Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia: Rupestral Tombs in the Amnias Valley

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Introduction[1]

Paphlagonia is a mountainous region in North Anatolia situated between the Pontic Alps in the North and the Anatolian plateau in the South. According to Strabo (12, 3, 9) the river Parthenius formed the western limit of the region, and it was bounded on the east by the Halys River (Fig. 1). Unlike some other regions of Anatolia, Paphlagonia is not geographically unified and its boundaries and ethnic demography are difficult to track. It was inhabited by people speaking a language that – except for a few personal names and toponyms – is entirely unknown to us[2].

The origins of the Paphlagonians are unclear. According to Josephus (Ant I, 122-129), they were the descendants of Riphath, second son of Gomer (Genesis 10, 3). Culturally, they were similar to their neighbors the Kappadokians, although Strabo (12, 3, 89) noted linguistic differences. Equally obscure is the relation between the Paphlagonians and the Eneti or Heneti (mentioned in connexion with them in the Homeric catalogue) who were supposed in antiquity to be the ancestors of the Veneti, who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic[3].

Paphlagonians were mentioned by Herodotus among the peoples conquered by Croesus (1. 28), and they sent an important contingent to the army of Xerxes in 480 BC (7, 72). Xenophon (Anab. 6, 1,1) speaks of them as being governed by a dynast-king of their own. As Pierre Briant concludes, "Paphlagonia must have been split among several rival chieftains"[4]. We know the names of some rulers such as Pylaimenes, Morzios, Thuys and Otys[5]. However, little is known about the organization, boundaries and administration of these chiefdoms. The few contemporary literary references to Achaemenid Paphlagonia, such as Xenophon, and later Strabo, allude to the chiefdoms in the mountainous valleys between the Greek coast and the Achaemenid interior[6].

It is possible that initially the chiefdoms may not have had concretely delimited territories, and that borders and definitions changed under Achaemenid rule. Levels of Persian control may also have varied between the individual chiefdoms. However, exactly how Paphlagonian leaders were connected to the Achaemenid administration is difficult to determine from the scarce textual

sources[7]. We do know of marriage alliances between the Achaemenid and Paphlagonian elites[8].

Settlements in inner Paphlagonia located on and around rocky outcrops and rock plateaux probably served as fortified residences for local chiefs and villages[9]. The first urban centres in the region were founded by Pompey the Great in 64 BC after his victory over Mithradates VI. The biggest of these cities in the new Roman province of *Pontus et Bithynia* was Pompeiopolis, which is situated on the river Amnias, today's Gökirmak[10].

The river Amnias, a tributary of the Halys, flows eastward along the southern slopes of the Pontic Mountains through a long broad valley (Fig. 1). Several rock-cut tombs that were carved into the sides of cliffs lining the Amnias valley were discovered in the 19th century and published in 1966 in a detailed study by Hubertus von Gall[11]. They have since received little scholarly attention despite the fact that they provide important insights into the material culture of Paphlagonia and into the impact of foreign cultures both Achaemenid and Greek– upon Paphlagonia[12].

Among the tombs studied by von Gall there are several tombs carved into the rocks in the immediate vicinity of Pompeiopolis. They usually have no relief decorations on their facades or the poor preservation and rude style hardly allow for anything to be said about their date and original display context[13]. Therefore, the present paper will be limited to three well-preserved tombs at Donalar, Salarköy and Terelik with monumental relief sculptures. All of them are located in cliffs lining the Amnias Valley.

The three rupestral tombs do not stand alone. They each form part of a complex assemblage that includes rupestral tombs, stepped tunnels, forts on bedrock outcrops that command the surrounding landscape, and perhaps a settlement below the outcrop[14]. The distribution and the associated structures suggest that therock-cut tombs may have marked the strongholds of local chiefs, controlling the west-east route. Although there is no evidence for a precise chronology of the sites, it is tempting to suppose that they were the strongholds of the tomb owners[15].

The main concern of this paper is to explore the relations of the Greek, Persian and local elements making up both the architectural features and the images carved into the tomb façades. Particularly it will be asked: what do these rupestral tomb façades reveal about the priorities and visual culture of Paphlagonians under Persian domination? By highlighting significant aspects of these three tombs, notably architectural and iconographic features, the paper will identify the local pattern of funerary architecture and the artistic environment of Achaemenid Paphlagonia.

Architectural Treatment of the Rock Facades

The first tomb, Donalar, also called Kalekapı in common parlance, is located 10 km away from Pompeiopolis, near the Karadere River which is an arbi-

Fig. 1 Map (after Debord 1999, 111 Carte 3)

trary of Amnias (fig. 1)[16]. The façade cut from the rock is 10 meters above the ground (fig. 2.3). The central part of the façade is a small portico with two columns from the rear wall of the portico two small tomb chambers can be entered through low doors on different levels; the chambers might derive from different phases of use. The two chambers are connected by a narrow door. The size and shape of the chambers differ: The one on the left side is regularly cut and more spacious. The other is smaller and irregular. Both chambers have barrel-vaulted ceilings with the stone surface trimmed to form a smooth curve[17]. Inside the larger chamber, there is a roughly carved bench and a more elaborate *kline* with decorated legs, presumably imitating wood-turning. The chamber on the right side contains only a very roughly carved bench. This, together with its irregular shape, indicates that the chamber remained unfinished[18].

The second tomb is located at Salarköy, some 30 km eastwards from Donalar on the eastern bank of the river Amnias (fig. 1)[19]. It is as large as the Donalar tomb, but more elaborate with a real gable, deeply carved pediment, three columns and faux relief rafters and other architectural details (fig. 7.8). The ceiling of the porch was decorated with carved beams imitating a timbered ceiling (fig. 11). The floor of the porch was paved with a black and white pebble mosaic and there are traces of gray and red plaster at the back wall of the porch[20]. The spacious chamber including two stone carved couches

Fig. 2 Tomb Donalar, general view (photo Roy Hessing)

Fig. 3 Tomb Donalar detail (Foto Alexander von Kienlin)

Fig. 4 Tomb Donalar (drawing Ingrid Dinkel)

Fig. 5 Tomb Donalar detail (photo Roy Hessing)

exhibits a wheel-shaped ceiling with eight spikes and a central hub (fig. 9). As was the case in Donalar, on the cliff next to the Salarköy Tomb there are a rock-cut stepped tunnel and other cuttings in the rock as well as huge stone blocks down below indicating a monumental fortification. Additionally, there was a second tomb chamber to the Nordeast which has almost entirely collapsed[21].

