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ΚΥΠΑΡΑ, A SIKEL NYMPH?

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ΚΥΠΑΡΑ, Α ΣΙΚΕΛ ΝΥΜΦΗ?*

A graffito on a Lakonian krater from Archaic Morgantina in central Sicily, recently published in these pages, names one Κυπάρα as its owner (C.M.A. and J. Neils, *ZPE* 105 [1995] 261-77). A Sikel personal name attested elsewhere in interior Sicily, Kupara is also the Sikel name for the spring at Syracuse called Arethusa by the Greeks and personified as a nymph. We argued that at Morgantina, Kupara could have been the nymph to whom the krater was dedicated, or a Sikel woman who owned the krater and participated in its use, as also suggested by drinking vessels (including kraters) deposited with female burials in Morgantina's cemeteries. While either interpretation was plausible, we leaned in favor of the latter. Now, recent studies of nymphs in Sicily, and additional evidence not considered in our original publication, prompt this additional consideration of Kupara.

Nymphs, Springs and Rivers at Morgantina

In 1982 a fountainhouse was excavated in the northeast corner of Morgantina's agora, located in a valley in the middle of the Serra Orlando ridge (separated from the location of the Archaic settlement by a steep declivity).¹ Votive offerings at channels which originated in a spring in the hillside feeding the fountain's basin suggested that the fountainhouse harbored a nymph cult in the third century B.C., or that offerings were made to the spring's deity when the source began to fail.² While the structure itself dates only to the period of Hieron II, the importance of a public water supply may have contributed to the choice of the valley for the agora when the city on Serra Orlando was laid out, following the destruction of the Archaic site in the mid-fifth century (Bell, *Quaderni* [n. 1] 117). No Archaic fountainhouse is known, and the community on the Cittadella was almost certainly served by springs issuing from the limestone beds of the slopes on which the settlement was built, and by the Gornalunga River to the north. Yet, the agora spring and fountainhouse and the Archaic graffito, raise the tantalizing possibility of a link between the Archaic Kupara, as a nymph, and the Hellenistic cult (on continuity see below).

A recent study has in fact connected the Morgantina fountainhouse and the 3rd century cult with earlier Sicilian and south Italian numismatic iconography. Tetradrachms from Himera show a female figure with phiale, opposite a lion-spouted fountain with a silen bathing in the stream. The figure is interpreted as a nymph. These coins were minted after 470, and can be compared to coinages from Olympia, Pherai, Larissa and Terina with similar compositions, showing either a nymph or Nike at a

* This article was drafted while I was a Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC. Thanks to Malcolm Bell for numerous suggestions and sharing with me his knowledge of all things Sicilian over many years. Thanks also to John Kenfield and Kathryn Morgan for their comments, to Shelley Stone for discussing the North Stoa with me, Carmen Arnold-Biucchi of the American Numismatic Society in New York for the photographs, fig. 5-6, and permission to publish them here, and Shari Kenfield in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University for the photographs, fig. 1-4.

¹ M. Bell, "Recenti scavi nell'agora di Morgantina", *Kokalos* 30-31, II.1 (1984-85) 501-520, 512-13; "Excavations at Morgantina, 1980-1985. Preliminary Report XII", *AJA* 92 (1988) 313-342, 331-338; "La fontana ellenistica di Morgantina", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia* (Messina) 2 (1986-87) 111-124.

² Bell, *AJA* 92 (1988) 333 with figs. 26 (votive cups and lamps) and 27 (pinax with three nymphs playing musical instruments). See also Bell, *Quaderni* (n. 1), 1986-87, pl. 38 fig. 2, and 117 with pl. xxxiii, fig. 2; *Kokalos* 30-31 (n. 1); 512-513. Busts of Persephone were also recovered, but Bell notes that these are associated with a spring at other sites. A similar pinax from a spring at Locri: Bell, *Quaderni* (n. 1), 117 nn. 17-20. Other pinakes from Morgantina with three nymphs: M. Bell, *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas* (Princeton 1981) 162-164, nos. 253-264 (pl. 62 and 63). For a female head terracotta antefix from the fill behind the back wall, see below.

fountain.³ Furthermore, terracotta antefixes with female heads (including examples from Archaic Morgantina), characteristic products of southeastern Sicily especially in the second half of the fifth century B.C., have been identified by Madeleine Mertens Horn almost exclusively as nymphs. The series comes from Syracuse, Camarina, Morgantina, Akrai, Megara Hyblaia and Adrano and decorated buildings sacred to Persephone, Artemis, or Athena (depending on the locality), but nevertheless represented Nymphs.⁴ Cults of nymphs are attested at some period in nearly every place where the antefixes are found. Nymphs are daughters of Acheloos, and are always closely associated with rivers; indeed, the identification of the antefixes as nymphs hinges on their association in the Greek west with antefixes of the river god Acheloos. These figures are argued to represent local streams, not just the river that flows through Akarnania and Aetolia.⁵

