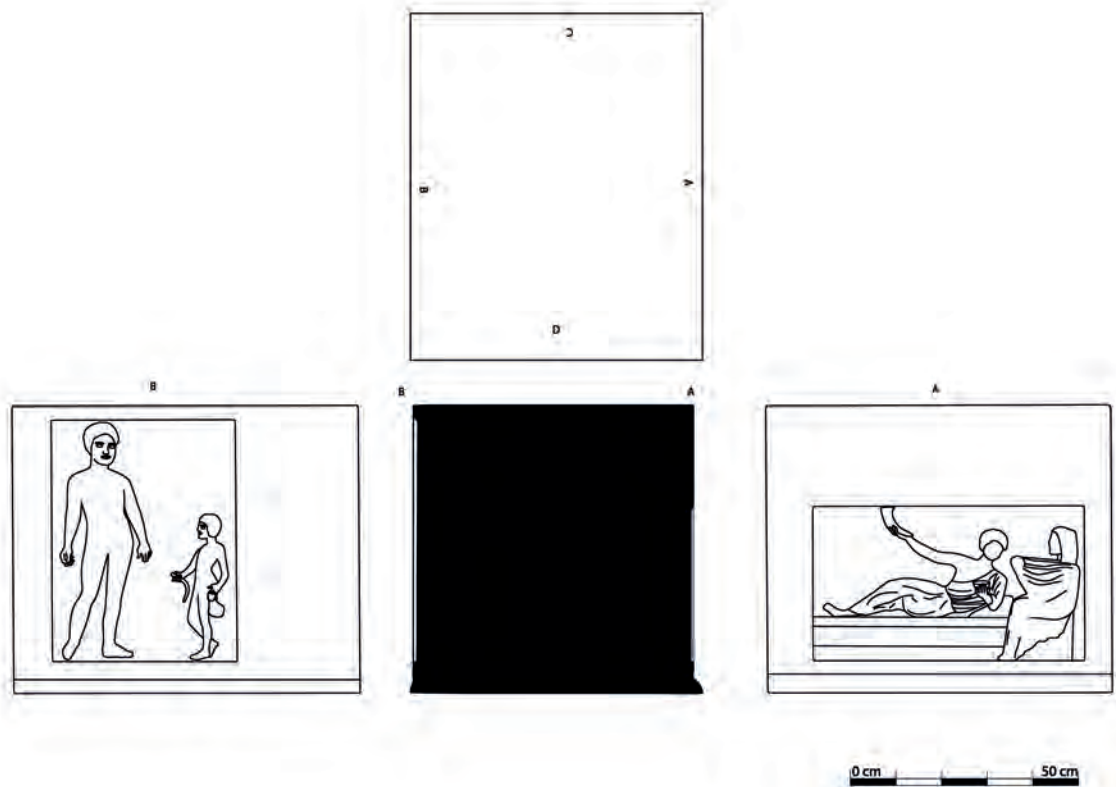


Fig. 2a: Section and view drawing of the monument Inv. Tlos 2044

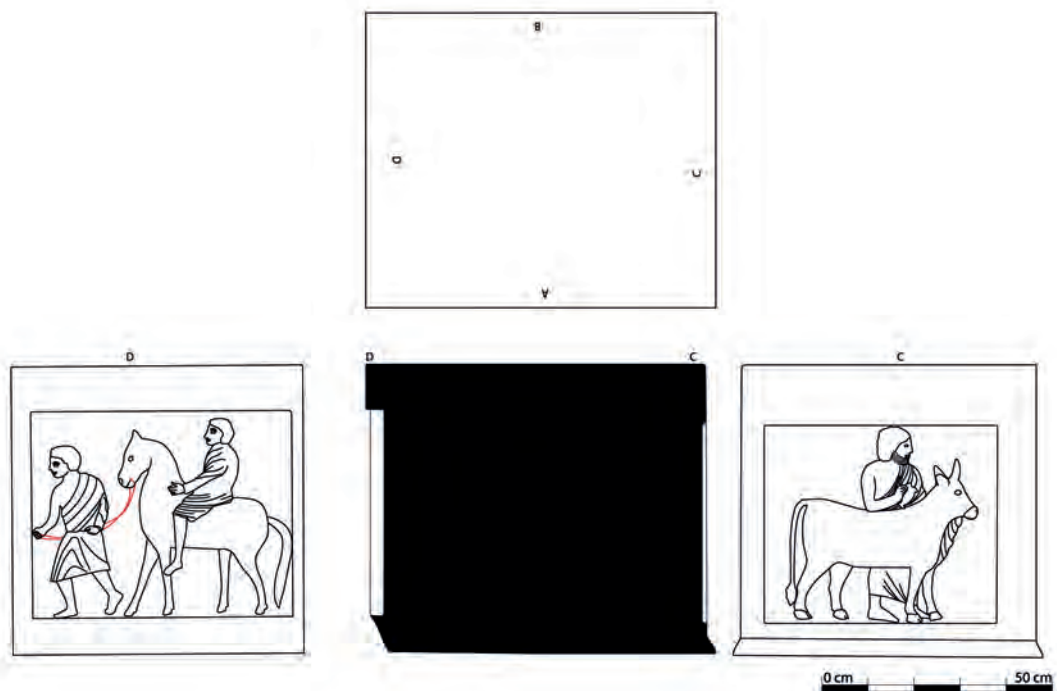


Fig. 2b: Section and view drawing of the monument Inv. Tlos 2044

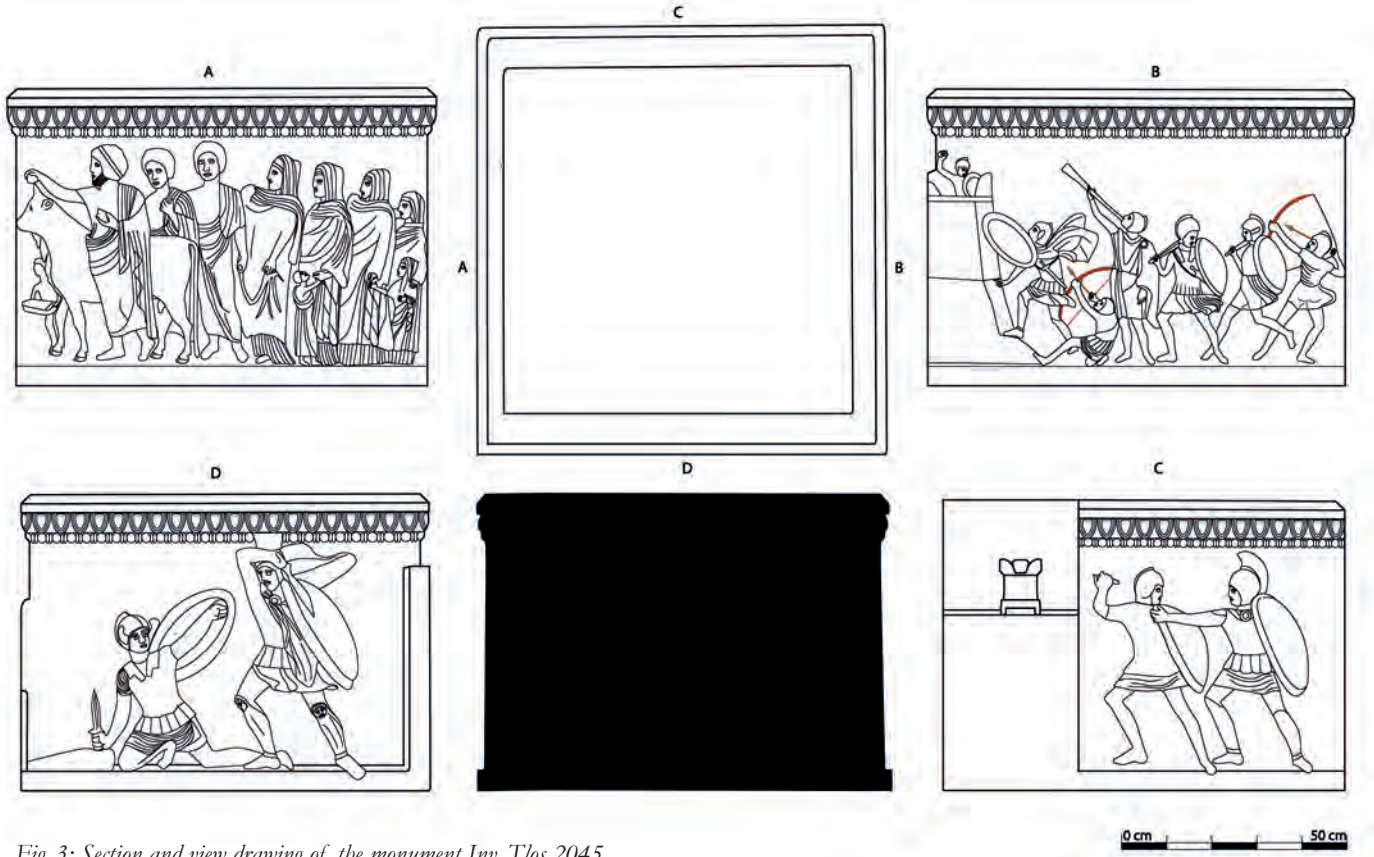


Fig. 3: Section and view drawing of the monument Inv. Tlos 2045



Fig. 4: General view of the monumental block Inv. Tlos 2044

Despite the rough workmanship, there is a thin anathyrosis on the upper and lower surface edges. In addition, the upper edge of the part of the monument with the athlete scene is slightly raised and emphasized. The reliefs on each side of the monument are framed and carved in a specific area. Additional monumentality is achieved by placing the reliefs deeper than the surface. There are differences in the placement of the scenes on the surface of the block. Thus, space for other applications such as inscriptions was gained on surfaces outside the relief area. Most probably such narratives, which were probably painted, have not survived to the present day. On the other hand, the lower parts of the reliefs are finished with a slightly convex profile. This creates an architectural arrangement like a pedestal. The monument has survived in very good condition. Only small fractures are visible on the side corners. There are also deficiencies in the pedestal profile at the bottom of the monument. The scenes carved on all four sides of the block depict the daily life of the owner of the monument. As there is no difference in the quality of the craftsmanship on the reliefs, it is not possible to distinguish between the front and the back of the monument.

The athlete and servant scene: Measuring 41 x 52 cm, the relief is not placed in the center of the surface of the monument, but near the left corner (Figs. 5a.b). Thus, the relief frame stands 9 cm from the left, 27 cm from the right, 3 cm from the top and 8 cm from the bottom. The rectangular relief surface depicts an athlete and his servant in the gymnasium. On the left of the scene is a standing athlete figure from the front, while on the right is the smaller figure of a servant. Both figures are nude. The body weight of the figure on the left is on the left leg. The right leg is slightly bent at the knee, pushed back by being spread to the side and stepping on the tip of the toe. The figure's hips are slightly shifted to the left so that the figure's torso forms an S. Both arms are suspended down parallel to the body. Both hands, slightly away from the torso, are slackly closed. The figure has turned his head slightly to his left, towards his servant. He has a short thick neck and a round face. The chin, mouth, nose and almond-shaped eyes are small. His cheeks are broad and full and his mouth is closed. The hair surrounding his head is short and curly. Although the dense curls present a fluffy appearance, they are not well separated from each other. The figure's joints, pectoral muscles and pubic area are prominent. His legs are bulky and full compared to his torso.

The servant next to the athlete is shown in profile and smaller in size. The figure is standing upright and the body weight is on the left leg. The right leg, bent at the knee, is raised on tiptoe, indicating that he is walking towards the athlete figure. He has raised his right arm to the level of his abdomen and is extending the strigilis to the athlete figure in front of him. His left arm, slightly bent at the elbow, is lower and holding an aryballos. The chin, mouth and nose of the servant figure are partially damaged, but the outlines are visible. The almond eye is linear and frontal. His hair is dense and the locks are short. The tufts of hair are not separated from each other.

The sacrifice scene: Measuring 44 x 44 cm, the relief is square in shape and is placed in an area 9 cm from the left, 13 cm from the top, 12 cm from the right and 7 cm from the bottom (Figs. 6a.b). The scene depicts a bull moving to the right and a male figure next to it. The bull's left front leg and left hind leg are in front, while the right front leg and right hind leg are behind. Thus, a moment of walking to the right is depicted. The bony structure of the thin legs is more prominent, especially at the back. The hooves of the bull are overemphasized. The round and heavily contoured body of the bull is slightly longer than normal. Although the head of the bull is shown in profile, both horns are visible. The neck is short according to the body structure. The folds of skin under the neck are emphasized with lines. The bull's long thin tail extends to its feet and is thick at the tip. The male figure next to the bull is also walking to the right. The torso of the figure is slightly turned towards the viewer and the head is in profile. The spaced feet are fully planted on the ground. The body weight is carried by both legs. The left foot is between the front legs of the bull and very little of it is visible. The right foot is more visible behind the bull's front leg. The right arm, bent at the elbow, rests on the body of the bull and holds an oinochoe. The left arm is behind the bull's neck. He is probably grasping the bull by the neck with his left arm. The long face, round small chin and slightly pointed nose are prominent. The mouth is damaged. The voluminous short hair is formed in curls. The tufts of hair are not separated. Although the face is very worn, the beard is visible. The figure is wearing a himation that goes down to his ankles. The right shoulder is bare, while the left shoulder is covered by the himation. The thin folds descending steeply over the left shoulder are parallel and superficial. There is a wet fabric structure on the skirt of the himation and fluttering. The right leg is even visible under the fabric.



