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An Underground Chamber Tomb with Serpent Relief in Ula, Muğla

ÖZLEM VAPUR – ABDULKADİR BARAN*

Abstract

This paper deals with an underground chamber tomb found at the Kızılkuyu area of Armutçuk Mahallesi in the Ula district of the province of Muğla and excavated in 2021. The rural area between today's Çiçekli Mahallesi and the Ula district center was in antiquity part of the *koinon* of the Ola[i]les (Ολα[ι]ες), first attested in 453 / 452 BC. It gave its name to modern Ula. The grave is carved entirely into the bedrock and contains an entrance room, a two-room chamber with five sarcophagus-shaped burials, and four niches for cremation urns or grave goods. The Kızılkuyu tomb is one of the important and unique examples in the region for several surprising and impressive reasons: the benches for ritual use in the entrance room, a relief with serpent and egg, the clockwise symposium-like arrangement of pillows on the burial beds, and the creation of the impression of a chamber tomb built of ashlar blocks in the first room. The grave seems to have belonged to a wealthy local family and was used for around 200 years between the late fourth / third century BC and the beginning of the first century BC. This dating is

Öz

Bu makalede, Muğla ili, Ula ilçesi, Armutçuk Mahallesi, Kızılkuyu mevkiinde 2021 yılında kazılan bir yer altı oda mezarı ele alınmıştır. Mezarın bulunduğu bugünkü Çiçekli köyü ile Ula ilçe merkezi arasında kalan kırsal alan, Antik Dönem'de modern Ula'ya adını veren ve ilk olarak MÖ 453 / 452'de bahsi geçen Ola[i]les (Ολα[ι]ες) *koinon*'unun bir parçasıydı. Tamamen ana kayaya oyularak yapılmış mezarda bir giriş ile lahit şeklinde biçimlendirilmiş beş ölü yatağı, kremasyon kapları veya mezar hediyeleri için dört niş bulunan iki oda yer almaktadır. Giriş kısmında ritüel amaçlı kullanıma yönelik yapılmış olan seki düzenlemeleri, yılan ve yumurta kabartması, ölü yatakları içerisindeki yastıkların saat yönünde yerleştirilmesi ile sağlanan symposium düzeni, ilk odadaki nişlerin etrafındaki bloklarla inşa edilmiş oda mezarı izlenimi yaratma çabaları gibi şaşırtıcı ve etkileyici uygulamalar, Kızılkuyu mezarını bölgenin önemli ve ünik örneklerinden biri haline getirmektedir. Taşralı, varlıklı bir aileye ait olduğu anlaşılan mezarın, seramik bulunmalar ışığında MÖ geç dördüncü / üçüncü yy. ile MÖ birinci yy.'ın başı arasında yaklaşık 200

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The rescue excavations were carried out under the supervision of the Muğla Museum. We are grateful to its director Gülnaz Savran for permission to work on the grave and its finds and to the museum experts for their help. The Ula Municipality provided workers and logistical support. The fieldwork was conducted by A. Baran in collaboration with archaeologists Kutalmış Kara and Sude Bayraktaroğlu and archaeology student Deniz Ece Kahveci. The drawing of the tomb was made by Gürol AYTEPE; photographs were edited by Su Güner. Mehmet Gürbüz contributed to the architectural evaluation of the tomb. Canan Özbil corrected the Turkish text. Alexander Herda shared his valuable insights on the architectural evaluation of the tomb and helped with editing of the article and its translation. We would like to thank everyone for their support.

based on ceramic finds. During this time, the region was part of the mainland territory of Rhodes (Rhodian *peraia*).

Keywords: Caria, Chamber tomb, hellenistic, pottery, Rhodian *Peraiia*, Serpent relief

yıl kullanıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu dönemde bölge, Rhodos'un anakaradaki topraklarının (Rhodos *Peraiia'sı*) bir parçasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karia, Oda Mezar, hellenistik, seramik, Rhodos *Peraiia'sı*, Yılan kabartması

Introduction

The underground chamber tomb, located in the Kızılkuyu area of Armutçuk Mahallesi in the Ula district of the province of Muğla, was excavated in 2021 under the direction of the Muğla Museum as part of an emergency rescue excavation. The tomb is located in a forested area and was exposed during road construction work. Its upper cover was partially demolished by a bulldozer. The fact that no special grave goods or human bones were recovered from the grave, except for scattered ceramic sherds, indicates that the structure had experienced illicit digging several times previously. The underground chamber tomb was given partial protection with a roof provided by the Muğla Museum. Information and directional signs were placed around the tomb.

The grave is located between Çiçekli Mahallesi and the district center of Ula and reached by one of the branches of the valley extending from the Gökova plain to the south towards Ula in the north.¹ Surveys conducted in the area revealed that there was a settlement consisting of scattered houses spread over a large area around the grave (fig. 1).² Among the visible remains are a small castle used for shelter, two possible farmhouses, remains of unidentified rooms, scattered blocks belonging to various buildings, four chamber tombs,³ cist graves, a buried pithos, a small altar fragment, and olive / wine-press weight blocks.⁴ It is assumed that this area belonged to the *Olaies*, an independent Carian *koinon* without a central settlement. The *Olaies* (Ολα[ι]ες) are first mentioned as an ethnic, not a toponym, in the tribute list of the Attic-Delian League of 453 / 452 BC, paying a tribute (*phoros*) of 1000 drachmas.⁵ This helps to estimate a population of 133 “norm citizens.”⁶ The ancient name of the *koinon* most likely survives in today's Turkish place name Ula.⁷ Considering the existing remains, we can speak of a small settlement cluster and retreat fortifications that controlled the entrance and exit along the route of the road. This settlement feature is characteristic for Caria and also fits the

¹ The distance to the center of the Ula district is roughly 6 km, while the distance to the village of Gökova is approximately 20 km.

² Two extensive surveys were carried out in the area where the grave was found by K. İren, followed by A. Baran; see İren 2008, 256; Baran 2019, 32-33.

³ Chamber Tombs 2, 3, and 4 were not excavated. Chamber Tomb 2 is built of worked blocks, covered with a corbelled vault, and has a single chamber and three niches in the chamber walls. It was published with drawings by M. Gürbüz and dated to the second half of the second century BC; see Gürbüz 2019, 68, fig. 11. Chamber Tomb 4, which is partially preserved but almost completely filled with illegally excavated soil, and Chamber Tomb 3, which has been severely damaged, are examples constructed of roughly worked blocks; see Baran 2019, 32.

⁴ Baran 2019, 32-33.

⁵ Meritt et al. 1939, *ATL* 1, 529-30; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1130, no. 918 *Olaies* (listed under the ethnic, not the polis name, because “a toponym is not attested”).

⁶ For calculating the number of citizens, see Herda et al. 2019, 74 with n. 511 for the northern Carian polis of Naxos near Ionian Myous and Carian Latmos, paying a similar tribute of 1000 drachmas.

⁷ Meritt et al. 1939, *ATL* 1, 529-30 (identified with modern Ula); Zgusta 1984, 434-35, map 344 § 925 *Ολα/ Ουλα/* (cautiously follows *ATL* in identifying with modern Ula); İren 2013, 355. For further discussion on the matter, see Herda (forthcoming).

settlement pattern of the *Olaies*. The *koinon* of the *Olaies* was annexed to Alexander's empire in 334 / 333 BC, like the whole region of Caria, and must have come under the control of the island state of Rhodes in the third-second century BC, like the larger settlements in the region.⁸ Although G. E. Bean states that the area to the northeast of the Gulf of Keramos was probably annexed to the Rhodian mainland territory (*peraia*) in the early third century BC,⁹ it is not entirely clear when and how the Rhodians acquired the area between Stratonikeia, Keramos, and Kaunos, as has been recently stressed by U. Wiemer.¹⁰

M. Gürbüzler, in an article briefly evaluating the Kızılkuyu tomb, states that the site was instead situated in the *koinon* of Idyma.¹¹ However, conclusive evidence for this assumption is missing, first of all because ancient Idyma is located much farther away at the modern village of Gökova approximately 20 km to the southwest.¹²

Architecture

The Kızılkuyu underground chamber tomb was built on the western slope of a hill consisting of soft sandstone.¹³ It is oriented in an east-west direction, with the entrance to the west.

