

# *Delphi, Primeval Purification and Theoria. In Search of a Schema*

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Πλειών

Papers  
in Memory of  
Christiane  
Sourvinou-Inwood

~  
Edited by  
ATHENA KAVOULAKI





*Πλειών*

PAPERS IN MEMORY OF CHRISTIANE SOURVINOU-INWOOD

*Πλειών δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἄρμενος εἶη*  
Hesiod, *Works & Days* 617



*Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood  
at the Norwegian Institute,  
Athens*

*ARIADNE*

The Journal of the School of Philosophy of the University of Crete

Supplement 1

*Πλειών*

**PAPERS IN MEMORY OF CHRISTIANE  
SOURVINOU-INWOOD**

Edited by

ATHENA KAVOULAKI

Rethymnon 2018

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## FOREWORD

**Lucia Athanassaki**

Dean of the School

I CAN THINK OF no better introduction to the new series of *Supplements to Ariadne* than *Πλειών: Papers in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood*. *Ariadne Supplements* is an open access peer-reviewed series that welcomes scholarly publications occupying the space between a journal and a book. These publications are usually *Festschriften* and Conference publications that have some unity, but are not in any sense book ‘chapters’.

We are delighted to be able to publish scholarly research without worrying too much about commercial issues, thanks to the support of the Ioanna Sfakianaki fund. Ioanna Sfakianaki was a Rethymniote who died in 1997 and bequeathed all her property to the School of Philosophy. Once the inheritance cleared, about 10 years ago, this special fund gave a huge boost to the publications of our School, which have since multiplied and are open access (<<http://www.phl.uoc.gr/ekdoseis.php>>).

The editor of this volume, my colleague Athena Kavoulaki, was a very close friend of Christiane since her days as a student at Oxford; I, however, only once met Christiane, cigarette in hand, at a book launch garden party that Oswyn Murray gave at Holywell Manor in 2004. At the time I was reading her *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*. I wish I had told her how much I enjoyed the amazing combination of vast knowledge, precise reconstructions of religious practices and power of visualization that pervades this book. But back then I thought we would have plenty of opportunities to talk at Oxford and Rethymnon. Christiane was known to be a timid traveler, but Athena kept trying to convince her to come to Rethymnon in order to give some lectures. Knowing Athena,

I was sure that sooner or later she would prevail. Unfortunately, it was not meant to happen. I remember the shattering news of Christiane's untimely death that reached us at Rethymnon a few days before the conference on Archaic and Classical Choral Song in May 2007. We scheduled an impromptu memorial event at that conference: Athena Kavoulaki, John C. Petropoulos and Ian C. Rutherford spoke about Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood as a great scholar and dear friend.

This volume springs from a formal memorial conference entitled 'Reading Greek Religion', that Athena Kavoulaki organized in Rethymnon in 2012 in memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's scholarly achievements. I am delighted to see the volume in print. It is a volume that will attract great attention on account of the original and substantial scholarly contributions it contains, and also because it sheds light on an unknown aspect of Christiane's personality, her youthful endeavors in writing poetry which we can now glimpse for the first time, thanks to Athena Kavoulaki who has edited them as an appendix to this volume. Christiane's poems are sensitive, learned and annotated! They herald the formidable learning that would characterize her scholarly work a few years later.

I wish to thank the contributors, the anonymous referees, the copy-editor Kostis Psichoyos, the Publications Committee of the School of Philosophy and above all the editor, my valued colleague Athena Kavoulaki, for master-minding this volume which is a labor of love and exacting scholarship.

School of Philosophy,  
University of Crete  
February 2018

## *Abbreviations and Conventions*

SCHOLARLY JOURNALS normally appear as in *L'Année Philologique*. For ancient sources and basic scholarly works (collections and editions of texts, works of reference etc) standard abbreviations are used (mainly according to the system of *OCD*<sup>4</sup>); but the following may also be noted:

