

The Ornamented Pilaster Capitals from the Late Classical Period in Lycia

Lykia'dan Geç Klasik Dönem'e ait Bezemeli Pilaster Başlıkları

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Abstract: In this article, the *pilaster* capital blocks of the Lycian Region, dated to the Late Classical period, are analyzed. In addition to two finds from Limyra and Patara, two *anta* capital blocks from the Nereid Monument at Xanthus constitute the study material. The attempt is made to place in a consistent chronology within a stylistic and historical context these blocks, both with each other and with similar examples found in distant or nearby places such as Halikarnassus, Labraunda, Sidon, Athens, Epidauros and Tegea. In this respect, it was understood that craftsmen affiliated with workshops from Asia Minor and Hellas worked together in Lycia. It was seen that the Nereid Monument from Xanthus, which has not been re-dated, has features compatible with the context created for the Limyran and Pataran finds. It was concluded that the finds in question were produced between 360 and 345 B.C. This article also brings new perspectives to the understanding of the process of the Ionian Renaissance with the conclusion that architects were employed from different schools in these two regions, this providing the primary reason for the architectural differences between Lycia and Caria in this period.

Keywords: Pilaster Capital • Lycia • Caria • Sidon • Hellas

Öz: Bu makalede Lykia Bölgesi'ndeki, Geç Klasik Dönem'e tarihlendirilen *pilaster* başlık blokları incelenmiştir. Limyra ve Patara'dan birer buluntu dışında Ksanthos Nereidler Anıtı'nın iki *anta* başlık bloğu, çalışmanın malzemesini oluşturmaktadır. Bu bloklar hem birbirleri hem de özellikle Halikarnassos, Labraunda, Sidon, Atina, Epidauros ve Tegea gibi uzak ya da yakın yerlerde bulunan benzer örneklerle stilistik ve de tarihsel bağlamda tutarlı bir kronolojiye oturtulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda Anadolu ve Hellas'tan atölyelere bağlı zanaatçıların, Lykia'da bir arada çalıştığı anlaşılmıştır. Yeniden tarihlendirilmesi yapılmayan Ksanthos Nereidler Anıtı'nın, Limyra ve Patara buluntuları için oluşturulan bağlamla uyumlu özellikler gösterdiği görülmüştür. Sözü edilen buluntuların ise MÖ 360-345 yıllarında yapıldığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu makale, aynı dönemde Lykia ve Karia arasındaki mimari farklılıkların başlıca nedeni olarak bu iki bölgede farklı ekollerden mimarlara görev verildiği yönündeki sonuçlarla, İon Rönesansı sürecinin anlamlandırılması yolunda da yeni bakış açıları getirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pilaster Başlığı • Lykia • Karia • Sidon • Hellas

Ornamented *pilaster* capitals from the Late Classical period, known in Lycia, are not numerous. On the other hand, these examples are very important in terms of their relationships with each other and with buildings in different parts of the Mediterranean. In this article, these will be evaluated together for the first time. In this way, it is aimed to contribute to the understanding of Ionic architecture both in Lycia and in the Late Classical period in general. In temporal terms, the general framework is the Late Classical period, but the question of which phase of this period the examples are from will also

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be addressed. For example, a Limyran find within the scope of the subject has been suggested to be related to the period of *Dynastes* Perikle¹, while a capital block from Patara has been dated to the period when Lycia was under Hecatomnid rule². However, since the structural context of these two examples is unknown, their dating can be reconsidered. The other *pilaster* capitals discussed here belong to the *antae* of the Nereid Monument from Xanthus. This building is generally associated with the *Dynastes* Erbbina (Arbinas). On the other hand, it has also been suggested that this building may have been influenced by the Hecatomnid buildings in Caria, especially the *Mausoleum* of Halicarnassus³. The *anta* capitals that reportedly belong to the Limyra *Heroon*⁴ also fall within the scope of this article. However, although there has passed a long time since its discovery, these capitals could not be evaluated since there is no detailed architectural publication of this building. In this study, which focuses on the pre-Hellenistic period of the IVth century B.C., this same temporal focus applies to comparative examples.

The Find from Limyra

It has been shown by J. Borchhardt (2001) that the Limyran find is comparable to the *anta* capital of the *andron* of Maussollos at Labraunda. Both capitals have the profile arrangement common for Asiatic-Ionic capitals⁵. The intermediate leaves (or darts) on the Ionic *cymatium* of these capitals are also similar in that they are squeezed into very small spaces between the Ionic leaf (or egg) margins. It is understood that a similar image is also present on the NW (north-west) capital of the Nereid Monument, whose profile arrangement is compatible with the Limyran and Labraundan examples in general terms (Figs. 13-14).

This feature of the Ionic *cymatium* seems to have emerged in the Late Archaic-Early Classical Period in terms of *pilaster* capitals⁶.



Fig. 1. Limyran Find (Borchhardt 2001, taf. 19.1)

¹ Borchhardt 2001.

² Şahin 2020.

³ Lethaby 1915, 223-224; Rumscheid 1994, I, 95 fn. 186; Pedersen 2013, 132-141.

⁴ Borchhardt 1970, 68.

⁵ e.g. a Chian example from the Early Classical period (Hoepfner 2011, 55 abb. 28); a capital from the Milas Museum, suggested to be from the late Vth-early IVth century B.C. (Baran 2010, 67-70 lev. 60); the capitals of the temple of Zeus and the *propylaea* (east and south), which the Hecatomnid buildings at Labraunda (for these and the capital of the *andron* of Maussollos see Hellström & Blid 2019, fig. 107-108; 2021, fig. 8.7); the capital of the temple of Athena at Priene (Koenigs 2015, 122-124). Examples from the Hellenistic period and later were not evaluated.

⁶ E.g. the examples of Didyma (Pontremoli & Haussoullier 1904, pl. XVIII; Shoe 1936: 137 pl. X.3; Wiegand & Knackfuss 1941, 144 taf. 207, 209) and Chios (Hoepfner, 2011: 55, abb. 28).