The third tomb is located at Terelik where the Amnias flows into the river Halys (fig. 1)[22]. It is cut into a steep rocky cliff high above the river valley. On the sloping ground at the top of the cliff above it, there are remains of a fortified settlement. The façade of the tomb is more modest in proportion to the worked area of the Salarköy tomb (fig. 12.13). It is embellished with a carved triple fascia only on the two sides. The three columns of the porch arise from the reversed *echinus*-like bases. A door placed on the right side leads to an irregular chamber with a stone-cut bench. A small window is placed left of the door. Unlike the tombs at Donalar and Salarköy, the Terelik Tomb lacks a gable.

The common characteristic of all three tombs is the unusual shape of the columns. Their number, varying between two and three, indicates their significance. The squat columns arising from the *torus*-like bases with square shaped plinths taper upwards. The shape of *tori* varies from being undercut (fig. 6 Donalar, fig. 12 Terelik) to a rounded, nearly belly-like cross section (fig. 11 Salarköy). At Salarköy and Terelik a fine ring (fig. 10.12), which is

Fig. 6 Tomb Donalar detail (photo Roy Hessing)

reminiscent of the Ionic *apophyge*, separates the column shaft from the torus, a feature which is missing at Donalar (fig. 6). The squat proportion of the column shaft, however, is common to all three. At Donalar and Salarköy the columns are crowned by a narrow but bulging *echinoid* element and square *abacus*. Above, the column capitals at both tombs are carved as crouching bulls. The bulls of the Salarköy capitals are winged (fig. 10).

The columns of the tomb at Terelik are designed differently (fig. 12). They are only crowned by flat *abaci* and lack capitals carrying the architrave. On the architrave above the left column is roughly carved a protome-like figure, which has been identified as "an idol of a goddess, probably Cybele" by both Richard Leonhard and Hubertus von Gall (fig. 13)[23]. Von Gall's reconstruction of the figure, however, appears unproportional and therefore is not convincing. Despite its rough relief style and ill state of preservation, it is possible instead to recognise a crouching figure, and indeed, on the analogy of the two other tombs, one might identify a crouching bull there. However, the clearly differentiated head of the figure is human. It perhaps relates to a bull-man-capital, well known from Persepolis[24]. The horizontally extended parts, identified by von Gall as the outstretched arms of the goddess, rather represent the wings of the bull similar to those at the Salarköy tomb. The rectilinear cuttings above the other two columns indicate that there, too, bull-man capital-like protomes were inserted (visible on fig. 12); such bull-man protome inserts apparently have collapsed.

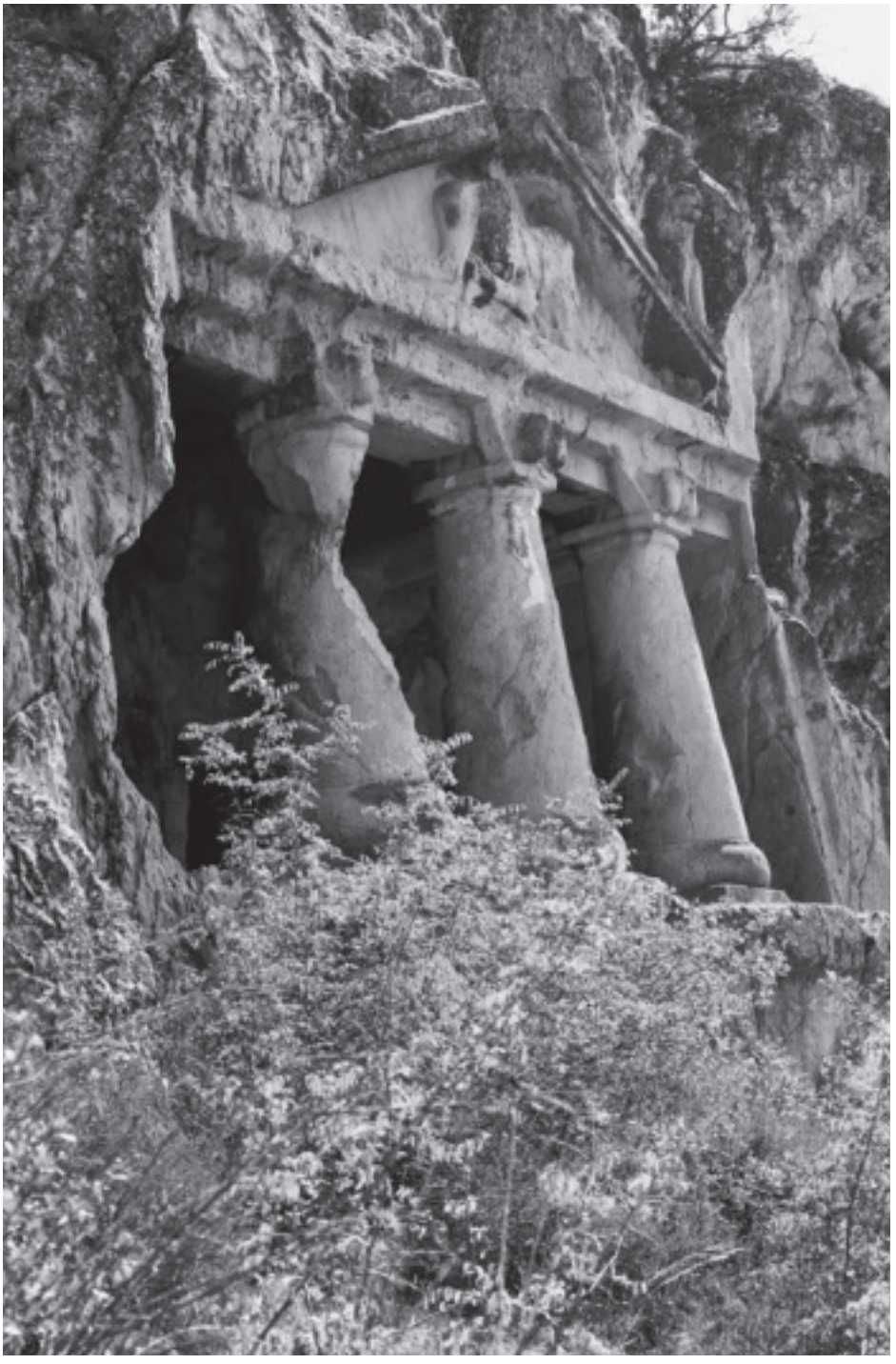

Fig. 7 Tomb Salarköy general view (photo Alexander von Kienlin)

