



Das Heroon von Trysa

*Akten des Internationalen Symposions
Österreichisches Historisches Institut in Rom
28. Oktober 2016*

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Georg Plattner · Andreas Gottsmann (Hg.)





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Umschlagabbildung: Heroon von Trysa, Außenseite der Südwand mit der monumentalen Toranlage

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(Abb. 3 im Beitrag von Alice Landskron)

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Vorwort

Das Heroon von Trysa gehört zu den bedeutendsten Monumenten der griechisch-römischen Antike, die uns bis heute erhalten geblieben sind. Insbesondere die Vollständigkeit des Reliefschmuckes, der das Grabdenkmal des frühen vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in der heutigen Türkei zierte, ist einzigartig und erlaubt die Auseinandersetzung mit der Bilderwelt der Antike, mit Selbstdarstellung und Identität in der damaligen antiken Kultur.

Durch die Erwerbung der Friesplatten und die Überführung nach Wien in den 1880er Jahren wurden die Reliefs ein zentrales Thema für die österreichische wissenschaftliche Forschung. Seit der Veröffentlichung durch Otto Benndorf und George Niemann 1889 wurden das Monument oder einzelne Szenen der vielfältigen Themen auf den Reliefs in zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Publikationen diskutiert. Zuletzt finanzierte das Kunsthistorische Museum Wien ein Forschungsprojekt, das in einer umfassenden Publikation und Neuvorlage des Heroons durch Alice Landskron im Jahr 2015 abgeschlossen werden konnte.

Diese Publikation regte dazu an, sich erneut mit unterschiedlichen Facetten des Heroons von Trysa zu beschäftigen. Im Herbst 2016 ist es gelungen, namhafte Vertreter der Lykien-Forschung in das Österreichische Historische Institut in Rom einzuladen und dort in einem eintägigen Symposium neue Erkenntnisse eingehend zu diskutieren. Die Ergebnisse dieser Tagung können nun im vorliegenden Band vorgestellt werden.

Die Tagung und Drucklegung der Ergebnisse wurden in bewährter und besonders freundschaftlicher Kooperation zwischen dem Österreichischen Historischen Institut Rom und dem Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, in deren Namen die beiden Herausgeber herzlich danken, ermöglicht. Unser Dank gilt zudem insbesondere Karoline Zhuber-Okrog für die umsichtige wissenschaftliche Redaktion des Bandes, und dem Lektorat durch Merle Bieber, Rafael Kopper, Giulia Mangone, Benjamin Mayr, Agnes Stillfried und Annette Van der Vyver. Für Unterstützung danken wir zudem Andreas Hochstöger und Giulia Tozzi.

Die Herausgeber widmen diesen Band Wolfgang Oberleitner (1929–2019) und Jürgen Borchardt (1936–2021), deren unermüdlicher Einsatz für die Präsentation dieses bedeutenden Zeugnisses der Geschichte und Kultur Lykiens unvergessen bleibt.

Inhalt

Andreas Gottsmann und Georg Plattner	
Vorwort	5
Georg Plattner	
Einleitung: Das Heroon von Trysa	9
Judith M. Barringer	
The Design of the Trysa Heroon, Narrative Structures, and Precedents	13
Frank Kolb	
Das Heroon von Trysa als Machtdemonstration im Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Lykien	25
Alice Landskron	
Das Heroon von Trysa: Ein Nachwort	49
Alessandro Poggio	
Fregi come linguaggio del potere. Percorsi di lettura nell'Heroon di Trysa tra architettura e decorazione	73
Roland R. R. Smith	
The Trysa Heroon and the Uses of Mythology in Dynastic Lycia	93
Hubert D. Szemethy	
Von der lykischen Bergwelt in Hörsäle, Tageszeitungen, Museen und Sammlungen. Beiträge zu den Friesreliefs des Heroons von Gjölbасchi-Trysa	107
Karoline Zhuber-Okrog und Georg Plattner	
1882/1884 bis heute: Die Reliefs des Heroons von Trysa in Wien	195
Abgekürzt zitierte Literatur	243
Abgekürzt zitierte Archive und Institutionen	245
Abbildungsnachweis	247
Verzeichnis der Autoren	251