The scrolls of the *anthemion* of the Limyran and Labraundan capitals not only have volutes turning inwards but also those turning to the outer sides like shoots separated from the same branch⁷. The one on the Parthenon⁸ can be cited as an early example of outwardly rotating curves. In the Erechtheum, their leaf appearance is evident⁹. The Limyran capital also has affinities with Attic examples that differ from the Hecatomnid examples. The leaf margins of its Lesbian *cymatium* are single-curved, as in the NE (northeast) capital of the Nereid Monument (Fig. 15). Although this appears to be an Archaic feature when *Scherenkymas* are excluded, it is also seen in Classical Attic buildings, and was repeated in different regions during the Augustan period¹⁰. This feature is also seen in a IVth century B.C. Ionic building from Limyra¹¹. On the other hand, the Lesbian *cymatium* of our Limyran find also bears some similarities to the practices on the capitals of Hecatomnid buildings at Labraunda¹². For example, the Lesbian leaf margins at the lower points of the eye sections of these specimens are narrowed as if they were squeezed between two fingers. It should be noted that this practice, of which there are many examples, is also found on the capital from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Fig. 4).

In recent years the most striking similarity between the Limyran find and the *andron* of Maussollos at Labraunda has been noticed. Accordingly, there should be sculptural works on the capital of the *andron*, as in Limyra. Also considering this practice, which does not seem to be common for *pilaster* capitals¹³, it can be argued more strongly that one of these capitals formed the model for the other. The axial correspondence between the lower and middle ornaments of the Limyran capital can be interpreted as an advanced feature when compared to the practice on the *andron*¹⁴. So much so that this feature is also present on the Labraundan examples¹⁵ slightly later than the *andron* of Maussollos. Moreover, since the Limyran capital is the only known example of the Asiatic-Ionic type in Lycia, it does not seem to be a strong candidate for having provided a model for Caria.

⁷ Similar ornamentation was also used in the *Mausoleum* (Dinsmoor 1908, fig. 2, 6-7).

⁸ Billot 1994, 21 pl. 4.c.

⁹ Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. XXXVI.

¹⁰ Ganzert 1983, 133, 140-141, 148, 186, 191, 196-197 abb. 36. A drawing of the painted *cymatium* on the *anta* capital of the temple of Nike at Athens shows a single-curved arrangement (Lethaby 1908, 158 fig. 158), while an earlier drawing shows a double-curved arrangement (Ross *et al.* 1839 11 pl. X, fig. 2-3). For an evaluation of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, see fn. 34.

¹¹ Cavalier 2012, 135 fig. 4; 2020.

¹² Hellström & Blid 2021, fig. 8.7.

¹³ For a suggestion that such a use may have been in a similar location (*altar* cheek) at the Amnisus Zeus sanctuary in Crete, around 540/30-500 B.C, see Ohnesorg 2005, 199-200, abb. 104. It should also be noted that there is a lion head figure on the *pilaster* capital of a rock-cut tomb from Myra in Lycia (Borchhardt 2001, 182 taf. 20.2). The association of the protomes at Sidon with those in Lycia in the context of Persian iconography (Stucky 1988, 125; 2002, 79-80) can also be considered important at this point.

¹⁴ Since the middle ornament is not included in the axial correspondence that seems to exist largely between the upper and lower ornaments of the *andron* (Hellström & Blid 2019, 59), a more Archaic appearance is here created (fig. 2).

¹⁵ For the temple of Zeus and the *propylaea*, see Jeppesen 1955, pl. 4.e, 7; Hellström & Blid 2021, fig. 8.7.

Another *pilaster* capital that has striking similarities to the Limyran find is the one from the sanctuary of Athena at Tegea. An ornament arrangement as in the mentioned capitals (from bottom to top: Lesbian and Ionic *cymatium*, *anthemion*) could not be detected on an element that can be dated before these two examples and is definitely a *pilaster* capital. In addition, the axial correspondence formed by their *anthemions* could only be detected in these two examples. Accordingly, at Limyra (if small deviations are ignored) symmetry was created through palmettes, without taking into account the lotuses. At Tegea, there is no difference in symmetry except that the palmettes are replaced by lotuses and the lotuses by rosettes (Figs. 3-4). It is also noteworthy that the *anthemion* of the Limyran example -contrary to what is expected in the Asiatic tradition before the Hellenistic Period¹⁶- was carved standing instead of hanging.

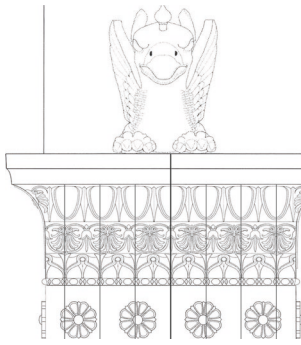


Fig. 2. Anta Capital from andron of Maussollos (after Hellström & Blid 2019, fig. 463)

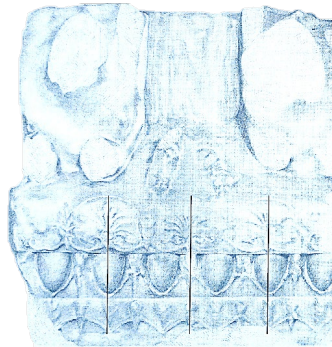


Fig. 3. Limyran Find (after Borchhardt 2001, taf. 19.3)

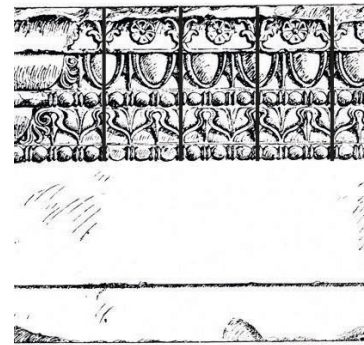


Fig. 4. Pilaster Capital from Sanctuary of Athena at Tegea (after Dugas *et al.* 1924, pl. LXXVII.b)