As it happens, Morgantina coined silver tetradrachms in the early fourth century modelled after a Syracusan issue showing Arethusa (fig. 1-2). Kenan Erim allows the possibility that the Morgantina obverse shows a nymph, but also considers Persephone, or the personification "Sikelia". Given, however, not only its close dependence on a Syracusan prototype, but also the presence



fig. 1



fig. 2

of dolphins in the field, Arethusa seems a certain identification for this issue's obverse.⁶ While there is nothing to fill the gap of nearly one hundred years between the first coins at Morgantina and the 4th c. issues, there is no hiatus between the destruction of the Archaic settlement on the Cittadella and the re-founded city on Serra Orlando. Cultic continuity would not be difficult to manage, and is in fact attested in a *naiskos* (of unknown dedication) on Farmhouse Hill, the acropolis of the Archaic settlement: built in the 6th c., it was still in use in the 4th, despite the mid-fifth c. destruction of the settlement.⁷ A tenuous link in numismatic, and perhaps cultic, iconography, may also exist. A 4th c. issue of the Morgantina mint, a silver *litra* (Group III), displays a laureate head on the obverse, identified as Artemis, Persephone, or Sikelia. It is more likely to be

³ A. Cutroni Tusa, "La ninfa e la fontana" in J. de la Geniere et al., ed., *Studi sulla Sicilia occidentale in onore di V. Tusa* (Padua 1993) 33-37 with pl. XI. The author argues for a historical reference to the inauguration of each city's fountain in these depictions, rather than a timeless, symbolic reference to the locality embodied in the nymph and spring. See also C. Weiss, *Griechische Flussgottheiten in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 17 (Würzburg 1984). On the seated Nike on coins of Terina, imitated in 4th c. issues of Morgantina, see Erim (below, n. 6) 11 with n. 29. On silens and nymphs, see G. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting* (Ann Arbor 1992) 71-73; cf. 78 (silens and water); cf. idem, *JHS* 114 (1994) 47-69.

⁴ M. Mertens Horn, *Bolletino d'Arte* 76 (1991) 9-28; on Morgantina, see esp. 11-12 and 21-22. Cf. R. M. Albanese Procelli, *SicArch* 73 (1990) 7-31, on Morgantina 12-13, 15, 18.

⁵ Mertens Horn, *loc. cit.* (n. 4) quoting Ephoros, *F. Gr. Hist.* 70 F 20 "I loro connotati iconografici, i lunghi capelli sciolti, il diadema e gli orecchini, distinguono non soltanto le Ninfe dei tetti etrusco-laziali, ma anche le belle teste di Aretusa e dell'inizio del V secolo. Il culto delle Ninfe è testimoniato ... in ogni sito di ritrovamento di queste antefisse, ed eccezione del piccolo centro di Caltagirone, di cui peraltro si sa così poco" (p. 18).

⁶ K. Erim in T. Buttrey et al., *Morgantina Studies II, The Coins* (Princeton 1989), 7-8 + pl I.7-10, Group II (Issue 2, b = Acireale, Pennisi Coll.), ca. 370-350 B.C.; it is the only tetradrachm issued by an interior settlement: "the strong similarity between the Morgantina coin and that of Syracuse suggests that the Morgantina die cutter may have been affiliated with the mint at Syracuse and that this issue was produced at a time when Morgantina, like most of Sicily, was subject to strong Syracusan influence. The city had been captured by Dionysios I in 396 B.C. (Diodorus 14.78.7) and may have remained under Syracusan control" (p. 8). Malcolm Bell points out to me that only two examples of this coin are known, and he suggests that it was in fact issued by Syracuse's mint for Morgantina soon after 396, rather than in the second quarter of the century. See further below.

⁷ J. Kenfield, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 265-274, esp. 267, says that the *naiskos* was "stripped of its contents" before the 4th c. destruction, but elsewhere indicates that the structure was in use into the 4th c. (idem, *Proceedings of the International Conference on Greek Architectural Terracottas of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods*, N. Winter, ed., *Hesperia Suppl.* 27 [1994] 276), which is indicated by the excavation notebooks.

male, though. While a secure identification is not possible, Erim suggested that it could be a youthful Apollo, or a local deity or river god, perhaps the Dittaino (ancient Chrysas) which feeds the Gornalunga.⁸



Fig. 3 (cast)



Fig. 4 (cast)



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

The earliest issues of the Morgantina mint, dated by Erim to the late 460s (just before the destruction of the town by Douketios) are silver *litrae* with bearded male head on the obverse and an ear of wheat on the reverse (fig. 3-4). Erim noted that this bearded head may be another version of this figure (*op. cit.* [n. 6], 13 with nn. 31 and 32; also pp. 25f.).