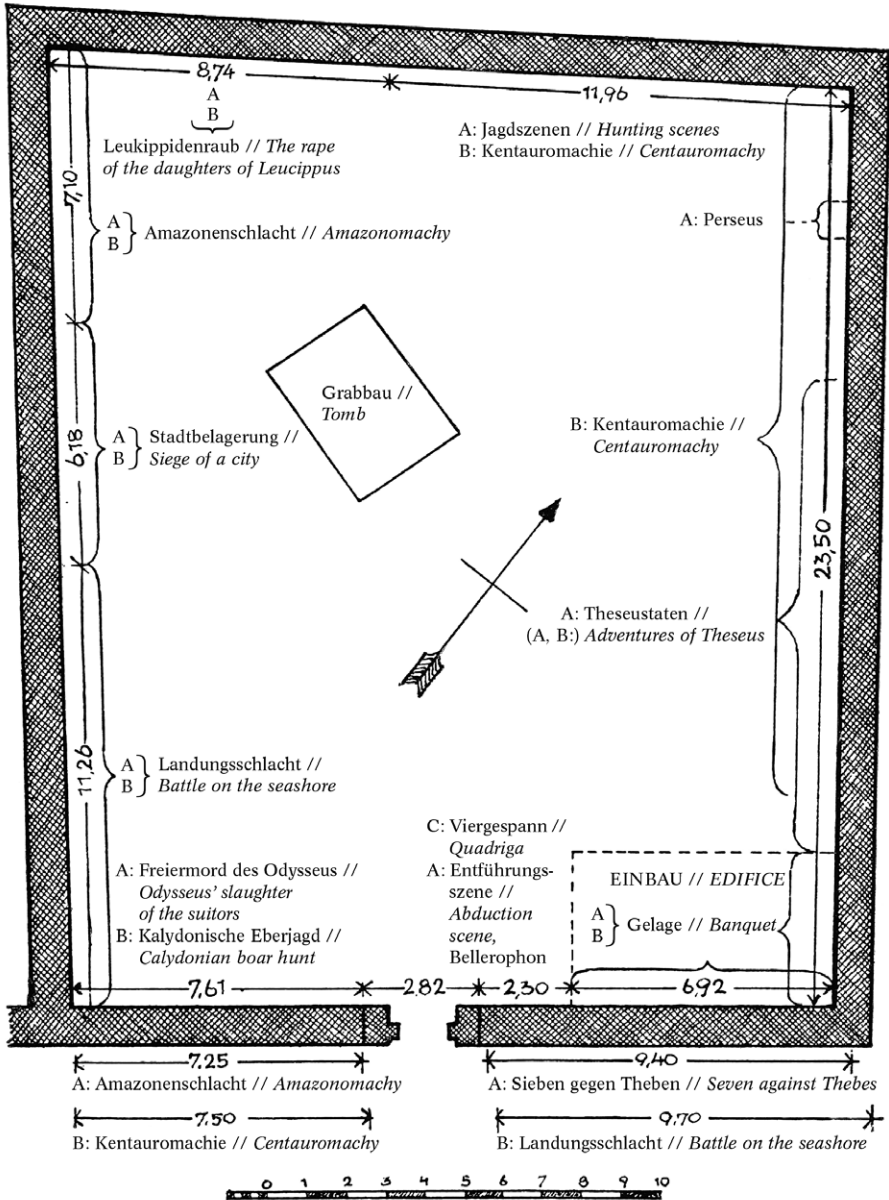


Abb. 1: Trysa, Heron. Grundriss mit Übersicht der Bildthemen // Trysa, Heron. Ground plan with an overview of the frieze themes // Trysa, Heron. Pianta con prospetto dei temi dei fregi.

Einleitung: Das Heroon von Trysa

Vor mittlerweile 140 Jahren wurde im zerklüfteten Bergland Lykiens, einer Halbinsel im Südwesten der heutigen Türkei, das Heroon von Trysa wiederentdeckt. Die Begeisterung über die Relieffriese mit einer ursprünglichen Gesamtlänge von über 200 Metern und mehr als 600 aus dem Kalkstein gemeißelten Figuren war groß. Die einst reich bemalten Reliefs schmückten die Umfassungsmauer der spektakulären Grabstätte eines lokalen Fürsten, der wie ein Held verehrt wurde. Der Name des Grabinhabers ist nicht bekannt. Es handelte sich aber sicherlich um einen der mächtigen Dynasten Lykiens, Herrscher, die wir aus der lokalen Münzprägung kennen, der sich hier in Trysa, einer antiken Siedlung mit einer befestigten Burg auf einem Bergrücken unweit von Myra (Demre), dieses Denkmal errichten ließ.

In zwei übereinanderliegenden Reihen schmückten die Reliefs alle vier Innenseiten der Umfassungsmauer sowie die Eingangswand außen. Durch ein monumentales Tor gelangte man in das Innere des Temenos, in dem das mächtige Grabmal des Fürsten stand.

Die Reliefs des Grabdenkmals gehören zweifellos zu den wichtigsten Zeugnissen klassischer antiker Kunst und zu den bedeutendsten Relieffriesen der griechisch-römischen Kultur, die heute noch erhalten sind. Durch den Spiegel der griechischen Mythologie erzählen die Friese von der damaligen Gesellschaft. In einer einzigartigen, damals schon als ‚international‘ zu bezeichnenden Bilderwelt verbindet es klassisch-griechische, einheimisch-lykische, ägyptische und orientalische Elemente.

Der Auftraggeber holte griechische Künstler an seinen Hof, die das Bildprogramm entwarfen und gemeinsam mit ortsansässigen Steinmetzen umsetzten. Hinter den Darstellungen einzelner Szenen darf man durchaus reale Ereignisse aus der lokalen Geschichte und dem Leben des Grabinhabers vermuten.

Das Heroon war bereits in den Weihnachtstagen des Jahres 1841 entdeckt worden, als der preußische Gymnasiallehrer Julius August Schönborn Kleinasien bereiste, um die Geografie dieser damals unbekanntem Landschaft zu erforschen. Begeistert versuchte er, die Berliner Museen zu einer Erwerbung der Reliefs zu bewegen, wie das im 19. Jahrhundert mit Genehmigungen der jeweiligen Staaten möglich und üblich war. Da diese Versuche scheiterten, verschwieg Schönborn die Lage des Grabmonumentes um eine Erwerbung durch andere Nationen zu erschweren, und es erschienen nur Notizen zu seiner Entdeckung.

