The Nymphs in the Art of Syracuse

Elisa Chiara Portale

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In an important contribution from 1991[1], Madeleine Mertens-Horn drew attention to a theme, the Nymphs in Siceliote art, touched upon only in passing in Pace's great work on ancient Sicily, and then left in the shadows by the preponderant interest of scholarship in other subjects. The Nymphs, in cult, myth, and visual culture, have thus returned to prominence thanks to Jennifer Larson's monograph and, for the Greek-Western sphere, the discoveries at Locri and Heraclea and a miscellaneous volume edited by Federica Giacobello and Paola Schirripa[2]. Syracuse, in this framework, is one of the most significant sites, although the state of published material does not do justice to the richness of the evidence. Not only literary and epigraphic sources, but numerous representations show in fact how the city of Arethusa as well – an epithet, not by chance, linked to the most celebrated Syracusan Nymph (*figg.* 1a/h) – contributed significantly to the codification of a "nymphal" imagery through original elaborations of wide resonance.

The account that best qualifies the prominence of the Nymphs and their effigies in the city is provided by Timaeus in Athenaeus (VI, 250a): «in Sicilia era costume offrire sacrifici, di casa in casa, alle Ninfe e festeggiare tutta la notte intorno agli *agalmata*, nell'ebbrezza, e danzare attorno alle dee». While referring to a custom widespread throughout the entire island, the narrative context to which it belongs is in fact specifically anchored to Dionysian Syracuse. The identification of the *agalmata* at the center of such "pervasive" rites of city life has constituted an exegetical *crux*, because the iconography of our goddesses has appeared, and is by its nature, elusive, not allowing an immediate recognition of the "nymphal" subject in the surviving finds, with the exception perhaps of the triadic formulas (*figg.* 2a/b) interpretable along the lines of Greek votive reliefs, for which inscriptions and provenances from sanctuaries of certain attribution to the Nymphs come to our aid, often associated with divinities of wild and liminal nature such as Pan, Achelous, or with the "Nymphagetes" Apollo and Hermes[3]. Moreover, the possibility of establishing a clear

[1] M. Mertens-Horn, *Una 'nuova' antefissa a testa femminile da Akrai ed alcune considerazioni sulle Ninfe di Sicilia*, in «Bollettino d'Arte», 66 (1991), pp. 9-28.

[2] J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs. Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford 2001; F. Giacobello, P. Schirripa *et alii*, *Ninfe nel mito e nella città dalla Grecia a Roma*, Milano 2009. For the finds from Locri, see especially F. Costabile *et alii*, *I Ninfei di Locri Epizefiri. Architettura, culti erotici, sacralità delle acque*, Soveria Mannelli 1991; F. Pizzi, *L'acqua delle Ninfe. Il caso "complesso" di Locri*, in *Cultura e Religione delle acque. Atti del Convegno Interdisciplinare «Qui fresca l'acqua mormora...» (S. Quasimodo, Sapph. Fr. 2,5)*, (Messina, 29-30 marzo 2011), a c. di A. Calderone, Roma 2012, pp. 221-234; and most recently D. Elia, V. Meirano, *Locri Epizefiri e le acque. Recenti scoperte e riletture a proposito dell'impianto urbanistico della città*, in «Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene», in cds; for Heraclea: I. Battiloro, A. Bruscella, M. Osanna, *Ninfe ad Heraklea Lucana? Il santuario extra-urbano di Masseria Petrulla nella Valle del Sinni (Policoro - MT)*, in «Kernos», 23 (2010), pp. 239-270. For Sicily, cf. already B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, III, Genova 1945, pp. 481-496.

[3] Cf. Larson, *Greek Nymphs* cit., pp. 258-267, with bibliographic references. The most common association with pastoral divinities and natural elements is examined *ibidem*, pp. 91-100. See also S. De Francesco, F. Giacobello, C. Lambrugo, *L'immagine delle Ninfe*, in Giacobello, Schirripa *et alii*, *Ninfe* cit., pp. 31-52, part.

distinction from divine "collectives" in certain respects similar, such as the *Charites* or the *Horai* or even *Mousai*, *Nereides*, *Moirai*, escapes at first glance without the support of contextual data and a careful iconographic examination[4]. Thus, interpretative uncertainties have not been lacking even for the effigies of female triads: one will recall the Hellenistic relief from Camaro (*fig.* 2a)[5] – of probably Syracusan workmanship –, for which the *Meteres* were invoked, divinities whose cult would have been established at Engyon, in inland Sicily, during the mythical Minoan colonization, and which indeed seem to be a category of eurotrophic *Nymphai*; but also a "triune" Artemis as the Diana of Nemi appears on some coins; and even a Demetrian triad (Demeter, Kore, Hecate?), which was also proposed for a coin of *Thermai Himeraiai* with Pan playing music and three busts on the spring, evidently to be identified as the goddesses of the famous thermal waters[6]. A small *pinax* from Syracuse (*fig.* 2b) that reproduces this canonical association between the three Nymphs and Pans (here it concerns two *Paniskoi* with *syrinx*, at the sides of the goddesses)[7] offers a more precise comparison for the relief from Camaro, all the more significant since the latter (*fig.* 2a) appears to have been adapted to a rocky wall with a spring source – therefore to a typical context of Nymph cult –, according to the cut on the margin and the hole for the water outflow[8], made at a later time on the artifact that had been imported already finished.

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[4]See E. Harrison, s. *v. Charis, Charites*, in *Lexikon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, III, Zürich-München 1986, pp. 191-203, part. 194 ff.

[5]P. Orsi, *Messina. Rilievo ieratico di Camaro*, in «Notizie degli scavi di antichità», 1912, pp. 456-458; most recently E. C. Portale, *La scultura greca e romana: il versante siciliano*, in *Lo Stretto di Messina nell'antichità*, a c. di F. Ghedini *et alii*, Roma 2005, pp. 471-484, part. 472-475, fig. 1, and *ivi* references on previous readings of the subject; M. Bell, III, *Agrarian Policy, Bucolic Poetry, and Figurative Art in Early Hellenistic Sicily*, in *Krise und Wandel. Süditalien im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Internationaler Kongress anlässlich des 65. Geburtstages von Dieter Mertens (Rom 26. bis 28. Juni 2006), a c. di R. Neudecker (Palilia, 23), Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 193-211, part. 203, fig. 8; for the *Meteres*, in particular, N. Putorti, *Rilievo da Camaro con rappresentazione di Meteres*, in «Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale», XX (1923), pp. 203-210.

[6]E. C. Portale, *Busti fittili e Ninfe: sulla valenza e la polisemia delle rappresentazioni abbreviate in forma di busto nella coroplastica votiva siceliota*, in Philotechnia. *Studi sulla coroplastica della Sicilia greca*, a c. di M. Albertocchi, A. Pautasso, Catania 2012 (Monografie IBAM-CNR, 5), pp. 227-252, part. 227 f. and figg. 3a-b.

[7]P. E. Arias, *Sul culto delle Ninfe a Siracusa*, in «Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei», XXI (1935), pp. 605-608; A. Bellia, *Coroplastica con raffigurazioni musicali nella Sicilia greca (secoli VI-III a.C.)*, Pisa-Roma 2009 (Biblioteca di Sicilia antiqua, 3), p. 141, n. 348; Bell, *Agrarian Policy* cit., p. 203, fig. 9.

[8]Bell, III, *Agrarian Policy* cit., p. 203, n. 97.



Figure 1: Coins of Syracuse with the head of *Arethousa*, respectively: *a*) type Boehringer n. 47 (500-490 B.C. ca); *b*) so-called *Damareteion* (466 B.C. ca); *c*) t. Boehringer n. 722 (430 B.C. ca); *d*) t. Boehringer n. 726 (420 B.C. ca); *e*) t. of the engraver *Eukleidas*, Tudeer n. 65 (410-5 B.C. ca); *f*) die signed by the engraver *Kimon* with legend *Arethousa*, Tudeer n. 78 (410-400 B.C. ca); *g*) die of the engraver *Euainetos* (late 5th cent. B.C.); *h*) issue of Agathocles (317-310 B.C.) imitating the type of *Euainetos* at fig. 1g



(a) Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 30576: votive *pinax* in limestone depicting three Nymphs (from Messina, locality of Camaro).



(b) Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 46996: votive *pinax* in limestone depicting three Nymphs between two *Paniskoi* (from Syracuse, district of S. Lucia).

Figure 2: Votive pinakes depicting Nymphs from Messina and Syracuse.

Larson believes that Timaeus' aforementioned account regarding Siceliot and Syracusan rites could refer precisely to *pinakes* of this kind; alternatively, in her view, the hieratically "statuesque" figures of the reliefs would reproduce freestanding statues, which constituted the *agalmata* at the center of the celebrations. Although the "Paolo Orsi" Museum does indeed display a female limestone statue wrapped in a mantle, which could recall the Nymphs of the Syracuse relief, there does not appear to be evidence to date of a widespread distribution of such objects – *pinakes* and, even less so, statues of Nymphs – *in the settlement, among the houses* as the Timaean passage suggests[9]. I have tentatively proposed, elsewhere[10], to recognize the sacred figures in question in a typology that instead appears widely distributed in residential quarters, both in Syracuse and in other Sicilian sites: that of the terracotta bust of Siceliot or "Agrigentine" type (*figg.* 3a/c), which, as noted, is certainly suitable for characterizing the Nymphs of the spring on the Thermae coins. Before returning briefly to this question, on which I have elaborated elsewhere[11], in reference to the present theme, I would however like to start again from the Archaic age, to attempt to reconnect a pattern that until now seems to unravel along parallel and partly incongruous paths: 1) the representation as emblem of the city on Syracusan coins of an aquatic Nymph, *Arethousa* (*figg.* 1a/h), from the late sixth to the late fourth century, variously interpreted in relation to literary

[9] Larson, *Greek Nymphs* cit., p. 215. The draped statue on display at the "Paolo Orsi" Museum, from the Piazza della Vittoria area, is, as far as I know, unpublished.

