



## A Reassessment of an Anta-Architrave Practice in the Ionic Rock-cut Tombs of the Lykio-Karian Borderland

Özgür KAYA\* 

### Abstract

\* Dr. Özgür Kaya, National Defense University, Turkish Military Academy, Department of Civil Engineering, Ankara / Türkiye.  
E-mail: ozgurkaya91@gmail.com  
Orcid iD: 0000-0001-5872-8254

**Corresponding Author:** Dr. Özgür Kaya, National Defense University, Turkish Military Academy, Department of Civil Engineering, Ankara / Türkiye.  
E-mail: ozgurkaya91@gmail.com

**Received Date:** 15.2.2025  
**Acceptance Date:** 03.11.2025  
**Online Publication Date:** 31.12.2025

**Citation:** Kaya, Ö. 2025. "A Reassessment of an Anta-Architrave Practice in the Ionic Rock-cut Tombs of the Lykio-Karian Borderland." *Arkhaia Anatolika* 8: 206-217.  
<https://doi.org/10.32949/Arkhaia.2025.76>

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In this article, an architectural practice seen in some of the Ionic rock-cut tombs of the Lykio-Karian borderland, mostly in the ancient city of Kaunos, is reinterpreted. This practice is distinguished by the positioning of the capitals belonging to the pilasters, which serve the purpose of *antae* in most of the rock-cut tombs mentioned, which project beyond the bottom level of the architraves. Since the *antae* and the columns are usually positioned below the architrave, this feature has until now been considered by researchers to be an architecturally erroneous practice specific to rock-cut architecture. The research conducted here has revealed that the practice most likely originated from wooden architecture and may have had a place in Ionic architecture, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods. Through this practice, vertical and horizontal elements must have been interlocked. Although the findings indicate that this practice goes back a long way, they also show that it may be in harmony with both the structural and historical context of the Late Classical period, especially in the Lykian region. Therefore, it is understood that the new explanation put forward here can be valid without much, if any, need for revision of the dating of the rock-cut tombs. Although the new interpretation does not allow for definitive conclusions in terms of discussions on the geography to which the Ionic rock-cut tombs are related, or to the buildings which they imitate, it will, however, put forward some hypotheses. The results obtained are also important in providing, clues that may help researchers interpret finds from early periods, about which little is currently known.

**Keywords:** Rock-cut Tomb, Wooden Architecture, Ionic Architecture, Lykia-Karia, Kaunos, Anta, Architrave.



## Lykia-Karia Sınır Bölgesinde Yer Alan Ionik Kaya Mezarlarındaki Bir Anta-Arşitrav Uygulamasının Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi

Özgür KAYA\* 

\* Dr. Özgür Kaya, Milli Savunma Üniversitesi, Kara Harp Okulu, İnşaat Mühendisliği Bölümü, Ankara / Türkiye.  
E-mail: ozgurkaya91@gmail.com  
Orcid iD: 0000-0001-5872-8254

**Sorumlu Yazar:** Dr. Özgür Kaya, Milli Savunma Üniversitesi, Kara Harp Okulu, İnşaat Mühendisliği Bölümü, Ankara / Türkiye.  
E-mail: ozgurkaya91@gmail.com

**Geliş Tarihi:** 15.2.2025  
**Kabul Tarihi:** 03.11.2025  
**Online Yayın Tarihi:** 31.12.2025

**Makale Künyesi:** Kaya, Ö. 2025. "Lykia-Karia Sınır Bölgesinde Yer Alan Ionik Kaya Mezarlarındaki Bir Anta-Arşitrav Uygulamasının Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi." *Arkhaia Anatolika* 8: 206-217. <https://doi.org/10.32949/Arkhaia.2025.76>