Otto Benndorf, seit 1877 Professor am Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminar der Universität Wien, bemühte sich später intensiv um die Erforschung Klein-

asiens und es gelang ihm, beim damaligen Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht die Finanzierung einer Expedition zu erwirken. Am Ostersonntag, dem 17. April 1881, gelang ihm die Wiederentdeckung des Heroons.

In zwei weiteren Expeditionen, die diesmal von der eigens dafür ins Leben gerufenen und von Privatpersonen getragenen *Gesellschaft für archäologische Erforschung Kleinasiens* finanziert wurden, konnten die Reliefs, Teile des Grabbaues und ein Sarkophag abgebaut, nach Wien transportiert und Kaiser Franz Joseph I. als Geschenk angeboten werden. Die damals gültigen Gesetze sahen eine Fundteilung archäologischer Kulturgüter vor, die dem Finder, dem Grundbesitzer und dem Staat jeweils ein Drittel zugestand. Auf diplomatischem Wege bemühte man sich um den gesamten Bestand der Relieffriese und hatte schließlich Erfolg: Die Ausfuhr aller Friesplatten wurde offiziell genehmigt, da ‚Zusammengehöriges nicht zu trennen‘ sei.

Die Reliefs wurden in Österreich mit großem Interesse aufgenommen und in Vorträgen und Zeitungsartikeln der Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt. Lediglich eine adäquate Aufstellung sollte zum Problem werden. Die Reliefplatten waren etwa 100 Jahre provisorisch aufgestellt und wurden 1992 im Glauben, endlich eine Lösung für eine der Bedeutung des Monumentes gerechte Aufstellung gefunden zu haben, in ein Depot gebracht. Da auch dieses Vorhaben scheiterte, weisen derzeit nur drei Platten in der Antikensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien, die Darstellungen aus dem Freiermord des Odysseus zeigen, auf das inzwischen deutlich länger als ein Jahrhundert ungelöste Problem hin. Zuletzt konnte 2018 ein weiterer Teil der Reliefs als Vorschau für eine Gesamtaufstellung im Ephesos Museum präsentiert werden.

Die Lösung ist nun in unmittelbare Nähe gerückt: Im Ephesos Museum in der Neuen Wiener Hofburg wurden Räume so adaptiert, dass die Relieffriese in ihrer vollen Länge ausgestellt werden können. Diese Raumgruppe ist derzeit an das Haus der Geschichte Österreich vermietet. Durch die dort – hoffentlich in naher Zukunft mögliche – Installation wird das Heroon von Trysa zu einem neuen Höhepunkt in der europäischen Museumlandschaft werden.

Auch der vorliegende Band unterstreicht erneut die Bedeutung des Grabmonumentes und hat unterschiedliche Themenfelder im Fokus. Die narrativen Strukturen und Erzählweisen der Relieffriese werden von Judith M. Barringer untersucht. Alice Landskron spannt einen Bogen insbesondere zu den Bildtraditionen benachbarter Kulturen, die auf die Gestaltung der Relieffriese eingewirkt haben. Ein besonderes Augenmerk gilt auch den politischen Hintergründen und Realitäten der damaligen Epoche und wie Macht und Mythen sich in der Bildersprache und der Architektur ablesen lassen und als Botschaften für die damalige Welt inszeniert worden sind (Beiträge von Frank Kolb, Alessandro Poggio und Roland R. R. Smith). Hubert Szemethy schließlich beleuchtet Aspekte der Rezeption und

Diskussion der Reliefs in der Wiener Gesellschaft. Die Geschichte des Monumentes in Wien und die Versuche der Präsentation bilden den Abschluss des Bandes (Beitrag von Karoline Zhuber-Okrog und Georg Plattner).

Die vorliegende Publikation liefert neue Aspekte, Fragen und Lösungsansätze für das Heroon von Trysa – freilich ohne dass damit die Forschungen zu diesem so herausragenden Grabmonument Lykiens abgeschlossen sein werden. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass eine baldige vollständige Aufstellung einen neuen und sicherlich eindrucksvollen Zugang zum Heroon ermöglichen wird.

The Design of the Trysa Heroon, Narrative Structures, and Precedents

The Heroon at Trysa is unusual with regard to its form and decoration (fig. 1)¹. While the actual tomb is commensurate with others from the region, the form and arrangement of the temenos wall and the friezes adorning it are without parallel. No written evidence identifies the tomb's occupant, and the choice of images, which includes well-known Greek myths, on the temenos wall remains puzzling. Scholars have associated the Trysa tomb with Trbbēnimi², regardless of whether one accepts the date of c.410–400 BC for the Trysa Heroon or the later 380 BC, as proposed by others³. This essay offers additional evidence to support that identification and argues that the selection of themes, the shape of the temenos itself, and the placement of the friezes derive from mainland Greek heroa, including the Theseion in Athens; according to this interpretation, the images are intended to draw parallels between the ruling dynasty and heroes, especially the Athenian hero Theseus.