Fig. 5a: The athlete and servant scene

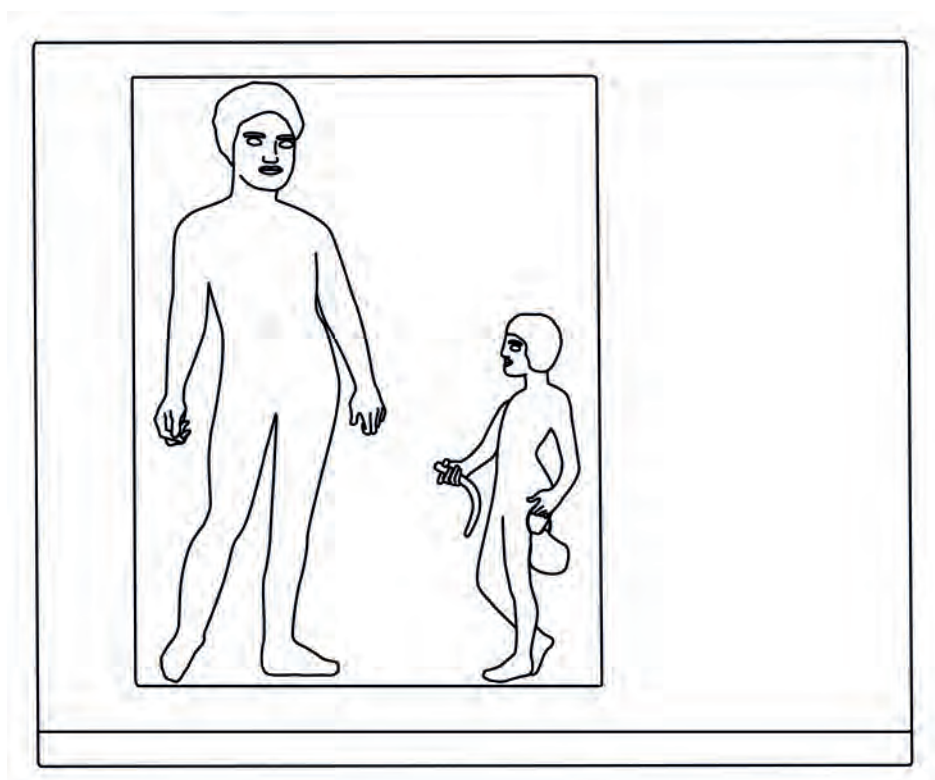


Fig. 5b: Drawing of the athlete and servant scene



Fig. 6a: The sacrifice scene

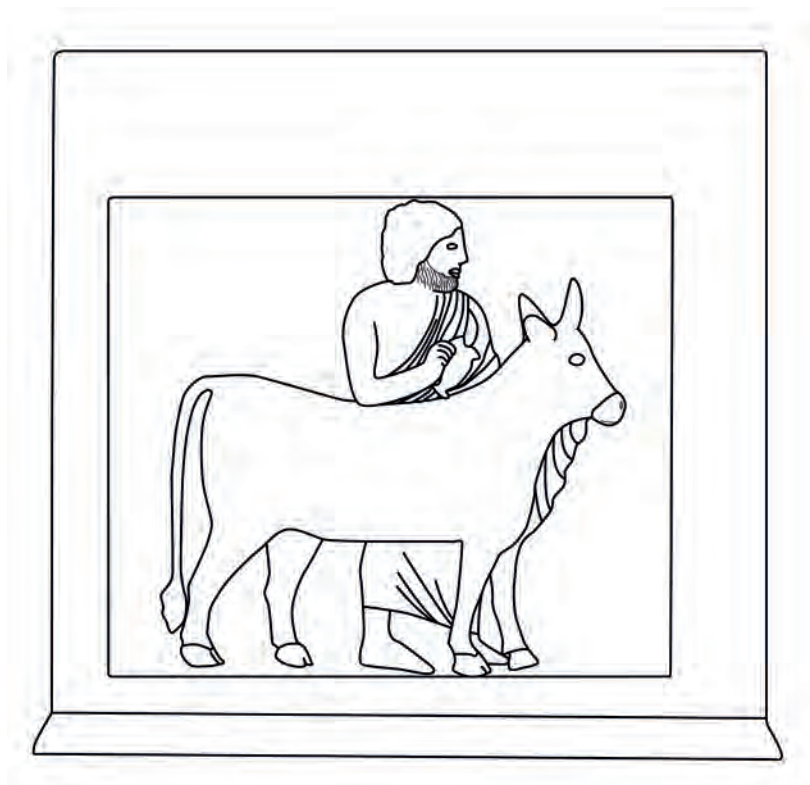


Fig. 6b: Drawing of the sacrifice scene

The banquet scene: Measuring 60x34 cm, the relief frame is 11 cm from the left, 22 cm from the top, 6 cm from the right and 7 cm from the bottom (Figs. 7a.b). In the center of the rectangular relief surface is a banquet scene. In the center of the scene is a reclining male figure on a wavy bed with a long coverlet over the kline. The right leg of the male figure, slightly bent at the knee, is extended along the kline. The heel is on the kline. The left leg is bent at the knee and disappearing below the right leg. Only the upper half of the left leg is visible. The frontal figure on the kline has his right arm extended forward and is holding a rython. His left arm, bent at the elbow, rests at chest level. In his left hand he holds a phiale with open fingers. The figure's head is directed slightly backwards from the left side and is facing another figure seated on a stool. The round head of the male figure on the kline is narrowed towards the chin. Small chin, closed small mouth, narrow nose and round deep-set eyes are prominent. The bushy hair is undulate. It is not clear whether the male figure has a beard or not, as the stone has been eroded. The figure is wearing a himation that extends to his ankles and leaves his right shoulder exposed. His right arm is left outside the garment. The fabric of the garment is very thin and adhered to the body. There are thin superficial folds on the left arm and torso. To the right of the kline is a female figure seated on a stool (*diphros*) without backrest. Only the left leg of the figure in profile is visible from the knee. The foot is fully on the ground. The details of the torso cannot be fully traced due to the destruction of the surface. The right arm, bent at the elbow, is extended forward in the gesture of *aidos*, pulling the edge of the himation away from the body and higher up reaching to the face. The head and facial details are damaged and the small chin is prominent. The figure's himation is characterized by fine superficial folds.

The rider procession stage: The frame of the 55x45 cm relief measures 5 cm from the left, 10 cm from the top, 3.5 cm from the right and 7 cm from the bottom (Figs. 8a.b). There are fractures on the upper left corner and lower molding of the near-square relief surface. There is a figure on horseback and a groom in the frame. The rider occupies most of the picture area. The horse and rider are in profile and moving to the left. The horse's right front leg and right hind leg are in front. This emphasizes the act of walking.

The horse's legs are long and thin. A similar expression is emphasized on the body. The horse's neck is short and thick. Its long head moves forward. Its mouth and nostril are prominent. It has large round eyes and small upright ears. The horse's mane is shown but not rendered in detail. The thin long tail is hanging down. The rider on the horse is shown in profile and his left leg and left arm are visible. The right leg and right arm are not visible. The left leg of the rider is visible in front of the left leg of the horse. The left arm is slightly bent at the elbow and holds the horse's mane. The figure's posture is appropriate for his comfortable sitting on the horse. The figure has a short neck, small chin and prominent lips. The small mouth is closed. Wide, full cheeks, narrow nose and a small linear eye are prominent. The hair is thick, short and curly. The tufts of hair are not separated. The figure is wearing a short mantle. There are intersecting linear folds visible on the cloth gathered over the upper leg. Superficial folds are running up and down the left arm and steeply down the back. To the left of the scene, there is a walking male figure wearing a dress. The lower part of the figure and the head are shown in profile, while the upper part is slightly rotated and shown from the front. His right leg is in front and bent at the knee. The foot is fully on the ground. The trailing left leg is slightly bent at the knee and is probably on tiptoe. Thus, the figure is shown walking to the left. Both arms, slightly bent at the elbow, are extended forward. The man, with both hands open to the side, is holding the horse's halter straps in both of them. The halter straps must be depicted in paint. Therefore, the figure's head is slightly further forward than the body. Thus, it is emphasized that this figure pulling the horse is also in a walking position. Despite this movement, the body weight is on both legs. The neck of this figure is short and thick. The figure has a round head, small chin, full lips, narrow, small nose and almond-shaped eyes. The eyelid is prominent. The small ear is visible through the hair. He has a narrow forehead. The hair is thick, short and curly. The curls are not unraveled. The front hair goes down to the middle of the forehead. He is wearing a himation that reaches to his knees. The cloth goes back over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm exposed. The folds on the garment are superficial and finely worked. Diagonal folds are visible on the upper torso and very few vertical folds are visible on the left shoulder.



Fig. 7a: The banquet scene

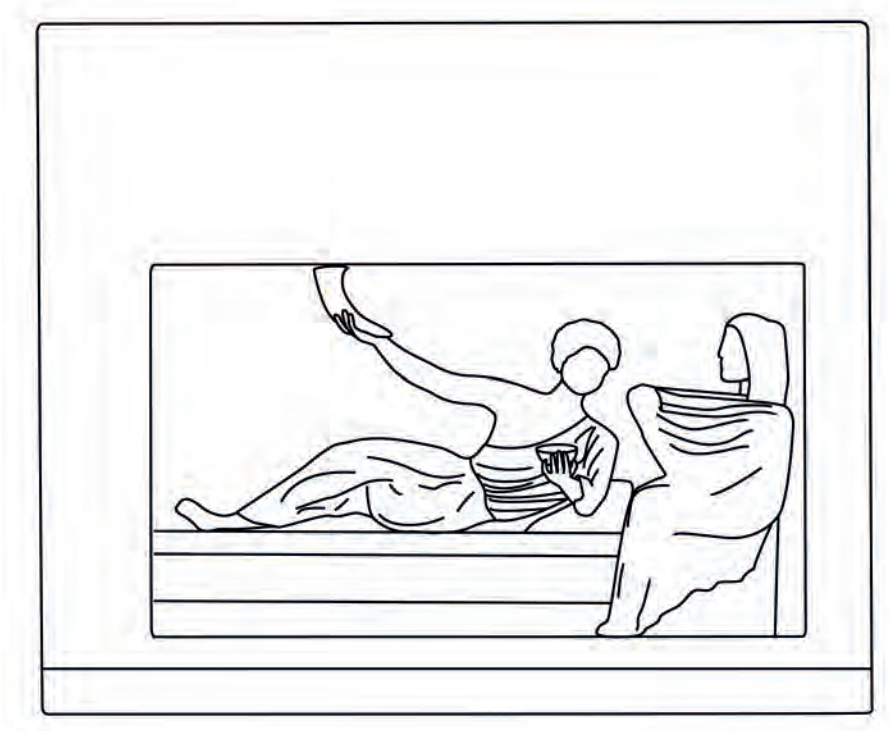


Fig. 7b: Drawing of the banquet scene



Fig. 8a: The rider procession stage

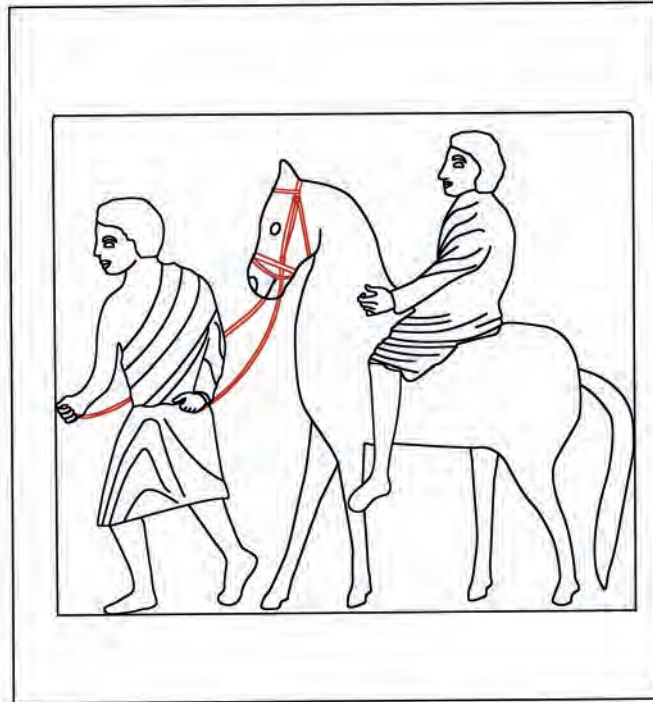


Fig. 8b: Drawing of the rider procession stage

Monument 2 (Inv. No: Tlos 2045)

The second monument with the inventory number Tlos 2045, which was used as a supporting block on the south side of the theater fountain inscription, measures 96 x 90 x 66 cm (Fig. 3). The monolithic block has a nearly square form and is decorated with reliefs on all four sides (Fig. 9). While there are no traces of clamps or dowels on the block, a thin frame of 4–6 cm is visible on the edges of the upper surface. In addition, an area measuring 58 x 38 cm and 3 cm deep was formed in the upper corner of the block, which is related to its second use on the wall. The depth of the reliefs on the lateral surfaces of the block varies between 2–6 cm. The upper edge of the block is also narrowed inwards with 3 cm wide arrangement. The upper part of the relief surfaces is bordered with an Ionian cymation after a flat frame and an astragal row just below it. The egg and the shell of the Ionian cymation are kept superficial and are not much separated from each other.

The egg and shell form narrows to a triangular shape towards the base. However, the ends of the eggs are slightly rounded at the end point. There is a spearhead between the eggs (Figs. 10a.13a). The eggs and spears are not uniform throughout the monument. In places, both the egg and the spear array are worked more superficially. The astragal array on the lower part of the Ionian cymation is in the familiar template tradition with two pearls and one bead. It is common for the pearls to be spool-shaped and the beads to be oval. However, their size is not uniform on all surfaces. There is even no commonality with the Ionian cymation at the top. On the other hand, the lower part of the monument is finished with a wide flat frame. The frieze reliefs also rise on this frame. It is even seen that this molding is carried to the sides on some faces. The monumental block is decorated with a battle scene on 3 sides and a narrative of daily life on one side.



Fig. 9: General view of the monumental block Inv. Tlos 2045

The battle scene: In the center of the 90 x 51 cm scene are two warrior figures in military clothing (Figs. 10a.b). The warrior figure on the left has fallen to his knees while he was escaping to his right and turns his head back to look at his opponent coming from behind. The torso is shown frontally and the right foot is on the ground with its toes. The left leg is extended backwards and parallel to the ground below the knee. The figure carries his shield and raises it with his left arm upwards to protect himself. The elliptical shield is seen from the inside. The right arm, which is parallel to the torso, is slightly detached from the torso and extended forward, holding a short sword. The right hand is supported on an elevation formed in front in connection with the falling position. The warrior's head is $\frac{3}{4}$ from the front. Although there are small fractures on the face, the details can be easily observed (Fig. 10c). An oval chin structure is formed under the closed mouth. The cheeks are full, and the nose is wide. The large eyes are close to almond form. The helmet of the warrior is tightly placed on the head and has a low crest holder. The helmet goes down to the middle of the forehead. The cheekguards of the helmet are raised. This seems to be related to falling to the ground. The part of the helmet protecting the neck is short. The figure is wearing a short chiton and warrior armor. The skirt and the part of the chiton over the right shoulder are particularly emphasized. The folds on the skirt of the chiton gathered above the knees are horizontal and thin. The contours of the leg can be traced under the cloth. The chiton fabric on the right shoulder shows fine, intertwined, arc-shaped folds. The fabric is traceable to the end of the shoulder. The armor placed on the chiton is tightly wrapped around the torso. The armor has flaps to close the cuirass on the shoulders. The ends of the shoulder-width flaps are narrowed below the neck. The military armor is formed with a single row of pteryges. The bands of pteryges widening from top to bottom have straight ends. Beside the figure on the ground is a second warrior standing. The warrior's right leg is rendered in profile as he lunges at his fallen opponent in front. The leg, slightly bent at the knee, is firmly planted on the ground. However, the body weight is not on the right leg. The left leg is shown from the front. The toes of the left foot are slightly protruding from the walking surface. The body of the figure is in frontal view and the head is in $\frac{3}{4}$ proportion. The details of the face seen from the left profile are prominent. It has a small and slightly pointed chin, fleshy lips, half-open mouth and large eyes. The right arm, bent at the elbow, is raised above the head.