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### Öz

Bu makalede, Lykia ve Karia'nın oluşturduğu sınır bölgesinde - çoğunuğu Kaunos antik kentinde olmak üzere- yer alan Ion düzenindeki kaya mezarlарının bazılarında görülen bir mimari uygulama yeniden yorumlanmıştır. Bu uygulama, belirtilen kaya mezarlарının çoğunda *anta* kimliğinde olan pilasterlere ait başlıkların, arşitravların bir bölümünün de üzerine çıkacak kadar yüksekte konumlanmasıyla ayırt edilmektedir. *Antaların* da tipki sütunlar gibi *arşitravın* hemen altında olması beklediğinden bu özellik, bugüne kadar araştırmacılarca kaya mimarisine özgü bir uygulama hatası olarak görülmüştür. Burada yapılan araştırma ise sözü edilen uygulamanın büyük olasılıkla ahşap mimariden köklenip özellikle Arkaik ve Klasik dönemlerin Ion mimarisinde yeri olabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu uygulama aracıyla dikey ve yatay elemanlar birbirine kenetlenmiş olmalıdır. Bulgular, söz konusu uygulamanın oldukça eskiye gittiğine işaret etse de özellikle Lykia Bölgesi'nin Geç Klasik Dönem içerisindeki hem yapısal hem tarihsel bağlamıyla uyum içerisinde olabileceğini de göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla burada öne sürülen yeni açıklamanın, kaya mezarlарının tarihlendirilmesinde değişiklikle fazlaca ya da hiç gerek olmadan geçerli olabileceği anlaşılmıştır. Yapılan yeni yorum, Ion düzenindeki kaya mezarlарının ilgili olduğu coğrafya ya da taklit ettiği yapılar üzerine tartışmalar açısından her ne kadar kesin çıkarımlar yapmaya elvermese de fikir verici sonuçlar da içermektedir. Ulaşılan sonuçlar, özellikle üzerine az şey bilinen erken dönemlerden buluntuların araştırmacılarca yorumlamasına yardımcı olabilecek ipuçları içermesi bakımından da önemlidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kaya Mezari, Ahşap Mimari, Ion Mimarisi, Lykia-Karia, Kaunos, Anta, Arşitrav.

## Introduction

Some of the Ionic rock-cut tombs in the Lykio-Karian borderland (southwestern Asia Minor) have a feature that seems unusual. While the *anta* capitals are expected to be positioned under the architrave, those of seven rock-cut tombs from Kaunos (B2, 4, 6, 8-10; C12) and one from Dalaman (opposite the Fevziye Neighbourhood)<sup>1</sup>, are positioned under or close to the upper *fascia* of the two-*fasciae* architrave<sup>2</sup> (fig. 1). Similar practices are seen in two rock-cut tombs from Lyrnai and one from Telmessos, although not as clearly as in the aforementioned examples<sup>3</sup>. Variations of this practice have been detected (see next chapter), in the rock-cut tombs from Mergenli, Somacık, and Araksa (the last tomb is a little east of the Lykio-Karian borderland) (fig. 2). It should be noted that in

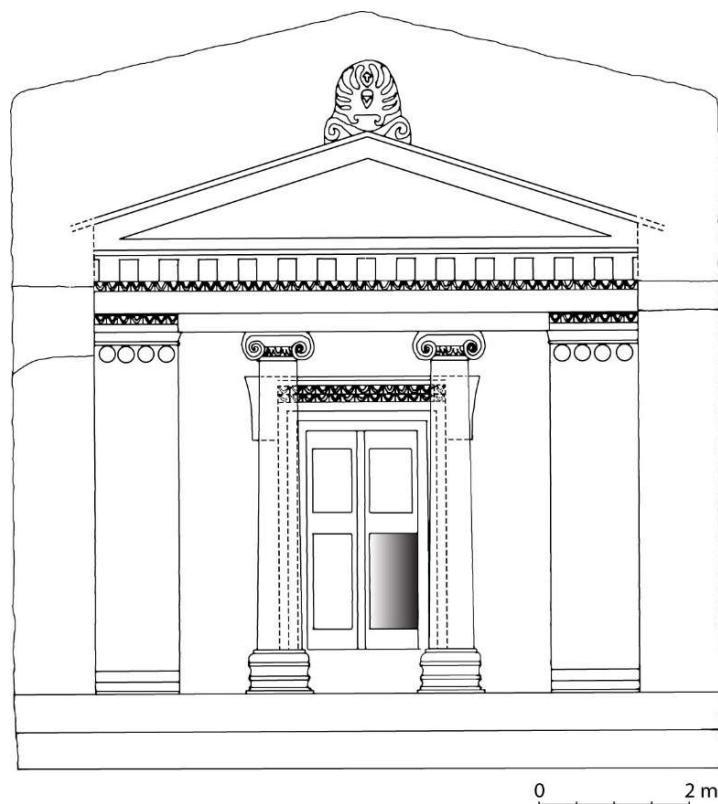


Figure 1: Tomb C12 at Kaunos (Kaya 2018, pl. 27.2, after Roos 1972, pl. 36.1)

Tomb B10 at Kaunos, as well as in the largely unfinished tombs at Kaunos (B2), Telmessos, and Lyrnai, the column capitals also rise slightly above the lower surface of the architrave (by 2 cm in B10)<sup>4</sup>. The *anta*-architrave practice at Kaunos and Dalaman has so far been regarded as a mistake<sup>5</sup> specific to rock-cut architecture. However, it seems unusual to repeat an incorrect practice with such frequency. This suggests a conscious preference. Therefore, the precursor to this practice should be sought in freestanding structures, and a new interpretation should be brought to the issue from this standpoint.