This possibility is made more plausible by a bronze issue from Group III, a *hexas* with laureate male head on the obverse and an uncertain legend (fig. 5-6). The presence of a tripod on the reverse caused Erim to identify the head as a local version of Apollo, since the combination of laureate head obverse and tripod reverse occurs on silver coins from Croton and Rhegium and electrum from Syracuse, as well as elsewhere.⁹ The legend, previously read as AAKOC, has recently been read as ΛABOC. Herbert Cahn, who made the new reading, thinks that "(...?)ΛABOC" designates a

young, local god otherwise unknown; the only restriction he places on his identification is that "er kann kein Flußgott sein, da die Hörner fehlen."¹⁰ The objection to a river god is apparently based on the expectation that all river gods would be portrayed as Acheloos figures. There is, however, a very attractive candidate for this otherwise unknown figure: the river Alabon (Ἄλαβόν), said to be near Megara Hyblaia (Diodorus 4.78). It is also known as the Ἄλαβος.¹¹ Silvio Raffiotta, however, read *Albos*,

⁸ Erim *op. cit.* (n. 6) 5-7 + pl. I.1-6: Group I, 6c = Ashmolean 1856; Erim makes reference, incidentally, to the Archaic issues of Naxos with Dionysos that are also invoked by Mertens Horn in her discussion of Archaic river god iconography (n. 6). Malcolm Bell points out that other Sikel towns issued coins with bearded heads, which he thinks represented Zeus. Acheloos figures are bearded, too, though they also have horns; see below.

⁹ Erim, *op. cit.* (n. 6) 27, Group III, 8, no. 1e = ANS 470. For a tripod combined with female figure representing Apollo and a nymph, see Manganaro, *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa* ser. 3, 11, 4 (1981) 1078 n. 22. Cf. also *Annali dell'istituto italiano di numismatica*, 20, suppl. (Rome 1975). If the Morgantina heads represent river gods, perhaps the tripod represents a nymph; see below.

¹⁰ Erim *op. cit.* (n. 6) 27-29 and n. 89; Cahn in *LIMC* VI 1 s.v. Labos (?) I, p. 175. S. Raffiotta, in *C'era una volta Morgantina* (Palermo 1991) 15 n. 4, claims to be able to see a horn on the figure (15 n. 4). A small horn is perhaps visible on the example which he illustrates (p. 49 no. 3) but not on the examples published in Erim, nor on the worn example included here. On the other hand, Raffiotta's example does not show the legend. Cahn rightly points out that the oft-mentioned identification as Sikelia is "irrtümlich"; cf. Erim, p. 25, for the only secure identification of Sikelia, on a coin assigned to Alaesa. For Acheloos, see above and H.P. Isler in *LIMC* I,1 s.v., p. 12-36; while all depictions of Acheloos himself might have had horns (whether the body was human or bull), and Acheloos could be a general representation for water, not all rivers had to be depicted as Acheloos, as the temples of Zeus at Olympia and Athena Parthenos at Athens demonstrate. Cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* (n. 3) 126-158 on these latter examples.

¹¹ *Labos* is missing from the literary sources, and the correct reading of the coin could well be A]ΛABOC. Cf. Ἄλαβου ἐκβολαί, Ptolemaios, *Geogr.* 3.4,9; Ἄλαβός, Hesychius, s.v. Diodorus relates that Daidalos, working for the Sikan king Kokalos, built a reservoir for the river; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. See J. Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* II (Cambridge Mass. 1933) 486, listed in his Sikel glosses (including *Alabis* [Silius Italicus, 14,227]); see also *RE* I, 1273 s.v. Alabon (C. Hülsen also mentions ἡ Ἄβολος, Plut. *Timol.* 34). Cf. E. Manni, *Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica*, *Testimonia Siciliae antiquae* I,1 (Rome 1981) 93 (s.v. Ἀβόλλος, Ἄβολος) and p. 96 (Ἄλαβόν) i.e. Càntera (?); cf. p. 43. See also the discussion of E. Sjöqvist in *Sicily and the Greeks* (Ann Arbor 1973) 3-6. Mertens Horn (*loc. cit.* [n. 4] 22) discusses coins of Hybla Megala featuring a female figure leaning on an amphora and accompanied by a leaping dog, and compared this to coins of Segesta showing the eponymous nymph with a dog which probably represents the Krimisos river (see E. Ciaceri, *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* [Catania 1911] 122-136). On analogy with the Segestan coin, Mertens Horn claims that the dog on the Hyblaian coin is the Alabon, while the amphora signifies beekeeping (Hybla was famous for its honey). See further below.

which he identifies with the Dittaino (a tributary of the Gornalunga) and the modern locality of Albospina some distance east of Morgantina, near the present-day reservoir Lago di Ogliastro.¹² Raffiotta notes that Alabos has an Italic root meaning white, and claims, "Non è un caso che uno dei rami del Gornalunga ... si chiami tuttora 'Acque bianche'." The stream called Acquabianca is nowhere near the locality of Albospina, however, and the confluence of this stream, which changes its name several times along its course, with the Gornalunga is some 20 km. east of Albospina, virtually in the Catania plain itself.¹³

It is unclear if the youthful head on the *hexas* is the same figure as the bearded male head on the obverse of the 460s. Should Erim be correct that the bearded head is the Chrysas/Dittaino, that figure can be linked with a cult mentioned by Cicero in the Verrine orations at Assoros, visible to the north from Morgantina.¹⁴ The river in question, however, is more likely to be the Gornalunga, in antiquity the most important in Morgantina's territory. The Morgantina Archaeological Survey has identified a probable Archaic sanctuary to the north of Morgantina, not far from a tributary of the Gornalunga River. Stephen Thompson notes that it may have been placed at the confluence of the Gresti and Gornalunga streams, marking the beginning of the Gornalunga proper.¹⁵ Either way, these heads may represent a river in the vicinity of Morgantina.