There is an arrangement of benches and a niche at the entrance of the tomb, therefore it can be defined as a complex grave type with an entrance room and a two-room chamber (fig. 2).¹⁴ Five burials, two in the first room and three in the second room, are arranged along the side walls and made accessible by two short corridors. They were carved out of the bedrock and shaped like sarcophagi. Some fragments of separately worked stone lids were found scattered in the eastern room (fig. 16). It is noteworthy that the cushions inside the sarcophagi, indicating the position of the corpses, were placed in clockwise direction. The ceiling of the structure, which is preserved in most of the second, eastern room, is shaped as a flat vault over the corridor. However, it is straight and lowered towards the side walls over the sarcophagi, except over the central burial site at the eastern end of the chamber, which forms a flat vault (figs. 13, 15).

After its discovery during a survey in 2017 (fig. 3), the architectural features of the Kızılkuyu rock-cut chamber tomb had been preliminarily compared by A. Baran with Macedonian-type vaulted underground chamber tombs,¹⁵ while, according to Gürbüzler, the tomb reflects Roman burial traditions.¹⁶ However, the 2021 excavations (fig. 4), which led to the complete uncovering of the structure, have shown that these interpretations have to be revised.

⁸ See İren 2013, 347.

⁹ Bean 1980, 128.

¹⁰ See Wiemer 2020, 421.

¹¹ Gürbüzler 2019, 69, who identifies the grave site of Kızılkuyu as İncirpınar.

¹² See İren 2013, 346, fig. 1; Baran 2022.

¹³ The bedrock was formed as a result of the petrification of a sand deposit, and this soft texture allowed the tomb to be easily carved and the walls of the chambers to be decorated with incised and relief decorations. On the other hand, this malleable texture would not allow the rock-cut grave to be preserved in its original state for a long time. As can be observed since the excavations in 2021, natural factors such as temperature change and rain cause rapid destruction of the tomb, especially visible at the wall of the serpent relief which has now burst into several parts.

¹⁴ Henry 2009, 106.

¹⁵ Baran 2019, 32, figs. 7-8.

¹⁶ Gürbüzler 2019, 69, fig. 16. He does not indicate what makes him assume a Roman tradition. The central arched burial niche, resembling that of Roman arcosolium graves, was not yet excavated in 2007. Further, the likely abandonment of the grave in the Late Hellenistic period (see below section 3) would exclude any Roman influence.

Entrance Room

The tomb's entrance room is 1.60 m wide and 1.10 m deep, and descends by four steps. Each step has a different width, depth, and height (figs. 2, 5).¹⁷ One or two of the uppermost steps were destroyed by a bulldozer along with the ceilings of the entrance room and of the first room of the tomb chamber.

The entrance has benches on both sides of the opening for the main entrance door (fig. 6). The southern bench forms part of a niche which has a slightly concaved back wall. There is no niche on the northern side. The upper part of the bench is partly broken off.

Above the northern, lower stone bench, is carved a snake ascending upwards 0.63 m (figs. 7-8). Its tail appears in the northeastern corner of the bench, and the curved body extends to the left, broader side of the asymmetrical doorway. This was obviously arranged to create enough space for the snake relief. To the right of the serpent and close to its partly preserved head is a carved egg measuring 0.08 x 0.12 m, which is now largely destroyed (fig. 7).

First Chamber

The entrance door with a threshold leads to the first room through an opening 0.80 m wide. There is no lintel preserved so that the height of the door cannot be determined. No data indicating the closure mechanism was observed on the door frame (figs. 2, 9). A flat step was placed between the threshold and the floor level of this chamber.

Measuring 2.95 x 2.15 m, the room is wider than deep. It has two sarcophagi carved directly into the rock on both sides of the north-south corridor 1.00 m in width. There are rectangular, central niches in the walls above (fig. 10). The dimensions of the northern sarcophagus vary due to the irregular execution of the carving. Its frame was not worked out at the western end, while the cushion for the head of the deceased is located at the eastern end. The niche in the center of the northern wall above the sarcophagus is rectangular (fig. 11). The dimensions of the southern sarcophagus are irregular like the northern one. The cushion is located on the western side, while the frame of the sarcophagus was not cut out on the eastern side. There is a niche in the south wall above the sarcophagus, whose upper part was damaged during the roadwork (fig. 12). The well-smoothed rock surface of these walls has incised vertical and horizontal lines which imitate block joints of isodomic ashlar masonry (figs. 11-12). The size of the single blocks in a layer varies.

Second Chamber

The second burial chamber is accessed through a door measuring approximately 0.68 m in width. The cut-out threshold 0.55 m deep is 3 cm higher than the floor of the first chamber and 8 cm higher than the floor level of the second chamber (figs. 2, 9). Both the roof and the lintel

¹⁷ All measurements taken in the grave are presented here, except where measurements are required in the text. The abbreviations used are as follows: L = length, W = width, D = depth, H = height, pH = preserved height. **Entrance hall:** stairs: W 0.90-1.15 m, D 0.26-0.32 m, H 0.20-0.45 m, southern bench: W 0.76-0.78 m, D 0.14-0.19 m, northern bench: W 0.20 m, D 0.73-0.76 m, pH 0.38 m; **first chamber:** threshold: W 0.80 m, D 0.50-0.60 m, H 0.09 m; northern sarcophagus: L 2.03-2.07 m, W 0.94-0.96 m (outside), 0.57-0.62 m (inside), D 0.44 m; cushion: W 0.19-0.23 m, H 0.10 m; niche: W 0.34-0.36 m, H 0.58 m, D 0.20-0.24 m; southern sarcophagus: L 2.09-2.25 m, W 0.93-1.01 m (outside), 0.55-0.63 m (inside), D 0.40-0.45 m; cushion: W 0.29-0.33 m, H 0.11 m; niche: W 0.34-0.36 m, H ?, D 0.21-0.26 m; **second chamber:** northern sarcophagus: L 1.96 m, W 0.93 m (outside), 0.63 m (inside), D ?, niche: W 0.42 m, H ?, D 0.24 m; eastern sarcophagus: L 1.86 m, W 0.94-0.96 m (outside), 0.60-0.62 m (inside), D 0.40 m; cushion: W 0.20-0.23 m, H 0.15 m; niche: W 0.37 m, H 0.59 m, D 0.24 m; southern sarcophagus: L 2.04 m, W 0.88-0.91 m (outside), 0.59 m (inside), D 0.40 m; cushion: W 0.18-0.20, H 0.15 m.

are missing, and again no closure mechanism was observed on the frame. The room is 3.00 m wide, 3.30 m deep and 1.80 m high with three rock-carved sarcophagi placed in a π -shaped order in the north, south and east sides of the corridor. The irregularly smoothed floor with a slight inclination towards the east is about 5 cm deeper than that of the first, western chamber. These different levels are connected via a secondary(?), irregular cut in the floors and the threshold. Its purpose is likely to channel water from the higher western chamber into the lower eastern one. The channel extends for 0.90 m in the first room, cuts through the threshold, and continues widening and deepening for another ca. 1.30 m in the floor of the second chamber. Here the rock surface is strongly corroded so that its measurements are less precise (figs. 2, 14). The ceiling of the room is mostly well preserved and shaped like a flat vault that starts above the bedrock sarcophagus at the eastern wall. After a step, it continues along the corridor towards the entrance in the west. Above the sarcophagi in the north and south, it turns into a straight, horizontal cover that descends like a saddle roof towards the side walls (figs. 13, 15).

The northern sarcophagus is largely damaged, and its frame was not worked out on the west side. The cushion is located on the east side. A long tunnel was cut by robbers in the northern upper wall behind the niche, causing substantial damage to the sarcophagus and the lower part of the niche. In front of the central rock sarcophagus in the east, a step was constructed differently from the others (fig. 13). The pillow is located on the southern end. The rectangular niche in the eastern wall was partially damaged with chisels and other tools during illicit digs. The pillow of the southern sarcophagus is located at its western end. Inside were found two fragments of the sarcophagus' thick stone lid measuring about 0.1-0.12 m. Unlike the other four sarcophagi, there is no niche in the south wall above this sarcophagus (fig. 16).

Architectural and Iconographic Evaluation

Underground chamber tombs in the Carian region are concentrated in an area extending from Kaunos in the south to Orthosia in the north, from Iasos in the west to the village of Elmacık in the east.¹⁸ Among the underground chamber tombs constructed with differing techniques using different materials and having various plans, examples carved into the rock are encountered less frequently.¹⁹

The Kızılkuyu tomb is one of the important and distinctive tombs of the region with its unusual entrance carved out of the bedrock, two chambers, ceiling, rock sarcophagi, and clockwise positioned funerary cushions. That such a unique structure was built in the countryside also makes it remarkable. On the other hand, it should be noted that the shape and irregular dimensions of the stairs, door openings, ceiling, rock sarcophagi and niches show slipshod stone workmanship.

