

THE PERSIANS AT DELPHI

(PLATE XI)

THE LIBRARY of the Royal Society in London has as its MS No. 73 the unpublished diary of Francis Vernon, containing notes made during his trip through the Middle East in 1675 and 1676. It bears in the catalogue the title: "Francis Vernon, Rough Journals of his travels through Greece, with numerous copies of old inscriptions, plans, etc." The existence of these notes has been known for some time, for Anthony à Wood reported them in the second volume of *Athenae Oxonienses* in 1692, though he expressed no high opinion of them, calling them "observations made in his [Vernon's] travels not fit to be published, because imperfect and indigested."¹ Later, Thomas Birch wrote in the *History of the Royal Society of London*, III (1757), pp. 357-358: "Mr. Vernon's journal of his travels is extant among the papers of the Royal Society, being found among those of Dr. Hooke, as appears from a letter of Dr. Richard Mead to the Revd. Mr. Edmund Chishull (dated Crutched Fryars, July 15, 1709). This journal, which contains only short and imperfect notes but a great number of inscriptions, begins at Spalatro, July 8, 1675, and ends at Ispahan, September 14, 1676." The letter to which reference is here made is at present bound with the journal and reads as follows:

Sir:

Mr. Waller, Secretary to the Royal Society, found these papers among Dr. Hooke's collections; they are supposed to be Mr. Vernon's Journal when he travelled in Turkey, and as they contain several Inscriptions (among many trifles) he thinks it may be some satisfaction to you to see 'em; Having delivered 'em into my hands for this purpose, I gladly take the opportunity of professing myself

Your most humble Servt.

R. Mead

Crutched-fryars
July 15, 1709

The inscriptions were known to John Taylor who made use of one of them in his famous edition of Demosthenes, and this publication was taken over by Boeckh in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* as part of his evidence for the text of No. 1080.² Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 359) reported the text as being "Ex schedis anecdotis Vernonii" and added the further comment "Num haec inscriptio ab aliis edatur necne, nescio sane, neque vacat consulere. . . ." Since his time I find no record that anyone has studied the epigraphical texts as copied by Vernon, though they amount in all to some twenty-nine pages. Also among the many trifles of Vernon's notes are interesting

¹ The severity of Wood's judgments about other people and their works was notorious. This quotation is taken from the edition of his book prepared in 1817 by Philip Bliss, Vol. III, p. 1133.

² The inscription is now published as *I.G.*, VII, 94-95 = Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 909.

and at times instructive comments on the buildings of Athens, those on the Parthenon being particularly valuable because he visited the Acropolis some years before the bombardment by Morosini. I do not plan here to discuss these notes, nor, indeed, to study the greater part of the epigraphical record. These tasks must be left until a later date, but one of the inscriptions which Vernon saw at Delphi is of more than usual interest. I have consequently excerpted the few documents that Vernon saw in or near Castri and present them briefly here.³

Vernon arrived in Castri at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of September 26, 1675, and departed at the same hour on the following day, proceeding by way of Hosios Loukas to Lebadea, where he arrived on September 28. The pages of the diary which carry the Delphic inscriptions are the recto and verso of folio 19 and are here reproduced in facsimile in Plate XI.⁴

The first Delphic text has been published as *C.I.G.*, 1723, and is now re-edited by Georges Daux in the current number of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.⁵ Vernon seems erroneously to have indicated the text as parts of two inscriptions. This inscription was also copied in its entirety by George Wheler in January of 1676.⁶

The next inscription was copied by the fountain, which can only mean the Castalian Spring. It is the epigraphical record of the epigram written to commemorate the Greek victory when the Persians were thrown back from Delphi in 480 B.C. The text has been preserved in the literary tradition by Diodoros (XI, 14) and reads as follows:

μνᾶμα τ' ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας
 Δελφοί μ' ἔστασαν Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι,
 σὺν Φοίβῳ πολίπορθον ἀπωσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων
 καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος.⁷

Actually the inscription, as cut on stone, occupied five lines instead of the conventional four, a disposition which is attested as correct so far as the division of lines is concerned by the spacing of the lacunae at the left and in the center. It appears that the mark like a poorly shaped upsilon, in the middle of the first line of the copy, is Vernon's way of representing a break at that point. Below it and slightly to the right some of

³ I am indebted to the Council of the Royal Society for giving me permission to publish this manuscript, and I wish to express my warm thanks particularly to Mr. Davies and to Mr. Robinson for their many courtesies during my visits to London.

⁴ The date at the top of the recto (September 25) does not agree with the detailed account in the diary.

⁵ *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 121-122, § 33.

⁶ British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 166; for the manuscript record of Wheler's inscriptions, see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.