There is, then, evidence for the image of a river god on Morgantina's Archaic and Hellenistic coinage to join the nymph, both derived from Syracuse's issues for more than mere political expediency. This would resolve the puzzlement expressed by Erim over the "maritime" obverse of the Morgantina tetradrachm, "quite out of place at this inland site". He explained the choice by pointing to the rarity of the early coinages (Groups I and II), and suggested that most of the money circulating at Morgantina came from other cities of Sicily, Syracuse in particular: "it is in that light that the tetradrachm obverse makes sense... [the] typological reference is monetary, not geographical."¹⁶ If the choice was made instead because of the cult of a local nymph, whose indigenous, Sikel name is that recorded for

¹² *Op. cit.* (n. 10), 15 and n. 4. Thanks to Malcolm Bell for drawing my attention to this; my identification was made independently of Raffiotta's.

¹³ *Op. cit.* (n. 10; 2nd ed. [Enna 1996]) 16 nn. 3, 4; quote on p. 17, n. 6. Stephen Thompson believes that the Acquabianca got its name from the color of the water, which is white with the sulphur once mined in the vicinity; the Gresti springs to the north are also whitish in color for the same reason (see following note). I am grateful to Stephen Thompson for sharing his intimate knowledge of the area, both on the ground in Sicily and in comments on this paper.

¹⁴ Cicero, *Ver.* IV. 96 *fanum Chrysaë*; Diod. 14.95; Sil. It. 14, 229. Mertens Horn *op. cit.* (n. 4) 20 n. 122; *RE* III, 2486 s.v. Chrysas (C. Hülsen, K. Tümpel). Tümpel defines Chrysas as "(d)er höchste Ehren geniessende Gott des (auch von Sil. It. XIV 229 personifizierten) sikelischen Flusses im Gebiete von Assoros, auf der Strasse nach Henna zu, wo er ein Heiligtum und marmornes Tempelbild hatte; Verres liess einen Raubversuch machen." Enna is visible to the southeast of Morgantina. Nothing else is known of this sanctuary.

¹⁵ The Morgantina Archaeological Survey was directed by Stephen Thompson for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Virginia; I thank him for the information and for taking me to the site, as well as permission to mention it here. Raffiotta, in the 1991 edition of his book (above, n. 10), claims that a local landmark on the ridge to the north of this area, the Castello dei Gresti, was in its prehistoric origins connected with the cult of the Gornalunga (15-16 nn. 5, 6). The castello, a medieval structure, is situated near springs which feed a tributary of the Gornalunga, and prehistoric material is abundant in the area.

¹⁶ Erim, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 30. He also mentions strong resemblances between the Group III coins (among which the *ALBOS* examples fall) and South Italian silver issues from Velia, Croton, and Terina—the latter also discussed by Cutroni Tusa in her study, though she does not mention Morgantina's coinage. Erim could not find any historical context for the links between Morgantina's mint and the South Italian mints, suggesting simply that South Italian die cutters worked in Sicily. L. Breglia, however, suggested that the connections between the coinage of Morgantina and Naxos, Agrigento, Gela, Syracuse, as well as Velia and Terina, are explicable by Morgantina's location in a strategic position in Sicily ("Morgantina: studi e problemi", *Annali dell' Istituto italiano di numismatica* 5-6 [1958-59] 336-44, 343-44). For the possibility of east Greek, especially Phokaian, refugees (who also founded Velia/Elea) at Morgantina see J. Kenfield, "The Case for a Phokaian Presence at Morgantina as Evidenced by the Site's Archaic Architectural Terracottas" in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VIe siècle av. J.-C.*, *Varia Anatolica* III, (Istanbul 1990) 261-269, 268-269 on coins.

Arethusa, then a geographical (as well as political) reference is indeed appropriate.¹⁷ One might even wonder if, in this local context, the bearded male rivergod is the father or partner of the nymph.

This conclusion requires inquiring into whether a pre-colonization cult of the nymphs existed in Sicily; it also remains to be considered whether the variations of the name Kupara, Kupura, and Kupra have any significance to this discussion. I take the question of variants first, and conclude with a consideration of indigenous cults.