[10] Portale, *Busti* cit., pp. 227-252, part. 247; Ead., *Himera: pratiche cultuali nell'abitato*, in *Hellenistische Häuser und ihre Funktionen*, a c. di A. Haug, D. Steuernagel, Bonn 2014, pp. 103-122, *passim*.

[11] See previous note. The suggestion already appears in a hint by Pace, *Arte e civiltà* cit., pp. 487 sgg.

testimonies and political-cultural contingencies, but mostly disconnected from the religious-cultic profile and from the extra-numismatic artistic sphere[12]; 2) the recognition, by Mertens-Horn, of representations of local Nymphs in the female head antefixes (*figg.* 4a/b) known in various centers of southeastern Sicily between the second half of the sixth and the first decade of the fifth century, with a concentration in Syracuse (Fusco, Porto Piccolo, borgata S. Giuliano/Acradina) and in the subcolonies Acrae and Camarina (?), to which should now be added an earlier example from Casmene, published by Paola Pelagatti, which Fabio Copani has suggestively connected to a cult of Italic-pre-Hellenic origin of the *Camenae/Casmenae*, who would have given their name to the Syracusan foundation[13]; 3) the supposed eclipse of the nymphal theme from the monumental art of the fifth to third centuries, when it would appear only in modest ex-votos, such as the tiny lithic *pinax* with the Nymphs and Pans already cited (*fig.* 2b), or the terracotta *pinakidia* with female musician-dancer figurines (*fig.* 5), present in some sanctuaries of Sicily, especially at Lipari, at Locri, and with some examples also in Syracusan contexts and in the *hinterland*[14]; 4) finally, in the advanced Hellenistic period, the "fading" of the Nymphs into the iconography of Aphrodite or into the category of Muses or more conceptual personifications (for example in the silver pyxis from Morgantina) (*figg.* 6a/b)[15], which would entail an even more serious evanescence of the subject precisely at the moment when, according to the epigraphic testimonies from the Sella cave (12 km west of Syracuse) or from the caves of Buscemi, it would seem to exercise a certain attraction for popular piety, and, at least at Acrae, also for official religiosity (I allude to the so-called "religious epic" of *Tetralea* and *Maie*)[16]. Not infrequently, for the divine groupings of "nymphal" character attested by the aforementioned inscriptions (for example *Anna* and the *Paides*, or the *Hagnai Theai*), a substratum dating back to the first phases of interaction between colonists and indigenous peoples, or even to Prehistory, has been glimpsed, without however focusing on the phases and modalities of the *interpretatio graeca*, if such it was, and of the transmission to the rural religiosity of the Late Hellenistic period or Early Empire of atavistic cults, as if these had

[12]The bibliography on Syracusan coins with the city Nymph is extremely copious, these being among the best-known issues of the ancient world, repeatedly subject to imitation and even reproduction as *emblemata* for precious vessels (""*Arethusaschalen*"). I limit myself to citing H. A. Cahn, *s. v. Arethousa*, in *Lexikon iconographicum* cit., II, 1984, pp. 582-584; for the coins the bibliography cit. *infra* at n. 28.

[13]Mertens-Horn, *Una 'nuova' antefissa* cit.; F. Copani, *Linfe e divinità italiche nella Sicilia antica*, in Giacobello, Schirripa *et alii*, *Ninfe* cit., pp. 177-189; *ivi*, p. 187 the reference to the "new" terracotta head (P. Pelagatti, *Tipi inediti o rari di antefisse arcaiche tra Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Soggetti e culti*, in Deliciae fictiles *III, Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. New Discoveries and Interpretations*, a c. di I. Edlund-Berry *et alii*, Oxford 2006, pp. 433-451, part. 437); C. Lambrugo, *Ninfe di Sicilia. Luoghi di culto, riti, immagini*, in Giacobello, Schirripa *et alii*, *Ninfe* cit., pp. 133-154, part. 147 sg.

[14]Bellia, *Coroplastica* cit., *passim*.

[15]P. G. Guzzo, *Argenti a New* York, in "Bollettino d'arte", 121, 2002, pp. 11-14; Bell, *Agrarian policy* cit., pp. 205 sg., fig. 12, interprets the figure as a personification of *Sikelia*. It seems to me that the affinity with an *emblema* of a "Calene" type cup (a class also produced in Syracuse) has not been noted, in which the semi-nude figure with the child, entirely corresponding to the goddess-personification of the silver pyxis, is characterized in an Aphrodisian sense through the addition of an Eros: E. Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1959, 102 *sgg.*, 111; K. Schauenburg, *Pluton und Dionysos*, in "Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts", 63 (1953), pp. 40 *sgg.*, part. 46, fig. 8 (*fig.* 6b).

[16]I limit myself to citing G. Manganaro, *Iscrizioni "rupestri" di Sicilia*, in Rupes loquentes, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia (Roma-Bomarzo, 13-15 ottobre 1989), a c. di L. Gasperini, Roma 1992, pp. 447 501, part. 473-487, with other bibliography; C. Gallavotti, *Epica religiosa in una stele siciliana*, in "Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik", 50 (1983), pp. 1-6; Copani, *Linfe* cit., pp. 179 *sgg.*; Lambrugo, *Ninfe di Sicilia* cit., pp. 141 *sg.*; T. Alfieri Tonini, *Culti e templi della Sicilia sud-orientale nelle iscrizioni: Apollo e Artemide*, in "Aristonothos", **4**, *Convivenze etniche e contatti di culture*, Trento 2012, pp. 187-208, part. 188-191.

been eclipsed during the development of Siceliot civilization only to re-emerge at its end.



Figure 3: Female terracotta busts of Siceliote type (so-called Agrigentine): *a*) Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 20403, from Terravecchia di Grammichele, locality Poggio dell'Aquila; *b/c*) Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 57008 and 90401, respectively from the area of viale P. Orsi and from the area of the Casa del Pellegrino in Syracuse



Figure 4: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 1414: antefix from the Fusco area near Syracuse



Figure 5: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 33602: votive terracotta *pinakidion* depicting three Nymphs from Adrano



Figure 6: *a*) Aidone, Regional Archaeological Museum: silver pyxis lid from the "treasure of Eupolemos"; *b*) Heidelberg, Collection of the Institute of Archaeology: cup emblem of "Calene" type

Starting from the antefixes with female heads (*figg.* 4a/b), the brilliant hypothesis of Mertens-

Horn[17], also supported by the pairing between similar examples and heads of river deities ("Achelous") in some Etruscan sanctuaries (Veii, Chiusi, Orvieto) and in the small votive roof now in Karlsruhe, seems to receive confirmation from the epigraphic testimony of a cippus "of the Nymphs" found in Beatrice Basile's investigations at Fusco, and from the important recovered evidence of a rock sanctuary with caves, fountain and grove(?) on the rocky cliff overlooking the *Lysimeleia* marsh (Pantanelli basin), predating the establishment of the Hellenistic necropolis[18]. In light of this, I believe the two antefixes found in the 19th century (*figg.* 4a/b) need no longer necessarily be attributed to the roofing of a shrine of Persephone, as the German scholar proposed, who hypothesized in this regard a reproduction in the Fusco context of the *cliché* otherwise recurring of the Nymphs as companions of a "major" deity[19].

Nevertheless, as we shall see, this exegetical model remains useful for illuminating the dynamics of the cults and representations of the divine maidens "surrounding" a great goddess. Along the same lines, citing Mertens-Horn herself, the antefix "found in the Porto Piccolo could have belonged to the roof of a late-archaic *naiskos* of Artemis in Ortygia". The Nymphs, in fact, in Diodorus's famous account, would have caused a spring, *Arethousa*, to gush forth on the island to please the goddess, who had received *Ortygia* as a gift; moreover, the connection between *Arethousa* and Artemis is so close as to become an overlap in the variants of the Elean-Achaean saga of Alpheus's erotic ambush, now directed against the Artemisian Nymph, who obtains the goddess's help by transforming herself into water and a spring, now against Artemis herself who, surprised while bathing together with her Nymph companions, manages to escape by camouflaging herself under a mask of mud (precisely this myth would offer, according to Mertens-Horn, the *aition* of the terracotta representations of the *prosopa* of the Nymphs, such as the antefixes under examination). The connection with Syracusan *Ortygia* remains firm nonetheless, "*hedos*" of the "fluvial" goddess (*potamia*) as Pindar immortalizes her, or *Alpheioia* (as the scholia to the Pindaric text call her), and at the same time seat of the Arethusa spring, into which the fresh waters of the Alpheus river were believed to flow at the end of a long transmarine underground journey, already known to Ibycus: the dolphins leaping around the Nymph's head on Syracusan coins are thought to allude to the long journey in the Ionian Sea[20].

By virtue of this deep-rooted tradition, for the maiden looking back in flight (*fig.* 7) from a marble acroterial(?) group from the first quarter of the 5th century, found in 1915 near the Railway Station of Syracuse itself, I would lean toward *Arethousa*, rather than the reading as the rape of *Kore*, preferred by Mertens-Horn who first appropriately brought the fragments of the group in question back to critical attention[21]. For this latter theme there is, notoriously,

[17] Mertens-Horn, *Una 'nuova' antefissa* cit., with illustration and bibliographic references for the cited examples and comparative materials.

