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ΛΑΒΡΥΣ

Studies presented to Pontus Hellström

Edited by

Lars Karlsson
Susanne Carlsson
and
Jesper Blid Kullberg



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Abstract

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This volume contains studies on Classical Antiquity presented to Professor Pontus Hellström on his 75th birthday in January 2014. The 41 papers cover subjects ranging from the Etruscans and Rome in the west, to Greece, the landscape of Karia, and to the Sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda. Many papers deal with new discoveries at Labraunda, but sites in the surrounding area, such as Alabanda, Iasos, and Halikarnassos are well represented, as well as Ephesos and Smyrna. Many architectural studies are included, and these examine both Labraundan buildings and topics such as masonry, Vitruvius, the Erechtheion, stoas, watermills, and Lelegian houses. Other papers deal with ancient coins, ancient music, Greek meatballs, and Karian theories on the origin of ancient Greece.

Keywords: Pontus Hellström, Labraunda, Karia, Ancient Turkey, sanctuary, Ancient Greece, Hellenistic, Roman, Hekatomnid, archaeological excavations

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Contents

To Pontus.....	7
Pontus Hellström, a dynamic exhibition curator at Medelhavsmuseet by <i>Suzanne Unge Sörling</i>	9

LABRAUNDA

Flowers and garlands of the <i>alsos</i> . Verdant themes in the architectural sculpture of Labraunda by <i>Jesper Blid Kullberg</i>	19
The travels of Zeus Labraundos by <i>Naomi Carless Unwin</i>	43
Antae in the afternoon: notes on the Hellenistic and Roman architecture of Labraunda by <i>Ragnar Hedlund</i>	57
Then whose tomb is that ? by <i>Olivier Henry</i>	71
The Labraunda <i>hydrophoroi</i> by <i>Lars Karlsson</i>	87
Coins from Labraunda in Ödemiş by <i>Harald Nilsson</i>	93
Greek notes on Labraunda and Milas by <i>Katerina Stathi</i>	101
Quelques observations sur la forteresse de Labraunda par <i>Baptiste Vergnaud</i>	107
A room with a view. Karian landscape on display through the <i>andrones</i> at Labraunda by <i>Christina G. Williamson</i>	123

ETRUSCANS AND ROME

Ein kilikischer Sarkophag mit Sänftendarstellung im Museum von Adana von <i>Eva Christof & Ergün Laflı</i>	141
Tracking solidi—from Thessalonica to Hjärpestad by <i>Svante Fischer</i>	153
Egyptian gods on Athenian lamps of the Late Roman period by <i>Arja Karivieri</i>	163
The “Bearded intellectual” in the Villa of the Papyri: How about Cineas? by <i>Allan Klynne</i>	171
Some notes on an ivory diptych and the reputation of an emperor by <i>Hans Lejdegård</i>	179
The book and the building: Vitruvian symmetry by <i>Johan Mårtelius</i>	187
Images of animals in Etruscan tomb paintings and on cinerary urns and sarcophagi by <i>Charlotte Scheffer</i>	195
Early water-mills east of the Rhine by <i>Örjan Wikander</i>	205

ANCIENT GREECE

A note on minced meat in ancient Greece by <i>Gunnel Ekroth</i>	223
Marginally drafted masonry as an aesthetic element by <i>Axel Frejman</i>	237
The stone doors of the Erechtheion by <i>Henrik Gerding</i>	251
Rediscovery of a donator: FW Spiegelthal, Swedish consul at Smyrna by <i>Anne-Marie Leander Touati</i>	271
Music, morale, mistresses, and musical women in Greece by <i>Gullög Nordquist</i>	279
Looking (again) at the grave stelai from Smyrna by <i>Eva Rystedt</i>	289
Karian theories: seeking the origins of ancient Greece by <i>Johannes Siapkas</i>	301
The Greek <i>oikos</i> : a space for interaction, revisited and reconsidered by <i>Birgitta L. Sjöberg</i>	315
Was anything measured? by <i>Thomas Thieme</i>	329
Why it should be obvious that Euhemerus did not write his <i>Sacred History</i> to bolster ruler cult by <i>Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe</i>	341