<sup>1</sup> The outer sides of some of these tombs (B2, 4; Dalaman) may not be deep enough for the definition of *anta* (for relevant criteria, see Kaya 2024, 1-2). However, since the work was not completed at these points, it may be that the pilasters in these tombs were planned as *antae*, as in other examples. There is no problem in defining these as imitations of *antae*.

<sup>2</sup> In Tomb B10, the capitals reach 3 cm above the upper *fascia*, while in C12 they are 3 cm below it. In B4, the capitals only reach  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the height of the lower *fascia* and extend significantly forward from the architrave (Roos 1972, 28, 34, 72, 96, fn. IV.34; for Dalaman see Roos 1985, 38-39).

<sup>3</sup> In the Telmessos example (Berndorf and Niemann 1884, taf. XVI) and one of the tombs at Lyrnai, this situation can be thought to be due to the work not being completed. However, the fact that work on the tomb adjoining that at Lyrnai was more advanced, raises the possibility of this being intentional detail. Although this feature was not shown on the drawings in P. Roos' (1985, pl. 14-15, 50-53) publication, this determination is made by using more up-to-date photographs than the one in the mentioned publication. Regarding the localization of the tombs at Lyrnai, which are stated to be at Oktapolis in the publications, see Kaya 2024, 112-113, no. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> Roos 1972, 69, pl. 25, 32.1, 55. Since the capitals of the tombs other than B10 are rough (moreover, it is doubtful that the capitals of B10 were completed), it is highly doubtful that the relevant practice was intended for these tombs. However, it can be understood from both the front and rear sections of the *protomes* crowning the columns of some Paphlagonian rock-cut tombs (von Gall 1966, 58, 106, taf. 4, 14.1-2) that such uses could also be applied with columns.

<sup>5</sup> ...misinterpretation of architectural features... (Roos 1972, 72, 96); ...konstruktiv widersinnige Detail... (Schmaltz 2009, 198); ...uygulama hatası... (Kaya 2018, 172, 178); see also Henry 2009, 162.

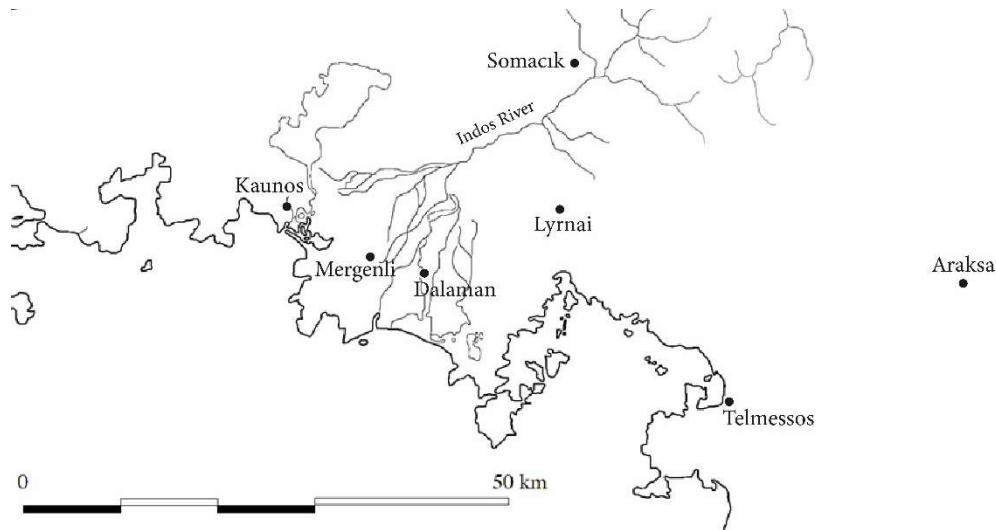


Figure 2: Map showing the locations of the mentioned tombs or their cities (after Henry 2009, fig. 14)