<i>Agora</i>	<i>The Athenian Agora</i> . Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes</i> .
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh et al., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 4 vols, Berlin 1828–77.
<i>CIGS</i>	G. Dittenberger, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae Septentrionis</i> , Berlin 1892.
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> . Paris 1902–.
<i>GHI</i>	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , Oxford 1969.
<i>HTCarie</i>	P. Debord and E. Varinlioglu, <i>Les hautes terres de Carie</i> , (Ausonius Mémoires 4), Bordeaux 2001.
<i>I.Amyzon</i>	J. et L. Robert, <i>Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions</i> , Paris 1983.
<i>I.Apameia</i>	Th. Corsten (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai</i> , (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 32), Bonn 1987.
<i>I.Cret.</i>	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , 4 vols, Rome 1935–50.
<i>I.Didyma</i>	T. Wiegand and A. Rehm, <i>Didyma</i> , II: <i>Die Inschriften</i> , Berlin 1958.
<i>I.Eleusis / IE.</i>	K. Clinton, <i>Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme</i> , 2 vols, (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 236 and 259), Athens 2005–8.
<i>IGASMG</i>	R. Arena, <i>Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia</i> , vols I–IV, Pisa 1992–2002.
<i>IGDGG</i>	L. Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de la Grande Grèce</i> , 2 vols, Geneva 1995.
<i>IGDS</i>	L. Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile</i> , Rome 1989.

<b>IGUR</b>	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , 4 vols, Rome 1968–90.
<b>I.Iasos</b>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> , 2 vols, (IGSK 28), Bonn 1985.
<b>I.Kaunos</b>	C. Marek, <i>Die Inschriften von Kaunos</i> , Munich 2006.
<b>I.Knidos</b>	W. Blümel, <i>Inschriften von Knidos I</i> , Bonn 1992.
<b>I.Oropos</b>	V. Petrakos, <i>Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ</i> , Athens 1997. (Cf. <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , current editors: A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, N. Papazarkadas, and R. A. Tybout (February 2018, < <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IOropos">http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IOropos</a> >).)
<b>I.Rhod.Peraia</b>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften des rhodischen Peraia</i> , Bonn 1991.
<b>I.ScM</b>	D. M. Pippidi and I. I. Russu, <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae</i> , I, Bucharest 1983.
<b>I.Sinuri</b>	L. Robert, <i>Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa</i> . Première Partie. <i>Les Inscriptions Grecques</i> , Paris 1945.
<b>NGSL</b>	E. Lupu, <i>Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents</i> , Leiden and Boston 2005.
<b>N.I.Olympia</b>	P. Siewert and H. Taeuber, <i>Neue Inschriften von Olympia. Die ab 1896 veröffentlichten Texte</i> , (Tyche Sonderband 7), Vienna 2013.
<b>OCD<sup>4</sup></b>	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds), <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4th edition, Oxford and New York 2012.
<b>OF Bernabé</b>	<i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> = A. Bernabé, <i>Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta</i> , Pars II: <i>Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta</i> , fasc. 1 et 2, Munich and Leipzig, 2004–2005; fasc. 3: <i>Musaeus · Linus · Epimenides · Papyrus Derveni · Indices</i> , Berlin and New York, 2007.
<b>OF Kern</b>	O. Kern, <i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> , Berlin 1922 (reprint 1963).
<b>PG</b>	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae Cursus, Series Graeca</i> .
<b>P.Gurob</b>	J. G. Smyly (ed.), <i>Greek Papyri from Gurob</i> , (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs 12), Nos 1–29, Dublin 1921.
<b>TAM</b>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , Wien 1901–.
<b>Tit.Cam.</b>	M. Segre and G. Pugliese Carratelli, ‘Tituli Camirenses’, <i>ASAtene</i> 27–29 (1949–1951): 141–318.

Abbreviations may at times be included in the lists of works cited that can be found at the end of every chapter (note that no comprehensive bibliography is given at the end of the volume).

Transliterations of ancient Greek names are not characterized by strict consistency: it has seemed reasonable to use the familiar Latinized spelling for those names for which this has become normal English usage (e.g. ‘Plato’ instead of ‘Platon’, ‘Plutarch’ instead of ‘Ploutarkhos’). Hellenized transliterations have been adopted for less familiar terms or in order to avoid confusion.