The arm lowered to the level of the forehead leaves a small part of the figure's helmet exposed. The helmet with low crest holder is tightly placed on the head and the cheek guards are closed. For some unknown reason, the relief above the raised arm extended to the top of the astragalus is not finished. It may be due to the quality of the stone, or the dimension of the gap is not appropriate to the pattern of the astragalus. The tip of the short sword is shown linearly on the curved shield he carries in his left hand, shown from its outer face. The round shield shown in profile, starting at the chin level, covers the left shoulder and ends at the left knee. The edge of the shield is especially emphasized. The figure is depicted with a short sword in his right hand as he makes the final move on his fallen opponent. He is wearing a short chiton and an armor with a single row of pteryges. The skirt of the chiton is embroidered as flying to the right between the two legs. Thus, the leftward movement of the figure is emphasized. The leg contours can be traced under the fabric by the wet structure arrangement in the fabric. The left side of the torso is covered by the chlamys around the warrior's neck. One half of the chlamys, fastened at the neck with a fibula in the form of a round brooch, is lowered down over the left leg. The fabric shows shallow folds hanging down from above. The other part of the chlamys is shown flying backwards behind the head of the warrior in attack position. The folds are placed one on top of the other and the end of the fabric shows a rounded form. The warrior's greaves are easily visible on his legs. The greaves starting from the ankle are decorated with Medusa heads like a monstrous face (Figs. 10d.e). The Medusa head on the right greave is shown in profile. The small jaw, open mouth, lolling out tongue, wide nose and round eyes are prominent. The hair is not elaborated and is in tufts. The warrior's left greave is shifted to his left, exposing the inside of his leg. The monstrous face of Medusa's head on the left greave is depicted in a different frontal position from the other. In spite of the different angles, both of them have the same features of the face and the hair.

The frieze of the city siege: The siege of the city narrative covers the entire surface of the block measuring 96 x 51 cm (Figs. 11a.b). There are a total of seven warrior figures in the city siege scene. Six of the warriors are in attacking position on the right of the scene. The seventh warrior is depicted in a defensive position on the fortification tower on the left. The fortification tower on the far left of the scene has been moved out of the picture frame and this part is shown as a vertical fillet bordering the frieze on the next side.



Fig. 10a: The battle scene

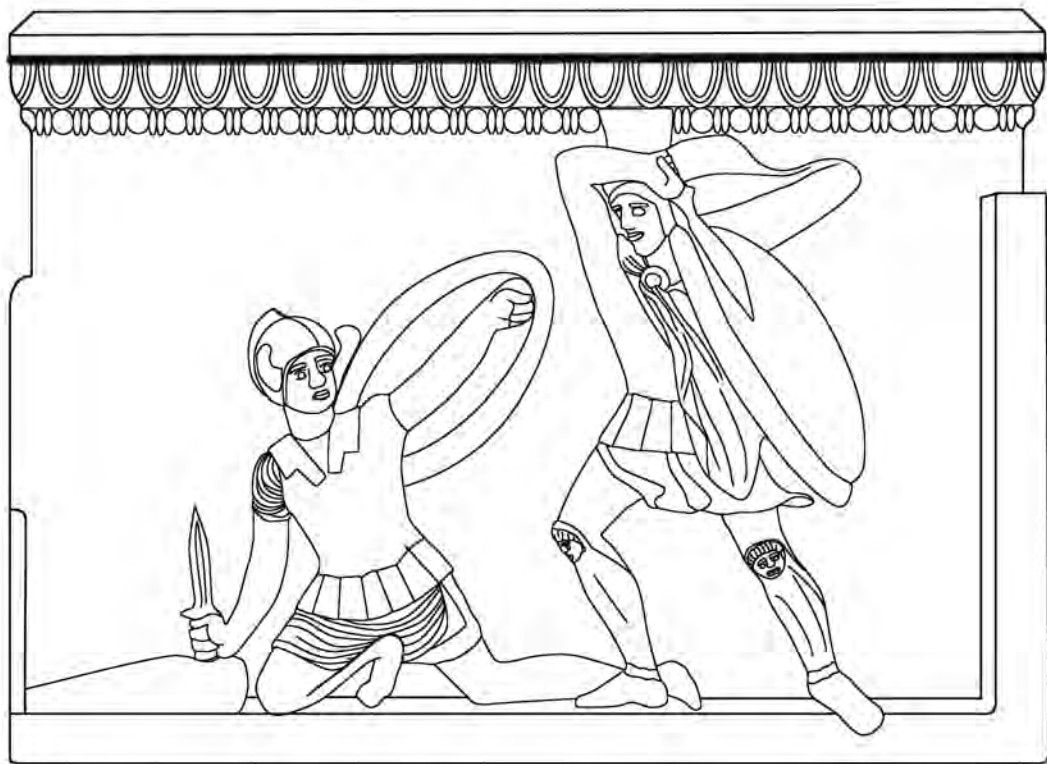


Fig. 10b: Drawing of the battle scene



Fig. 10c: Detail of the helmet



Fig. 10d: Detail of the grooves



Fig. 10e: Detail of the Medusa head

The scene of the battle is shown on the other side. Shaped as a rectangular prism, the fortification tower structure rises on a rugged rocky area. The artist must have intended to show the landscape of the city on this frieze. The city walls architecture has been detailed by depicting the battlements on both sides of the tower. Above the tower is a warrior figure, only visible from the waist up. The warrior, whose torso is shown from the front and head from $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, raises his right arm, bent at the elbow, by pulling it backwards. The warrior's palm is closed, and he is holding a stone-like object, which he is probably using to repel his enemies below. A head with round facial features and large almond-shaped eyes is also depicted, as well as a neck-guarded helmet with a low crest holder. However, there are no details other than the profile of the wiping around the edge of the helmet. The warrior's chest armor also does not emphasize the ends of the neck and arms. Similarly, the details of the warrior's upper torso cannot be traced. On the other hand, the warrior is holding a round shield in front of him with his left hand, covering his torso.

The foremost of the warriors in the frieze is about to climb the tower. In profile, this warrior has his right leg slightly bent at the knee and extended towards the rock on which the walls rise. The left foot is behind and firmly planted on the ground. The weight of the body is thus shifted forward. The shield held in his left hand is raised upwards for protection. The outer border of the round shield is particularly emphasized. The right arm behind the shield is visible from the elbow and is shown in a climbing gesture. Following this gesture, the warrior wearing a helmet without a crest raises his head and looks at the warrior standing on the tower in a defensive pose. The warrior preparing to climb the tower is wearing an armor with a single row of pteryges on short chiton. Above the armor there are also chlamys in a floating position. The chlamys has superficial folds in the shape of an arc. The sword hanging from his waist is depicted in its scabbard. The folds on the chiton are superficial. However, it is seen that the skirt flies in the opposite direction as he moves.

Immediately behind this warrior in the gesture of climbing the rampart is another warrior figure almost seated on the ground (Fig. 11a). The warrior is kneeling with his right foot, extending his left foot forward, slightly bent at the knee. At the end of the thigh, the contours of the right foot are traced, rising on the toes. The weight is on the right leg. The figure is depicted with his left arm extended forward and his right hand, closed inward at the chin level, in the position of shooting

the arrow attached to his bow. The well-preserved relief ground is left flat, suggesting that both objects were added with paint (Fig. 11b). The small chin, closed mouth and round eyes of the warrior with his head directed towards the tower can be observed. The warrior wears a helmet without crest and an armor with a single row of pteryges over a short chiton. The shallow folds of chiton can be seen above the left knee.

Behind the kneeling warrior is a figure playing a warrior trumpet called salpinx. The standing figure's right leg and head are in profile. His body is almost frontal. The weight of the body is on the right leg. The left leg is behind and slightly bent at the knee. The figure's hips are slightly shifted to the right, thus creating an »S« stance from the feet to the head. This type of body posture adds dynamism to the figure. The figure raises his right arm upwards and blows the war horn in his hand. The figure is depicted making the signal of attack while blowing the horn with his head raised upwards. The trumpet has a long and slender body with a triangular shape at the sounding end. The left arm of the figure is hanging down parallel to the body, bent at the elbow, and the hand is at the level of the upper thigh. The figure has full cheeks and a remarkably small chin. The warrior wears a helmet with neck protection on his head and a chiton that ends on his knees. The chlamys around his neck is attached with a fibula over the left shoulder. The cloth draped over the left arm is gathered on the left hand. Steeply descending folds can be traced on the upper his body and on the right leg. The shallow folds are parallel. The fabric on the left leg is thin so that the contour of the leg can be traced upwards under the garment.

Behind the trumpeter is another warrior figure who moves forward but suddenly stops and looks back. The warrior's right leg and head are depicted in profile, the left leg and torso in frontal view. The right leg is bent at the knee and the foot is fully planted on the ground. The left leg is stretched back and to the side, and the toes carry the weight. Thus, the torso is carried by both legs. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the hand holds a sword. A round shield is carried with the left arm. The warrior has his head turned to the left and is looking towards the ground. The small chin is slightly pointed. The mouth is closed and small. The nose and eyes are large compared to other figures. On his head is a helmet with a neck protection and without a crest. He wears a short chiton and an armor with a single row of pteryges. The straps of the rear plate pass over both shoulders and end at chest level.



Fig. 11a: The frieze of the city siege

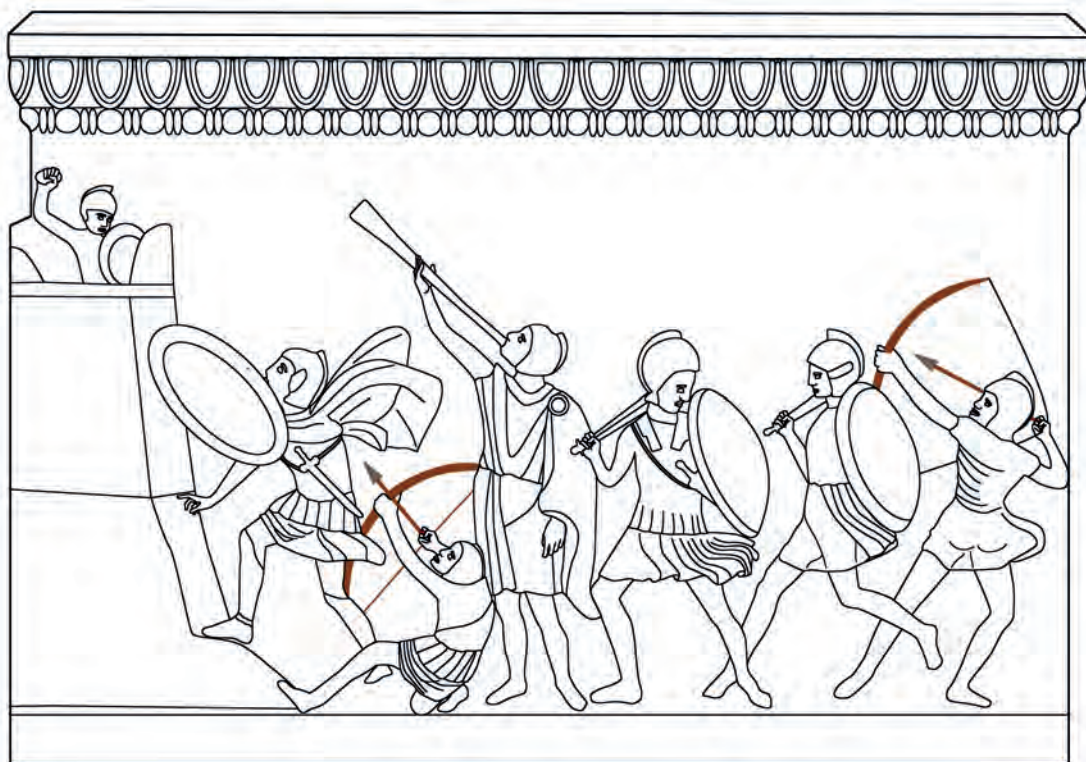


Fig. 11b: Drawing of the city siege frieze

The sword scabbard, embroidered under the left breast, disappears under the shield in a curved fashion. The rounded hilt is angular on both sides. The shield starts at the level of the face and covers the left shoulder and arm. The skirt of the chiton is rendered in a flying manner in harmony with forward movement of the legs. The widely spaced folds are linear. The folds are filled with air at the end of the skirt.

The figure immediately behind this warrior is shown in profile running to the left. The right leg is slightly bent at the knee and thrown forward. The toes of the foot are between the two legs of the warrior in front. The left leg is bent at the knee and the foot is in the air. The right arm is visible from the elbow at waist level. The figure carries a sword in his upraised hand. The left arm is behind the round shield. Although the figure's face is worn, the small chin, closed mouth, small nose and eyes are clearly visible. He wears a helmet with neck protection. The short chiton flies in harmony with the running motion. The flying solid folds are parallel to each other. The folds on the garment are shallow and uniform. The upper thighs are shown under the garment through a wet fabric structure.

At the very end of the scene, there is another figure posed in an arrow-throwing position but standing (Fig. 11c). The head of this figure is depicted in profile and the back of the torso is depicted from the front. The figure's left leg, which is stretched, is behind the left leg of the warrior in front and he is standing on tiptoe. The figure's right leg is bent at the knee and rests firmly on the ground. The weight of the body is also on the right leg. He is holding a bow with his left arm extended forward. With his right hand he is stretching the arrow. However, the bow and arrow have not survived. From the posture of the figure, it is estimated that the bow and arrow were originally painted (Fig. 11b). The chin of the figure is behind the left shoulder.