Fig. 8 Tomb Salarköy (drawing after von Gall 1966, 57 fig. 3)

We can deduce therefore that above the coloums in the place of capitals of all three tombs had the bull or bull-man capitals known from Achaemenid architecture[25]. However, they differ from their Achaemenid prototype in orientation, tectonics and iconography. The massive bull capitals from Darius' Palace in Susa are composed of two bull foreparts projecting right and left to support the ceiling beam on their backs[26]. They support the cross timbres at right angles over their their heads. The rock-cut façade of the royal tombs in Naqsh-i-Rustam exhibits the same disposition (fig. 14)[27].

This significant difference can be partly explained by the ignorance of craftsmen of the weight-bearing function of bull-protome capitals in real Achaemenid architecture. Probably, they knew only very generally of bull crowned columns as typical elements of Persian architecture. Metal work, namely rhyta with bull foreparts, might have served as more immediate models. An example of such a rhyton, said to have been found at Sinope, is preserved at the National Museum in Copenhagen (fig. 15)[28]. However, the peculiar composition of the Paphlagonian columns and "architrave" may also be explained as an attempt to combine Greek architectural features with Achaemenid bull capitals.

Such an attempt at combination is better recognisable at the poorly preserved tomb at Aygır located just a few kilometres away from Donalar, in the

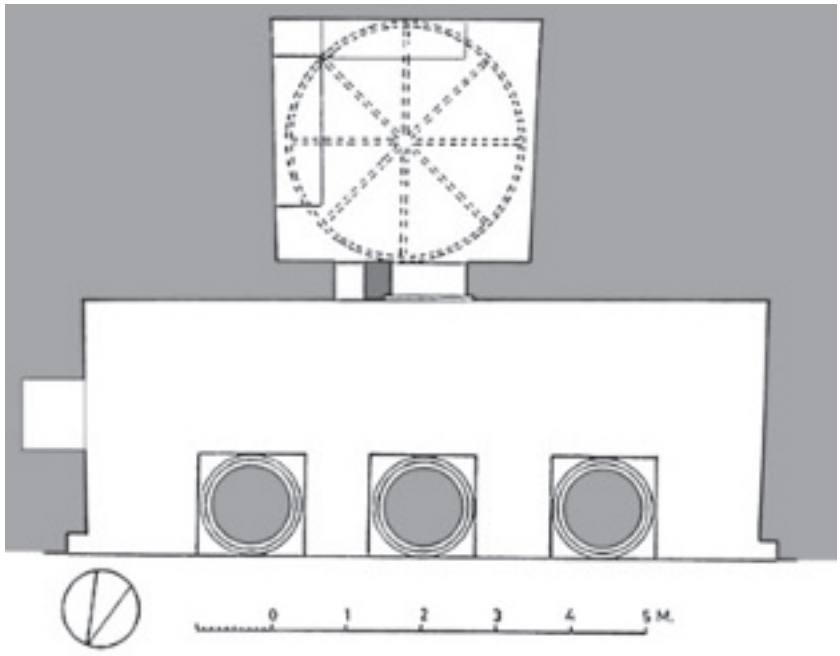

Fig. 9 Tomb Salarköy (drawing after von Gall 1966, 58 fig. 4)

Fig. 10 Tomb Salarköy detail (photo Alexander von Kienlin)

Fig. 11 Tomb Salarköy detail (photo Alexander von Kienlin)

immediate vicinity of Pompeiopolis. In 1960 when von Gall visited the region, the tomb had already largely collapsed but a column was still visible. The façade is almost completely lost today. Judging by the photos taken before 1960, the tomb featured a porch with a triple fascia and two columns. Its preserved capital comprised two different elements[29]: At the inner side double spirals with scroll-shaped volutes similar to capitals of the Ionic order, but more prominently on the outer side bull foreparts.

On the Paphlagonian tombs, the *echinus*-like capitals point to the influence of the Greek Doric style. On the other hand, the combination of such capitals with a *torus* base and the squat column shafts suggests an hybrid architecture composed of local and foreign elements. The shape of the *torus* bases with square plinths and belly-liked cross sections was apparently developed in the Late Hittite period in Northern Syria and Anatolia, as they are attested in Nurkanlı and Zincirli[30]. Comparable bases with higher proportioned *tori* which have close *comparanda* in Cerablus were found scattered in Paphlagonia[31]. The torus bases were in use until the Hellenistic Period in Anatolia[32]. The Late Hittite bases from Cerablus are similar to the Paphlagonian ones in terms of their shape and size, but are usually carved with floral elements. The Paphlagonian bases may have been decorated by painting. A torus base of huge size, 1 meter high, on a plinth of 1.70 m was found in the immediate vicinity of Pompeiopolis. On its upper surface there is a square flat depression with a round bolt hole in its center (fig. 16.17)[33]. This device suggests that

Fig. 12 Tomb Terelik general view (photo Alexander von Kienlin)

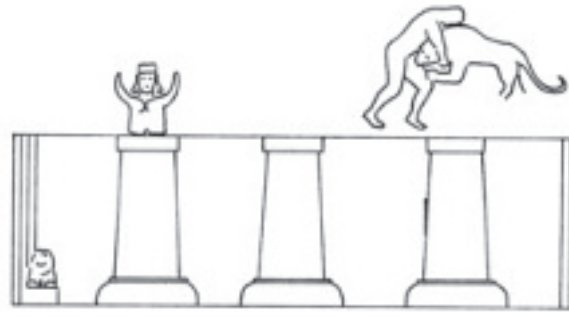

Fig. 13 Tomb Terelik (drawing after von Gall 1966, fig. 11a)

the base supported a wooden column. The squat proportions of the smooth column shaft have no parallels in Greek or Achaemenid architecture. The feature may have derived from wood columns in the local wooden building tradition.