## Wooden Origin

Theories on the wooden origins of the *antae* and architraves suggest a solution to the questions raised in this article. So much so that if it is assumed that the vertical and horizontal elements in wooden architecture are intertwined as a clamping system<sup>6</sup>, it is possible to create an image similar to that seen in rock-cut tombs (fig. 3). At this point, concrete evidence can be found in Lykian-type tombs that reflect wooden architecture in stone<sup>7</sup>. In the famous drawing illustrating this type of structure (fig. 4), the protrusion of the beam "D" at the front end corresponds to the location of the *anta* capitals in the Ionic rock-cut tombs. The beam (E), which corresponds to the architrave, is rebated onto "D" just behind this protrusion. Just as "D" rises slightly above "E" in the rear section also, the *anta* capitals of the Ionic rock-cut tombs from Somacik<sup>8</sup> and Araksa rise slightly above the architrave<sup>9</sup> by reaching up to the ceiling (fig. 5). The front sections of these tombs could not be inspected properly in this respect due to damage. However, it should be noted that the one at Araksa, which could be directly observed by me, did not show any trace of the same feature in the front section. Nevertheless, it is possible to assume that there were structures with this practice both to the front and rear. On the other hand, the pilaster capitals of a *prostylos* rock-cut tomb from Mergenli rise slightly above the architrave, at least on the inner sides<sup>10</sup>, by reaching up to the ceiling (fig. 6). The fact that the capitals can be

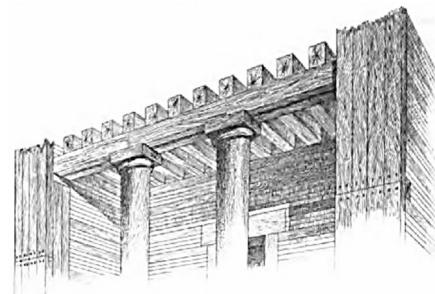


Figure 3: Theoretical sketch of the *prodomos* of the Mycenaean palace (Perrot and Chipiez 1898, 356-357)

<sup>6</sup> Brockmann 1968, 18-19, 28-29.

<sup>7</sup> The reflections of wooden architecture are seen not only in the Lykian type, but also in the rock-cut tombs with the architectural order discussed here (Henry 2010; see also Roos 1976, 109-110).

<sup>8</sup> This feature, which can be seen in the drawings and photographs in O. Henry's doctoral dissertation (where the tomb is named "Alacain Tepe T01"), cannot be observed in the publication (Henry 2009, 259) produced from the mentioned dissertation.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. practice made with the column capital of Tomb B10 at Kaunos (Roos 1972, pl. 55.1).

<sup>10</sup> The outer sides of the tomb could not be inspected in this respect. Cf. practices carried out with columns crowned with *protomes* in Persian royal tombs (Schmidt 1970, pl. 19-21.A, 40-41, 48-50, 56-57, 64-65.A, 70). It should also be noted that there may be similar practices to the one that is the subject of this article between the entablature and the lateral posts in these Persian rock-cut tombs.

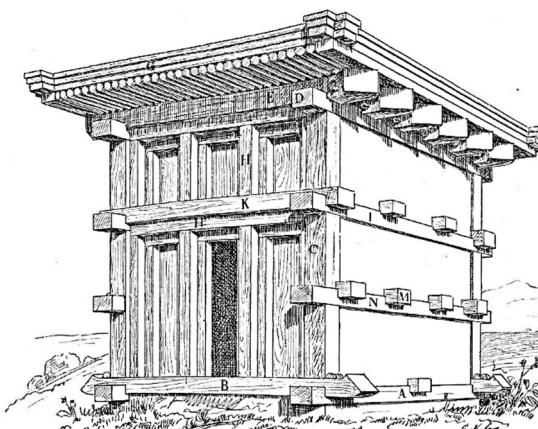


Figure 4: Reconstruction of a Lykian wooden structure (Benndorf and Niemann 1884, fig. 53)

of the capitals of Tomb C12 at Kaunos are aligned with the bottom of the architrave. In this case, the flatness of the central profiles would make the upper parts of the capitals appear as complete extensions of the architrave *fascia*, if there were no *kymation* at the top of the capitals (fig. 1, 7). It should not be a coincidence that while flat profiles are unusual for capitals, the central main profiles in tombs B6 and 9 at Kaunos, as well as the tomb in Dalaman, are also flat<sup>14</sup> (although the *fascia* and profiles are not fully aligned). It should also be noted that the *pulvinus*-like profiles of the capitals of the rock-cut tomb at Araks (fig. 5) can be considered a reference to wooden architecture.



Figure 5: Araks, *anta* capital and the underside of the architrave (Kaya 2024, 41, pl. 13.e)



Figure 6: Mergenli, pilaster capital and the underside of the architrave (Kaya 2018, pl. 13.6)



Figure 7: C12, *anta* capital and architrave (Kaya 2018, pl. 13.1)

## Relation to Archaic Ionic Architecture

The solution that A. Mallwitz produced<sup>15</sup> while trying to explain the fact that the column *in antis* of the old temple of Athena at Miletos is behind the *antae*, based on the L-shaped<sup>16</sup> (or hook-shaped) pilaster capitals known from Didyma is also suggestive for this

<sup>11</sup> A. D. Brockmann (1968, 63-70, 82-86) evaluated these among Archaic-Ionic type capitals.