Fig. 11c: Detail of the city siege frieze

The mouth is closed and small. A fleshy, small nose and large eye and eye socket are observed. His head is covered with a helmet with neck protection and a crest-holder. The warrior is wearing a chiton that extends to just below the hips. The flowing garment is adhered to the torso. The legs and buttocks are visible under the garment in a thin transparent image. Arc-shaped folds on the garment starting from the neck and down to the waist are given with shallow lines. The body of the warrior is shown in harmony with his movement. The right side of the figure is lower than the left side. This indicates that the warrior is shown at the moment of throwing the arrow in his hand.

The shield triumph scene: Measuring 90 x 51 cm, the relief scene consists of two separate sections (Figs. 12a,b). On the right side of the scene, two warrior figures in military clothing are depicted in combat. The right leg and head of the warrior on the left is rendered in profile, while the left leg and torso are rendered from the front. The right leg, bent at the knee, rests firmly on the ground. However, the center of gravity of the body is not clear and is distributed on both feet. The left leg is stretched and the toes protrude from the walking surface. The upper body is triangular with sharp contours. The right arm, bent at the elbow, is raised and lunging backwards. The sword in the closed palm is used for defense. The aim is to prevent the other warrior who moves to take the round shield in his left hand. On the head, turned backwards, there is a helmet with a nape guard and a crest-holder. Round and protruding eyes, fleshy and large nose, small and fleshy lips, and a short chin are the details of the face. The warrior is wearing a short chiton and armor over it. Although the details cannot be clearly traced due to the limestone layer, it is understood that the folds on the chiton are given with superficial and thin lines. These folds offer a floating appearance in harmony with the movement of the cloth. The weatherworn pteryges on the skirt of the armor have been arranged in a single row. The left leg and torso of the warrior figure on the right are in frontal view, while the right leg and head are in profile. The right leg, bent at the knee, is forward. Although the foot is fully on the ground, the weight of the body is not on the right leg. On the contrary, the weight is on both legs. The left leg is back and tense. Like the other warrior, the toes protrude from the walking surface. He is depicted in the gesture of grabbing the shield of his enemy with his right hand extended forward and pulling it towards him. With his left arm he carries his shield in round form. The figure has a small jaw, closed mouth, small nose and almond-shaped eyes with deep sockets.



Fig. 12a: The shield triumph scene

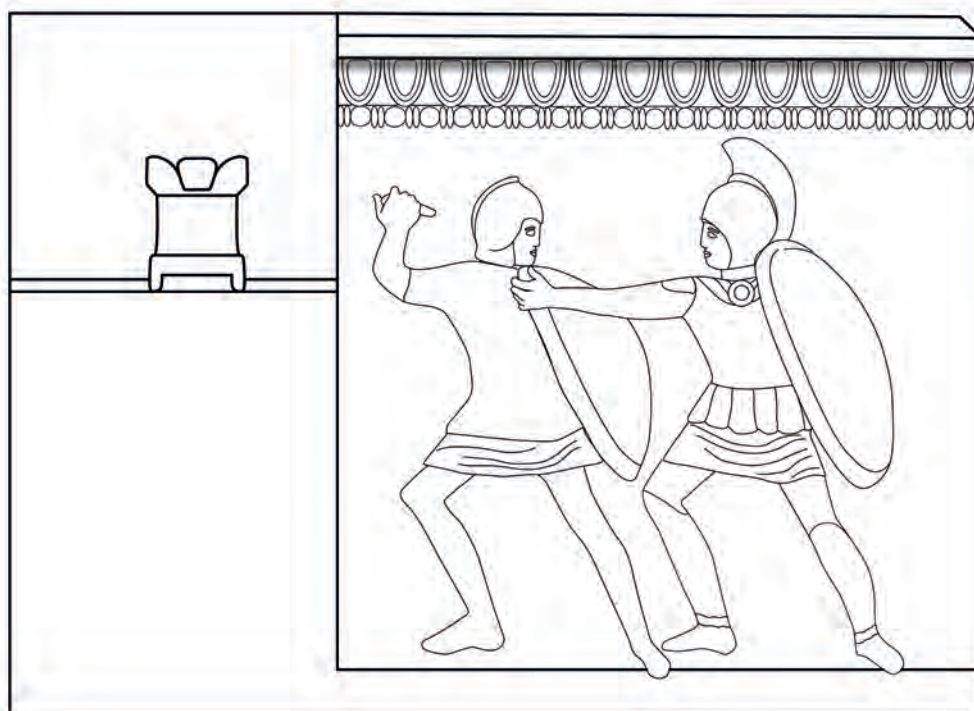


Fig. 12b: Drawing of the shield triumph scene

On his head he wears an Attic helmet with a high crest and a neck protection. The warrior wears a short chiton and armor with a single row of pteryges. Around his neck is a chlamys. The folds of the chlamys, which is attached to the fibula at the level of the collarbone, have broad superficial lines. The rounded fibula is detailed with intertwining circular lines. The single row of thick bands of the pteryges at the end of the breastplate ends in a convex form. Below the pteryges, four rows of chiton skirt folds in the form of thick bands are superficially carved in parallel with the overall relief. The thin fabric of the garment flying in the opposite direction of the movement is mostly hidden under the shield.

In the second area to the left of the stage, a high podium was created. The two leveled rear arrangement of the podium caused the Ionic cymation and the string of pearl-beads to be cut in this area. They bordered the friezes on all surfaces from above. A rectangular altar was placed on the podium, the central part of which is in the same plane with the head levels of the figures. The pedestal feet and lower molding of the altar are evident. The corner acroteria protruding from both sides of the banquette-shaped altar and the rounded top acroteria are emphasized. There is no decoration on the body of the altar or on the corner acroteria.

The sacrifice scene: Measuring 96x51 cm, the frieze is the most spectacular scene of the monumental block as the entire surface is filled with 10 figures and a bull (Figs. 13a,b). A sacrifice scene is depicted on the frieze. The bull is placed on the far left of the scene. Under the head of the bull moving towards the left side is a small maid figure holding an offering tray. The details of the servant figure cannot be traced, but the round head and the outlines of the arms holding the tray are visible. At the end of the scene, the bull's round eye, mouth, left nostril and small left ear are partially visible. The bull's mouth is projected out of the panel from the left corner. Only one horn is visible because the bull's head is in profile. The bull has a large and thick neck. The bull's right front and right hind leg are in front, while the left front and left hind leg are behind. The bony structure is especially evident on the hind legs. Despite the imposing body of the bull, its feet are thin. The details of the hooves are visible, especially on the hind legs. The rump of the bull has sharper lines. The phallus of the bull is also visible between the hind legs. The bull's tail, which is elongated and drooping down, is visible from the beginning to the tip.

Next to the bull from the front is a bearded male figure wearing a himation. The legs and head of the standing figure are shown in profile, while the torso is

shown from the front. The figure's right leg is upright and fully planted on the ground. The left leg, slightly bent at the knee, rises on the tip of the toe. Thus, it is understood that this figure is also in a gesture of movement to the left. The figure has a short and thick neck and a rounded chin. The lower lip is slightly forward and the mouth is closed. Full cheeks and large eyes are prominent. The eyelid is thick. The eye socket is indicated by a single line. The nose is straight and slightly fleshy. Hair and beard are bushy. While the outer contour of the beard can be traced, the details are not. The hair is short and in the form of twisted curls. The curls are not separated from each other. Besides, it presents a fluffy appearance. There is probably a band on its head. The figure is holding a vessel in his left hand and blessing the animal with his right hand, raising it and extending it towards the head of the bull. He is wearing an ankle-length himation on chiton, leaving his right shoulder exposed. The left arm wrapped around the himation and bent at the elbow rests under the chest. The himation, tightly wrapped around the thigh, hangs down over the left shoulder. The folds of the wad of cloth accumulated on the abdomen, emphasized by the fine beveled lines, are directed towards the left shoulder. This group of folds merges with the vertical folds of the himation thrown over the left shoulder. This part of the himation, which covers the left shoulder and descends to the ankle, is enlivened with widely spaced superficial line folds parallel to each other. The folds of fabric overlapping each other on the left arm show a dovetail fold. Leg contours are traced under the transparent fabric covering the torso.

Behind this first figure in offering gesture and next to the rear of the bull is another male figure wearing a himation. The torso and head of this male figure, who is younger than the first figure, are depicted at a $\frac{3}{4}$ angle and the body of the bull covers the figure from the waist down. The left arm of the figure is bent at the elbow and grasps the edge of the himation that goes down from the shoulder at chest level. The right shoulder is left bare. The neck is short and thick. The full oval face narrows towards the chin. The mouth is small and closed. The figure has a broken nose and the eyes are large and almond-shaped. The eyelid and socket are prominent. His bushy hair is wrapped around the head. The short-twisted locks are not separated from each other. The cloth around his waist is hanging down from his left shoulder. There are shallow thin linear folds placed parallel to each other on the fabric. The feet of the figure are not carved. However, there is a thin line between the hind legs of the bull. This line emphasized the edge of the skirt. The fabric of the skirt shows one arc-shaped fold.



Fig. 13a: The sacrifice scene

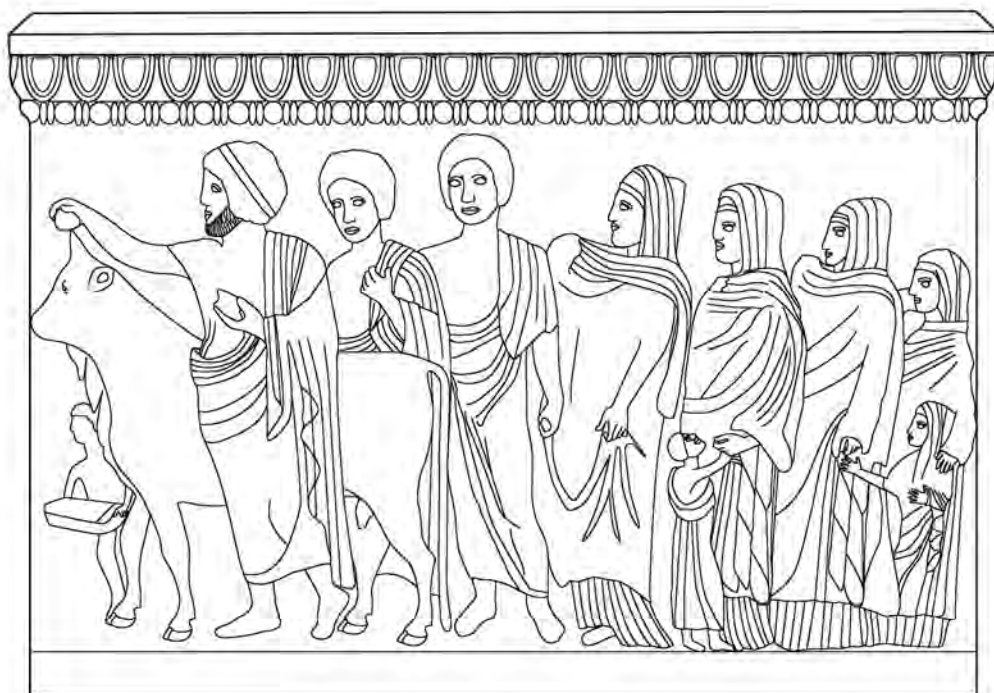


Fig. 13b: Drawing of the sacrifice scene

There is another male figure standing behind the bull from the front. While the figure's right leg is straight, the free left leg is spread out to the side and backwards, stepping on his toes. Thus, although the figure appears as standing, he is depicted as walking. On the exposed chest of the figure wearing the himation, the collarbone and the cavity of the rib cage are detailed. The right arm is behind the figure in front. The left arm parallel to the torso is slightly outstretched and holds an unidentified object in the palm. The neck is slightly long and thick. The round face of the figure has a closed mouth and large eyes. The eye socket is prominent. The round-cut curly short hair is voluminous and thick. The figure is wearing an ankle-length himation garment that leaves his right shoulder exposed. The cloth around his waist falls from his left shoulder onto his waist. The fabric accumulated on the abdomen and shoulders is decorated with fine linear and parallel folds. There are also two parallel bands of folds between the two legs with a deeper and rounded back than the rest of the garment.

In the area behind the male figures, there are four women and two children in profile. The female figures are dressed in postures similar to each other. In addition, the height of the female figures gets shorter from left to right. The women are wearing himation over a long chiton and their heads are covered with himation. The himation, which ends below the kneecap, is loosely wrapped in such a way that the body details cannot be traced. The thin and parallel folds on the hems of the chiton are deeper than on the himation. The folds on the himation are depicted with superficial thin lines.

In the first of the female figures moving towards the left of the scene, the details can be seen more clearly than in the others. The torso, which widens towards the shoulder, is wrapped in a himation. The contours of the legs under the garment are visible only on the back of the left leg. In addition, the left foot of the figure protrudes from the hem of the chiton. The right foot, on which no details can be traced, is in the form of a rectangular mass. She raises her right arm to the chin level and pulls the himation forward with her hand in an *aidos* gesture. The end of the cloth hangs down from the left shoulder. The left arm, bent at the elbow, is extended downward parallel to the torso and lifts the hanging fabric of the himation with the hand. The wavy fold line that starts at the right kneecap and ends below the left kneecap is connected to this movement. The figure is characterized by a small chin, broad, full cheek, closed mouth, flattened and small nose, and a large almond-shaped eye and eye socket. Undetailed hair is visible on the narrow forehead. Only the junction of the hair contour and the forehead is emphasized in a plastic way.

The second female figure behind the first has a similar appearance and facial features. The arc-shaped folds of the himation descending from the shoulder to the abdomen present a more voluminous appearance here. The corner of the chiton which comes out from under the left arm and ends below the kneecap is enlivened with folds resembling a swallow tail. However, the skirt of the chiton, which extends to the floor, shows a superficial arrangement of folds consisting of thin, parallel vertical lines. The right arm of the figure is behind the figure in front. The left arm is hanging down parallel to the body, holding the right hand of the boy standing next to her. The child is oriented in the opposite direction to the other figures on the relief and is depicted standing and in profile. He is wearing a himation, leaving the right shoulder exposed, and looking up towards the female figure next to him. The figure's left leg is slightly bent at the knee and standing in front. The right foot, visible from $\frac{3}{4}$ front, is back and upright. The left arm of the child is behind the body. He extends his right arm to the female figure next to him. The child figure has a short thick neck and an oval head. His closed mouth, full lips, large nose and round eyes are easily visible. Although the hair is not detailed, the end of the forehead is emphasized with a thin line. The himation reaching down to the ankles is gathered at the waist. Superficial shallow folds dominate the garment. There are vertical folds on the right leg and diagonal and parallel linear folds between the legs. There is no wear on the right shoulder.