[18] B. Basile, *Indagini nell'ambito delle necropoli siracusane*, in "Kokalos", XXXIX-XL (1993-1994), pp. 1315 sgg., part. 1317 *sg.*; A. Facella, A. Dimartino, A. Carbé, D. Zirone, B. Garozzo, A. Marotta D'Agata, *s. v. Siracusa*, "Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche", a c. di C. Ampolo, XIX, 2005, pp. 1-336, part. 191; for the female antefixes found there in the past, Mertens-Horn, *Una 'nuova' antefissa* cit., pp. 12 sg., 16 sg., figg. 4-5, tav. IIIb.

[19] Larson, *Greek Nymphs* cit., pp. 100-120 and *passim*.

[20] For documentation of the cult of Artemis in Syracuse and the saga of Arethusa see Lambrugo, *Ninfe di Sicilia* cit., pp. 134-138, with references; Alfieri Tonini, *Culti cit.*, pp. 193 sgg.; F. Caruso, *Il tempio di Cassibile*, in Sikelika hiera, *Approcci multidisciplinari integrati allo studio del sacro nella Sicilia greca*, Atti del Convegno IBAM-CNR (Catania, 11-12 giugno 2010), in eds.; other bibliography in E. C. Portale, *Coroplastica votiva nella Sicilia di V-III secolo a.C.: la stipe di Fontana Calda a Butera*, in "Sicilia antiqua", 5 (2008), pp. 9-58, *passim*.

[21] M. Mertens-Horn, *≪Quando gli dei si affrettano≫. I frammenti di sculture marmoree di stile severo trovati alla vecchia stazione di Siracusa*, in *Demarato. Studi di antichità classica offerti a Paola Pelagatti*, Milano 2000, pp. 324-335.

an imposing background of religious and mythical traditions that connect it to Syracuse and to another most celebrated Nymph, *Kyane*[22], into whose stream the quadriga of *Hades* would have plunged after he had abducted the goddess in a meadow near Enna: the sanctuary of *Kore* that arose in this place, given to her by the gods together with Enna itself, in Diodorus's account would have been inaugurated by *Herakles* who, passing through the region during the labor of Geryon's cattle, would have been the first to sacrifice victims (bulls) by immersing them in the water of the spring.



Figure 7: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 36218: marble statue of a maiden in flight, found near the Railway Station in Syracuse

While the enormous symbolic and identity-related significance of the sanctuary "*tes Kyànes*" remains firm, the focus of monumental activities since the early 6th century – if, as is probable,

[22]See LAMBRUGO, *Ninfe di Sicilia* cit., pp. 139 sg.; for the iconography R. LINDNER, in *Lexikon* cit., VIII, 1997, *s. v. Kyane*, pp. 743 sgg.; for the cult site V. HINZ, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Palilia, 4) p. 102; F. VERONESE, *Le acque sdere di Ciane. Ipotesi sul mito della sorgente siracusana*, in *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Studi in onore di Elena Di Filippo Balestrazzi*, a c. di D. Morandi Bonaccorsi *et alii*, Padova 2006, pp. 207-225.

the large head from Laganello should be referred to it[23] –, for the find from the Station area, the identification with *Kore* is made less plausible by the possibility, in such a hypothesis, that the titular goddess of the sanctuary would appear on an acroterion, by the omission of the quadriga – although also recorded for the slightly earlier relief from the sanctuary of the *Malophoros*[24] –, given the importance of the motif in the *local* account of the abduction and in the anchoring of the Kore cult to the *Kyane* spring, and finally, by the new evidence from Basile's excavations[25]. These have in fact identified in the area remains of structures and ritual activities, south of the main road of the urban layout of Achradina, including an archaic *thysia* comprising a deer horn; cervids also appear on proto-archaic vases from the same area (a pyxis lid, an Argive krater). These are clues that in my opinion are more indicative on the "Artemisian" side than the old finds of "hieratic figurines" (including piglet offerers) in the district were on the "Demetrian-Kore" side[26].

If this were the case – if, that is, one could recognize in the fleeing figure a Nymph –, the conclusion drawn by Mertens-Horn regarding the iconography of the Nymphs would also need to be revised. I quote: "With the years 500/490 BC the tradition of decorating the roofs of shrines with female faces suddenly ceases. I know of no antefix of this kind in the full 5th century in Sicily. It thus seems that the official cult, the one that was previously presided over by the Deinomenids and which culminated in the construction of the great temples to the Olympian gods in the post-tyrannical period, supplanted the ancient local goddesses, relegating them to mythology and to small sanctuaries of a merely popular character"[27].

Beyond the acroterion (*fig.* 7), evidently not identifiable with certainty, such a conclusion is in fact opposed by the copious and unequivocal data offered by coinage[28]. I would now like to focus attention on these, setting aside numismatic questions to consider only the artistic aspects.

In his unsurpassed *Saggi preliminari su l'arte della moneta nella Sicilia greca* Giulio Emanuele Rizzo compared precisely with the female antefixes from Fusco (*figg.* 4a/b) the late archaic Syracusan issues with the head of *Arethousa* among dolphins (*fig.* 1a), which succeeded the first typology with the head on a circle inscribed in an incuse square[29]. The diadem, the necklace and earrings, the long beaded braids (which we find again on the fragment of another antefix with a female head from S. Giuliano) characterize the Nymph according to the flourishing model of beauty of contemporary *korai* (as must also have been the case in the statue of the fleeing figure from near the Station [*fig.* 7]). Then, after a transitional period, starting from the so-called "*Damareteion*"[30]

[23] For this hypothesis see L. Polacco, *I culti di Demetra e Kore a Siracusa*, in "Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche", 15 (1986), pp. 21-41, which surveys the evidence on the Syracusan cult of the two chthonic goddesses, to be supplemented with Hinz, *Der Kult* cit., pp. 95-111.

[24] C. Marconi, *Il rilievo con il ratto di Persephone dal santuario della Malophoros. Un riesame*, in *Temi selinuntini*, a c. di C. Antonetti, S. De Vido, Venezia 2009, pp. 193-209, part. 193-200 (ca. 500 BC).

[25] B. Basile, *Siracusa: indagini archeologiche nel biennio 2000/2001*, in "Kokalos", XLVII-XLVIII (2009), pp. 729-782, part. 738 *ff.*.

[26] Hinz, *Der Kult* cit., p. 107, with bibliographic references. The context is now being studied by A. Pautasso.

[27] Mertens-Horn, *Una 'nuova' antefissa* cit., p. 23.

[28] For an overview, albeit dated, reference is made to the classic monographs of L. O. T. Tudeer, *Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Syrakus*, Berlin 1913; E. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus*, Berlin 1929 (anastatic reprint Bologna 1978); G. E. Rizzo, *Saggi preliminari su l'arte della moneta nella Sicilia greca*, Roma 1938 (anastatic reprint Bologna 1980).

[29] Rizzo, *Saggi cit.*, pp. 10 ff., figg. 2,7-10, 5, 10, 14, and fig. 12 the antefixes from Fusco (*ivi*, p. 22); *ivi*, figg. 1, 2,1-6, 3 for the first type with the head in incuse circle. The reservations about the identity of the latter, the only one lacking the distinctive element – and truly curious, for a freshwater spring! – of the dolphins, seem perhaps excessive if one considers how the quadrants may suggest the rotatory movement and the tetradic rhythm subsequently always reiterated by the darting fish around the profile of *Arethousa*.

[30] Rizzo, *Saggi cit.*, pp. 28 ff., fig. 15, and more specifically W. Schwabacher, *Das Damareteion*, Bremen 1958

(*fig.* 1b) the local coinage offers models of extraordinary aesthetic value by elaborating the theme of the female head of the Nymph (*figg.* 1c/h), paired with the quadriga, which evidently constitutes the most pregnant identity symbol of the powerful city of the Deinomenids and of subsequent epochs, up to Agathocles: increasingly refined jewels, crowns of various kinds – vegetal (olive) in the decadrachm (for Rizzo apt to qualify the image as *Nike* rather than as Nymph), of pearls in the tetradrachms (both with *krobylos* hairstyle) –, and in the post-tyrannical period up to the "signing masters" extraordinary experiments (*figg.* 1c/g) on the knotted or chignon hairstyle, with embroidered *sakkos* (*fig.* 1e), bands, *opistosphendone*, sometimes with jeweled netting (*fig.* 1d), or again with the more girlish *lampadion*, or hair gathered and crown of marsh reeds (*fig.* 1g) (changing the vegetal species, with wheat ears the subject will become *Kore*), or exceptionally loose and "flowing" – as in the frontal *Arethousa* of *Kimon* (*fig.* 1f), and in the equally extraordinary Athena of *Eukleidas*[31]. Beyond the richness of variants, the exuberance of precious ornaments is striking: necklaces also with figured pendants (*fig.* 1c), decorated *ampyx* or *stilengis* (with swan, dolphins, vegetal shoots, palmettes...) or diadem with central knot (*figg.* 1d/e), clasps, earrings sometimes with elaborate pendants or *helikes* (*figg.* 1c/e)[32]. These are not truly "generic" effigies, even if the same basic scheme can be lent to *Kore* or *Athena* or *Artemis* (not by chance, the three virgin goddesses in symbiosis with the Nymphs in Diodorus's account V 3,4-4,2)[33]; the jewels and such elaborate hairstyles constitute the iconic cipher not of an "undifferentiated" divine grace, but rather of the radiant beauty of the *Nymphe*. Recovering for this term, *nymphe*, its semantic spectrum – from bride to divine Nymph –, in which is rooted the very nature of the Nymphs as "intermediate divinities" and "close" to humans[34], one understands why *Arethousa*, the fascinating aquatic Nymph (as suggested by the reeds, the swan, the leonine protome hanging from the necklace or isolated on the field, alluding to the gushing of water, and the dolphins), is represented as a young girl in the flower of her years, and why her features, rather than indulging in a child-like character, though sometimes evoked (with the *lampadion* hairstyle of Artemis), express the virginal splendor of the girl adorned for marriage: those cited are in fact *nuptial* ornaments and their radiance cannot but recall the archetypal image of Pandora, the first woman fashioned from earth and dressed by the gods for marriage, and even more Aphrodite in the seduction scene of Anchises sung in the Homeric *Hymn* to the goddess[35].