<sup>12</sup> Wiegand and Knackfuss 1941, 143; see also Voigtländer 1973, 100, abb. 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Only for Tomb B8 at Kaunos a partial similarity with the Asiatic-Ionic type was mentioned (Roos 1972, 73).

<sup>14</sup> Roos 1972, 72; Roos 1985, 38; Kaya 2018, 69-70, kat. no. 4, 6, 10, 23.

<sup>15</sup> Mallwitz and Schiering 1970, 133-135.

<sup>16</sup> There were also L-shaped *anta* shafts in Archaic Ionic architecture (Hulek 2018, 105-113; see also Daux and Hansen 1987, 80, 118, fig. 66, 83, pl. 8). Their capitals have mostly not been revealed holistically. However, the treasury of Massalia at Delphi [Demangel and Daux 1923, 57-59, fig. 62-63, fig. 71 (*hors-texte*)], which appears to have a similar arrangement, does not seem to have an L-shaped capital. But this capital is not of the Asiatic-Ionic type. Walls worked in the same block with Asiatic-Ionic capitals from the Archaic Period or the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, if

article. Accordingly, the architrave was placed in the hollows cut behind the *anta* capitals<sup>17</sup>. There is a very similar image in Tomb B4 at Kaunos (fig. 8-9). On the other hand, the architraves of the other rock-cut tombs considered, are not as far behind (fig. 7), similar to what is seen in some Archaic house models from Samos<sup>18</sup>. If there were a practice similar to these examples in freestanding stone structures, the front parts of the *anta* capitals would be rather fragile. Therefore, if the appearances in house models and rock-cut tombs are not related to wooden architecture, they may be related to superficial imitation. On the other hand, if the practice is carried out as in Tomb B4, the *antae* would be significantly protruding from the frontage. In this case, it is possible that the upper surfaces of the capitals were filled with ornamental elements such as sculptural works. Such use was encountered on a find from the sanctuary of Zeus at Amnisos in Crete, which resembles Asiatic-Ionic capitals from the Archaic period<sup>19</sup>. Attention can also be drawn to the *protome* tradition in the Aegean. As for Karia and Lykia, sculptural works on pilaster capitals have been identified in examples from the Late Classical period, perhaps as a continuation of Archaic examples, and related to Achaemenid art<sup>20</sup>.

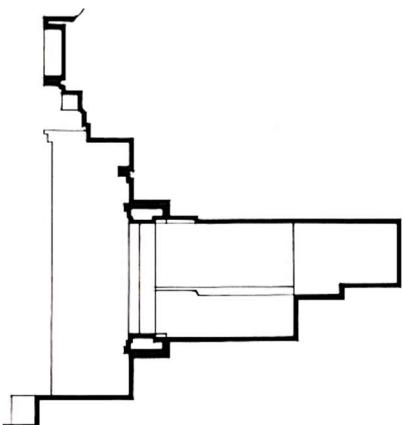


Figure 9: B4, section (Roos 1972, pl. 26.2)

### Relation to Classical Ionic Architecture

The large-sized tombs in Group B (except B4) at Kaunos are dated to the Hekatomnid era<sup>21</sup>, within the Late Classical period. Both similarities and differences have been mentioned between these tombs and some Hekatomnid buildings, as well as Lykian funerary monuments from the Late Classical period and the Classical Athenian buildings<sup>22</sup>. The *anta*-architrave practice in question is one of the features that differ at this point. However, certain features that may be related to this issue—such as those shown above through some Lykian examples and a Hekatomnid building from

any, usually occupy very little space. Some of these, like the L-shaped ones, are associated with altars, but there is no certainty on this point (the Abdera examples, which provide the best idea thanks to their state of preservation, and in general see Skarlatidou 2006). Therefore, it may be thought that architraves were placed behind some of them.

<sup>17</sup> A similar restitution has also been suggested for the Archaic temple of Athena at Phokaia by claiming that there was an *anta* capital where the architrave entered the *cella* wall. However, there is no evidence of an *anta* capital belonging to the temple (Özyiğit 2020, 205, 260, pl. 389). Therefore, the reason for the restitution proposal is not clear.

<sup>18</sup> Schattner 1990, 144, abb. 25, 46, taf. 14-15.

<sup>19</sup> Ohnesorg 2005, 199-200, abb. 104.