The third female figure has a similar posture and clothing arrangement to the first female figure. The himation covers the head and the whole body, falling over the left shoulder to the back and down from there. Only the outer contour of the left arm, parallel to the torso, is visible beneath the himation, which is emphasized in three layers on the neck. The left hand protrudes from the himation and holds the hand of the girl behind her. Only the face of the woman is visible, showing a small chin, a closed small mouth, a large nose and round eyes. A few strands of hair are visible on the narrow forehead. The lower garment, chiton, extends to the ground covering the ankles. On it, thin vertical folds parallel to each other are superficial. Richer folds are visible on the himation. Diagonally placed folds from the ankle to the shoulder are parallel to each other. The widely spaced folds are shallow. The folds under the chin are horizontal and parallel to each other. Dovetail folds appear on the fabric going down the back and under the arm.

At the far right of the scene, two standing figures are depicted in alignment, front and back, moving to the left. Since the lower corner of the monument is broken, the hem of the chiton of both figures is missing. Due to their size, the figure in front is a girl and the one behind is an adult woman. The body of the girl in front is shown at $\frac{3}{4}$ angle. The child figure is depicted with her right arm extended towards the woman in front. The little girl's arm and fingers are longer than normal. Thus, the female figure in front grasps the child's fingers with her free-hanging left hand. The left arm of the girl is bent at the elbow and placed on the abdomen with the fabric of the himation hanging over it. At the bottom the folds end in a swallow tail. The child figure has a small and rounded chin, closed mouth, small nose and large almond-shaped eyes. Her forehead is slightly wider than the other female figures. Hair details cannot be seen under the veil on her head. The diagonal folds on the himation continue from the chest to the ankle. The folds are generally superficial and thin. Only on the left side of the figure, the steeply descending folds starting just below the arm are more pronounced.

The female figure in the background is shown from the waist up. The lower part of the torso is mostly behind the child figure. Only in the right corner of the frieze are three vertical folds of the female chiton. The neck of the figure is left more exposed than the other figures. Facial details are more miniaturized. The small chin, a closed small mouth, small nose and almond-shaped eye and eye socket are prominent. Her forehead is narrow, and her hair is shown in tufts. The veil on her head is hung down closer to the ear than the other figures. Thus, the face is more prominent. The figure is pulling the himation fabric outward with her right hand raised to the chin and nose level. The left arm is extended over the shoulder of the little girl standing on the side. The fabric of the himation hangs down from the left shoulder. The folds of the himation on the body are superficial. The folds start from the figure's chest and narrow on the left shoulder. The folds hanging down in the right corner are steep, parallel and deeper than the other folds. In this corner the figure is slightly protruding from the relief surface.

ICONOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

Although the typology and use of the removable Tlos monuments evaluated in this article seem to be a local feature, the iconography of the reliefs on them is not at all foreign to the plastic art of Lycia. Thus, the depictions on both monuments can be evaluated under two main headings: narratives related to belief systems and subjects related to daily life. The bull sacrifice scene appears on both monuments in connection with the belief system. While a sacrifice scene with the participation of a single person is depicted on the monument Tlos 2044 (Fig. 6a), the Tlos 2045 monument shows the participation of all family members in the sacrifice ritual (Fig. 13a). Bull depictions, one of the symbols of the Sky God Trggas, were used in Lycia in two different contexts. On tomb monuments, the bull figure usually appears as an animal sacrificed to the god. The Southern Frieze of the Tomb of Salas in Kadyanda,¹⁶ the Cella Frieze of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos,¹⁷ the Tomb Monument at Trysa¹⁸ and the Sarcophagus of Xntabura in Limyra¹⁹ are among the known examples of sacrificial scenes.²⁰ On some monuments, the bull is used more as a divine symbol. The bull relief of the Heroon at Phellos is a good example for this type of use.²¹ Furthermore, three bull reliefs found at Tlos, which were probably used as orthostats on the surrounding walls of the heroon at Tlos, have a similar meaning.²² On the other hand, there is a bull relief in the sanctuary in the acropolis of Tlos that belongs to Sky God Trggas.²³ The bull relief at Xanthos dating to the beginning of the Archaic Period is the earliest known example of this group in Lycia.²⁴

Subjects related to daily life are arranged in the form of narratives honoring and glorifying the owner of the monument. Battle narratives in the style of single combat (Fig. 10a) and city siege scenes (Fig. 11a) are among the most prominent image templates in this context. Different compositions were chosen to emphasize the personal victory and success of the warrior in the battle scenes. In the first composition, the struggle between almost equal forces is emphasized.

16 Borchhardt – Neumann 1968, 180–185 fig.12–13; İşkan 2004, 400–401 fig.24.

17 Nieswandt 1995, 127–132; İşkan 2004, 399–400 fig.22.

18 Marksteiner 2002, 53–65 fig.116 pl.138; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 222–229 pl.19, 2–3; İşkan 2004, 391–392 fig.13.

19 Borchhardt *et al.* 1969/70, 203–206 pl.35, 1; 39, 1–2; İşkan 2004, 398–399 fig.20–21; Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 99–106 pl.8, 3.

20 In addition to the funerary monuments, at line 18 of the inscription on the base of an honorary statue used as spolium

in the north analemma wall of the Tlos theater states that 300 bulls were sacrificed to the sky god Trggas by Izraza, ruler of Tlos, see Kalinka 1901, Nr. 26.

21 Borchhardt *et al.* 1989, 89–96 pl.11; İşkan 2004, 394–395 fig.15–16.

22 Korkut 2016, 48–52.

23 Korkut 2016, 90–93.

24 Courtills 2005, 41–45 fig.5; Courtills 2008, 1631–1655 fig.6; Kolb 2018, 162 fig.28.

In this narrative, which is frequently encountered in Lycian art, the final moment of the struggle is emphasized by the delivery of the deathblow to the fallen opponent (Fig. 10a). This style of expression is known from Classical Period examples such as the Salas Mausoleum at Kadyanda,²⁵ the Greater Frieze or West Podium Frieze of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos,²⁶ the West Wall Frieze at Trysa,²⁷ the Khuwata Rock Tomb at Limyra²⁸ and Tomb 6 at Köybaşı.²⁹

In the second composition, the moment of taking the shield of the opponent, which can almost be perceived as a game instead of a battle fight, is emphasized (Fig. 12a). This expression, which is also defined as the shield triumph scene, is a frequent pattern in Lycian funerary art from the Archaic Period to the Late Classical Period.³⁰ The earliest examples of the shield triumph narrative are depicted on the Pillar Tomb at Isinda³¹ and the Lion Tomb at Xanthos.³² Unlike the relief of Isinda, the victorious opponents are gathered in one panel, while their shields are placed in a different area. Another example of more than two shield arrays is found on the reliefs of the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos.³³ The warrior relief carved on the façade of the Tlos rock tomb 18-44³⁴ is very similar to the Isinda example. On the other hand, all of the shield triumph scenes of different typologies on the tomb monuments in various cities of Lycia are seen on the frieze of the rock tomb Tlos 18-44 and the C2 scene on the Izraza Monument³⁵ are identical to the shield triumph template used on the monument Tlos 2045. A similar narrative style is also found in the Dancers Sarcophagus at Xanthos,³⁶ Tomb F6 in Köybaşı,³⁷ on the west and south façades of the Heroon at Trysa,³⁸ Tomb 42 at Myra³⁹ and in the Rock Tomb of Teburselli at Limyra.⁴⁰

The scenes of ›urban narratives‹ are of great importance in Lycian plastic art in the Classical Period. It is only through these reliefs that we can understand and interpret the Lycian urbanism of the Classical Period, which has not survived to the present day.⁴¹ Among these reliefs, the ›city siege‹ scenes (Fig. 11a) have a specific place, emphasizing power and aristocratic nobility.⁴² City siege friezes are represented by many examples in Lycian art, such as the Small Podium Frieze of Nereids Monument at Xanthos,⁴³ the Heroon at Trysa,⁴⁴ the Telmessos Sarcophagus,⁴⁵ the Merehi Sarcophagus at Xanthos⁴⁶ and the Izraza Monument at Tlos.⁴⁷

The naked male figure depicted from the front façade and the smaller servant next to him follow the typology of the athlete or sportsman in the palaestra (Fig. 5a). The athlete and servant scene is also common in Lycia.⁴⁸ Such representations, which are generally seen on funerary monuments, were preferred to honor and glorify the grave owner by making him successful.⁴⁹ In Lycian art, the depiction of the naked athlete from the front in an ideal view is a common phenomenon from the 4th century BC onwards. A very close resemblance of the depiction of the athlete and his servant is seen in the rock tombs at Myra.⁵⁰ Another similar example is on the tomb of Xluwanimi at Teimiousa.⁵¹ Unlike here, there is a chlamys on the athlete figure. In addition to these, naked athlete figures are also found in the sarcophagi of Payava⁵² and Merehi at Xanthos.⁵³ The athlete depicted on the frieze B1 of the Izraza monument is one of the latest examples of the Classical Period.⁵⁴

25 Borchhardt 1968, 174–238 fig. 2, 31–32; Kolb 2018, 231–232 fig. 58.

26 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 42–44 pl. 5, 2.

27 Eichler 1950, 59–61 pl. 13, 4a, 16, 6a; Oberleitner 1994, 33–36 fig. 65–66; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 73–74 pl. 12, 1.

28 Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 92–93 pl. 27–28.

29 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 162–163 pl. 30.

30 For variations on this type of single combat, see Pirson 2006, 639–646 fig. 1–8.

31 Akurgal 1941, 54–73 fig. 6–8; Özhanlı 2001/2002, 77–82 fig. 3–4; Kolb 2018, 98–101 fig. 17.

32 Akurgal 1941, 32–43 fig. 5; Işık 2016, 443 fig. 4.

33 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 53–56 pl. 8, 3.

34 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232–233 pl. 29, 3; Pirson 2005, 641–642 fig. 4; Korkut 2016, 101–102; Yücel-Bahçetepe 2018.

35 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 31 pl. 51, 6.

36 Demargne 1974, 97–103 pl. 56, 1–5.

37 Borchhardt *et al.* 2003, 21–89 fig. 38–40.

38 Oberleitner 1994, 25 fig. 38; 35 fig. 66; Landskron 2015, pl. 43, 2; 75, 2; 83, 1; 111, 2.

39 Borchhardt 1975, 125–126 pl. 68 A.

40 Borchhardt *et al.* 1988, 74–154 fig. 26; Borchhardt 2012, 238–239 pl. 25, 3. 26.

41 W. A. P. Childs collected all known examples of urban reliefs in a typological and iconographic study, see Childs 1978.

42 It is generally accepted that the city narratives or city siege scenes seen in Lycian art are of oriental origin and that Persian influence began to be preferred in the region, see Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 275–278.

43 Wurster 1977, 119–125 fig. 2–13; Childs 1978, 22–23 fig. 11.

44 Wurster 1977, 125–132 fig. 15–22; Borchhardt – Bleibtreu, 2013: 135–138 pl. 132–133.

45 Wurster 1977, 138–139 fig. 35–37; Childs 1978, 21–22 fig. 1–3.

46 Wurster 1977, 125 fig. 14; Childs 1978, 17–18 fig. 8.

47 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 147–148 pl. 146–147.

48 For accounts of an athlete on a palaestra in Lycia with Aryballos and Strigilis, see Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 44–45.

49 For the idea that athletic expressions were a symbol of aristocrats in Lycia, see Işkan 2002, 289.

50 Borchhardt 1975, 114, 138 pl. 64 C, 76 C–D; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 267–268 pl. 14, 3.

51 Borchhardt 1970, 386 fig. 42.

52 Demargne 1974, 108 pl. 27; Kizgut 2018, 76–79 fig. 5.

53 Demargne 1974, 88–95 pl. 52; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 284 pl. 18, 4.

54 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 31 pl. 50.

Banquet scenes with a kline have an important place in the iconography of Lycian tomb reliefs dating from the Classical Period onwards. In the scenes, which are generally accepted as a slice of daily life (Fig. 7a), there is a male figure lying on the kline in the center and a female figure sitting on a stool next to or at the foot of the kline.⁵⁵ Although such reliefs on funerary monuments are usually interpreted as a scene of a feast for the dead, it is clear that a slice of the eating and drinking ritual of daily life is intended to be emphasized with the drinking vessels in his hand, as here.⁵⁶ The banquet scenes with clusters, which are popularly used in Lycian art, are also of oriental origin⁵⁷ and began to be used in the funerary monuments of the region with the Persian Period.⁵⁸ The banquet scene in the wall paintings of the Kızılbél Tumulus, dated to 525 BC, is the earliest known example in Lycia to date.⁵⁹ A similar narrative is seen in the wall paintings of the Karaburun Tumulus II dated to the Early Classic Period.⁶⁰ It is known that from the Early Classical Period onwards, similar compositions of banquet scenes with clusters began to be used in Lycian tomb reliefs. The banquet scene on the Lion Sarcophagus at Xanthos,⁶¹ interpreted as scenes from the lives of nobles, is the earliest example of such narratives. The crest frieze Merehi Sarcophagus at Xanthos,⁶² the cella frieze Nereid Monument at Xanthos,⁶³ the Interior South Wall of the Heroon at Trysa,⁶⁴ the Salas Tomb Monument at Kadyanda,⁶⁵ the Tomb Relief at İslamlar,⁶⁶ the southern long side of the Lycian Sarcophagus at Phellos,⁶⁷ the Topal Gavur Rock Tomb at Asartaş,⁶⁸ the Rock Tomb No 10 at Limyra,⁶⁹ and the Rock Tombs 9⁷⁰ and 81⁷¹ at Myra are a good indication of how popular this iconography was in Lycia.

Among the narratives emphasizing social status, there are also scenes of equestrian procession. These narratives, which are given in the form of a parade, are interpreted as subjects related to the life of the nobility.⁷² Such narratives are thought to symbolize hunting or pre-war preparations, but they are also interpreted as scenes of expeditions.⁷³ The iconography of such equestrian processional scenes should not be confused with the chariot racing narratives common in Lycian tomb reliefs, which have different content.⁷⁴ The equestrian figure on the monument Tlos 2044 is depicted in a civil parade (Fig. 8a). There is no race or hunting-war struggle here. Therefore, this picture is an indication of the monument owner's courage, strength, success and wealth, and thus summarizes what he could do in times of war and peace. The absence of war and struggle narratives in the other scenes on the monument Tlos 2044, and the fact that the owner of the monument is depicted as an athlete on the palaestra, during a feast on the kline, and in a sacrificial scene supports this idea. Similar parade narratives are found from the earliest funerary monuments of Lycia. The earliest known examples are the east face of the Lion Tomb at Xanthos⁷⁵ and the west frieze of the Pillar Tomb at Isinda⁷⁶ which date to the Middle Archaic Period. Similar expressions are also found on Classical Lycian tombs. The frieze relief of horsemen in civilian clothes on the Monument G at Xanthos is a well-known example of the Early Classical Period.⁷⁷ The equestrian procession scenes on the western friezes of Heroon at Limyra⁷⁸ are the latest examples of the Classical Period.