It is worth recalling, for its extraordinary evocative power, the image of the goddess made canonical already in the 7th century B.C. by the author of the *Hymn*[36]. Aphrodite presents herself as a *parthenos admete* of marriageable age (that is, as a human *nymphe*!): "Anchises saw her, and observed her, and admired her appearance, her stature, and her shining garments.

(Opus nobile, 7).

[31] See Rizzo, *Saggi cit.*, pp. 32 ff., part. 36-45; ivi, pp. 79 ff., part. 83-98, and figg. 67 and 77 for the most celebrated engravings of *Eukleides* and *Kimon*.

[32] See in these same Proceedings the study by A. M. Manenti, *Ragazze con orecchino a Siracusa fra la fine del V e il IV secolo a.C.*, which highlights the popularity of this ornament in Syracusan art and the connection with the nuptial sphere, as confirmed by the citation of the *chrysea helikteras* worn for the wedding by the protagonist of a passage by Demosthenes. For the other jewels and accessories and their significance, cf. A. Schwarzmaier, *«Ich werde immer Kore heissen». Zur Grabstele der Polyxena in der Berliner Antikensammlung*, in "Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts" 121, 2006, pp. 175-226, part. 211-224.

[33] Larson, *Greek Nymphs* cit., pp. 213 ff.; Lambrugo, *Ninfe di Sicilia* cit., pp. 149 ff.

[34] Larson, *Greek Nymphs* cit., pp. 3 ff. and *passim*; moreover V. Andò, *Nymphe: la sposa e le Ninfe*, in "Quaderni Urbinati", 81, n. s. 52 (1996), pp. 47-77; P. Schirripa, *Il volto delle Ninfe: tra metamorfosi, provvisorietà e passaggio di stato*, in Giacobello, Schirripa *et alii*, *Ninfe* cit., pp. 9-30.

[35] G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech. Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece*, Chicago-London 2002, pp. 52 ff.

[36] *Inni omerici*, a c. di F. Cassola, Milano 1975, part. *Inno V. Ad Afrodite*, pp. 217 ff., to whose translation I adhere for the verses cited *infra*.

She wore a peplos more brilliant than the flame of fire; she wore curved brooches, spiral-shaped, and gleaming earrings (*epignamptas hèlihas hàlykàs te phaeinàs*)[37]; around her delicate neck were marvelous necklaces (*hormoi... perikallées*), beautiful, of gold, richly worked: and like the moon they shone, a wonder to behold, on her delicate breast" (vv. 85-90). The hero addresses her reverently as a goddess (Artemis, or Leto, or Aphrodite, or *Themis*, or *Athena*, or one of the Graces or Nymphs...), but she to reassure him pretends to be a mortal, daughter of the Phrygian king Otreus, and to have been abducted by Hermes while dancing in the chorus for Artemis "with many Nymphs and maidens worthy of great riches": the divine messenger had guided her to the mountain, because here she would have to find Anchises, to be his bride and bear him splendid offspring. The charm of the *nymphe* is irresistible: "And when they had climbed onto the well-crafted bed, Anchises first removed her splendid ornaments (*kòsmon phaeinòn*): the fibulae, and the curved brooches, spiral-shaped, the earrings, the necklaces (*pòrtas te gnamptàs th'hèlikas kàlykàs te kai hormous*); then he loosened her belt, stripped her of her shining garments, and laid them upon a chair with silver studs" (vv. 161-165).

The affinity with Aphrodite – such that Rizzo called "master of the Aphrodite type" one of the engravers of the Syracusan heads of *Arethousa* (*figg.* 1c/d) – lies therefore in the seductive and erotic character proper to the Nymph, insofar as she constitutes a divine projection of that crucial phase of the maiden's maturation, having become *horaia*, ready that is to be plucked and – according to another, perhaps for us less poetic, metaphor – cultivated, like the earth, to raise legitimate children[38]. On this level one understands well, moreover, why precisely the Nymphs, attractive personifications of the environmental elements vital for the city, lend themselves to representing in symbolic and identity terms the legitimacy and happy destiny of the (masculine) possession of the territory: above all, as has been observed since Lacroix[39], in colonial contexts where the sacral "rooting" in the *chora* constitutes an all the more pressing concern, and the narratives having as protagonists the divinities "of" the places provide an authoritative "anchorage" to the appropriation and exploitation of resources by the *polis*, increasing the sense of belonging and cohesion, beyond the antagonisms between illustrious *gene*[40]. And yet, these reasons alone do not fully explain the figurative explosion in the fifth century of the theme of the Nymph representing the city in the guise of a radiant *bride* like Aphrodite. The emphasis on the "nuptial" connotation is not in fact a phenomenon confined to the monetary images of the beautiful Nymph of *Ortygia*: if for the late archaic series (*fig.* 1a) Rizzo perceived an analogy with the antefixes from Fusco (*figg.* 4a/b), the most precise comparisons for the female heads created by the engravers of the Syracuse mint since the age of the Deinomenids are in fact found in the most representative class of Siceliote terracotta sculpture between the fifth and third centuries, the busts "of Agrigentine type", and particularly in the large-scale examples[41], whose quality and reduced number of replicas go beyond the characteristics of serial craftsmanship. From the busts in severe style – especially those from the votive deposits of Terravecchia di Grammichele (*fig.* 3a), particularly close to the "*Damareteion*" (*fig.* 1b) and the related tetradrachms –, to the series from the late fifth-early third century (*fig.* 3b) that reproduce in various elaborations and combinations, also updating it (*fig.*

[37]For the difficulties of translating the terms adopted by the poet and of precise identification of the ornaments indicated, see however the note *ad loc.* in *Inni* cit., p. 548. In any case, these are precious ornaments in the form of spirals and flowers.

[38]According to the well-known formula of the marriage pact in Athens: cf., *inter alia*, N. Bernard, *Donne e società nella Grecia antica*, trad. it. Roma 2011, pp. 68 f.

[39]L. Lacroix, *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'Occident grec*, Bruxelles 1965, *passim.*

[40]Larson, *Greek Nymphs* cit.

[41]Portale, *Il busto* cit.; Ead., *Le nymphai e l'acqua in Sicilia: contesti rituali e morfologia dei votivi*, in *Cultura e sacralità* cit., pp. 169-191.

3c), the cipher of the classical Syracusan coins (*figg.* 1e/g), one observes a rather significant coincidence in iconographic and stylistic elements, with a tendency toward a persistence even into the Early Hellenistic period of the splendid formulas of the fifth-early fourth century, which moreover has a precise numismatic correspondence in the first phase of Agathocles' power (*fig.* 1h)[42].

The systematic examination, which I cannot present here for reasons of time, of the contexts of use, iconographic formulas, and literary-epigraphic data, leads precisely to recognizing a "nymphal" subject in these partial figures (*figg.* 3a/c), "in becoming" toward a state of perfection and emerging as an epiphany from natural matter, as the representations of *anodos* on Attic pottery express in narrative form[43]. Depending on the cases and specific cultic contexts, this will be a protective divinity of *nymphai* such as *Kore*, Aphrodite, or *Hera*, Artemis, *Athena*, *Gaia*, Demeter…, seen under the aspect of the "*nymphe*"; or a true Nymph, a *local* divinity who "embodies" an element of nature, especially aquatic. In this regard, one may cite Hesychius' lemma "*Kypara*: the spring *Arethousa* which is found in Sicily"[44], which establishes an equivalence between the Syracusan Nymph and an indigenous name suggestive of "cavity, basin, container" (for liquids), confirmed by an inscription on an archaic krater from Morgantina: not by chance, one of the sites most precociously involved in the elaboration of female antefixes, and subsequently by a massive diffusion of busts, both in the context of water cults and in "sacred houses" in the settlement, within the framework of nuptial rites placed under the sign of the *nymphe Kore*[45].

In this casuistry may be included, above all, the Siceliote *Nestis*, who in the theory of Empedocles of Akragas embodies the primordial element of water and pairs with Aidoneus (fire?), assimilating herself thereby to *Kore*/Persephone: she could in fact be the titular deity of the "Rock Sanctuary" of Agrigento, one of the absolutely most significant contexts for the typology in question[46]. Returning to Syracuse, I had previously mentioned busts as a possible form of the *agalmata* of the Nymphs recalled by Timaeus "among the houses". The distribution of busts may support this interpretation, being particularly significant in residential contexts at various sites on the island[47], and in Syracuse itself (*figg.* 3b/c), where the finds may denote both practices of domestic devotion and sanctuaries on a "neighborhood" scale or of small trans-familial aggregations[48]. Particularly important in this perspective is the splendid example (*fig.* 3b) with remains

[42]C. Caccamo Caltabiano, *La Nike/Nymphe di Agatocle e l'ideologia della Vittoria*, in Tyrannis, Basileia, Imperium. *Forme prassi e simboli del potere politico nel mondo greco e romano.* Giornate seminariali in onore di S. Consolo Langher (Messina, 17-19 dicembre 2007), a c. di M. Caccamo Caltabiano *et alii*, Messina 2010 (Pelorias, 18), pp. 277-302, part. 281, tav. I, 7 e 8.