<sup>20</sup> Examples come from the *andron* of Maussollos at Labraunda, a capital from Limyra of uncertain structure, and the "Lion Tomb" of Myra. The examples from Limyra and Labraunda are thought to be similar (probably griffin-shaped). In this regard, it has been stated that "the griffin *protomes* could conform to power symbols of the Achaemenid Empire". Similar practices are also seen in some architectural elements of doubtful identification. On this subject, see Hellström and Blid 2019, 257-261.

<sup>21</sup> Roos 1972, 96.

<sup>22</sup> Schmaltz 2009, 198-202; Kaya 2018, 174-180. It has been mentioned that the Mezargediği Heroon near Kaunos, which is similar to and contemporary with the rock-cut tombs (big tombs of Group B) at Kaunos, has L-shaped monoliths. However, as far as it can be understood from the plan, (Varkivanç 1995, 102, 104-105, abb. 1) the L-shape here is different from the other examples (see fn. 16).

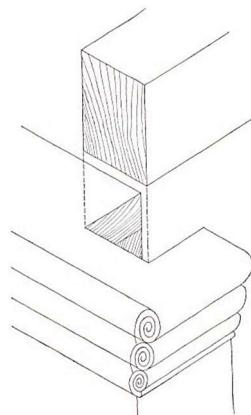


Figure 8: Hypothetical reconstruction (Mallwitz and Schiering 1970, abb. 15)

Labraunda (see fn. 20)—also merit consideration. For example, one may ask whether the image formed by the *epikranitis* and the wall frieze adjacent to the pilasters in buildings such as the Nike Temple (fig. 10) and the Erekhtheion at Athens was inspired by the fact that *antae* and architraves (or their predecessors, the posts and beams), were interlocked in the past. It may even be asked whether the ornaments seen on the architraves of structures such as the Tomb B8 at Kaunos, the Erekhtheion, and the Limyra Heroon<sup>23</sup>, which are mostly known from pilasters such as *antae*, are traces of ornaments that formerly coincided with the same alignment of these elements. Beyond these hypothetical associations, no connection can be established with the freestanding structures of Attika on the subject. However, a votive relief from the south of the Ilissos River, dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>24</sup>, deserves attention because it clearly reflects the practice in question (unless there is an optical illusion caused by the photograph).

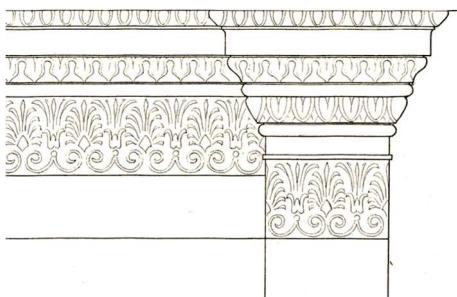


Figure 10: Temple of Nike at Athens, painted ornaments on the *anta* and wall (Ross et al. 1839, pl. X.3)

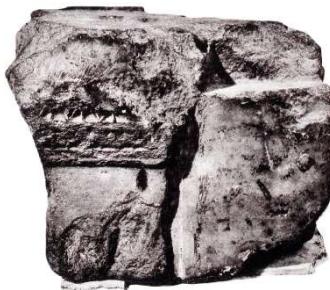


Figure 11: Nereid Monument, *anta* capital (Coupel and Demargne 1969, pl. 49)



Figure 12: Pilaster capital from Patara (Kaya 2024, pl. 7.b)

The Nereid Monument from Ksanthos in Lykia, which is not only Attic in influence but is also shown as a prototype<sup>25</sup> for the rock-cut tombs at Kaunos due to some Archaic or Asiatic features, is also important at this point. Behind one of the *anta* capitals of this monument, which can be observed in detail, there are hollows that seem structurally unnecessary (fig. 11), whilst none are seen in the other. It has been suggested that craftsmen from different workshops may have worked on these two capitals, which differ from each other in other points as well<sup>26</sup>. As a result of a lack of coordination arising from this, it may be that the hollows in one of the capitals were cut for the relevant *anta*-architrave practice and subsequently had to be filled in<sup>27</sup>. A pilaster capital from Patara, influenced by Erekhtheion<sup>28</sup>, also has a hollow on the rear (fig. 12). This capital, which dates to the period when Lykia was under the rule of the Karian Hekatomnids, was used as spolia<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, the hollow part seems to be related to the new function (a staircase block) of the capital. However, it may be that the inspiration for this function was the presence of one or two (as in the Nereid Monument) hollows, perhaps smaller, also in the original block<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Roos 1972, 90.

<sup>24</sup> LIMC IV.2, fig. 1388.

<sup>25</sup> Roos 1972, 68, 70, 77, 82, 95.