The structure was planned as a family tomb and finds no one-to-one comparison. However, it is possible to find similarities for some of its features in other tombs. Closely comparable examples pointing to the same tradition with similar building material, construction technique, two-chambered design, vaulted ceilings, and niches over the burial beds are known from the necropolis at Stratonikeia Akdağ.²⁰ The main differences in those rock-hewn chamber tombs

¹⁸ Henry 2009, 104.

¹⁹ Carstens 2009, 386-87, fig. 14; Tamsü-Polat 2017, 45-50. The underground chamber tombs carved into the bedrock are also known from nearby centers such as Patara and Attaleia; see İşkan-Yılmaz and Çevik 1995; Büyükyörük and Tibet 1999-2000.

²⁰ Tamsü-Polat 2017, 22-23, MK48, fig. 7b, pl. 17a-e, MK 49, fig. 8a, pl. 18a.

are the use of beds in the form of benches, the resulting change in plan, and the use of lintels and jambs made of marble or bedrock in many of the tombs.²¹

One of the most interesting features of the Kızılkuyu grave is the two side benches in the entrance room (fig. 6). Literary and epigraphical texts indicate that ceremonies for the dead continued after the official mourning period. As part of these ceremonies, certain events were organized for important deceased persons. It is thought that libations were often made, and various gifts were dedicated to the deceased. For example, flowers or incense were left on a grave altar or directly on the grave.²² One of the best-known examples for this practice is the use of oil lamps. In some epigraphic documents, the owner of the grave asks his relatives to leave a lit lamp at his grave at certain times as an offering.²³ These rituals and offerings, which seem to have been organized at different times, must have been performed close by the tomb or at its entrance,²⁴ since the tombs could not be entered at any time.²⁵ Although it is often impossible to identify them due to their state of preservation, it is also known that courtyard-like arrangements associated with these funeral rituals were created in front of the graves.²⁶ A similar arrangement of benches at the entrance is found in a tomb of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Period in Miletus. The rock-cut benches on both sides of the dromos yielded objects deposited in two or three layers. The majority of the material consists of ceramics. Trefoil jugs and drinking bowls, partly turned upside down, clearly show that some rituals were performed in the area and that the vessels used were afterwards left on these benches.²⁷

Another exceptional application of the Kızılkuyu tomb related to this arrangement is the relief of a snake with an egg. The ascending body, with partly preserved head pointing upwards, extends from the roughly smoothed wall above the northern bench to the wall on the left side of the grave chamber's entrance (figs. 7-8). The symbolic meanings of the snake in prehistoric and historic times are varied, complex, and profound. For this reason, it is difficult to define with certainty the meaning of the relief here. Depictions of snakes associated with cemeteries are frequently encountered in Caria and the East Doric, Greek neighborhood of Cnidus and Rhodes. A gravestone found in Rhodes²⁸ and the reliefs on many round grave altars concentrated in Cnidus and its territory,²⁹ clearly reveal the snake's close relationship with the underworld and the cult of the dead. In the case of the Kızılkuyu tomb, it is necessary to

²¹ Tamsü-Polat 2017, pls. 6b-c, 7a, 9b, 11b, 12a-b, 13a-b, 14a-c, 17a-e.

²² Nováková 2011, 217, 219-20.

²³ Walters 1914, xiv-xv; Mitchell 1982, 210-11, no. 2571.

²⁴ Tamsü-Polat states that the visitors of the tomb were waiting, and ritual preparations were made in the area measuring approximately 1.00 x 1.00 m between the dromos and the entrance of the burial chamber; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 46. Büyüközer, on the other hand, states that the areas he defines as *vestibulum* may have been an area reserved for simple rituals performed in the tomb or for grave gifts; see Büyüközer 2020, 32.

²⁵ Except in cases of necessity, such as a new burial, it is not possible to enter graves at any time. To hold off grave robbers, the chamber tombs were closed with stone lids or by lockable doors. A second important point is that, although some graves have sarcophagi that are covered, in many graves the dead as well as the grave goods are laid directly on the benches and not protected. Therefore, grave visits including also rituals must have been carried out in the areas defined as entrances, vestibules, or courtyards.

²⁶ Henry 2009, 104.

²⁷ The chamber tomb was discovered on the northern foot of Zeytintepe; see Henninger and Kossatz 1979, 175, fig. 5; 177, fig. 6; 184-85, pl. 57 (1-2).

²⁸ Lauter-Bufe 1983.

²⁹ Berges believes that snake altars originated from Cnidus and states that all of the examples he analyzed in his study are related to the necropolis of Cnidus. The author reports that snake altars were also found on the islands of Rhodes and Nisyros; see Berges 1986, 84-85. An altar with a snake relief was also found during the excavations in Patara: <https://pataraexcavations.org/hakkimizda.html>

consider the chthonic meaning of the relief, and its connection with heroization of the dead. As H. Laufer-Bufe has pointed out, a snake may be a general symbol for the underworld or for the soul of the deceased, or a personification of the guardian of the tomb.³⁰ But the egg depicted to the right of the Kızılkuyu snake is clearly an offering, well known from the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia, wherein the sacred serpents received raw eggs besides living animals.³¹ Therefore, the snake in the relief may represent the heroized soul of the deceased, being summoned from the underworld by means of an egg sacrifice. With the Hellenistic period, posthumous heroization became widespread, regardless of the identity and status of the deceased.³² At this point, five pinakes placed as a kind of cover over the drinking bowls and trefoil jugs on the benches at the entrance of the aforementioned tomb in Miletus are noteworthy.³³ An armored horse rider is depicted on these pinakes. A snake crawls under the rider who is approached by a veiled woman and a girl with her head uncovered. Therefore, the scene is interpreted as devotees worshipping a hero. These finds in Miletus support the view that the snake relief in the Kızılkuyu grave is associated with the heroization of the deceased. Accordingly, the benches on both sides of the door in the entrance room are related to the rituals performed and served as altars where eggs and other offerings could be placed by family worshippers.

There are two doors in the tomb, one at the entrance and the other connecting the first and second chambers (fig. 9).³⁴ The entrance room had a ceiling to protect the offering benches and the snake relief from the weather, but likely no door. The lintels of the two doors are not preserved, and no closure mechanisms were detected.³⁵ For this reason, it can be assumed that the main door was closed with a simple capstone that fit into the door frame like a stopper,³⁶ as in some graves in the Akdag Necropolis.³⁷ There is no clear indication that the passage between the first and second chamber was closed. If so, this was done by installing a single- or double-winged wooden door in a wooden door frame, attached to the rock-cut door frame from inside the second chamber.³⁸

Our information about the ceiling's form comes from the second chamber (figs. 2, 13, 15). The ceiling is completely preserved except for the southwest corner and the door opening. It is shaped as a flat arch respectively a vault over the sarcophagus in front of the east wall.³⁹ This vaulting, which is slightly irregular, continues after a step of about 10 cm over the corridor and extends to the wall with the door in the west. Over the sarcophagi to the north and south, it

³⁰ Laufer-Bufe 1983, 163-64.

³¹ Although ancient sources report that sacred snakes were symbolically offered honey cakes, in reality these snakes ate living animals and raw eggs. One of the statues of Asclepius and Hygieia provides iconographic data showing that eggs were offered to snakes on egg *phialai*, again in connection with the cult of Asclepius; see Ogden 2013, 364-66.

³² Nováková 2011, 215-17.

³³ See fn. 27.

³⁴ For door closure systems in Carian tombs, see Henry 2009, 109.

³⁵ Since the ceiling over the door openings is not preserved, it is not possible to determine the door heights. But the height of the ceiling in the eastern chamber as only maximum 1.85 m gives an important indication.

³⁶ Considering the general character of the grave, it is possible that local sandstone or harder limestone were used for the closure. However, no fragment that could have been used as a door was found around the grave.

³⁷ Tamsü-Polat 2017, 47, fig. 1.

³⁸ O. Henry states that the second doors connecting the rooms were generally double-leaf hinged doors; see Henry 2009, 109.

³⁹ Of the 88 chamber tombs in the Akdağ Necropolis, 66 have vaulted ceilings; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 48, pls. 6c, 9b, 11b, 12b, 13b.

descends to the side walls in a flat-sloping, straight manner like a saddle roof.⁴⁰ This interesting construction mixing a vaulted roof design with a saddle roof is difficult to explain. Although it can be assumed that the stonemason was not experienced enough to shape the entire ceiling in the form of a vault, it cannot be ruled out that it may have been a conscious design.