## *Acknowledgments*

THE ORIGINAL IDEA for a volume in memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood was born at a conference organized in her memory in September 2012 in Crete. It was an event that proved rewarding and valuable in its own right. The friendly atmosphere, the stimulating talks and the lively discussions were an appropriate tribute both to Christiane's scholarly achievements and to her passionate and inspiring personality. I am pleased to have the opportunity to express in writing my sincere thanks to all those who came to Crete at that time and shared scholarly ideas or fond memories, more specifically (in alphabetical order) E. Aston, L. Athanassaki, J. Blok, E. Bowie, I. Clark, R. Gagné, F. Graf, D. Hedley, S. Hitch, S. Humphreys, S. Iles Johnston, M. Inwood, D. Makri, A. Marinis, A. Nikolaidis, N. Papalexandrou, R. Parker, J. Petropoulos, V. Pirenne-Delfolge, I. Rutherford, A. Serghidou, M. Vlazaki, P. Wilson.

When that event took place, the financial crisis in Greece had already set in. It was almost a miracle that the conference managed to take place. Warm thanks are due to those institutions and individuals who supported that project financially, as well as to all those (colleagues, students and friends included) who assisted in many different ways.

The enthusiasm engendered by the conference made the idea of the publication of the proceedings appear imperative. But the circumstances were adverse. Securing funds in those days proved difficult and dispiriting. The journey became a long one with repeated reconfigurations and rearrangements of schedules. I am grateful, however, to all those who persevered all the way, as well as to those who joined midway; their persistence—and patience—fueled the whole effort, and finally the destination has been reached.

I am fully aware, however, that this goal would have been unattainable, had it not been for the acceptance of the publication by the Editions

of the School of Philosophy of the University of Crete. I am grateful to the former Dean of the School Prof. K. Kopaka and to the members of the committee who initially accepted my proposal, and I feel truly thankful to our current Dean, Prof. Lucia Athanassaki, for the lively interest, trust and support that she has shown towards this project. Her concern and her sense of *kairos* have proved more than decisive.

I would also like to thank the Sfakianakis Trust for funding the publication, the Resource Management Department of our University for making the funds available, the various readers of the essays for their helpful comments, and Kostis Psychoyos for his scrupulous preparation of the manuscript.

There are also debts of a different kind: to Mike Inwood for all his support and for entrusting me with Christiane's poetry notebook; to John Raffan for his friendship and for precious moments of learned interaction; and to my family for too many reasons.

The volume is dedicated to the memory of a great classical scholar, a beloved friend and a deeply sensitive person: Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. Her work will be long appreciated and will long continue to inspire scholarly discussions—and she will be remembered with gratitude for ever.

A.K.

December 2017

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**DELPHI, PRIMEVAL PURIFICATION AND *THEŌRIA*:  
IN SEARCH OF A SCHEMA**

Ian Rutherford

*THEŌROI* ('observers') were delegates sent by cities to sanctuaries and festivals to attend, view, and spectate (hence the word '*theōroi*'<sup>1</sup>), on behalf of the city. The practice is well attested in Classical and Hellenistic periods, less so in the Roman Empire, although it must still have continued. Having the capacity to send its own delegation to one of the national festivals is a primary sign that a community is autonomous, just as being able to attract delegates from elsewhere—as imperial Athens did in the fifth century—shows that it is important. *Theōria* thus played a key role in '*polis* religion', and in fact it was the main religious mechanism through which the polis connected with the rest of the world. My friend Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood discussed its operation, albeit briefly, in her seminal articles on that subject,<sup>2</sup> and I was also immensely privileged to have had the opportunity to discuss the subject with her a number of times. Hence I regard it as appropriate to offer here in a volume dedicated to her memory a brief discussion of an aspect of the subject that I believe would have interested her.

1. I begin with one of the few pieces of evidence that attest rituals relating to the departure of *theōroi*.<sup>3</sup> According to Varro (cited by Probus in his preface to Virgil's *Eclogues*),<sup>4</sup> people in Rhegium setting off for Delphi

<sup>1</sup> Associated perhaps with θέα (spectacle) or even θεός (god), i.e. 'sight-watcher' or 'god-watcher' respectively; see RUTHERFORD 2013, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1990, 297-298.

<sup>3</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2013, 174-178.