<sup>26</sup> The relevant feature is seen in the capital, which is associated with craftsmen from Hellas rather than Asia Minor (Kaya 2024, 83, dn. 192, no. 1.KD6 and KB7).

<sup>27</sup> For the restitution proposal of the block see Coupel and Demargne 1969, 114-115, BM 935, pl. LVI. If the hollows were cut with this intention, since they number two, it will be understood that the relevant practice can also be realized with the wall architraves on the lateral faces.

<sup>28</sup> Kaya 2024, 85.

<sup>29</sup> Şahin 2020.

<sup>30</sup> The possibility that the Pataran find belongs to a door pilaster has been mentioned (Kaya 2024, 84, fn. 104). At this point, it should be noted that the feature that is the subject of the article may also be applied to a lintel. Cf. Voigtländer 1973, 100, abb. 2-5.

Ultimately, although the connection of this practice with Attika cannot be proven, Classical Ionic architecture was nourished by the same roots, whether in Attika or in Asia Minor. Therefore, it is possible that such a practice also existed in the memory of craftsmen from Hellas. On the other hand, the fact that Attic-Ionic architecture began to become canonical in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, while Asiatic-Ionic forms began to do so in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>31</sup>, supports the Asiatic connection of the practice in question. Canonization in Asia Minor was taking place under the leadership of architects such as Pytheos and Satyros, in Karia. In the same period in Lykia, the fact that architects, probably brought in from outside (moreover, it is doubtful that the construction of the rock-cut tombs was even supervised by architects<sup>32</sup>), worked with craftsmen of different origins who worked independently to a certain extent<sup>33</sup>, suggests that the Archaic diversity in Asiatic-Ionic architecture was still widespread in this region and that the practice discussed may be a reflection of this.

### After the Classical Period (?)

It has been suggested that two of the relevant rock-cut tombs at Kaunos (B4 and C12) and one in Dalaman may be later in date than the big tombs of Group B at Kaunos. If this is indeed the case, this feature seen in these tombs may be explained by the influence of Group B<sup>34</sup>.

Examples that have this feature without being obvious, or in the form of variations, are also usually associated with the Hellenistic period<sup>35</sup>. However, it may be noted that, in addition to Attic features, features reminiscent of Asiatic-Ionic architecture from the Archaic period (and even wooden architecture), are also seen in the *anta* capitals of one rock-cut tomb each from Lyrnai and Araksa (for reference see fig. 5). The combination of features from different periods and schools fits well into the context of Ionic architecture in the Lykian region from the Late Classical period shown above. On the other hand, although there are doubts concerning these features, another study (see fn. 36) has presented data indicating that the tomb at Araksa may be associated with the period of Ptolemaios II. According to the same study it is possible that the two Ionic rock-cut tombs from Telmessos also belong to this period. Therefore, the unfinished Telmessos example, which vaguely possesses the feature discussed here, may also be associated with the period of Ptolemaios II. If the relatively late dating of these rock-cut tombs is correct, the traces of the relevant *anta*-architrave practice can be explained by the continuation of the features of Late Classical Ionic architecture in the period of Ptolemaios II<sup>36</sup> or by the influence of – maybe contemporary – wooden architecture.

<sup>31</sup> Koenigs 2007, 677.

<sup>32</sup> Henry 2009, 66; Kaya 2018, 173-174, 185; see also Roos 1972, 96; Schmaltz 2009, 200.

<sup>33</sup> Although it is generally thought that the Nereid Monument dates somewhat earlier than the Patara find, it has also been shown that it is highly probable that the craftsmen in question worked on both of these examples and therefore that they are contemporary. It has also been suspected that there may be a workshop connection between these examples and the related rock-cut tombs at Kaunos. The article titled *The Ornamented Pilaster Capitals from the Late Classical Period in Lycia* which grew out of the unpublished doctoral dissertation (Kaya 2024, 81-85) can also be seen on these issues.

<sup>34</sup> Roos 1972, 96-97; Roos 1985, 39; Kaya 2018, 178.

<sup>35</sup> For tombs from Lyrnai [early Hellenistic (Oktapolis)] and Mergenli see Roos 1985, 51; late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in Henry 2009, 157.

<sup>36</sup> For discussions on the dating of the tombs at Araksa and Telmessos, along with the influence of the Nereid Monument (locally) and the Hekatomnid architecture during the reign of Ptolemaios II, see Kaya 2024, 41, 86-88, 95.