Kupara, Kupura, Kupra

In the publication of our graffito we discussed the variation between Kupara, attested at Morgantina, and Kupra or Kupura.¹⁸ The evidence for Kupara and related names as personal names, as well as theonyms, came from three contexts in Sicily: first, the literary sources that record Kupara as the local name for Arethusa, and hence a divinity in Sicily; second, a lead tablet from the Palermo area relating to a debt that mentions a person named Κυπύρα; third, a series of loomweights from Terravecchia di Cuti with several variations of the name (*ZPE* 105 [1995] 261-77). The loomweights are probably not votives, and recent examples have come from the settlement, not a sanctuary, confirming their utilitarian character.¹⁹ Other discussions of the Terravecchia weights and the lead tablet have raised the issue of the variants in the names based on the root *kup-. Agostiniani reconstructs Κυπρά as an occasional variant of Κυπύρα, making Κυπύρα the basic form (rather than Κυπρά), and thus unrelated to the Italic goddess *Cupra*. He proposes, however that Κυπάρρα is to be connected with the goddess, since the anaptyxis would be more regular in this case (with *a*, Κυπρά yielding Κυπ(α)ρά) and because of the known connection with Arethusa (a completely different divinity, however, than *Cupra*). Yet, as Agostiniani himself points out, Κυπρά in fact occurs at Terravecchia, and it seems unreasonable to assume that such close variants on the same site (even on the same type of object) should be attributable in one case to an Italic theonym, and in the others identified as an anthroponym (or a different, Sikel divinity).²⁰ Arena, meanwhile, has observed that anaptyxis between either *a* or *u* can be observed in Osco-Umbrian, preserving the possibility of a single derivation for all three of the variants, as Sikel is

¹⁷ If Bell is correct that the tetradrachm was coined at Syracuse soon after the city was taken by Dionysios I, the choice of an obverse showing a Sikel divinity is difficult to understand: Dionysios campaigned against the Sikel cities of the interior because they had supported the Carthaginians (Diod. 14.58.1; cf. 14.78.7). It is unlikely that he would affirm local autonomy or identity with this image under these circumstances.

¹⁸ I take this opportunity to add several references not included in the original publication: on the inscribed loomweights: E. Militello, *Terravecchia di Cuti, Ricerche archeologiche nel territorio di Petralia Sottana* (Palermo 1960) with notes 106, 108, 111; cf. E. Vanni, "Terravecchia di Cuti. Campagne di scavo 1984, 1986, 1987", *Kokalos* 34-35 (1988-89) 669-678; 676 on an additional loomweight discovered in 1987, inv. TC 87/178,1, from the habitation area: Κυπύρα (pl. 112 fig. 2). Add also another mentioned by Vanni, from S. Caterina Villarmosa (in n. 4): S. Vassallo, *S. Caterina Villarmosa, Forma Italiae* 34, (Florence 1990) 58 f., no. 23, fig. 43 (in a private collection); this example records the variation Κυπρά also attested at Terravecchia di Cuti (cf. Vanni n. 5). These are also discussed by Vanni, *Di terra in terra. Nuove scoperte archeologiche nella provincia di Palermo* (Palermo 1993) cf. *SEG* 42. 876-883. See also R. Arena, *Acme* 40 (1987) 17-23, 17 on the use of H as η, not h (Κυκυος ἡμί); cf. idem, *Acme* 40 (1987) 5-16, 7, 41 (1988) 15-19, 16 with n.15. For other discussion, see below.

¹⁹ In addition to n. 18 above, cf. F. Ferrandini Troisi, *Decima miscellanea greca e romana* (Rome 1986) 91-114. Stamped and inscribed loomweights may have served not only to organize the designs of complex fabrics, but also to identify the weaver or the owner of the weights, or to designate the products of the looms, or for commercial or tax purposes (pp. 92-93). On loomweights as offerings, see esp. 97-98 for loomweights in tombs as well as examples inscribed with the names of divinities, including the Charites. Troisi also lists personal names in her catalogue of inscribed weights from the museum at Bari, including some apparently masculine examples.

²⁰ L. Agostiniani, *Kokalos* 30-31, I (1984-85) 193-222, 211-212; cf. Antonaccio and Neils, *loc. cit.*, and Vanni, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 676: "Si è ritenuto dapprima che Κυπύρα e Κυπρά fossero due varianti di un teonimo indigeno. Κυπύρα deriverebbe, per anaptissi di *ypsilon* tra l'occlusiva e la liquida, da Κυπρά identificabile con *Cupra*, la dea venerata nel Piceno e con Κυπάρρα, nome indigeno della fonte Arethusa." Furthermore, he thinks Κυπ(υ)ρά is non-Indoeuropean.

clearly Italic and other links with Oscan exist. The date of the inscription may be too early for anaptyxis as an explanation, however.²¹

The question then becomes whether the common ancestor of *Κυπαρά/Κυπυρά/Κυπρά* has to be the Italic goddess *Cupra* and if *Kupara* as a Sikel divinity is related to *Cupra*. I would rather see *Kupara* and her variants as based on the root **kup-* instead, as we discussed earlier. Its basic meaning is to designate capacity, and the quality of holding something.²² We suggested a bilingual pun in the case of Morgantina's *Kupara*: there, on a krater rim, it referred to both a person (or nymph) named *Kupara*, to whom the vessel belonged or was dedicated, but also to *κυπάρος*, a Greek adjective meaning hollow as well as a noun referring to objects both large (such as kraters) and small (cap of an acorn). To press the case for a nymph further, a vessel with a large capacity is also an appropriate referent or attribute for a nymph, and their iconography sometimes associates nymphs with a *hydria*, a shape that could certainly be described by the Greek term. In the vicinity of Morgantina, Henna (Enna) seems to have issued a coin showing a nymph seated on an amphora.²³