KARIA

A marble head from Alabanda by <i>Fatma Bağdatlı Çam</i>	353
Culti orientali a Iasos: ipotesi interpretativa di un edificio di età romana di <i>Daniela Baldoni</i>	369
A monumental tomb complex from Thera in Karia by <i>A. Baran</i>	387
A Lelegian house or a honey-tower by <i>Gunilla Bengtsson</i>	405
The triad from Ephesos: The Mother Goddess and her two companions by <i>Susanne Berndt-Ersöz</i>	415
Iasos e i Menteşe by <i>Fede Berti</i>	427
Gladiators in ancient Halikarnassos by <i>Jesper Carlsen</i>	441
The desire for things and great tales by <i>Anne Marie Carstens</i>	451
Dining rooms in the sanctuary: old and new epigraphic evidence from Halikarnassos by <i>Signe Isager</i> and <i>Poul Pedersen</i>	457
Tra natura e cultura: rocce-altari in ambiente ‘lelego’? di <i>Raffaella Pierobon Benoit</i>	467
A pilgrim flask from Halikarnassos by <i>Birte Poulsen</i>	479
Göktepe in Caria by <i>Paavo Roos</i>	497
Auf der Suche nach der diplo stoia – nicht nur in Priene von <i>Frank Rumscheid</i>	507

APPENDIX

The published writings of Pontus Hellström. A bibliography 1965–2013	527
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The triad from Ephesos: The Mother Goddess and her two companions

by

Susanne Berndt-Ersöz

Introduction*

It is a pleasure for me to present this paper to Pontus, an old teacher and colleague of mine, with whom I share an interest in Asia Minor.

A new iconographical type of votive reliefs of the Mother Goddess appeared in Ephesos and the surrounding areas during the Late Classical period. In earlier images Meter was alone within the naiskos, but from around 350 BC onwards she is flanked by two male figures, who are usually identified as deities. On her left side stands an elderly, bearded deity, and on her right there is a younger god. Scholars have generally identified the older god as Zeus, while the younger god has variously been identified as Apollo or Hermes (*Fig. 1*).

The aim of this paper is to analyze the iconography of these reliefs in relation to the historical and religious contexts of western Asia Minor at the time of their appearance.

Geographical distribution

There are twenty-two published reliefs from Ephesos of this type;¹ besides Ephesos there are a few reliefs from other places in Ionia, such as four from Samos,² one from Miletos,³ one from Izmir,⁴ and one from Magnesia on the Maeander.⁵ In addition to these there are also nine reliefs without a provenience, but they are probably, with one exception, all from Ionia.⁶

* The results presented in this paper are part of project dealing with cult in Asia Minor during the Persian period, and I am grateful to the Swedish Research Council and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities for the funding that enables me to carry out this research. I am also grateful to my colleagues Jesper Blid and Geoffrey Summers for reading and commenting on this paper.

¹ *CCCA* I, cat. nos. 613–615, 632, 637, 643–644, 649–650, 653–655, 663–665, 671–672, 675–677, 679; Naumann 1983, cat. nos. 446–447, 449–460, 466, 468, 493–496.

² *Samos* XII, cat. nos. 174a, 174b; Naumann 1983, cat. nos. 461, 499–500. There is also one unpublished but exhibited relief at the Archaeological Museum of Pythagoreio on Samos.

³ *CCCA* I, cat. no. 705; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 498.

⁴ Naumann 1983, cat. no. 464.

⁵ *CCCA* I, cat. no. 687; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 497.

⁶ Reliefs probably from Ionia: *CCCA* I, cat. nos. 577, 659, 660, 661, 662; *CCCA* VII, cat. nos. 64, 175; Naumann 1983, cat. nos. 465, 467, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474; Holzmann

Hence, the overwhelming majority of this type are from Ephesos, and they are generally thought to originate from the rock-cut sanctuary of Meter on the north side of Panayır Dağ, where a few of them have also been found.⁷ The reliefs from Samos probably came from a rock-cut sanctuary of Meter located close to the Eupalinos tunnel at Pythagoreio.⁸



Fig. 1. Relief found near the shrine on Panayır Dağ, Ephesos. Selçuk Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 55. Drawing after photograph in A. Bammer, R. Fleischer, D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum in Selçuk-Ephesos*, Wien 1974, fig. 26.