The triple fascia framing the colonnaded porches is a particularity of the Paphlagonian tombs. At Terelik the triple fascia appears only at the sides (fig. 12.13). In Greek architecture by contrast[34], one would expect two antae at the sides, which might also be defined as engaged pillars which supports the architrave. The framing triple fascia deliberate evocation of Greek window frames, tying perhaps into the location high up on the rock, that was possibly not in use in combination with columns in real architecture.

At Terelik and Donalar the framing fascia marks the end of actual architectural construction but at Salarköy a vast deep-cut gable tops the facade. At Donalar a gable was suggested by the cutting of simple cavetto with no real sense of architecture (fig. 3). Remarkably, at the tomb Terelik a gable is entirely omitted (fig. 12). A gable apparently did not belong within the main repertoire of the Paphlagonian rock cut tombs. Rather it may have been used as an architectural element to evoke a sense of Greekness. It appears on only a few Paphlagonian tombs, usually in combination with a pediment pillar and a central akroterion[35].

All three tombs share common features, like having porches and the treatment of the ceilings suggest wooden architecture: The ceilings of the *portici* usually show detailed renderings of timber panelling constructions, which must have existed in real contemporaneous buildings.

A special aspect of the Paphlagonian ceilings is that instead of single timbers always a pair of timbers is featured, as to be seen at the tombs at Salarköy (fig. 7.8), Kastamonu[36] and Aşağı Güneyköy[37]. In the interstices of the beams we find elongated coffer-like elements, which seem to render a ceiling construction with battens and sheathings[38]. The interstices between the final roof covering and sheathing must have been filled with some isolating material like bundles of straw. At Salarköy a timber panelled ceiling of the porch appears immediately behind the gabled facade. The gabled façade and the low pitched ceiling of the porticus have, however, different inclinations. Therefore

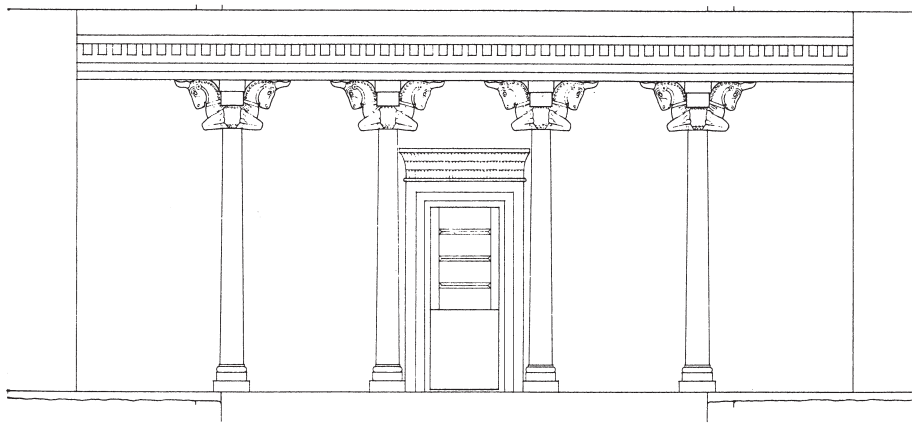

Fig. 14 Achaemenid Tomb Naqsh i Rustam (Drawing after Boardman 2000, fig. 2.48)

an evoked architectural relationship between them seems to be unlikely[39]. The main elements of the roof construction consist of double battens and a stout ridge beam. They lay between the gable and the short rear wall while a representation of rafters is omitted. This particularity can be also observed at other tombs of Paphlagonia. Another rock-cut tomb at Sakkale in Cappadocia, which typologically derives from the Paphlagonian tombs, shows an interesting variation[40]: Two huge angular principal purlins linked with rafters support the coffers. The primary purlin rests on the middle column of the façade. This may render the beams of roofing, as the multiple fascia of the upper and lateral edges of the façade does refer to the woodwork of the facade. At Sakkale the elongated coffers are supported by the framing battens which are connected with rafters and principal purlins, as was the case at the Paphlagonian tombs.

While at most of the tombs the construction of the roofs is not legible, a few rock façades clearly show the woodwork of the gable. From such detailed roof renderings we can conclude that the gabled ceilings of the porches and gabled roofs above the porch are not coherent. The tomb at Gerdek Boğazı near Karakoyunlu yields the most impressive reference to regional wood architecture, even though the rendering is very simple. On the top of the slender columns, which are indeed unusual for the Paphlagonian tombs, with archaizing palmetto capitals there is an *epistyl*e with two separated parts which consist of timbers in varying height. It supports a pediment pillar with a capital and two rafters. A triple fascia frames the whole façade excluding only the akroteria at the *attica*. In all the construction does not appear to be veristic. It is rather strongly abstracted which can be seen more clearly at the tomb at Iskilip, especially in the design of the tomb chamber[41]. Inside of the tomb chamber on the top of angular beams of the wall there is a moulded pediment pillar which supports the principal purlin. Unlike the Etruscan

Fig. 15 Silver Bull Protome (Photo National Museum of Copenhagen)

tombs the purlin itself is not shown, but cut on the level of the wall. Two rafters lying on the purlin are shown, but the roof itself is not rendered. A beam from the lateral wall connects the lower ends of the rafters which have the same cross section. This could be interpreted as a foot purlin, though in this case it should be placed in a lower position. If we take the tomb facade as an authentic rendering of an actual woodwork tradition, as the rich details and quality of the reliefs would suggest, then the rafters and wall beams must have been jointed or strengthed with foot purlins; otherwise they would not be displayed in the same level. Joineries and strengthenings at that position suggest that a fixed, strong and pressure-tight joinery was intended, but indeed unnecessary for a woodwork roof construction.