Mertens Horn prefers to connect the *hydria* in the contexts discussed above with bees, frequently associated with nymphs. The nymphs of Keos had taught the hero *Aristaios*, son of *Apollo* and the nymph *Kyrene*, the art of beekeeping; he in turn taught the peoples of Sicily (Diod. Sic. 4.81-2; *LIMC* II 603-607 s.v. *Aristaios I* [B.F. Cook]). Mertens Horn suggested that coins of *Hybla Megala* (a place famous for honey), with a female figure and amphora, represent a nymph and honey. The attending jumping dog represents a local river, on analogy with the dogs on coins of *Segesta*. The amphora, however, makes better sense as a reference to water: with the connection of *Kupara* to *Arethusa*, and the meaning of the root **kup-*, there is even more reason to link the amphorai in these contexts with water, not honey.²⁴ (Indeed, a red figure pelike in Munich shows the nymphs *Arethusa* and *Premnesia* carrying water in *hydriai* to quench the pyre of *Herakles*.)²⁵ Finally, the Morgantina *hexas* with laureate head obverse and tripod reverse may be brought back into the discussion. Perhaps the youthful, Apolline river god was accompanied by the tripod which represented a nymph because its cauldron is part of the same semantics.

²¹ R. Arena, *Acme* 40 (1987) 8 with n. 20; summarized by Vanni *loc. cit.* (n. 18) on links with Oscan, cf. G. Manganaro in *Kokalos* 24 (1978) 54; R. van Compernelle, *Kokalos* 39-40 (1993-94) 143-154, 150 with n. 38; on the Terravecchia loomweights, he summarizes: "presentano alcuni tratti forse italici, ma senza che sia possibile precisare di quale italico si tratta," pre-colonization or 5th c. (and related to the presence of Italian mercenaries at this time). On anaptyxis, see Antonaccio and Neils, *op. cit.* n. 23 (citing C. Watkins).

²² See also the recent article by L. Deroy, *Ant. Cl.* 63 (1994) 265-266: "un groupe de mots en **kup-*, **kub-* et **kumb-* désignant des objets concaves, c'est-à-dire des récipients (κύπελον, κύπη, κύμβη, κύμβος, κυμβίον, κύμβαλον) et des bateaux (κυπή, κυβαία, κύμβη, κυμβίον)." The Italic *Cupra*, on the other hand, is identified with *Bona Dea*.

²³ E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz 1964) 202-203 for examples from *Terina*, *Himera*, *Neapolis*, *Medma* and *Henna* (on the latter, n. 246). Cf. the white ground cup tondo fragments from *Brauron*, showing a young woman approaching a lionhead spout, carrying an empty *hydria* on her head, either a nymph or a *hydrophoros* for *Artemis* (p. 199 and pl. 49,1). See also F. Lissarague, "Women, Boxes, Containers. Some Signs and Metaphors" in E. Reeder, ed., *Pandora, Women in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1995) 91-101.

²⁴ Mertens Horn, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 22 with refs.; see also Cook for the iconography of *Aristaios*, whose honeypot in an Attic black figure olpe is a small jar, not an amphora (Cook no. 1: *ABV* 19,3, Athens Nat. Mus. 16285, Ceramicus Painter). Cf. the *Nike* seated on an amphora on the reverse of coins of *Terina* (nymph on obverse): P. Franke, M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze* (Munich 1964) pl. 95, no. 273, stater of 445-425; pl. 96, no. 276, stater of ca. 425/420: "Im Laufe der Zeit hat die ursprünglich 'reine' Gestalt der *Nike* durch Aufnahme von Elementen, die mit dem Wesen der Nymphen zusammenhängen (so der *Hydria* ...), Wesenzüge der Nymphe und Stadtgöttin *Terina* angenommen, so daß der Kopf auf der Vorder- und die Gestalt der *Nike* auf der Rückseite auch als *Nike-Terina* bezeichnet werden können. Dieser allmähliche Synkretismus ist für den griechischen Bereich zwar nichts Ungewöhnliches, aber nur an den Münzen von *Terina* derart gut abzulesen" (p. 77). Cf. Diehl, *op. cit.* (n. 23) 202, "*Terina Nike*" (pl. 51,6 and 7) and also Cutroni Tusa *op. cit.* (n. 3).

²⁵ Diehl, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 206 with n. 263: inv. no. 2360, *ARV²* 1186, 30 (*Kadmos* Painter); cf. *LIMC* II, 582-584 s.v. *Arethousa* (H. Cahn), no. 4.