1972, 95–96, fig. 11. A fragmentary relief possibly from Tomis: *CCCA* VI, cat. no. 450; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 463.

⁷ Keil 1915, 71; Keil 1926, 267; Knibbe 1978; Naumann 1983; Soykal-Alanyalı 2004. Unfortunately, I have not been able to access the unpublished doctoral thesis, *Denkmäler des Kybele-Meterkultes in Ephesos*, Wien 1998 by F. Soykal. Reliefs found at the sanctuary of Panayır Dağ, *CCCA* I, cat. nos. 613–615; Naumann 1983, cat. nos. 455, 495.

⁸ Naumann 1983, 217.

Besides these reliefs of the triad, there is also a fairly large group of votives where only Meter and the young god are represented. Again, the majority (ten) come from Ephesos.⁹ Two other examples are known: one from Samos, and one from Magnesia ad Sipylum.¹⁰ There are also a number of partly preserved reliefs, mainly from Ephesos, where it is uncertain whether two or three deities were originally depicted.¹¹

Iconographical description

The reliefs depict the gods inside a shallow niche which is surrounded by a building facade and crowned by a pediment. Meter is the central figure, flanked by one young god on her right side and an older, bearded god on her left side. The goddess is either standing or seated on a throne, often with flanking lions. Meter usually wears a polos, and holds a phiale in her outstretched left hand and a tympanum in her right, uplifted arm. The younger god is *always* found on her right side even when only these two are depicted. The younger god is usually more attentive to Meter than the older one, as his body and head is more or less turned towards her in a walking position, while the elder god is usually depicted completely *en face*.¹² The younger god is dressed in a short tunic, often with a shoulder cape, and in most cases he is without any headgear, but a few reliefs depict him with a broad, flat hat—a *petasus*.¹³ The only attribute he is depicted with (in c. twenty cases) is an oinochoe or a jug held in his right hand.¹⁴ Other reliefs often depict him with his right hand held towards his breast. The older god is always bearded and wears a long dress with a mantle. His only attribute, which is rarely depicted, is a sceptre or staff.¹⁵

⁹ CCCA I, cat. nos. 616–618, 634, 641, 651–652, 673, 678, 684; Naumann 1983, cat. nos. 476–479, 481–482, 501–503.

¹⁰ CCCA II, cat. no. 578; *Samos* XII, cat. no. 174c; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 505; CCCA I, cat. no. 450; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 483.

¹¹ CCCA I, cat. nos. 556, 558, 642, 645, 669, 670, 681; Naumann 1983, cat. nos. 448, 489, 504, 508, 511, 513, 514.

¹² See for example: CCCA I, cat. nos. 613, 614, 615, 643, 649, 650, 653, 654, 655, 661, 671, 677, 687.

¹³ CCCA I, cat. nos. 450, 616; Naumann 1983, nos. 479, 483. Vermaseren (CCCA VII, 50, cat. no. 175) wrote that a petasus is possibly intended, on a relief of unknown provenience. It is, however, not possible to identify the hat in the published photograph. One further relief may depict the young god with a small round cap (CCCA I, cat. no. 651). The young deity is depicted once with a pointed cap (Holzmann 1972, fig. 11; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 465) and once with a smaller flat hat (CCCA I, cat. no. 617).

¹⁴ CCCA I, cat. nos. 464, 498, 613, 614, 632, 643, 649, 650, 655, 661, 662, 663, 669, 679, 687; *Samos* XII, cat. nos. 174a, 174d; Naumann 1983, cat. no. 462; CCCA VII, cat. no. 175, and an unpublished but exhibited relief at the Archaeological Museum in Pythagoreio, Samos. There is one relief of unknown provenience; it was suggested by Friederichs & Wolters (1885, cat. no. 1846) that the young god perhaps held a kerykeion, while Vermaseren (CCCA VII, cat. no. 64) suggested he held a purse in his left hand, but it is uncertain what he may have held in his hand (Keil 1915, 74).