<sup>4</sup> Varro, *ARH* Book 10, fr.XI Mirsch (1882), 110 = Probus, ad Verg. *Buc.* VI, 31, p. 325 Hagen.

took laurel from the grove of the temple built long before by Orestes after he was purified for the murder of his mother, having presumably been sent there by Apollo from Delphi:

Varro mentions this river, in which Orestes was purified, in the tenth book of the *Humanities* (*Human Antiquities*) with these words: near Rhegium there are seven rivers connected together: the Latapadon, Micotes, Eugiton, Stracteos, Polie, Molee, and the Argeades. It is said that in these Orestes was purified from the mother's murder, and that his bronze sword has been there for a long time, and that he built a temple dedicated to Apollo, and that the inhabitants of Rhegium, when they are about to set off for Delphi, after having performed the sacred rite (*res divina*), used to tear some laurel from the temple's sacred grove, and bring it with them.

Immediately after this Probus cites a corroborating evidence from the *Origines* of M. Porcius Cato, who refers to a group called the Tauriani and the town Taurinum in this region, and specifies that Orestes, when he arrived there, was accompanied by Iphigeneia and Pylades;<sup>5</sup> the location is probably the River Petrace close to the city of Matauros, about 50 km north of Rhegium.<sup>6</sup>

This was not the usual site for Orestes' purification. He was more often said to have been purified in the Peloponnese, most frequently in Arcadia; and the story that achieved canonical status was Aeschylus' version in his *Oresteia* that he was absolved of guilt in Athens, but via judicial procedure rather than by ritual.<sup>7</sup> When and how Orestes came to be associated with South Italy is impossible to say. The poet Stesichorus is said to have been from Matauros, and in view of the associations of this region with Orestes, the possibility arises that Stesichorus' *Oresteia* was originally performed at this site (as Willy Cingano suggested).<sup>8</sup> On

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Porcius Cato, *Origines* F45 (= CORNELL *et al.* (eds) 2013.2, 182-183; 2013.3, 89-93). For other sources, see COSTABILE 1979, 528-529. For parallels for the deposited sword, see MELE 2011, 362.

<sup>6</sup> See COSTABILE 1979, 529 (with map on p.553), who identifies the river with the ancient Metauros, modern River Petrace.

<sup>7</sup> Arcadia: Pherecydes fr.135 and Eur. *Orestes* 1643-47; *Electra* 1273-74. See FOWLER 2013, 439-441. Other places in the Peloponnese are: Gythion: Paus. 3.22.1 with LESKY 1939, 989-990; and Ceryneia: Paus. 7.25.7. At Athens the practice of solo-drinking on the second day of the Anthesteria festival was supposed to go back to the episode in myth-history when the polluted Orestes was accepted into the community, though kept at arm's length (see below pp. 27-28).

<sup>8</sup> See Stephanos of Byzantium s. Μάταυρος (= T9 in CAMPBELL 1991, 35); Suda s. Στησίχορος

the other hand, it might be better to think of a later date if Orestes came to be linked with South Italy because the toponym/ethnonym Taurinum/Tauriani suggested to someone the story of the flight of Iphigeneia and Orestes from Tauris, which is not attested before Euripides.

The most reasonable explanation for the use of laurel by people travelling from Rhegium, described by Varro, is that they obtained it having made the journey north, perhaps on the occasion of a festival, where they performed the sacred rite (*res divina*). Carrying laurel seems highly appropriate to the Apolline context: 'Laurel carrier' (*Daphnephoros*) was a common epithet of Apollo, most famously at Eretria, and at Thebes it lent its name to the Daphnephoria-festival.<sup>9</sup>

The degree of ritualization strongly suggests that the participants were official *theōroi*, travelling to Delphi on civic business, either to consult the oracle or to attend the festival. They may have carried laurel for the same reason that other *theōroi* are known to have worn crowns — as a symbol of their sacralised status to protect them from attack.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the *res divina* performed at the start may well have been a purification ritual<sup>11</sup> somehow recalling the purification of Orestes and intended as a rite of passage marking the beginning of the *hieromenia* which lasted during their *theōria*-mission.<sup>12</sup>

2. Carrying laurel is not uncommon in Greek ritual,<sup>13</sup> but the idea of carrying laurel to Delphi after a purification seems to echo the Delphic festival known as the Septerion (or Stepterion).<sup>14</sup> In Plutarch's version of this a boy or young man flees Delphi after setting fire to a hut, which was in Plutarch's day taken to symbolise the lair of the Delphic dragon (making the young man the ritual *avatar* of Apollo). He wanders as a

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(T1 in CAMPBELL 1991, 28) says he was from Ματαυρία. For the performance see CINGANO 1993. If the *Oresteia* was performed on an occasion when the *theōroi* were setting off for Delphi, this would be an example of theoric poetry of the sort I discussed in RUTHERFORD 2004a; and now RUTHERFORD 2014.