Colonial Mythology of Rivers and Springs

The foundation stories told by the Greeks in both poetry and images (especially coins) prominently featured the subjugation of the land in the rape of a local nymph; Arethusa is only the best-known of this type. Land in general is often considered as female, and vice versa: women's fertility is compared to that of the land. The related metaphors of marriage and cultivation for culture, procreation, civilization and community-building extend throughout Greek thought.²⁶ Indeed, so bound up are these notions and their symbolic language with colonization that it is difficult to establish if a pre-Greek cult of the nymphs, or a local divinity associated with springs, existed.²⁷ Four basic arguments have been advanced in favor of an indigenous nymph cult: a common Indoeuropean background (or a common "Aegean" source, sometimes attributed to the Mycenaean presence in the western Mediterranean); Greek assimilation of native, chthonic or nature cults; Sikel cults related to pre-Greek, Italic cults (brought with the Sikels when they came to Sicily from the mainland); or Italic influences postdating the initial immigration of the Sikels, either with the Mamertines in the 3rd c. or in the Roman period (obviously later than Greek colonizations, but still indigenous).²⁸ Many historians of religion have made the assumption that indigenous cults of natural forces, like springs, rivers, or agricultural fertility, were celebrated in pre-Greek Sicily and Magna Graecia; the arrival of the Greeks brought congruent cults of Demeter, Persephone, the Nymphs, and other figures to which native cults were easily assimilated (Mertens Horn, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 20-21, with refs.). Cults of the Paidēs, Hagnai Theai, Korai, Meteres, and a figure called Anna (an Italic *Mater*) are all said to be related to or assimilated to the Nymphs. Of these, the best candidate may be the Paidēs, but the evidence is much later than the period of colonization.²⁹ At Syracuse the specific historical interaction of Greeks and indigenes is not only mythically encoded in the implicit violence of Arethusa's rape (as discussed by Dougherty), but historically narrated in the subjugation of the local Killyrioi by the Greek Gamoroi. While it is also possible that the linguistic hellenization of the Sikels during the 5th c. would have seen them giving Greek names to their divinities, Manni suggests modifying this model of co-acculturation in the case of Syracuse because of the struggle between the Sikels and Greeks. Instead of completely forcible Hellenization, he sees a very particular case of syncretism in a colonization not characterized by peaceful relations. "Certamente qui la grecizzazione appare completa e forse fu tale, ma anche in questo caso l'elemento indigeno non è scomparso totalmente se i Greci ricordavano il nome <siculo> della loro ninfa."³⁰

²⁶ Mertens Horn, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 20; see C. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization* (Oxford 1993), esp. 61-80; on Arethusa, 68-69.

²⁷ Cf. Dougherty, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 68: "the use of marriage imagery leads us to imagine the new civic creation as a joint project of Greeks and native peoples; a harmonious union of opposites, one (Greek) people where there once were two. The very success of this strategy of unification is perhaps at the root of our frustration in attempts to determine the details of Greek interaction with indigenous peoples." There would seem to be a tension between nymphs as water divinities and their symbolism of fertility and land in this line of thinking, but their local identity and female nature makes the metaphor work.

²⁸ Ciaceri, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 242-249; cf. G. Manganaro, "L'oracolo di Maie per una carestia in territorio siracusano", *Annali della Scuola normale di Pisa*, ser. 3, 11,4 (1981) 1069-1082, 1077 (with n. 20); cf. idem, *Cronache dei Archeologica* 17 (1977) 148-164, 154-56; see also Manni, *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 4, 6 (1980) 10; Agostiniani, *op. cit.* (n. 20) 212; and the summary in G. Maddoli, "Religione e culti in Magna Grecia: un secolo di studi", in *Un secolo di ricerche in Magna Grecia, Atti del 28. convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto 1989) 277-303.

²⁹ On the Paidēs see G. Pugliese Caratelli, *Parola del Passato* 6, (1951) 68-75; cf. G. Manganaro, "Iscrizioni rupestri di Sicilia", in R. Zucca and L. Gasperini, ed., *Rupes Loquentes, Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri in età romana* (Rome 1992) 447-501.

³⁰ E. Manni, *Archivio storico siracusano* 4,6, (1980) 5-17, 9-10; he goes on to say, "Nell'Italia meridionale poi, come in Sicilia, i contatti di epoca micenea avevano già avviato, forse, quel processo che la colonizzazione di età storica avrebbe ripreso e rafforzato." Cf. Ciaceri, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 203.

Conclusions

According to Mertens Horn, in several communities in Archaic Sicily female head antefixes which adorned buildings sacred to a variety of divinities represented nymphs: "Di origine sicula o di lontanissima origine greca, ognuna di queste Ninfe era probabilmente legata ad un *numen* naturale, e nessuno, nemmeno il colono greco appena arrivato che aveva conosciuto culti simili nella sua patria, poteva trascurarle" (*op. cit.* [n. 4], 23). With regard to Morgantina in particular, it should be remembered that one series of female head antefixes is early Classical. An example was discovered in the fill behind the fountainhouse's back wall; indeed, the discovery of three-figured terracotta plaques showing dancing nymphs in this context clinches the existence of a nymph cult in Hellenistic Morgantina. Following Malcolm Bell, John Kenfield has recently argued that the classical antefixes decorated the earliest known monumental building from that city, North Stoa I (a predecessor to the extant North Stoa II of Hellenistic date). Bell and Kenfield note a similarity between North Stoa I and the Archaic building on the Cittadella which is the most likely candidate for the female head antefixes discussed by Mertens Horn.³¹ The excavation report, however, does not fully support Kenfield's interpretation of North Stoa I: the structure opens to the north, onto the main east/west roadway through the site, though it may also have been accessible from the south; the building is interpreted as shops, not a place for ritual drinking.³² By contrast, the Archaic building is not a stoa, nor shops, but probably did serve as a venue for ritual drinking and/or dining. (The krater fragment inscribed with the name of Kupara, however, did not come from this building.) Kenfield himself has preferred to interpret the Archaic Morgantina antefixes as representing maenads, partly based on the assumed function of this building.³³ Mertens Horn, however, suggests, "Non escluderei comunque che già il primo tipo—il più antico di tutte le antefisse qui considerate... rappresentasse una Ninfa. Forse essa era originariamente l'antica dea indigena... che, nel corso dell'ellenizzazione, lasciò il posto ad una delle celebri dee ctonie" (*op. cit.* [n. 4], 22 with nn. 157 and 168). Yet, Mertens Horn also identifies late Archaic female head antefixes from Etruria and Latium (as well as a type from Naxos), accompanied by silens or satyrs, as maenads. This identification in turn would call into question Cutroni Tusa's conclusion that the sacrificing figures at fountains on Archaic coins, accompanied by silens, are nymphs.³⁴ But for our