[43]I refer to my previous works cited in nn. 6 and 41, and to the bibliography cited *infra* at n. 76. Regarding the epigraphic documentation, data of exceptional interest emerge from the recent examination by A. M. Manenti, in *Sikelika Hiera. Approcci multidisciplinari allo studio del sacro nella Sicilia greca*, Atti del Convegno (Catania, 11-12 giugno 2010), a c. di F. Caruso, L. Grassot, in eds, relating to the most beautiful of the severe style examples from Terravecchia di Grammichele (*fig.* 3a).

[44]Copani, *Linfe* cit., p. 178; C. Antonaccio, Kypara, *a Sikel Nymph?*, in "Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik", 126 (1999), pp. 177-185.

[45]M. Bell, *Morgantina Studies*, I, *The Terracottas*, Princeton N.J. 1981, pp. 233-256 e 81-111; Id., Hiera oikopeda, in *Demetra. La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda*, Atti del I Congresso Internazionale (Enna, 1-4 luglio 2004), a c. di C. A. Di Stefano, Pisa-Roma 2008 (Biblioteca di Sicilia Antiqua, 2), pp. 155-159; Portale, *Le nymphai* cit.; Ead., *Cultura figurativa, religione e società nel territorio ennese: il caso di Morgantina*, in *Mito e archeologia degli Erei: museo diffuso ennese: itinerari archeologici*, a c. di C. Bonanno, F. Valbruzzi, Palermo 2013, pp. 73-80; Ead., *Pratiche cultuali* cit.

[46]Portale, *Le nymphai* cit.

[47]This is evident from Himera to Agrigento to Morgantina to Gela, where two have been recovered *in situ* on a small altar at the external corner of a block: cf. Portale, *Le nymphai* cit.; Ead., *Il busto* cit.; Ead., *Pratiche cultuali* cit., and *ivi* the relevant bibliographic references.

[48]G. V. Gentili, *I busti fittili di Demetra o Kore di Siracusa*, in "Archivio Storico Siracusano" 5-6 (1959-1960),

of a painted figuration on the chest and another that entered the antiquarian market, preserving in integral form the iconography, with a group of girls who "envelop" the hieratic image of the goddess in a choral dance, holding hands[49]. Elsewhere I have tried to support this suggestion by analyzing the recurring association of busts with the *pinakidia* "of the three Nymphs" playing music and dancing (*fig.* 5) and more generally with terracottas that allude to musical and orchestic *performances* executed by girls, in contexts attributable to the sphere of nymphal transition[50]. The girls painted on the Syracusan busts (*fig.* 3b) represent the chorus that dances around the divine *Nymphe*: the image, placed at the center of the ritual, visualizes the divine epiphany in the "partial" *forma* of the bust, suited on one hand to render its otherness and at the same time to promote, through metonymy, the transition toward the *teleté* – that is, marriage and thus the procreation of legitimate offspring – of the girls who celebrate the goddess, with a play of mirrors between rite, image and imaginary that amplifies and consolidates the meaning of religious practices.

What then is the meaning and why, in addition to the rock-cut contexts typical of the Nymphs and liminal rituals, are our *agalmata* venerated *kat'oikias*, with broad popular participation—both male and female—in the festivals recalled by Timaeus? If, as seems evident to me, there is a parallelism between the "nuptial" iconography of the civic Nymph on coins (*figg.* 1a/h) and the widespread diffusion of ritual practices centered on the nuptial theme (under its various facets, possibly ascribable to the spheres of different "nymphal" female divinities), which gather around the theme of the *nymphe* the creativity of artisans, reflecting the defining traits of the city's "speaking" image, it is not a question of "major" and "official" divinities *vs.* manifestations of popular *pietas* and "residual" forms of ancient beliefs: on the contrary, both the official and popular spheres, on different levels, are underpinned by the same *ratio*—namely, the relevance of the nuptial union as the foundation of civil coexistence, of social cohesion, and of the construction of a common "Syracusan" identity. This convergence clarifies why the age of the tyrannies—the one that most severely tests and must reestablish in new synthesis the equilibria of the body politic—constitutes the decisive juncture for the codification of a "nymphal" imaginary, which is rooted in the territories subject to interests and mytho-historical elaborations, and/or is enriched with further accents, for example with a richer "musical-performative" and spectacular corollary under the Dionysii[51], or later, under Agathocles, with a more marked polarization around the figure of the dynast. In the face of the personalization of political life, it may even appear more comprehensible that after the "basilical" turn of Agathocles' power, the prestigious Nymph of *Ortygia* is finally replaced on coins by a "major" divinity—albeit still of "nymphal" character (*Kore*, *Artemis*, *Athena*)—and then, with the Hieronids, by the image of the king, sealing, now indeed, a bifurcation between the courtly sphere and a religiosity of less "official" connotation.[52]

pp. 5-20; Hinz, *Der Kult* cit., pp. 108 sg. e *passim*; and the works of the present author cited in the previous notes.

[49] A. Pautasso, Picturae in textili *on Shoulder Busts in Hellenistic Sicily?*, in *Ancient Textiles. Production, Craft and Society*, a c. di C. Gillis, M. L. B. Nosch, Oxford 2007, pp. 215-219; Portale, *Il busto* cit., part. fig. 10, tav. XII,6.

[50] E. C. Portale, *Iconografia votiva e performances rituali: qualche esempio dalla Sicilia greca*, in *Sikelika Hiera* cit.

[51] See A. Pautasso, *Anakalypsis e anakalypteria. Iconografie votive e culto nella Sicilia dionigiana*, in *Demetra* cit., pp. 285–291. Cf. E. C. Portale, *L'arte di Siracusa greca: scultura e arti minori*, in *Ricerche e attività del corso internazionalizzato di Archeologia Catania, Varsavia, Konya 2009–2012*, edited by P. Militello, M. Camera, Palermo 2012 (*Syndesmoi*, 3), pp. 129–141, esp. 131–133.

[52] Ead., *L'immagine di Agatocle e l'arte dell'età di Agatocle*, in "Archivio Storico Siracusano", s. IV, n. III, XLVI (2011), Atti del Convegno di Studi *Agatocle, re di Sicilia. Nel 2300° anniversario della morte* (Siracusa, 14–15

In the advanced monarchic age, and subsequently to the Roman conquest, the Nymphs continue indeed to play a prominent role in the imaginary of Syracuse, but with accents partly more homogeneous with respect to the rest of the Hellenistic *koiné* and apparently less "pervasive" with respect to daily life. The *pinakes* with three draped figures (*figg.* 2a/b), cited at the beginning, date to this period; while, both within the grandiose framework of the Hieronian sanctuaries of the *Neapolis*, as a corollary to the theater and the Great Altar of Zeus, and in minor contexts in other areas of the city such as Achradina or *Tycha*, formulas of private devotion persist consisting precisely in dedications of *pinakes* and small *thysiai*, which in their rock-cut setting and in the simplicity of the rituals correspond to the more familiar picture elsewhere of the cult of the Nymphs[53]. More sophisticated, in the sense of the contemporary "Rhodian-Alexandrian" taste, is instead the combination of natural and rocky aspects with architectural arrangements and sculptural installations that stage a natural setting[54]. This is the case of the series of late Hellenistic female statuettes of the Rhodian school (*figg.* 8-11), found at various times in the upper terrace of the theater[55]: known as "Muses" and generally referred to the *Mouseion* attested epigraphically in relation to the association of the *technitai* of Dionysus and the Muses[56], the statuettes await a more precise analysis of their context of pertinence, which for both the two more recently discovered (*figg.* 9-10) and for the one recovered by the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts in the first decades of the nineteenth century (*fig.* 8)[57] would seem to refer to the area of the Nymphaeum above the *summa cavea*. In light of the general Nymphaeum-Museum identification prevalent in the bibliography, and the connected reading of our statuettes as images of Muses, it should however be remembered that Giulio Emanuele Rizzo, author of the hypothesis that one of the rock-cut chambers associated with the theater was the seat of the cult of the Muses attested by the inscriptions, seems to refer as the main seat of the *Mouseion* not so much to the "nymphaeum-fountain" located in a central position with respect to the Hellenistic portico on the north side of the *summa cavea*, but rather to the "grotto" on the west side of the *katatomé*, south of the entrance to the so-called via dei Sepolcri; it was probably this cultic presence that suggested the identification as a Muse, rather

ottobre 2011), pp. 269–321; Ead., *La cultura artistica sotto Ierone II*, in *Archimede: Arte e scienza dell'invenzione*, Catalogo della mostra (Roma, Musei Capitolini, 31/05/2013–12/01/2014), edited by G. Di Pasquale, C. Parisi Presicce, Roma–Firenze–Milano 2013, pp. 54–59.

[53]Ead., *La cultura artistica* cit. On the theme see extensively H. Lavagne, Operosa antra. *Recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien*, Rome 1987, pp. 83 sgg.; *ivi*, p. 336, a brief reference to the Nymphaeum at the summit of the Syracusan theater.

[54]Portale, *La cultura artistica* cit. See also Bell, *Agrarian Policy* cit.

[55]G. Castellana, *Su alcune sculture femminili panneggiate di ispirazione tardo-ellenistica del Museo Regionale Archeologico di Siracusa*, in "Rivista di Archeologia", 3 (1979), pp. 65-71; N. Bonacasa, E. Joly, *L'ellenismo e la tradizione ellenistica*, in Sikanie, *Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca*, a c. di G. Pugliese Carratelli, Milano 1985, pp. 277-355, part. 294 sgg., e *ivi* altra bibliografia.

