Art History within Anatolian Studies. An Approach to Lycian Images

Fabienne Colas Rannou

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Annick Payne / Šárka Velhartická /
Jorit Wintjes (eds)

Beyond All Boundaries

Anatolia in the First Millennium BC

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An approach to Lycian images

Fabienne Colas-Rannou

Abstract: Lycia is an area of Southern Anatolia famous for its stone monuments and sculpture, dating to between the 6th and the 4th centuries BC, under Achaemenid rule of Anatolia. The geographical and historical context of Lycia, and a cultural history with signs of an outward-looking attitude to Greek culture, has meant that many academic treatises have focused either on the Greek elements in Lycian art or on the Persian ones (see for example: Jacobs 1987). Lycian art is thus often seen as a "peripheral" phenomenon to Greek and/or Persian art. The history of Lycian studies, more specifically the field of Lycian sculpture, is heavily dominated by traditional academic fields. Accordingly, Lycian studies have long been promoted by Hellenists, and sometimes Orientalists, but much less by Anatolia specialists. This paper will focus on historiography and methodology. It will develop a methodological and conceptual approach that can be used to study images in specific Lycian and Anatolian contexts, allowing us to reassess the concepts of "Hellenization" and "Iranization". "Images" are understood as figurative representations. From an art historical vantage point, this paper aims to illustrate how iconography and iconology can improve our knowledge of Lycian culture and history during the 1st millennium BC, and highlight the fact that Lycian culture is an original Anatolian culture.

Keywords: Lycia, art history, historiography, Pierre Demargne, iconography, iconology, mixity, fluidity

1 DISCOVERING LYCIAN ART DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES AD: The difficulty of defining Lycian art and a possible origin of the traditional view "between Greece and Persia"

During the 1770s, Choiseul-Gouffier noticed the specificity of some sarcophagi from ancient Telmessos, describing one of them as follows:

> "Ce tombeau est le plus grand de tous ceux que nous avons rencontrés en cet endroit; il est d'un dessin très singulier, et je n'en connais aucun du même genre. Il semble qu'on ait voulu imiter un édifice construit en bois; c'est au moins ce que paraissent indiquer ces dés de pierre ou ces mutules que l'on a conservées, ainsi que ces panneaux correctement dessinés, et qui sont pris dans la pièce même."[1]

He appreciated the monumental rock-cut tombs at Telmessos, making connections between them and Persian and Greek architecture:

> "On trouve dans la Haute-Égypte un grand nombre de grottes, qui sans doute étaient consacrées à cet usage; mais aucun de ces monuments n'a autant d'analogie avec ceux de Telmissus, que les tombeaux de Persépolis."[2]

> "…mais quelle analogie plus frappante encore entre les tombeaux de Persépolis et ceux de Telmissus ! Ces derniers sont de même creusés dans une montagne de roche vive, et à une trop grande hauteur pour qu'on y puisse parvenir sans beaucoup de peine; ils sont en grand nombre, […]: quelques-uns ne sont que de simples trous, d'autres sont plus décorés: mais deux de ces tombeaux, vrais monuments, fixent bientôt les regards. Ils offrent la façade d'un édifice, dont le style prouve que c'est un ouvrage des Grecs, travaillant à l'imitation des Perses ou des Égyptiens."[3] (**Fig. 1**).

As they were gradually "discovered" by Europeans during the 19th century AD, the Lycian stone monuments were noted for the singularity of their architecture (rock-cut tombs, pillar tombs, sarcophagi). In his

1 Choiseul-Gouffier 1842: 190.
2 Choiseul-Gouffier 1842: 193.
3 Choiseul-Gouffier 1842: 196.

Fig. 1. Telmessos. At the top, one rock-cut tomb with a front inspired by Greek architecture, below, rock-cut tombs of Lycian traditional type (photo © F. Colas-Rannou).

Fig. 2. Drawings of four kinds of tombs, selection from Antiphellos, Tlos, Xanthos, from Fellows 1841: plate between pages 104 and 105 (from digital version Internet Archive, original from the Getty Research Institute, public domain).

journal published in 1841, Charles Fellows described sites in ancient Lycia and commented:

> "In my former rambles in Asia Minor I observed that each district had a peculiarity in the architecture of its tombs, and that none was more distinctly marked than that of the ancient Lycia."[4]

He highlighted "four" kinds of tombs peculiar to Lycia, which relate to the categories currently known as Lycian pillar tombs, sarcophagi and rock-cut tombs, and included a drawing on a plate attached to the text (**Fig. 2**). In trying to characterize these original architectural forms, Fellows borrowed terms from other cultural contexts and periods, and called them "the Obelisk, the Gothic, and the Elizabethan forms".[5]

On a visit to Lycia a couple of years later, Charles Texier arrived at the site of Phellos and expressed his astonishment:

> "Nous arrivons à la nécropole. Nous sommes dans l'admiration en entrant dans une enceinte carrée toute taillée dans le roc, au milieu de laquelle s'élèvent deux édifices monolithes taillés dans la masse même du rocher. Ce ne sont plus des colonnes et des frontons; c'est un art tout à fait en dehors de ce que nous connaissons de l'antiquité, car il est aussi éloigné de l'égyptien que du grec. Un de ces grands tombeaux a trois portes; son entablement ressemble à des charpentes posées de front, et sur les faces latérales, ce sont d'énormes solives recourbées représentant des becs d'ancre; tout cela taillé dans le rocher."[6]

Previously, in the same journal, Charles Texier was able to use the vocabulary of Greek architecture to describe the front of some tombs at Telmessos which imitate Greek architecture (Texier 1849: 188; the same tombs were observed by Choiseul-Gouffier; see, above, the last ones mentioned by this author). Now, instead, we see the "difficulty" he has in describing the architecture of these Lycian rock-cut tombs at Phellos

4 Fellows 1841: 104.

5 Fellows 1841: 104.

6 Texier 1849: 201. See also Texier 1849: 190 on Lycian sarcophagi at Telmessos: "Ce genre de tombeaux est tout à fait en dehors du goût des Grecs, et me paraît propre aux peuples de Lycie."

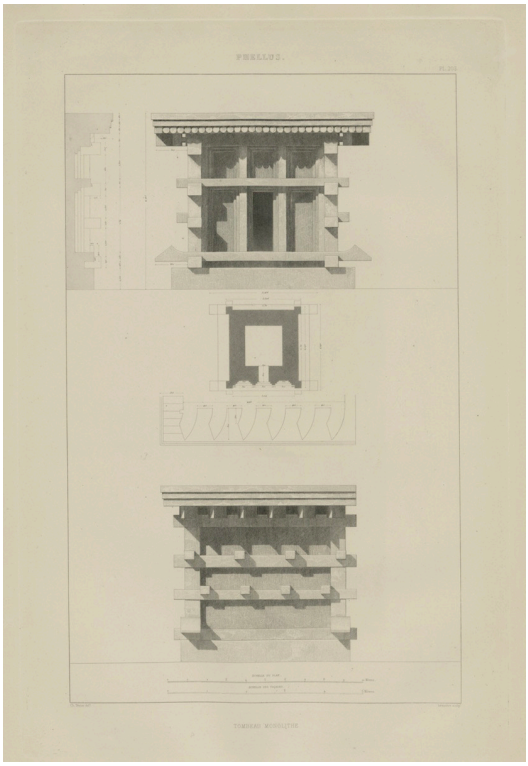

Fig. 3. Drawings of a traditional Lycian rock-cut tomb at Phellos (from Texier 1849: Pl. 203).

(**Fig. 3**). The reference to tombs in Persepolis is also present in Texier's book, in the passage relating to Lycian rock-cut tombs at Telmessos.[7]

Nevertheless, even if some original elements could be noted in Lycian architecture, the style of the reliefs that adorned Lycian stone monuments could be seen as Greek. Writing about Xanthos, for example, Charles Fellows noted:

> "The whole of the sculpture is Greek, fine, bold, and simple, bespeaking an early age of that people."[8]

7 Texier 1849: 189. Here, Charles Texier quoted the opinion expressed by Edward Daniel Clarke who travelled at the beginning of the 19th century AD.

8 Fellows 1841: 165.

At this point, we see the emergence of one of the most striking aspects of Lycian studies until the 20th century – an approach which interpreted Lycian sculpture and iconography closely (in some instances, strictly) on the basis of its relationship to Greek art and culture. This approach was mainly developed by European scholars during the 20th century. We can consider this historiographic phenomenon through the interesting case of one of the scholars who strongly promoted the study of ancient Lycia: Pierre Demargne (1903–2000), excavation leader at Xanthos.

2 A HELLENIST'S VIEW AND THE NOTION OF "PERIPHERY": The example of Pierre Demargne

The French scholar Pierre Demargne led the archaeological team at Xanthos from 1950 onwards. He published important works about Xanthos and its monuments (four volumes in the "Fouilles de Xanthos" collection and numerous journal articles[9]). He was a Hellenist, he had been a member of the French Archaeological School at Athens, and taught ancient Greek literature and Greek archaeology at a university in France.[10] Before excavating in Lycia, he had worked in Crete and had shown a special interest in the 7th century BC – the so-called "Orientalizing period" of Greece. Demargne developed his ideas about cultural contacts within the framework of the notion of "periphery". This notion was highlighted during the 8th International Congress of Classical Archaeology which he co-organized in Paris in 1963. The proceedings were published in Paris in 1965 under the main title: "Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques". It was a new perspective in the sense that it opened up the view to areas other than "traditional" Greece and Italy (Demargne 1965a: 1–3)[11]. However, this approach to cultural contacts between Greece and non-Greek areas mostly tended to emphasize a kind of Greek cultural superiority and "Greek influence" on other ancient cultures or civilizations, in an unequal relationship. P. Demargne employed this approach to Lycian sculpture, and defined Lycia as an "intermediary zone" within this

9 Partly listed (until 1976) in Revue archéologique 1976, I, 3–8.

10 For biographical informations, see Demargne et. al. 1992; Contamine 2000.

11 For example: Iberian Peninsula, Thrace, Scythia. A special session was dedicated to ancient Anatolia with the participation of Ekrem Akurgal (Phrygian art), Kurt Bittel (Boğazköy), Rodney Young (Gordion), George M. A. Hanfmann (Lydia), and Pierre Demargne (Lycia).