We begin with some observations about the format and arrangement of the Heroon's friezes and how a viewer may have perceived them, then consider what meaning can be derived from this information (see floorplan with arrangement of sculptural themes p. 8). A visitor entering from the south side would have seen on his or her left side one frieze of the Amazonomachy superimposed above a frieze of the Centauromachy. To the viewer's right was one frieze depicting the Seven Against Thebes placed above another depicting soldiers gathered around a seated man (perhaps a ruler?) while a battle rages on beyond them; this frieze concludes with ships moored at a coast. Upon entering the temenos, the sarcophagus containing the remains of the ruler and family members appeared in the northwest, placed at an angle. Navigating from the interior south wall and moving clockwise around the inner surface of the wall, one observed Odysseus' slaughter of the suitors above the Calydonian boar hunt in the southwest corner. Turning the corner, a scene of moored boats extends vertically across two friezes. The scene then divides

1 I wish to thank Alice Landskron, Georg Plattner, Karoline Zhuber-Okrog, the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, and the Istituto Storico Austriaco a Roma for their kind invitation to participate in the conference on the Trysa Heroon in October 2016 and to contribute to this collection of papers.

2 KOLB, Burg 156–157; see also the contribution by Frank Kolb in this volume.

3 LANDSKRON, Heroon 347–349; MARKSTEINER, Trysa 186–187.



Fig. 1: Trysa, Heroon, model. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

into superimposed images, both of which depict a land battle that continues until the scene reunites in the middle of the wall with a city siege scene. The city siege is overseen by two seated figures perched in the upper frieze behind the ramparts, while further on some figures make their escape on mules. Beyond this, the scene divides into two registers of battle once again, then yields to an Amazonomachy depicted in both levels. On the north wall, the viewer encounters the abduction of the daughters of Leukippos on one side of a building, which fills both levels of the friezes, while preparations for a banquet occur to the east of the structure above a group of figures, who gesture animatedly or sit or stand quietly. Beyond this, a hunt, perhaps for the animal victims of the banquet, occurs in the upper register, while a Centauromachy fills the lower. The latter continues as the viewer turns the corner to face the east interior wall, where the deeds of Perseus and Theseus appear above. These heroic adventures yield to a banquet with reclining diners on the top level, dancers serving dishes on a table with servants nearby below. The two friezes and this banqueting theme continue around the corner to the south interior wall. Here, a third level is added at the top with the image of a warrior and a charioteer in a quadriga, while the banquet in the (now) middle frieze yields to an abduction, with Bellerophon slaying the Chimaira in the adjacent panel. The bottom (third) frieze depicting the banquet truncates just beneath the abduction. I will leave aside a description of the interior doorway area, which is not discussed in this paper.



Fig. 2: Trysa, Heroon, west wall, Amazonomachy.

The relief friezes that stretch their action vertically across two registers are the battle scenes and Amazonomachy on the west wall (fig. 2), the abduction of the Leukippidai on the north, the Perseus and Theseus adventures on the east wall, and the banquet on the east wall and interior south wall. These west and north wall friezes form the backdrop of the sarcophagus and a bench running along the lower portion of these two walls; the bench may have provided seating from which to view sacrifices made at an altar nearby (the placement of the altar is uncertain but may have been in front of the north wall). The sarcophagus is situated obliquely across from the banqueting area in the southeast. The double height accorded to the narratives on the west and north walls highlights their prominent location and importance for the visual ‘programme’, which refers not just to the ruler (and perhaps others) interred in the sarcophagus but also to Lycians more generally. As other scholars have argued, we can recognize that the friezes of the southeast and interior southern walls mirror the action supposedly going on in this area of the temenos, i.e. banqueting, and that the friezes comprising the two males in a chariot, Bellerophon, and the abduction of someone (even the sex of the figure is unclear) seem to be biographical, referring to the ruler, and certainly to the origin of the Lycians via Bellerophon, the ‘progenitor of the Lycians’⁴.

For a monument that is ‘Greek’ in many respects, the placement of the friezes is singular. The stacked arrangement of the friezes at the top of a wall finds immediate parallels in the Nereid Monument’s podium frieze of a few decades earlier (fig. 3); we see a single frieze serving as the parapet atop the bastion supporting the Athena Nike Temple on the Athenian Akropolis (fig. 4). But the parallel only works with the friezes on the exterior south side of the Trysa Heroon for the others are located on the inside Heroon wall, not on the exterior as is the case with the Nereid Monument’s bastion or the Athena Nike Bastion. One can point to the