[56]G. E. Rizzo, *Il teatro greco di Siracusa*, Roma 1923, pp. 123-133.

[57]In the inventory of the Syracuse museum compiled by A. Sogliano in 1885, the latter (*fig.* 8) is said to be ≪trovata sopra il teatro greco nella Grotta Ninfeo, Scavo Governativo≫ (Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi", inv. 695); the two statuettes inv. 50702 and 50703 (*figg.* 9-10) are instead inventoried in 1948 (excavation and survey campaigns had been carried out just before, in autumn 1946 and 1947) in the "*Mouseion*". At this time, however, the entire upper terrace was considered ≪*sacra alle Ninfe Muse*≫, with the two porticoes in front of the *katatomé* and the Nymphaeum in the center, according to the interpretation developed by Anti and Polacco, later reported in the 1981 monograph: L. Polacco, C. Anti, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa*, Rimini 1981, p. 199. For the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century research on the monument see *ibidem*, pp. 48-52, and with greater detail for the earlier investigations Rizzo, *Il teatro* cit., pp. 15-28. As for the specimen inv. 711 (*figg.* 11a/b), the Sogliano Inventory reports no known provenance: the association with the other figures – particularly the last two mentioned – therefore has only a verisimilitude based on stylistic and subject affinity, but remains necessarily hypothetical.



than as a Nymph, of the marble statuette known to him, whose exact findspot he did not know (*fig.* 8)[58].



Figure 8: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 695. Marble statuette of a Nymph from the theater of Syracuse, from the grotto-Nymphaeum *in summa cavea*

The latter is a variant of the so-called "*Artemis Hekate*" type (*fig.* 8), labeled with greater plausibility as Aphrodite ("Tiepolo")[59]. Although coherent in dimensions and "Rhodian" matrix

[58] Rizzo, *Il teatro* cit., pp. 113 and 132-133, with reference to the remains of libations and offerings found by Orsi «fra l'ingresso della "Via dei Sepolcri" e la bocca della grotta» (subsequently adapted for funerary use and then incorporated into the small church of S. Maria della Grotta), where the *Mouseion* mentioned in the epigraphic texts might have been located: «esso non doveva avere, per proprio luogo, una sola delle grotte scavate nella *katatomé*, ma, certo, una delle maggiori come centro del luogo sacro, ed erano accanto le minori edicole del santuario.. e le numerose nicchiette contenenti rilievi o pitture di carattere anatematico, forse anche i decreti del sodalizio» (*ibidem*); *ivi*, pp. 156-157, figg. 73-74 the statuette of earliest discovery (*fig.* 8) in which «indoviniamo, piuttosto che una Ninfa, una Musa» (the Author also observes that «la stroncatura intenzionale del plinto ci parla dell'adattamento della figura ad una nicchia»). It must however be reiterated that, despite Serradifalco's silence in the first "edition" of the find (references *ivi*), the Sogliano Inventory connects the latter to the "Grotta Ninfeo" (cf. previous note). A «primitivo santuario delle acque» is to be recognized from very ancient times in the theater area according to Polacco, Anti, *Il teatro* cit., pp. 153-156 and 218, who hypothesize a cult to Pan and the Nymphs on the basis of the discoveries of sculptural finds such as «un rilievo di Pan, una cariatide (Ninfa?), un telamone satiresco (con elementi panici), una statuetta di Musa (o Ninfa?)» (*fig.* 8) (ivi reference to Rizzo, *Il teatro*, *loc. cit.* and pp. 97 sgg.), and p. 199 where it is inferred in the Hellenistic complex a «probabile identificazione delle Muse come ninfe, quali demoni delle acque e della natura».

[59] Castellana, *Su alcune sculture* cit., pp. 66, 69 n. 16, fig. 3. The type is examined by G. Gualandi, Artemis-Hekate. *Un problema di tipologia nella scultura ellenistica*, in "Revue Archéologique", 1969, pp. 233-272, part. 257 sg. for our example (erroneously indicated inv. no. 711), understood as a Muse; A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren*

with the other three figures – only two of which, however, certainly pertaining to the theater complex (*figg.* 9-10), while for the one acquired already in the 1800s (*figg.* 11a/b) no provenance data are possessed – the statuette in question (*fig.* 8) is distinguished by its execution, particularly by the dry linearity of the drapery, and by the detail of the shod feet which could argue for a now sub-Hellenistic chronology.



Figure 9: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 50702. Marble statuette of Nymph from the theater of Syracuse, from the grotto-Nymphaeum *in summa cavea*

The other "Muses" stand out instead for the refinement of their rendering, and especially the one corresponding to one of the late Hellenistic variations on the theme of "Aphrodite Urania" (*figg.* 9a/b)[60], and the one (of unknown provenance) leaning with crossed legs (*figg.* 11a/b), also

hellenistischer Zeit. Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren, Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 156-158; A. Delivorrias *et alii*, *s. v. Aphrodite*, in *Lexikon* cit., II, pp. 2 *sgg.*, part. 41-43 (no. 301 ours, with erroneous inv. no. 711); L. Kahil, *s. v. Artemis*, *ibidem*, pp. 618 *sgg.*, part. 686 *sg.*; A. Hermary, *s. v. Aphrodite*, in *Lexikon* cit., Suppl., 2009, pp. 69-73, part. 70, n. add. 57; most recently V. Machaira, Ελληνιστικά γλυπτά της Ρόδου - Κατάλογος. I, Athina 2011, pp. 54-61, nn. 13-23, tavv. 23-35, who reports in doubtful form the Hellenistic chronology of our example (p. 54). For the diffusion in Italy of the schema, through Rhodian workshops, cf. P. Guldager Bilde, M. Moltesen, *A Catalogue of Sculptures from the Sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia*, Roma 2002, pp. 17-18, with other references; worthy of mention is the reuse of the schema on a terracotta statuette of Lilybaean provenance in the Whitaker Collection, unpublished (Antiquarium of Mozia, inv. 4188).

[60] Castellana, *Su alcune sculture* cit., pp. 65 sg., 69 n. 11, fig. 2 (here with inv. no. 14533; currently inv.

dependent on a statuary schema of Aphrodite[61], both characterized by the virtuosic technique that transforms the chiton into a sort of veil that allows the fleshy nude of the torso to show through up to the groin, in contrast with the heavy mantle displayed by the pose of the limbs (second half/late 2nd century B.C.).



Figure 10: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 50703. Fragmentary marble statuette of Nymph from the theater of Syracuse, from the grotto-Nymphaeum in *in summa cavea*

The last statuette also refers to Aphrodite, classifiable among the filiations from the "Capua" type in semi-nudity (*figg.* 10a/b), present even in local coroplastics for the "Aphrodite-Nymph" with the left foot resting on a rocky elevation[62]. More cursive on the back, it reveals a similar

no. 50702); H. Langlotz, *L'arte della Magna Grecia. Arte greca in Italia meridionale e Sicilia*, trad. it. Roma 1968, p. 312, n. 161; cited with erroneous inventory indication (inv. no. 695) by Gualandi, Artemis-Hekate cit., p. 257, n. 3. Cf. *e.g.* Delivorrias *et alii*, *s. v. Aphrodite* cit., pp. 43 sg., part. n. 314 (Athens); more generically G. Gualandi, *Sculture da Rodi*, in "Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene", LIV (1976), pp. 7-259, part. 104-106, n. 56, fig. 85.

[61]Inv. 711: Castellana, *Su alcune sculture* cit., pp. 65 e 68 n. 2 (the indication of provenance ≪together with two other statuettes [figg. 1-3] from a grotto nicknamed Nymphaeum situated above the Greek theater of Syracuse≫ is not founded, cf. *supra* n. 57); cited with erroneous inventory indication (as inv. no. 50702) by Gualandi, Artemis-Hekate cit., p. 257, n. 3. For the schema, cf. *e.g.* Linfert, *Kunstzentren* cit., p. 92, fig. 200 (Rhodes) = Delivorrias *et alii*, *s. v. Aphrodite* cit., p. 45, part. n. 340 = Gualandi, *Sculture* cit., pp. 106 sgg., n. 57, figg. 86-87; more generically p. 110, n. 61, fig. 91.

[62]The statuette (inv. 50703) is, to my knowledge, unpublished. For the relative reference types, see Neumer-Pfau, *Studien* cit., pp. 106 sg., and 220 for the "Aphrodite-Nymph" characterized by the pose with the left leg more elevated (see part. H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron, *Die Wandel der Aphrodite*, Bonn 1988, pp. 61-89); Delivorrias *et alii*, *s. v. Aphrodite* cit., pp. 71 sgg. and 74 sg. (part. nn. 650 sg. for the terracottas from Centuripe); for the schema of ours, with a more erect and frontalized pose, *ibidem*, p. 72, n. 632 (Kos), and Machaira, Ελληνιστικά γλυπτά cit., pp. 93 sg., n. 64, tavv. 87 sg.; for the rendering of the fabric, Linfert, *Kunstzentren* cit., p. 158, fig. 387 (Rhodes)= Gualandi, *Sculture* cit., pp. 46 sg. n. 8, fig. 12.

manneristic taste in the contrast between the shining nude and the *himation* falling with deep undercuts on the legs, with a greater persistence of baroque stylemes compared to the statue found together (*figg.* 9a/b), in turn apparently slightly older (albeit closely related) compared to the torso of unknown provenance that only hypothetically can be associated with the group in question (*figg.* 11a/b); more marked, on the other hand, is the difference with the "Tiepolo" type example (*fig.* 8) which however, as mentioned, could effectively share its place of display. The effective meaning of such stylistic notations regarding the unity or otherwise of the group must, however, be reconsidered in a comprehensive evaluation of the technical and contextual data and of the possible oscillations even within a restricted chronological arc and a same productive horizon, according to a phenomenon otherwise known in Hellenistic sculpture.