"periphery" – Greece (Continental Greece and Asia Minor) remaining the "centre" from which cultural diffusion spread (Demargne 1965b; Demargne 1978: 753). This way of understanding cultural contacts can still be detected in Demargne's works during the 1970s, with the idea of "hellénisme conquérant", although the author did note that new notions were emerging among scholars:

> "Phénomène non pas unique, certes, que celui du contact entre civilisations, de l'acculturation comme on dit aujourd'hui, au bénéfice de celles qui disposent d'une supériorité matérielle et spirituelle : l'Antiquité, […], a connu le phénomène antérieur et inverse de l'orientalisation, le phénomène postérieur et complémentaire de la romanisation."[12]

On the one hand, he showed genuine curiosity and great erudition, and promoted the monuments from Xanthos among ancient art; on the other hand, we notice a lack of focus on Lycian sculpture as autonomous and original, Anatolian phenomenon. His recurrent use of the adjectives "Archaic" and "Classical", borrowed from Greek studies for Lycian sculpture, is noteworthy (Demargne 1965b: 500; Demargne 1978). Demargne was connected with the network of scholars excavating in Turkey, and he knew items from other parts of Anatolia (see, for example, Demargne 1965b: 500; Demargne 1981b: 586). Nonetheless, his studies of Lycian sculpture, especially his analyses of the style of carving, repeatedly referred to Greek models (e.g. Demargne 1978). Of course, this was justified: Greek sculpture had an impact on Lycian sculpture; and Demargne rightly raised the question of the identity of craftsmen (for example Demargne 1965b: 500; Childs/Demargne 1989), which remains important. In some papers, however, Demargne could be said to describe the style of Lycian sculpture in a depreciative way (his choice of French vocabulary may be significant). This was the case in his paper for the Paris congress, for example, when he mentions the reliefs belonging to the buildings "H" and "G" from the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos:

12 Demargne 1974a: 584. In a paper dated 1979 (published in 1981), he used the word "acculturation", however, the notion of periphery still remained (Demargne 1981a: 85).

> "[…] les personnages drapés nous paraissent très particulièrement maladroits parce qu'ils prétendent sans doute imiter les formes plus évoluées de modèles grecs."[13]

We find the same tone in his remarks on the East pediment of the so-called "Nereid Monument" and the seated male figure:

> "le trois-quarts est passablement maladroit et manque tout à fait d'élégance."[14]

Elsewhere, we find a similar approach to another "peripheral area", in the context of a comparison with sculpture from Cyprus dating to the 5th century BC:

> "Chypre, […], nous fournirait des exemples d'un archaïsme prolongé, à l'affligeante médiocrité : une vraie rechute après l'éclat des années 500."[15]

Furthermore, his position was ambiguous, as he used both the idea of an efficient and prevailing Hellenism and that of local "cultural, religious and political ideologies"[16], which could have interfered with this Greek "influence".

> "Toutes proches de la côte les zones que nous appelons intermédiaires demeurent indigènes, tout en subissant depuis longtemps l'influence grecque…"[17]

> "Là où prévalent la vieille iconographie et l'idéologie dynastique, réapparaissent les formes et les procédés de l'archaïsme qui sont aussi ceux de l'Orient."[18]

Pierre Demargne's proposal to define three periods in the history of the "hellenization" of Lycia was mainly based on the carving style, and

13 Demargne 1965b: 501.
14 Demargne 1981b: 587.
15 Demargne 1974a: 589.
16 For this expression: Demargne 1974a: 586.
17 Demargne 1978: 753.
18 Demargne 1965b: 502.

consisted of two high periods and between them a time of weaker influence (Demargne 1974a: 587–590). This enabled him to postulate a certain refusal or resistance, sometimes seen as an "unfitness" and as an expression of "conservatism" (Demargne 1965b: 500; Demargne 1974a: 589). The notion of "archaism" could be associated with the notion of "provincialism" (another term suggesting periphery) when applied to sculpture dating to the 4th century BC (Demargne 1981b[19]).

In the 8th volume of the "Fouilles de Xanthos" on the decorative sculpture of the Nereid Monument, written in collaboration with William Childs and published in 1989 (Childs/Demargne 1989), the propensity towards a depreciative approach had weakened, and the more moderate point of view employed in this volume better appreciated the balance between a Greek "influence" and the local context.