The Find from Patara

In addition to its Attic-Ionic type, the Cemetery Church find of Patara (spolia) is also related to Hellas with other features. For example, the profile and ornament arrangements of this capital are known from Classical Athenian samples¹⁷. It is understood that these Attic examples were followed by the craftsmen of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women at Sidon¹⁸. The same determination seems to be valid for the *Tholos* of Epidauros (Figs. 11-12). Another commonality of the Pataran find with the Erechtheum and Epidauros examples is the hanging position of the corner palmettes (Figs. 5, 8-9). This feature seems to be repeated in all the known *pilaster* or pillar capitals with corner palmettes from

¹⁶ Except for the examples with two *anthemion* bands on top of each other or with both hanging and standing figures on the same band [(Theodorescu 1967, fig. 16-19, 21; Ohnesorg 2005, 139-141 taf. 71.3-4; Koenigs 2007, taf. 89.4-6. An Alabandan capital in the Archaeological Museum of Aydın, in which this feature is found, is stated to be from the Late Classical or Hellenistic period, but it has not been dated in detail (Hellström & Blid 2019, 257 fn. 747).], this feature could only be detected in examples from Samos [Apart from an example from Heraion (Buschor 1958, abb. 11; Gruben 2014, 139-141 taf. 100-101, 110), two finds that may have this feature are also shown (Isler & Kalpaxis 1978, 39-41, A 1-2, beil. 31.d-32.a).] and Ephesus (Shoe 1936, 21 pl. E.4; Ohnesorg 2005, 157-160; see also Brockmann 1968, 83 fn. G.174) before the Hellenistic period.

¹⁷ See the examples of the Ilissos temple [just profiles (Stuart & Revett 1825, chap. II pl. XII)], Nike temple [painted ornaments (Ross *et al.* 1839, 11 pl. X fig. 2-3; Lethaby 1908, 158 fig. 158)] and Erechtheum (Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. XVIII; XX; XXIII; XXXVI.3, 5; Shoe 1936, 63, 174 pl. XVI.1).

¹⁸ Brockmann 1968, 78; Fleischer 1983, 25 taf. 10.3.

the IVth century B.C. and earlier¹⁹. It is noteworthy that the block at Patara differs from those at the Erechtheum in that there is no relief on the neck section. However, when examined carefully, it is understood that there are painted decorations here (Fig. 7).



Figs. 5-6. Pataran Find and Its Profile Drawing

The intermediate leaves of the Pataran capital, as in the NE capital of the Nereid Monument (Fig. 15), open sideways towards the middle parts of the Ionic leaves, merge with the leaf margins and end above, by continuing their contact. The large space between the leaf margins created in a similar way is also found on the *pilaster* capitals of the Erechtheum²⁰ and the temple of Nike at Athens (according to the drawing²¹), as well as on some capitals of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women²². An important example of this from



Fig. 7. Painted detail from Pataran Find

¹⁹ e.g. The Treasury of Massalia at Delphoi from 535-530 B.C. (Demangel & Daux 1923, 78 fig. 62); the Great Altar with stairs at Paros, probably from 500-490 B.C. (Gruben 1982, 190 abb. 26-27, 30); the artifact from the Archaeological Museum of Lesbos Mytiline, probably from the Late Archaic-Early Classical period (Ohnesorg 2005, 133-134, 203 taf. 70.4-5); a capital from the Milas Museum, suggested dating from the late Vth-early IVth century (Baran 2010, 67-70 lev. 60-61); the *andron* of Maussollos at Labraunda (Hellström & Blid 2019, fig. 107); the temple of Athena at Priene from 350-323 B.C. (Rumscheid 1994, II, 69 no. 293.14 taf. 152.2); examples from the Khersonesos (Black Sea) from the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period (Bujskich 2010, 41 taf. 43.1, 135.5, see also page 42 taf. 137.1); the temple of Artemis at Sardeis, dated to around 320 B.C. (Butler 1925, 142 ill. 119 pl. 2; for the view that the temple may be from after 281 B.C., see Yegül 2010, 370-373). According to L. T. Shoe (1936, 29-30 pl. XVI.5), the example from the north *propylon* of Epidauros is from the late IVth century B.C., but it is also suggested that it may date from the first half of the IIIrd century B.C. (Roux 1961, 267, 274 pl. 78.1). In the apparently incomplete execution on the *pilaster* capital from the sanctuary of Athena at Tegea, the palmettes are hanging, though not in the corner (fig. 4). This feature was also illustrated for the Doric capital of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (*Dilettanti* 1817, chap. VI pl. 6, 9).

²⁰ Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. XVIII; XX.2-3, 8; XXIII; XXVI.4; XXXVI.1, 3, 5; XXXVII.8.

²¹ Ross *et al.* 1839, pl. IX fig. 2. See also drawings of the Doric capital of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (*Dilettanti* 1817, chap. VI pl. 6, 9).

²² For the capitals in which this feature is more evident see Fleischer 1983, taf. 23, 30, 32.

Lycia was found in the IVth century B.C. Ionic building at Limyra²³. This feature, which is also observed in Hecatomnid buildings such as the *Mausoleum* of Halicarnassus and the temple of Zeus at Labraunda²⁴, is also present in the *Tholos* of Epidaurus and seems to have become widespread during the Hellenistic period²⁵.