The burials were formed by shaping the rock in the form of sarcophagi (fig. 10). Usually, beds for the dead arranged in the form of benches, couches, or *klinai* are common in underground chamber tombs.⁴¹ Simple rock-cut shaft graves closed with monolithic stone lids with flat or saddle “roofs” are frequently encountered in Caria. However, they are typically found in the open.⁴² In contrast, sarcophagi carved directly out of the rock within burial chambers are less common. Examples similar to those of Kızılkuyu were found in the rock graves at Keramos, Yenice, and Taş Yenice, including also one at near-by Ula.⁴³ Although no *in situ* example was found, the flat, worked stone fragments (ca. 0.12-0.12 m thick) made of sandstone and found around and inside the grave were part of flat monolithic(?) lids to cover the sarcophagi (fig. 16). Another remarkable practice is the creation of a symposium order in the tomb by carving out cushions in the sarcophagi arranged in a clockwise direction. This imitates the position of symposiasts on *klinai* in a dining hall (*andron*).⁴⁴

The niches (figs. 11-13) cut into the walls above the rock sarcophagi may be associated with cremation burials. With dimensions ranging between 0.20-0.26 m in depth, they are large enough for the placement of urns. It is known from existing evidence in the region that both inhumation and cremation were practiced in the same burial chamber, and that cremation vessels were placed either on the burial beds or in the niches.⁴⁵ On the other hand, there is evidence that gifts were also left in both places.⁴⁶ Although it is not possible to determine the exact function of the niches in the Kızılkuyu grave with the help of the available data, a few suggestions can be made. First of all, some vessels found in the grave were probably used as urns.⁴⁷ It is likewise important to note that there is no niche above the sarcophagus on the south side of the second burial chamber. If the niches were intended for grave goods, it would be expected that a niche would have been provided also for this burial, which is not the case. This fact strengthens the assumption that the niches were used for cremation vessels and also suggests that they were cut out as needed, some after the initial construction of the tomb.

The rock surface around the niches in the first chamber was carefully smoothed and incised with an imitation of horizontal and vertical block joints to give the appearance of an isodomic ashlar masonry (figs. 11-12). The purpose of this application is very clear. The owner of the

⁴⁰ A tomb in the Akdağ Necropolis shows the opposite ceiling application having a saddle roof in the center and descends and turns into vaults over the burials on the sides; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 48, M64.

⁴¹ Tamsü-Polat 2017, pls. 6c, 9b, 11b, 12b, 14a-c.

⁴² More frequent than chamber tombs and rock-cut tombs, these types of sarcophagi are found cut directly into the rocky surfaces and often identified as Carian type tombs; see Bean 1980, 60. Henry reports that more than 25 sites in Caria have this type of tombs; see Henry 2009, 33.

⁴³ Ross 2006, 33-43, pl. 14 (4) (Keramos), pl. 15 (3) (Yenice), pl. 16 (5) (Taş Yenice), pl. 20 (2) (Ula). An early rock-cut chamber tomb dating to around 460 BC with three shaft graves, not sarcophagi, arranged in a π -shaped order, is to be found on Aegina; see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 193-94, fig. 39.

⁴⁴ Compare the famous *andrones* in the sanctuary of Zeus in Labraunda; see Hellström and Blid 2019.

⁴⁵ Söğüt 2003, 252; Ahrens 2015, 191.

⁴⁶ The closest example of grave goods left in the niche is the Menias tomb in Idyma; see Gürbüzler 2016, 112-13. 36 graves in the Akdağ Necropolis have niches in the walls where the burial beds are located, and six of them yielded grave goods thought to be *in situ*; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 49.

⁴⁷ See the pottery discussion with fn. 91.

tomb knew about underground chamber tombs built with marble or other local ashlar stones⁴⁸ and desired to have such a tomb. However, he did not have enough resources available, so wanted to at least create the impression that he was financially capable with the status to have such a tomb.⁴⁹

Traces left by tools used for carving the soft sandstone rock are visible at many points on the walls. It is noteworthy that the coarsest tools such as small hoes were used on the stairs and on part of the walls and ceilings, while traces of a pointed chisel and an adze / *skeparnon* used for finer workmanship are found on the side walls of the sarcophagi. The serpent relief and the doorway between the entrance room and the western grave chamber further preserve clear marks of a dented chisel.⁵⁰

As mentioned above, there is a certain carelessness in the construction of the tomb. The similar poorly worked and corroded channel about 2.75 m long is likely secondary too. It connects the floor level of the first chamber with the floor of the second chamber (5 cm lower) by cutting through its door threshold. It may have become necessary to cut this when rainwater started to seep through the porous rock of the ceiling and accumulated in the first chamber.⁵¹

In contrast to this slipshod workmanship, the details of the design reveal a remarkable familiarity with supra-regional architectural practices as well as regional burial customs. Its complex tomb type consists of an entrance and two chambers, snake relief, symposium arrangement provided by pillow placement in the sarcophagi, impression of a chamber tomb built with ashlar blocks in the first chamber, niches for cremation urns and grave goods, and benches made for ritual use at the entrance. From this point of view, the people who designed the plan of the Kızılkuyu tomb and the people who realized it were different. We cannot know whether the owner of the grave drew the plan himself or paid a skilled architect who knew the burial traditions of the region well. But it is clear that he did not have the resources necessary to construct a high-quality grave, so hired a less skilled local stonemason.

On the other hand, regardless of the construction material and form of the tomb, it requires significant financial means to build such a tomb carved directly into the bedrock.⁵² The grave seems to belong to one of the prominent landowning families in the rural settlement and reveals that the wealthy families of the provinces were well educated and ambitious.

⁴⁸ The nearest tomb in this technique is chamber tomb 2 in Kızılkuyu; see Gürbüzler 2019, 68, fig. 11; above n. 3. Chamber tombs constructed with marble, limestone, and conglomerate ashlar blocks are known from different settlements in the region. For Mylasa see Akarca 1952, 367-405; for the Stratonikeia territorium see Büyüközer 2020, 25-36, fig. 17 (the masonry of the Taşkesik chamber tomb there is an especially good example of the masonry reflected in the Kızılkuyu tomb); for Idyma see Gürbüzler 2016, 105-7, figs. 3-4.

⁴⁹ Similar applications imitating expensive constructions and made with the same concern are frequently encountered in the Roman Period. In some dwellings, owners who could not have the walls of the house covered with marble, had them decorated with wall paintings reflecting the appearance of marble; see Thorpe 2002, 73-74. There is a very extensive use of marble incrustations on the walls of the houses in Ephesos, Terrace House 2. Nevertheless, marble-like wall paintings were preferred instead of real marble on some walls; see Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 95-96, 131, figs. 150 (1) and 243.

⁵⁰ For tools used in ancient masonry, and their marks, see Kurapkat and Wulf-Rheidt 2017.

⁵¹ The most prominent example for such secondary channels cut through thresholds to get rid of seeping rainwater in a chamber tomb is the Hekatomneion in Mylasa (ca. 360 / 350 BCE). There, both the threshold of the grave chamber door as well as the threshold of the outer door of the dromos and the pavement outside have a cut channel, convincingly attributed by A. Diler to the reuse phase of the grave for the burial of Menandros, son of Ouliades in Augustan times; see Diler 2020, 375-77, 331, figs. 7-8 (channel in pavement in front of dromos door); Kızıl 2020, 158, figs. 26-27 (cuts in both grave chamber and dromos thresholds), 167, fig. 36 (channel in pavement in front of dromos door).

⁵² Henry 2009, 106.

Pottery finds

A total of 741 sherds, mostly coarse wares and amphora body fragments, were collected from the entrance room and the first chamber, while 68 sherds, mostly body fragments of coarse wares, were recovered from the second chamber. The ceramics were scattered in the grave chambers and entrance room during ancient robberies and modern illegal excavations.

Our primary aim has been to reveal the periods of use of the grave with the help of ceramic finds. Based on this aim, a number of fragments significant for dating were selected and studied, first of all sherds with rim and base profiles and decorated samples (fig. 17).⁵³

The ceramics were analyzed under two groups: fine wares and plain wares. The first group consists of slipped and decorated sherds, while the second group consists of unslipped, coarse ware sherds mostly produced for daily use. The order of the sherds within the groups is from open vessel to closed vessel.