## Historical Context

Although Kaunos, where the practice in question is most prevalent, is geographically located west of the Indos River in the Karian region, it is noteworthy that the rock-cut tombs there appear to be more related to the Ionic architecture from the Late Classical period in the Lykian region. This may be explained historically. It appears that Kaunos was ruled by Lykian dynasts in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and this probably continued during the reign of *Dynastes Erbbina* (Arbinas) in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>37</sup>. Since the Nereid Monument is generally assumed to be the tomb of Erbbina, it may be that the rock-cut tombs at Kaunos—shown above as having a possible workshop connection with this monument—may also be from the period of Erbbina. On the other hand, it is also possible to make an explanation that is more compatible with the dating of the rock-cut tombs. So much so that it is also debated whether the Nereid Monument itself may date from the time when Lykia was under Hekatomnid rule (see fn. 33). As for Kaunos, it is stated that this place came under the rule of the Hekatomnid dynasty after the King's Peace (387 BC), but no definitive evidence has been presented for this. Considering the inscriptions<sup>38</sup>, it can be thought that the city changed sovereignty at the latest during the reign of Maussollos. Therefore, this change of hands may have occurred at a time when Lykia came under Karian rule after the suppression of the Great Satraps' Revolt<sup>39</sup>, or shortly before. If this is the case, the Hekatomnids must have considered Kaunos in the same context as the newly captured Lykian cities, and incorporated it into their building program in Lykia.

## Conclusion

In this study, a new theory is proposed to replace one that has become *communis opinio* in the more than half-century since it was first introduced. Accordingly, the *anta-architrave* practice in rock-cut tombs reflects the architectural petrification of an arrangement that served to clamp elements together in wooden or half-timbered structures. The association of such practices, in which load-bearing elements and the entablature are intertwined, with a material like wood—which is easily perishable—and with early periods makes it difficult to firmly substantiate the new theory. However, from the opposite perspective, the practices observed in rock-cut tombs may be seen as evidence supporting theories about early Ionic architecture (fig. 8). Secondary evidence from examples where architectural forms can be identified outside of actual buildings, such as house models and votive

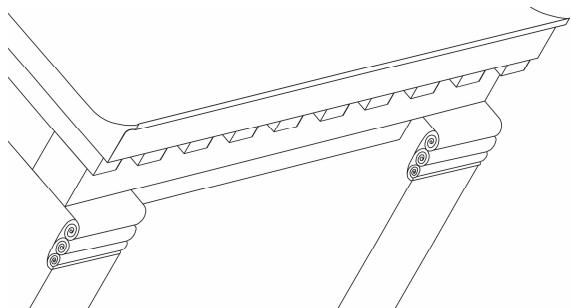


Figure 13: Hypothetical prototype

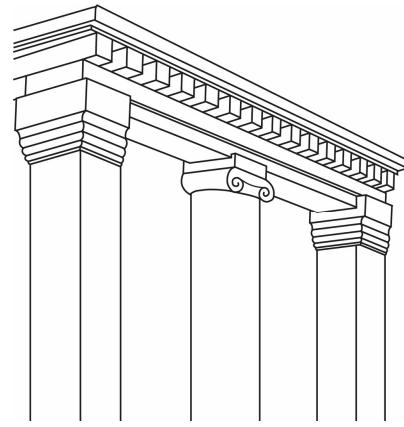


Figure 14: Hypothetical prototype

<sup>37</sup> Konuk 2009.

<sup>38</sup> Marek 2006, 94.

<sup>39</sup> At this point, it can be noted that P. Roos questions the possibility that the rock-cut tombs at Kaunos, which he thinks are influenced by Lykian funerary monuments, can be dated from ca. 360 BC onwards as a result of this political development (Roos 1976, 109, fn. 4).

reliefs, also strengthens the theory. As for the logical framework of the theory, it can be based on the idea that such a prominent feature is unlikely to appear in the imitation (the rock-cut tomb) if it does not exist in the prototype (the freestanding structure). Since the petrification of wooden architecture is a phenomenon that also applies to freestanding structures<sup>40</sup>, determining the identity of the structure(s) being imitated at the junction between the *anta* and the architrave is difficult (fig. 13-14). However, it may be considered that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, when monumental architecture in Asia Minor seems to have halted<sup>41</sup>, there were structures still being produced, probably in the Archaic tradition, that resembled the rock-cut tombs in question and were at least partially constructed of wood. It is tempting to imagine that half-timbered structures of this type also existed in the Late Classical period, when Greek architecture was beginning to become widespread in Lykia, as they would suggest an eclecticism familiar in the region. From this perspective, the presence of the relevant practice in the rock-cut tombs of the Lykio-Karian borderland appears entirely plausible.

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<sup>40</sup> Vitr. IV, 2, 2-5.

<sup>41</sup> Pedersen 2020, 220-222.

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