The Ionic leaf margins next to the corner palmettes of the Pataran find form volutes by curving like two shoots, one turning inwards and the other outwards (Figs. 5, 9). In the Nereid Monument, it can be observed that the leaf margin on the preserved corner of an Ionic *cymatium*²⁶ merges with the corner palmette to form a similar image. The Lesbian *cymatium* of the Pataran find also has a similar feature. However, the volute turning outward probably touches

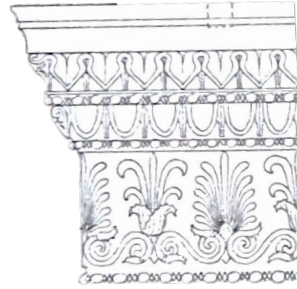


Fig. 8. Pilaster Capital from Erechtheum (Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. 20.2)



Fig. 9. Detail of Pataran Find



Fig. 10. Lesbian *cymatium* from Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women (Fleischer 1983, taf. 17.1)

the leaf margin, but is not directly part of it. *Pilaster* capitals with voluted Lesbian *cymatium* are also seen in examples from the treasury of Massalia at Delphoi (535-530 B.C.)²⁷, the Erechtheum²⁸, and the sanctuary of Athena at Tegea (Fig. 4). However, it should be noted that the example at Delphoi has a quite different arrangement. When looking at examples other than *pilasters*, a piece of *toichobates* in the sanctuary of Athena at Tegea can be considered important, for volutes turning inward and outward can be seen at the same time²⁹. There are also variations of this practice on the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women³⁰, the *Mausoleum*³¹, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which was rebuilt after 356 B.C., and the Belevi Mausoleum from 290-270 B.C.³².

Double-curved Lesbian leaf margins were used on the Pataran find. Although the NW block of the Nereid Monument cannot be observed accurately in the photograph, it should be noted that there

²³ Cavalier 2012, fig. 3; for updated dating see Cavalier 2020.

²⁴ Rumscheid 1994, II, 21, 31, no. 64, 115.3, 115.8, taf. 48.2, 64.2-3, 64.7.

²⁵ Rumscheid 1994, I, 255; for the example of Epidaurus see also Roux 1961, pl. 44.3-4.

²⁶ see the lower *cymatium* of the western *hyperthyron* (Coupel & Demargne 1969, 128 pl. 53, XCVI).

²⁷ Demangel & Daux 1923, 78 fig. 62; Altekamp 1991, abb. 79-80.

²⁸ Ganzert 1983, abb. 63; Stevens *et al.* 1927, fig. 132 pl. XVI, XIX-XX.2, XXIII, XXVI, XXXVI.

²⁹ Dugas *et al.* 1924, pl. LXXIV, LXXXVIII.B

³⁰ Fleischer 1983, taf. 12-17.

³¹ Lethaby 1908, fig. 32.

³² Rumscheid 1994, I, 260; 1994.II, 8, 14, no. 28.14, 38.2, taf. 15.2, 6; 34.6. The example from the temple of Athena at Priene, dated to ca. 110 B.C. (± 30 years), (Rumscheid 1994, I, 182; 1994, II, no. 293.3, taf. 143.5) differs from the other examples in that the volute is not a continuation of the leaf margin but is an addition to it.

is an image closer to the double-curved leaf margins, especially at the midpoints and northern parts of the front face of the block (Fig. 13). The use of this feature, which is shown as an Asiatic tradition, with convex leaf blades in the tradition of Hellas³³, as in the Nereid Monument (?) and Patara, is also seen in the examples of the *Tholos* of Epidaurus and the sanctuary of Athena at Tegea (Figs. 4, 11), considering the *pilaster* capitals. Although it seems there is this feature at some points of the *pilaster* capitals of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, it should be noted that the *cymatiums* of some capitals have an appearance closer to the single-curved arrangement³⁴.

The Lesbian leaf margin curves at the lower points of the eye sections of the Pataran find leave large areas that do not compress the intermediate leaves too much. The Nereid Monument could not be observed properly in this respect. However, it should be noted that it seems likely that the southern parts of the front façade of the NW capital of the monument have a similar arrangement³⁵. While Temple B at Paros shows the presence of this practice in the Archaic Period³⁶, if the drawing is reliable, the first use of it on Ionic *anta* capitals should be in the painted ornaments³⁷ of the Nike Temple at Athens. The sarcophagus of the Mourning Women³⁸ from Sidon and the IVth century B.C. Ionic building at Limyra³⁹ also contain important similar examples in this respect.

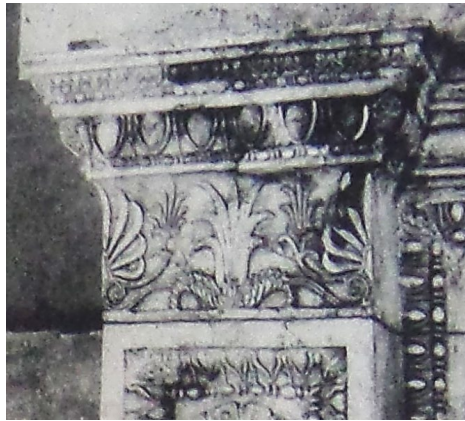


Fig. 11. Pilaster Capital from *Tholos* of Epidaurus (Roux 1961, pl. 44.3)

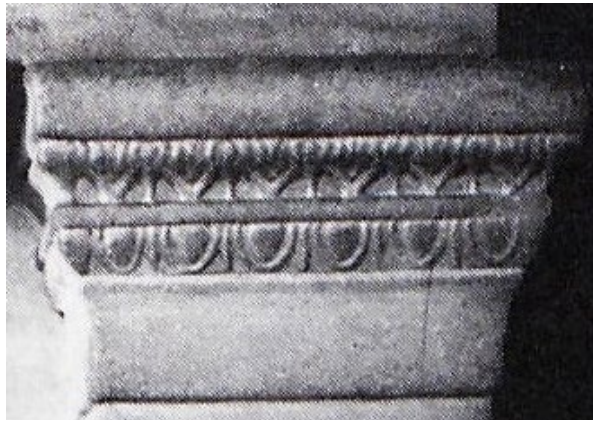


Fig. 12. Pilaster Capital from Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women (Fleischer 1983, taf. 23)

The midribs features of the Lesbian leaves of the Pataran find have been associated with those on the *Tholos* of Epidaurus, and, in particular, on the sarcophagus of the Mourning Woman⁴⁰. However, it

³³ Ganzert 1983, 149-150, 160, 191 abb. 36. Since the mentioned Lycian examples appear to be among the first examples that led to the “canonization” of this feature for Asia Minor, it may be misleading to associate them with the Asiatic tradition.