The ceramic finds indicate that the grave was used for about 200 years, but it was not possible to determine how many burials were made in specific periods.

The first and earliest ceramic that allows an approximate dating belongs to an Attic black glazed ware (cat. no. **1**) dateable to the late fourth-third century BC.⁵⁴ Together with a thin-walled skyphos fragment (**2**) found near the serpent relief in the entrance room, this example probably provides information about the first use and construction period of the tomb. However, the thick body fragment (**1**) does not allow a clear dating due to its state of preservation.⁵⁵ The skyphos (**2**) found next to it provides more reliable data. This thin-walled ware, reminiscent of Ionian productions in terms of fabric and glazed characteristics, is roughly dated to the third century BC.⁵⁶

Table amphora no. **3** must be related to the Late Hellenistic use of the tomb. The amphora, with externally thickened rim and a little preserved black and matt glaze, must have ornaments made in the West Slope style like its counterparts.⁵⁷ Similar examples dating to the second half of the second century BC have been reported from Ephesos⁵⁸ and Pergamon.⁵⁹

The most interesting example among the grave finds is a molded lamp decorated in the West Slope style (**4**). Part of the upper half of the body is preserved, and this form is reminiscent of the vessels described as inkwells. The molded example has a leaf wreath around the large filling hole in the center. The leaf motifs are thickened with a diluted clay solution in clay color, while the branches connecting them are incised. A white-colored clay solution is not

⁵³ Most of the body and handle fragments that do not allow reliable dating have been excluded from the scope of this study.

⁵⁴ Since it is not possible to precisely date the black glazed Attic wall fragment (cat. no. **1**) and the skyphos (cat. no. **2**) found in a disturbed layer above the serpent relief in the entrance corridor, the first use of the tomb is dated here in the late fourth to late third century BC.

⁵⁵ Considering the flat profile of the sherd and the thickness of the clay, it belongs to a shallow plate. The black glazed, downturned rimmed plates from the Athenian Agora, generally dated between the mid-fourth and late third century BC, are similar to the Kızilkuyu example; see Rotroff 1997, 141-45.

⁵⁶ Rotroff 1997, 95-96, 259, fig. 12, pl. 15 (162, 167). Athenian Agora examples have ornaments decorated in the West Slope style. The sample from the chamber tomb of Armutçuk-Kızilkuyu has a thin and matt black glaze, which is only partially preserved.

⁵⁷ Although the Kızilkuyu amphora has a very poorly preserved black and matt glaze, in the light of similar examples, it may have been decorated in the West Slope style.

⁵⁸ Gassner 1997, 55, pl. 8 (146).

⁵⁹ Schäfer 1968, 58, 62, pls. 19, 20 (D 71).

used on it, which seems to indicate a Pergamene production. Two criteria can be taken into consideration for dating this lamp. The first is the decoration in the West Slope style, whose earliest examples are dated to the early third century BC.⁶⁰ In these early examples, motifs made with a thickened tan clay solution are accompanied by decorations made with a thinned white clay solution and incision (from the mid-third century BC).⁶¹ In the examples from the Late Hellenistic Period, only incised decoration and the use of a white-diluted clay solution are preferred. Considering the use of the incised decoration technique together with the leaf wreaths made by thickening with a tan clay solution, it is clear that the Kızılkuyu example cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the third century BC. The second criterion to be taken into consideration for dating is the molding of the lamp. The production of lamps using double molds started in the first quarter of the third century BC.⁶² This technique, which allows mass production and the production of dense relief decorations, became widespread and popular in the second century BC. It is noteworthy that the first molded examples produced in the third century BC imitate undecorated wheel-made lamps.⁶³ The Kızılkuyu example, with its large filling hole and round and slightly flattened body, closely resembles the wheel-made lamps of the third century BC.⁶⁴ Although lamps decorated in the West Slope style are not among the most common finds, wheel-made examples dating to the third century BC have been found in Pergamon⁶⁵ and the Athenian Agora.⁶⁶ In addition to the lamps, a wheel-made inkwell,⁶⁷ also found in the Athenian Agora and dated to the second half of the third century BC, is worth mentioning due to its similarity to the Kızılkuyu example in terms of body form and decoration technique. Although a published example precisely matching a molded lamp decorated in the West Slope style could not be located, the available data on decoration and manufacturing technique unequivocally places the Kızılkuyu example in the middle or second half of the third century BC.

The second lamp from the Kızılkuyu grave (5) is a Knidian production. Most Knidian lamps, easily identifiable by their grey fabric and anchor-shaped noses, have double conical bodies, small filling holes, and narrow discus with concave profile. The Kızılkuyu example, half of whose body is preserved, differs from the general type by having a flattened spherical body with an appliqué round decoration.⁶⁸ The filling hole is surrounded by a groove and

⁶⁰ Rotroff and Oliver 2003, 37-38.

⁶¹ Rotroff 1991, 60. The use of incising in detail became widespread in Athens after the middle of the third century BC.

⁶² Bailey 1975, 4. The use of two-part molding appeared as early as the fifth century BC with the production of terracotta figurines, but this production technique was used for lamps only about 200 years later.

⁶³ Howland 1958, 5, 129. Relief decorations made by thickening the clay on lamps began to be seen in the middle of the third century BC.

⁶⁴ Kassab-Tezgör and Sezer 1995, 72-76, cat. nos. 168, 177-80.

⁶⁵ Schäfer 1968, 123-24, pls. 52, 53 (H 8). The profile of this example is different from that of the Kızılkuyu example, which is important because it shows that there are lamps decorated in the West Slope style among the Pergamon productions and that their upper surface is decorated with a white clay solution.

⁶⁶ Howland 1958, 95-96, pls. 14, 41 (412). This example with a double conical body, which Howland assigns to Type 29A, has been dated to around 300 BC. This takes into account a lagynos with similar ornamentation as well as body form, thought to have been produced by the same potter. The Athenian Agora find has a different leaf-wreath ornamentation than the Kızılkuyu example.

⁶⁷ Rotroff 1997, 199, 371, fig. 83, pl. 101 (1319). This example has been dated to the second half of the third century BC on the basis of its decoration in the West Slope style and a similar piece from Olympia.

⁶⁸ Lamps with this type of body were defined as "aryballoid" by Kögler, and this definition has been adopted by other researchers; see Kögler 2010, 73; Betina 2021, 25.

has a wick hole with a rising funnel-shaped neck and a widening spout, as understood from similar examples.⁶⁹ The data from Knidos suggest that this rare group with a flattened spherical body was used in the same period as the typical conical-bodied Knidian lamps - between the second and early first century BC.⁷⁰

The shallow plate (6), with an internally thickened rim and flaring flat body, is one of the most common vessel forms in the grave.⁷¹ The same type of vessel is frequently encountered in levels of the Late Hellenistic Period in centers around the Aegean Sea.⁷² The sample from Kızılkuyu⁷³ is probably a local / regional production whose closest similar forms were found at Idyma,⁷⁴ Knidos,⁷⁵ and Rhodes.⁷⁶ The stratigraphical data from Knidos reveals that these plates were in use between the second and third quarter of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first century BC.

On the body surface of the basin of no. 7, with a convex body and externally thickened rim about 1.5 cm. below the rim, there is a decoration with an incised wavy line placed between the grooves. There are also finger-printed decorations on the rim.⁷⁷ In the Classical and especially Hellenistic Periods, a wavy line decoration is frequently found on the bodies of bowls or storage vessels and on the wide rims of ceramics such as *lekanai*.⁷⁸ However, among the Hellenistic Period ceramics, we have not encountered any basin with a similar rim and body form and finger-print decoration on the rim. In any case, considering the chronological distribution of the ceramics in the grave and the similarity of the incised decoration, the basin no. 7 also belongs to the Hellenistic Period.

The two chytrai (8-9) recovered from the grave provide important data for dating since they conform to the formal repertoire of cooking pots from the Aegean Sea area. Chytra no. 8 has a wide, flaring rim with a slot for a lid like similar examples from the Athenian Agora dating from the second century BC.⁷⁹ The close variations of chytra no. 9, with a thickened rim that we have identified among the finds from the Athenian Agora, Knossos, and Ephesos, are

⁶⁹ Knidos: Kögler 2010, 73-74, pl. 32 (F.L1-F.L2) (second-early first century BC); Bailey 1975, 136-37, pl. 46 (Q273-Q275) (first half of the second century BC); Rhodes: Betina 2021, 25, fig. 2.1 (C).

⁷⁰ Kögler 2010, 73.