¹⁵ CCCA VII, cat. nos. 64, 175. On the latter see Keil 1915, 73, fig. 45.

Previous research

The main question among scholars regarding these reliefs has been the identification of the two accompanying male figures. There is a general consensus that they both represent deities, since they are depicted together with Meter within the niche and they are the same size as her. The accompanying inscriptions on a few of them make it even clearer that they are all divine.¹⁶

The female deity is, on the basis of the iconography and the inscriptions, identified as Meter. The older god is generally accepted to be Zeus or a father god similar to him, primarily based on inscriptions, but also because he is depicted as an older man with a beard who sometimes holds a sceptre. The problematic figure is the younger god, because the iconography and the inscriptions do not always correspond. On the basis of the iconography, he is usually interpreted as Hermes or Hermes-Kadmilos.¹⁷ It has also been suggested that he should be identified as Attis, because he accompanies the Mother Goddess.¹⁸ However, neither Hermes nor Attis are mentioned in any of the preserved inscriptions,¹⁹ which instead give his name as Apollo.²⁰ It should also be noted that several scholars have argued that the deities were of local Anatolian origin, and in Ionia they were identified with Greek deities such as Hermes and Zeus.²¹ Pessinous, especially, has been suggested as their origin and we may note that Meter was given the epithet Phrygian in several inscriptions, and that all three gods were labelled as ancestral deities.²² Furthermore, she is once referred to as Agdistis, who was connected with Pessinous in the myths.²³

Naumann is the scholar who has most thoroughly discussed the date of this type of votive reliefs. She discussed the chronology based on stylistic criteria and concluded that the reliefs with three figures are of an earlier date than those with only two figures.²⁴ Images of the seated Mother goddess appeared around 340 BC on Attic votives, while the standing goddess is an earlier type that appeared around 420 BC, though the type continued into later periods.²⁵ Naumann suggested that the earliest preserved Ephesian votive reliefs date to around 345 BC and continued at least until the 1st century BC.²⁶ We may further note that she dated the

¹⁶ Keil (1926, 259) reported a relief where only Meter and the young god were depicted or preserved, while the inscription mentioned Zeus Patroios and Apollo (*IK* 12, cat. no. 102; *CCCA* I, cat. no. 618).

¹⁷ Soykal-Alanyalı 2004, 703; Roller 1999, 200–202; Naumann 1983, 221; Fleischer 1974, 165–66; Picard 1957, 58; Hemberg 1950, 247, 263; Keil 1926, 259; Conze 1880, 7–8; Conze 1888, 204. Cf. Knibbe 1978, 490.

¹⁸ Knibbe 1978, 490; Fleischer 1974, 165–66; Keil 1915, 72–73.

¹⁹ The inscription referred to by Naumann (1983, 216) as probably mentioning Hermes is most certainly identical to the inscription (*IK* 14, cat. no. 128; *CCCA* I, cat. no. 216) where Hermon made a dedication to the Mother Goddess.

²⁰ *IK* 12, cat. nos. 101–102; *CCCA* I, cat. no. 618; Soykal 2002, 274.

²¹ Hemberg 1950, 247, 263–65; Keil 1915, 72–73, 76; Keil 1926, 260–61.

²² *IK* 12, cat. nos. 101, 103, 104; *IK* 14, cat. nos. 1217, 1218.

²³ *CCCA* VII, cat. no. 175. Arnob. 5.5–7; Paus. 7.17.9–12.

²⁴ Naumann 1983, 226–27. Cf. Fleischer 1974, 165f.

²⁵ Naumann 1983, 227, with references in note 229.

²⁶ Naumann 1983, 228.

only two examples of the young god wearing a petasus as “late”, but without giving them a specific date.²⁷ To conclude, the reliefs of the three gods began to appear in Ephesos around 350 BC, i.e. towards the end of the Achaemenid period.

Analysis

The identity of the triad should be sought in their geographical, historical, and religious contexts. It is important here to consider the historical situation in Ionia at the time of their appearance.