From an examination of all roof representations, the following conclusion for the Paphlagonian rock cut tombs can be drawn: An entire cross section of the construction is shown on the front wall. It consists of a wall and an anchor, a pediment pillar with principal purlin as well as two rafters of a pitched roof. In addition, there is a wall beam in the function of a plate, which is connected with rafters. Rafters at the level of the lower positioned wall beams of the front wall should be considered as anchoring rafters embracing the whole construction.

The interiors of the tombs are rendered detailed and in their précise construction; thus they most probably refer to immediate prototypes in regional house building. In contrast, the rock facades appear as a construction com-

Fig. 16 Torus Base in Taşköprü (Photo Roy Hessing)

posed from isolated single elements without any precise reference to real architecture. The interiors und facades of the tombs are by no means phased with each other. This lack of reference rather leads to the following interpretation: the tomb building tradition emphasized the outer facade as a bearer of imaging while the interiors were considered as "living rooms" of the deceased. The fact that all decorative elements including bull capitals are applied only on the façade, i.e. directed to viewers, supports this conclusion.

The Sculptural Iconography

In general, the façade decoration of these three tombs differs from the other rock cut tombs in Paphlagonia. They show a number of carved figures, mostly consisting of paired heraldic animal emblems and a wrestling group.

Donalar has the most lavishly decorated façade in the Amnias Valley (fig. 3.4). Its gable as well as both flanks of the porch are decorated with monumental relief sculptures. The programme of the reliefs consists mostly of animals, ten figures being shown in total. The asymmetrical composition and smoothed surface in the lower part of the façade suggest that further figures were planned, but were, however, not executed for unknown reasons.

At the apex of the pediment we see a huge eagle with extended wings. Beneath it, there is a representation of a pair of confronting felines. Their frontal faces indicate that they represent panthers rather than lions. Feline

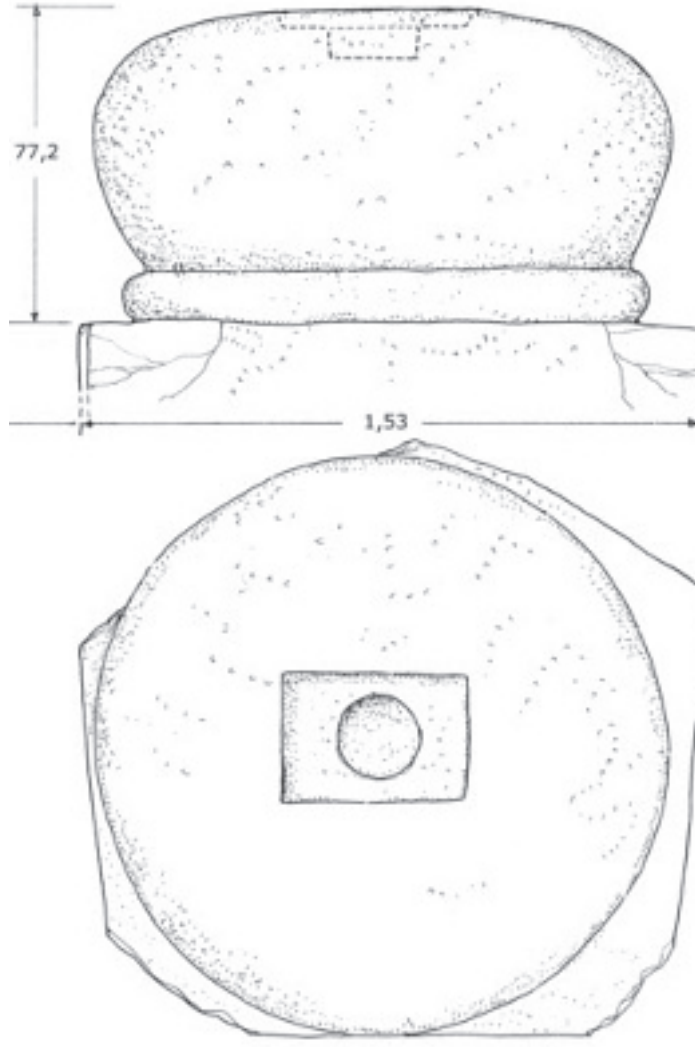

Fig. 17 Torus Base in Taşköprü (Drawing Alexander von Kienlin)

imagery was generally popular in funerary art[42]. Crouching or heraldic felines usually occur on the lintel or pediment of Anatolian grave monuments; the composition of the Donalar Tomb finds its parallel on Phrygian rock-cut graves[43]. Feline sculptures are not surprising on tombs in Anatolia, and they could certainly play a role on the tomb as portal guardians, since they face the viewer[44].

Two huge rampant creatures, so-called lion-griffins, flanking the architectural frame, are shown in profile and with forelegs extending upwards (fig. 3.4). Such horned and winged lion creatures are common in Achaemenid art[45]. However, the Persian lion-griffons have hind legs with bird's feet as well as scorpion's tails[46]. The motif of the lion-griffin was adopted by Greek

art with an entire lion's body as shown in the figures of Donalar[47]. Yet, the stylization of their bodies and the frontal depiction of their horns correspond to Achamenid prototypes[48].

In comparison to parallels in metal work, for example the amphora-rhyton from Duvanli with a pair of lion-griffins forming handles[49], the lion-griffins of the Donalar tomb appear as over-sized translations from smaller media and Hubertus von Gall has therefore suggested that the ornamental style alludes to the decoration of a special metalware gift to the tomb owner.[50]

A bull relief is situated beneath the lion-griffin on the left lateral on an irregular cut panel, which probably remained unfinished (fig. 3.4)[51]. The depiction of its forelegs and its head slanting forwards suggests an aggressive bull. This motif is very widespread in Greek art. The type of the Donalar-bull with the head shown in third-quarter view has close parallels in funeral sculptures from Attica[52]. A lion figure is placed in a regular panel cut on the right and confronts the bull (fig. 4.5). This positioning is surely not accidental, since lions confronted with bulls occur very often in Greek art. Indeed, lions and bulls are typical beasts in Greek funeral iconography[53]. Beneath the lion there is a one-horned animal, a "bull" depicted in profile with a pointed long horn on its nose (fig. 4.5). According to von Gall this is a unique representation of a unicorn so far unparalleled in ancient art[54]. Though he seems to have missed the representations of unicorn is common in ancient Indian literature, art and also known in Early Iranian culture[55]. The idea of unicorn was possibly passed from India to the West through Persians, since the earliest description of a unicorn first appears in Greek litterature in the works of Ctesias[56] who was a Royal physician at the court of the Persian King Artaxerxes[57].