Thus, in his works we find both the recurrent idea of a Greek art employed to express an Oriental ideology (for example Demargne 1976: 82; Demargne 1981a) and the idea of an Achaemenid reference in the treatment of certain figurative scenes or human figures (Demargne 1974b: 70, 79, 81; Demargne 1976: 84, 87), and thus of Lycian art positioned between the Greek world and Persia. Furthermore, he proposed the reading of some patterns in a Greek way, within the frame of a progression of Hellenism in Lycia.[20]

Pierre Demargne was very interested in iconography and tried to identify patterns and understand them. Despite the fact that he was able to write that "a stylistic likeness doesn't necessarily lead to a same interpretation" (about the Payava sarcophagus, Demargne 1974b: 75), guided by a "Greek-looking" style of carving, Demargne sometimes went too far in interpreting Lycian images in a Greek manner (just as other scholars did), without questioning iconographic gaps and the fact that they could express a Lycian meaning (whatever the style was, i.e. independently of a "Greek-looking" style). In my opinion, the most obvious example is the interpretation given to the free-standing female figures distributed among the intercolumniations of the Arbinas tomb at Xanthos as "Nereids" (known as the Nereid Monument)[21]; and to the

19 P. Demargne borrowed the expression "archaïsme provincial"/"provincial archaism" from E. Pfuhl (Pfuhl 1926: 154: "provinzieller Archaismus"; see Demargne 1981b: 586 n. 5; Childs/Demargne 1989: 363 n. 92).

20 P. Demargne still expressed these ideas in an interview in 1992 (Demargne et al. 1992: 320–321).

21 For a Lycian interpretation, see Robinson 1995.

akroteria (fragmentary human figures) of the same monument as "Thetis and Peleus" (Demargne 1987).

Thus, he never really highlighted in a positive way the idea of active Lycian choices from both Greek and Achaemenid art. Pierre Demargne was a man of his times, and his approach to ancient intercultural contacts can well be understood in the context of a contemporary history of colonialism, notably in France (decolonization and Colonization Wars during the 1950s and 1960s). The fact of associating the adjective "indigène"/indigenous with Lycian culture is also significant; this adjective is present in a lot of papers, and was still used in the volume published in 1989 on the Nereid Monument (Demargne 1965b: 501–502; Demargne 1974a: 586; Demargne 1974b: 68, 70, 91; Demargne 1976: 82, 95; Demargne 1981a: 85–86; Demargne 1981b: 592; Childs/Demargne 1989: 353, 369, 370; see above the citation of Demargne 1978: 753).

Since Pierre Demargne was naturally not alone in his attitude, further examples by other scholars could be added (and will be, elsewhere, for comparison).[22] More generally, the concept of "Hellenization" was used to enhance a kind of Greek cultural superiority, a diffusion of Greek culture among non-Greek people, Lycians notably, who had to welcome it, in a passive way.[23]

It is important to note that Pierre Demargne's approach was "ambivalent", due to the difficulty of defining Lycian art in the complicated context of an Anatolian background, which was impacted by both Greek and Oriental art (revived by Achaemenid royal art).

3 USEFUL CONCEPTS AND NOTIONS: A reassessment

New concepts and notions have to be explored, because they are useful: firstly, the concept of "cultural transfer", as initiated in France for

22 Titles are significant, e.g. Akurgal 1941, as the adjective "Greek" is employed for reliefs from Lycia dated to the 6th century BC. In more recent publications, monuments from Xanthos are presented as monuments from Eastern Greece, because of the carving style, thus denying the existence of a Lycian cultural background in the context of ancient Anatolia (for example, the so-called "Harpy Tomb" of Xanthos in Hofstetter 1990: cat. O 61, 243–248).

23 For a general reflection about the concepts of Hellenization and acculturation, see (in the bibliography in French for example) Will 1998; Wachtel 1974; Bats 2006; Roure 2013.

example, in the field of Contemporary History (Espagne 1999). This concept has been used in the field of Ancient History, and more precisely in Greek History (Couvenhes/Legras 2006; Dan/Queyrel 2014). Its "neutrality" can prove useful in the study of intercultural contacts, because it includes the ideas of interaction and reciprocity, human mobility, circulation of ideas and artefacts, with a focus on process (its media and stakes), selection phenomena, and "semantic change".

Secondly, concepts or theories about ethnicity and ethnic identity, such as first developed by anthropologists and ethnologists like Jean-Loup Amselle and Fredrick Barth (Amselle 1990; Barth 1969), may also be useful. We can retain three main theoretical concepts: contact between group members generates group consciousness; within a specific socio-historical context, cultural exchange allows human groups to define constantly evolving ethnic boundaries (Poutignat/Streiff-Fenart 1995: 134–188); ethnic identity goes beyond cultural identity, as it implies "identity stakes".

Whilst researching the notions of ethnicity or ethnic identity within Greek antiquity, historians, archaeologists, and art historians have found a number of further developments. They pointed out that cultural features were relevant criteria in the process of defining ethnic identity. Further, they showed that ethnic messages were not only contained in written sources, but also in material culture, artefacts and styles (e.g. in sculpture), which could thus also be used as distinctive markers by and among human groups (see e.g. Müller/Prost 2002; Croissant 2007; Müller/Veïsse 2014).[24]

In Lycian studies, these concepts can help to explain some results of cultural interaction, some aspects of the creative process, and choices made in specific historical contexts.