<sup>9</sup> CALAME 1977.1, 117-119; SCHACHTER 1981-94.1, 84. For laurel, see also SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1979, 233.

<sup>10</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2013, 213-215 and 217-222; BLECH 1982, 366.

<sup>11</sup> See, however, CORNELL *et al.* (eds) 2013.2, 183 who translate 'after carrying out a sacrifice'.

<sup>12</sup> MELE 2011, 356-357 connects it with the foundation story of Rhegium (Strabo 6.1.6, 426), according to which the founders were Chalcidians who had been sent to Delphi as a tithe during a famine; the *theoria* thus replicates the foundation story, and the purification ritual resolves the impure status of the colonists, exiled like *pharmakoi*.

<sup>13</sup> See BLECH 1982, 218.

<sup>14</sup> On the Septerion see RUTHERFORD 2004b. On the paeon reference (Pindar's *Paeon X(a)* which seems to be our earliest source for the Delphic Septerion), see RUTHERFORD 2001, 200-205.

fugitive through North Greece, eventually reaching Thessaly, where purifications take place, which were intended to reenact the primeval purification of Apollo after he killed the dragon. The location may have been the adjacent River Peneios, which, in a tradition probably at least as old as Pindar, is linked to the Underworld.<sup>15</sup>

According to Aelian, who may well be drawing on Theopompus for this,<sup>16</sup> the Delphians sent noble children to Thessaly, accompanied by an *arkhitheoros*, who made a sacrifice there and then returned, bringing laurel from the very tree where Apollo purified himself.<sup>17</sup>

Here, as the people of Thessaly report, Pythian Apollo purified himself on the orders of Zeus, when he had slaughtered the snake that still guarded Delphi, the oracle still being in control of Earth.<sup>18</sup> He made himself a crown from the laurel of Tempe, and carrying a branch [from the same laurel] he went to Delphi to take over the oracle as the son of Zeus and Leto. There is an altar at the very spot where he put on the crown and removed the branch. Even now every eight years the Delphians send here the children of noble families accompanied by someone to lead the delegation (*arkhitheōros*). They arrive, make a lavish sacrifice in Tempe, and return with crowns woven from the same laurel from which the god took branches for his crown on the earlier occasion. They take the route known as the Pythian which carried them through Thessaly, Pelasgia, Oeta, and the territory of the Aenianes, Malis, the Dorians and Western Lokris. The latter escort them with respect and honour equal to that accorded to the delegation bringing sacred offerings to the same god from the Hyperboreans. In addition, the crowns given to victors at the Pythian Games are from this laurel.

<sup>15</sup> *De def. or.* 15, 417e-418d; for the Peneios and its linking with the myth of the Septerion (in the context of Pindar's *Paean X(a)*), see RUTHERFORD 2001, 201-202, drawing on SIMON 1953, 33ff.

<sup>16</sup> Aelian, *VH* 3.1 = Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 80.

<sup>17</sup> Aelian, *VH* 3.1: ἐνταυθὰ τοῖ φασι παῖδες Θετταλῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Πύθιον καθήρασθαι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Διός, ὅτε τὸν Πύθωνα τὸν δράκοντα κατετόξευσεν φυλάττοντα τοὺς Δελφοὺς, τῆς Γῆς ἔτι ἐχούσης τὸ μαντεῖον. στεφανωσάμενον οὖν ἐκ [ταύτης] τῆς δάφνης τῆς Τεμπικῆς καὶ λαβόντα κλάδον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα [ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς δάφνης] ἐλθεῖν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς παῖδα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο καὶ τὸν κλάδον ἀφείλε. καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δι' ἔτους ἐνάτου οἱ Δελφοὶ παῖδας εὐγενεῖς πέμπουσι καὶ ἀρχιθέωρον ἓνα σφῶν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς θύσαντες ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεισιν ἀπίαισι πάλιν στεφάνους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δάφνης διαπλέξαντες, ἀφ' ἧςπερ ἐλὼν καὶ τότε ὁ θεὸς ἐστεφανώσατο. ... καὶ μὴν καὶ Πυθίοις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δάφνης τοὺς στεφάνους τοῖς νικῶσι διδόναι. ...