³¹ See M. Bell, *AJA* 92 (1988) 338 for the terminology and chronology for the North Stoa, and 334, fig. 28 with n. 66 for the antefix and the possible placement of the series on North Stoa I. Cf. J. Kenfield, *Proceedings* (n. 7), 275-281, esp. 276-278, with pl. 85: a, inv. 82-237 from fountainhouse; cf. pl. 85: d, inv. 60-655, same series: both assigned to "N. Stoa I", 2nd half of 5th c.; cf. Mertens Horn (n. 4), 22. See also idem, *Deliciae Fictiles* II (Stockholm 1997) 107-112, 111-112. For the publication of North Stoa I, see H. Allen, *AJA* 74 (1970) 359-382, 364 with plan ill. 3; for earlier reports (on North Stoa II, identified as a gymnasium), see *AJA* 66 (1962) 136-37 and 68 (1964) 138-40 (with discussion of earlier remains excavated in 1963, from last third of the 5th c.).

³² Kenfield, *Proceedings* (n.7), 277 claims that the rooms of North Stoa I "apparently gave onto the open space to the south and perhaps onto a street to the north" which is contradicted by Allen's report. The building is currently being studied by M. Bell.

³³ See Kenfield, *Deliciae Fictiles* I (Stockholm 1993) 21-28, esp. 26; for the Archaic building, see my article in *Acta Hyperborea* 7 (1997) 167-93. Another local (indigenous) drinking cult may have existed at nearby Montagna di Marzo (possibly ancient Herbessus); cf. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 24 (1978) 55-56.

³⁴ Mertens Horn, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 17-18: "Date che le Ninfe greche potevano talvolta confondersi con le loro contropartite umane, le Menadi, e trovarsi nel seguito di Dioniso in compagnia di Satiri o Sileni, è probabile che anche in Etruria esse non fossero sempre nettamente distinte. A Veio il tetto del tempio dell'etrusca Menerva nella fase dei grandi acroteri era decorato da una maschera di un dio fluviale, da una testa di Ninfa, dal *gorgoneion* proprio di Atena, e da un Sileno, in modo che la dea risultava circondata da personificazioni della natura benevole, protettive e anche apotropache, che forse illustravano all'uomo le multiformi, magnifiche facoltà della dea stessa." Cf. p. 18 for a related type at Naxos which Mertens Horn allows as a maenad because of its close resemblance to a silen antefix from the same site. Thanks to John Kenfield for several references and discussion of the iconography of Morgantina's architectural terracottas.

purpose it is of little consequence, whether we call the Morgantina antefixes maenads or nymphs.³⁵ Their iconographic functions overlap.

Thus, the native, Sikel version of a nymph called Arethousa at Syracuse may also exist as a cult figure at Morgantina. The iconography of some coins (including Morgantina's), Morgantina's Hellenistic nymph cult and the Archaic krater graffito, the female head antefixes, together with the semantic possibilities of the root **kup-* are all suggestive of a link between a nymph and the name Kupara, and a nymph's function to embody a water source. A connection with the Italic Cupra is less likely. At the same time, the possibility of a person named Kypara at Morgantina is not excluded by any of the foregoing discussion. For the divinity at Syracuse and at Morgantina, the complexity of the associations outlined here argues in favor of the assimilation of a native figure to a Greek nymph, but equally for shared linguistic and cultic roots that preserved the name of Kypara when the other names of presumably local figures were lost.³⁶

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³⁵ G. Hedreen, *JHS* 114 (1994) 47-69 argues on the basis of Greek evidence that maenads are in fact nymphs.

³⁶ Given the widespread equation of Acheloos with rivers in general, one might speculate that the links noted here between **kup-*, Kypara/Arethousa, and water imply a similar sort of broad correspondance between Arethousa and springs. See Kenfield, *Deliciae Fictiles* II (1997) 112, who comes to a similar conclusion based on the fountainhouse evidence: "It seems clear that as far as the Morgantinoi of whatever cultural phase were concerned, female antefixes represented the Nymph, dare I call her KYPARA?"