4 ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY

For a long time, Lycian art has predominantly been explored through stylistic studies or in the context of specific archaeological sites (e.g. Xanthos and Limyra) or specific monuments (notably the Nereid Monument, the Heroon at Limyra, the Heroon at Trysa). A broader approach to Lycian art, encompassing all Lycian sites and monuments, and using

24 In his second book published in 2002, J. Hall takes into consideration cultural facts, see Hall 2002.

iconography and iconology, constitutes an important development in Lycian studies.

The fields of iconography and iconology were significantly developed by Erwin Panofsky, e.g. in his book on the Renaissance (Panofsky 1967), as well as by François Lissarrague in his works on ancient Greek images. In particular, we would point to the definitions and methodological explanations given by both scholars (Panofsky 1967: 13–31; Lissarrague 1990: 1–12). Lissarrague's useful and clear definitions may be retained: from a general point of view, iconography is the study of figurative representations; more precisely, iconography leads to the recognition and decipherment of images, while iconology attempts to highlight the links between images and human behaviours, or human beliefs, within the frame of a specific society.[25] François Lissarrague is one of French scholars from the "Centre Louis Gernet – centre de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes" in Paris.[26] These scholars led research on ancient Greece, particularly Greek images, using ideas inspired by Social and Cultural Anthropology, Semiology and Linguistics, as well as, from a methodological point of view, by Structuralism. According to this perspective, images are considered as a kind of language. This has been expressed and explained very well by Jean-Pierre Vernant in the preface of the book entitled "La cité des images" (Vernant 1984). This approach offers an interesting guideline for organizing the analysis of Lycian images and understanding their complex creative process. In contrast to the Greek context, the Lycian one is more complicated, as there is no local literary tradition to assist in interpreting figurative representations within the local culture.

5 APPLICATION IN THE FIELD OF LYCIAN STUDIES

From a Lycian studies perspective, the aim is to "decipher", i.e. to decode, to understand Lycian images in a Lycian context. From a methodological point of view, important points are: the identification of iconographic themes; the analysis of iconographic patterns, styles (figurative

25 "[…] l'iconographie s'attache à la reconnaissance, au déchiffrement des images […] l'iconologie cherche à mettre en évidence le rapport qui unit ces images et les formes de pensée d'une société donnée." (Lissarrague 1990: 1).

26 Currently included in the research centre UMR 8210 – Anhima, Anthropologie et Histoire des Mondes Antiques (Paris).

Fig. 4. Satyr from the "satyrs and wild beasts frieze", "Building G", Xanthos (British Museum B 292; photo © F. Colas-Rannou, taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

conventions) and compositions; the research into series, variable and stable components; and the study of the iconographic programme (association and juxtaposition of patterns and themes) and its insertion in the architecture. A comparative approach of art within the Lycian corpus, and beyond, with other Anatolian, East Mediterranean, Greek, Persian and Oriental art, is another important stage.

Employing this method, the main conclusions are as follows: Lycian images were created by mixing a style of sculpture which might imitate a Greek style with iconographic patterns borrowed from Greek and Persian art, as well as iconographic patterns which recalled Anatolian and East Mediterranean traditions, and others that seem to have been "purely" Lycian. The images thus created were therefore typically Lycian and had a Lycian meaning. Lycians selected the images or icons available to them. This creative process applies to both style and iconography, and also includes the notion of "fluidity", as new images were constantly being selected and the way in which the images were manipulated also changed. Such a method of studying Lycian images allows us to appreciate the traditional Anatolian cultural background in Lycia during the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC, and to understand the

Fig. 5. Slab from the "parade frieze", "Building G", Xanthos (British Museum B 312; photo © F. Colas-Rannou, taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

interaction of different scales (local, micro-regional, regional, extra-regional) which had an impact on the creative process in Lycia (see Colas-Rannou 2020). I will discuss in detail some aspects of this "fluidity" (with synchronic and diachronic approaches), using the following four significant Lycian examples.[27]

Firstly, let us compare two examples of a mixed style and iconography, one dated to the 5th century and another dated to the 4th century BC: reliefs from what is called "Building G" of the "Lycian Acropolis" at Xanthos (c. 470–460 BC) and reliefs from the Heroon at Trysa (c. 380–370 BC for Childs 1976: 315–316; see also Marksteiner 2002: 187; earlier, c. 410–400 BC for Landskron 2015: 347–349). Different juxtapositions of patterns borrowed from Greek and Persian art can be noticed. Attributed to the same "Building G" are two slabs depicting satyrs and belonging to what is known as the "satyrs and wild beasts frieze", and other slabs which depict a procession or parade of riders and charioteers. The "satyrs and wild beasts frieze" (British Museum B 292–298, Xanthos/Antalya Museum 3533-3534-3341) is attributed to the upper

27 The study of these examples is developed in Colas-Rannou 2020; the last two examples have already been presented in Colas-Rannou 2013.