55 Some examples include more than one seated figure of family members. The Salas Tomb at Kadyanda is a good example, see Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 278–279 pl. 254, 5.

56 On the different interpretations of the kline narratives on funerary monuments, see Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 66–67.

57 For example, the banquet scene of Assurbanipal on the Ninive palace relief dating to 650 BC, see Tofi 2006, 833 fig. 5; Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 255–256 pl. 170, 3.

58 In addition to the hunter-warrior identity of the grave owner on the tomb stelae in the Anatolian-Persian tradition, this iconography, which shows the high social status of the grave owner, was frequently preferred. For example, the friezes on the grave stele at Çavuşköy dated to the Early Classical Period include both a banquet scene with a kline and a hunting composition, see Karagöz 1984, 17 fig. 4; Tofi 2006, 833 fig. 9.

59 Tiryaki 2016, 388–392.

60 Tiryaki 2016, 395–401.

61 Dentzer 1982, 394–415 pl. 54 fig. 298–301.

62 Zahle 1979, 326 fig. 46.

63 Kolb 2018, 661–662 fig. 236; Tofi 2006, 837–838 fig. 10.

64 Kolb 2018, 674–676 fig. 242.

65 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 278–279 pl. 254, 5.

66 Zahle 1979, 344 fig. 68.

67 Tietz 2016, 367 fig. 5; Tofi 2006, 830–831 fig. 1.

68 Işın 1994, 68–77 fig. 1–3.

69 Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 47–60 pl. 24, 3–4; pl. 25, 1.

70 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 93–94 pl. 14, 1.

71 Borchhardt 1975, 114–116 pl. 63–66.

72 Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 114–115.

73 Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 114–115.

74 Chariot race narratives are thought to summarize hunting, war and agon games, see Işkan 2002, 290–303; Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 79–88.

75 Işık 2016, 443 fig. 4.

76 Özhanlı 2001/2002, 84–87 fig. 5; Kolb 2018, 98–101 fig. 17 (Kolb interpreted the scene as a hunting narrative).

77 Metzger 1963, 52–55 pl. 38–39, 1; 41, 1; Courtills 2003, 73–74 fig. 25.

78 Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 114–115 pl. 4–5.

THE STYLE AND DATING

The reliefs on both monuments Tlos 2044 and Tlos 2045 are in the Lycian tradition of iconography. In addition, although the reliefs on the monuments are generally dominated by local elements, foreign influences were also found in the light of the comparisons made. The figures on the reliefs emphasize more human aspects with a natural style of expression instead of divine features. Idealized anatomical features are not included in these monuments at all. Most probably, the subjects of the reliefs on the monuments were chosen and arranged according to the wishes of the owner. It can even be argued that he was involved in the design with the artist. Therefore, the figures in the scenes generally symbolize noble people and their relatives. Especially in the battle scenes, the opponents are portrayed not as weak enemies but as powerful as the owner of the monument himself, a style of expression unique to the region. There are no details of barbarism or foreign enemies in these narratives. Small details such as the fact that the opponent has fallen to the ground, or that the cheek of his helmet is open, or that he is not wearing a cloak are simple elements that indicate that the opponent may be an enemy (Fig. 10a).

There are no inscriptions on the monuments that can be used for dating. Moreover, the monuments have not been found in a datable archaeological context. Therefore, the dating of these monuments will only be possible through the typology of patterns and the style of the reliefs.

In the crowded reliefs, the figures are close and clinging together, blocking each other's view, and the artificial layering created on the surface is a characteristic of the Classical Period. Looking at the figures individually, a more natural expression is preferred to idealized bodies. The idealized style of the body structure in an athletic appearance is characteristic of the period before the Peloponnesian Wars, and this tradition ended with the Parthenon Temple period.⁷⁹ Therefore, the monuments Tlos 2044 and Tlos 2045 should be dated after the Parthenon.

The thinning of the garment in moving figures and its undulation while flying in space (Figs. 10a;11a;12a) is a phenomenon that first appeared on the Parthenon friezes. However, the rippling of the garment at the Parthenon is proportional to the movement and the folds are natural and realistic. In the Tlos monuments, on the other hand, although there is no excessive movement in the figures, there is an artificial fluctuation in the garment. Even when the wind blows the garment away, there is no distortion in the parallel folds. In addition, the fabric of the garment has become thinner – this so-called 'rich style' first appears on the friezes of the temple of Apollon Epikourios at Bassai.⁸⁰ In the Temple of Athena Nike⁸¹ and the Erechtheion⁸² built in Athens in the last quarter of the 5th century BC, the rich style was taken even further. In particular, the reduction in the number of folds and the creation of deep and wide flat surfaces between the high folds can be shown among the innovations. In addition, the high-flying folds are arranged in pairs and the space between the two folds is a deep channel. These deep channels between the folds and the creation of a light and shadow situation were also applied in the examples with vertical folds. This new adaptation of the rich style found in the Temple of Athena Nike and the Erechtheion summarizes the general style of the Tlos monuments. Therefore, it would not be wrong to consider the Tlos monuments in the last quarter of the 5th century BC, contemporary with the Temple of Athena Nike and the Erechtheion.

This new stage of the rich style reached in the last quarter of the 5th century BC was closely followed in Lycia and preferred in monumental buildings. The Nereid Monument at Xanthos⁸³ is the most important structure among these, and the features of the rich style are visible in both the relief friezes and the sculptures on the monument. However, it is a difference that the figures in the friezes are released from the ground and given as a plastic artefact. Furthermore, the warriors are highlighted in groups of two and their battle narratives in poses are a distinctive arrangement for the Nereid Monument. The war scene reliefs on the Tlos monuments are iconographically and stylistically very similar to the friezes of the Nereid monument. In particular, the sculptural rendering of the relief figures in 3/4-angle view, like a sculpture projecting from the ground, is very close. The warrior figures are also similar in that they are rendered from different angles, and the inner and outer surfaces of the shield are on the same frieze band. On the other hand, the posture of the moving figure, which does not overload the feet, is also in the tradition of the Nereid Monument.

79 For the sculptures of pediment, metopes and friezes of the Parthenon, see Brommer 1963; Brommer 1977; Jenkins 2008.

80 Cooper 1992.

81 Carpenter 1929.

82 Lauter 1976.

83 Demargne – Coupel 1969.

Different dates have been proposed for the Nereid Monument, ranging from the mid-5th century BC to the first quarter of the 4th century BC.⁸⁴ However, the end of the 5th century BC is the most accepted period.⁸⁵ First of all, the Nereid Monument is earlier than the Heroon of Trysa⁸⁶ dated to the early 4th century BC. Although there are stylistic differences in the friezes of the Heroon of Trysa due to different masters, the vividness and mobility, especially in the struggle scenes, is evident. This kind of natural and realistic expression is also reflected on the faces of the figures, and the depth between the eyes and the root of the nose emphasizes an almost pathetic expression. As in the Nereid Monument, the figures of the Tlos examples are characterized by a short and oval jaw, wide and protruding cheeks and a nearly square face. The excited pathos, which started to be expressed in the 4th century BC, is not seen in these figures.

Another important detail utilized in dating the Tlos monuments to the end of the 5th century BC is the frontal depiction of a naked male athlete as it appears on the Tlos monument 2044 (Fig. 5a). Here, the naked male figure's right foot, which is thrown back, is pressed to the ground only with its tip. This posture gives the impression that the weight of the body is carried by the fixed left leg. In fact, the aim is for the viewer to perceive the figure in a moving position. In reality, the body weight is carried by both feet. The torso is shifted towards the side of the fixed foot, thus creating a balance called contrapost. Parallel to this movement, the head of the sculpture is slightly rotated towards the fixed foot. With all this movement organization, a depth is also provided on the surface. The contrapost posture of the nude statue figure is an innovation brought to art by the famous sculptor Polykleitos, and this new practice was continued with different works until the end of the 5th century BC. Frontal nude male figures are a common expression on Lycian monuments from the last quarter of the 5th century BC onwards.⁸⁷ The male figures on the east pediment of the Nereid Monument of Xanthos are among the earliest known examples.⁸⁸

The anatomical details on the torso, emphasized by the muscles, and the short hair structure with thick locks attached to the head are also stylistic details of the Nereid Monument period. Similar anatomical features are also found in the male figures on the Inscribed Pillar monument dated immediately after the Nereid Monument.⁸⁹

Another detail of the period to which the Tlos monuments belong can be seen in the battle scene on the monument Tlos 2045 (Fig. 10a). Here, the Medusa heads on the greaves of the figure in the attack position are carved with individual monstrous features, with the tongue hanging out and the teeth emphasized (Figs. 10d.e). This type of Medusa head is classified as a middle type,⁹⁰ in use from the 5th century BC to the first quarter of the 4th century BC. From the 4th century BC onwards, the human-faced Medusa type was most common.⁹¹ Therefore, the monument Tlos 2045 must date from before the first quarter of the 4th century BC.

The architectural ornaments of the portable monuments of Tlos must also be taken into account here. The style of the Ionic cymation bordering the friezes at the upper level on the monument Tlos 2045 (Fig. 9) and the astragal row just below it are also known from Lycian monuments. For example, the arrangement of the egg and the shell, which are kept superficially in the Ionian cymation and are not separated from each other much, is similar in both the Nereid Monument at Xanthos⁹² and the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos.⁹³ On the other hand, the downward triangular narrowing of the egg and shell is similar to these examples. In the 4th century BC, the Ionian cymation eggs are more plastic and the eggs are abstracted from the shell. Even in this period, the space between the shell and the egg begins to deepen. The Heroon at Trysa in Lycia is a good example of this new style. Furthermore, in the astragal array at the bottom of the Ionian cymation, the pearls are in the form of spools and the beads in the form of ovals, which is also a feature of the 5th century BC, and chronologically the closest example is a practice seen in the Nereid Monument of Xanthos.⁹⁴ The ellipsoid form of the beads on the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos indicates that they are from a later period.

84 On the proposed chronological process for the Nereid Monument, see Bruns-Özgan 1987, 35–51.

85 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 47.

86 Eichler 1950; Oberleitner 1994, 56–61.

87 Zahle 1979, 264.

88 Zahle 1979, 264 Kat. 14.

89 The Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos is dated after 405 BC, see Bruns-Özgan 1987, 54. Moreover, the stylistic details of the

figures on the monument indicate that it is from a very close period with the Nereid Monument.

90 Krauskopf 1988, 295–296 fig. 82–105.

91 Floren 1977, 177–186; Krauskopf 1988, 296–297.

92 Kolb 2018, 659–660 fig. 233.

93 Bruns-Özgan 1987, 52–56 pl. 8, 1–2.

94 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, pl. 124, 4; 125, 4.

ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGY AND USAGE

The style and iconography of the reliefs on the monuments are in the Lycian tradition. However, this does not apply to the typology of the monuments, because the use of such monuments is not very common in Lycia.⁹⁵ In the light of the finds from Tlos, it is for the first time possible to talk about the intensive use of such monuments in a Lycian city. It is known that names such as »altar« or »anathema« are suggested in the literature for similar movable artefacts in Lycia. However, these objects have no homogeneous typology. For example, the male and female statues on the Nereid Monument are defined as anathema.⁹⁶ In addition to these, some inscribed blocks used as statue bases are interpreted as anathema.⁹⁷ The Tlos Izraza Monument is the only example of a portable monument identified as anathema that is decorated with reliefs.⁹⁸ Borchhardt defined anathema: »Ein Anathem ist ein schmückendes Objekt, das man der Gottheit hinsetzt und das nach der Stiftung in den Besitz der Gottheit bzw. des Tempels übergeht.«⁹⁹ However, the reliefs on the Izraza Monument were chosen to honor and glorify the owner of the monument, Izraza, the ruler of Tlos. There are no divine subjects here. Therefore, the anathemata were not only used for sacral purposes. Accordingly, it is thought that the Izraza monument was also used for sepulchral purposes.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, the term »altar« has also been suggested for some portable objects in Lycia.¹⁰¹ For example, a monumental block found in the Tlos theater is interpreted as altar.¹⁰² It has even been reported that this block actually belongs to an offering altar and that it was built for the god Trggas.¹⁰³ During the restoration project of the Tlos theater, the opportunity arose to examine in detail the rectangular monumental block (Figs. 14a.b) found *in situ* in the northern parodos analemma wall.¹⁰⁴

It is known from the Lycian inscription on the inner side of the wall that the block made of local limestone was later used as spoliium in this wall.¹⁰⁵ On the visible face of the monument at the entrance is a Greek inscription related to the secondary use.¹⁰⁶ This inscription emphasizes the names of the people who contributed money for the repair of the theater (εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ θεάτρου). Next to this monumental block on the analemma wall are two other statue pedestals¹⁰⁷ that were used but later fell down. The difference in the height measurements of the block *in situ* in the wall and the statue pedestals in question suggests that they were originally used independently. The Greek inscriptions on the visible faces of these two blocks complement the repair inscription on the monumental block on the wall. These inscriptions, which belong to the earliest repair phase of the theater, have been published many times before.¹⁰⁸

The Lycian inscription on the monument used on the northern analemma wall is related to the original use of the block in the 4th century BC and includes various religious regulations.¹⁰⁹ Although the role and titles of local rulers in Lycia during the Classical Period is a subject of uncertainty, the sculpture base of the Izraza Monument is inscribed with the title *χῆτawata*, meaning »king, commander, ruler«. It is also known that the rulers bearing the title of *Xῆtawata* identified the person responsible for the administration of the whole of Lycia. Furthermore, the inscription mentions the names of prominent local deities of Lycia such as *Trqqas* and *Maliya*. For example, line 18 of the inscription reads *trqqḥti:wawā:trisḥni*. When the word *trisḥni* is explained with the number 300,¹¹⁰ it means »the sacrifice of 300 cattle to the sky god trqqas«, which is not a very common custom. In addition to the sacrifice of cattle, the inscription also suggests the offering of honey, oil, wine and various liquids.