³⁴ The double-curved arrangement is evident on the base of this sarcophagus (Fleischer 1983, taf. 10.3, 12-18, 23-24, 29-30, 32-33, 35).

³⁵ The practices of the northern parts of this *cymatium* seem to be comparable to the one described for the Limyran find in the previous section of the article (Fig. 13).

³⁶ Gruben 1982, abb. 18.c-d.

³⁷ Ross *et al.* 1839, 11 pl. X fig. 2-3; Lethaby 1908, 158 fig. 158.

³⁸ Fleischer 1983, taf. 10.3, 12-18, 24, 29, 33, 35.

³⁹ Cavalier 2012, fig. 4; 2020.

⁴⁰ Şahin 2020, 28.

should be noted that it is easier to establish a similarity with the ones with a pronounced curvature⁴¹, rather than the midribs that appear “V” shaped at some points⁴² of the Sidonian example. So much so that, although some of them have a distinction such as a bulge between the forks, their midrib contours are generally more pronounced, which is also similar to the practice at Patara. On the other hand, the contours at Epidaurus are not distinct⁴³. Although it cannot be observed clearly, it is understood that the same is valid for the Nereid Monument (NW).

There is no general axial correspondence between the ornaments of the Pataran find. However, it is noteworthy that there is an alignment at the midpoint of the front façade of the block. In addition to the Didyma capitals that can date from the Late Archaic-Early Classical period⁴⁴, the *andron* of Maussollos at Labraunda has a similar appearance (Fig. 2).

The Nereid Monument from Xanthus

It is noteworthy that the two *anta* capitals of the Nereid Monument, which can be observed holistically, have different features. Although the capitals are of Attic-Ionic type, the one placed in the NW (Figs. 13-14) has the common profiles of Asiatic-Ionic type (see the section of *The Find from Limyra*). On the other hand, the presence of *astragalos* between these main profiles is an Attic feature⁴⁵. While the flat *abacus* of the NW capital is consistent with the common use of the Asiatic-Ionic type⁴⁶, the section that serves as the *abacus* of the capital suggested to belong to the NE *anta* (Figs. 15-16) -as in the Pataran find- has a *cavetto* profile, which is normal for the Attic-Ionic type⁴⁷.

The ornamental arrangement of the NW capital, except for the bead and reels between the *cymatium*, is also found on an Asiatic-Ionic capital from the Milas (Mylasa) Museum. The date of this capital, suggested⁴⁸ to be from the late Vth-early IVth century B.C., is debatable as its structural connection is unknown. An Attic-Ionic *pilaster* capital with the same *cymatiums*, although its arrangement is different, is seen in the *Korai* porch of the Erechtheum⁴⁹.

⁴¹ Fleischer 1983, taf. 15-16.3, 17. Taf. 14.1 (the ones under figures B1-4), taf. 14.2 (the ones under figures B8-13).

⁴² Fleischer 1983, taf. 12-13, 16. Taf. 14.1 (the ones under figures B4/5-7), taf. 14.2 (the ones under figures B6-7/8).

⁴³ Defrasse & Lechat 1895, 109.

⁴⁴ Pontremoli & Haussoullier 1904, pl. XVIII; Wiegand & Knackfuss 1941, 144 taf. 207, 209.

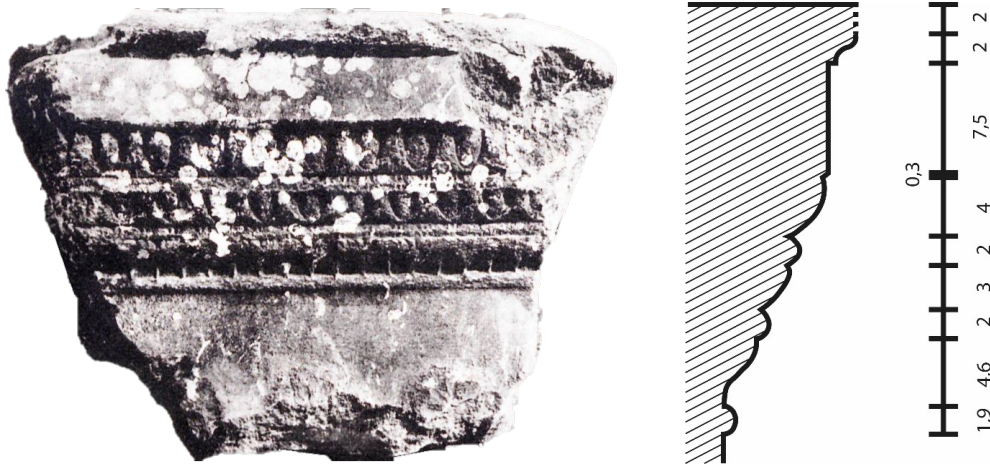
⁴⁵ Brockmann 1968, 76-77. The only Asiatic-Ionic capital in which this eclecticism is detected is from Türkkuysu (Halicarnassus). This example has been associated with the Hecatomnid period (Baran 2010, 69 lev. 62.5) but it is not dated in detail and is more likely from the Hellenistic period. So much so that the use of bead and reel between the *cymatiums* for Asiatic-Ionic capitals seems to have emerged in Hellenistic buildings at Magnesia (Brockmann 1968, 84 fn. G.178). In addition, the thin leaf margins, as in the Ionic *cymatium* of the capital from Türkkuysu, are associated with the mid-IIIrd to mid-IInd century B.C. (Rumscheid 1994, I, 255-256). The standing palmette on the corner of the *cymatium* also points to a date after the IVth century B.C. (see fn. 19).

⁴⁶ Brockmann 1968, 83 fn. G.173.