Figure 11: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 711. Fragmentary marble statuette of Nymph of unknown provenance, already arrived in the Museum in the nineteenth century

If one disregards the supposed connection with the *Mouseion*, there are no elements sufficient to identify the graceful figures mentioned above as Muses, in the absence of distinctive attributes and iconographic correspondence with the types commonly adopted in Hellenistic statuary groups of Muses[63]. The qualifying feature is rather the marked assimilation to Aphrodite, found generally in the renewal of the iconography of the Nymphs, as well as of the *Charites* and Nereids, in the Late

[63]See L. Faedo, *s. v. Mousa, Mousai*, in *Lexikon* cit., VII, 1994, pp. 991-1013. *Ivi*, p. 993, n. 173, the Syracusan exemplar inv. 695 (*fig.* 8) (*supra*, nn. 57-59) is considered as "Muse of Syracuse" following the interpretation of the editors. A similar scheme will be used in the late 2nd century AD in sarcophagi for Urania or Muse with lyre: J. Lancha, L. Faedo, *s. v. Mousae*, *ibidem* pp. 1013-1059, part. 1056, schema "G1".

Hellenistic period, and explained by virtue of the "role model of the Hellenistic woman" assumed by the goddess of love[64]; in other respects however, as has been argued, at the local level this superimposition is inherent in the elaboration of the nymphal subject in a "nuptial" sense since the late Archaic-early Classical period. In our case we arrive at the partial nudity of one of the statuettes (*figg.* 10a/b), but also at the allusion to imminent denudement in the figure who draws aside a fold of the heavy drapery (*figg.* 9a/b), with a motif not lacking in significance, if the very etymology of the name *nymphe* implies "that which is hidden and about to be revealed": that this facet too was thematized in Siceliote art of the first half of the 5th century is eloquently shown, on the other hand, by a famous tetradrachm of Himera (464-460 BC) in which the eponymous Nymph of the Chalcidian colony is depicted in such an attitude[65].

The same phenomenon, on the level of the votive artifacts already cited, but with a qualitatively more refined tone, is finally illustrated by a fragmentary *pinax* (*fig.* 12) found in the 19th century "near the Theater", which until now has been cited always and only in relation to the *vexata quaestio* of the identification of the Landolina Aphrodite (*fig.* 13) as a replica of the simulacrum of the Syracusan temple of *Aphrodite Kallipygos*, transmitted in the Hellenistic iambographic and paradoxographic tradition[66].

[64] W. Neumer-Pfau, *Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaftliche Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen*, Bonn 1982, pp. 55-60 e *passim*.

[65] M. Caccamo Caltabiano, Himera/Aphrodite. *L'iconografia monetale di una dea della città nella prospettiva del* LIN, in Corona laurea. *Studii în onorea Luciei ['eposu Marinescu*, Bucures,ti 2005, pp. 129-141, part. 131 sgg., tav. I.1, precisely emphasizes the convergence with Aphrodisian imagery.

[66] Delivorrias *et alii*, *s. v. Aphrodite* cit., p. 86, n. 772 for the statue of Aphrodite *Kallipygos* at Syracuse, with reference to Athen, *Deipnosophistai* XII, 554 C-E: the Naucratite actually speaks of a temple of the goddess, citing Cercidas of Megalopolis (second half of the 2nd century BC) for the story of the two Syracusan maidens "with beautiful buttocks", and Archelaus of Chersonesus (3rd century BC) for the foundation of the temple; for the statue of the "Landolina" Aphrodite, here more appropriately labeled "Aphrodite of Syracuse type", *ibidem*, p. 83, n. 743. For the cult of Aphrodite at Syracuse see also A. Dimartino, Venus felix *a Siracusa? Per una rilettura dei decreti della* synodos *di technitai di Afrodite Hilara*, in "Epigraphica", LXXII (2010), pp. 21-49, which traces the epiclesis *Hilara* to the cult that came simultaneously (1st century BC) into vogue in Rome of *Venus Felix*.



Figure 12: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 838. Fragmentary marble votive *pinax* with Nymphs from the theater of Syracuse

The only figure taken into consideration in the relief, therefore, is the semi-nude one on the right (*fig.* 12), due to the general affinity of the drapery motif with the famous Venus of the Imperial age from a Nymphaeum in the Giardino Spagna, called Landolina after the name of the discoverer (*fig.* 13), although already Hauser in the text to the *Einzelhaufnahme antiher Skulpturen*, in which he proposes the identification of the statue of *Aphrodite Kallipygos* in the Landolina exemplar precisely on the basis of the analogy with the aforementioned figure of the *pinax* in question (*fig.* 12), recognized that in the latter it was certainly not Aphrodite and that the scheme of the representation recalled the reliefs with dancing Nymphs[67]. The partial denudement (in our case linked to the frenzy of movement) indeed finds parallels in reliefs with Nymphs from the advanced Hellenistic period, as in a fragment from the "sacred way" near the *Asklepieion* of Pergamon[68] in which we find the combination of the semi-nude Nymph with one entirely dressed, but with shoulder and right breast uncovered, like the central figure in our relief; two maidens (?), respectively dressed and semi-nude, are also found in the exemplar in local limestone from the former Predio Spagna (*fig.* 14), unfortunately very damaged and lacking the pictorial coating that must have originally characterized its stylistic effect[69]. In the fully three-dimensional version,

[67]F. Hauser, text in P. Arndt, W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahme antiker Skulpturen*, II 1, München 1895, p. 32, n. 758. Hauser's suggestion is taken up by Pace, *Arte e civiltà* cit., II, 1938, pp. 134-142, who adduces as evidence of the notoriety at Syracuse of the model of the *Kallipygos* a votive relief with Hermes and (two?) Nymphs (actually of a different scheme), *ivi fig.* 132, hypothesizing that the etiological tale was born from the vision of such votive reliefs with a youth and two Nymphs.

[68]R. Horn, E. Boehringer, *Die Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon im Jahre 1965: vorläufiger Bericht mit Hinweisen auf Grabungen und Arbeiten früherer Jahre und des Frühjahrs 1966*, in "Archäologischer Anzeiger", 1966, pp. 415-483, part. 462 sgg., fig. 14.

[69]Pace, *Arte e civiltà* cit., III, p. 512, fig. 141 (≪relief with double figure, male and female, which the very poor

we have already seen, moreover, how in the same theater the "Rhodian" Nymphs (*figg.* 8 sgg.) presented various "stages" of unveiling[70].



Figure 13: Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "P. Orsi", inv. 694. Acephalous marble statue from Syracuse, from a Nymphaeum in the Giardino Spagna, so-called Landolina Aphrodite

In the relief with the so-called *Kallipygos* (*fig.* 12) it is presumably to be integrated in the missing left part an additional figure who must have led the group, holding by the hand the central dancer who appears inclined and "dragged" in the festive rhythm, presenting herself almost in frontal view with her head just turned back toward the other companion, and thus describing a curve together with the latter, semi-nude and shown three-quarters from behind. This is a compositional mode typical of reliefs with dancing Nymphs (or Charites)[71], here accentuated by the more impetuous movement and by the slight concavity of the background plane. In this way the impression was given that the nymphal *chorós* was taking place in a "circle" with respect to the enigmatic figure barely distinguishable in the foreground. The very poor state of preservation of the latter unfortunately prevents us from grasping its physical features and attitude, but two facts I believe can be asserted: it has its torso decidedly lower than the dancing maidens and is visible down to the hips; the plane on which it must have rested corresponded more or less to that defined by the left foot of the "*Kallipygos*" (otherwise the dancers would remain illogically floating in the figured field).

preservation prevents from recognizing in any way≫).

[70]One goes in fact from the more modest dress of the exemplar inv. 695 (*fig.* 8) (if contemporary with the other three statuettes) to the allusive transparency of the chiton of the statuette inv. 711 (if it pertains to the same group) (*figg.* 11a/b), to the gesture of opening the mantle of the figure inv. 50702 (*figg.* 9a/b), up to the semi-nude "Aphrodite/Nymph" inv. 50703 (*figg.* 10a/b).

[71]Cfr. *supra* nn. 3-4.



Figure 14: Relief with representation of two Nymphs from the sacred way near the *Asklepieion* of Pergamon (Museum of Bergama)

In the inventory record of the find, the surviving silhouette is described by Sogliano as «the remnant of a third small figure seated or fallen on the ground»; understood as masculine by Hauser and Pace, this would seem to adapt to the idea that the relief offers, to use the words of Antonio Giuliano, «a plastic reduction of the anecdote of Athenaeus», representing the *aition* of the Syracusan cult of Aphrodite Kallipygos ("of the beautiful buttocks")[72]. Let us recall the story reported by the Naucratite[73]: it concerned a singular "beauty contest" between two maidens from the Syracusan countryside over who had the most beautiful buttocks, arbitrated by a rich young man from the city who happened to arrive, who would have fallen in love with and married the winner, while the contending sister would have married the young man's brother; both, grateful to the goddess, would have had a temple built for *Aphrodite Kallipygos*.

However, I consider untenable a literal, "narrative" interpretation of our representation of a *chorós* of Nymphs (more probably three, whereas the protagonists of the etiological tale are two sisters), where the loosened mantle of the so-called *Kallipygos* finds justification in the dynamism of the dance and certainly not in an ostentation of the buttocks[74], which would remain invisible

[72]For the hypothesis see A. Giuliano, *La Afrodite Callipige di Siracusa*, in "Archeologia classica", IX (1953), pp. 210-214, reedited in Id., *Scritti minori*, Roma 2001, pp. 25-30.