4 LANDSKRON, Heroon 316; OBERLEITNER, Heroon 28–29, 51; EICHLER, Heroon 39, 70.

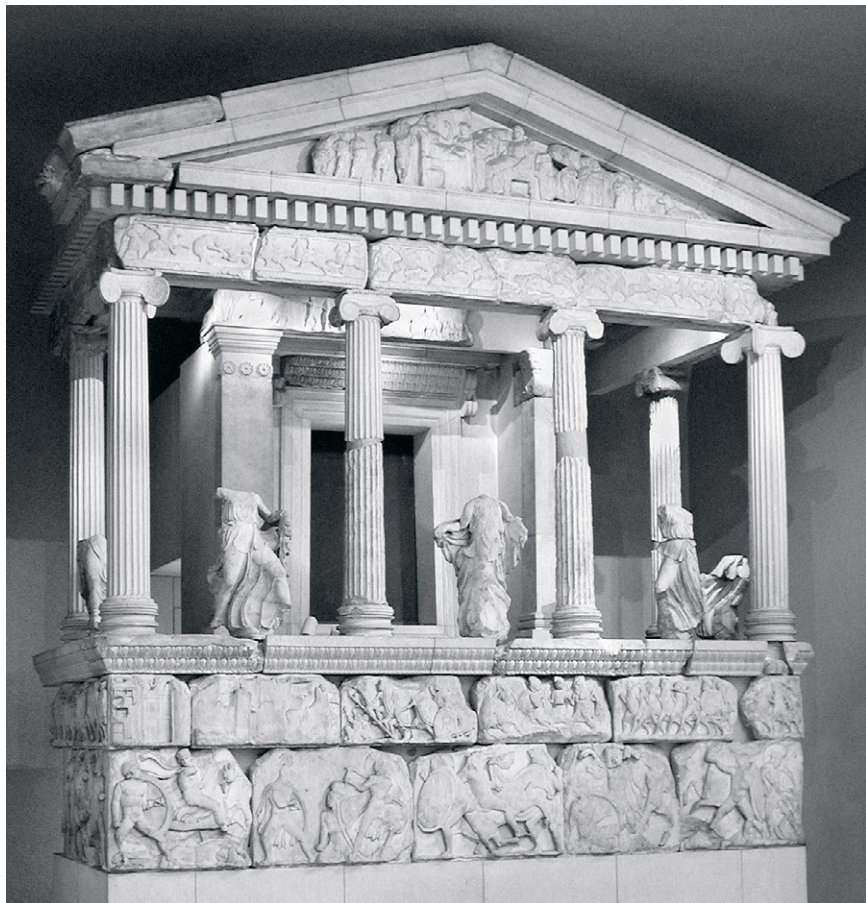


Fig. 3: London, British Museum, Nereid Monument from Xanthos, c.390–380 BC.

cella friezes of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai or the friezes around the pronaos of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, as well as the friezes within the cella of the Nereid Monument, as parallels for interior frieze placement. But again, placement high up on the wall in superimposed registers is not found in these other locations.

Inspiration might also come from sculpted pillars, such as this marble example from the Herakleion at Panormos in Attika (figs. 5 a, b)⁵, which served as a victory monument with tripods sculpted above an image of the victor. The ten labours of

5 Hans Rupprecht GOETTE, *Ο αξιόλογος δήμος Σούνιον*. Landeskundliche Studien in Südost-Attika (Rahden 2000) 66–67; John Howard YOUNG, *Studies in South Attica. The Salaminioi at Porthmos*, in: *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 163–191: 172–174, 186–189 figs. 5–7, 13.

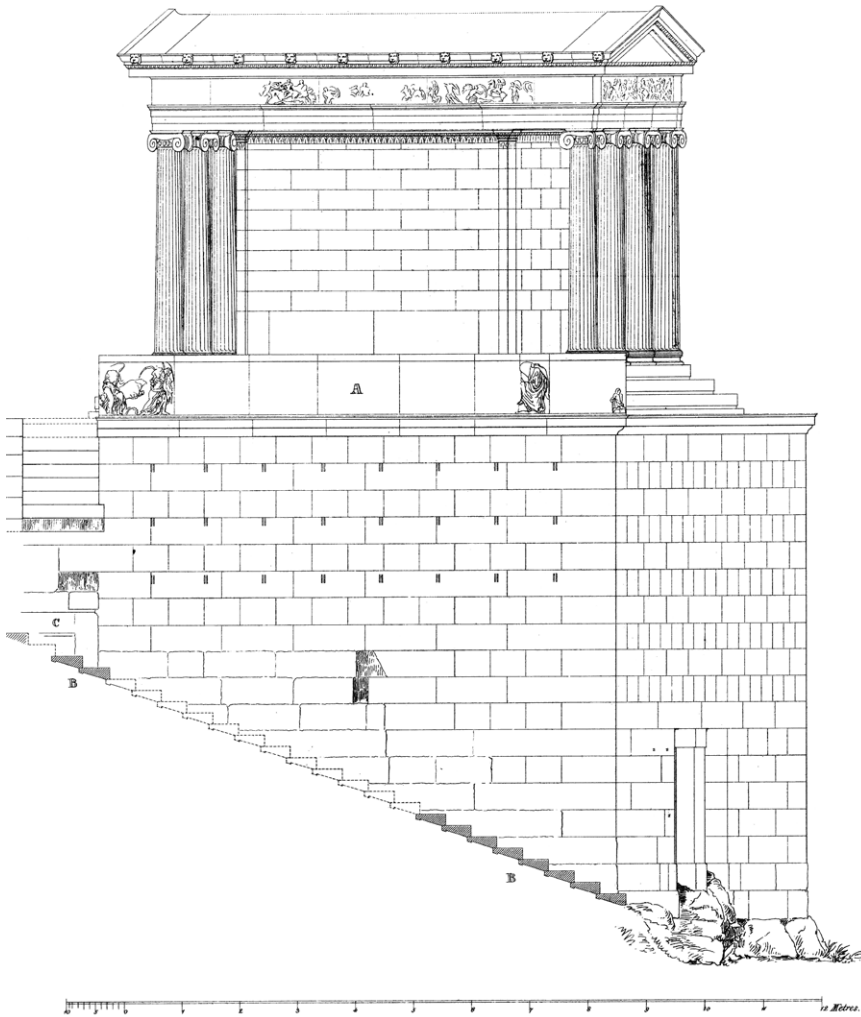


Fig. 4: Athens, Akropolis, Athena Nike Temple parapet, reconstruction drawing.