⁴⁷ Brockmann 1968, 76, 78.

⁴⁸ Baran 2010, 67-70 lev. 60.

⁴⁹ Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. XXVI, XXXVI.1.



Figs. 13-14. NW *Anta* Capital Block from Nereid Monument (after Coupel & Demargne 1969, pl. 48, LIII)



Figs. 15-16. NE *Anta* Capital Block from Nereid Monument, inside (after Coupel & Demargne 1969, pl. 49, LIV)

While the bottom parts of the Ionic leaves of the NW capital -as in the Pataran and Limyran capitals- are oval, those of the NE capital are more pointed. It should be reminded that some similar stylistic differences between the two capitals have been shown in the sections above.

It was stated⁵⁰ that between the ornaments of the Nereid Monument, there is only axial correspondence at the middle point, as in the Pataran find. However, according to the photographs, the *cymatiums* above disrupt the correspondence here. It should be noted that (although the highly eroded ornaments could not be examined properly) between the lower and middle *cymatiums* on the front of the NE block, there may be axial correspondence in the style commonly used for Attic-Ionic capitals⁵¹.

While only an *astragalos* terminates the shaft of the NW block at the top, as in the Pataran find, the NE block has a fillet below the *astragalos* profile and, according to the drawing, an *apophyge*⁵². No

⁵⁰ Altekamp 1991, 172.

⁵¹ For this style see Brockmann 1968, 77.

⁵² The *apophyge* seen in the drawing of the block cannot be inspected in the photographs due to the shadow. However, the observation of the fillet profile under the *astragalos* is sufficient to explain the changed design (Figs. 15-16).

pilaster with *apophyge superior* could be detected before the Erechtheum examples⁵³. In addition to the temples of Ilissos and Nike at Athens, it is also seen that the *astragalos* profile was used without *apophyge* in the Parthenon⁵⁴. When we look at the early examples of *astragalos* with *apophyge* in Asia Minor, the Hecatomnid buildings at Labraunda draw attention, apart from the Nereid Monument. After the *andron* of Maussollos, which apparently followed the old (without *apophyge*) tradition, *astragalos* with *apophyge* was applied in *Andron A*, the temple of Zeus, and the *propylaea* (east and south)⁵⁵. It is understood that the same development took place in the contemporary temple of Athena at Priene⁵⁶. However, practices without *apophyge* did not disappear in this process. The Tegean find from the end of the Classical Period⁵⁷ (Fig. 4) and the example of the Artemis temple at Sardeis from the beginning of the Hellenistic Period⁵⁸ seem to mark the border of the period in which this practice was widespread.

It is noteworthy that the NW block of the Nereid Monument⁵⁹ is at the same height as the capital-neck block of the *pilaster* on the west side of the northern section of the Erechtheum⁶⁰. In addition, the lower shaft width of the inner side of the NE *anta*⁶¹ is the same as that of the west face of the Erechtheum⁶². The *torus*-shaft blocks of the Nereid Monument (southwest side) and the Erechtheum (south side of the eastern section) are also of the same height⁶³.

Workshop Problem and Historical Context

Understanding that some measurements of the Erechtheum were copied in the Nereid Monument is important in terms of workshop connections. So much so that the same situation was also found in

⁵³ On the door *pilaster* in the *Korai* porch of this building, the *astragalos* profile was applied without *apophyge*. (Shoe 1936, 64 pl. XVI.2, XXIX.1; Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. XVI; XVIII; XX; XXIII; XXVI; XXXVI.1, 3, 5). A find from Lokroi dated to the mid-Vth century B.C. has not been evaluated here, as it has recently been thought that it does not belong to a *pilaster* (Costabile *et al.* 2006, 17, 28 fig. 38).

⁵⁴ Stuart & Revett 1825, chap. II pl. XII; Ross *et al.* 1839, pl. X; Shoe 1936, 63-64 pl. C.10, XVI.1, LVII.7. This feature can also be observed under some other Vth century B.C. Doric capitals in Attika (Brockmann 1968, 50). A Chian example thought to belong to the Early Classical period (Hoepfner 2011, 55 abb. 28), a *pilaster* or crown block from Delos suggested to be from the Late Classical period or the second half of the Vth century B.C. (Ohnesorg 1989, 413 taf. 41.6; Gruben 1998, fn. 303, abb. 56d), and a find from Olynthos stated to be from before 348 B.C. also have an *astragalos* profile without *apophyge*. This arrangement can be seen with the Doric half-columned *anta* in the Treasury XIV at Delphoi from ca. 373 B.C. (Shoe 1936, 30, 64 pl. XXIX.2, LXXXVI.35).

⁵⁵ Hellström & Blid 2019, fig. 95-96, 98-99, 462-469.

⁵⁶ Koenigs 2015, 119, 363 no. 506 abb. 107-108 taf. 40.

⁵⁷ Shoe 1936, pl. XVI.3; Norman 1984, 191-194 pl. 30 fig. 8.

⁵⁸ The structure is thought to be from around 320 B.C. (Butler 1925, 142 ill. 47-48, 119 pl. 2) as well, but there is an opinion that its construction was probably started in 281 B.C. (Yegül 2010, 370-373).

⁵⁹ Coupel & Demargne 1969, 113, no. 591, pl. LIII.

⁶⁰ Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. VII.

⁶¹ Coupel & Demargne 1969, 105, no. 593, XLV, LX, LXII.