Fig. 6. Gate of the Heroon at Trysa (*in situ*), interior side
(from Oberleitner 1994: Fig. 17; photography: W. Burger, 1881).

course of the terrace or platform on which the building was situated, while the "parade" frieze (British Museum 311-312-313, Antalya Museum 3532) is attributed to the external walls of the chamber (Metzger 1963: 49–61, Pl. 33.1, 37.1, 38, 39.1; Coupel/Metzger 1969; Metzger 1974; Bruns-Özgan 1987: cat. M 4; Draycott 2015: 129–133). These satyrs from Xanthos (**Fig. 4**) have the same appearance as Greek satyrs. They are naked, with the same main characteristics (snub nose, ears and tail of a horse, beard), but are not shown doing exactly the same that Greek satyrs generally do in Greek imagery. The association/composition with wild beasts is original, too. This depiction of a "hunting satyr" holding a tree branch is a unique occurrence in the Lycian corpus. Within the "parade" frieze, the image of a male figure (groom) walking behind a horse, with his forearm resting on the horse's back (B 312; **Fig. 5**) recalls a motif which adorned the Apadana at Persepolis. The reliefs of this frieze depict horses with the knotted tails and forelocks of Persian horses (Bernard 1965). At the beginning of the 4th century (or a little earlier), reliefs belonging to the Heroon at Trysa in Central Lycia convey a different combination. The monument was a wall encircling an area, the Heroon *temenos*, which contained a house-tomb. The walls were

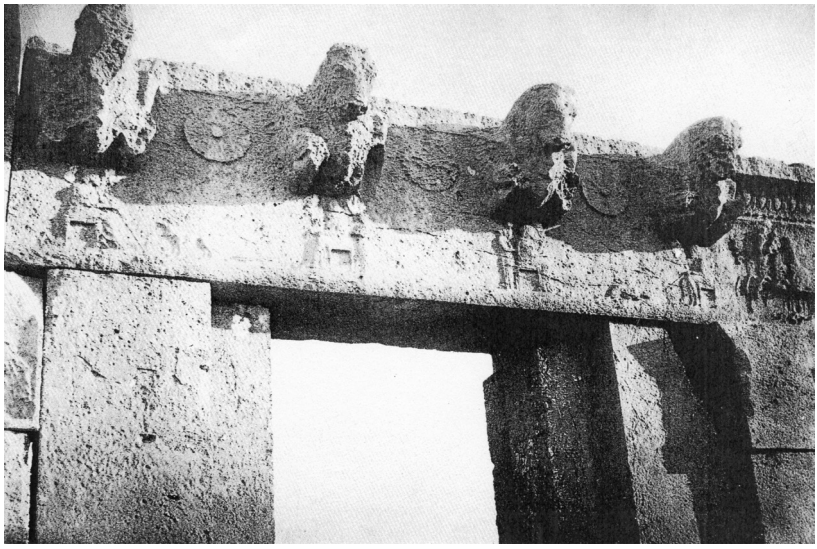

Fig. 7. Gate of the Heroon at Trysa (*in situ*), exterior
(from Oberleitner 1994: Fig. 9; photography: F. von Luschan, 1882).

adorned with reliefs on their upper part and internal side. Only the south wall was adorned with reliefs inside and out, with reliefs on both the internal and external side of the gate. The friezes of the Heroon walls develop an ambitious iconographic programme, with numerous patterns inspired by Greek art (most recently, with previous literature: Landskron 2015). Here, I focus on the decoration of the gate and on the original juxtaposition (Landskron 2015: 57–70, Pl. 23–26). On each side of this gate, we notice a mixture of iconographic elements borrowed from Greek and Persian repertoire, as well as Lycian motifs. These patterns, with their different origins, are juxtaposed. On the internal side (**Fig. 6**), on each side post of the door, the Greek pattern of the Kalathiskos dancers is present, while on the lintel there are eight figures of the Oriental/East Mediterranean god Bes, dancing or playing musical instruments. The main features of the god Bes are recognizable: with the frontal position of the dancing figures, and their seemingly grotesque attitudes and ugly faces. On the other side of the lintel, the exterior side of the gate, three types of patterns are juxtaposed (**Fig. 7**). Four forequarters of winged bulls are spread horizontally across the lintel. These forequarters of winged bulls recall Persian capitals with double forequarters of bulls (without wings), which can be found on Persian

royal rock-cut tombs (Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis) and in Persian palaces (Susa and Persepolis; Schmidt 1953: 80, 100, Fig. 44 C–E, 104, 48 B–E, Pl. 54 A; Schmidt 1970). A *gorgoneion* is carved in the middle of the lintel, between the two central winged bulls. The *gorgoneion*, or Gorgon's head, was a Greek apotropaic motif, which may have preserved its original meaning here, as it was placed just above the gate and in the middle of the lintel. It is interesting to point out that the *gorgoneion* was not used anymore in Greek funerary art after the Archaic period (Floren 1977; Woysch-Méautis 1982: 81–83, 134; LIMC 1988, *s.v.* Gorgo, Gorgones). A Lycian motif, frequently found on Lycian tombs from the 4th century BC (sarcophagi or rock-tombs), is carved under the winged animals (Rodenwaldt 1940: 45–46). It shows a man and a woman seated, facing each other, accompanied by relatives and pets. The scene is presented twice. The first couple is seated on the left side, each person under one winged bull: on the left, the man is in right profile, and on the right, the woman is in left profile. The second couple is seated on the right side of the lintel in a symmetrical position. This pattern evokes the image of a dynastic couple, found notably on the East pediment of the Nereid Monument from Xanthos (Childs/Demargne 1989: 216–220, 256, Pl. 140, Pl. LXVII). Thus, nearly a century apart, two iconographic combinations ("Building G" at Xanthos / Heroon at Trysa) can be identified, which mix Greek and Persian elements, albeit not the same ones, and in different ways.[28]

Next, I would like to focus on a special phenomenon: a traditional theme depicted with a new iconographic pattern and a new style. The lid of a Lycian sarcophagus from Limyra (called the "Centaurs's Sarcophagus") in Eastern Lycia, dated to around 350–330 BC, bears a relief with two male figures wearing oriental clothes, fighting an eagle-headed griffin (Bruns-Özgan 1987: cat. S 12, Pl. 36.1; Borchhardt/Pekridou-Gorecki 2012: cat. 3, Pl. 16.3). On the right, the griffin is using its beak to attack a male figure who has fallen to the ground; its paws grasp the human body, its raised wings are outspread. The male figure is leaning on his left arm, with his left bent knee, his head raised towards the griffin; he wears a tunic which reaches above his knee, girt at the waist (over trousers?), and a conic cap or headdress. On the left, behind the griffin, a prancing horse fights with the griffin; the rider, who wears the same tunic as the other protagonist, is holding up a spear in

28 The comparison could be extended to other Lycian monuments dating to the 4th century BC, e.g. the Nereid Monument at Xanthos; the Heroon at Limyra.

his right hand to throw at the griffin. The details are significant, notably: the Oriental clothing of both male figures, the crest behind the eagle's head, the attitude of the rider and horse with raised forelegs, the griffin above the male figure on the ground. The same details and composition (with these three elements: rider and horse/griffin/fallen male figure) can be found on Attic red-figure vases belonging to the Kertch style dated to the 4th century BC, e.g. on the neck of the Attic krater kept in the Louvre Museum inv. G 530 (mid-4th century BC; Boardman 2001: Fig. 261; LIMC 1997: suppl. *s.v*. Arimaspoi, Pl. 343, n° 39).[29] On Greek vases, the scene recalls the Arimaspoi of Greek mythology. In my opinion, in a Lycian context it does not have the same meaning, and a Greek literary or mythological tradition is not required to elucidate the Lycian interpretation of the scene. The depiction is used by the Lycian sarcophagus owner to promote himself, in a kind of heroization, with assimilation into a victorious hero beating a hybrid creature. The Greek iconographic pattern allows the renewal of an older Anatolian and East Mediterranean theme of hero or royal hero combatting a griffin. The theme is known from East Mediterranean, Mesopotamian, and Neo-Hittite images. For the motif showing a standing hero holding a sword and combatting an eagle-headed griffin, see, for example: a silver bowl from Kourion in Cyprus dated to the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 7th century BC (Markoe 1985: 177–178, Cy8, 256);[30] a Neo-Hittite orthostat from Tell Halaf (9th–8th century BC; Orthmann 1971: 331, Tell Halaf A3/55, Pl. 9f); and ivory plaques from Nimrud (8th century BC; Mallowan 1966: 537, Fig. 456, ND 10696, 587, Fig. 559). In the Lycian and Anatolian context, it was probably meant to rival the image of the royal hero combatting an eagle- or lion-headed griffin carved on reliefs from Persepolis (Doorways of the Hundred-Columned Hall, 5th century BC; Ghirshmann 1963: Fig. 250–251). This kind of theme is present earlier in Lycia, with the male figure combatting a lion on the "Lion Pillar" from Xanthos (dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC, British Museum B 286). Thus, it is possible to say that Greek art provided a new iconographic pattern that allowed the revival of a traditional Anatolian or East Mediterranean theme and imagery during the 4th century BC. Other examples could be presented, e.g. the motif of the apobate related to that of the king in a chariot with charioteer (Demargne 1974b: 75–76).

29 For a previous comparison of these items, see Colas-Rannou 2013: 54–57, Figs. 5–6.

30 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4554.

Fig. 8. “Gable slab” from “Building F”, Xanthos
(British Museum B 289; from Metzger 1963: Pl. 48.2).

Finally, based on a close study of the fourth Lycian example, I would like to present another kind of combination: a traditional pattern depicted with a new carving style. The case study is a slab from Xanthos, the Gable end of “Building F” from the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos, dated to around 470 BC (British Museum B 289;[31] see notably, Metzger 1963: 71–75, Fig. 25, Pl. 48.2; Bruns-Özgan 1987: cat. M 6; Rudolph 2003: 59–61; Draycott 2015: 128–129). In the centre (**Fig. 8**), a bird-woman stands in a frontal position, on the abacus of a capital surmounting an Ionic column (the volutes are now broken off). The human head of the bird-woman is missing; one would presume that two portions of hair fell onto the shoulders. A short crinkled garment is seen, worn with a belt around the waist (it has the appearance of a chiton, with a lot of folds and hanging sleeves). There are outstretched wings, a tail and bird’s legs, with human arms extended in front of the wings. A male figure (in profile) is seated on each side of the column. The one on the left is beardless, the one on the right has a beard with horizontal ridges. They wear garments very similar to a chiton with sleeves, and a wrapped cloak. They hold a staff in one hand with the other hand extended. On the left, the male figure is seated on a kind of low throne with a backrest. This is a unique occurrence of this motif in the Lycian