⁷ I follow Preger's punctuation in *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* (Leipzig, 1891), no. 86, with commentary.

the letters of the word Δε[λφο]ί were also lost. It is not clear how much is missing from line 1. I judge from the fact that line 1 does not extend farther to the right that the final O does duty for the diphthong OY. There is no evidence otherwise that the stone was broken at the right. I assume, therefore, that the only letter lost by the break in the middle of the line was the letter Γ of the word [π]ολέμο. The text is given also by Hiller, *Historische Griechische Epigramme* (Bonn, 1926), no. 23. He brackets the last two lines in the traditional arrangement, regarding them as a later accretion. In this he has followed Frickenhaus, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 240 note, and von Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922), p. 79, and *Hellenistische Dichtung*, I (Berlin, 1924), p. 128; but the epigraphical record now makes certain that whatever the date of the epigram it must all be considered as one piece and that the last two lines have the same date as the first two. It is difficult to tell from Vernon's copy what this date may have been, but the use of conventional lettering and the probable use of O for the diphthong OY suggest a date about 400 B.C., possibly later. This lends great plausibility to the hypothesis advanced by Wieseler and Pomtow that the epigram belongs to the period after Herodotos, who does not mention it, and before Ephoros, who presumably did record it and from whom Diodoros got his copy.⁸ Vernon's text may be transcribed as follows:⁹

[μνᾶμα τ'] ἀλ[εξ']άνδρο [π]ολέμο
 [καὶ μάρτ]υρα νίκας Δε[λφο]ί μ' ἔστασαν
 [Ζανὶ χ]αριζόμενοι, σὺν Φοίβωι
 [πτολ]ίπορθον ἀπωσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων
 5 [καὶ χ]αλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος.

Vernon saw and copied the inscription not far from the spot where Diodoros reports that the trophy was erected: οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείας ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις βουλόμενοι τρόπαιον ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ τότε τὸ ἐλεγείον ἐνέγραψαν. But I see no reason to believe that the basis mentioned by Keramopoulos¹⁰ and by Demangel¹¹ needs to be connected with this inscription.

This important text was also copied by George Wheler in 1676,¹² but his copy is less careful than that of Vernon. He uses lunate epsilons and sigmas, except in ἔστασαν of line 2 where he has the correct angular forms; his erroneous ΠΟΛΙΜΟΥΝ

⁸ See Bergk, *Anthologia*, Vol. III⁴, p. 516, and Preger, *op. cit.* I am indebted to Paul Friedlaender for helpful criticism.

⁹ It will be observed that the epigraphical record confirms the textual tradition of Diodoros and renders obsolete various attempts at emendation.

¹⁰ *Ὀδηγὸς τῶν Δελφῶν* (Athens, 1908), p. 75.

¹¹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 3 (texte), La Sanctuaire d' Athèna Pronaia, pp. 86-88, with references.

¹² British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 169; cf. note 6, above.

in line 1 shows the true shape of the epsilon, and zeta in line 3 is misread as tau. He saw the inscription at Castri "prope fontem." His disposition of the text agrees with that of Vernon, but the readings are generally inferior.¹³

Vernon next copied a fragmentary inscription on the wall and then "on great stone earth removed" he recorded what he saw of the archaic inscription of the Labyadai.¹⁴ I have no comment to make on the other texts shown on the recto of folio 19.

The first inscription on the verso reads as follows:

— — — — —		ωκαν ἀτέλ
Ἄναξάνδρ		ειαν ἀσυλ
ου Φαρσαλ		ίαν προδι
ίωι προξέ	10	κίαν προε
5 νωι έόντι		δρίαν προ
Δελφοί έδ		μαντήίαν.

In a preliminary search I have not found that it has been published, and the general lack of complete indexes for the Delphic material tempts me to refer to the statement about previous publication quoted above from John Taylor.

There follows a dedication to Apollo, and then part of an Imperial Letter. This fragment has been discovered and now bears the Inventory No. 1708. It was published by E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis* (Montepessulano, 1905), p. 78, and is to be seen in *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, La Terrasse du Temple (Courby), p. 33, Fig. 31.¹⁵

The final inscription from Delphi is a dedication to the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and so should be dated between 364 and 375 (possibly 367) A.D. It is of interest in that it preserves the Julian name for these two brother emperors:

	τοὺς δεσπότης ἡμῶν
	Φλ. Ἰούλ. Βαλλεντινιανὸν
	καὶ Φλ. Ἰούλ. Βάλητα ἡ πόλις
	Δελφῶν τοὺς έαυτῆς έυεργέ
5	τας ἀνέστησεν.

Inasmuch as the text of *I.G.*, VII, 2495 from Thebes appears also on the verso of folio 19, it may be well to note that Vernon saw the stone before it had been damaged at the left and that his reading of line 6 confirms that of Pittakys ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., 2798) who has frequently been unjustly maligned by later editors for the supposed unreliability of his readings. Vernon did not understand the letters of line 6, but

¹³ Line 1 αειανδρον πολιμονυ; Line 2 ουρα νικας Δε---μ εστασαν; Line 3 αριστομενοι συν φοβωι; Line 4 νπορον απωσαμενοι στικα Μηδο; Line 5 καλκοστεφανον ρυσαμενου τεμενο.

¹⁴ Carl D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*² (Boston, 1928), no. 49.

¹⁵ I owe these references to the kindness of Daux.

there can be no doubt of the interpretation. Whether Clarke or Vernon was correct in the spelling of the emperor's name must remain uncertain and the same is true of the name of the dedicator. For Vernon's text I suggest the following version:

[Δ]ομετιανὸν Καίσαρα Αὐτο[κράτ]
 ορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Οὐ
 εσπασιανῶ υἱόν
 Ἄριστέϊδης σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις
 5 Μάρκῳ καὶ Ἄριστ<ε>ί[δη ἐ]κ τῶν
 [ἰ]δί<ω>ν.

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