Historical perspective

The Ionian cities during the 4th century BC alternated between being independent or ruled by Achaemenid satraps. When Ephesos was ruled by the Persians it probably belonged to the satrapy of Lydia,²⁸ but there must have been a Persian “high representative” or governor of Ionia, who was probably stationed at Ephesos and subordinate to the satrap of Lydia.²⁹ Tissaphernes was appointed satrap of Lydia in 413 BC, and he ruled more or less until 395 BC, when he was replaced with Tithraustes.³⁰ It is uncertain who ruled the satrapy for the following thirty years, but two names figure in ancient sources aside from Tithraustes, namely Tiribazus and Struthas. The so-called “King’s Peace” in 386 BC between Antalcidas of Sparta and Artaxerxes II provided the Greek cities in Asia Minor with “autonomy” as long as they paid tribute to the Persians.³¹

Autophradates was satrap in Lydia when the so-called “Great Satrap’s revolt” broke out in Asia Minor during the late 360s against Artaxerxes II.³² According to Diodorus Siculus (15.90–92), it was a joint action of several satraps but its leader was Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia.³³ Autophradates was loyal to the king and tried to suppress the revolts, but later in 362 BC he was forced to join the revolting satraps.³⁴ It has been suggested that in the move against Samos in 366 BC, when Tigranes (the hyparch of Ionia and a lieutenant of Autophradates) installed a garrison there, he was acting on behalf of Autophradates. The latter had formed an alliance with the Samians against the satraps who were hostile towards the king.³⁵ However, in 365 BC Samos was taken by Timotheos,

²⁷ Naumann 1983, 226.

²⁸ Jacobs 1994, 128–133 with map 1; Jacobs 2006; see Briant 2002, 700–701 for a discussion.

²⁹ An inscription (391–88 BC) from Ionia referred to a Struses/Struthas as ‘satrap’ (ἐξαιτρω-) of Ionia (*SIG* 134; Tod 1948, no. 113), while Arrian (1.12.8) wrote that Spithridates was satrap of Lydia and Ionia. Thucydides (8.31, 8.87) referred to a hyparch of Ionia. See also Shahbazi 1985, 126.

³⁰ Roosevelt 2009, 29. For ancient sources, see Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.8.16–17.

³¹ Roosevelt 2009, 29–30; Briant 2002, 649.

³² Briant 2002, 656–663, 993; Weiskopf 1989, esp. 95–7; Heskell 1997, 94–98. For the satrap’s revolt, see also Moosey 1991.

³³ Wiesehöfer in *Brill’s New Pauly*, s.v. satrap revolt.

³⁴ Dandamayev 1987.

³⁵ Shahbazi 1985, 124–26; Heskell 1997, 99–100. Ancient source: *Dem.* XV.9.

the Athenian commander, and after that date Samos remained in Greek hands.³⁶ Autophradates was succeeded by Rhoesakes I, who according to an inscription was satrap of Lydia in 343/2 BC. He was succeeded by his son Spithridates, who was satrap when Alexander the Great arrived in 334 BC.³⁷

Religious perspective

The Persian kings regarded themselves as being under the protection of the greatest of the gods, Ahuramazda, and no other god was officially invoked until Artaxerxes II (405–359 BC). A new religious policy began with Artaxerxes II who officially also invoked Anāhita and Mithra, besides Ahuramazda.³⁸ This triad is known from surviving inscriptions from Susa and Hamadan, where Ahuramazda, Anāhita and Mithra (in that order) are named as protective deities of Artaxerxes II.³⁹ These inscriptions have usually been combined by scholars with a statement of Berossus (*FGrH* 680 F11; *ap. Clem. Al. Protr.* 5.65.4), declaring that Artaxerxes set up statues of Anāhita in various cities, and Sardis is specifically mentioned as one of these cities.⁴⁰ Hence, it is plausible that Artaxerxes both promoted the triad and the depiction of these deities in anthropomorphic form, unlike in earlier periods. Further evidence can be found in Herodotus (1.131.1), who wrote (c. 425 BC) that the Persians did not depict their deities in human form, while a later inscription from Sardis declared that Droaphernes, son of Barakes, and hyparch of Sardis, dedicated a statue of Zeus Baradates (Lawgiver) in the 39th year of Artaxerxes. This inscription has been much discussed and it is generally agreed that it refers to Artaxerxes II, which would provide a date of 367 BC.⁴¹ The inscription is only preserved in a later Roman recarving, and it is therefore unknown how Zeus was referred to originally, but it is less likely that he was named in Greek prior to the Hellenistic period, and we may assume that the deity was referred to as Ahuramazda, perhaps in addition to his Lydian name.