The Salarköy tomb is more modest in terms of its figural decoration. The five animal figures, which show much more plasticity than the reliefs of the Donalar tomb, are placed above the roof-line. Just as at Donalar, an eagle with extended wings was positioned on the roof ridge. The eagle is flanked by two antithetic lions rampant along the roof pitches. Additionally, a pair of lion figures facing the viewer is placed at both outer corners of the roof. Some akroteria collapsed long ago, scattering large blocks over the ground in front of the façade.

In comparison to the two other tombs at Donalar and Salarköy, the scarcity of felines in Terelik is striking. One frontal crouching lion figure is placed below, at the level of the column bases by the triple fascia[58] which apparently derives from an oriental tradition[59].

The most striking coincidence in the imagery of all the three tombs is the wrestling group carved in the gable (fig. 3.7.12). Although the representations do not match exactly, they correspond to the Greek iconography of "Herakles wrestling with the lion". At the Donalar Tomb, since some parts of the sculpture are extensively damaged, the details of the representation are difficult to recognize so that they have been misinterpreted. Richard Leonard published a sketch which shows two animals in combat[60]. Thereafter, Hubertus von Gall

corrected this sketch, somehow identifying the scene as two felines fighting over their prey[61]. A close examination of the depiction shows, however, that the figure on the left is not an animal, but rather a human figure wrestling with a feline (fig. 3.4)[62].

The schema of this representation surely originated in Greek art, and is known especially on archaic vases and reliefs showing Herakles wrestling with the lion on the ground crouching or kneeling on one knee[63]. Herakles' first labour, the Nemean Lion, was very popular and depicted in multiple variations. The schema "wrestling on the ground" first appears in Attic vase painting of the archaic period and was in use in many variations through the 4th century[64]. However, the gable group of the Donalar tomb differs in some details from its Greek prototype.

At the Donalar tomb Herakles is kneeling on his left knee. His outstretched right leg extends beyond the left corner of the *epistyle*. He is pressing both feet against the ground in his struggle to strangle the lion. The characteristic motifs of the Attic scheme, in which Herakles seizes the left hind paw of the lion with his right hand or the lion strikes the head of Herakles with its left hind paw[65], do not appear at Donalar.

Another notable detail is the clothing around the waist of Herakles which is clearly visible despite the eroded surface of the relief (fig. 3.4). This iconographic difference provides an insight into how the figure of Herakles, usually occurs nude in Greek art, was adapted[66].

At the Salarköy tomb the wrestler group also appears in the pediment. The sculpture is carved in higher relief. Despite its largely eroded surface, the wrestling group is arguably similar to the one at the Donalar-Tomb, yet some details differ. Unlike the representation of the Donalar tomb, the Salarköy-Tomb shows a wrestling group in more or less upright position. Herakles bends over the lion and holds its neck, while the lion turns its head and scratches the right leg of Herakles with its left forepaw. This is a variant of the "standing fight" of Herakles which first appeared on the Attic vases of the Classical period[67].

Although a gabled roof was omitted at Terelik (fig. 11.12), the same figures were carved on the rock surface above the right-side column. The group once again represents Herakles wrestling the lion just like the Donalar and Salarköy tombs. However, this time another variation of the "standing fight" is shown. Herakles stands in a nearly upright position, lifting the lion from the above into the air, and pressing its neck against his chest. The lion appears inanimate as if it were an animal skin. This schema appears in Greek art in the Late Classical Period as well as on the coins of the type "Persian Royal Archer" in the 4th century, but its derivations were also employed on Roman Sarcophagi[68].

In summary, the tombs examined in the present article carry architectural elements of both Greek and Achaemened origin. Interestingly, the sculpture of the tombs parallel the architecture showing motives and ideas adopted from both Persian and Greek spheres in their programmes.

Fig. 18 Relief Base from Afirözü (Photo Alexander von Kienlin)

Chronology of the Tombs

Pascale Fourcade, who first discovered the Donalar tomb, suggested a date in the Augustan period because of its vicinity to the Roman town Pompeiopolis[69]. Unaware of this, Richard Leonhard dated the tomb very early, about 700 BC, and the reliefs he dated later, to the early 4th century BC[70]. Ekrem Akurgal placed the tomb at the end of the 5th century without any discussion[71]. Hubertus von Gall proposes a more precise date in the very beginning of the 4th century BC. In presenting a very detailed study of the style of reliefs, he notes, however, that they could date to the second half of the 5th century. He places the tomb at the very beginning of the 4th century, assuming it was erected for the Paphlagonian chief Korylas mentioned by Xenophon[72].

For the three tombs presented here von Gall draws the following chronological sequence: He considers the tomb at Terelik to have been the earliest, dating it in the second half of the 5th century BC[73]. He places the Salarköy Tomb in the second half of the 4th century BC, as the latest of the three tombs[74]. According to this chronological understanding the tombs are distributed over a period of about hundred years: first Terelik, then Donalar and finally Salaköy.

Von Gall's dating cannot be discussed in detail in this paper, but a provisional sketch of the framework is inserted. The coincidence with Korylas for the Donalar tomb is arbitrary and the time spread unnecessary, but despite

some archaic motifs the three tombs may be placed roughly placed in the period between 425 and 375 BC. At the Donalar-Tomb there is a clear difference between upper und lower reliefs.In strong contrast with the finer, delicate carving of the lion figure with incised interior details, the unicorn below is rendered only in its outlines (fig. 5). Just how much later these lower reliefs could date remains open to question. One possible explanation is that they were added by the next generation in the context of reuse. The reliefs may even be more or less contemporary since the decoration of the façade seems to have been never finished.

The pediment group at Donalar is more diagnostic for dating since it resembles the schema of "Herakles wrestling the lion" of late archaic and early classical Attic vases. The foot of the outstretched right leg of Herakles in three-quarter view indicates a later date, though not necessarily as late as 400 BC.