95 The purpose of the relief block from Apollonia (Zahle 1979, 309–314 fig. 36–39) is not yet clear. The block, which is very small in terms of its dimensions (34x28x33cm), was not evaluated in this group.

96 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 105–106 pl. 103, 1.

97 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 106–110 pl. 103, 2–5.

98 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 106–107 pl. 50–52.

99 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 105.

100 T. Yücel suggests that the Izraza monument stands on a rock grave in the necropolis area, see Yücel 2012, 43 pl. 10.

101 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 99–105 pl. 96–97.

102 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 99–101 pl. 47–49.

103 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 99. Borchhardt states that there were sanctuaries of Zeus and Apollon in the plain area in front of the Tlos theater, see Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, pl. 41. In fact, this interpretation is completely fictitious and does not reflect the reality. Recent excavations have shown that this area

was used as an agora during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, see Korkut 2016, 64–66.

104 The monumental block found *in situ* in the northern wall of the parodos analemma has been studied by many researchers, either for its inscriptions or simply for its use as a monument. For the latest comprehensive considerations of monumental block, see Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 99–101; Kolb 2018, 191–192; Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 97–100.

105 See Kalinka 1901, TL 26.

106 See Kalinka 1930, Nr. 550.

107 The inscriptions on the statue pedestals indicate that these were also originally statue pedestals from the Classical Period. For the inscriptions, see Kalinka 1901, TL 25; Kalinka 1930, Nr. 551.

108 See most recently Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 97–100.

109 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 99–101; Kolb 2018, 191–192.

110 This word is also translated as »30« in other sources, see Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 101. F. Kolb translates it as »three-year-old cattle«, see Kolb 2018, 192.



Fig. 14a: Monumental block with Lycian inscription on the northern analemma



Fig. 14b: The monumental block during the restoration

On the other hand, the cities *pinale* (Pınara), *telebehi* (Telmessos) and *χadawāti* (Kadyanda) in line 21 of the inscription show the areas covered by the cult activities. Thus, it becomes certain that there was a religious unity among the Lycian cities. As a result, in this inscription, Izraza, the ruler of Tlos, is honored and glorified for his religious activities. This monument is not dedicated to any Lycian god, especially the Sky God Trqqas.

The evaluations regarding the Greek inscription on the monumental block found on the north parodos analemma wall of the theater (Fig. 14a) mostly are related to the restoration of the theater in the Early Roman Period. Due to the palaeographical features of the restoration inscriptions on three blocks and the use of drachma as a currency in the inscriptions, the late 1st century BC, *i.e.* the reign of Emperor Augustus, is generally suggested as the date. It is also thought that the word Σεβαστοί in the inscription refers to Augustus and his wife Livia.¹¹¹

The evaluations on the Lycian inscription are mostly related to the first use of the monument in the Classical Period.¹¹² The most comprehensive assessment in this direction was made by Jürgen Borchhardt.¹¹³ He claimed that this block was originally the base of the Izraza Monument.¹¹⁴ In this interpretation, he even placed a bronze statue of the ruler of Tlos at the top of the Izraza monument.¹¹⁵ In 2007, Borchhardt re-evaluated the monumental block and suggested that it must be an altar.¹¹⁶ This monument is even modeled in the form of an altar, allegedly dedicated to the Sky God Trggas.¹¹⁷ This last interpretation was especially influenced by the 4–5 cm deep depression on the upper part of the monument. It was thought that this arrangement was created for a brazier used in religious ceremonies. It was also suggested that there were channels on the sides of the upper surface where the grill was placed.¹¹⁸

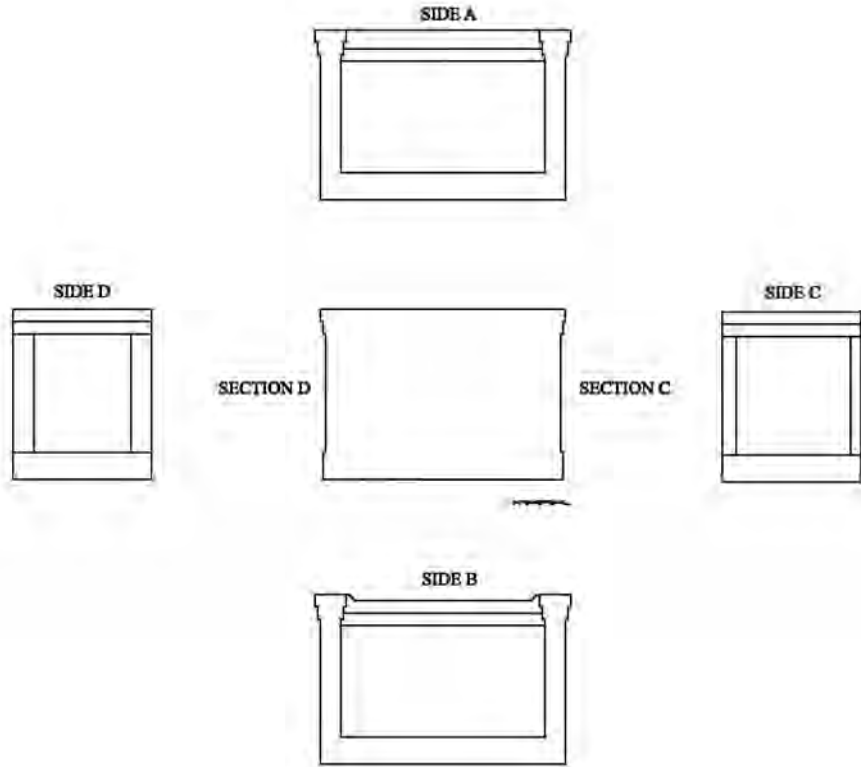


Fig. 15: Drawing of the monumental block with Lycian inscription

111 Tekoğlu – Korkut 2020, 97–100. The early phase of the Tlos theater is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC based on the inscribed statue base found in front of the north main entrance of the theater, see Korkut 2016, 41.

112 The content of the inscription suggests that the monument is not associated with a tomb, a consensus accepted by all researchers interested in the monument, see Kolb 2018, 192.

113 Borchhardt – Schulz 1976, 67–90.

114 The monument, which was first discovered in the field north of the acropolis of Tlos and which is understood from its

Lycian inscriptions and reliefs that it honors Izraza, is now under protection at the Fethiye Museum.

115 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, pl. 50,1.

116 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 99–101. This monumental block found on the northern analemma wall of the theater was re-interpreted as an altar, while »ceremonial altars« dating to the Classical Period were cited as examples.

117 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, pl. 49,3.

118 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, pl. 48,4.

The fact that the monumental block was used as a wall stone in the northern analemma wall of the theater and therefore only a small part of it is visible is the main reason for the different interpretations of its function since its first discovery. The northern parodos analemma wall of the theater was dismantled during the restoration works starting in December 2022, and thus, for the first time, it was possible to examine all faces of the block in detail (Fig. 14b). During the superficial observations, the height of the narrow side of the monumental block, which appears to have been originally produced in a longitudinal rectangular form, was measured as 138 cm in height and 113 cm in width. Only a fragment of 125 cm in length survived intact from the broken long faces. The long face (side A) with the Lycian inscription forms the front façade of the monument (Fig. 15). It is shaped like a rectangular frame and is framed by an architectural arrangement consisting of a buttress on the sides and two wide fascias on the top.¹¹⁹ A similar arrangement is applied on the back side (side B) of the monument. However, there are no motifs or inscriptions within the frame. The narrow-left side (side C) with the Greek inscription indicating the earliest repair of the theater has a similar architectural arrangement on the long sides. However, the double fascias on the upper part of the side C are given above the piers on the sides. The fascias on the long faces are below the piers on the sides. The right narrow façade (side D) is missing because it is broken.

At a time when the discussions about the original use of the rectangular monumental block on the northern analemma wall of the Tlos Theater had not yet ended, a new monumental block was discovered, this time on the analemma wall of the south parodos of the theater (Fig. 16). During the 2022 excavations, this block was documented for the first time and it was found that it originally belonged to a monument and was later broken and used as spoliun in the southern analemma wall.¹²⁰ However, the horizontal position of the Greek inscription on it indicates that this block was used as spoliun for the second time on this wall.¹²¹ Detailed examination of this block revealed that its dimensions of 138x113 cm correspond to the left narrow façade (side C) of the monument on the north analemma wall.

Moreover, the surfaces are similar in that they have the shape of a picture frame with the buttresses on the sides and the double fascia arrangements on the upper part. On the other hand, the upper surface of this block is bordered with wide frames on the sides and the middle part was arranged in the form of a pit. Finally, the material of this block is exactly the same local limestone as the monumental block on the northern analemma wall. In the light of all these data, it is concluded that this newly discovered block is the missing right narrow façade (side D) of the rectangular monument dated to the Classical Period on the northern analemma wall. Only a 75 cm long section was preserved from the long face of the block forming the D-face of the monument on the north analemma wall. When the two blocks on the north and south analemma walls are joined at the overlapping fractures, a 200 cm long monument emerges (Fig. 15). The upper surface of the monument is bounded only on the front side by a projection 27 cm thick on the narrow sides and 22 cm thick on the long sides. The so-called back side (side B) does not have this projection. The 6 cm deep depression in the center of the upper surface measures approximately 146x91 cm.

The architectural pavement, formed by the combination of monumental blocks in situ in the analemma walls of the parodos to the north and south of the theater, provides important data on the original use of this monument. First of all, the idea that the upper part of the monument was formed with slots for an iron brazier belonging to a fire altar¹²² does not reflect the truth. These marks were made during the dismantling of the narrow faces of the monument for the repair inscriptions of the Early Roman Period. During this process, many cracks have appeared on the upper surface of the monument. Some of these cracks even extend to the long and narrow faces. Other than that, no traces of fire burning on the monument have survived. The upper part of the monument is in very clean condition. Thus, it is suggested that it must have been a monument of honor rather than an altar. Therefore, the Lycian inscription on the monument describes the religious duties and responsibilities of Izraza (a ruler, who also dominated the entire Lycian region (*trmmisn:xñtawata*).

119 During the use of the monumental block as a wall stone, the arrangement in the form of a picture frame was chiseled and the surface was flattened. A similar intervention is observed on the upper part of the monument. Half of the upper part of the block was chiseled in order to adjust the joint of the upper wall row.

120 Due to the static structure of the south analemma wall, this

block was not removed during the restoration works and remains in its original place.

121 In the meantime, it is understood that the first kerki on the south side of the ima cavea was renewed with the existing material and its original texture was disrupted. The shaving of the lower left corner of the block measuring 30x40 cm is related to its first use as spoliun in the analemma wall.

122 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 100 pl. 48, 4.



Fig. 16: The monumental block used as a spolia in southern analemma

The inscription on the front of the monument mentions Izraza's name three times. There is no mention of anyone other than Izraza. At the beginning of the Lycian inscription, the term *ebeija:erubliya* (»this monument«) is used for this monument. In his reinterpretation of the monument, Borchhardt identified the word *erubliya* with the word *kumezija* (altar) and defined this monument as an altar.¹²³ A new reconstruction of the monument in the form of a Classical Period ceremonial altar was commissioned to support this idea.¹²⁴ Recent observations of the monument have shown that this model is also flawed.¹²⁵ In addition, the long face with the Lycian inscription emphasizes the façade, which contradicts this reconstruction.

The rectangular monument, which was formed by combining the blocks documented in the side walls of the north and south main entrances of the Tlos theater, was used as a statue pedestal and accordingly, a base measuring 145 x 90 cm should have been placed on the upper part of the monument (Fig. 17). Therefore, the upper surface of the monument, including the protrusions on the sides, was rough-carved. Thus, a natural clamping system was provided. The absence of any protrusions on the upper edge of the back side of the monument is also related to the use of the monumental block as a statue base. The statue of Izraza was not

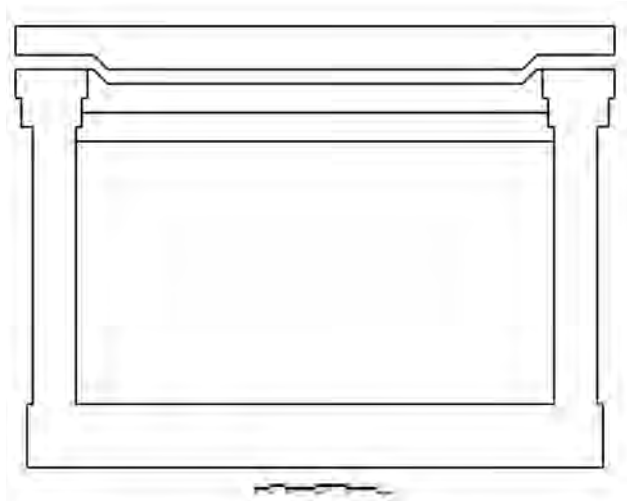


Fig. 17: The restitution drawing of the monument

found during the excavation of the theater. However, a fragment with a length of 13 cm, belonging to the head of the horse on which Izraza rode, was found to have been used as fill material (Fig. 18a). At the end of the proposed scaled reconstruction of the fragment, in which only the mouth and nose can be seen, it is determined that the horse measures 120 x 150 cm (Fig. 18b). The stylistic features of the head fragment also correspond to the Izraza Monument, which dates from the middle of the 4th century BC.¹²⁶

123 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 101.

124 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, pl. 49, 3.

125 The first attempt by Borchhardt (Borchhardt – Schulz 1976) was also flawed. The 90 x 90 cm pedestal arrangement of the Izraza monument is the most important indicator of this. Research on rock graves has shown that the upper parts of some graves were flattened and portable monuments were placed there.

Accordingly, it is assumed that the Izraza monument was originally used on a rock grave. For the use of the Izraza monument, see most recently Korkut – Özdemir 2019, 230–231.

126 We would like to thank the sculptor Ayşe Korkut, who made a full-scale reconstruction of the horse according to the head fragment.