⁶² Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. XX.3

⁶³ This measurement, which is generally given as 97.5 cm for the Nereid Monument, is given as 97 cm in a drawing (Coupel & Demargne 1969, 104, no. 3, pl. XLIV, LXIII). The measurement given for the Erechtheum is 97.6 cm. (Stevens *et al.* 1927, pl. VI).

the IVth century B.C. Ionic building at Limyra⁶⁴. It seems possible that the Pataran find, which can be said to be modeled after the *pilaster* capital blocks of the Erechtheum (Figs. 5-8), can also be associated with this workshop. There is also strong evidence that craftsmen from the same workshop may have worked at Sidon⁶⁵. The Lycian sarcophagus of Sidon, which some researchers have established a workshop connection with the Nereid Monument⁶⁶, may suggest that these craftsmen moved from Lycia to Sidon. However, this situation seems to require dating the relevant architectural works in Lycia earlier than has been recently thought, considering that the Lycian sarcophagus is dated to 390-385 B.C.⁶⁷. On the other hand, the dating of the temple in the sanctuary of Ešmun to 380-360 B.C.⁶⁸ and the sarcophagus of the Mourning Woman to 367-361/358 B.C.⁶⁹ should also be taken into consideration. So much so that their *terminus ante quem* coincides with the beginning of a new era for Lycia⁷⁰: The Hecatomnid period. The connection between Caria (Halicarnassus and Labraunda) and the sanctuary of Ešmun through architectural sculpture⁷¹ reinforces this context. Therefore, it is also possible that the workshop, which is understood to be from the Athenian school, came to Asia Minor from Sidon⁷².

The *Tholos* of Epidaurus is also important in terms of workshop connections. This building, which has a door *pilaster* capital (Fig. 11) similar to the Pataran find, also bears other similarities with the Erechtheum⁷³. According to recent studies, the sections of the *Tholos* related to the Erechtheum are dated to the years 369-362 B.C.⁷⁴. This suggests that some of the craftsmen from the same Athenian school may have come to Asia Minor from Sidon and some from Epidaurus. The existence of such connections is known during the Hecatomnid rule. For example, famous sculptors were employed in Caria⁷⁵. It is important at this point to know that Timotheos, one of these sculptors, may have received training from craftsmen of the Erechtheum and the parapet of the Nike temple⁷⁶ and that he also worked in Epidaurus. The suggestion that Skopas may have worked at Epidaurus⁷⁷ and

⁶⁴ Cavalier 2020. For a determination that there may be a similar relationship between the Limyra *Heroon* and the temple of Nike at Athens, see also Borchhardt 1970, fn. 14.

⁶⁵ For the affinities of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Woman with the Erechtheum and the Nereid Monument, see Koenigs & Philipp 1996, 134, 138, 142. For the finds from the sanctuary of Ešmun associated with the temple of Nike and the Erechtheum at Athens, see Stucky 2002, 74-83; see also Pedersen 2013, 132; Cavalier 2020a.

⁶⁶ Schuchhardt 1927, 145-147; Borchhardt 1976, 138. B. Schmidt Dounas (1985, 96-99) accepts the similarities between the two tombs but rejects the workshop connection.

⁶⁷ For different dating suggestions in addition to this date, see Schmidt Dounas 1985, 100-117.

⁶⁸ Stucky 2002, 76.

⁶⁹ Fleischer 1983, 61-63.

⁷⁰ Jacobs 1993, 65.

⁷¹ Stucky 1988, 124-125.

⁷² If so, a question that cannot be answered here may be raised, such as "Could the craftsmen in question have made the Lycian sarcophagus in Lycia upon the order of their patrons at Sidon, while they were working in Lycia?"

⁷³ Möbius 1927, 181 beil. XXI.

⁷⁴ Prignitz 2014, 105.

⁷⁵ Vit. *de Arch.* II.8.11; VII.intro. 13; Plin. *nat.* XXXVI.30-31.

⁷⁶ Prignitz 2014, 212, 227, 240-244 fn. 268.

⁷⁷ Østby 2014, 347. See also Ridgway 1997, 122.

Lycia⁷⁸ may further strengthen this context. Finally, considering the written documents that state Bryaksis worked in Lycia⁷⁹ will suggest that there may have been craftsmen who worked in both Caria and Lycia in terms of architecture also.

The Limyran capital, which is the only Lycian example directly related to those in Caria, is important at this point with its closeness to the Tegean example (Fig. 4). Because it is known that Skopas was the architect of the temple of Athena at Tegea⁸⁰, a structure also associated with the *Tholos* of Epidaurus⁸¹. Moreover, the presence of the relief of Idrieus and Ada (Fig. 17), members of the Hecatomnid dynasty, in the vicinity of this temple⁸² supports the connection of those who worked on this structure with the Carians. In this case, it may come to mind that the architect of the building to which the Limyran capital belongs may have been Skopas⁸³. Of course, there is insufficient evidence on this subject, and the type of Limyran capital may not be expected in Skopas' work. However, it is normal that Skopas, who is known to have produced works in different geographies, worked with craftsmen of different origins. In this regard, attention can be drawn to the opinion that the relief at Tegea may be a dedication of a Carian who was with Skopas, who went to Hellas after his work in Asia Minor⁸⁴. It has also been suggested that the relief may belong to a decree indicating the support of the Hecatomnids for the reconstruction of the temple of Athena⁸⁵. If so, it can be thought that the Hecatomnids supported Tegea not only financially but also in terms of craftsmen⁸⁶. At this point, considering the relation of the Limyran capital to Asiatic-Ionic and especially Labraundan architecture, it seems possible that the Carian craftsmen who may have worked with Skopas also worked on this find.



Fig. 17. Relief from Tegea (Tandy 2013, fig. 1)

All these indicate that groups from Asia Minor and Hellas were used together in architectural works in Lycia. This may also explain the differences in the NW and NE blocks of the Nereid Monument. The fact that the NW block is closer to Asiatic examples would bring to mind that the craftsmen

⁷⁸ Urlichs 1861, 67; Ridgway 1997, 97; Bruns Özgan 2016, 490.

⁷⁹ Schuler 2016.

⁸⁰ Paus. VIII.45.5.

⁸¹ Østby 2014, 341-346.

⁸² Foucart 1911, 145 fig. 1.