The tomb at Salarköy employs a variant of the "standing lion fight of Herakles." A later date might be indicated by its more sculptural style (fig. 10). At Terelik the crudeness of the carving provides no indications of chronology, but its relief group belongs to a type which is usually considered to come late in the series of "Herakles wrestling the lion standing" (fig. 12).

In summary: the rupestral tombs, which were decorated with colonnaded porches and monumental reliefs, appear to have been set up starting in the last quarter of the fifth century.

Donalar seems to be the earliest of the three tombs, followed by Salarköy and Terelik. They may well have been erected within a short span of time since direct competition between the tombs is clear.

This period corresponds with the rise of the mighty Paphlagonien chiefs, of whom we are aware from written sources. There seems to have been reorganisation and consolidation of the region which prompted new forms of social competition, as the lavishly decorated tomb facades demonstrate.

Concluding Remarks

The three massive, decorated tombs located at some distance from each other at the edges of cliffs in the Amnias Valley, provide important indications about emerging visual language and cultural identity in Achaemenid Paphlagonia. The design of the monuments is a hybrid of Greek, Achaemenid and local elements but stands independent of developments elsewhere in Anatolia.

The tombs are distinguished from the outside by their façade, with colonnaded porches and gables high above the ground, and are always embellished with carved mouldings, a triple fascia, an imitation of an architectural frame, columns with bull capitals and relief sculptures. They include monumental reliefs of attacking animals and Herakles wrestling with the lion. It is obvious that a competition is intended. The predominance of felines and other animals suggests that the creatures were broadly associated with dominant status. Besides the function of lions as apotropaic tomb guardians, the general

allusion to aggressive power and defensiveness implies guardianship.

The facades of the tombs do not reflect real buildings; rather they comprise individual elements from both the regional woodwork building tradition and foreign architecture conventions. The fact that all "foreign" elements are applied on the façade suggests that these were considered as representative. The common relief decoration of the rupestral tombs "Herakles wrestling the lion" explicitly articulates Greek cultural affiliation. The image of the Greek hero seems to have become an emblem associated with virtues of leadership suited to the priorities of the tomb owners who were possibly Paphlagonian chiefs[75].

Especially the Persian aspects of the monuments make tighter affiliations to the Persian sphere. The adoption of Persian architectural features and decoration motifs supports the notion that the Achaemenid impact on Paphlagonia was significant.

Another type of grave monument, also found in the Amnias Valley near Afırözü, emphasises stronger affiliation with Persian culture, but it is not clear whether it belonged to a stele or it was part of a larger monument (fig. 18)[76]. A male reclining on the couch with a lotus flower and a drinking cup in his hands is shown surrounded by attendents and dining furniture. All persons are dressed in Persian fashion with tiara, leggings and jackets.

Back to rupestral monuments, on the one hand they consist of familiar elements from the local house building tradition with regard to the interior which apparently thought of as the "house of the deceased". The small windows next to the door openings should provide a persistent view for the deceased to his own territory.

As noted previously, the Donalar tomb was the earliest of these three monuments. The tomb Donalar stood alone until the construction of Salarköy and Terelik, less than a day's journey to the east along the Amnias Valley and built in direct competition. Hence, the Donalar tomb can be seen as a symbolic landmark, erected as part of a programme of developing the iconography and identity of the Amnias-Valley.

This local competition between rival Paphlagonian chieftains might also explain the presence of Paphagonian slaves in later 5th c. Athens[77]. They could have been the victims of struggles between the neighbouring chiefs. In the 17th and 18th centuries in West Africa it was a common practice that the neighbouring tribes actively aided white slavers, as a means of getting rid of enemies[78].

Additionaly, according to Siegfried Lauffer the number Paphlagonian slaves that worked in the nearby Laurium silver mines is proportionally high[79]. This could be explained by their experience in mining in their homeland. At the juncture between Aminas and Halys, in Sandarakurgion (near todays Durağan) there were extensive mines of the mineral called by Strabo (12, 2, 40) *sandarake* (red arsenic or arsenic sulfide), where the slave workers most quickly perished. In addition, the traditon of rock cutting could have been qualified the Paphlagonians as good good miners.

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Notes

1 Summerer 2009: L. Summerer, "*Herakles in Paphlagonien*" in: H. Biehl/ A. Slawisch (Hrsg.), Festschrift A. E. Furtwängler (Langenweißbach 2009) 15-24.
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2 Their language would appear, from Strabo's (12, 3, 89) testimony, to have been distinctive. Cf. Marek 1993, 14.
3 Homer, Iliad, 2.851-852; Strabo 12, 3. 8; Pliny, Natural History, 3, 130.
4 Briant 2002, 642.
5 Debord 1999, 110-115.
6 Briant 1996, 718-720; Debord 1999, 110-115; Tuplin 2004, 178; Tuplin 2007, 25.
7 Recently on this topic: Tuplin 2007, 24-28.
8 According to Xenophon (Hell. 4.1.12-15.) the Paphlagonian ruler Othys married the daughter of the disloyal Persian Spithridates. Debord 1999, 113; Briant 2002, 642; Tuplin 2007, 25.
9 Field surveys in Paphlagonia: Dengate 1978, 245-58; Özdoğan/ Marro/Tibet/ Kuzucuoğlu 2000, 41-56; Matthews/ Pollard/Ramage 1998, 195-206; Matthews, Glatz 2009.
10 Marek 1993, 63-71.
11 Fourcade 1811, 39-41; Leonhard 1915, 241-287; von Gall 1966.
12 However, they are often mentioned in historical studies: Briant 1996, 718-720; Debord 1999, 83-91; Gropp 2001, 37-42.
13 Gökoğlu 1958, 58-119 lists about 100 rock tombs in Paphlagonia.
14 The walls are often evident by their imprint left in the bedrock. Leonhard 1915, 242-276; von Gall 1966, 55. During our surveys in 2008 we observed that on the top of the cliffs on the sloping ground surrounding it, there are remains of fortified settlements: rock-cut stairs, tunnels, cisterns and other imprints in rock as well as pottery and tile fragments in abundance.
15 Similar assemblage with rock cut tombs and fortification appears also in Sura in Lycia: Borchhardt 2002, 34 fig. 17.
16 This tomb was first discovered by Fourcade 1811, 30-58 and not by Leonhard 1915, as von Gall 1966, 13 suggests. Since many rock-cut tombs are called "Kalekapi" "fortress -gate" in Turkish), the name of nearby village is used in this paper.
17 Barrel vaulted ceilings are also to be found in the Pryramid tomb in the Midas City: Haspels 1971, 112-113.
18 von Gall 1966, 15 fig. 2.
19 Leonhard 1915, 263-267; von Gall 1966, 57-65.
20 Possibly, the porch was paved and plastered during a later reuse of the tomb.
21 We observered this during our visit in 2007.
22 von Gall 1966, 82-85.
23 Leonhard 1915, 267; von Gall 1966, 84-85 fig. 11b.
24 Boardman 2000, 48 fig. 2, 27; 74 fig. 2.57.
25 von Gall 1966, 116-119.
26 Von Mercklin 1962, 27-30, fig. 82-87; Boardman 2000, fig. 2.56 a,b.

27 Schmidt 1970; von Gall 1989, 503-523. However, Seidl 2003, 67-75 has recently questioned the generally accepted reconstruction of the double protome capitals from Persepolis and argued that the bull protomes of the capitals in the Achaemenid porches were directed to the viewer. In her oppinion the representation of the bull capitals on the Achaemeind Tombs in Naqsh-i-Rustam are shown from the side view according to a convention of Oriental art showing figures from profile.
28 Summerer 2003, 27 fig. 7.
29 von Gall 1966, pl. 14, 1-2. For the present consevation of the tomb see: Karasalihoğlu 2008, 60 fig. 7.
30 Naumann 1971, 134-137. fig. 145. 146
31 Naumann 1971,. 137, fig. 150. 151. Recently some small size sandstone torus bases were found at Kerkenes Dağ: Summers 2003, fig. 7.
32 cf. the torus base without plinth with fluted column shaft from Zincirli: Naumann 1971, fig. 149.
33 von Gall 1966, 113-116 considered this base and others as "Cippi" or "Phalloi" used as *sema* on the top of the *tumuli*.
34 for example the Royal tombs at Persepolis: von Gall 1989, 506.
35 von Gall 1966, pl. 6.7.11.15, 4.
36 von Gall 1966, 65-73.
37 von Gall 1966, 24, Abb.24.
38 See also the panneld ceiling of the Phyrgian Tomb Gerdekkayasi in the province Eskisehir: Kortanlioglu 2008, pl. 2009.
39 von Gall 1966, 60-61 considers the porch as as structure completely isolated from the gable architecture. In his opppinion the former was adopted from the temple architecture while the latter went back to the regional house building tradition.
40 von Gall 1966, 111-112.
41 von Gall 1966, 95
42 Vedder 1987, 115-199.
43 For example at the Phrygian rock cut tomb Yılan Taş: Haspels 1971, 129-133.
44 When Fourcade 1811, 40-41 first discovered the Donalar monument about 1800, the people from the village nearby Donalar were still afraid of the beasts depicted and deterred Fourcade from entering in it.
45 von Gall 1966, 21-29; von Gall 1999, 149-160.
46 See for example Boardman 2000, fig. 3.31.
47 von Gall 1966, 21-29; von Gall 1999, 152-153.
48 von Gall 1999, 153-155 fig. 5.
49 Boardman 2000, fig. 5. 71.
50 von Gall 1966, 25.
51 von Gall 1966, 29-33.
52 Vedder 1987, 121 fig. 80.
53 Vedder 1987, 11. 121.158-159.
54 von Gall 1966, 35-36.
55 Sharma 1957, 359-366; Ghirshman 1964, 43.
56 Ctesias (FgrHist.Nr. 88 Ktesias F459) describes a unicorn as an animal with a horn on the forehead which is colored white, red and black. Aristotle (Historia Animalium II 1, 499b 20) had also mentions unicorn in his works as two one-horned animals – oryx, believed to be an antelope, and an Indian ass.Pliny (n.h. 8, 76)

confirms the presence of the unicorn in palaces in Persepolis giving reference to Ctesias and decribes three species of unicorn: oryx, Indian ass and Indian ox.

57 Tagliatesta 2007, 177 explains the renaissaince of the unicorne in the Middle Byzantine Art with the fact that Photios, the patriarch of Constantinople, collected in the second half of the 9th centuray AD the lost books of ancient authors including the book "History of India" of Ctesias.

58 von Gall 1966, 83 Taf. 9, 4.

59 see for example the temple palace at Tell Halaf: Naumann 1971, fig. 546.

60 Leonhard 1915, pl. 25.

61 von Gall 1966, fig. 1.

62 Summerer 2009.

63 Felten 1990, 16-18; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, 69-84; Summerer 2009.

64 Felten 1990, 22-25; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, fig. 10.42.

65 Felten 1990, Nr. 1851-1881; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, fig. 10.31-10.37.

66 Summerer 2009.

67 Kaeser 2003, 81 fig. 10.36.

68 Felten 1990, Nr. 1821; 1871-1824; 1956-1961; Pracht und Prunkt der Großkönige. Das Persische Weltreich (Stuttgart 2006) 84, cat. 46; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, 84-85.

69 Fourcade 1811, 39.

70 Leonhard 1915, 257. Bossert 1942, 85 and Gökoğlu 1952, 71 agree with these dates.

71 Akurgal 1961, 109.

72 von Gall 1966, 55-56.

73 von Gall 1966, 88.

74 von Gall 1966, 65.

75 Summerer 2009.

76 Donceel-Voute 1984, 101-118; Summerer 2003, 20.

77 The Paphlagonian slaves were numbrous at Athens in the late 5th century BC. In the Aristophanes' comedy "Knights" as a typical slave a Paphlagonian stands in for Cleon who has been terrorizing the other slaves: Lauriola 2006, 75-94.

78 Law 1991. We owe thanks Margeret Miller for this reference.

79 53 slave names are known from the silver mines of Laureion. As much as they are identifiable six of them are evidently Paphlagonians and eight are Phrygians. But their number could be even higher: Lauffer 1979, 124 pp., table 6; von Gall 1989, 508.