[73]*Supra*, n. 66. Cfr. on the theme G. Säflund, *Aphrodite Kallipygos*, Göteborg-Uppsala 1963, pp. 45-48, who discusses the erotic valence of the *anasyrma* and the connection with Aphrodite, also on the basis of other testimonies.

[74]As rightly objected by Säflund, *Aphrodite* cit., pp. 48-49, the gesture of the semi-nude figure is that of holding back the drapery rather than deliberately uncovering the buttocks. The Author does not dwell, in any case, on the question of the possible relationship between our relief and the original of the so-called Aphrodite Landolina. On the latter see again Neumer-Pfau, *Studien* cit., pp. 216-218, 437-440: it is a successful model in Roman Sicily, certainly employed in the context of water cults, as shown by the new exemplar found at Lilybaeum (E. Caruso,

to the presumed masculine figure "crouching" in the foreground. Even if one were to admit the virile character

of the latter[75], the representation would therefore be irreconcilable with the tale that flowed into Athenaeus, which presupposes the contemplation of the physical beauties of the two maidens by the young man.

Instead in the *pinax* the "crouching" figure, more probably feminine given the proportions similar to the companions, would constitute the focal element of an original scene of dance taking place around it; the only perceptible element is that it holds with the left hand a voluminous object on the hips, while the torso, three-quarters, is slightly inclined to the left. The position, although not reconstructable in detail, could even refer to one of the figurative contexts that have already been evoked regarding nymphal "chorality" – and which significantly recur for Aphrodite herself –, such as the bath and/or the *anodos* of the *nymphe*[76], hypothetically connected to the representation of the birth of Aphrodite on the base of the Zeus of Phidias at Olympia (*fig.* 15). In that case the raised element that is identified on the lower part could be a drapery, held with a gesture of *charis* by the figure emerging from the ground or from a water cavity; but it cannot be excluded that she was, on the contrary, about to crouch down. The state of corrosion of the surfaces and the fragmentary nature of the find do not allow, unfortunately, to deepen this which is destined to remain a simple suggestion.



Figure 15: Silver-gilt medallion from Galaxidi in Locris with representation of the *anodos* of Aphrodite. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. MNB 1290

Beyond the inevitable uncertainties, and the questions that perhaps even a systematic study

S. Tusa, *Il culto di Afrodite a Lilibeo. Scavi archeologici presso la chiesa di S. Giovanni al Boeo e l'antro della Sibilla a Marsala. La scoperta della statua marmorea di Afrodite Callipige*, in "Sicilia Archeologica", 107 [2004], pp. 97-106).

[75]Unfortunately the anatomy of the figure remains almost illegible; however the very slender waist makes it unlikely, in my opinion, that it is a male.

[76]For the bath, see *inter alia* Ferrari, *Figures* cit., pp. 45-52; for the *anodos* Ead., *The "Anodos" of the Bride*, in *Greek Ritual Poetics*, a c. di D. Yatromanolakis, P. Roilos, Washington-Athens 2004, pp. 246-260, with previous bibliography. For the iconography of Aphrodite or the Nymph crouching or emerging from the bath, see Delivorrias *et alii*, *s. v. Aphrodite* cit., pp. 101-106; in *anodos*, *ibidem* pp. 108 sgg.; also Gualandi, Artemis-Hekate cit., pp. 254 sg., fig. 22 = Gualandi, *Sculture* cit., pp. 110 sgg., n. 62, figg. 82-93; Simon, *Die Geburt* cit., part. 42, 106, fig. 26 (silver-gilt medallion from Galaxidi).

of the tradition of the "Afrodite Landolina" schema[77] may help to unravel, the relief would seem to restore still a distant echo – in a different language, late Hellenistic, informed by new stylistic suggestions, and in a more pretentious *medium* such as Greek marble – of a traditional imagery linked to nymphality and chorality, to the theme of *anodos* and the "emergence" of the *nymphe*, and to the rites of maidens aimed at propitiating the maturation and "flowering" of women as of vegetation. One is reminded of the even later poetic transposition of such a nexus of notions, rites and images in the *Pervigilium Veneris*[78], where modest Nymphs (*puellae... virgines*) celebrate by night, in the flowering *lucus* of Hybla, the birth of Aphrodite and the opening of sexuality and the fecundity of nature...

It is as if the nymphal theme, which in the climate of the great transformations of the body politic between the 5th and 4th centuries had been grafted onto ritual practices widely diffused *within the urban fabric*, for the protection and consolidation of the nuptial institution and of familial and social cohesion, now that the "Syracusan" model of *polis* was turning toward decline, and after the grandiloquent architectural-urbanistic creations of Hieron II had incorporated the very rocky and "sacred" nature into a "constructed" fabric in function of the redesigned Syracusan society, had returned with its divine representatives to a more "natural" and pleasant *habitat*, but always close and congenial to popular religiosity, and at the same time open to the poetic and artistic revisitations of the most refined Hellenistic idyll.

1 Referenze Fotografiche

Figg. 1a/g - Coins of Syracuse with the head of *Arethousa*, respectively: *a*) type Boehringer n. 47 (ca. 500-490 B.C.); *b*) so-called *Damareteion* (ca. 466 B.C.); *c*) type Boehringer n. 722 (ca. 430 B.C.); *d*) type Boehringer n. 726 (ca. 420 B.C.); *e*) type of the engraver *Eukleidas*, Tudeer n. 65 (ca. 410-5 B.C.); *f*) die signed by the engraver *Kimon* with legend *Arethousa*, Tudeer n. 78 (ca. 410-400 B.C.); *g*) die of the engraver *Euainetos* (late 5th cent. B.C.); *h*) issue of Agathocles (317-310 B.C.) imitating the type of *Euainetos* at *fig.* 1g. (*Figg.* 1a, 1g/h from Sikanie cit.; *figg.* 1a, c-f- from: *http://ancientcoins. narrow.ru/Boehringer/Boehringer1.htm*: *http://ancientcoins.narod.ru/ rbc/Boehringer/Boehringer4.htm*).

Fig. 2a - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 30576: votive *pinax* in limestone depicting three Nymphs from Messina, locality Camaro (from *Sikanie* cit.).

Fig. 2b - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 46996: votive *pinax* in limestone depicting three Nymphs between two *Paniskoi* from Syracuse, district of S. Lucia (from Bell, *Agrarian Policy* cit. instead from Bellia, *Coroplastica* cit. if using *fig.* 2bis).

Figg. 3a/c - Female terracotta busts of Siceliote type (so-called Agrigentine): *a*) Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 20403, from Terravecchia di Grammichele, locality Poggio dell'Aquila; *b/c*) Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 57008 and 90401, respectively from the area of viale P. Orsi and from the area of the Casa del Pellegrino in Syracuse (*a/b*: from *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*, ed. by C. L. Lyons, M. Bennett, C. Marconi, Los Angeles 2013; *c*: from *Syracuse, the fairest Greek city. Ancient art from the Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi"*, ed. by B. D. Westcoat,

[77] The figure is often adapted for Nymphs as fountain ornaments; it would seem, however, to be connected with the motif of the marine *anodos* of Aphrodite rather than with the bathing of the goddess. For essential bibliographic references cf. nn. 72, 74 *supra*.

[78] I. Cazzaniga, *Saggio critico ed esegetico sul* Pervigilium Veneris, in "Studi Classici e Orientali", 3 (1955), pp. 47-101, part. pp. 70-77.



Rome 1990).

Figg. 4a/b - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 1414: antefix from the Fusco area near Syracuse (from LAMBRUGO, *L'arte* cit.).

Fig. 5 - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 33602: votive terracotta *pinakidion* depicting three Nymphs from Adrano (from BELLIA, *Coroplastica* cit.).

Fig. 6a - Aidone, Regional Archaeological Museum: silver pyxis lid from the "treasure of *Eupolemos*" (from BELL, *Agrarian Policy* cit.).

Fig. 6b - Heidelberg, Collection of the Institute of Archaeology: *emblema* of cup of "Calene" type (from SCHAUENBURG, *Pluton* cit.).

Fig. 7 - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 36218: marble statue of fleeing maiden, found near the Railway Station in Syracuse (from MERTENS-HORN, *Quando gli dei* cit.).

Fig. 8 - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 695. Marble statuette of Nymph from the theater of Syracuse, from the grotto-Nymphaeum *in summa cavea*.

Figg. 9a/b - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 50702. Marble statuette of Nymph from the theater of Syracuse, from the grotto-Nymphaeum *in summa cavea* (photo A.).

Figg. 10a/b - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 50703. Fragmentary marble statuette of Nymph from the theater of Syracuse, from the grotto-Nymphaeum *in summa cavea* (photo A.).

Figg. 11a/b - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 711. Fragmentary marble statuette of Nymph of unknown provenance, already acquired by the Museum in the nineteenth century (photo A.).

Fig. 12 - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 838. Fragmentary marble votive *pinax* with Nymphs from the theater of Syracuse (photo A.).

Fig. 13 - Syracuse, Regional Archaeological Museum "Paolo Orsi", inv. 694. Headless marble statue from Syracuse, from a Nymphaeum in the Giardino Spagna, so-called Afrodite Landolina (from GIULIANO, *L'Afrodite* cit.).

Fig. 14 - Relief with representation of two Nymphs from the sacred way near the *Asklepieion* of Pergamon, Museum of Bergama (from HORN, BOEHRINGER, *Die Ausgrabungen* cit.).

Fig. 15 - Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. MNB 1290. Gilded silver medallion from Galaxidi (from SIMON, *Die Geburt* cit.).