The votive reliefs in context

As a hypothesis, I would like to suggest that the Ephesian triad may be interpreted as an Ionian version of the Persian triad, which consisted of Ahuramazda, Anāhita and Mithra.

Let us begin by considering the iconography. There cannot have been any specific models of how Persian deities were represented during the 4th century BC, since they were not depicted in anthropomorphic shape, at

³⁶ See Shahbazi 1985, 125–26 for the relationship between the Persians and Samos during this period.

³⁷ Roosevelt 2009, 30.

³⁸ Boyce 1982, 217; Merkelbach 1984, 37.

³⁹ Inscriptions nos. A²Sa, A²Sd, A²Ha (Kent 1953, 154–55).

⁴⁰ See, for example, Brosius 1998, 227; Boyce 1982, 217.

⁴¹ Briant 1998 with earlier references in n. 2; Dusinger 2003, 118, 233, no. 40 with earlier references.

least not in large scale, prior to that period. We may therefore assume that deities which were considered as their equivalents in other religions were used as models. It cannot have been the intention to depict the Persian triad in Ephesos, but rather Ionian deities that corresponded with the Achaemenid triad. Ahuramazda of course corresponded with Zeus, while Anāhita corresponded with Meter. From a Greek point of view it was usually Artemis, Aphrodite or Athena who were considered to be the equivalent of Anāhita.⁴² However, in Lydia and Phrygia the Persians equated her with the Mother Goddess, Kybele.⁴³ It is of interest here that the Phrygian Mother Goddess (Meter Phrygie) is named in several of the accompanying inscriptions. It would thus appear that the promoter of the cult of the Ephesian triad was a person with either a Persian and/or Lydian/Phrygian background. The earliest images that may be Anāhita are found on Achaemenid seals.⁴⁴ In one scene, a goddess like Meter is connected with lions,⁴⁵ as she stands on the back of one holding a flower and a staff/sceptre. Opposite her stands the king, while another seal shows her seated on a throne, like Meter.⁴⁶

There are no known images of Mithra dating to the Achaemenid period. Most probably he was not depicted until the Late Hellenistic period when he was one of the prominent deities in the Kingdom of Kommagene. It has been reported that Mithra, in the guise of Apollo, may have been depicted on earlier Parthian coins during the reign of Artabanus I (c. 128–124 BC).⁴⁷ Be that as it may, Kommagene became an independent kingdom in 160 BC and was ruled by Mithridates I Kallinikos around 100 BC, when preserved inscriptions indicate that images of Mithra existed.⁴⁸ The earliest surviving images, however, date to his son Antiochos I, from around 40–30 BC, and depict Mithra as a deity in Persianized dress, with trousers and a Persian tiara, a so-called “Phrygian cap”, and a nimbus around the head.⁴⁹ From our point of view it is important that Mithra is referred to by four names in the accompanying inscriptions, i.e. as Apollon-Mithras-Helios-Hermes.⁵⁰ Hence, Mithra was apparently thought of during this period as corresponding not quite to one Greek god, but to several. It is therefore quite possible that Mithra was

⁴² Chaumont 1989; Shepherd 1980, 51.

⁴³ *LIMC* I (1981), 754 s.v. Anaeitis (J. Teixidor); Cumont 1929, 50; Paz de Hoz 1999, 74–75. Meter Anaeitis is mentioned in several inscriptions from Lydia (Paz de Hoz 1999, nos. 3.26, 3.34, 3.35, 3.38, 3.48, 3.50, 3.69, 3.70, 3.73, 3.74, 3.75, 3.76). Wikander (1946, 116) argued that Anāhita played the role of a Mother Goddess.