<sup>18</sup> The best account of the oracle of Earth at Delphi and its take over by Apollo remains SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991 (= 1979; 1987).

This text represents the Septerion as a civic ritual performed in the open, a linear celebration of North Greek identity. On the face of it, this seems quite different from the wanderings of Plutarch's isolated fugitive. It is not clear how to reconcile the two accounts; did the ritual change over time, with Plutarch perhaps harking back to an earlier, tribal phase and Theopompus representing a later phase when the ritual had been reshaped to serve a political purpose? or are we dealing with two parts or aspects of the same thing, Plutarch focusing on the dramatic ritual at Delphi, and Theopompus the civic frame that surrounds the journey?

However we explain it, the Septerion seems to provide another example of the association between purification, laurel and pilgrimage to Delphi that we found in the ritual from Rhegium. There are three differences: first, the purification is of Apollo rather than of Orestes; secondly, the people making the journey are Delphians rather than locals, who journey to Thessaly and then return, while the people of Rhegium travel to Delphi and back; and thirdly, the laurel carried in the Septerion procession has a double function, both marking out the status of the participants (in this case described as imitating Apollo who himself wore laurel) and destined to be used for the prizes in the Pythian festival.<sup>19</sup>

In this paper I shall suggest that this can be seen as case of a general myth-ritual pattern or 'schema', to borrow a favourite theoretical term of Christiane's.<sup>20</sup> For want of a better term, we can call it the 'schema of purification, laurel and pilgrimage to Delphi'. In what follows I shall suggest that at least two other examples of it can be identified.

3. The first example relates to Orestes. Apart from South Italy or Athens (mentioned above) another place that claimed to be the site of the purification of the matricide Orestes is Troezen. Our sole source is Pausanias,<sup>21</sup> who tells us that the purificatory rites were carried out in two locations: first, by nine men on a 'sacred stone' in front of the temple

<sup>19</sup> The parallel between the ritual at Matauros and the Septerion is developed also by INTRIERI 2008, 379-381, who suggests that the geographical position of Matauros north of Rhegium is analogous to that of Tempe in relation to Delphi.

<sup>20</sup> To give some examples: schemata and myth in SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991, 247 (... 'if it is correct that myths are structured by schemata and "messages" reflecting important facets of the society's beliefs, realities and representations'); schema and ritual in SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991, 285-286 (the ritual schema of dining on leaves at the sanctuary). Christiane apparently took this term from PIAGET 1973.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. 2.31.4-9. See CALAME 2009, 245-246; PUCCI 2016.

of Artemis Lykeia, which Orestes founded; and secondly in a ‘booth (*skene*) of Orestes’ situated in front of the sanctuary of Apollo Thearios,<sup>22</sup> where he stayed because no citizens would receive him into their home (a striking parallel to the aetiology for solo drinking on the second day (the ‘Choes’) of the Anthesteria festival at Athens.<sup>23</sup>

Down to the present day, the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes dine here on appointed days. A little way from the booth were buried, they say, the means of cleansing, and from there grew up a laurel-tree, which indeed still remains, being the one before the booth.<sup>24</sup>

So here we have purification and the laurel; the only element missing is the departure of *theōroi* for Delphi. Like all other Greek cities, Troezen must have sent *theōroi* to Delphi and likely enough their departure was somehow connected to the local cult of Apollo Thearios. In fact Apollo’s epithet might mean ‘relating to *theōroi*’ (*thearos* is the standard Doric form of *theōros*). Similar semantic issues arise with the building called the Thearion on the nearby island of Aegina mentioned by Pindar, which must have been an institution for local *theōroi* of some sort.<sup>25</sup> At Troezen it would not be surprising if ‘the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes’ were members of a traditional sacred *genos*, one of whose duties was participating in *theōriai* to Delphi, and if they travelled to Delphi carrying laurel from their local laurel tree like the pilgrims from Rhegium.<sup>26</sup>

It is impossible to say how old this tradition was. The parallel with the Athenian ritual has been thought to imply dependence on that, though in fact the relationship could be the other way round.<sup>27</sup>

4. My last example comes from Crete, whose links with Delphi go back at least as early as the Cretan priests of the *Homeric Hymn* to Apol-

<sup>22</sup> Paus. 2.31.8. The epithet Thearios is also found in Troezen’s colony Theangela in Caria: see RUTHERFORD 2013, 136.