Herakles and some adventures of Theseus are featured in the superimposed reliefs on the remaining three sides. The relief has been dated to just before the mid-fourth century BC, i.e., after the Trysa Heroon's construction⁶, but it may indicate the kinds of monuments that had some impact on the design of the shrine, and we should bear in mind that this Attic image stood in a heroon.

⁶ YOUNG loc. cit. (note 5) 172.

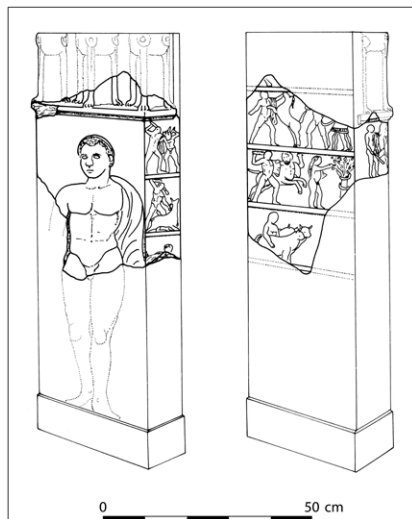


Fig. 5 a: Relief from Panormos, c.375–350 BC, H 69 cm, W 43 cm, D 20 cm. Laurion, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. ML 715.



Fig. 5 b: Relief from Panormos (fig. 5 a).

Mythological paintings adorn interior walls, although not necessarily high up on the walls. And the superimposed frieze format may also take inspiration from monumental wall painting, particularly when sculpted action stretches vertically across two frieze registers. Scholars speculate that wall paintings were disposed on several ground levels not only because vase paintings supposedly dependent on wall paintings exhibit this arrangement but because of the written descriptions of such paintings. Obvious examples are the Niobid Painter krater of c.460 BC (fig. 6) said to reflect wall painting, and the description by Pausanias of the wall paintings by Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi⁷.

As scholars, including I, have argued, some of the mythological themes of the Trysa Heroon friezes appear to take inspiration from the Theseion in Athens⁸. The Theseion, founded by Kimon in 476/75 BC, is now usually believed to be in the Archaic Agora to the east of the Akropolis (in the modern-day Plaka); nothing of it survives save written descriptions⁹. From these, we know something of its wall paintings by Mikon and Polygnotos. Pausanias states that the paintings showed

7 Paus. 10, 25; Mark STANSBURY-O'DONNELL, *Reflections of Monumental Painting in Greek Vase Painting in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, in: Jerome J. POLLITT (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Painting in the Classical World* (Cambridge 2014) 143–169: 147–148.

8 BARRINGER, *Art* 186, which includes further bibliography in note 42.

9 Riccardo DI CESARE, *La città di Cecrope* (Athens 2015) 87–92.



Fig. 6: Attic red-figure kalyx krater attributed to the Niobid Painter (name vase), c.460–450 BC. From Orvieto, H 0.54 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. G 341.

the Amazonomachy, the Centauro-machy, and Theseus' return from the sea bearing the ring of Minos¹⁰. Until the time of the Trysa Heroon, the inclusion of the Amazonomachy in a clearly funereal context occurs only at the Theseion, the final resting place of what were deemed to be Theseus' bones. The combination of Amazonomachy with the Centauro-machy and the juxtaposition of these themes on the same wall at the Trysa Heroon – i.e., in a funereal context – speaks in favour of influence from the Athenian Theseion.

In addition, we might think about the appearance of the structure of the Theseion. If this one resembled other heroa, such as the Pelopion at Olympia or the Shrine to Opheltes at

Nemea, we should expect an open area surrounded by a polygonal wall¹¹. We should also anticipate that the painted interior walls had some roof protecting them. This would, in turn, involve roof supports, probably columns. We might consider the disposition of the images at Trysa: scenes continuing from slab to slab but each slab is distinct with borders, usually demarcated either with columns for interior scenes or tree trunks to indicate exterior settings (fig. 7). The reason for the treatment of the blocks in this fashion is not clear since it required more work. But if the friezes were inspired by wall paintings, such divisions might imitate the viewer's experience of viewing wall paintings between supports, perhaps even wooden supports.

The Theseion may not have been the only Athenian heroon that offered a model for the Trysa friezes. Pausanias suggests that the Theseion was in close proximity to the Anakeion in the old Athenian Agora, a shrine dedicated to the Dioskouroi, which was also ornamented with paintings by Mikon and Polygnotos, according to the periegete¹². Appropriately, the Dioskouroi were honoured here by paintings of the wedding of the daughters of Leukippos, and the Argonauts also appeared. The former is a highly unusual theme for architectural adornment, whether painted or

¹⁰ Paus. I, 17, 2–3. For a recent discussion of the paintings, see DI CESARE loc. cit. (note 9) 97–105.

¹¹ But see DI CESARE loc. cit. (note 9) 105, 357 fig. 88 for a different reconstruction.

¹² Paus. I, 18, 1. For a recent discussion, see DI CESARE loc. cit. (note 9) 106–115, 357 fig. 89.



Fig. 7: Trysa, Heroon, interior south wall.

sculpted. We might recall that the Trysa friezes show both the abduction of the Leukippidai and preparations for a feast.

Other myths on the Trysa Heroon's friezes are also highly unusual as architectural decoration – the Seven Against Thebes and Odysseus slaughtering the suitors. As I have noted elsewhere, these myths appear together in only one location on the Greek mainland¹³: as wall paintings, now lost, by Onasias and Polygnotos made for the pronaos of the Temple of Athena Areia at Plataia, as we know from Pausanias¹⁴, and dated c.475–450 BC¹⁵. However, we should note that Pausanias says that Odysseus is shown after having killed the suitors, not as he is doing so.

To be sure, this temple to Athena is not a heroon. And yet one of the only other places where the strife between the Seven was shown is on the Amyklai Throne constructed over the Heroon for Hyakinthos¹⁶. The throne also depicted other themes present in the Trysa Heroon friezes: the abduction of the Leukippidai, Bellerophon killing the Chimaira, Perseus slaying Medusa, Theseus fighting the Minotaur, the Calydonian boar hunt, and the Centauromachy involving Herakles and Pholos. I find the correspondences between the themes adorning

¹³ BARRINGER, *Art* 190.

¹⁴ Paus. 9, 4, 2 and 9, 5, II.

¹⁵ See now David YATES, *The Persian War as Civil War in Plataea's Temple of Athena Areia*, in: *Klio* 95 (2013) 369–390.

¹⁶ Paus. 3, 18, 9–16.

the Amyklaion and the images at Trysa especially compelling¹⁷. The only other such mythological compendia that we know of in antiquity occur on the Chest of Kypselos from the late seventh century BC and the throne of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia of c.430 BC¹⁸. And neither of these other contexts shows such a matching of themes as is the case with the Amyklai Throne and the Trysa Heroon. Again, we should observe that the Amyklaion is part of a heroon. Finally, we might consider another heroic context in which the myth of the Seven Against Thebes appears: a heroon to the Seven with statues of the heroes was located in the Agora of Argos, according to Pausanias¹⁹, and the existence of such a structure is confirmed by archaeological finds and an inscription from the mid-sixth century BC²⁰. Thus, with the exception of the Plataia Temple, all comparable examples for the unusual themes or the combination of themes derive from heroa.

The adoption of the mainland Greek myths for use at Trysa may be the result of mainland artists executing the designs or work on the Trysa Heroon. That is certainly a strong possibility, but there is not just adoption of subjects, but also of meaning. It is not surprising to see the Centauromachy, a myth that appears in many contexts on the mainland. But a number of the themes at the Trysa Heroon are unusual, and we should take notice that the contexts in which these rare themes occur, are largely – though not exclusively – heroa. Thus, the Trysa Heroon borrows not just subjects and styles or even workers from the Greek mainland, but also adopts the heroizing contexts in which such myths appear, and possibly the physical format of the temenos itself. Other scholars, such as Thomas Marksteiner, are not persuaded by this connection; he argues that the use of a temenos surrounding tombs was already used in Lycia in the late sixth and first half of the fifth century BC when mainland Greek influences were not as strong on Lycia²¹. Frank Kolb and others remark that other temenos spaces in Lycia use the irregular shape too (although we should note that not all mainland heroa have irregular shapes)²². While the temenos wall itself may or may not be a borrowing from mainland Greece, I would argue that the Trysa Heroon's combined use of the wall, possibly

17 BARRINGER, Art 186–189.

18 Paus. 5, 17–19; Dion. Chrys. II, 45 for the Chest of Kypselos; BARRINGER, Art 186. For the Pheidian Zeus, see Der Neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen 2, 221–284 no. 15 (DNO 942–1020).

19 Paus. 2, 20, 5.

20 ThesCRA 2, 147, pl. 3.d.93; David BOEHRINGER, Heroenkulte in Griechenland von der geometrischen bis zur klassischen Zeit (Berlin 2001) 142–144; Anne PARIENTE, Le Monument argien des 'Sept contre Thebes', in: Marcel PIÉRART (ed.), Polydipsion Argos (= BCH Suppl. 22, Paris 1992) 195–225.

21 MARKSTEINER, Trysa 181.

22 KOLB, Burg 92.

its shape, the Greek mythological themes, and their placement in the interior space point back to mainland Greece and especially to heroa.

Proceeding with this line of thought, we can ask the reason for this choice of mythological themes at the Trysa Heroon. Adventures concerning Bellerophon and Perseus have a clear connection to Lycia²³, as scholars have noted²⁴. Both heroes were regarded as ancestors of the Lycians. But why are deeds of Theseus, including his adventures, so prominent in the imagery of the Trysa Heroon? What, if any, is the relationship between Trysa and Athens? Lycia and parts of Caria had joined the Delian League, but the relationship between these regions and the Delian League broke down; the last recorded tribute contribution from Lycia and Caria was in the 440s BC, after which time it is assumed that these regions withdrew from the League²⁵. Nonetheless, Athenian influence remained strong in the area, e.g. Perikle, the dynast of Limyra, had a famous Athenian namesake, and his heroon borrows from Athenian monuments, including the caryatids of the Erechtheion²⁶. Testimony from Thucydides²⁷ and a Lycian inscription²⁸ indicate that when the Athenian Melesandros and his army tried to collect tribute from Lycia and cities of Caria in 430/429 BC, they were defeated by Trbbēnimi, perhaps the father of Perikle and certainly his confederate, at least²⁹. Melesandros and his companions were honoured with burial in the Athenian Demosion Sema, as we learn from Pausanias³⁰. And Lycia was considerably enlarged as it seized former Athenian possessions, such as territory previously held by Rhodes³¹.

We might reconsider the battle scenes at the Heroon, particularly the one adorning the exterior south wall. Alice Landskron raises the possibility that the battle depicted here, a battle that moves from sea to land, may refer to Melesandros' attack on Lycia, and I think this idea has merit³². Melesandros arrived with a land and sea

23 Hom. Il. 6, 168–205; Hellanikos, FGrHist 4 F 60; Paus. 3, 18, 3; Q. Smyrn. 10, 161–163.

24 KEEN, Lycia 158; Jürgen BORCHHARDT–Brigitte BORCHHARDT–BIRBAUMER, Zum Kult der Heroen, Herrscher und Kaiser in Lykien, in: AW 23/2 (1992) 99–116: 101, 112; OBERLEITNER, Heroon 28–29, 43, 55; BORCHHARDT–MADER, Perseus 15–16; Jürgen BORCHHARDT–Gert MADER, Der triumphierende Perseus in Lykien, in: AW 3/1 (1972) 3–16: 5–16.

25 KEEN, Lycia 123; Benjamin Dean MERITT–Henry Theodore WADE–GERY–Malcolm Francis McGREGOR, The Athenian Tribute Lists III (Princeton 1950) 212 note 79.

26 See, for example, BORCHHARDT–BORCHHARDT–BIRBAUMER loc. cit. (note 24); BORCHHARDT, Heroon.

27 Thuk. 2, 69.

28 TL 44 a, lines 45–46; BORCHHARDT, Politik I.

29 BORCHHARDT, Politik; Borchhardt speculates that Perikle erected a heroon for his father in Limyra (Zēmuri). See also KEEN, Lycia 125–135. Contra: KOLB, Burg 154.

30 Paus. 1, 29, 7.

31 BORCHHARDT, Politik I.

32 LANDSKRON, Heroon 302.

force, which accords well with the scene depicted here. If the battle is meant to refer to an event of the ruler's lifetime, that is, if this is non-mythological, we might seek a mythological counterpart among the Heroon's friezes, since this opposition seems to be one principle operating on the choice of themes. And so, we might look again at the dramatic battle and city siege on the interior west wall. Like Frank Kolb and other scholars before him, I think we can make a case for a Trojan war scene³³, including the siege of the city. One might hope for a clinching iconographical signal, such as the wooden horse, but portions of the frieze are missing, although there are, in fact, other visual signals that can be read as indicating the Trojan War. These include warriors on chariots, figures escaping, as well as the nearby Amazonomachy, which evokes the literary images of Priam fighting Amazons at Troy³⁴. We might also think of Bellerophon's defeat of the Amazons³⁵, and at least one scholar has identified Bellerophon among the combatants of the Amazonomachy at Trysa³⁶.

Turning our attention back to the question of why we encounter Theseus on the Trysa Heroon, we might consider a parallel between the Athenian hero and the Trysa dynast. Later Athenians described Theseus achieving the synoikismos in Attika as the first step toward a unified Athens, and his importance as an earlier Athenian king is well known. If the Trysa dynast is, in fact, Trbbēnimi, the parallel with Theseus would work well for he, together with Perikle, played leading military and political roles in Lycia, including during the time after its annexation of territory following its victory over the Athenians. Perhaps Trbbēnimi or his confederates wished to endow Trbbēnimi with a heroic pedigree, or perhaps part of the victory involved 'taking possession' of the loser's hero. One might expect Athenian influence on Lycia to wane after Trbbēnimi's defeat of the Athenians, but, in fact, the opposite was the case. We need only regard the workmanship, compositions, and themes on other Lycian monuments, specifically large ones, as evidence of this³⁷.

In addition, I think we might look again at the deeds of Theseus on the east wall and the continuation of the Theseus depictions to the banqueting images, which extend to the interior south wall. In his description of the life of Theseus, Plutarch recounts that the triumphant return of Theseus and the would-be Athenian offerings from Crete were celebrated at the order of Theseus himself with a sacrifice

33 KOLB, Burg 91. Contra: LANDSKRON, Heroon 308, who provides a full bibliography.

34 Hom. Il. 3, 188–189. See also Pierre DEVAMBEZ–Alilki KAUFFMANN–SAMARAS, Amazones, in: LIMC 1 (1981) 586–653: 634–635 nos. 784–791.

35 Hom. Il. 6, 186.

36 OBERLEITNER, Heroon 38.

37 E.g., BORCHHARDT–BORCHHARDT–BIRBAUMER loc. cit. (note 24); BORCHHARDT, Politik 1.

in a temenos set up for Theseus and paid for by the grateful families of the saved young people³⁸. Could it be that the banqueting scene on the Trysa Heroon is not a generic one reflecting that held in this area for the dynast but a mythological one? Following the usual interpretation of pairing mythological and non-mythological scenes on this monument, one would then seek a mythological counterpart for the banqueting scene. The banquet preparations on the north wall would be suitable. Although its connection to the mythological realm is insecure, a connection to the abduction of the Leukippidai and their subsequent 'marriage' to their abductors is not out of the question.

New evidence concerning the history of Trysa and its rulers may yield more information on which to base interpretations of the Trysa heroon. In the meantime, I hope to have demonstrated the strong influence from Greek heroa on the sophisticated choice and placement of themes on this extraordinary Lycian monument.

38 Plut. Theseus 23, 3.