Fig. 18a: The horse head fragment

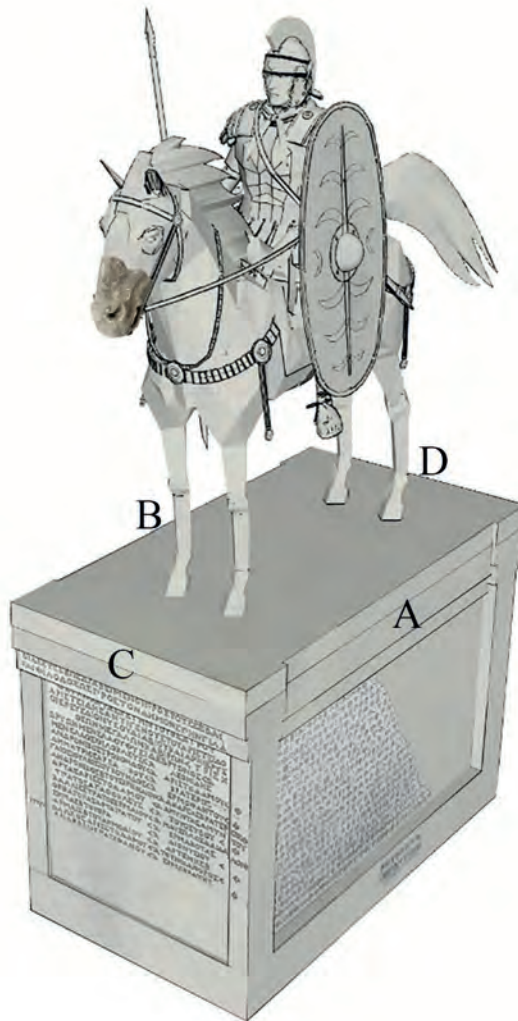


Fig. 18b: Reconstruction of the horse from the head fragment

This type of honoring monument, called anathema, is not unfamiliar to Tlos. The two statue pedestals found next to this monumental block on the north parodos analemma wall of the Tlos theater are known to have been used as anathema from the inscriptions on them.¹²⁷ During the excavation and restoration works in the theatre, two new fragments belonging to the anathema blocks were discovered which were previously used as spolia in the theatre. However, only one of these anathema fragments has been typologized so far. This particular example, which ends with an egg-and-dart design on the ovolo, bears a striking resemblance to the anathema Tlos 2045. A partially preserved side of this anathema fragment depicts a similar scene of a single combat.

In addition, two fragments and four undamaged complete blocks were recovered during the restoration works of the theater. These blocks, based on their inscriptions, are believed to belong to the bases of the anathemata from the Classical Period. One of the pedestal block with inscriptions, measuring 60 x 98 x 84 cm, stands intact on the outer wall of the vomitorium, which opens onto the second cavea of the theater from the south (Fig. 19). This particular pedestal is different from other pedestals in that it is bilingual with the name of the artist appearing on the second inscription.

The first four lines of the Lycian inscription on the pedestal honor the monument's owner, while the Greek inscription below reads *Theodoros Athenaios epoese*, highlighting the artist's name.¹²⁸ The name Theodoros, a sculptor who worked at Tlos during the Classical Period, is not confined only to this inscription. Another anathema pedestal from the Classical Period, also bears the name Theodoros. The new pedestal appears to have been reused as spolium in the analemma wall at the southern parodos entrance to the theater. This suggests that Theodoros created two bronze statues at Tlos during the Late Classical Period.

The fact that the anathemata were extensively used as spolia in the theater of Tlos is related to the fact that the original places where they stood were in close proximity. In this context, a thick wall in the east-west direction on the southern slope of the small bath dated to the Early Roman Period is remarkable. Field investigations showed that the inner part of this wall was filled during the Roman Period and thus the front part of the small bath was terraced. The wall blocks bear Classical Period characteristics in terms of construction technique. The Lycian inscriptions observed on the wall blocks also indicate that these walls belong to the Classical Period.



Fig. 19: Pedestal block with inscriptions on the outer wall of the vomitorium

127 Borchhardt – Bleibtreu 2013, 106–108 pl. 53, 3.

128 See Kalinka 1901, TL 25.

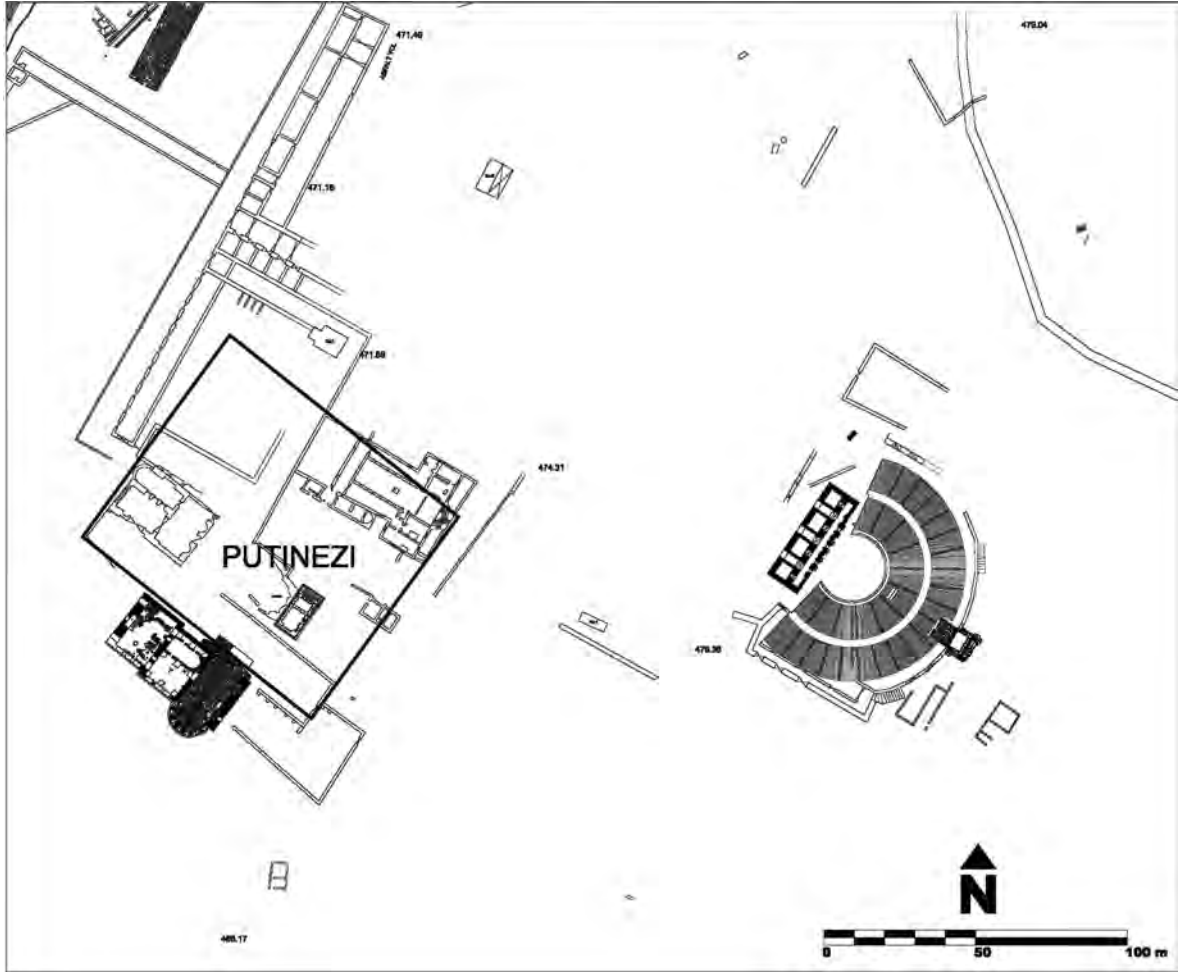


Fig. 20: The site of *putinezi* from the Classical Period



Fig. 21: Aerial view of *putinezi*

From the content of the Lycian inscriptions, it is thought that this area surrounded by thick walls was defined as *Putinezi*.¹²⁹ This area called Putinezi was probably used as a heroon with monuments such as anathemata in the Classical Period (Figs. 20.21). Such heroon structures are not unfamiliar for Lycia.¹³⁰ The content of the inscriptions on the anathemata found at Tlos also supports the idea that they were placed in an area like a heroon. On the other hand, the iconography of the reliefs on the newly documented monuments Tlos 2044 and Tlos 2045, which are directly related to the owner of the monument, is also indicative of a similar use. In addition, the orthostat blocks belonging to three bull reliefs found near the temple of Kronos are also thought to have been used on the walls of the *putinezi* structure.

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129 The Lycian inscription, which has 5 lines, mostly includes personal names. Only the word Putinezi does not match with these names (not so Kolb 2018, 192–193). Therefore, it is assumed that the word Putinezi is a monument or place name, see Tekoğlu 2017, 64–65.

130 The Heroon of Trysa is a good comparison. In addition to these, heroon structures surrounded by thick walls were also found in the villages of Zindan (Korkut 2016, 188–191), Köristan (Korkut 2016, 176–184) and Darıözü (Korkut 2016, 152–157) in the territory of ancient Tlos.

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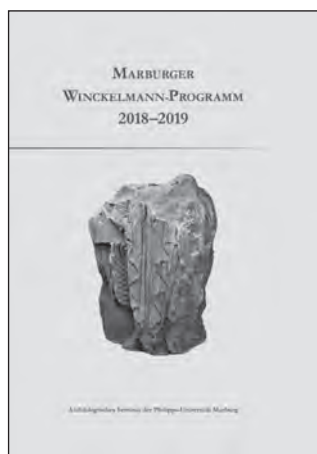
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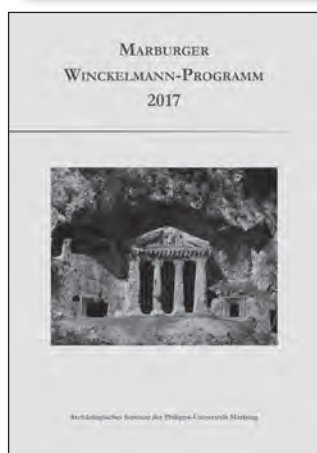
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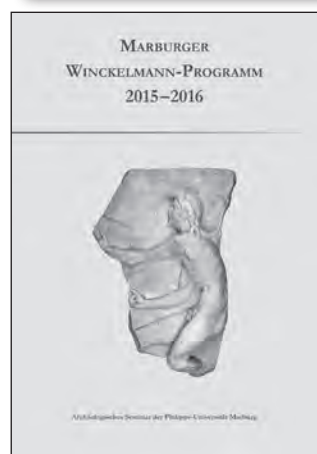
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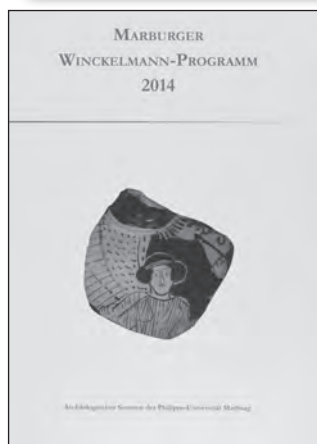
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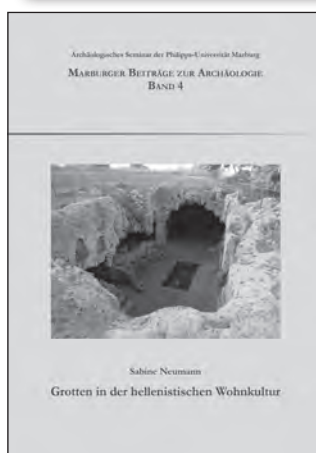
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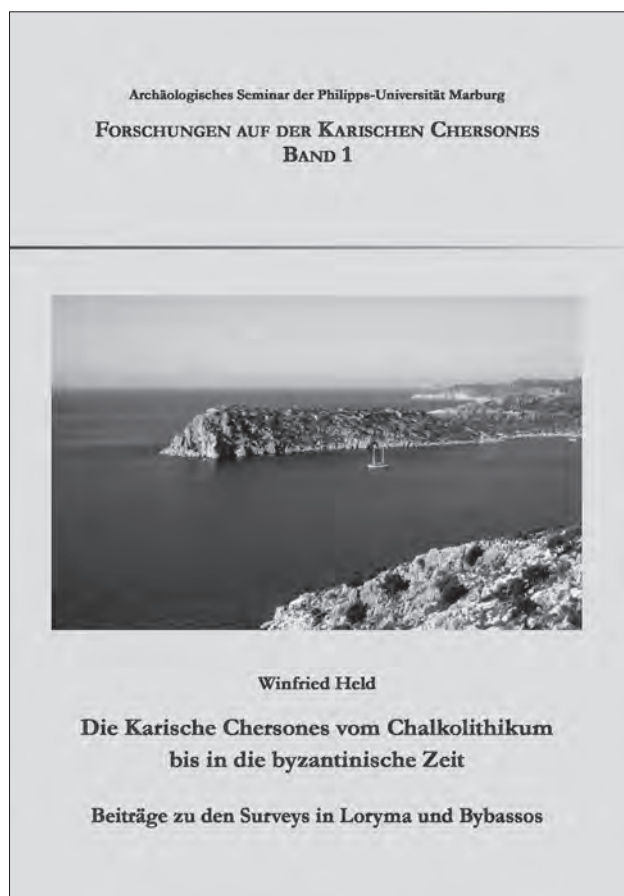
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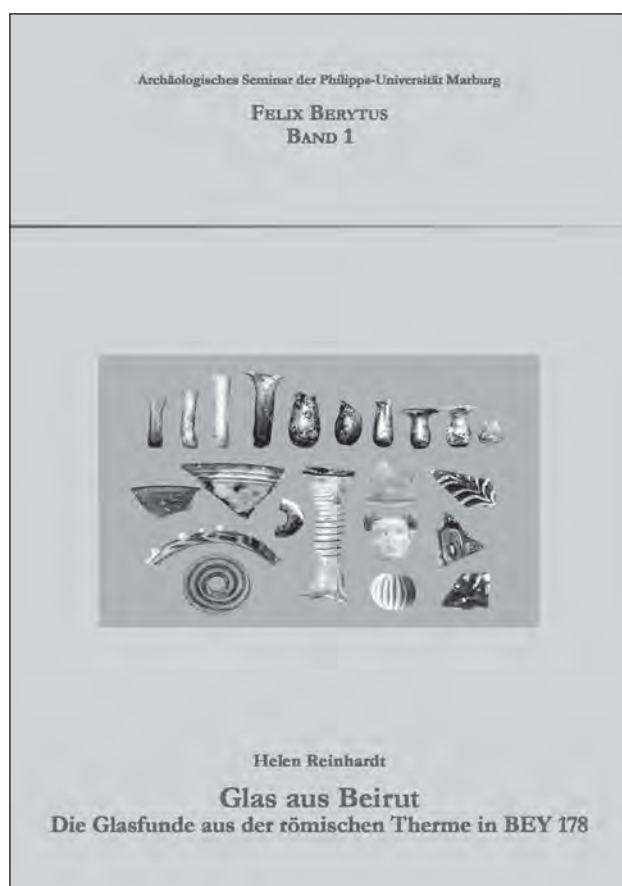
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