⁸³ The possible connection of Skopas with a building at Limyra has also been evaluated in the light of the Lesbian *cymatium* (Cavalier 2015, 247-248; for recent suggestions on this building, see Cavalier 2020a). However, it is difficult to say that the Lesbian *cymatium* belonging to this Ionic building is very similar to the Tegean examples (Dugas *et al.* 1924, pl. LXXXVI-LXXXIX, XCIII) except for the leaf blades.

⁸⁴ Jongkees 1948, 32.

⁸⁵ Waywell 1993, 80, 83, 85.

⁸⁶ Tandy 2013, 71.

working on the different capitals may have different origins⁸⁷. It is logical that when the Hecatomnids annexed Lycia, the expanding construction site may have led to this result by requiring additional labor. Moreover, suitable conditions for bringing craftsmen from outside to both Lycia and Caria⁸⁸ must have been provided after the Great Satraps' Revolt (i.e. ca. 360 B.C. at the earliest)⁸⁹. However, the influence of Hecatomnid architecture in Lycia seems to be partial. In general terms, it is possible to explain the differences between Carian and Lycian architecture⁹⁰ by the fact that different architects worked in these two regions. In Caria, architects such as Satyros and Pytheos⁹¹, who mostly followed Asiatic-Ionic practices, were used by the Hecatomnids. On the other hand, when it is accepted that architects brought from abroad were directed to Lycia, the dominance of Attic-Ionic practices here seems meaningful. The fact that these architects worked with craftsmen from different origins, who acted independently to a certain extent, will also be explanatory for the eclecticism in Lycian architecture.

The Date

Sufficient reasons have been put forward for the dating of the Limyran find between the *andron* of Mausollos (377-352 B.C.) and the Tegean example (345-335)⁹² (Figs. 2-4). At this point, the date when Lycia came under the Hecatomnid rule seems appropriate as the *terminus post quem*. Therefore, the Limyran find should be dated to 360-345 B.C. As for the dating of the Pataran find, which has a predominant Erechtheum influence, the Sidonian examples and the *Tholos* of Epidaurus are important. Considering that craftsmen from the Athenian school worked in Lycia after Sidon and Epidaurus, it will be seen that the *terminus post quem* determined for the Limyran find is also appropriate for the Pataran find. Moreover, the relation of the *Tholos* of Epidaurus to the temple of Athena at Tegea and the relation of Sidon to Caria seems to require that the Pataran find is also related to the Limyran find. The fact that the two finds mentioned have almost the same height⁹³ supports this relationship. Therefore, it is possible to date the Pataran find to 360-345 B.C. There seems to be no harm in evaluating the Nereid Monument also, which is clearly related to the Erechtheum, in this

⁸⁷ If this is not a difference in craftsmen due to a possible time difference between the production of the two capitals, it also indicates that the craftsmen worked independently of each other to a certain extent. It is thought that craftsmen belonging to two workshops, one from Hellas and the other local, whose similarly free work was noted, were also involved in the sculptural works of the Nereid Monument (Childs & Demargne 1989, 374-376).

⁸⁸ For the opinions that the sculptors mentioned above worked at the *Mausoleum* between 360-350 BC, see, Ridgway 1997, 145, 248, 252.

⁸⁹ On the other hand, when the classical approach is followed, the fact that the owner of the monument brought craftsmen from a foreign workshop for the practice of Hellenic architecture, which does not seem to be common in Lycia, may be an explanation at this point. So much so that the practices of Erbbina (Arbinas) and his father Kheriga (Gergis) showing Hellenic influence are also known (Bousquet 1992, 170-171). However, the last years of the dynastic period does not seem to have suitable conditions for large-scale building programs. Especially the rivalry between Xanthus and Limyra (Keen 1998, 136-170) suggests that there could not have been a common architectural program in the Xanthus valley and Limyra.

⁹⁰ Pedersen 2013, 131-132.

⁹¹ Vitruvius *de Arch.* VII. intro.12

⁹² Norman 1984, 191-194.

⁹³ For the Limyran find see Borchhardt 2001, 181; for the Pataran find see Fig. 6.

context -if only considered in terms of *anta* capitals-. However, this issue should be approached cautiously without a comprehensive re-evaluation of this monument, which contains many finds. In this case, it is sufficient to state that the evaluations here support the suggestion that the Nereid Monument is not a structure that influenced the Hecatomnid architecture but was -partially-influenced by it. However, it should also be noted that if the Nereid Monument is excluded from the context created here, the date of the Pataran find, and thus the Limyran find, may need to be brought forward. On the other hand, these conditions will make it difficult to explain the Lycia-Tegea connections in particular. If the structural connection of the Pataran find can be revealed, it may be hoped that progress will be made in solving the dating problem of the Nereid Monument. For example, if it can be shown that the find belonged to a building that served the cult of Zeus Labraundos⁹⁴, the possibility of dating the Nereid Monument to 360-345 B.C. will increase. As for the building to which the Limyran find may belong, the only example known to be compatible with the context created here can be mentioned (considering that there are other finds mentioned for the Limyra *Heroon*⁹⁵). Although this building, known from some finds, is associated with *Dynastes Perikle*⁹⁶, there is no conclusive evidence at this point. Therefore, it is also possible that the building in question dates from the Hecatomnid period in Lycia. If the date of this building can be reliably determined, the mystery about the date of the Nereid Monument, which is probably contemporary with it, will be lifted to a great extent. If this date is to support the Hecatomnid period, it is clear that the accepted dating of many works in Lycia will need to be reconsidered.

⁹⁴ For the cult of Zeus Labraundos at Patara see Engelmann 2007, 134. It can be primarily thought that the Pataran find may belong to a door *pilaster* due to its closeness to the examples from Epidaurus that belong to the door (Roux 1961, pl. 44.3) and from Tegea that are associated with the door (Pakkanen 2014, 365 fig. 17).

⁹⁵ Borchhardt 1970, 68.

⁹⁶ For the latest suggestions on the Ionic structure associated with the Early Hellenistic Period in preliminary studies (Cavalier 2012), see Cavalier 2020a.

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