<sup>23</sup> Orestes’ drinking alone is first referred to in Eur. *Iphigenia in Tauris* 957-960.

<sup>24</sup> Paus. 2.31.8: καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαροῶν φασὶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναφῦναι δάφνην, ἥ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν, ἥ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης.

<sup>25</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2010 and 2013, 131-135.

<sup>26</sup> For the role of sacred *gene* in *theōriai*, see RUTHERFORD 2013, 136. That the *theōroi* carried laurel from the tree was suggested also by MELE 2011, 361; criticized by PUCCI 2016, 79 n.23.

<sup>27</sup> For references see PUCCI 2016, 76 and 88-92.

lo,<sup>28</sup> and where many skilled purifiers are supposed to have lived, such as Thaletas and Epimenides. Another famous purification, this time of Apollo again, is supposed to have been made by Carmanor at Tarrha, on the south coast of Western Crete, where Apollo was later worshiped under the epithet Tarrhaios.<sup>29</sup> In the story Apollo along with Artemis had sought purification first in Sicyon, but had mysteriously departed, and their abortive visit was still commemorated by a ritual in Pausanias' day.<sup>30</sup> Carmanor had good Delphic connections, since his son Chrysothemis is supposed to have won the first musical contest there.<sup>31</sup> Tarrha is not known to have sent any *theōroi* to Delphi, although (like most other cities) it had a *thearodokos* to receive the Delphic festival announcers.<sup>32</sup> Tarrha was a member of the league of the Oreioi, comprising several other cities in the region.<sup>33</sup> One of these cities, namely Elyros, a few kilometers West, also had a Delphic *thearodokos*, but uniquely, Elyros had a *thearodokos* at Delphi as well to receive *theōroi* going from Tarrha, as we see from a decree from the 2nd century BC.<sup>34</sup> A religious link between Elyros and Delphi is indicated by Pausanias' testimony that Elyros dedicated a bronze goat there represented as suckling the Phylakides and Philander, the sons of Apollo and the local nymph Akakallis. Significantly, this myth of Elyros also involved Tarrha, because, according to Pausanias' Elyrian informants, the location of Apollo and Akakallis' primeval lovemaking was the house of Carmanor in Tarrha.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *H. Hom. Ap.* 390-544.

<sup>29</sup> Paus. 2.7.8; 2.30.3; 10.6.6. Tarrhaaios, possibly a son of Apollo, was also the name of the father of the founder of the Cretan city Lappa (Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.*) close to the NW coast; Lappa had strong links to Apollo's cult of Clarus in the Roman period (RUTHERFORD 2013, 439-440).

<sup>30</sup> Paus. 2.7: [7] Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίῳ ἕνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δείματος, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλειᾳ νόσος ἐπέλαβε· καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντις Ἀπόλλωνα ἰλάσασθαι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, [8] οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἰκετεύοντας· ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἔλθειν, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερόν. τούτοις δὲ εἰκότα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ἴασιν οἱ παῖδες τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερόν αὐθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναόν φασι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ...; the Sicyon episode is interpreted by MELE 2011, 359.

<sup>31</sup> See Paus. 10.7.2. For Apollo Tarrhaaios, see ALY 1908, 43-44; Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.*

<sup>32</sup> The evidence is the Delphic *thearodokoi* list of about 220-210 BC, col.3.111; for the text see PLAS-SART 1921; RUTHERFORD 2013, 423, text D16.

<sup>33</sup> See SEKUNDA 2000; TRAEGER 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Delphic *thearodokoi* list col.3.110; see previous note. Decree of Elyros: *I.Cret* 2.13.1A (= RUTHERFORD 2013, 424, text E1).

<sup>35</sup> Paus. 10.16.5.

Thus, if we take Elyros and Tarrha together, we find two of the components of the schema I identified earlier: primeval purification (at Tarrha) and a close link to Delphi (at Elyros); only the laurel is lacking.