⁷¹ The rim and base fragments of about five plates of the same form with similar fabric characteristics were recorded in the grave, one of which was catalogued. However, the pedestal part of the sample that we catalogued is missing. Both the similar examples and the bases found in the grave, which seem to belong to this form, indicate that the plates had slightly high ring bases with a diameter of 5-7 cm.

⁷² Priene: Fenn 2016, 73-74, pls. 41-42; Ephesos: Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, 23-24, 29-30, pl. 12 (A 60) (Late Hellenistic); Teos: Vapur 2021, 319, fig. 143 (late second-first century BC); Athenian Agora: Rotroff 1997, 314, fig. 49 (693) (150-110 BC), pl. 50 (698) (110-86 BC).

⁷³ No glaze was found on this plate, which appears to have a very soft paste. Although we thought that the glaze on the surface might have flaked off due to the low temperature of the kiln and the state of preservation in the grave, the other similarly shaped plates found in the grave are unglazed too. However, on most of the plates similar in form in other places, a glaze is observed; see Vapur 2021, 319, fig. 143.

⁷⁴ İren and Gürbüzler 2005, 15, 29, figs. 30-31 (second century BC).

⁷⁵ Kögler 2010, 80, 132-37, fig. 19 (E.61-62, E.67), fig. 20 (E.68). It is similar to plate form 7 / type C and D; see Kassab-Tezgör 2003, 38, pl. 32 (4).

⁷⁶ Betina 2021, 28, fig. 2.4 (A) (late second-first century BC).

⁷⁷ In the Roman Imperial period, finger-printed handles are seen on the rims of some vessels. However, in these examples, clay is added to the rim to serve as a handle, and the finger-printed decoration is applied on this handle; see Vapur 2009, 90-100. The decorations on the Kızılkuyu example were applied directly on the rim.

⁷⁸ Rotroff 2006, 262, 275, fig. 27 (165-66), fig. 49 (281-85).

⁷⁹ Rotroff 2006, 170-72, 305, chytra form 3, fig. 73 (581). The Athenian Agora chytrai have a single twisted handle.

dated, like many of the finds from the tomb, between the second half of the second century BC and the early first century BC.⁸⁰

We were not able to identify an example exactly similar to the profile of the storage vessel (**10**) with externally thickened rim and inverted body. The absence of any pottery from the grave dated later than the late second century BC-early first century BC suggests that example no. **10** also belongs to the Hellenistic Period. However, a dolium reported from Knossos has the same rim diameter as the Kızılkuyu example and a very similar rim body profile. The Knossos specimen, with a more rounded rim and slightly convex body, was recovered from the Claudian Period levels⁸¹. Although the Knossos specimen suggests Roman use of the grave, the lack of a precise dating of the fragment and the fact that no other finds dateable to the Roman Imperial Period were recovered from the grave do not allow us to put forward this idea.

Among the grave finds is a plain lagynos (**11**), frequently encountered in Hellenistic Period levels. It is presumed that lagynoi, such as the Kızılkuyu example, served in parallel to trade amphorae and were used for the sale of wine in the markets.⁸² The stamps on the handles of some examples provide the most important support for this view.⁸³ Research suggests that these plain examples appeared earlier than the white-ground and decorated ones - in the first half of the third century BC. They became widespread in the second century BC and continued in use until the Augustan period.⁸⁴ The Kızılkuyu grave find, with its preserved long thin neck, is similar to the finds from the Athenian Agora, especially from the third-first half of second century BC.⁸⁵ Therefore, this lagynos is related to the early use of the tomb.

Another example from the grave is a foot fragment belonging to a fusiform unguentarium (**12**), one of the most common grave finds of the Hellenistic Period. Only the base is preserved, and the profile does not match third century BC examples. Unguentaria found in contexts dateable to the second century BC resemble the Kızılkuyu example.⁸⁶

Comparable instances of amphora no. **13**, with its preserved base, can be identified among examples from Rhodes and the Rhodian Peraia.⁸⁷ Amphora produced in the Rhodian Peraia has been dated by K. Şenol to 225-215 BC, while those of direct Rhodian origin have been dated to the second century BC and the end of the second century BC and beginning of the first century BC.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Rotroff 2006, 309, fig. 78 (616) (from mid-second to early first century BC); Callaghan 1992, 122, pl. 101 (18) (probably 100-25 BC); Gassner 1997, 101-2, pl. 29 (360). The Ephesos example is identified as a funnel-mouthed cooking jug.

⁸¹ Sackett 1992, 202, pl. 149 (107).

⁸² A lagynos, with white ground decorations made with a thinned clay solution, was generally used for serving wine at banquets; see Rotroff 2006, 83; Akkumaz 2016, 99-100.

⁸³ Grace 1952, 519, 539, pl. 25 (38); Romano 1994, 78-79, fig. 9, pl. 21 (42) and pl. 20 (43).

⁸⁴ Rotroff 2006, 82-84.

⁸⁵ Rotroff 2006, 82-84, 254-56, pl. 15 (102), pl. 16 (104-9), pl. 17 (114).

⁸⁶ İşkan-Yılmaz and Çevik 1995, 193, 209, fig. 8 (e-g); Rotroff 2006, 137-60, 233, table 33, figs. 63-64.

⁸⁷ A stamped Rhodian amphora handle, perhaps related, was also recovered from the grave. The handle fragment, still in preparation for publication, was not analyzed in this study.

⁸⁸ Şenol 2003, 19, 21, 23, cat. no. 10 (225-215 BC), cat. no. 12 (second century BC) and cat. no. 14 (late second-first century BC). For other similar examples, see Py and Sourisseau 1993, A-GRE Rho4 (275-75); Gassner 1997, 111, pl. 37 (418); Alpözen 1975, 8, pl. 2, fig. 2 (second century BC).

Almost all of the grave goods were stolen by looters. However, it is clear that the fragmented black glazed ware (1), skypos (2), table amphora (3), lamps (4, 5),⁸⁹ plate (6),⁹⁰ lagynos (11), and unguentarium (12) are the remnants of these grave goods. Regarding the intended use of basin (7), the cooking pots (8-9), a dolium / pithos (10), and the amphora (13), two suggestions can be made. The first is that all of them may have been used as urns,⁹¹ while the second is that they were vessels used during funeral rituals and then left in the grave or at its entrance.

Dating

The frequent construction of underground chamber tombs in Caria started during the middle of the fourth century BC. The number of examples using different materials and techniques increased with the Hellenistic Period.⁹² Although it is difficult to date them on the basis of architectural evaluation, O. Henry states that the main differences between fourth century BC tombs and third-second century BC tombs are the arrangement and aesthetics of the burial areas, the use of better materials, the quality of execution, and the complexity of planning.⁹³ Although the Kızılkuyu example seems to typify complex planning, it is difficult to consider these criteria for a grave built in the countryside and belonging to a prominent family from there. In terms of dating, the examples from the necropolis at Stratonikeia Akdağ, carved into the bedrock and reflecting a similar burial tradition, are important. R. Tamsü-Polat suggests the middle of the third century BC for the first period of use for the underground chamber tombs in Akdağ, based largely on the grave finds.⁹⁴

The grave finds undoubtedly provide the most reliable dating for the Kızılkuyu underground chamber tomb also. Expensive and elaborately constructed family graves of this type were used continuously for hundreds of years, as seen in the Kızılkuyu grave. Although the robbery and destruction of the grave does not allow us to determine the exact number of the individuals buried,⁹⁵ the ceramic finds indicate that the first burial was created in the late fourth / third century BC. The use of the grave continued until the beginning of the first century BC. The use of many graves in the region continued throughout the Roman Imperial Period.⁹⁶ However, in the case of Kızılkuyu, there is no evidence for a definite Roman phase. If there were, a few sherds of pottery should have been found. The end of use for the grave after around 200 years may therefore be explained by the demise of the local family who owned the tomb. That the grave was not used after the beginning of the first century BC also raises

⁸⁹ The lamps constitute one of the largest groups among the grave finds and fulfil the function of illuminating the grave chambers in addition to being sacrificial gifts; see Walters 1914, xiv-xv; Bailey 1975, 9.

⁹⁰ The most frequent group among the uncatalogued sherds are fragments of plate no. 6, all of which are understood to be grave goods.

⁹¹ Although certain vessel forms are thought to have been used as urns, it turns out that burials can be carried out in any suitable vessel. These containers, mostly no longer in use, could be of different forms such as deep bowls, cooking pots, amphorae, and dolia.

⁹² Some monumental examples date back to the fifth century BC; see Henry 2009, 110-11.

⁹³ Henry 2009, 111.

⁹⁴ Tamsü-Polat 2017, 146-47.

⁹⁵ The five sarcophagi and four niches for cremation urns add up to a minimum of nine burials. But sarcophagi were notoriously used for subsequent multiple inhumation burials. As there were no bones found in the sarcophagi or even in the chambers as a whole, the question of multiple burials has to remain open.

⁹⁶ Gürbüz 2016, 105-14; Aytaçlar ve Gürbüz 2007; Tırpan et al. 2013, 242-52; Tamsü-Polat 2017, 146-47.

questions about the post-Hellenistic period of the small settlement nearby. However, to be able to answer these questions, systematic excavations in the area are needed.

Conclusion

Rock-cut tombs, chamber tombs, tumulus tombs, rock-cut sarcophagi, and decorated sarcophagi are clear evidence of the wealth and diversity of the cultural and spiritual world of the peoples who lived in ancient Caria. This diversity in burial practices is undoubtedly related to the fact that people of different ethnic and social class identities lived in the region. The Kızılkuyu underground chamber tomb, discovered during road construction work, contributes to our knowledge of burial customs in the rural areas of the region during the Hellenistic period. Located in the settlement area of the *koinon* of the *Olaies*, the tomb shows that the tradition of burying the dead in monumental and ostentatious tombs, of which there are many examples in the region, was also emulated by wealthy agricultural families living in the countryside. The tomb was built in a strategic position in the dispersed settlement close to a main road connecting the high plateau of Ula with the plain of Gökova and likely close to the farmhouse of the owner.⁹⁷ It was designed by someone well acquainted with burial customs of the region. Some features of the tomb suggest that the designer directly imitated other types of tombs. For example, the rock-cut sarcophagi of the Kızılkuyu tomb are modelled on the rock-cut sarcophagi encountered in rock-cut tombs or in open areas in Caria, while the incised block joints on the walls of one of the chambers are reflections of chamber tombs built of ashlar masonry. Furthermore, the snake and egg relief combined with two benches for offerings in the entrance room stands in the tradition of grave altars with snake reliefs of Dorian-Greek Knidos and Rhodes. This indicates the increasing tendency of heroizing the deceased in the Hellenistic Period. Being part of the Rhodian *Peraia*, the *koinon* of the *Olaies* and therefore also this farming family in Kızılkuyu took part in this development. Although the owner planned a tomb with an interesting design, the quality of the stone workmanship did not come close to that of monumental rock-facade or built chamber tombs. Instead, it conforms to the poor construction quality of local and rural tombs. This may also indicate that the grave's owners did not have the economic power of aristocratic and urban elites.

The ceramic finds reveal that the tomb was built in the Early Hellenistic Period and used for about 200 years, or seven generations, until the beginning of the first century BC. Although the grave was robbed of its valuable objects, the presence of imported materials such as Attic black glazed ware and a lamp of Pergamene production decorated in the West Slope style is an indication that the *koinon* of the *Olaies*, small in size, was able to receive expensive products imported from distant centers, as evidenced by the rich grave offerings of the period. One example is the grave of Menias in Idyma.⁹⁸ Idyma was the closest harbor city to Kızılkuyu and would have served the *Olaies* as the hub of their supra-regional contacts, be it commercial or cultural.

⁹⁷ In the countryside, the tradition of building a family tomb in the immediate vicinity of farmhouses belonging to wealthy families is also known from other settlements in the Carian region of the Rhodian *peraiia*, for example on the Carian Chersonesus; see Held 2014.

⁹⁸ See Gürbüzler 2016.

Catalogue⁹⁹

Fine Wares

1. Plate? (fig. 17 / 1)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 1

Body fragment; hard, fine, thin little micaceous; light-brown fabric (7.5YR 7/4); thick-matt black glazed; L 4 cm. W 2.7 cm.

2. Skyphos (fig. 17 / 2)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 54

Body and handle fragment; medium hard, fine; thin little lime; yellowish red fabric (5YR 5/6); thin-matt black glazed (5YR 2.5/1); pH 1.9 cm, W 2.7 cm.

3. Table amphora (fig. 17 / 3)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 41

Rim and neck fragment; soft, fine, many very fine white inclusions, very few fine black inclusions; reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6); thin-matt very dark grey glazed (5YR 3/1); Diam. of rim 14 cm, pH 3.4 cm.

4. Lamp (fig. 17 / 4)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 25

Body fragment; medium hard, many very fine lime; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6); exterior medium thick dark grey glazed (2.5YR 3/1), interior thin-matt reddish brown glazed (2.5YR 4/4); W 6.2 cm, L 4.8 cm, pH 1.7 cm.

5. Lamp (fig. 17 / 5)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 55

Body and base fragment; soft, very fine, very little fine lime(?), grey fabric (10YR 5/1); thin-glossy very dark greyish brown glaze (10YR 3/2); Diam. of body 5.6 cm, pH 3.6 cm.

Plain Wares

6. Plate (fig. 17 / 6)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 34

Rim and body fragment; soft, fine, very little fine grey inclusions, very few fine lime and micaceous; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6); light reddish brown surface (2.5YR 6/4); Diam. of rim 18 cm, pH 3.1 cm.

7. Basin (fig. 17 / 7)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 20

Rim and body fragment; medium hard, coarse grained, substantial quartz; red fabric (2.5YR 4/8); red surface (2.5YR 4/6); Diam. of rim 30 cm, pH 7.3 cm.

8. Cooking Pot (chytra) (fig. 17 / 8)

Inv. no. UKM 21/4

⁹⁹ The abbreviations used in the catalogue are as follows: cat. no. = catalogue number; inv. no. = inventory number, Diam. = diameter, L = length, W = width, pH = preserved height. The fabric and glaze colors are given according to the color codes in the "Munsell Soil Color Charts" (revised version 2009).

Rim and body fragment; medium hard, coarse-grained, many fine-coarse quartz, very little coarse lime, many micaceous; brown fabric (7.5YR 5/4); inner brown surface (7.5YR 5/3-5/4), outer black surface (7.5YR 2.5/1); Diam. of rim 18 cm, pH 2.5 cm.

9. Cooking Pot (chytra) (fig. 17 / 9)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 19

Rim and body fragment; hard, coarse-grained, many quartz, very little coarse lime, moderately coarse micaceous; yellowish-red fabric (5YR 5/6); strong brown surface (7.5YR 5/6); Diam. of rim 15 cm, pH 5.6 cm.

10. Storage Vessel (Dolium / Pithos) (fig. 17 / 10)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 39

Rim and body fragment; hard, coarse-grained, coarse-fine many quartz; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6) yellowish red surface (5YR 5/6); Diam. of rim 24, pH 7.3 cm.

11. Lagynos (fig. 17 / 11)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 60

Fragment of rim and neck; soft, fine, fine and many white inclusions; reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6); pink surface (5YR 7/4); Diam. of rim 4 cm, pH 12.8 cm.

12. Unguentarium (fig. 17 / 12)

Env. no. UKM 21 / 62

Foot fragment; hard, fine, very few white inclusions; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6); yellowish-red surface (5YR 5/6); Diam. of foot 2 cm, pH 1.7 cm.

13. Transport Amphora (fig. 17 / 13)

Env. no. UKM 21 / 23

Foot fragment; soft coarse-grained, many coarse black inclusions; light-brown fabric (7.5YR 6/4); very pale brown surface (10YR 7/4); Diam. of foot 4.6 cm, pH 7.3 cm.

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FIG. 1 Location of the chamber tomb and its surroundings at Kızılkuyu, Ula (digital satellite image editing: Abdülkadir Baran).

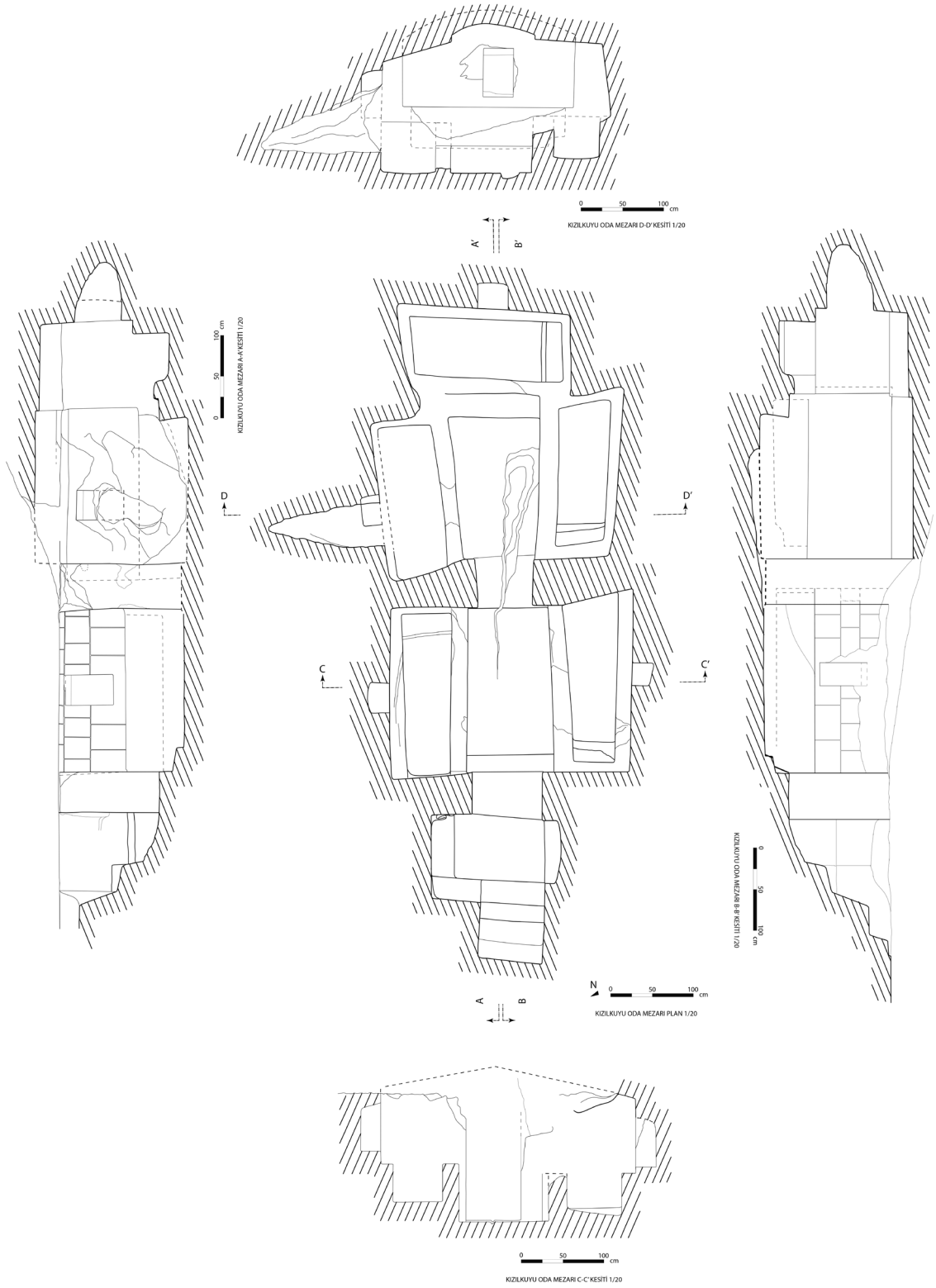


FIG. 2 Plan and cross section of the tomb (drawing by Gürol Aytepe).



FIG. 3
Condition of the chamber tomb before excavation (excavation archive).



FIG. 4
Chamber tomb after excavation in 2021 from the west (excavation archive).



FIG. 5
Stairs to the entrance room from the east (excavation archive).



FIG. 6 Entrance room from the west (excavation archive).



FIG. 7 Serpent and egg relief from the west (excavation archive).



FIG. 8 Serpent relief on the north side of the entrance room, from the south (excavation archive).



FIG. 9
Overview of the
door openings from
the west (excavation
archive).



FIG. 10
First chamber with
sarcophagi from the east
(excavation archive).



FIG. 11
View from the south side of the northern sarcophagus, niche and incised wall in the first chamber (excavation archive).



FIG. 12
View from the north side of the southern sarcophagus, niche and incised wall in the first chamber (excavation archive).



FIG. 13
Eastern sarcophagus, niche and ceiling in the second chamber from the west (excavation archive).



FIG. 14
Water drainage channel from the first chamber to the second one, seen from the east. The two folding measuring sticks indicate the position of the cross sections in fig. 2 (photograph by Alexander Herda).



FIG. 15 Ceiling system in the second chamber from the west (photograph by Alexander Herda).



FIG. 16 Southern sarcophagus without niche in the second chamber and fragments of the stone lid of the sarcophagus from the east (excavation archive).

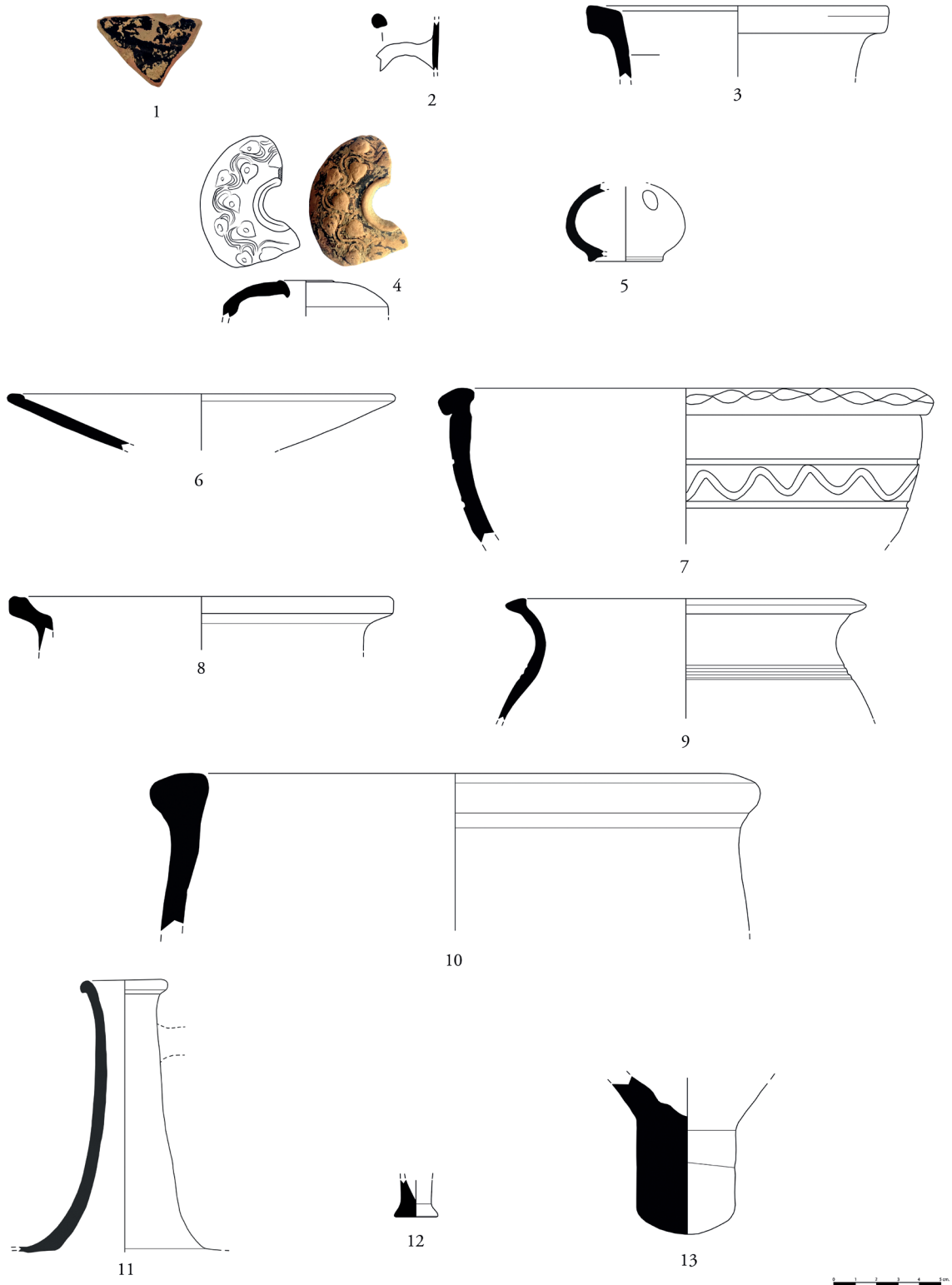


FIG. 17 Pottery finds (excavation archive, Özlem Vapur).