31 Limestone. L. 1.05 m; H. 0.83 m.

Fig. 9. Seal (impression) from the "Lyre player group"
(Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 926.7.2; from Porada 1956: Pl. XVII.11.
Dimensions of the seal: 22.5 × 18.5 × 11 mm).

corpus. The bird-woman looks like a Greek siren; the carving style of the male figures recalls the Ionian style (garment with folds, attitude).[32] However, the closest iconographic parallel can be found in a group of Cilician seals, which belongs to the "Lyre player group" dated to the second half of the 8th century BC (Porada 1956; Boardman/Buchner 1966; Boardman 1990; Poncy et al. 2001)[33]. Five seals currently known are noteworthy, their motif showing the winged sun disc surmounting a sacred tree with crooked volutes, flanked by two seated or kneeling figures. The sacred tree resembles a pillar with volutes above. The gesture of the figures is of one hand raised and the other lowered, which may be a sign of adoration and worship (Porada 1956: 187–188 n. 10, 193, n. 22, Fig. 10–11, Pl. XVII.10–11; Boardman/Buchner 1966: n°83, n°90, n°141, n°160, Fig. 42, Fig. 58; Poncy et al. 2001: n°15, Pl. I; **Fig. 9**). We find the same symmetrical composition as on the relief from Xanthos, with sim-

32 The style is close to the style of the reliefs from the "Harpy Tomb" at Xanthos (c. 480 BC), which recalls East Greek sculpture from the 6th century BC (stylistic parallels have been led with Milesian and Ephesian sculpture: Demargne 1974a: 588; Rudolph 2003: 7–29) and from the first quarter of the 5th century BC (marble stela, c. 480 BC, Basel, Antikenmuseum Inv. Nr. BS 236: Hiller 1975: cat. O 14, 159–160, Pl. 9).

33 For the Cilician origin (based on the geographical origin of the stone used), see Poncy et al 2001: 11; previously, Rhodian origin (Porada 1956: 192) or from Al Mina (Boardman 1990: 10–11).

ilar components. However, at Xanthos, the pattern is "dressed" with a style inspired from Greek art: the pillar with volutes above has become an Ionic column, the winged sun disc has become a bird-woman with outstretched wings wearing a chiton. The original pattern can be found in Mesopotamia (e.g. on seals or on Assyrian reliefs), on Hittite seals, on Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite reliefs: two human or hybrid figures, standing or kneeling, are flanking the sacred Tree of Life, surmounted by a winged sun disc (Buchanan 1966: n°630a, Pl. 41, n°990, n°991, Pl. 61; Parrot 1969: 14, Pl. 16; Uzunoğlu 1986: 77, Fig. 7–1, 7–2; Orthmann 1971: 448, Domuztepe 6, Sakçagözü A/1, Pl. 6.c, 49.a). The scene carved on the slab from Xanthos dated to the 5th century revives a traditional motif well-documented in South Anatolia and in the Near East a couple of centuries earlier. At Xanthos, the pattern is renewed with the help of a carving style inspired by Greek sculpture. The representation of these two seated male figures (one older than the other) can be interpreted in a dynastic, Xanthian context. I would like to point out that this relief attributed to "Building F" belongs to the same period as "Building G" mentioned above – the second quarter of the 5th century BC – and both buildings were located on the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos. However, each one displays a different combination of the relief sculptures. This comparison supports the idea of "fluidity" provided by a synchronic study of Lycian images.

6 CONCLUSION: STUDYING LYCIAN IMAGES
Beyond cultural as well as academic boundaries

Following an iconographic and iconological approach, for each scene showing a figurative representation, it is very important to study and analyse the iconographic theme, iconographic pattern, composition, style, and the Lycian way of associating them. Thus, different combinations appear: this is the "fluidity" mentioned above. This method enables us to highlight Lycian choices made in specific contexts. Diachronic comparison shows that borrowings and adaptations were evolving; the synchronic approach emphasizes the diversity of the elements that sustained the creative process. The traditional attitude to studying Lycian art, focusing only on Greek and Persian artistic impact, is inadequate. We can no longer simply say that we find in Lycia "un art grec au service d'une idéologie orientale" (Demargne 1981a). We cannot

simply see Lycian art as an art "between Occident and Orient". Images also expressed the Anatolian cultural background and were indebted to old contacts within the Eastern Mediterranean. Illuminating and understanding this background can be difficult because of the deliberate and constantly evolving mixture of patterns and/or styles circulating in the Mediterranean and the Achaemenid Empire. To conclude, the proper study of Lycian images requires us to question ancient cultural boundaries, while constantly pushing back the bounds of academic disciplines.

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