⁴⁴ Briant 2002, 253–54, 917, fig. 37; Moorey 1979, 224, figs. 4–5; Boardman 1970, no. 878; Frankfort 1939, pl. 37e; Shepherd 1980, 52, fig. 6. For discussions on the iconography of Anāhita, see also Reding-Hourcade 1983; Riel 2002.

⁴⁵ The goddess is also connected with lions in an anecdote by Aelian (*Anim.* 12.23) as noted by Briant (2002, 254).

⁴⁶ Briant 2002, 253, 917, fig. 37b; Moorey 1979, 224, fig. 5; Frankfort 1939, pl. 37e; cf. Brosius 1996, 86.

⁴⁷ Grenet 2006. I have not been able to find references to the specific coin Grenet referred to.

⁴⁸ *LIMC* VI (1992), 590 s.v. Mithras, no. 1 (R. Vollkommer).

⁴⁹ *LIMC* VI (1992), 590–91 s.v. Mithras, nos. 2–7 (R. Vollkommer).

⁵⁰ See for example, Sx, 20 (*OGIS*, 404; Waldmann 1973, 17–18); SyR, 25 (Waldmann 1973, 32); N, 154–55 (*OGIS*, 383; Waldmann 1973, 64); G, 183 (Waldmann 1973, 130); Dörner & Goell, 1963, 97–98, fig. 3.

variously thought of as Hermes or Apollo in western Asia Minor during the Late Achaemenid period, and this would explain why the young god of the Ephesian triad was variously identified with either Hermes or Apollo. We may further note that when Ahuramazda or Zeus-Oromasdes was depicted in Kommagene he was, like the older god at Ephesus, bearded and holding a sceptre.⁵¹

Chronology and conclusions

If the suggested hypothesis is accepted, the questions of why and when this triad was introduced remain to be considered. As mentioned above, the earliest preserved examples have been dated stylistically to c. 350 BC, which gives us an indication that the cult was introduced prior to that date. If and how much earlier is, however, difficult to estimate.

Artaxerxes II ruled between 405 and 359 BC, and we may suggest that someone who supported the Persian king and his promotion of the divine triad initiated the introduction of the Ephesian triad. Cyrus the younger used Ephesus as a starting point in his revolt against Artaxerxes in 401 BC,⁵² but as he revolted against the king, it is less likely that he would have encouraged or even tolerated a cult promoted by the king.

The city was later used as a Spartan base against the Persians, and it was not until 386/7 BC that Ephesus came under Persian control again.⁵³ It is therefore more likely that the Persian triad would have influenced the cult in Ephesus and environs after that date. As mentioned above, the Lydian satrap Autophradates was supportive of the king during the so-called “satrap revolt”, plausibly until he was forced to join the revolts in 362 BC. A Persian garrison was stationed on Samos in 366 BC on Autophradates’ initiative, but it was Tigranes, the hyparch of Ionia, who actually carried out the mission. It is tempting to suggest that the Ionian triad, which is best exemplified at Ephesus, but is also found on Samos, was established during Tigranes’ period as hyparch, and plausibly on his initiative. A date in the 360s further corresponds well with other sources, confirming that Persians in high positions had, by then, begun to promote anthropomorphic images of deities, such as the statue of Ahuramazda dedicated in 367 BC by Droaphernes, the hyparch of Sardis.

To conclude, I would like to suggest that the Ephesian triad was introduced in the 360s BC as an Ionian reflection of the Persian triad, i.e. of Ahuramazda, Anāhita and Mithra. This triad was part of the new official religious policy initiated and promoted by Artaxerxes II and corresponds well, both chronologically and iconographically, with the Ephesian triad.

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⁵¹ *LIMC* VI (1992), 590, s.v. Mithras no. 1 (R. Vollkommer); Waldmann 1973, pl. 22.1, figs. 1, 4.

⁵² Scherrer in *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. Ephesus.

⁵³ Scherrer in *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. Ephesus.

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The triad from Ephesos: The Mother Goddess and her two companions

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