5. To conclude, I have sought to identify a ritual schema in which the movement of sacred delegates between a Greek city and Delphi is coordinated with a myth about a primeval purification of Apollo or Orestes which is supposed to have happened in the city, and in which the setting off of the delegates from the city takes place in the context of a ritual or myth commemorating the purification. A special symbol of the primeval purification is the wearing of laurel taken from a significant tree.

Part of the significance of instances of this ritual schema is aetiological: the journey of the delegates to Delphi in present time reciprocates the journey of Orestes or Apollo in the opposite direction in the past; and the successful purification of Orestes and Apollo in the distant past may have been thought to provide a precedent for the ritual purification that many people, travelling to Delphi to consult the oracle, may have hoped Apollo would provide.<sup>36</sup> In addition, rituals of this sort may have served to guarantee the sacralised status of those setting off for Delphi, providing a sort of 'rite of passage', which marked the transition between normal life and period of the sacred journey; in some cases this was a 'sacred period' or *hieromenia* coinciding with the absence of the delegates *en mission*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The general view has been that Delphic purification was more a matter of myth than reality (see DYER 1969; PARKER 1983, 139), but purificatory sacrifices seem to be mentioned in the convention between Andros and Delphi, *CID* 1.7, A13, 31-32, with RUTHERFORD 2013, 372. Compare also Aristoxenus' (fr.117W) account of the mysterious illness afflicting the women of South Italy, for which the Delphic oracle recommended singing spring paeans (a form of purification?). Many of the surviving oracles of Apollo from Roman Clarus also prescribe purification: see MERKELBACH and STAUBER 1996; RUTHERFORD 2013, 97.

<sup>37</sup> Recent work on Cyrene has in fact uncovered evidence for an offering called '*Prothearia*' ('before the *theōria*'), apparently regarded as one of the 'Days of the Akamantia', which seems to be associated with purification. See RUTHERFORD 2013, 187-188 and 403 (text D5); DOBIAS-LALOU 2007, 147-148; 2003, 18; *SEG* 57.2010. The mysterious term 'Akamantia' also occurs in the Cyrenaean Cathartic Law (*SEG* 9.72, *LSS* 115, A21-25; cf. PARKER 1983, 338-339); hence 'the Days of the Akamantia' would be days on which purification took place and the point of the associated *Prothearia*-offering could well have been to purify those going on the *theōria*. Notice also that according to the *Lex Sacra* from Selinous one of the contexts for the performance of the rite for the Chthonic Gods mentioned on side A of the text (ll.7-8) is 'before the truce, in the fifth year, in which the Olympiad also occurs': JAMESON, JORDAN and KOTANSKY 1993, 15; RUTHERFORD 2013, 90.

Quite possibly the total number of instances of this schema was greater than four. Purification sites of Apollo are rare;<sup>38</sup> but Orestes was said to have been purified in many places;<sup>39</sup> his purification in W. Arcadia, which seems to be particularly old, could well have been the site of another instance of this schema.

Can we say anything about the relationship between the four extant instances? It seems likely that the Seperion was first; other instances may either have been introduced by local authorities who had observed Delphic rituals and decided to replicate them, or alternatively the push may have come from the Delphic authorities, possibly working through the mechanism of oracles. It may be noted that from the point of view of Delphi the locations of Matauros and Tarrha are situated towards the extremes of the catchment area of the sanctuary in the West and the South, just as the River Peneios represents a Northern limit (a site in the East is lacking; should we think of Athens? or even of Tauris?). A problem with the hypothesis of central management might seem to be that the Delphic authorities would have been unlikely to commit themselves to the idea that each of Apollo and Orestes was purified at more than one place. But myth-ritual does not necessarily work by such strict logic; multiple locations for such purifications could have been tolerated, especially since any one act of purification would not necessarily have been considered final.



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<sup>38</sup> In Argos by the local king Crotopus according to Statius, *Theb.* 1.570, but it is not clear how old the tradition was; cf. also the abortive purification at Sicyon (mentioned above): Paus. 2.7.7-8.

<sup>39</sup> See above.

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Cover: Edited photo (flipped horizontally)  
of a part of the restored fresco from the summer  
triclinium of the “Casa del bracciale d’oro”  
in Pompeii, 30-35 CE

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**Ariadne** SUPPLEMENT 1

Πλειών  
Papers in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood